

# An Phoblacht

THE REPUBLIC  
Official Organ of the  
Republican Movement

IML 1. UIMH. 4. SRAITH NUA

BEALTAINE (MAY), 1970

9d. (U.S. and Canada 25 c.)

## IRA warns Freeland

A statement issued by the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau in April and signed by P. O'Neill, Rúnaí, says that the leadership of the Republican Movement takes a very serious view of the statement by Gen. Sir Ian Freeland that British troops may be instructed to kill in future.

"In the event of this happening, retaliatory action will be taken by our units in occupied Ireland," the statement says.

"The trouble in Belfast last week arose solely because of the coat-trailing actions of Orange bands who were allowed to march and play in areas where the local people objected and the subsequent clashes with British troops occurred when the residents of Ballymurphy defended their homes and families against the brutal attack of berserk troops who indiscriminately used large quantities of C.S. gas against old people, women and children alike."

The statement says that the "full resources of the Provisional Army Council will be used to protect our people against attack from both Crown forces and sectarian bigots."

## The North:

# FULL FREEDOM IS THE AIM

## No new sell-out

"EVENTS in the Six Counties over the past 18 months have demonstrated clearly to the world that the 1921 settlement has not worked," said Ruairí O Brádaigh, Roscommon, Chairman of the Caretaker Executive of Sinn Féin, in Cavan on April 19.

"It appears that a supreme crisis in the North is imminent. Republicans must be ready to play their part to the full in whatever way is necessary."

"We must beware," he said, "of a new settlement which would not satisfy the Irish national aspirations, but which would give the Irish people nominal control over the 32 Counties, but would tie the country even closer to the British economic system."

"Freedom must be achieved in all its aspects, political, social, economic and cultural. Another sell-out, another 'Damned good bargain' must not be the end result of to-day's struggles. Republicans must get out before the people and educate them in these matters."

Mr. O Brádaigh was speaking at a Sinn Féin Symposium.

J. J. McGill, Leitrim, a member

of the Caretaker Executive, spoke of the necessity of adhering to Republican principles and said that the 77 executed by Free Staters in 1922-23 and the 17 who died at the hands of the second Free Staters from 1936 to 1946 were not fools.

"They knew that the 1921 Settlement was not the means to freedom, rather was it an obstacle. At present we see that Settlement being re-considered and we may well see it dismantled and abolished—a vindication of all those who died opposing it and all who adhered to the 32-County Republic and rejected both Leinster House and Stormont."

Areas represented at the Symposium were: Swanlinbar, Corlough, Redhills, Cavan, Butlersbridge, Stradone, Belurbet, Castletara, Ballyhaise and Killeshandra.

P. A. MacGovern, Swanlinbar, was elected Chairman, and William J. Minnagh, Moynehall, Cavan, was elected Secretary of the Co. Cavan Comhairle Ceantair. Others who spoke were U. O. Loinigh and A. Ruane, Caretaker Executive, and P. Duffy, Dernacliffe, former Sinn Féin Co. Councillor.



These pictures are grim reminders of what happened in Belfast last August. Never again must our people in the North be left undefended at the mercy of Crown forces and sectarian bigots.

## BELFAST CLUBS DEMAND RELEASE OF PRISONERS

At a meeting of the Feargal O hAnnluain (St. Patrick's District) Republican Club, Belfast, at which there was an attendance of over 80 people, a resolution was passed condemning the imprisonment of Irishmen in England and Belfast for Republican sentiments.

A statement issued by Pádraig O Broin, the Press officer, stated: "We appeal to all fair-minded people to give us their support in seeking the release of fellow Irishmen."

The meeting also unanimously decided to give full support to the Caretaker Executive.

At a meeting of the James Connolly Republican Club, North Queen Street and Unity Flats area, a resolution was passed condemn-

ing the harsh sentences imposed on Irishmen in England "whose only crime was trying to secure arms for the defence of the people of the North."

The resolution also condemned the intervention of the Fianna Fáil Government in supplying a file on one of the accused, "thus assuring a severe sentence."

"The Republicans of Unity Flats and North Queen Street through the Republican Club will, in the next few weeks, undertake suitable demonstrations to secure their immediate release," the resolution said.

## Support for Cement Strike

The Pat McManus Republican Club, Belleek, Co. Fermanagh, picketed the local Customs Post on Saturday, April 4, against lorries bringing cement into the 26 Counties during the strike at Limerick and Drogheda cement factories.

## NORTH-WEST DINNER

There was an attendance of several hundred at the first annual dinner and eill of the North-West Executive of the Republican Movement held in Jackson's Hotel, Ballybofey, on Sunday, April 12. Counties Donegal, Derry, Tyrone, Fermanagh and Leitrim were represented.

## SINN FEIN OPPOSES E.E.C. MEMBERSHIP

Read important statement on Ireland and Common Market on back page

## CO-OPERATIVE PROJECTS WILL REVITALISE ACAILL

THE ACAILL, Co. Mayo, Human Rights Movement was formed by the people of Oileán Acla, in January, 1969. Its objective was to find ways of stemming the constant migration and emigration from the area with a view to rebuilding a thriving community.

A lot of work has been done by the Movement since then. In a leaflet called BAS nÓ BEATHA, distributed to all homes on the island on April 12, the Committee reported on its work and put four important projects before the people. They pointed out that the proposed scheme and the parish itself would prosper only through the unselfish efforts, complete loyalty and full involvement of all the people of Acaill.

Briefly, the proposed scheme involves the following: Formation of a Parish Development Co-operative Society to be known as Comharchumann Forbartha Acla. This Comharchumann will undertake four projects:

(1) **GLASSHOUSE PROJECT.**—To begin with, a 2-acre glasshouse unit will be erected for the production of a wide range of vegetables. After a period of two to three years it is hoped to increase this unit to one covering 6/8 acres. The initial labour force necessary for this project will be ten people, increasing, according to expansion, to a force of approximately 40 people when in full production.

There is already a successful co-operative in Kerry with a 6-acre site under glass.

(2) **PIG-BREEDING UNIT.** The success of the Western Farming Development Co-operative Society Limited, Balla, from which over 900 shareholders are already benefitting, has left the Committee in no doubt regarding the important part which pig-breeding can play in considerably improving the total income of a

local community. It is, therefore, intended to erect a central pig-breeding unit as a "pilot-scheme" in order that full advice and information on all aspects of pig-breeding, rearing and housing will be available to interested shareholders. In this way people will see for themselves how simple and profitable this line of business can prove to be and, as a result, they will be given every encouragement and incentive to set up similar units on their own farms.

(3) **LAND IMPROVEMENT.** This project will provide shareholders with a full range of essential farm services, including the following:

Land drainage and rotavating, manure spreading and liming, surface seeding and spraying, etc.

A similar co-operative scheme being carried out by Comhar Iorrais is proving highly successful and profitable for hundreds of farmers in the Iorrais area.

(4) **MARKETING PROJECT.** The purpose of this project will be to provide marketing facilities for all shareholders' farm produce through the best outlets possible

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## DOHERTY-SMULLEN APPEAL FUND

Funds Urgently Needed  
Subscriptions can be sent to the Treasurer,

Rev. Fr. Gillespie, C.P.,  
c/o An Phoblacht,  
33 O'Donovan Rd., S.C.R.D.,  
Dublin 8.

## Derry Club's Officers

The Patrick Pearse Republican Club in Derry has elected the following officers: Chairman: John McDevitt; Secretary: Neil Gillespie; Treasurer: Thomas McCool; Committee: Seán Keenan, Liam McDaid, Thomas Carlin.



## ATHLONE SCENES As Unemployed Demonstrate

Members of Athlone town and South Roscommon Sinn Féin Cumann joined with the 320 Redundant Gentex workers in a protest march on Sunday, April 12, on the occasion of Mr. Jack Lynch's visit to Athlone for a Fianna Fáil by-election final rally.

The workers became unemployed last July — despite general election assurances in June—when the entire spinning section of the Seafield Gentex plant was closed down following a decision to import thread from Red China.

The parade formed up with placards in the Market Square and marched through Church Street amid applause, positioning itself at the head of the Fianna Fáil "motorcade" entering with a band at the other end of the town.

The workers marched in front of the F.F. "circuit" and remained in a body at one side of the platform outside the Royal Hotel. Their representatives, John Keenan, U.D.C.; P. J. Murray and J. Connaughton, sent up four questions to the speakers.

As the meeting progressed it became obvious that the questions would be ignored entirely and the workers grew restive and vociferous. Platform reference to F.F.'s "Republican tradition" sent the Sinn Féin members through the crowd to sell a further 6 dozen of *An Phoblacht*—16 dozen having been sold in the town the previous night.

Towards the end of the meeting and as the crowd began to thin out, some youngsters who waved unemployed placards were set upon by several "gentlemen" with F.F. badges, but their placards broken over their heads and were kicked.

Republicans and Gentex workers intervened, but the Gardaí separated the parties. Later a worker who shouted up at the platform was struck in the face in full view of the crowd by a "respectable" F.F. supporter who immediately got two blows in return from a bystander.

Scuffles followed and one Republican got a severe blow on the forehead when his anorak hood was pulled over his head, blinding him momentarily. But he gave better than he got from all accounts of the melee.

At the end of the meeting the platform party made its way down Church Street to a local hotel amid cat-calls and further scuffles.

P. J. Murray, who holds a photographer's card, had the lens of his camera broken as he attempted to take a picture of Mr. Kevin Boland, 26-County Minister for Local Government, being forcibly restrained by a Republican who held him from behind as he attempted to run across the street at a hostile group.

Throughout all this *An Phoblacht* posters looked down from the E.S.B. poles and other vantage points all round the town. The message: "WORKER OWNED INDUSTRY."

## Nation-Wide Easter Ceremonies

A large attendance, estimated by the *Anglo Celt* at "well over 600 people," was present at the annual Co. Cavan Easter Commemoration at the grave of Vol. Pat McManus, I.R.A., in Killaduff Cemetery, Swanlinbar.

Chairman was Peter Albert McGovern, Swanlinbar, and a decade of the Rosary was recited by Róisín Murray, Cavan. The 1916 Proclamation and Co. Cavan Roll of Honour were read by Hugh McGovern, Corlough. Ben McHugh, Swanlinbar, read the Statement from the Provisional Army Council, I.R.A.

Tony Ruane, Dublin, Treasurer of the Carleton Executive of Sinn Féin, gave the oration. The Last Post and Reveille were sounded by a bugler from the Bunnoe Brass Band. A wreath was laid on the grave of Phelim Brady, Ballyconnell, on behalf of local I.R.A. units.

Benny Little, Cavan, was flag-bearer and the parade from Swanlinbar was led by the Mountain Road Piper Band, Derrylin, Co. Fermanagh.

Relatives of Vol. McManus present were his mother, Mrs. McManus, Kinawley, Co. Fermanagh, and his brother, Frank McManus, Chairman, Fermanagh Civil Rights Association.

The late Pat McManus was O.C. South Fermanagh Active Service Unit, I.R.A., 1956-58, and a member of the Army Council of the I.R.A. He was killed at the age of 29 in an accidental explosion at Drumcask, Swanlinbar, on July 15, 1958.

### ARMAGH CITY

Armagh City was the scene of a very impressive commemoration ceremony on Easter Sunday morning.

The parade was headed by a colour party and advance guard of 20 young men wearing green berets and carrying the National Flag, the Starry Plough and the Fianna flag. Then came a contingent of Fianna boys and girls in uniform, wreath-bearers, I.R.A. veterans, members of the Republican movement and the general public.

A strong force of R.U.C. was deployed in groups along the route, while British soldiers in full equipment and including a "snatch-squad" were gathered in side streets in large numbers. People applauded as the parade marched smartly past in military formation, stepping in slow time and with strict precision by the spot in Cathedral Road where John Gallagher was shot dead by "B" Specials last August.

## BUSY BEE

Following the Sinn Féin Symposium in Cavan on April 19, a local detective followed one of the speakers into the hotel wash-room and attempted to draw him into conversation. The Special Branch man (aged about 35) was dressed in a green combat jacket and open-necked shirt, and when snubbed, jibed at the speakers: "You'll never get the freedom of Ireland anyhow."

On the morning 26-County troops arrived in Cavan—August 14 last—at 7.0 a.m., the same "Special" knocked up a local Republican with the story that there were four men asleep in a car in Farnham St. who wanted directions to the Border and "any old stuff that is knocking around."

He was promptly told that he himself could supply both "stuff" and directions.

### I gCUIMHNE

CHRISTY BIRD, Dublin, accidentally shot while training, May 13, 1939.

SEAN McCAUGHEY, Tyrone, died on hunger strike in Portlaoise Prison, May 11, 1946.

JOHN DUFFY, Derry, accidentally shot, May 7, 1960.

At the Republican Plot in the city cemetery Peter Duffy presided and Mary McAleese in Fianna Éireann uniform read the 1916 Proclamation. Jim Fields of Armagh recited a decade of the Rosary in Irish and the Easter Statement from the Provisional Army Council of the I.R.A. was read.

The Last Post was sounded and the oration given by Ruairí Ó Brádaigh.

### LURGAN

Ruairí Ó Brádaigh also spoke at Lurgan in North Armagh, where the entire Nationalist population of the town turned out to escort the national flag being carried peacefully in parade through the centre of the town for the first time ever.

Mr. Ó Brádaigh spoke afterwards in St. Coman's Cemetery at the grave of Staff-Capt. Thomas Harte, I.R.A., who was executed in Mountjoy Jail in 1940.

### CAMLLOUGH

Later in the evening the village of Camlough in South Armagh was the scene of an impromptu commemoration where tribute was paid to Vol. Séan Doran, murdered by "B" Specials in 1921. Mr. Ó Brádaigh complimented the members of the I.R.A., Cumann na mBan, Fianna Éireann and Sinn Féin for the disciplined and orderly manner in which they had honoured the Republican dead of Co. Armagh throughout the day.

### NORTH ARMAGH

At Maghera in North Armagh near the shores of Lough Neagh, about 200 people gathered on Easter Sunday morning at the grave of Vol. Jerry Robinson, I.R.A., shot dead by Crown Forces in 1921.

Hugh Brady, Lurgan, was chairman and read the 1916 Proclamation. Leonard Magill said a decade of the Rosary in Irish, and J. B. O'Hagan read the Easter Statement from the Provisional Army Council, I.R.A.

Séan Caughey, Belfast, delivered the oration.

### DONEGAL

The annual Co. Donegal Easter Commemoration took place at Drumboe Castle on Easter Sunday. The parade formed up at Barr's Corner, Stranorlar, at 3.00 p.m. and marched to the memorial near the castle ruins where Daly, Larkin, O'Sullivan and Enright were executed by Free State forces in 1923.

Chairman was Canice McGeehan, and Gerry Doherty, Strabane, recited a decade of the Rosary in Irish. Séan Ó Éinne, Glenties, and Frank Morris, Convoys, the Co. Donegal Roll of Honour. Flag-bearer was Joe O'Neill, Bundoran.

## N.A.T.O. will oppose C.J. Bill

N.A.T.O., the tenant movement which represents 300,000 people, has warned the 26-County Government not to re-introduce the Criminal Justice Bill unless it has been satisfactorily amended.

"They have seen our protests, street demonstrations, rents withholdings, mass rallies—in our battle against the B-Scale rents, but these are nothing in comparison to our protests if the Government tries to force a Criminal Justice Bill similar to the one last year," said N.A.T.O. General Secretary, Mr. Matt Larkin.

The Association's President, Mr. Christy Hynes, said the Minister for Justice was going to re-introduce a Criminal Justice Bill. If it contained the sections which N.A.T.O. had opposed last year they would mount a huge campaign against it.

*An Phoblacht* was on sale and 600 copies of the leaflet "Where Sinn Féin Stands" were distributed.

Following the ceremonies a wreath was laid on the memorial on behalf of Miss May Daly, Fries, Co. Kerry, sister of Comdt. General Charlie Daly, as per instructions of the Provisional Army Council.

### DROGHEDA

Cement strikers marched as a body in the annual Easter parade in Drogheda on Easter Sunday morning. A huge crowd attended and Séamas Steele, Belfast, spoke. He also spoke at the North Louth Commemoration in Dundalk.

### OTHER AREAS

In Dublin, Joe Cahill, Belfast, and Eamonn Mac Thomáis spoke at Glasnevin and Dean's Grange.

In Belleek, Co. Fermanagh, Joe O'Neill, Bundoran, spoke.

In the West there were ceremonies in Sligo, Mayo, Roscommon (Elphin and Curraghroe), Galway (Headford, Uachtar Ard and Sean-Eaglais), Comdt. Gen. Tom Maguire spoke at Sean-Eaglais. In Leitrim, a huge crowd turned out at Jamestown, and Tom Concannon spoke in Longford.

In Monaghan, U. O. Loinnigh spoke at the grave of Feargal O hAnluain, while Eoghan O hAnluain (father of Feargal) presided.

There were successful commemorations in Kildare and Limerick where Liam O Lideadha of Cork spoke. South Kerry turned out in strength to hear Liam Burke, Belfast.

Commemorations were also held in Laois, North and South Tipperary and Meath where Niall Fagan spoke.

In Cork, Gearóid Mac Gárthaigh spoke at the Republican Plot in St. Finbar's Cemetery. Séan Mac Siofáin spoke in Tralee.

Belfast's Easter parade was the biggest since 1966 and was addressed by Séan Ó Brádaigh. A memorable reunion cillí was attended by 700 in Belfast on Easter Monday. On Easter Sunday night in Dublin almost 500 people attended a concert in the Mansion House.

Derry City commemoration was held on Sunday, April 26.

Abroad, Leo Martin and Proinsias Mac Airt, both of Belfast, spoke in London. There was an attendance of 1,000 and £100 was collected. In New York a commemoration breakfast organised by Seánóglagh na hÉireann was addressed by Séan Keenan, Derry, while Dáithí Ó Connall read the Provisional Army Council Statement. Later that day, Séan Keenan spoke in Chicago.

## Wreath Laying Ceremony

On Easter Sunday at noon, a wreath laying ceremony was held at the graves of Peter Barnes and James McCormack in Ballyglass Cemetery, Mullingar, under the auspices of the local Barnes and McCormack Sinn Féin Cumann.

In a short address, tribute was paid to the two men by Colmán Ó Muimhneacháin, and wreaths were then laid by Cáit Bean Uí Muimhneacháin on behalf of the Barnes and McCormack Repatriation Committee; Mr. Bernard Kelly on behalf of the Moate-Mount Temple Commemoration Committee, and by Mr. Patrick Casey on behalf of the relatives of James McCormack, a native of Mullingar.

Following the recitation of a decade of the Rosary in Irish for the repose of the souls of the deceased, the Easter Statement of the Provisional Army Council of the I.R.A. was read.

## ACAILL: Baol Don Ghaeilge?

(From Page 1)

and at the highest prices obtainable. This will ensure that, in the future, farm produce will not have to be dumped owing to the lack of an organised marketing system.

One section of our local community, the Achill fishermen, are already reaping the rewards of an organised co-operative fishing effort.

### SAOTHURU

All four agricultural projects will, when fully developed and in operation, ensure full-time direct employment for at least 70 people at the Co-Operative Centre alone. These projects will, of course, also provide many side-benefits to the parish community in general.

The Committee hopes to raise the necessary capital (£25,000) at home and abroad in share capital units of £10 and any person may purchase up to a maximum of 100 £10 units in the Co-Operative. Each member will be entitled to one vote only.

The leaflet ends by saying: "We want to make our parish one in which our people will have an opportunity of living and working

and not just a tourist reservation on the Western seaboard."

The people of Acaill are to be congratulated on their initiative and are deserving of full support. It is on co-operative projects such as this that a free and democratic economy will be built. Glenn Cholmille and Acaill are examples to the rest of Ireland. In these places, at least, the West's Awake.

Tá súil againn go mbeifear aireach faoi thábhacht na Gaeilge sa cheantar Gaeilgeach sa agus nach mbeidh sé le rá ar ball gur tríd an scéim seo a cuireadh an Béarla chun cinn san áit. Ni mórán Gaeilge a bhí ar an mbileog a scaipeadh ar na daoine. Is ceantar fíor-Ghaeilteach an taobh ó dheas den oileán agus is breac-Ghaeilteach an chuid eile. Beidh deontais Ghaeilteacha á lorg ar ndóig ag an gComharchumann. Beidh na deontais seo ag dul dóibh de bhíir gur mhair an Ghaeilge san áit seo.

Tá BAS nó BEATHA na Gaeilge i gceist anois. Tá dualgas faoi leith ar an lucht cinnireachta a bhunaigh an Comharchumann i gceist na Gaeilge freisin mar is cuid ce mhaoin spioradálta Mhaigh Eo an teanga dúchais. Tá súil againn nach ndíolfaidh siad an t-anam ar mhaithle leis an gcolainn.

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# WALES SHOWS THE WAY

*Bileog a d'hoiligh Conradh na Gaeilge*

## Abstention Critic Answered

(The Editor, "Roscommon Herald")

A Chara,—My anonymous critic "Roscommon Reader" seeks to ridicule Sinn Féin by saying that when I and three of my Republican colleagues "were elected to Dáil Éireann" we opted to "remain at home."

The following are the facts:

(1) In May 1955 Sinn Féin contested all constituencies in the Six Counties at a British General Election, polling 152,000 votes and winning two seats. The policy put to the people there was that a united and free Ireland would not be secured by going to the British Parliament but by returning elected representatives to an all-Ireland Parliament which Sinn Féin would seek to establish with the support of the people. Nationally-minded people in the North accepted this policy by a majority as the figures quoted show clearly.

(2) In March 1957 at the height of the campaign of physical resistance to British rule in the Six Counties (it had opened on Dec. 12, 1956), Sinn Féin contested the 26-County General Election in about half of the constituencies.

Sinn Féin candidates in their election manifesto asked clearly to be returned to an all-Ireland parliament, and not to either of the partition assemblies at Leinster House or Stormont. In my own constituency of Longford-Westmeath this manifesto was sent through the post to every home. There could not be any doubt as to the attitude or intentions of the Sinn Féin candidates.

In the event four of us were elected, as we had requested, to join with the elected representatives of the Six Counties in forming an all-Ireland parliament.

(3) In common with Sinn Féin members North and South we did not "stay at home" during those years but worked without stint to convince the people of other constituencies as well as our own to withdraw representation from both Leinster House and Stormont and sent T.D.s and M.P.s to establish a 32-County parliament. The programme was that this parliament would elect a government which would legislate for and rule all Ireland and would use every means at its disposal to overcome opposition to its writ.

(4) In the outcome the 26-County Government used the Offences Against the State Acts (1939 and 1940) to support and collaborate with the British Forces in the Six Counties and suppress the fight for freedom there. They patrolled the Border in closest co-operation with the Crown Forces on the other side, sent over 200 men without trial to the concentration camp at the Curragh,

banned prisoners' dependants fund collections, jailed under the above Coercion Act and finally used a Military Court to put down all support for the resistance campaign to British rule in the Six Counties.

(5) In September 1961 came another 26-County General Election. The resistance campaign in the North, which had given our movement high morale, prestige and mass support, was by this time seen to be on its last legs due to the continuous stab in the back from successive 26-County Governments. Public support had flagged and this was borne out by the election results. We lost all four seats, but held roughly 55% of the 1957 total of votes in the same number of constituencies. Five months later the Northern campaign was halted in preparation for another day. Foreign force allied with native collaboration had triumphed for the moment.

(6) Meanwhile local Government elections in the 26 Counties were contested successfully in 1960. This was also done on the last occasion in 1967. P.R. obtains at local council level too and Sinn Féin representatives sit on local bodies in all four provinces. We have two members on Galway Co. Council and last year saw the first Sinn Féin Mayor of Sligo since 1922. These local councils are not, of course, instruments in the partitioning of our country under British law as are Stormont and Leinster House.

In case the hidden "Roscommon Reader" is too young to recall, I can tell him that I saw very, very little of home during my 44 years as T.D. Over half that time was spent in Mountjoy Jail for "refusing to give information" (or become an informer) or without charge or trial in the Curragh concentration camp. I was "on the run" for 8 months following my escape from the latter institution in 1958 and was forced "on the run" again for another nine months in 1960 following police raids on my home and my fourth arrest and overnight detention. This lasted right up to the 1961 general election.

Finally might I say there was no contradiction in the recent Sinn Féin campaign for the retention of Proportional Representation in the 26 Counties as "Roscommon Reader" seeks to infer. The work of Sinn Féin members among the Irish people for a 32-County Republic with social justice and the restoration of our culture had been sincere and honest and in many cases at great personal sacrifice.

Is it too much to ask that the next time "Roscommon Reader" rushes into print he will drop his protective cloak of anonymity?

Ruairí Ó Brádaigh.

In its report on "Primary Education in Wales," the Central Advisory Council for Education (Wales) set up by the British Government in August, 1963, "to consider the whole subject of primary education and the transition to secondary education," made some very interesting observations and recommendations on the position the Welsh language has or ought to have in the life of the Welsh people. In this article the statements of that body are dealt with in the form of question and answer. In all cases the word Irish can be substituted for the word Welsh.

**Q** Has the Welsh (Irish) language any part to play in our present and future style of living?

**A** The Welsh (Irish) language is an essential part of the cultural heritage of Wales (Ireland). It must remain so unless the language is to die or decay or become a patois.

**Q** Only a minority of our people speak Welsh (Irish). Why must all of the community be encouraged to foster Welsh (Irish)?

**A** While it is true that this aspect of our style of living belongs fully only to a minority, it must be recognised that these are the people who safeguard the language. Unless the language is strengthened and extended this minority will become smaller in number and the language and its associated tradition decay and die altogether.

**Q** What is the importance of the Welsh (Irish) language? What are its effects on my country?

**A** The Welsh (Irish) language gives Wales its unique status, without which it would be but another province of the "British Isles," distinct only in the idiosyncrasies of idiom in the use of English. Another aspect of culture is the historical continuity of belief and behaviour, linking a people together in a common tradition. It was the Welsh speakers (Irish speakers) who mainly determined the pattern of Wales (Ireland) as a separate community or nation, even into recent times. The Welsh (Irish) language is still a vital element in the particular identity of Wales (Ireland), in spite of its retreat in the face of mass-communications, and vast economical and social changes.

**Q** Does a Welshman (Irishman) gain more fulfilment in speaking his native language?

**A** Although a Welshman (Irishman) is what he is without the language, since he takes part in the ways of life and traditions of Wales (Ireland), and vicariously lives in the language, he would, we feel, be a fuller Welshman (Irishman) if he possessed his ancestral tongue.

**Q** That seems to be true, but why have a national language at all?

**A** Not only does a national language give its own people an identity but adds to a unique perspective, the possibility of some new mutation of human life and artistic creation.

**Q** In what way would I best help the language?

**A** Since it is the Welsh (Irish) language that gives Wales (Ireland) its own peculiar identity . . . it has a claim on the loyalty of those who claim to be Welsh (Irish). We have the right to be what we are and the responsibility of ensuring that we hand down what has been given us.

**Q** How can I be motivated sufficiently to discharge this responsibility?

**A** We are convinced that if parents were shown that Welsh (Irish) can be taught effectively they would give such teaching their positive support and provide the motivation which is at present so badly needed.

**Q** Has Welsh (Irish) a prior claim to the loyalty of the people over other modern languages?

**A** It may be argued that the second language should, for example, be a major language such as French, but the Welsh (Irish) child will already possess one such language and the key to a major literary and historical culture, in English. We feel that the ancestral language has a prior claim to loyalty and is also more immediately relevant and useful in terms of communication and participation in the social life of the communities of Wales (Ireland). Every language which is associated with traditions and a literary and artistic culture adds something to the sum total of the variety and richness of a human life and has particular value in an age when the world is becoming more uniform and international.

**Q** If I accept that bilingualism is desirable in our schools and homes won't this provide difficulties for all concerned?

**A** New techniques, new aids to teaching, research work and experimental studies combine to make the teaching of a second language a much more feasible proposition than it was in the past. We believe that the time is ripe for education authorities and teachers, purposefully to implement a positive policy of bilingualism in the primary schools of Wales (Ireland) and we make our recommendations to this end.

*The report from which the above extracts are taken was signed by the eminently qualified persons appointed by Sir Edward Boyle, then the Minister of Education in Britain. The statements contained herein are the agreed opinions of all the members of the Council with the sole exception of Professor D. C. Marsh who signed an appendix of reservation pertinent to the above.*



# THE LAND FOR THE PEOPLE

"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 Carcater Executive of Sinn Féin, issued on January 17, 1970.

This is a further article by FEAR DOMHNAINN in which he explains how an economic and social system based on this philosophy would function in a free Ireland.

THE first step in the establishment of a co-operative state would be the re-distribution of the land in economic units to the agricultural families of Ireland. The size of an economic unit would, naturally, vary according to the situation and fruitfulness of the soil. An economic unit near Dublin, Cork or Limerick would be much smaller than one in a remote area or where the soil was poorer. The size would also depend on the use to which the land was put. If a factory were set up in an area for the processing of vegetables, the economic unit of land would not need to be as large as if it were used for dairying or livestock.

In a fully established co-operative economy, grants or loans at a low or even nominal rate of interest would be made available through a financing system to be described later, for the purchase of stock, implements and machinery, and the building of houses and farm buildings (as is done in Denmark and other progressive agricultural countries).

## LOWEST DENSITY

There are roughly 280,000 agricultural families in the 26 Counties, including agricultural labourers, and roughly 12,000,000 acres of arable land. This gives an average of 43 acres per family. In the 32 Counties there are roughly 345,000 agricultural families, and that still gives an average of 43 acres per family. So it is obvious that if the land were divided into units of 43 acres per family, this would be ample to make a good living for the agricultural population even at the present rate of production, and with development it could support many more.

The land of Ireland is at least as good as that of any other country in Europe, yet it has the lowest density of agricultural workers per agricultural square mile.

It is not proposed arbitrarily to divide the land of Ireland into the above mentioned 43-acre units. That was merely an example to prove that there is more than enough land in Ireland to support the agricultural families of the country.

The surplus agricultural population would be absorbed into (a) industries based on agriculture sited in the area from which the raw materials were drawn, and organised as co-operatives of the workers or of workers and the farmers who supply the raw material; (b) manufacturing industries not based on agriculture but established on the firm basis of a known and reasonably stable demand for the product, and dis-

persed as widely as is consistent with economic management rather than in widely separated "growth centres," which force the workers to migrate into large urban centres, with the consequent adverse effects on their lives (e.g., juvenile delinquency is one of the direct results of people being forced to live in the grey uniformity that is invariably found in the industrial city); (c) the professions, etc.

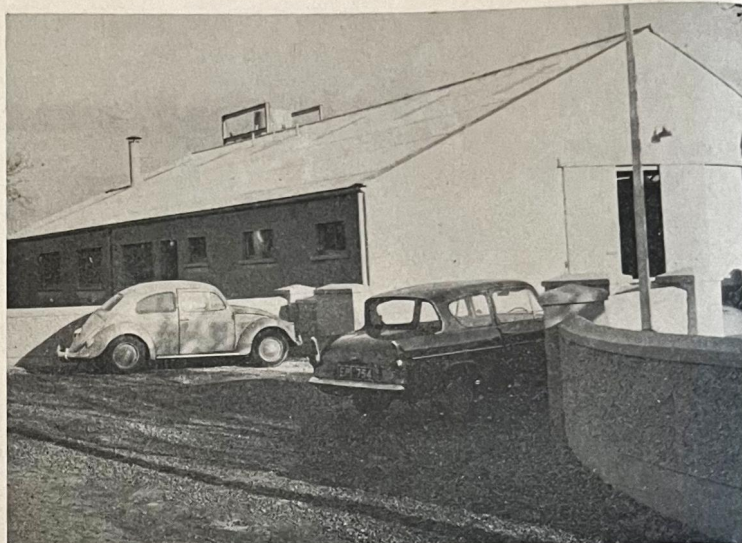
## DIVISION OF ESTATES

As modern farming technique requires the use of machinery and facilities which might be beyond the individual farmer's means, special grants or loans would be made available for the co-operative purchase of machinery, to build creameries, stores, pig-fattening stations, etc., to be owned by the workers or by the workers and farmers in common. Co-operative farming of farms by a number of adjoining farmers would also be facilitated as production can be increased and costs lowered in this way. When workers and suppliers of raw materials participate in the same co-operative, the organisation would be somewhat different from that of a co-operative owned purely by the workers.

Main emphasis would be on the workers whose labour added to the value of the raw material. Where agricultural communities combined to set up creameries, granaries, pig-fattening stations, bacon-curing factories, deep freeze plants, vegetable and fruit processing units, the employees of such establishments would, if qualified to do so, each own shares in those enterprises, to the equivalent of an economic unit of the means of production. The general shareholders would receive dividends on their shares, and a board of directors, chosen partly by the shareholders and partly by the staff, would control the policy of the co-operative.

It is not necessary, however, to wait until the Government of the Republic would gain political control of the country. All Republicans should participate fully, here and now, in the primary steps towards the building of a Gaelic co-operative economy by agitation for the division of the larger estates still held by the West British and foreigners, and including demands on behalf of farm labourers for a share in the farms on which they have permanent employment.

In certain cases such estates need not be divided into separate units, but handed over as all-in co-operatives to be owned and worked in a manner similar to that of the Israeli Moshav, or Our



The food processing co-operative in Gleann Cholmille, Co. Donegal.

Lady's Agricultural Co-operative near Cordova in Spain.

In the Moshav, which is rapidly gaining in popularity over the better publicised Kibbutz, each family has its own house and garden, and owns and works the rest of the land as a unit, somewhat in the fashion of worker owners in a producer co-operative.

In the Spanish co-operative, 64 out of 65 small farmers in a village joined their farms together, selling their oxen and ploughs and buying up-to-date tractors and other machinery. They were able to halve their hours of labour, while more than doubling their incomes. The increased wealth brought to them by co-operative effort enabled them to build a village hall for recreation and a secondary school for their children.

Succession of ownership could be arranged as in the case of industry on the revolving fund system, or by simple inheritance, or through a modified version of the Fine system.

In its modern form, the Fine might consist of related members, to eight of kin or third cousins. When a Fine member died, his economic unit would be disposed of to the Land Authority for a fixed sum, and that amount of money along with his other property distributed among the other members in proportions laid down by law, those closely related receiving more than those further removed. On the other hand when a Fine member reached the qualifying age his relations would subscribe proportionate amounts to enable him to purchase an economic unit.

## FRENCH CO-OP

Where the Fine members were unable to do this, it would be the duty of the State to make a unit available. As a man's wife and children are co-owners with him in his economic unit, no person's unit could be disposed of until his wife died and his children were in possession of economic units of their own.

If so desired, a person's economic unit could be transmitted, subject to certain adjustments, to a son, daughter or other Fine member. Inheritance under this system would, of course, scarcely be operative except in a fully developed Co-operative State.

In industry, as in agriculture, the primary duty of the State

would be to see that every citizen over 30 years of age or every married man or supporter of dependent relatives was in possession of the absolute ownership of an economic unit of the means of production.

The Boimendeau Experiment in France could be taken as the prototype of industrial co-operative organisation. In Boimendeau, near Valence, the community is built around the works. The idea originated with Marcel Barbu in 1941, and was only temporarily interrupted during the German occupation of France.

## POINTS SYSTEM

At Boimendeau the workers own the factory and share the proceeds, and so far it follows the pattern of a producers' co-operative. But Barbu has carried the idea much further. Every person employed in the works is expected to develop his mental, physical and spiritual capacities within and without the factory to the fullest possible extent. He is free to choose his field of study and service, but once chosen he is expected to make a serious contribution to education, science or to the public duties of the community according to his capacities and choice and otherwise to act as a good citizen and neighbour.

Wages are paid on an elaborate points system, and all these factors are taken into account in assisting the worker's remuneration. Points are awarded for his wife, for their children, and for the children's performance at school. The workers themselves assess the wage rating of each employee. Although the workers live where they please, the factory is identified with the locality. Work in the factory is interspersed with work on the community farm. Government in the factory is democratic, discipline being secured by granting the leader, once elected, full authority, based on consent.

"Boimendeau is a practical experiment in relating community living to factory living. Ideally the two communities, although separate in function, should be closely linked in sympathy and interest if the worker's life is to have full significance." — "The Future of Private Enterprise": George Goyder.

Cottage industries and others whose nature allowed would be organised on the basis of single economic units, with small scale machinery grouped, where neces-

sary, around larger units (i.e., for certain processes requiring large scale plant, storage, marketing, etc.).

Where the larger unit was merely an adjunct of the smaller ones, it could be owned co-operatively by the owners of these smaller units in conjunction with the full-time worker-owners, where such existed, of the larger plant. An industrial undertaking of this sort might be conducted in either of two ways. Firstly, as an all-in co-operative embracing small and large units alike, in which every worker-owner would have a voice in the management or in the case of a very large co-operative in the selection of a board of directors, which in turn could be carried out by monthly or quarterly meetings of all members. Remuneration would be in the form of a basic dividend for each owner-worker, with additional bonuses for families, individual production and extra responsibility or hardship. Such remuneration could be paid by weekly or monthly instalments.

Alternatively, the small units could be worked independently, combining only for certain functions. In this case, although all members would have an even voice in the direction of affairs, the internal management of the larger unit would be mainly in the hands of the smaller units, both in this and in the sharing of the profits of the larger plant, depending on circumstances too varied to discuss here.

## SAFEGUARD INTERESTS

Suffice it to say that most small units requiring combination for purchasing, selling or finishing would be encouraged to follow one of the above patterns, as would most cottage industries, both full-time and part-time, as spinning, weaving, knitting, lace-making, crocheting, hand-crafts, etc.

Where single economic units were grouped around a co-operative which represented a separate process in the same industry, the independent worker-owners would ordinarily have no share in the running of that co-operative, unless they themselves had set it up by voluntary combination. If, however, the nature of the co-operative were such as to give its members undue influence over the single units (or other co-operatives) the latter would be entitled



NO woman in Ireland's long story of struggle left her imprint on history as did Máire MacSwiney, sister of the famous Terence MacSwiney.

She was the outstanding woman of the Irish resistance movement, because within herself she combined the forces of intellectual superiority and an inability to compromise national principles.

Máire MacSwiney was educated at Oxford with her sister Annie. Both took high academic degrees and on their return to Cork they started a private school for girls, St. Ita's, which was conducted by Annie up to the time of her death.

St. Ita's was a venture similar in nature to the school for boys established at Rathfarnham by Pádraig Pearse, first President of the Irish Republic.

Like St. Enda's, St. Ita's did not qualify for a government grant because the MacSwiney sisters had accepted the political views and principles of their brother Terence.

They were, it is said, practically the only family of "extreme Republicans" in Cork in the early days of the present century.

Around 1907 or 1908 the Cork Celtic Literary Society was founded, and into this Society went the young nationalists of Cork.

Not all of them were Republicans, but most of them were veering in that direction. Most prominent member of the Society was Terence MacSwiney, the future Lord Mayor and Brixton martyr.

His two sisters were also members of the Society, and they were also prominent in an organisation called Inghinidhe na hEireann (Daughters of Ireland), which at that time was being run by Maud Gonne, later Madame MacBride.

Easter Sunday 1916 was a day of suffering and anguish for the MacSwiney family. Terence MacSwiney had been appointed Officer Commanding the Cork Brigade of the Irish Volunteers. As such he obeyed Professor Eoin MacNeill's order published that morning countermarching all Volunteer movements for that day.

When, on the Tuesday of Easter Week, he learned that Dublin was in revolt and that the Republic had been proclaimed in Ireland, he almost died with shame to think that Cork had not answered the call. His sister Máire later recalled those days of anguish when on his deathbed in Brixton Prison during his 74-day fast, Terence turned to her and said: "At last the pain of Easter Week is dead."

#### DAIL EIREANN

In that moment he felt he had atoned for his failure to lead the Cork men into battle during the Rising. In the days after Easter Week, the MacSwiney family helped in the re-organisation of the Republican Physical Force Movement.

In the women's organisation of Cumann na mBan, and in the political organisation of Sinn Féin, Máire MacSwiney played an outstanding part in Cork City and later in the whole of Ireland.

The general release of the political prisoners at Christmas 1916 helped the movement. Terence MacSwiney was second in command to Tomás Mac Curtáin, who had been elected Lord Mayor of Cork and who acted in the dual capacity of chief magistrate of Cork City and Commanding Officer of the Cork City Volunteers. Then came the 1918 General Election and the Sinn Féin victory at the polls. Terence MacSwiney and his sister Máire were elected to membership of the First Dáil Eireann.

# Ireland's Greatest Woman

By  
**Art Ó Baoill**

When the Dáil met at the Mansion House on January 21, 1919, and proceeded to declare itself an independent sovereign parliament, Terence MacSwiney



MAIRE NIC SHUIBHNE.

was one of the Deputies present. A number of them were in jail, including the President of the Sinn Féin organisation, Eamonn de Valera.

Immediately, the British Government declared the new Parliament to be "an illegal assembly," and most Deputies were forced to go on the run. MacSwiney could not do so. The Lord Mayor of Cork, Tomás Mac Curtáin, had been murdered and he immediately stepped into his shoes.

At his inauguration at the City Hall, Cork, he stated that he would administer the affairs of Cork on behalf of the Government of the Republic, and that as well as taking charge of Cork's civic affairs he was also the Republican military commander for the area. Two days later he was arrested and sent to Brixton Prison. From the moment of his arrest he refused to take food and declared that within a month "I shall be free, dead or alive."

It was at this stage that Máire MacSwiney entered on her major role as chief woman protagonist of Irish Republicanism. During the whole of her brother's ordeal, she never left Brixton. For hours she sat at his side, but did not encourage him to give up his fast. Father Dominic, O.F.M. Cap., his Chaplain, said Mass for MacSwiney morning after morning. He also gave him Holy Communion. Then came the end.

After Terence's death, Máire assumed leadership of the Republican political movement in Cork. She was the senior Republican Deputy in Dáil Eireann.

She spent most of her time on the run, though Michael Collins admitted that she was the one Deputy who, no matter what the difficulties were, succeeded in attending the meetings of Dáil Eireann, even though it was outlawed and suppressed.

#### COMMUNICATIONS

As President of Cumann na mBan she was responsible for supplying couriers and keeping open the lines of communication between the different Flying Columns in the South. The women of Cumann na mBan under her leadership became the eyes and ears of the Republican Army and kept the fighting units supplied with up-to-the-minute information about the movements of British troops and police.

All this information passed

through Máire MacSwiney's hands. It was she who decided where couriers were to go and how the information was to be sent to the fighting men. At the same time she undertook Red Cross services for Republican wounded. All these tasks she carried out while on the run.

During this period her sister Annie kept St. Ita's school open under grave difficulties, missing the co-operation of her elder sister.

#### CIVIL WAR

When the truce came, and during the negotiations which led up to the signing of the 1921 Treaty, Máire MacSwiney accompanied the President of the Republic, Eamonn de Valera, on his tours throughout the country. She was a brilliant orator, and on every public platform where de Valera spoke, she stood by his side.

Then came the Treaty, the Split and the Civil War. She supported de Valera in his opposition to the Treaty, and during the Great Debate on that document, her speech was the longest delivered. She spoke without notes for four and a half hours, holding the Deputies spellbound. It is true that her speech was at times bitter—memories of her brother may have been responsible for that—but her words were prophetic as well, because she said, in reference to Michael Collins: "If you accept this document you will one day jail and execute the men who oppose you. You will even jail me." And so it happened.

#### MOUNTJOY PRISON

Some people say Máire MacSwiney's speech did more to get the Treaty passed than it did against it, because of its bitterness. It is also said that some young soldiers resented hearing Collins called a "traitor," and for that reason voted with him in the lobby. But Máire's speech against the Treaty was as an oration as compelling as that which Henry Grattan had delivered against the Union of 1800.

In November 1922, when the Civil War was at its height, Máire MacSwiney was arrested by the Free State Government and sent to Mountjoy Prison.

At that time the Governor of Mountjoy was her old friend from

Cork, Páidín O'Keeffe, who had been secretary of Sinn Féin during the Black and Tan period.

As soon as she arrived at the prison, Máire went on a hunger strike, and her sister Annie went on hunger strike at the prison gate and refused to leave until Máire was released.

After six or seven days the Free State Government surrendered. They could not afford to have Terence MacSwiney's sister's death on their hands. They released her and she immediately threw herself back into the political campaign against the Treaty, continuing to speak against the Government and the State.

When de Valera, three years after the Civil War had ended, proposed that the Sinn Féin organisation should enter the Free State Parliament as an official Opposition, Máire MacSwiney strongly opposed him.

When he left Sinn Féin and founded Fianna Fáil she denounced him in the same way as she had denounced Collins, and continued to do so up to the time of her death.

#### BODENSTOWN

Her last public appearance was when she placed a wreath on the grave of Wolfe Tone at Bodinstown churchyard, Co. Kildare, in 1941.

On that occasion, Mr. de Valera's Government had forbidden the Republican Commemoration. All trains were stopped. The military held all roads so that no cars could possibly get through. But Máire MacSwiney got through by walking more than 20 miles through fields. She was then nearly 70.

Before her death she resigned her membership of Sinn Féin because it had decided to take to the 26-County courts a case regarding the ownership of Sinn Féin funds held in Chancery. She did not agree that the courts of the State were legal, and as she

was incapable of compromise she resigned her membership of Sinn Féin.

Up to the day of her death she supported every move the I.R.A. made during the Second World War. By request her funeral to the family burial ground in Cork was private. She did not wish for any display after her death.

Many famous Irishmen disagreed with her at the end, but all agreed that she was sincere and that she was one of the greatest Irish women of all time.

## DUNGANNON CLUB'S RESOLUTION

After a re-organisation meeting of the Thomas Clarke Republican Club, Dungannon, a statement was issued which reads as follows:

"We hereby pledge our allegiance and support to the Caretaker Executive of the Republican Movement and the Provisional Army Council, who are the lawful governing authority of the Irish Republic, proclaimed at the G.P.O., Dublin, in 1916.

"We deny the right of any Republican to sit in the Westminster, Stormont or Leinster House Parliaments.

"We would also point out that any person or group advocating entry to Westminster or either of the two partitionist parliaments cannot speak on behalf of the Irish people. We deplore this latest compromise and intend to safeguard the unsullied name of Republicanism, which never was and never will be exploited by ambitious men. These self-seeking, career-minded people intend to sell out the Republican movement to further their own political ends, by using the graves of our martyred dead to propagate a doctrine contrary to the ideals for which these men died."

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WRITE FOR BOOK LIST



# A Theology of Protest

**P**ROTEST is becoming part of life in Western Europe and in many other parts of the world. Protest is of the very nature of the Civil Rights movement in the north-east of this country: without the street demonstrations it is doubtful if anything worth while would have been achieved.

Most people in the 26 Counties say they understand the motives of the people in the Civil Rights movement and the necessity for "street politics."

Many people in the Six Counties, however, certainly do not understand either the motives or the necessity. Their attitude is natural enough in all the circumstances of upbringing and tradition.

To them the Civil Rights people, at the very least, are not quite respectable or, in the extreme, are dangerous agitators, even "anarchists" or "Communists."

People who think thus are as much our brothers and sisters as those whom they oppose; but unless we understand their attitudes we can do little to help them and us to achieve any kind of permanent peace in Ireland without the backing of guns and bayonets.

We must understand, also, the Civil Rights people and all minority groups and their right and, indeed, need to protest.

## Intolerance Bred of Fear

There is a 26 Counties reaction parallel to that of the majority in the Six Counties and throwing light on it may help us all the more to understand those in the Six Counties who are dismayed and disturbed by the activities of the Civil Rights movement.

This parallel reaction may be observed among those who would prefer to ignore the existence of itinerants and their problems, who do not want any action whatsoever to disturb the status quo—not even a demonstration by a housing action group or by people against apartheid.

The philosophy which the "majority," North and South, have in common is an antagonism to minority groups or to what the dominant group (who considers itself the majority) fancies to be a minority.

This intolerance is bred on selfishness and fear—fear that it will be supplanted if it concedes what are demanded as rights.

An antagonism to Irish language rights often may be traced to the fear that "culchie," with an efficient knowledge of the Irish

This is the second in a series of three articles by

DEASUN BREATNACH

language, may supplant those who, by tradition and accent and manners, have held certain positions.

An antagonism to housing or education rights often may be traced to the fear that a "socially inferior" group may produce children who will do better academically than the socially privileged one, to the detriment of that group's offspring—a phenomenon which often works out that way.

## Emphasis of Vatican Two

If we were living in a kind of sociological jungle it would be logical for one group to oppose another and fight it to the death. In a Christian society a different kind of life is expected of us. No matter whether we are Catholic, Church of Ireland, Methodist, Presbyterian or any other group which gives precedence to the Cross and the Redeeming Blood of Christ, we must recognise that Christ died for all, that every man is our neighbour.

It is on that point that what might be termed a "theology of protest" may be based. This is a theology which embraces all Christians, from the Pope to the Rev. Dr. Ian Paisley, and it is spelled out in these words: "As you would that men should do to you, do you also to them in like manner."

As well as all that—which is traditional Christianity as well as traditional protest—it is the thing on which the Second Vatican Council placed most emphasis.

## For one as for 10,000

The way that "dissident priest," Cardinal Suenens, put it is thus: "If we were asked what we consider to be that seed of life deriving from the Council and which is the most fruitful in pastoral consequence, we would answer without hesitation: it is the re-discovery of the people of God as a whole, as a simple reality; and then, by way of consequence, the co-responsibility thus implied for every member of the Church."

We are brothers, and, as Jim Larkin put it, an injury to one is an injury to all. Similarly, if one person is denied his rights a sin is being committed not only against all mankind but against God, Whose Blood was shed for every individual. Christ is the leveller and if we are believers we must humble ourselves in Him.

Protest, in its essence, is not made on behalf of a sect or a group or a class but, rather, on behalf of the individual: on this point many philosophies, many religions, converge with the Christians. The rights of the individual may not be submerged for the fancied rights of the mass (which is composed of individuals and has no separate life of its own).

Protest is none the less legitimate if it is being made for one person as for 10,000; every individual has a right to housing, work, marriage, children, the adoration of God, and every conceived child has the right to be born, whether in wedlock or outside it, and that right must be supported not only by the parents but by all society.

## 'Respectable' shun Protests

Jacques Maritain writes ("The Peasant of the Garonne"): "In that community of human persons which is a society, the Church, in keeping with the demands of truth, gives primacy to the person over the community; whereas to-day's world gives primacy to the community over the person—a highly interesting and significant disagreement. In our age of civilisation the Church will increasingly become—bless her—the refuge and support (perhaps the only one) of the person. Those unfortunate clerics who do not see that would do well to re-read the Pastoral Constitution."

Again, on the necessity for Christians to take part actively in protests, the theologian, Rev. John Mockey, speaking of the duties of bishops, writes: "The denouncing of injustices in the very structure of our society should be their primary preoccupation."

But if it is the duty of bishops it is the duty, also, of priests and, indeed, of all the faithful. The point is, of course, that bishops may not ally themselves outside of equity and justice to a group or class that fancies itself threatened and, by their silence, support it. This is a charge which has been made against them, at home and abroad, both before and after the Second Vatican Council.

The charge often may have been made unfairly; but the duty of bishops, in the interests of their own souls and of the Church, is to ensure that not only may such a charge be unjust but that it may be seen obviously to be unjust. Thus, one reason for the Vatican II insistence on churchmen availing themselves to the full of communications media.

## 'JOIN UNION' SAYS CO. MEATH EMPLOYER

Speaking at the Annual Staff Dinner of Collins Joinery at An Uaimh, Leo Collins, a former Republican prisoner, urged his employees to join their trade union.

"You all know that you do not have to be in a union to receive good wages from us, but on principle alone all workers should belong to their union."

He then urged the trade unions to fight not only for higher wages but also for price control and for increased P.A.Y.E. allowances.

"We have to stop £5 and £6 a week from the wages of skilled workers to finance prestige projects that are of little or no benefit to the people of this country."

He emphasised that workers and employers have a common interest to maintain good relations such as exist at Collins Joinery.

He appealed to all to buy Irish

goods "and not to forget our people in Belfast and other parts of the North."

The friendly atmosphere and good relations at Collins Joinery between management and staff are an example to all Irish workers, employers and employees alike, and it stands in stark contrast to the arid class warfare propagated by extreme and doctrinaire Socialists.

## Population of Sligo

One of the many very interesting projects in the Science Exhibition in Summerhill College, Sligo, some time ago, was that done by John O'Grady and Seamus Carroll, who won a prize. Their project was to show that decrease of population in Sligo is due to lack of industry. After spending some time working on population figures they came up with a few startling facts—that County Sligo, for instance, will be uninhabited in 90 years time if the present rate of population decrease continues and that County Sligo's population decreased by 11,000 in the past twenty years.

After studying population trends in County Sligo, in towns with factories, towns without factories, towns with a tourist industry and in rural Sligo, the following trends were noticed; population decreasing in County Sligo; population increasing in towns with factories; population decreasing in towns without factories; population steady in towns with a tourist industry but population in rural Sligo dropping very rapidly. From this they came to the conclusion that Sligo must have more factories because the tourist industry is not sufficient and agriculture is, what they describe as a "hopeless failure," to maintain the population.

All of this is interesting background material for the survey of potential industrial labour now to be carried out under the auspices of the County Sligo Development Team. This survey is essential because of industrial expansion in Sligo and a number of towns in the county, where population trends will certainly be a source of constant study in future years in view of the envisaged industrial growth.

T.P.'s Weekly Say, in the "Sligo Champion."

## Co. Cork Commemoration—and Raid

A large crowd attended a commemoration ceremony in Midleton, Co. Cork. The parade included Cork Volunteers' Pipe Band, Fianna Eireann, Cumann na mBan and Tomás Canntú Girl Pipers of Fermoy.

The oration was delivered by Séamas Ó Réagáin. Seán Ó hAirtneáda was Parade Marshal.

A nuisance police raid lasting four hours was made on the home of Seán Ó hAirtneáda, Carrigtwohill, Co. Cork. As the Gardai entered the house, Seán Ó hAirtneáda removed the fuses and left the house in darkness. The police stayed for four hours and listed every single item in the house, socks, boots, shoes, tools, liquor, cream crackers, etc.

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# THE LAND FOR THE PEOPLE

(From Page 4)

to such representation on its managerial councils as would adequately safeguard its interests and in some cases even to a share in its profits (i.e., when the individual units were not of themselves sufficiently remunerative).

## FAMILY BONUSES

Small-scale suburban industries, shops, etc., would follow the plan outlined above. Large plant, such as factories and department stores, would be run as co-operative enterprises, owned and controlled by the workers, each worker of qualifying age being entitled to absolute ownership of shares to the value of an economic unit. (The former owners would, of course, be entitled to the ownership of an economic unit also, where this furnished their main means of subsistence.)

Basic remuneration would be in the form of a dividend on each person's economic unit and would be equal for all members from manager to labourer, different functions being compensated for, on the score of extra responsibility, special skill or unusual hardship, by cash bonuses. Hours of work, holidays, etc., would be governed by similar considerations; although with the introduction of automation, unskilled jobs would tend to disappear (as would many

skilled ones), and the question of leisure time would adjust itself. Family bonuses would also be granted, on similar lines to the Boimendeau Co-operative, to married persons and members with dependent relatives.

When necessary, to eliminate middlemen, whole industries could be organised into co-operatives, covering every operation from producer or factory to shop. Small shopkeepers, however, would be adequately protected by law and guaranteed free access to supplies. Family businesses, where the bulk of the work would be performed by the family group with the aid of a few assistants, would be preserved and encouraged. In fact, as time went on, and existing industrial plant became obsolete, it would be the policy of the Government to decentralise industry and to divide it up into as small units as were compatible with efficiency.

"It is a clear lesson of recent history that democracy cannot be real unless it rests on small groups as its basic units... on groups small enough to be completely administered and led by men of normal stature and mental outlook." (G. D. H. Cole, "The New Statesman," 17th May, 1941.)

## A VOICE FOR EACH

The guiding principle in all cases would be maximum independence and security for all worker-owners. Local and national councils would settle relationships and charges as between different branches of the same industry.

Each worker-owner of a factory or industry would have a voice in the direction of the company and the right to stand for election to the board of directors. This latter would control the general policy and direct the management which would, of course, be invested with a certain degree of permanency.

Educational facilities would be made available to all persons desirous of training for any particular trade or occupation, so that the labourer or his son might become a manager, or vice versa, essential human dignity being maintained by the fact that all, regardless of position, were, by right of ownership, shareholders and directors of the enterprise; authority being derived from the common good from the general consent of the worker-owners, with extra bonuses for achievements in educational, cultural, social and civic spheres as outlined in the description of the Boimendeau Experiment given above.

## AGITATION NOW

There should be no necessity to wait until a 32-County Republic has been established to do all of these things. Republicans and trade unionists should be active in agitation for the setting up of worker-owner factories now. Now is the time to get the community interested and organised.

Small factories using the same process in several towns in an area could be linked together. Raw materials, if not native, could be imported. The cult of the foreign expert could be dropped and Irish people abroad who are experts could be invited home to work and assist in the co-operative industries.

# Centenary of John Keegan Casey the Fenian Poet



## The Rising of the Moon

(Air: "The Wearing of the Green")

"Oh! then, tell me, Seán O'Farrell, tell me why you hurry so?"  
"Hush, a bhuaicáil, hush and listen," and his cheeks were all a-glow,

"I bear orders from the Captain, get you ready quick and soon,  
For the pikes must be together at the rising of the moon."

"Oh! then tell me, Seán O'Farrell, where the gathering is to be?"

"In the old spot near the river, right well known to you and me,  
One word more—for signal token whistle up the marching tune,

With your pike upon your shoulder, by the rising of the moon."

Out from many a mudwall cabin eyes were watching thro' that night,  
Many a manly breast was throbbing for the blessed warning light,

Murmurs passed along the valley like the banshee's lonely croon,  
And a thousand blades were flashing at the rising of the moon.

There beside the singing river that dark mass of men was seen,  
Far above the shining weapons hung their own beloved green.

"Death to every foe and traitor! Forward! Strike the marching tune,  
And, hurrah, my boys for freedom! 'tis the rising of the moon."

Well they fought for poor old Ireland, and full bitter was their fate—  
(Oh! What glorious pride and sorrow fills the name of Ninety-Eight)—

Yet, thank God, e'en still are beating hearts in manhood's burning noon  
We would follow in their footsteps at the rising of the moon!

## Maire My Girl

(Air: "Mairéad Ní Cheallaigh")

Over the dim blue hills  
Strays a wild river,

Over the dim blue hills  
Rests my heart ever.

Dearer and brighter than  
jewel or pearl,

Dwells she in beauty there,  
Maire my girl.

Down upon Claris heath  
Shines the soft berry,

On the brown harvest tree,  
Droops the red cherry.

Sweeter the honey lips,  
Softer the curl,

Straying adown thy cheeks,  
Maire my girl.

'Twas on an April eve  
That I first met her;

Many an eve shall pass  
Ere I forget her.

Since my young heart has been  
Wrapped in a whirl,

Thinking and dreaming of  
Maire my girl.

She is too kind and fond  
Ever to grieve me,

She has too pure a heart  
E'er to deceive me.

Were I Tyrconnell's chief  
Or Desmond's earl,

Life would be dark, wanting  
Maire my girl.

Over the dim blue hills  
Strays a wild river.

Over the dim blue hills  
Rests my heart ever.

Dearer and brighter than  
jewel or pearl,

Dwells she in beauty there,  
Maire my girl.

John Keegan Casey, Fenian, poet and schoolteacher, was born in Co. Westmeath and came to Co. Longford at the age of nine, when his father, a schoolteacher, took charge of Gurteen School, near Ballymahon. When he was 15 he started to teach in his father's school, and later became Principal Teacher in a school at Claraun, Newtowncashel, which has since been superseded by Tipper School. In 1864 he changed to Kenagh School where he taught until October, 1865.

He gave up teaching to join the staff of the Fenian paper in Dublin with John O'Leary as editor. He also acted as Fenian organiser and was arrested in 1867 with many other leading Fenians and confined in Mountjoy Jail.

He was released from prison on account of ill-health and died in March, 1870. His funeral to Glasnevin is said to have been the largest ever seen in Dublin. Old people say that many walked from the counties Longford, Westmeath and Meath to be present at it.

He wrote many songs and political ballads under the pen name of "Leo," and published two books of poems, one in 1866, and the second in 1869. "The Rising of the Moon," or "Seán O'Farrell," as it is known locally, and "Maire My Girl" are his best known poems. Lady Gregory used the theme of "The Rising of the Moon" in her play of the same name.

Houses, streets and even babies are named after him, especially if the latter bear the surname of Casey, as often happens in South Longford.

## REPUBLICAN TRIBUTE

A commemoration was held by the Co. Longford Easter Commemoration Committee in co-operation with the National Graves Association at the graveside of Leo Casey in Glasnevin Cemetery on St. Patrick's Day, to mark the centenary of the death of the Fenian poet.

Seán Fitzpatrick spoke on behalf of the National Graves Association. Séamas Farrelly presided and recited a decade of the Rosary.

Peter Rogers, representing the Co. Longford Easter Commemoration Committee, laid a wreath on the grave and delivered a short oration at the graveside.

He said he felt honoured to have the privilege of speaking at the graveside of Leo Keegan Casey. Leo Casey was born in Co. Westmeath, but spent part of his life in South Longford. He wrote songs and poems which were an inspiration to the Fenians of which he was a member.

In tracing the life of the poet, Mr. Rogers said Leo Casey in his day could be compared with the late Brian O'Higgins in his day. They had much in common and in particular they were men of no compromise.

The speaker thanked all who helped to make the commemoration a success.

## SWEDEN WILL STAY NEUTRAL

The Swedish Premier, Mr. Olof Palme, has reaffirmed his country's attitude towards the Common Market, saying that "we do not exclude any form of co-operation," provided it was compatible with Swedish neutrality.

Addressing the Foreign Press Association at a luncheon in London, the Prime Minister emphasised that neutrality was a "geographical imperative," which was backed by the large majority of the Swedish people.

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# An Phoblacht

## CEARTA SIBHIALTA

Ceann de na gluaiseachtaí is sionsaí sa tír le tamall anuas, ná Gluaiseacht Chearta Sibhialta na Gaeilchta. Tá faill mhór déanta ag gach rialtas sna 26 Chontae ó 1922 sa Ghaeilge agus sa Ghaeltacht.

Ní airgead díomhaointis atá ag teastáil ó mhuintir na Gaeilchta, ach obair agus saol ar fónamh sa bhaile. Dob' fhearr iad sin míle uair ná deantaí. Is fíor gur droch-thalamh atá i gcuid mhór den Ghaeltacht, ach d'fhéadfaí cionscail eile a fhorbairt. Is dóigh go bhfuil níos mó daoine le Gaeilge ón gclabhán ar deoraíocht i Londain, Huddersfield agus Nua Eabhrach anois ná mar atá sa bhaile.

Ba iad bunphrionsabail Sinn Féin i gcónaí an fhein-fhorbairt agus an cur-le-chéile. Is oír mar sin tacaíocht a thabhairt don dream atá ag saothrú sa Ghluaiseacht nua seo. Tá siad le moladh as an Raidió a chuir siad ar bun; as a bpáipéar nua TUAIRISC; as a n-obair ar son athghabhála na n-uiscí náisiúnta, etc.

Níor dhúirt Gluaiseacht na Poblachta riamh gur aic-siúd amháin a bhí monaplacht an náisiúnachais agus an éirghrá. Is cuid tábhachtach den obair náisiúnta saothar ar son na Gaeilge. Bímis le Gluaiseacht na gCearta Sibhialta mar sin. Is é ár ndualgas é.

## An Ciste Poiblíochta

Gabhadmí buíochas leis na daoine flaithiúla seo a chuir síntiús chugainn:

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P. Conaty, Cavan	1	0	0
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T. Conaty, Cavan	1	0	0
J. J. Rice and Family, Kerry	6	0	0
J. McDonnell, Roscommon	1	0	0
Messrs. Morahan Bros., Roscommon	1	0	0
Dillís go h-Éag, Ros Comáin	1	0	0
F. Quinn, London	5	0	0
J. Folan, New York	16	8	
S. O Tuama, B.A.C.	1	0	0
J. Gaffney, Dublin	1	0	0
Crowley and Gartland, Wexford	10	0	0
M. Mac Giobúin, B.A.C.	3	0	0
MacSwiney Club, Jenkintown, U.S.A.	41	4	3
M. Mac Gearailt, Tiobraid Arann	5	0	0
D. O. Gliosáin, Tiobraid Arann	1	0	0
D. O. Fahey, Dublin	1	10	0
T. O'Donnell, New York	4	3	4
P. Hennessy, England	1	0	0
Clan na Gael and I.R.A. Veterans Inc., New York	27	18	4
F. O'Neill, Chicago	9	3	4
W. O'Connor, Carlow	1	0	0

## Athair na Poblachta



# SINN FÉIN OPPOSES COMMON MARKET MEMBERSHIP

## Executive Statement gives the Reasons and Outlines the Alternatives

THE Caretaker Executive of Sinn Féin reiterates Republican opposition to the attempt by the 26-County Government to bring the area under its control into the Common Market on England's heels. The Sinn Féin position has been stated many times since this question was first mooted:

A weak and divided Ireland would lose its identity and be completely submerged in this alliance dominated by the large capitalistic enterprises of European colonial and ex-colonial powers.

The development of an independent Irish industrial arm would be made impossible, because of the uncontrolled competition from the giant industrial combines of Britain and Europe. No country has ever been industrialised under conditions of Free Trade.

Decisions governing our economy would be taken by the Brussels civil servants who administer the Treaty of Rome and there would be an enormous increase in the cost of living.

An independent foreign policy would be impossible and our country would become an outlying tourist and pasture area in an inward-looking, selfish power-bloc which is hostile to the development, independence and aspirations of the millions of former colonial peoples whom Ireland once led in the fight for freedom.

The E.E.C. countries are almost self-sufficient in agricultural produce, and in a few years will have a surplus. In the E.E.C. our main agricultural market would still be Britain and in that market Denmark, Holland and other agricultural suppliers also in the E.E.C. would take significant sections which the 26 Counties already have. We already have the lowest density of agricultural population in Europe. The flight from the land, bad as it is to-day, would reach unprecedented levels, as it has done in all the Common Market countries since the Market's inception.

It is significant that the neutral countries like Switzerland, Austria and Finland will not join the Common Market. Sweden is prepared to negotiate, but has stipulated that her neutrality must remain intact. It is likely that she will negotiate associate membership which means making a bilateral trade agreement with the Community. We could do well to follow the example of Greece, Spain, Yugoslavia and other countries and open discussions on associate status.

The policies of national sell-out of Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael over the past ten years, which culminated in the signing of the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement in 1965, have made it more difficult than ever for the 26-County administration, even if it wanted to, to strike out on a course independent either of Britain or the Common Market. Already, with the tariffs reduced by only 50%, this Agreement is taking its toll. The country is flooded with English manufactured goods and the Balance of Payments deficit has soared. Nothing that has happened recently has invalidated the arguments put forward by Sinn Féin in opposition to membership of the E.E.C. and the Free Trade Area Agreement.

The party politicians and the other clients of British imperialism in Ireland will attempt to sell the Common Market idea to the people on the plea that it will free us from excessive dependence on Britain. This will be said by the very people who have made us so dependent. But Britain's hold on Ireland will be strengthened not weakened, if we enter the E.E.C.; only that the other West European powers will also have a say in running Ireland.

The alternative to membership of the Common Market is not the Free Trade Agreement with Britain. The alternative to both is the Sinn Féin programme for:

The establishment of a 32-County Sovereign Parliament and the achievement of political, economic and financial independence, which we have not had for centuries;

The use of the power of the state to protect and develop Irish industry;

The repatriation of the more than £800 million of Irish capital invested abroad;

The expansion of state industry and public investment, and the promotion of co-operative control of the means of production, distribution and exchange, to secure full employment for our people in useful, productive activities;

The use of physical controls on imports and exports to help balance our national payments;

Vigorous pursuit of trade links with countries other than Britain and the E.E.C.;

An expansion of demand on the home market by a programme of greatly extended social security and increased investment in housing and education to satisfy the most important needs of the people;

The speedy restoration of our native language and national culture which will enhance our national morale and provide the spiritual driving force for the achievement of these aims.

We are told that Free Trade with Britain and within the Common Market will bring short-term disadvantages and will call for sacrifices by our people. If sacrifices are called for, how much better would it not be to make them in pursuing the noble aims set out above which were, after all, the aims of our people for generations, rather than make them while embarking on a course of action which would mean the complete sinking of our national identity and the loss of our neutrality in a bloc of powerful nations.

Already, Mr. Haughey's Budget has brought taxation here more into line with E.E.C. policy. Increases in social welfare benefits are to be welcomed but are of doubtful benefit when Turnover Tax has been doubled. This is a regressive tax which hits hardest at workers and those on small incomes, because it puts up the price of essentials like food, clothing, furniture and housing. This shift from direct to indirect taxation, hurting the poorer sections of the community is bad and an indication of what we can expect if Messrs. Harold Wilson and Jack Lynch drag us into the E.E.C.

The Sinn Féin alternative to a national sell-out either to Britain or the Common Market is the only alternative which will preserve control of our destinies in Irish hands. Our programme will be opposed by the powerful big, business and anti-national elements in Ireland who have no faith in the future of our nation and who see a future for themselves as local managers for British and foreign interests. Our programme is an alternative which will be opposed to the hilt by Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael who will see it as a threat to their own selfish interests. But it is an alternative that will appeal to the mass of the common people, workers, small farmers and small proprietors sections. It will appeal, too, to all radical sections of our countrymen in the Six Occupied Counties Protestant as well as Catholic.

Sinn Féin pledges itself to work during the coming year to bring this alternative to national sell-out before the people of Ireland. We call on all members of the Republican Movement to take part in organising and campaigning towards this end in such appropriate ways as will be decided during the year. We also call on other national organisations, particularly trade unions and bodies concerned about preserving our national identity to live up to their responsibilities and to oppose militantly this sell-out by all means in their power.

Tabharfaidh Poblachtaigh na hÉireann onóir do

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