

IRISH FREEDOM

No. 4

APRIL 1939

TWOPENCE

EASTER WEEK 1916-1939

THE TASK BEFORE US

Twenty-three years have passed since the historic Easter Monday when the Proclamation of the Irish Republic was first read to the people of Dublin. A beacon was lit on that day which has kindled in the hearts of Irishmen and women the determination to achieve the freedom of Ireland.

The spirit of '67 was recaptured in the glowing phrases of two men. Patrick Pearse and James Connolly symbolised more than others the aspirations of the common people. Pearse, the National poet and great-hearted idealist, and Connolly the Socialist and champion of the working class, found unity in the fight against British Imperialism.

Nine hundred men had challenged the might of the British Empire for: "The right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies . . . and equal rights and opportunities to all citizens of the Republic." Against overwhelming odds and superior arms the Republic was maintained for five days but with the bombardment of the city the rising was crushed.

Vengeance was exacted with brutal speed. While Dublin was in ruins, fifteen leaders lay in quicklime. James Connolly, wounded twice, on the ankle and shoulder, was brought before his executioners on a chair and shot. No clemency was shown to the wounded, and it is well to remember the words of the *Irish Independent* at this time, "Let the worst of the ringleaders be singled out and dealt with as they deserve."

Twenty three years have not dimmed in our minds the ideals taught by the men of '16. And the people of Ireland gave their verdict on the Proclamation in the period between the Rising and the end of the Great War. Five bye-elections out of six endorsed the Rising! The unity of the people was further realised when all sections of the Nationalist Republican and Labour movements joined forces against the conscription plan of the British Government. Then was seen the National mass uprising of the Irish people. The Conscription Act was not applied in Ireland.

From 1918 till December 1921 the continuation of the Easter Rising was strengthened by the mass power of the people. But the Treaty of 1921 brought the unity of anti-imperialist forces to an end. "Law and Order" was established in Ireland for Imperialist interests by Cosgrave, Griffiths and Collins. The Gomben men had come into their own in the Irish Free State. Liam Mellows, a disciple of Connolly, was murdered along with Joe M. Kelvey, Dick Barrett and

Rory O'Connor and Ballyseedy raised its bloody head.

"Open the Jail Gates"

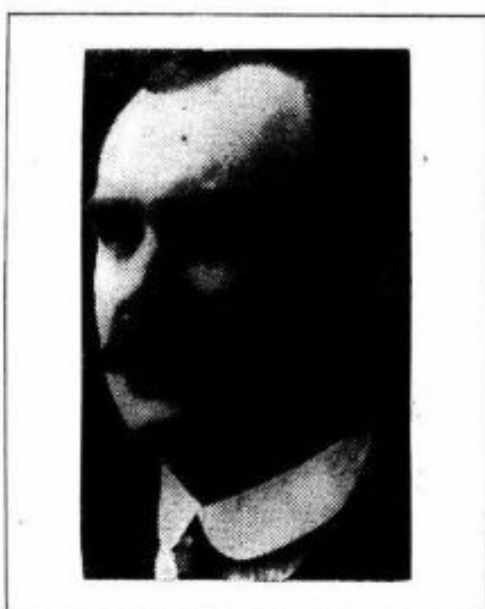
The popular feeling of the Irish people rose again in 1932. In the "Open the Jail Gates" election De Valera was swept to power. It was a victory for the people against the Imperialists. Small farmer and town worker, Republican and Trade Unionist marshalled with Fianna Fail to smash Cosgrave and coercion.

Since that time De Valera has met popular demands by introducing progressive measures of democracy in the 26 Counties though many reactionary features have been shown in the New Constitution. The British King has been removed from any control over internal affairs, holidays with pay established, payment of the annuities stopped, the Shop Hours Act introduced and industrialisation encouraged. But weakness has been shown in foreign policy in the too early recognition of the Italian Empire and the Fascist Franco. The anti-democratic Coercion Act has also been put on the Statute Book and only serves the purpose of further splitting the popular forces against Imperialism.

"Equal Opportunities"

Still, to-day our country remains divided, and our people North and South impoverished, thousands of Irishmen are forced to leave their native land and seek refuge with the Gall and while these things are, Irishmen cannot rest. The proclamation of Easter Week decreed the ownership of Ireland by the people of Ireland and granted equal rights and opportunities to all citizens of the Republic. To-day it is claimed by the leader of the people that equality of opportunity is a myth. We say that this is not so, and while our people remain in want and are handicapped by poverty from birth we must continue the fight until the people, the plain, common people, are freed from British Imperialism and the system of Capitalism under which "Equality of opportunity is impossible."

In the Six Counties the Stormont dictatorship still holds sway. Dissension and corruption are widening the divisions in the ranks of the Unionists and exposing their mismanagement to the British people. Now is the time for Labour, nationalist, and Republican forces to unite, if possible, on the basis of De Valera's anti-Partition proposals as a concerted opposition to Craigavon. A lineup of forces like this will make reaction retreat in Northern Ireland.



Exiles Task

We in England must not ignore the struggle for equality of opportunity but on the contrary by fighting that battle here we are bringing nearer its realisation in Ireland. Let us therefore resolve to take our place in that struggle and in the world struggle for peace and freedom against the attacks of Fascism. And let us honour and remember Frank Ryan, still in Franco's prison, and the Irish lads of the International Brigade who upheld the honour of Ireland in the fight of the Spanish Republic against German and Italian Fascism.

In this way we shall pay fitting homage to the men who died in Easter Week 1916.

British Labour Candidate's Meeting Banned in Ulster

Mr. Frank Pakenham, M.A., Lecturer in Politics at Oxford University, who, having been invited to Queen's University, Belfast, to speak on Ireland found the doors of the University closed against him because he is a well-known opponent of Partition, made the following appeal in a speech at Newry:

"Speaking as a member of the British Labour Party, I would urge your attention especially to the problem of winning the Protestant working-man of the North. Is there no programme of progressive social legislation along the lines of the Papal Encyclical, *Quadragesimo Anno*, on which the forces of Nationalism and Labour could unite to overthrow the Government, as inefficient in its economics, as it is reactionary in its politics, that has endowed you with 100,000 unemployed?"

IRELAND AND CATALONIA

by BETTY de COURCY IRELAND

The first of a series of Articles comparing Ireland's struggle with other oppressed countries

Ireland's struggle for Freedom can be compared to the struggle of Catalonia to free herself from Spanish Imperialism. On April 13th, 1931, the day before the Spanish Republic was declared, Catalonia declared herself an independent autonomous Republic. Had the Spanish monarchy not been about to fall, Catalonia would not have got her freedom then, and at the same time if Catalonia had not played a very decisive part in the destruction of that monarchy, the Spanish Republic would not have been declared at that time. Consequently the autonomy of Catalonia and democracy in Spain depend one on the other. This is a lesson which can well be applied nearer home.

If England is to be free and democratic she must first bring freedom and democracy to her Empire. If those countries and colonies now in the Empire want to gain their freedom they are bound to co-operate with the democratic movement in Britain; if that movement makes a clear stand towards the liberation of all colonial and subject peoples within the Empire.

The existence of Catalonia as a separate State began in 730 when Charles Martel created a county of Barcelona as protection against the Moors then invading France. The actual population of Catalonia to-day is 2½ millions, and the territory is industrially the most important in Spain.

Catalonia was absorbed into the Kingdom of Aragon in the middle ages, and into the Kingdom of Spain when that was formed in 1485, but it retained its separate institutions. It fought for independence from Spain with French support in 1700-13, was defeated, and this time lost its independent institutions. In the Napoleonic wars, however, Catalonia supported France against Spain, and supported the great constitutional democratic movement that swept Spain following Riego's rising in 1823, and again played a great part in the movement for a Federal republic in the 1860's. Pi y Margall, a Catalan, was President of the first Spanish Republic, 1868-74.

Language Forbidden

When in 1874 the Monarchy was restored under Alfonso XII, the Catalan separatist movement was persecuted, as to-day it is being persecuted by the Imperialist General Franco and his foreign Fascist and Nazi allies. The Catalan language was forbidden then, as to-day it has been declared illegal by Franco, and all independent institutions were destroyed, just as the Republican movement is persecuted in the Six Counties of Northern Ireland at the present time.

During 1914 to 1918 a certain degree of "Home Rule" was won in Catalonia by the "mutamientos"—the Rights—but Primo de Rivera's dictatorship ruthlessly persecuted the Catalans once again. Macia, a Socialist-Nationalist with a philosophy not unlike that of Pearse or Terence McSwiney formed the Estat Catala, a strong nationalist party similar to Sinn Fein. The risings in 1926-1928 were crushed, and in 1930 all the Republican Parties in Spain signed the pact of San Sebastian, against the Monarchy. Macia signed on behalf of Estat Catala. Then came the revolution of 1931.

Catalan Republic

In the municipal elections Macia's supporters were victorious in Catalonia, and when on April 15th the Catalan Republic was declared, and on the next day, the Spanish Republic, Macia and the Estat Catala created an autono-

mous government—which we can compare with Dail Eireann 1919-1921—and forced the Right-wing Republicans like Lerroux at Madrid to agree to the Catalan Statute. Azana, who succeeded Lerroux as Premier of Spain, and the Spanish Socialist movement supported Macia, who was opposed in Catalonia by a party under Cambo which can be compared with Cosgrave's Party in Ireland.

In 1932 a plebiscite took place in Catalonia on the Statute. 590,000 voted in favour, 190,000 against, a victory for Catalan nationalism. Macia died in 1933, and in the Spanish elections of the same year there was a victory for the Rights, except in Catalonia. The Rights in the Spanish Government opposed any extension of Catalonian autonomy, while Catalonia demanded an extension of the Statute.

In 1934 Companys, now leader of Macia's Party, and President of Catalonia, joined the workers' revolt of October to free Catalonia from the imperialism of the new Right-wing Government of Spain. The workers were not armed and the revolt for that reason was crushed.

In December, 1934, the Spanish Government suspended indefinitely the Statute of Catalonia, and Catalonia came once more under Spanish Imperialist rule.

Popular Front

Two years later there was the victory of the Popular Front Elections of February, 1936. Companys' Party became part of the Popular Front, and the Catalan Statute was re-enacted. Companys was released from gaol and again became President of Catalonia, a free and independent State. The Imperialist Revolt in July, 1936, was crushed in Catalonia quicker than anywhere else in Spain; even though Cambo and the Catalan Rights joined Franco.

The events since need no re-stating. Supplied with endless arms, munitions, planes and men by Mussolini and Hitler, the Spanish Imperialists have once again crushed Catalan independence. The 200,000 refugees in the Refugee Camps in the South of France are a living witness that, despite over two years of starvation, bombardment, and heroic resistance, the Catalans preferred not to remain under Franco.

Terence McSwiney

The progressive Irish movement for Liberation will understand the lessons of the Catalan struggle, and will remember how in 1920 the people of Barcelona demonstrated on the streets in support of Terence McSwiney, and were shot down for their solidarity by order of the tyrant Martinez Anido, now to return to Barcelona under Franco's administration. Can those who are still in the movement for Irish Freedom allow the Catalans to be crushed again, after they have sacrificed so much to maintain their Freedom? Can they betray the principles for which Frank Ryan is now sentenced to 30 years' imprisonment by Franco, and for which so many of our leaders and those of Catalonia have died?

The National Government of Britain has helped to hand Catalonia back to her oppressors; the National Government of Britain is holding Six counties of Ireland in subjection, and obstructing the free development of a United Ireland. A defeat for Chamberlain and the National Government will secure the freedom not only of Ireland, but also of Catalonia.

Next month—"Ireland and India"

TWENTY YEARS!

Most Irish Republicans must have been shocked when they heard of the long sentences passed on the Irish Republican Army men who were accused of being responsible for recent bombing incidents. Not many can have withheld a feeling of admiration for the courage of the prisoner Campbell, who shouted from the dock after hearing this terrible sentence passed, that he would do the same again for Ireland and even in non-political English circles some indignation has been expressed that a girl should have been sent to gaol for so long a term as seven years. Indignation also has been expressed in many public bodies and by a number of prominent people in Ireland.

Let there be no mistake: these men and this girl have not helped the immediate political struggle for the abolition of the Border; their methods are all wrong, and they may well have been the unwitting dupes of the sinister forces of reaction now aiming, through agents in London and at Stormont, at world domination. But for all that the victims of these heavy sentences do symbolise before the world the misery of Ireland unfree, and the determination of her people to win freedom, come what may in the form of persecution and hardship. We must always remember that, had there been a mass movement in existence on the lines visualised by Connolly, the temptation to individual terrorist action would not have been there, and the men and girl now in gaol would have been taking an honourable place in that mass movement.

In England, in the United States and Australia, and at home in Ireland a mass movement for the freedom and unity of Ireland must be created here and now. One of its aims must be the release of all those now in English gaols because they believe in the Irish Republic.

Such a mass movement will indicate to the world and to the British Government that imprisonments, coercion and Special Powers Acts will not subdue the determination of the Irish people to be free.

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PEARSE, CONNOLLY AND THE WORKERS REPUBLIC

ON August 13, 1898 *The Workers' Republic*, organ of the Irish Socialist Republican Party first appeared in Dublin. James Connolly was the Editor, and the name he chose for the paper sums up very well his ideal for Ireland. He first invented the name, which is unknown to the Communist, Socialist and Labour Press of all other countries. Since his death there has been no more concise and admirable title, slogan or term to sum up Connolly and all he stood for.

It was not so popular in 1898 as it became after May 1916. It aroused among the unthinking the emotions the Young Irelanders aroused in the canting and worthless son of the Liberator, John O'Connell. When Connolly quoted Marx and Mitchel, revived Fintan Lalor and began "Labour in Irish History," in its columns he excited the suspicion and the rhetoric of constitutionalists and Nationalist revolutionaries alike. But he also jolted their minds and continued to jolt them. He gave ~~them~~ some good definitions of the Workers' Republic in his very first number:

Why Socialism?

"We are Socialists because we see in Socialism not only the modern application of the social principle which underlay the Brehon laws of our ancestors, but because we recognise in it the only principle by which the working class can in their turn emerge in the divinity of FREEMEN, with the right to live as men and not as mere profit-making machines for the service of others.

"We are Republicans because we are Socialists, and therefore enemies to all privileges; and because we would have the Irish people complete masters of their own destinies, nationally and internationally, fully competent to work out their own salvation."

On the front page of Connolly's paper in which this definition of the Workers' Republic appeared was the motto, borrowed from a French revolutionary writer: "The great appear only great because we are on our knees, let us arise!" And in those early years, and in the years in the United States, and from his return in 1910 to Ireland, James Connolly helped to instil that defiant spirit into the awakening Irish masses.

In the same paper, Connolly on June 10, 1899 gave his definition of Socialism:

"Socialism implies co-operative control by the workers of the machinery of production; in the absence of such control we have naught but State capitalism as the Post Office is at present. Socialism is the ownership by the State of all the land and materials for labour, combined with the co-operative control by the workers of such land and materials."

After Connolly's death the Workers' Republic was quite popular, not only with the men and women of the Irish Labour movement who saw through Connolly's eyes and realised he had stamped once and for all his

teaching on the 1916 Proclamation in the simple phrase, "the right of the Irish people to the ownership of Ireland," but very popular, too, with some of the more earnest intellectuals of Sinn Féin who in due course mixed up Lenin, St. Patrick, the Papal Encyclicals, and the Fathers of the Church in a glorious brew.

To-day, as we know too well, many of those same intellectuals have become smug parlour-Fascists, and the very phrase "Workers' Republic" is the last reproach of every careerist scoundrel. The Labour movement is perpetually bullied and badgered by the effusions of knaves and simpletons in the public Press to abandon Connolly's Republic. All the hoary rubbish about "internationalism" and all the hypocritical twaddle about "anti-God" which Connolly exposed years before is exploited and churned out anew, and all the silly scare-mongering and all the nauseating blasphemy.

The Christian Front

The ghost of Connolly may well smile grimly at the University Professors, ex-I.R.A. stalwarts, pietistic journalists, rhetorical clergymen, Rathmines intellectuals with the

course, Frank Ryan. Not to mention such "Communist Feminists" as Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington and the rest.

"Irishmen" Ordered Executions

Sir John Maxwell was not the only one to order Pearse's execution: on every platform of the reactionary Irish politicians Pearse has been executed ever since 1916. Maxwell had the decency to shovel Pearse into quick-lime, and remain silent. The pseudo-Catholic journalists in Great Britain and Ireland who called Pearse an insane schoolmaster, and the shivering County Councillors who denounced the 1916 insurrection, were at least open and honest. But no corner in Hell is hot enough for those who have buried Pearse in maudlin rhetoric and insincerity ever since; above all for those who rattle his bones on the heads of Norton, Gilmore, O'Donnell and Frank Ryan.

Pearse and Connolly

The identity of the social teaching of Connolly and Pearse can be seen in Pearse's last pamphlet, "The Sovereign People." There Pearse, too, defines a Workers' Republic:

"I claim that the nation's sovereignty over the nation's material resources is absolute."

By **DESMOND RYAN**

PUPIL AND COMRADE-IN-ARMS OF PADRAIG PEARSE

check of the Devil and a few tags from Aquinas, who play up to this cant and hypocrisy at intervals. Not much harm is done because they don't really believe it. Connolly's ghost is not vexed because he knows the Irish people in particular don't believe it. After all, they turned round and smashed the so-called "Irish Christian Front."

There was nothing very new in "The Irish Christian Front." It was only John O'Connell brought up to date. When the Young Irelanders were about to leave Conciliation Hall, John O'Connell reproached them for quoting Danton as they advocated a more vigorous policy. One of them had quoted indeed Danton's praise of boldness, and still boldness. And shrieked John O'Connell: "Danton is quoted, who presided over the bloodiest scenes of the French Revolution, that we may follow the same course, and go through the same career of misery, crime and blood." Later, the same worthy thanked God that the Irish peasants loyally paid their rents, and starved to death rather than defraud their landlords. To-day, where is John O'Connell?

No wonder his modern imitators dread James Connolly and his teaching, and rave of the distant horrors of Russia, Mexico and Spain. But the climax of all this hysterical humbug is reached when the name of Pearse is duly dragged in, and we are warned that Pearse would be the first to denounce such latter-day emissaries of Stalin and Satan as Peadar O'Donnell, George Gilmore, and, of

"Physically considered, what does a nation consist of? It consists of all its men and women; of all its men and women without any exceptions. Every man and woman within the nation has normally equal rights, but a man or woman may forfeit his or her rights by turning recreant to the nation."

"I do not disallow the right to private property; but I insist that all property is held subject to the national sanction."

"It is for the nation to determine to what extent private property may be held by its members, and in what items of the nation's material resources private property shall be

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course, Frank Ryan. Not to mention such "Communist Feminists" as Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington and the rest.

"Irishmen" Ordered Executions

Sir John Maxwell was not the only one to order Pearse's execution: on every platform of the reactionary Irish politicians Pearse has been executed ever since 1916. Maxwell had the decency to shovel Pearse into quick-lime, and remain silent. The pseudo-Catholic journalists in Great Britain and Ireland who called Pearse an insane schoolmaster, and the shivering County Councillors who denounced the 1916 insurrection, were at least open and honest. But no corner in Hell is hot enough for those who have buried Pearse in maudlin rhetoric and insincerity ever since; above all for those who rattle his bones on the heads of Norton, Gilmore, O'Donnell and Frank Ryan.

Pearse and Connolly

The identity of the social teaching of Connolly and Pearse can be seen in Pearse's last pamphlet, "The Sovereign People." There Pearse, too, defines a Workers' Republic:

"I claim that the nation's sovereignty over the nation's material resources is absolute."

By **DESMOND RYAN**

PUPIL AND COMRADE-IN-ARMS OF PADRAIG PEARSE

check of the Devil and a few tags from Aquinas, who play up to this cant and hypocrisy at intervals. Not much harm is done because they don't really believe it. Connolly's ghost is not vexed because he knows the Irish people in particular don't believe it. After all, they turned round and smashed the so-called "Irish Christian Front."

There was nothing very new in "The Irish Christian Front." It was only John O'Connell brought up to date. When the Young Irelanders were about to leave Conciliation Hall, John O'Connell reproached them for quoting Danton as they advocated a more vigorous policy. One of them had quoted indeed Danton's praise of boldness, and still boldness. And shrieked John O'Connell: "Danton is quoted, who presided over the bloodiest scenes of the French Revolution, that we may follow the same course, and go through the same career of misery, crime and blood." Later, the same worthy thanked God that the Irish peasants loyally paid their rents, and starved to death rather than defraud their landlords. To-day, where is John O'Connell?

No wonder his modern imitators dread James Connolly and his teaching, and rave of the distant horrors of Russia, Mexico and Spain. But the climax of all this hysterical humbug is reached when the name of Pearse is duly dragged in, and we are warned that Pearse would be the first to denounce such latter-day emissaries of Stalin and Satan as Peadar O'Donnell, George Gilmore, and, of

"Physically considered, what does a nation consist of? It consists of all its men and women; of all its men and women without any exceptions. Every man and woman within the nation has normally equal rights, but a man or woman may forfeit his or her rights by turning recreant to the nation."

"I do not disallow the right to private property; but I insist that all property is held subject to the national sanction."

"It is for the nation to determine to what extent private property may be held by its members, and in what items of the nation's material resources private property shall be

(Continued on page 5.)

IRISH FREEDOM

All communications should be addressed to:

**IRISH FREEDOM,
46 Lonsdale Square,
London, N.1.**

NEWS AND VIEWS OF CURRENT EVENTS

One Hundred Years of Gaelic Language and Culture

An interesting and informative lecture was delivered by Desmond Ryan at the Sinn Féin Club, Blackfriars Road, on Sunday, March 26, to a crowded audience.

Mr. Ryan recalled the heroic efforts of a small band of Language enthusiasts to save the language during the dark days of the famine when hunger persecution and emigration threatened its extinction for all times.

The part that members of the United Irishmen founded in the North of Ireland, played in the struggle to retain the language was mentioned by Mr. Ryan as was also Daniel O'Connell's denunciation of the language.

Mr. Fowler, who presided, said that the struggle for freedom was bound up with the struggle for the retention of Irish culture but that both should be combined. Padraic Pearse was the force which turned the Gaelic League into a real fight for the National regeneration.

1916 Veterans Get 8s. per Week

Now, when the whole world honours the men of Easter Week, it is necessary to remind the people in Fianna Fáil of the plight of many of their former comrades. How many people realise that when increased salaries and pensions for T.D.s and Ministers are the order of the day that survivors of that gallant band of men and boys who manned the barricades in 1916 are given the princely sum of 8s. per week by a grateful nation.

A statement issued by the Associated Easter Week Men, calling for more generous treatment for its members says:

"The average pension of the 1916 men who had not National Army Service is 8/- per week. It will be only a very few years until the last of the broken men of 1916 shall have passed away, and it would be well if, even at this late date, Ireland remembered its debt."

The Association states that in future statements they intend to place before the public, particulars of the treatment meted out by the Pensions Board to the "participants in the greatest epoch of this generation, who gave this country a flag, a Chamber of Deputies, a Senate and a Constitution," the statement adds:

"The people of Ireland are boasting of their sovereign status, achieved through the efforts of these men. If they do not rally, before it is too late, to the defence of the men of 1916, and see that at the least they do not die paupers' deaths in the midst of plenty, we shall go down in history as Ireland's most hypocritical generation."

Ireland and Czechoslovakia

The Government of Prague was just, equitable and truly democratic, said Mr. Donal O'Sullivan in a broadcast talk.

We in Ireland had many ties with the people of Czechoslovakia, of sympathy and of common democratic ideals. It was, therefore, difficult for an Irishman to speak without emotion of the invasion of this country, and of the subjection of its people to the rule of a brutal foreign government, especially as at no time had an acre of the Republic belonged to Germany.

Shades of the R.I.C.

Just as the British Government could always rely on the Royal Irish Constabulary to do their dirty work for them, so the German Gestapo have found very willing helpers in the Czech police. For instance, Mme. Smolkova, who was the head of a Political Refugee Emigration Committee, has been arrested. The Czech police made a raid on the offices of her organisation and seized a list of prospective emigrants, most of whom have been arrested and transported to concentration camps. Forty-seven social welfare workers have been arrested by these traitors and handed over to the Gestapo.

Christian Front Causes Riot

Miss Aileen O'Brien, notorious in Ireland for her connection with the Christian Front of Paddy Belton and the "Wild Goose" O'Duffy has now appeared in the United States, and seems to be meeting with as little success as she did in Ireland.

Police used tear gas to break up a riot which developed at a Los Angeles Theatre, where she had hoped to tell the Irish-Americans of her experiences as a nurse with the forces of Franco. But the Gaels of this western city have always been strong Republicans, and demonstrated in no uncertain manner that their sympathies were with Frank Ryan and his comrades, and not with Franco, Hitler and Mussolini. About 250 Republicans picketed the theatre, and numerous fights took place as a result of which some people were injured.

What a difference to the reception accorded by the Irish in the States to Father O'Flanagan when he addressed mass meetings on behalf of the Spanish Republican Government.

Ulster Protestants Are Irishmen

THAT the Ulster Protestant is just as much Irish as the Tipperary Catholic, and with the proper approach can be won to play his part in an United Ireland is the theme of an interesting article by Louis J. Walsh in the St. Patrick's Day Number of "The Kerryman," an issue which is well worth two pennies of anybody's money.

An important point put forward by Mr. Walsh is that "any feasible proposal for the re-union of Ireland would be attacked by all our 75 per cent. tariff patriots, who have grown rich on the oppression of the poor and the absence of effective competition."

Another statement with very great truth in it is "Rural Ulster, both Catholic and Protestant, is mostly made up of the small men, and I can assure Professor O'Rahilly that he would, in normal circumstances, get far more backing for an attempt to end the injustices of our present social and economic system from the Orange worker and workless than he is ever likely to do from the lazy ranchers of Meath or the people who eat, drink, are merry and make speeches at the sumptuous banquets of the Federation of Irish Manufacturers."

The English Worker Pays for Partition

At a great Anti-Partition meeting in Liverpool Mr. Eamonn Donnelly pointed out a few facts about Partition that concern every English worker.

The Six Counties were costing over £12,000,000 annually—for a population of less than the city of Liverpool. The position was ridiculous.

When would the English public assert itself. Mr. Donnelly asked. British money was squandered right, left and centre. £3,000,000 would be paid next year, ending March, 1940, and Britain would have to stump up more than ever to keep this farce going on in Northern Ireland.

Mr. Sean Brady, T.D., said that the responsibility for Partition rested with the National Government, and it was the duty of the people in this country to use their influence in the ballot box and by other means to get rid of the border.

RESOLUTIONS

The Merseyside Connolly Club

learning of the imprisonment of 34 Irish men by the authorities of the six counties of Northern Ireland, without charge or trial, contrary to natural justice, and the democratic rights of the people of Ireland, demands

that they be immediately and unconditionally released and be granted full compensation for their false imprisonment.

The Merseyside Connolly Club

understanding that Major Frank Ryan, stalwart champion of Irish Independence and commander of the Irish Unit of the International Brigades, is at present imprisoned in the Central Gaol, Burgos, Spain, sentenced to 30 years' imprisonment, demands that the Government of General Franco shall immediately and unconditionally release Major Frank Ryan, and furnish him with a safe conduct home.

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MAY DAY, 1939

Connolly Club Rally

May 1 is the day when the workers of the world march in their solidarity the world over. James Connolly devoted much of his time to advancing the cause of International Unity and hailed May Day as a means to strengthen that unity.

Irish men and women, therefore, should rally to the Embankment on May 1 at 2.30 p.m. and march under the Connolly Banner to Hyde Park and show by Unity with their English comrades their determination to achieve Connolly's aims.

If you are unable to come to the Embankment, rally to Hyde Park at 6 p.m. and join the demonstration there.

"An injury to one is the concern of all."

"Who Are Our Allies In England?"

A Republican paper has accused us of condemning violence, of pandering to the British proletariat, to whom they apply the phrase: "Scratch an English friend of Ireland and you find an Imperialist."

First, we would reply that we do not condemn violence, and we would not be followers of James Connolly if we did, but we do say that the present bombings have not and are not advancing the cause of Irish Freedom and Unity. As an alternative we would earnestly urge Republicans to use their undoubted energy and sincerity in helping to build the unity of the forces sincerely opposed to the border and Craigavon's dictatorship and thus opening the road to the full realisation of all our ideals, an Irish Republic where poverty and unemployment will be no more. That also we Irish in England should not ignore the opponents of Imperialism, who undoubtedly are our allies, but rather should support them and, with our greater revolutionary fire, help to smash Unionism for ever and free not alone Ireland but also India, Palestine and the world's oppressed.

Secondly, we would ask, have Republicans adopted the methods of all enemies of Ireland and the Irish by endeavouring to cause a further breach between the Irish and English working classes, and the article we refer to, does attempt this? Was not the defence of O'Connell that he had prevented this unity which must be maintained for the safety of Britain's ruling class. Have Republicans so soon forgotten the teachings of Tone, Emmet, Lalor, Mitchel and Connolly who all advocated our policy. Also, what was the Nationality of Pearse's father?

The history of the English working class will show that even in Cromwell's day the Levellers revolted against the invasion of Ireland. That in 1848 there was a close alliance between Mitchel and the Chartist leaders like Frost and Jones, who were imprisoned for their fiery defence of Mitchel. That in '67 and later the British workers, led by Marx and Engels, conducted a great campaign for the release of the Fenians and the freedom of Ireland and that Engels sheltered one of the men who escaped after the Manchester rescue.

In 1913, too, the foodships sent to Ireland by the working men and women of England was a living proof of their solidarity and in 1916 and 1921 there were many protests against the brutal policy of British Imperialism. The Miners Federation called for a General Strike, the British Socialist parties conducted demonstrations, meetings, etc., against the Black and Tan terror and even Official Labour, so slow to move even in its own interests, was valuable in its report on the burning of Cork and in its work in Parliament. Republicans, too, should not so soon forget Hugh Martin and his work on the *Daily News*.

English M.P. Calls for Free Ireland

To-day an English body, the National Council for Civil Liberties, has denounced Craigavon's Special Powers Act in an excellent pamphlet which has received world publicity, and only a few weeks ago, Mr. Gallacher, in the House of Commons, called for a free Ireland and protested against the victimisation of Irish workers. A fact suppressed by the Fianna Fail, Republican and Fine Gael papers alike, in case it may do something to promote unity among Irish and British workers.

To say that no protests have been made against the sentences is misleading, and if our critics were not so prejudiced they would have seen those protests and also articles in the British working-class press demanding the freedom and unity of Ireland. They should particularly remember an article "An Exile Sees Through Those Binoculars" in their issue of May 7, 1938, and compare it with the leading article in the English *Daily Worker* of April 27, of the same year.

Apparently the writer of the article was of the opinion that the expressions contained in the *Daily Worker* editorial were worthy of mention in a Republican newspaper. The article concerned was taken en bloc with the addition of a few lines as the comment of the writer. We are, therefore, not alone in making use of all possible allies in the fight against Imperialism.

It must be remembered, too, that Connolly himself had no illusions as to with whom he should align himself in England and was one of the leaders of the British Labour movement. He fiercely denounced those who endeavoured to split the Unity of Irish and English workers.

Finally, are not the English unemployed and the underpaid also victims of British Ruling-Class policy and are they not our natural allies in the struggle for real freedom?

These facts may help to enlist more regard for our policy from some Republicans whose aims are ours and enable us to forge that Unity which Connolly and Pearse forged in 1916.

GREETINGS TO IRISH FREEDOM



(Staunch fighter for Trade Union Rights in England Mick Kane has lived up to the best traditions of Irishmen forced to leave their country through the policy of British Imperialism).

"Allow me to congratulate you and at the same time thank you for 'Irish Freedom.'"

At last the Irish workers in this country have a voice, which cutting through all the shams and rottenness of the Capitalist press, will be added to the voice of the British workers raised in the demand for Social justice for the people at home and abroad.

We Irishmen who have played some little part in the Labour and Trade Union movement welcome it as a new and powerful weapon for the organising of the Irish workers into that movement and for the building of unity between the two peoples against the common enemy—for the speeding of the day when we shall see Connolly's words 'We shall rise again' realised.

More power to your elbow."

PEARSE, CONNOLLY AND THE WORKERS REPUBLIC

(Continued from page 3.)

allowed. A nation may, for instance, determine, as the free Irish nation determined for many centuries, that private ownership shall not exist in land; that the whole of a nation's soil is the public property of the nation. A nation may determine, as many modern nations have determined, that all the means of transport within a nation, all its railways and waterways, are the public property of the nation to be administered by the nation for the general benefit.

"A nation may go further and determine that all the sources of wealth whatsoever are the property of the nation, that each individual shall give his service for the nation's good, and shall be adequately provided for by the nation, and that all surplus wealth shall go to the national treasury to be expended on national purposes, rather than to be accumulated by private persons.

Pearse had reached these conclusions through his study of Mitchel and Fintan Lalor, possibly influenced to some degree by the writings of Belloc and Chesterton, but, above all, through Connolly's "Labour in Irish History," which he read and re-read from the days of the Dublin Strike in 1913 onwards. In private, Pearse spoke with great enthusiasm of Connolly's masterpiece. He had less patience with the current editions of the Red Scare-mongers. There was nothing essentially un-Christian or anti-religious about Socialism he said; it was a question of economics. Upon Connolly's Marxism, Pearse refused to pronounce: "I have not studied it sufficiently, and am quite ignorant of it." Larkin, in spite of his impetuosity and possible mistakes, was a good man and a brave man: "He has done more in six months to smash up Dublin Castle than ourselves and all the politicians with all our talk." Pearse liked "the more virile Labour organisations of to-day" better than the canting sectarian Hibernian politicians of the time who made the welkin ring with denunciation of Liberty Hall, Larkin and Connolly in the name of "Faith and Fatherland."

Connolly found Pearse "wisely sympathetic" in the great crisis of 1913. From then onwards, Pearse and Connolly came closer and closer in thought until they united one April morning to proclaim the Irish Republic.

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

Twenty-three years after, Ireland still possesses Red Scare-mongers and—Partition!

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LAW IN NORTHERN IRELAND

By BETTY SINCLAIR

How are the Acts used at present? A few examples will suffice to answer that question.

On June 22, 1938, a boy of fifteen years old, charged under the Special Powers Acts at a Special Court in Belfast, refused to plead, and was sentenced to *twelve months' imprisonment*. This arrest was made on the basis of the finding of a jotter, in a raid carried out in the Pearse Hall, in King Street, Belfast, in which the name of the youth appeared in connection with a note which, it was alleged, related to "shadowing" work done by him.

On July 20, 1938, Mrs. Mary McAreavy, Belfast, a young woman of 23, who, with her husband, John McAreavy, was charged with having documents relating to the affairs of the Irish Republican Army, was sentenced to *twelve months' imprisonment with hard labour*.

On August 30, 1938, in defiance of a "clear out" order, given by the authorities, Mr. Eamon Donnelly, ex. T.D., and member of the Executive of the Fianna Fail Party, was still living in *his own home*. Mr. Donnelly, a constitutional Nationalist, had been released the week before from Belfast gaol, where he had served a sentence of one month's imprisonment for refusing to obey the *fourteen-year-old Order* prohibiting him from residing in five of the Six Counties. This, despite the facts that Mr. Donnelly was born in the Six Counties, and that it is there that he has reared his family. Interesting, in this case, is the attitude of the Government, which has not yet moved against Mr. Donnelly; and refuses to state, on being questioned, whether he and Mr. De Valera are still affected by these Exclusion Orders, issued under the Special Powers Act. The minister states that it is not in their own best interests that the public should be informed as to who is, and who is not, excluded!

On September 19, 1938, uniformed and "plain-clothed" policemen raided the Austin Stack Club, Falls Road, Belfast. The raid took place in the evening, about 9-30 o'clock, and the forty members present were *lined up against the wall and searched*. Names and addresses were taken. This club is a branch of the Young Ireland Independent Association, conducts Gaelic classes, and runs ceilidhes.

Arrests Without Charge

In December, 1938, 33 young men were arrested without charge and are still detained without trial.

A big feature of the intimidation and terror carried out under the Acts, is the raiding of homes in the dead of night, or the very early hours of the morning. The houses are thoroughly searched, questions are asked, and, very often, inmates are arrested without any charge being preferred against them. *No charge is necessary!* of late, the procedure after the arrests have been made is to *fingerprint and photograph* the men or women; this is done without any legal justification, apart from the Special Powers Acts themselves. There are about thirty-five persons (including two young women) at present serving sentences of from one up to ten years' imprisonment. This is the state of affairs in "democratic" Northern Ireland—Lord Craigavon's "Garden of Eden"!

(To be continued.)

Liverpool Branch of Connolly Club Demand Release of Republican Prisoners in North of Ireland

Also Release of Frank Ryan from Burgos Prison

The recently formed Liverpool Branch of the Connolly Club passed strong resolutions published in this month's paper on the question of the Republicans arrested without charge in Belfast. The first meeting was well attended and the interest shown was indicative of the determination of the members to fight the battles of Irish workers.

The following officers were elected: Chairman, J. Gray; Treasurer, Madge Carroll; J. Murray and J. Carroll; Secretary, P. O'Daire, 29a Islington, Liverpool, 8.

A mass meeting is to be held on the anniversary of James Connolly on May 12 and a campaign for the sales of Irish Freedom was planned.

LONDON BRANCHES

The recently formed speakers' classes have been successful and the club is now capable of sending speakers to Labour Party Branches, etc., and already this month three meetings were spoken to by members of the club. In every case a quantity of literature has been sold and much good discussion aroused.

Join to-day, by filling in the attached form and posting to the Secretary, Connolly Club, 46 Lonsdale Square, London, N.1.

I wish to join the Connolly Club.

Name

Address

Post to Secretary Connolly Club,
46 Lonsdale Square, N.1.

Frank Ryan Release Committee

A WIDE and representative committee has been formed in Dublin to campaign for the release of Frank Ryan. The Committee has for its President, Mr. Aodghan O'Rahilly, Vice Presidents, Senator Miss Pearse, Senator D. Robinson, Madame McBride, Councillor Uladh and Tom Barry. Committee: Simon Donnolly, Michael Price, P. O'Keefe, Maire Comerford, Roddy Connolly, Mrs. Austin Stack, E. De Barra, R. M. Fox, Linda Kearns, F. Campbell and D. O'Reilly.

The Committee intend as a first step in the campaign to organise a Petition to the Department of External Affairs, signed by people of all shades of opinion, requesting that the Government make strong representation to Franco for the early release of Frank Ryan. In a statement issued to the Press the Committee states: "We are conscious of the great services rendered by Mr. Frank Ryan to this country in the National and cultural movements."

The friends of Frank Ryan in England must help in every possible way by co-operating to secure his earliest possible release. From Trade Union and Labour Party branches the demand for his release must be heard. Any financial sums, however small, sent to the Committee will help the work of saving this gallant leader from Franco's prison. Contributions should be sent to the Secretary, Frank Ryan Release Committee, 138, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin.

FREEDOM & ITS MEANING

It was my intention this month to review the history of the British working class in its relation to the struggle for democracy and civilisation in Spain and to link this up with our own struggle in Ireland. However, at this period I feel that a short review of the events leading up to the war in Spain, together with a short summing up of the issues involved, is vitally important.

After the election of the Republican Government in February 1936 we find a vast amount of useful reforms favourable to the common people of Spain. Chief among these reforms was the use of Public monies, before squandered by the "Grandees" now devoted to such purposes as building schools for children, and power plants used to a large extent to irrigate the land, a problem which the farmers had long hoped to solve. Unfortunately, however, the Spanish Republican Government, made one unforgivable mistake when it entrusted the control of its army in the hands of spoon-fed officers of the old regime most of whom ignored the interests of the country and the will of the people when they secretly plotted with the foreign invaders with the ghastly results we are all too painfully aware of now.

From the outbreak of the war we were treated by the entire capitalist press with the same vile, lying propaganda which seeks to justify all imperialist and colonial slaughter. The stories we, as Irish, are most interested in were those which attempted to paint the fascist invasion as a religious war. Even if we are to take these stories at their face value or even if we were to believe that overnight, Catholic Spain turned heathen and atheist and that the "Infidel Moor" and criminal turned quickly to religion, it would be hard to believe that a people confronted as they were, and fighting from the start with their backs to the wall could find time, or waste precious bullets fighting and killing harmless innocent priests and nuns. It would be equally hard to believe that a people whose cities were destroyed en masse should increase their misery and want of shelter by burning churches. Viewing it from this light all of us, I feel, should be content to relegate this type of propaganda to the realms it deserves, rejoice in the fact that such was not the case, while possibly we may feel hurt at those who so lightly valued our sense of imagination.

Next month I will definitely discuss the role of the British working class in the Spanish war.

EXILE.

(To be continued.)

"IRISH FREEDOM" MUST CARRY ON

We have received dozens of letters of congratulation on the issue of our paper and it is therefore essential that we carry on. The expense of issuing a paper such as ours which treads on the corns of so many complacent people who ignore the vital teachings of our leaders is tremendous and unless we obtain the financial support of our readers we must fail.

We have established a "Fighting Fund" to enable us to carry on and we appeal to all readers who value our work to send their subscriptions to us immediately. Any sum, no matter how small, will be welcome.

Cheques and Postal Orders should be made payable to the Editor, "Irish Freedom," and sent to 46, Lonsdale Square, London, N.1.

VICTIMISATION OF IRISH WORKERS

Labour Must Stand Against Dismissals

British Imperialism drives Irishmen and women from their country and forces them to seek a living in England. Now it seems that even that is to be denied them. From all over the country news reaches us of the dismissals of Irish workers from their jobs consequent on the recent explosions.

This action must be met with the united voice of all Irish organisations in England and representations must also be made to the Governing bodies of the Trades Union Congresses in Ireland and England.

The great majority of the Irish workers are as mystified about the explosions as anyone else and therefore should not be made to suffer because of the actions of a few.

To victimise indiscriminately therefore is an outrage on Civil Liberties and must be met with United action. We look for such action and will be glad to lead it to stop once and for all this practice.

We ask all those who have definite information to write to us immediately so that the matter can be taken up.

Notes from the North

SACKING OF PIGS MARKETING BOARD

A few slight examples of the corruption in Northern Ireland officialdom have come to light in the past month.

The first was the sacking of the Pigs Marketing Board. The first indication the public had of a crisis in the affairs of the Board was the prosecution of a Board Official in an English court for taking bribes. This was followed by the dismissal of the Board itself by the Northern Minister of Agriculture. Inquiries had shown that large sums of the Public's money were being coyly directed into private pockets by the somewhat time-worn method of "Expenses." These details were at first suppressed in the local papers, but the English sensationalist press seized on the story with gusto, and cats of all shapes and sizes were released gaily from the bag.

CORRUPTION IN HIGH PLACES

Right on the heels of this came the dissolution of the Belfast Board of Guardians. It was revealed that the Government had examined the accounts of the Belfast Union, and in the words of a letter from the Ministry of Home Affairs of Northern Ireland—"The results of these investigations were communicated to the Guardians, the Ministry pointing out that they indicated that grave and serious defects existed with regard to the keeping and taking of stock in the Workhouse, that excessive quantities of stock had been ordered, and that serious discrepancies in quality existed between samples and bulk supplies." Accordingly, the Board was sacked, and two Government officials appointed in its place, but this is no remedy.

It is thought that the dissolution of these two bodies is a clever move on the part of the Government to avoid a public inquiry, for which there is a rising demand. Another theory is that the Government precipitated this "Bomb-shell" in an effort to distract the public attention from the Transport Board which also is in a terrible state, having just announced big losses on the year's trading and an increase in passenger fares. And already the public are being bled white!

Irish Freedom And British Democrats

By Thos. MacEoin

Our paper can play a big part in educating the English democracy. From no other Irish source in England are the English masses likely to learn how real is the grievance the workers and small farmers of Ireland, North and South—in the Six Counties as well as out of them—have against the Partition of Ireland. From no other source are they likely to learn so well how this Partition works evil for the English workers, too, and how much the English workers can do in conjunction with their Irish comrades to end the evil.

It would not be the first time, either, that the English democracy had made its force tell on the side of the struggle for freedom in Ireland.

The United Irishmen had many contacts with English and Scottish democrats. There were in fact attempts to form societies of United Englishmen and United Scotsmen to act in concert with the United Irishmen. At the trial in 1793 of the Scottish "Jacobin" democrat, Thomas Muir, the chief count in the indictment was that he had "produced and read aloud at a meeting in Edinburgh an inflammatory address from the Society of United Irishmen." He was transported for fourteen years.

At the "British Convention of Delegates of the Friends of the People Associated to obtain Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments," which met in Edinburgh in November of the same year, two fraternal delegates from the Society of United Irishmen attended. Their account of the Convention Bill which had just been enacted in Ireland to make such assemblies as this one illegal produced the most important discussion and decision of the Assembly. It was this debate which was made the pretext by the Authorities for suppressing the convention and prosecuting its leaders—most of whom were transported for fourteen years.

During the rising of 1798 the officials of the London Corresponding Society were placed under arrest on suspicion of complicity with the "treasonable schemes of the United Irishmen." One of the leading members was arrested and tried with Arthur O'Connor and O'Coigly.

Emmet's Alliance with British Rebel

Major Despard's conspiracy in 1803 for which he and six private soldiers in the Guards were hanged outside the Southwick Gaol, was connected with "Suppressed" society of United Irishmen, and also with the conspiracy in Ireland which ended in the rising headed by Robert Emmett.

During the agitation for Catholic Emancipation headed by Daniel O'Connell, English democrats played a big part in exciting the

"I Stand by the Proclamation of the Republic"

"I am not a criminal, I am fighting for the freedom of my country, for hundreds of years Irishmen have fought for freedom and will continue to fight as long as any part of that country is occupied by the British.

"After Easter 1916 my father suffered imprisonment because he dared to take up arms against the British in Ireland. I am proud to follow in his footsteps and in the footsteps of all others who gave life and liberty for Irish freedom.

"I offer no apology to this court for my actions, I stand by the proclamation of the Republic, that is all."

So declared Michael Mason at the Old Bailey.

public opinion which forced the British Government to concede O'Connell's main demands.

Although O'Connell himself, in the end, came down heavily on the side of opposition to the English Chartist agitation, and prided himself on having made Chartism impossible in Ireland. The more revolutionary Young Irelanders established relations with the most advanced English Chartists John Mitchels section of the "Irish Confederates" (an organisation which was forced to break away from O'Connell's Repeal Association by his anti-democratic attitude, and the still more objectionable attitude of his son, John O'Connell) had branches in England which associated themselves closely with the English Chartists and sent delegates to their Conventions. Ernest Jones, the best of the Chartist leaders, was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for his speech of protest at the arrest and transportation of John Mitchell.

Fenian's Imprisonment

During the Fenian period it was, according to John O'Leary supported by James Connolly, the Irish in England—working men mostly—who formed the strongest and most reliable Sections of the Brotherhood.

Notwithstanding set-backs the English democrats headed by the International Workingmen's Association (of which Karl Marx was the leading spirit) led the agitation in England which ended in an amnesty for the Fenian prisoners.

During the Land League agitation, Michael Davitt obtained sustained and valuable aid from English democrats and workingmen Radicals and Socialists, whose sympathies he systematically cultivated.

English Radicals and Socialists—stimulated thereto by the Irish in England who maintained contact with them—forced Gladstone and the Liberal Party to change front on the question of Home Rule for Ireland.

During the debates of the Third Home Rule Bill and the Carsonite agitation which accompanied it, it was the English Socialists, Labour Party men, and Trade Unionists who forced the wavering leaders of the English Liberal Party to stand to their guns.

English Socialists and democrats were plain spoken in their indignation at the execution of James Connolly and the other leaders of the 1916 rising. And the pressure of English democratic opinion helped to put an end to the "Tan" War and concoct the Treaty.

That the English democrats have been repeatedly swindled by the Government is true. But as often as not that has happened because the Irish in England have not always been willing to take the necessary steps to enable the English democracy to understand the true nature and bearings of Irish grievances.

One small example may serve to show that the English democracy can understand when the question is fairly posed before them. At International Socialist Conferences it was customary to vote by "nations" each nation deciding its vote by a majority within its own ranks. James Connolly attended the International Conference in Paris in 1900, and as against the ruling of the Arrangements Commission which would have included him in "England" claimed that Ireland is a nation and entitled to vote as such. His claim was remitted to the English delegation for their opinion, and they, despite an attempt at resistance from H. M. Hyndman, were overwhelmingly in favour of Connolly's claim. The Bureau therefore conceded Connolly's claims, and at all International Working-Class Conferences since then Ireland has been conceded full national status and voting rights.

THE MONTH IN IRELAND

BY "FENIAN"

Unity Can Be Achieved

While Hitler imperialism has been treating Czechoslovakia as British imperialism likes to treat Ireland—using Slovakia as Britain has used N.E. Ulster, on the principle of "divide and rule"—the people of the Six Counties have been given the opportunity of thinking how much they have to pay for the privilege of keeping open the door for British imperial interests in Ireland. The estimates of "Northern Ireland" Government expenditure for 1939-40 are up by no less than £555,890, about 5 per cent., in an area already thoroughly impoverished by the extravagance of a Government of vested interests. Now if something serious were going to be done by the dictators at Stormont to alleviate suffering caused by their past misdeeds, nobody would object to them spending more money. But what in fact are they spending this money on? We find that more than £100,000 of the increased expenditure is for the upkeep of the *Special Constabulary*—which is going to cost our unfortunate Northern fellow-countrymen £166,184, instead of £58,995. The cost of the Royal Ulster Constabulary is also being increased by £23,600 to £780,706, and that of the secret service by £850 to £2,600, an increase of over 40 per cent. In fact, out of a total expenditure of just over £12,000,000 nearly £1 million is on the State apparatus for keeping the people of the Six Counties in subjection. This, of course, includes nothing of that part of Northern Ireland's contribution to the imperial exchequer which goes to keeping up the British Army, which also helps to enable Britain to retain her grip on Ireland.

As for the unemployment estimates, they are up by £78,000, not, of course, because more relief is to be given, but because a higher average total of unemployed is expected.

These figures do a very great deal to explain the present condition of Ireland. No nation can be economically or spiritually healthy that has its wealth thus drained away, and for such purposes. "Northern Ireland" is spending like a sovereign state, and not only the people of the Six Counties, but the whole nation has to suffer for it.

A Derelict Area

This month, also, has shown that even with this vast expenditure, and with subsidies from the Imperial Exchequer, "Northern Ireland" is becoming an economic desert. The much-boasted agricultural marketing schemes of Basil Brook, that arch baiter of defenceless opponents, are collapsing in all directions. Not only are boards being dissolved and their members resigning, but prosecutions for corruption have even been begun against some of the employees of one of them. On March 11, Mr. Gamble, a Unionist M.P., speaking on the dismissal of the Pig Marketing Board, stated that "Northern Ireland" was in danger of Hitlerism, during the same week the Ulster Farmers' Union passed a strong resolution condemning the action of Stormont bureaucrats in interfering with the interests of the farming community, and shortly afterwards it came to light that in some mysterious manner the difference in the price of eggs sold in Portadown on a Saturday and again in Liverpool on a Monday was about 6d. a dozen compared with only 1d. before the Stormont Egg marketing scheme was brought in. Meanwhile, the transport chaos continues, and unemployment was higher at the

beginning of March than at the beginning of February.

South of the Border, the Northern Ireland Publicity Service earned the gratitude of the nation by publishing a survey of comparative earnings of the same class of worker in the Six and in the Twenty-Six Counties, e.g.:

Trade	Wage per hour	
	Belfast	Dublin
Bricklayer, Carpenter,		
Painter	1/8	1/11½
Builders' Labourer ..	1/1	1/4½
Hand Compositor ..	1/6½	1/11½
Cabinet Maker ..	1/7	2/-

This is the kind of material which should be broadcast by Radio Athlone nightly in a special feature for Northern listeners, and scattered throughout the Six Counties in leaflet form by the T.U.C.—which does not officially recognise Partition—and by the Labour and Nationalist forces of that area, working in co-operation as the Hon. Frank Pakenham so wisely called on them to do in his magnificent speech at Newry on March 14, on a programme based on the great encyclical, "Quadragesimo Anno." For if the month of March, 1939, has demonstrated more clearly than ever the incompetence of the Stormont gang, and the danger to the whole nation of their being allowed to remain in power one day longer, it has also demonstrated the urgent need in face of the menace of Hitlerism in Europe, coupled with Londonderry's and Hoare's deliberate encouragement of Hitlerism at Stormont as in Berlin, of a drive against Partition along lines agreed on by all Irish Progressives. As one of the speakers said at a St. Patrick's Day demonstration at Dungannon.

De Valera's Pledge

"A united Ireland could bring to the side of England the great democratic nation of U.S.A., thus forming a confederation of democratic peoples so strong that no nation or group of nations would dare to attack it."

By "strong" he did not mean only in the military sense. He meant that Ireland could play her part in such a confederation by developing her resources of man-power and natural wealth on a national scale, and it is just such a development of resources that is urgently needed to-day.

Who can give the lead in this? We of the progressive movement in Ireland, and in exile, can prompt, the Government in Dublin at present is alone able to launch a real scheme for the rapid ending of Partition, and thus the creation of the above-mentioned democratic confederation of free peoples. The Government in Dublin is able to do this: has it the will? In spite of all things, I believe it has, if prompted hard enough. In these critical times I believe it can be aroused once again to its responsibilities before history and before Irish democrats the world over, and I believe we should be criminal to go into factious opposition to it just now. "I want to ask you—each of my listeners—to pledge yourself anew, as I pledged myself a few days ago beside the grave of the great O'Neill, never rest until that land which the Almighty so clearly designed to be one, shall belong, undivided, to the Irish people." So said Mr. De Valera on St. Patrick's Day. Let us take him at his word, and suggest that he call on us to implement our pledge by following him

in a gigantic campaign on some such lines as these:

A Programme for Unity

(A) Unity of all organisations, North and South of the Border and abroad, which believe in the establishment of an independent united Irish Republic, to carry out the campaign for its establishment;

(B) A carefully thought-out economic programme for "Northern Ireland" to be put into effect as soon as unity has been achieved, including:

1. Embargo on cheap goods, particularly British and Japanese, which are now flooding the Six Counties and ruining home industries, e.g., leather goods, bricks, toys, jams, footwear (all of which used to be made in the Six Counties, and exported, but are now imported, draining money from Ireland into Britain);
2. Wholesale electrification schemes;
3. Work schemes at Trade Union rates for Northern unemployed, pending their absorption in the new national economy;
4. Abolition of annuity payments by Northern farmers;
5. Break-up of large estates in the Six Counties and their division among poor farmers and farm-workers;

(C) An economic programme for the Twenty-Six Counties to dovetail with that for the redeemed territory, including

1. More rapid land-division;
2. Work schemes at Trade Union rates for the 100,000 unemployed in the Twenty-Six Counties on the development of the national resources, and above all the peat bogs and water-power of the country;
3. Bold slum-clearance scheme for the whole country;
4. The whole to be financed by the nationalisation of the credit system of the whole country and heavy taxation of all incomes drawn from the ownership of land and house property or from abroad;

(D) Greatly increased educational facilities for the whole thirty-two County Ireland;

(E) Guarantee of freedom of speech and assembly to all Irishmen and women.

Let us pledge ourselves also in the name of the great O'Neill, and of all our exiled and martyred dead, to urge on the present head of the Irish State such a programme as this to capture the imagination of our people, and never rest until it has been put into effect.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

As a Belfast worker and a Protestant I agree with your paper in its fight against British Imperialism, but I don't see how a United Irish Republic will benefit me.

Wages are as good if not better in the Six Counties, Unemployment Pay is much higher and also a United Ireland means Catholic rule some of us getting shot or beaten up and a very slender chance of a livelihood.

W. LINDSAY,
Belfast.

Editorial Note.—Wages are not higher in the Six Counties, and while unemployment pay is lower in "Southern Ireland" there is a strong demand for remedying this. Our conception of a Republic is that advocated by Pearse and Connolly, where the common people of Ireland, Protestant and Catholic, will own and control the wealth and land. Such a Republic will benefit the workers, North and South. The proposals of De Valera offers a basis for the unity of all Irishmen opposed to the Border for opening the road to this Republic.