

The United Irishman

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CRAIG'S BAN CHALLENGED

Goulding Condemns N.A.T.O. Hints

THERE will be a heavy price paid for Ireland's so-called economic progress," said Mr. Cathal Goulding of Dublin addressing the annual Easter commemoration in Cork on Sunday, March 26. "But a more significant and heavier price will be paid in the political field."

Commenting on recent press reports concerning Ireland's attitude to N.A.T.O., the defence organisation which comprises of many of the mem-

bers of the E.E.C., Mr. Goulding stated that it would appear that Ireland, through her politicians and civil servants, would consider whether Ireland should join this alliance.

"It would be a holy thing for this dismembered Nation to do," continued Mr. Goulding. "We would place ourselves in good company. We would stand before the world as allies of the broken down imperialisms of Britain and Belgium. We would stand before the world as a part, if only a very small part, of the neo-colonialist adventures of these states in Africa and the Middle East."

Irishmen would release English soldiers for the shooting of Arab Nationalists in places such as Aden, would release Belgian soldiers for the murder of Congolese nationalists in Africa.

"This final indignity must be fought," concluded Mr. Goulding. "We are not, as has lately been suggested, willing to undertake the heavy obligation of helping to secure Capital in its world adventures."



Cathal Goulding

A.O.H. Stands firm

THE effect of Mr. Craig's ban on the normal A.O.H. St. Patrick's Day parades was most interesting. For the first time in living memory the Ancient Order of Hibernians stood shoulder to shoulder with the Republicans, against whom the ban was directed, and declined to have their day.

On publication of the ministerial ban, the A.O.H. stated that they were calling off their parades in protest against the general ban on parades. The reaction of the police in a number of strong Hib areas was to send along some of their top officers to plead with the Ancient Order's officials to march as usual. These efforts failed except in one area.

Cajolement

As usual, the Unionist authorities tried cajolement to break the unity of the people but in this instance they failed.

As with the resistance to the ban by the Republicans, this marked a breakthrough for the hitherto pliant A.O.H.

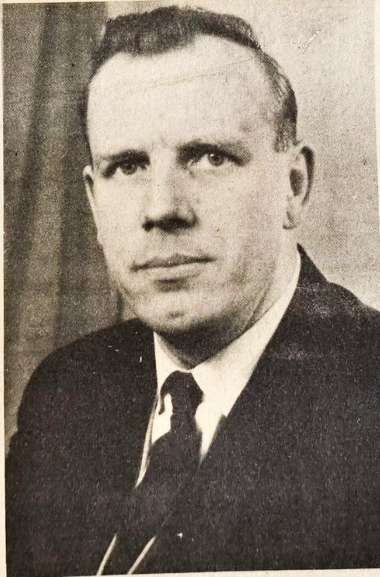
As others see us

THERE were only two forms that Scottish Home Rule could take, said Mr. Fred Forrester, a former British Labour candidate recently, either devolution of the Northern Ireland model or without continued representation at Westminster, and formal separation as in the Republic of Ireland.

Mr. Forrester continued: "As for the Irish Republic, although formally independent, its economy is bound hand and foot to the British economy, as most intelligent Irishmen now recognise — Political independence without economic independence is a positive step backward."

Republican Clubs Defy Special Powers Act

FOR the first time in recent history a ban imposed by a Stormont Minister for Home Affairs was openly and defiantly challenged in Belfast on March 19 last. The ban in question was imposed by the Stormont Minister for Home Affairs, Mr. Craig, on the Republican Clubs in the area under his control. The Clubs, organisations of Republicans governed by an elected Directorate, were set up all over the Six-Counties over the last few years.



Mr. Craig's ban was born of the necessity of justifying his ban on Fenian parades which, incidentally, were not planned for Easter or any other time. The stated intention of Mr. Ian Paisley and his followers to hold counter parades on Easter Sunday compelled the Minister to some action in order to prevent the possibility of clashes. His decision, extremely diplomatic in view of the non-intention of the Republicans running Fenian parades, was to ban all parades not established by custom. This effectively dealt with Mr. Paisley, and had all the appearances of a just decision.

The suppression of the Republican Clubs seems also to be intended as a warning to Mr. Paisley and the peculiar form of Unionism that he represents. But here the Minister would appear also to be attempting the appeasement of the Reverend Paisley. The swift reaction of the Republican Clubs must have provided the greatest shock experienced by any Minister for Home Affairs in recent times.

Statement

In a public statement issued on March 17, the Northern Directorate of the Republican Clubs challenged the justice of the ban and stated its in-

Mr. Tom Mitchell, ex M.P. for Mid Ulster, whose arrest under the Special Powers Act was shortly won by Mr. Craig.

E.E.C. and N.A.T.O. Alliance

REPLYING to questions from the floor at a meeting of the Irish Council of the European Movement in Dublin recently, Mr. Albert Coppe stressed that the Common Market was not a neutral grouping.

"The European Six are not neutral," he said, "we may have a lot of qualities and a lot of faults but we are not neutral and never will be."

In a speech of thanks to the speaker, Mr. T. F. O'Higgins, stated that the question of Irish neutrality was not an insurmountable

The mention of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation at this time is not without significance. There have been indications that the Irish application for membership will be delayed considerably beyond that of Britain as things are at present. The acceptance by Ireland of membership of the alliance and the obligations that that membership brings with it should go a long way to overcome the re-

(Contd. Page 12)

Warnock's Rocket

"I WOULD counsel the Government to consider whether it is worthwhile, except in an emergency, to arouse again the antagonisms and the feeling expressed in the Special Powers Act," said Mr. Edmund Warnock, formerly Minister for Home Affairs at Stormont in a recent debate on the banning of the Republican Clubs.

Mr. Warnock's statement may be seen as a slap on the hand to Mr. Craig who appears to have acted without either the concurrence or the knowledge of his new-look Unionist colleagues.

The future of Mr. Craig as Minister for Home Affairs must be in considerable jeopardy.

Members of Parliament from (Contd. Page 11)

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE KEY TO LEADERSHIP

A Chara,
I note with interest Dr. Johnston's article 'The Key to Leadership' published in the *Marta* issue. In his last paragraph he invites comments, so herewith mine.

It seems that Dr. Johnston is confusing the freeing of Ireland (which is the purpose of the Republican movement) with the obtaining of political power over it. This is where Flanna Fail went wrong in the twenties and where many other people have gone wrong in other countries since. When a revolutionary group embarks on a course of the kind suggested by Roy Johnston what always happens is that without realising it the leaders in order to spread their influence gradually make increasing concessions to the existing system until in the end they find themselves absorbed into it. The examples of Flanna Fail, Clann na Poblachta and both the English and Irish Labour Parties spring to mind.

The common people (whoever they may be) cannot be led by an organisation not in control of a large propaganda machine. The 'man of no property' but is also a blind alley. Loyalty to one's country is independent of such things as ownership of property: it can be argued that the man with property will do his best for national freedom, as the best guarantee against eventual dispossession while the man without property will be more interested in getting more than in freeing his country. The buying off of the 'men of no property' with the Land Acts is a case in point. Dr. Johnston has clearly not grasped its significance, even though he refers to it.

Finally there seems to be a confusion between the two problems Republicans have to face: neo-colonialism in the 26-counties and old-style colonialism in the six. In essence the former is a by-product of the latter as Dr. Johnston himself brilliantly showed a few years ago in this paper. Therefore in the final analysis the task before the Republican movement is to dislodge the imperialists from their foothold in the north-east: in which task Dr. Johnston puts his trust in theories and I put mine in guns.

P. O. Croidheán.

Tadworth,
Surrey.

A Chara,

You asked for comment on the content of the paper — here then is mine on R. Johnston's diatribe in the *March* issue.

The man is biased. He sees only one side. The people of property are not to be trusted, idealists should be ignored. This, in my humble opinion, is sheer raimais.

There is only one answer to Ireland's industrial crisis—socialism. If only the workers and managers would get together on a profit-sharing scheme, form a committee, and each side examine critically its own role, the result would be a harmonious relationship. But workers should not demand as a right, as put forward by Mr. Johnston, to take over an industry which

the management decided to close down.

From the tone of the article, it would appear that the writer opposes the small farmers and the labouring class to management. This is the Flanna Fail tactic, divide and conquer. Further, he sub-divides the farmers, big against small. This, in my opinion, is more raimais and can only end in calamity for all. Educate; don't stir up hatred!

On the question of intellectuals, P. H. Pearce is not mentioned. Why? Does the writer think he is out of date?

Johnston states that intellectuals are necessary to guide a revolution. What of such intellectuals as De Valera, Collins and Griffith?

"Tom Rebel."

Middleton,
Co. Cork.

R. H. W. Johnston replies on page 9.

Northern Letter

A Chara,

At last you have a Northern correspondent who knows what he is talking about. The article on Paisley and O'Neill brought out clearly that there is no essential difference between the Unionism of O'Neill and that of the more unsophisticated Paisley.

I hope that we will have many further letters from the pen of F.H.

Joseph E. Regan,
New York,
U.S.A.

THE LAND

A Chara,

Your lead-story on the land agitation in Co. Westmeath was most interesting. That the farmers have a case is plainly evident, but whether they have the determination and the support to force a just solution remains to be seen.

There is, as you mention, a need for a new Land-League which will repeat the slogan "The land for the people."

Tom O'Brien.

Kerry.

Centre-spreads

A Chara,

Just a few lines of congratulations on your centre-spreads on Dublin housing and the Fenians.

When your December issue appeared on the I.R.A. campaign I remember that I was attracted by it and wondered whether it would not be possible to extend the idea over other topics.

Evidently you haven't been asleep!

Dublin.

Jim Ryan.

D. Mac Giolla

Phadraig

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— and
STATIONER

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4 Parnell Street

(across yards from O'Connell St.,
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Prop. MICHAEL BOWEN

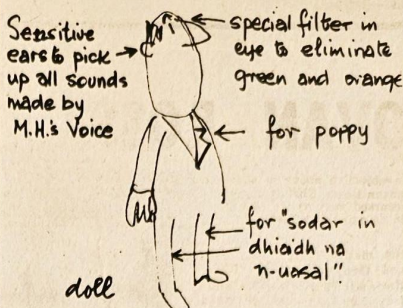
SINN FEIN STATEMENT

"Sinn Féin wishes to protest in the strongest possible terms against the banning of the Republican Clubs and the proposed Fenian Commemoration Ceremonies by the Six-County Government", states a recent press release from the Sinn Féin Ard Comhairle. "This action", the statement continues, is a complete denial of the elementary right of lawful assembly and has obviously been taken at the behest of the extreme Orange and Paisley elements.

The Republican Movement last year organised and held several ceremonies to commemorate the Golden Jubilee of the 1916 Rising in the North. They were well attended, disciplined and culminated in the magnificent demonstration of April 17th in Belfast in which up to 80,000 people took part. These ceremonies were an example to the world that in Occupied Ireland there are people who still cherish the ideal of a free Republic and those who took part in the parades caused no disturbance or breach of the peace.

"Consequently, this latest ban is completely unjustified and can be interpreted only as a surrender to the Orange Lodges and Paisleyites. We hope it will bring home to all our people the fact that in six of our counties we still endure British aggression and are not allowed to honour our Fenian dead."

DOLL'S NATURAL HISTORY



"Doll's" Book of Natural History
(Extinct or near-extinct creatures)

Shoneen:

This species was fairly common in Ireland during the late Castle period up to about 1922, after which it mysteriously disappeared, and until recently was believed to be extinct. However, during the past year there have been reports of sightings from various parts of the country, particularly Dublin, Galway and Cork. One of the order Britannica Major and its ability to simulate its characteristics and accent.

Naturalists would welcome any information of further sightings as they are anxious to ring these creatures, some of which are believed to send their young to English public schools.

Like the Hermit Crab, this creature has no natural covering and is to be found in the uniform of H.M. army, in a blueshirt, or frequently masquerading as an ordinary Irish person.

(Seonin, little John)

BIRTH OF LEPRECHAUNIA

LENAR

DTUAIRISCEOIR

The tourist season. We'll supply the garb and pay them a small wage; the rest will be up to themselves.

M: I understand; But surely —

Mac A: I know what you're thinking, that the Yanks would include a visit here, maybe on a coach tour, and that something more substantial would be needed to hold them. Well, we've done up an old castle too and are arranging something on the lines of Bunratty except that we are going the whole hog and turning it into a night club plus gambling casino. Now, can you visualise what a gold-mine that is going to be?

M: You have official approval for all this?

Mac A: Of course. The Bord Fáilte people say that this is the logical development of present tourism trends in Ireland and the Late-Late people are delighted and have promised us the maximum of publicity; they will sell the telecast or whatever it's called to an American station.

M: You have a Gaeltacht area on your doorstep. Any plans for that?

Mac A: Glad you asked me that. Actually we are training the natives in stage-Irish talk and teaching them appropriate Irish songs at present. "Forty Shades of Green", "How Can You Buy Killarney", "Did your Mother Come from Ireland", "Be-gorrah, Bejabsers, Let's look for a Fight", and other gems from our national heritage. We'll tell the Yanks that the stage-Irish talk is the real Irish. Actually, Fitzgerald is writing a pamphlet for us on the subject.

M: How about co-operation from other bodies?

Mac A: Aer Lingus, of course. They've been plugging the Leprechaun image for years. The F.L.M. is to organise a holiday camp here. We've had offers from Ministers to open things for us. Some of the local F.F. men plan to invest money in some of our projects. And Bord Fáilte Eireann is having a Bill rushed through Leinster House to authorise us to change local place-names so that they may be more in tune with the new atmosphere.

M: Would you care to give me some idea of the new place-names?

Mac A: Certainly. Carragraney is to be changed to Leprechaun Hill and we have a story for the information plaque. Gallanew will be known as the Fairy's Pillar — we are organising a song contest in conjunction with Telefís Éireann to go with that. Carragraney is to be the Fairy's Rock. We decided not to change Hackball's Cross.

We have our own plant for Leprechaun Rock and for a special kind of postcard to boost the place — the Yanks will be delighted to post it home to their friends. But this is only the beginning. As the dollars roll in we intend to expand at an ever-increasing rate, taking in the adjoining countryside and, perhaps eventually including the entire country. Lemass was wrong. We must not forget the Shanvanvocht but put her out there, at work, to get the shekels in. A new Ireland is about to dawn.

N.I.E.C. REPORT

The Mixture as before

THIS is not a full critique of the recently published N.I.E.C. report; there is too much to be said. A number of points stand out on a first reading, and should be used for further study.

Regional Development: the report backs down completely from this question, stating that these are few statistics by which progress — can be directly measured. Has no member of the Council counted the pages of the telephone book as regards Dublin and elsewhere?

Economic Growth: we have a lot of arithmetic relating to G.N.P., productively etc., which shows that rates of increase will have to be constantly maintained above the highest 2nd programme rates; involving substantial foreign investment. Not a word about the control problem: who makes the decisions? The main independent variable appears to be wage restraint, in order to allow external investors to get the average European rate of returns on investment which is regarded as sacred. Savings: the use of average values is highly misleading in Macro Economics. The bulk of re-investment comes from undistributed company profits. The methods proposed for controlling these are, to say the least of it, obscure.

Investment Policy: oriented towards the most rapid possible returns, to hell with social investment, as in the 2nd programme.

Research: the old Flanna Fail myth about development being O.K. but research is not for us, is trotted out again. Have they not read Millard report on Science & Economic Development?

State Investment: a more dishonest paragraph than Par. 148 would be hard to imagine as the only example of another path towards full employment they give "expansion in non-productive Government expenditure... associated with domestic falling exports... devaluations in the external value of the currency..." a juxta position of negative images worthy of an English Tory propaganda sheet.

Is there no such thing as productive state expansion? Or co-operative enterprise?

Crisis

This is the 2nd programme mixture as before, that has given rise to the Dublin housing crisis and the decline of the west.

It is a measure of the extent to which the Labour leaders have become enmeshed in economic orthodoxy that the like of Larkin, Roberts and Nevin can sign this document. It should be looked at very critically by Trade unionists and farmers who should not allow themselves to be dazzled by the growth factors but should examine very closely the question of what are the control variables and who controls them?

More next month, if time permits.

R. J.

Notes & Comments

OUR apologies to our readers, and to our columnist. For the second time within a few months, this hard-hitting column has disappeared between this office and the printing works.—Editor.

THE FENIANS 1.

O'DONOVAN ROSSA

IT is extremely difficult to be objective about so sterling a patriot as Diarmuid O'Donovan Rossa. That infamous scoundrel Oliver Cromwell of accursed memory, in one of his rare moments of candour told an artist to paint his portrait wars and all.

I will try to follow this advice. An Irishman whose praises are sung by such diverse personalities as John Devoy, P. H. Pearse, James Connolly, Thomas MacDonagh, and Arthur Griffith. A man whose name has passed into song and legend, who epitomises in his dashing manhood all the national characteristics of the Fenians; in short an Irishman who personifies Fenianism.

Placehunters

The Ireland of Rossa's manhood was cluttered with place hunters and blustering politicians each vying with the other for contemptuous crumbs from the seat of Empire. What a striking contrast with the Fenian men who endured imprisonment and privation unflinchingly and thought no sacrifice too great. Rossa though he did not found the Fenian movement gave it its greatest impetus. Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa was born in Roscarbery on the 10th September, 1831, at the house of his maternal grandfather, Cornelius O'Driscoll.

West Cork, a nursery of rebels, was mainly Irish-speaking then, Rossa's family were Irish speakers and the young Rossa learned to read and write English in the local school, though his writings frequently show the influence of the Irish idiom. Rossa claimed to be descended from the Chief of the Clan; there were three separate branches of the Clan, called respectively O'Donovan Dubh, O'Donovan Buidhe and O'Donovan Rossa, all offshoots of the original Sept which had grown so numerous that they separated eventually and became independent of each other. John O'Donovan, the great Irish scholar, belonged to one of those groups which moved subsequently to Kilkenny, which at the time of his birth was Irish speaking.

Apprenticed

On leaving school he was apprenticed to the grocery business though one authority states it was the hardware business, not inappropriate when you consider a Colt revolver. He was eventually set up in business in Skibbereen, and here he married a Kerry girl named Eager. There were four children of the marriage, all boys. When his first wife died Rossa married a Miss Buckley, the daughter of a prosperous farmer, much against her family's wishes. This handsome lady, however, was very much in love with Rossa and insisted in marrying the man of her choice.

She was a fluent Irish speaker and she and her husband always spoke in the old tongue. This happy union did not last long, three years after

the marriage his wife died, and their only son as well. Rossa's third wife was a young lady from Clonakilty, who like her predecessor was a convent reared girl, and an exceedingly pretty young woman. This caused a certain amount of banter among his Fenian friends, one remarking "Isn't he the devil's clip to tackle the third?"

While Rossa was not a Lotherio, it hardly needs emphasising that his handsome manly presence attracted the attention of the ladies. While incarcerated in Chatham prison, Richard Burke, another Cork Fenian twitted him about it. Rossa jocularly stated that the reason for his success with the fair sex was on account of his having a ball sear (a beauty spot), which made him irresistible.

An ball sear

Then he opened his shirt and showed him a tiny pink spot "no bigger than a flea bite," as one of his companions put it, and declared that he was born with it. According to Rossa, Cuchulain and Diarmuid O'Duibhne had the same mark and there was an old tradition in Ireland that any man born with the ball sear had all the beautiful women falling in love with him.

Phoenix Society

As early as 1856 the young men of Ireland had begun to shake off the lethargy that set in after the failure of Smith O'Brien's insurrection in 1848. Here and there throughout the country small groups of Nationalists began to organise in various parts of the country — one of these organisations was the Phoenix Literary Society of Skibbereen and O'Donovan Rossa was the leading spirit in it. It met weekly in Skibbereen and held lectures and debates in public and in private met each other on the hills drilling and learning the use of firearms. The Society was more national than literary.

If the earnest young fellows were thinking of books they included Tone's Autobiography and Mitchell's Jail Journal. Rossa suggested the name of the Society and soon every barony in Kerry and West Cork had a branch. In 1858 a gentleman came to Skibbereen — the Chief Organiser of the Irish Republic — none other than James Stephens himself. On St. Patrick's Day of that year Stephens had established the Irish Republican Brotherhood and soon merged into it the small revolutionary groups that were then in existence. Rossa was duly sworn in and practically the whole membership became Fenians. Fenianism at that time was popularly known as the "Phoenix



Movement," but its real name then as later, was the Irish Republican Brotherhood.

As I said earlier Stephens toured the country with his companion Joseph Denieffe, like himself a native of Kilkenny, they were later joined by Thomas Clarke Luby who had been out in '48. Their great success was the Phoenix Society, but before it could get under way, the Castle smashed it. Father O'Sullivan of Kenmare, County Kerry, sent information to Dublin Castle.

One of the newly-sworn members had told him in confession about his membership and the priest asked him to meet him in his parlour and repeat to him the information he had given him in the confessional. The new member whose name was O'Sullivan did so; then to complete the bill of fare another O'Sullivan turned informer. The result was that a number of men were allowed out on bail; Rossa and several others were detained in jail to await their trial. They were tried before a packed jury, but the case against them was weak and the Government of the day thinking the movement unimportant, agreed to release the prisoners on condition that they would plead guilty.

Freed

This the men agreed to do and they were set free after spending eight months in jail. If the Government thought that these measures would intimidate these young men they were sadly mistaken, it had the opposite effect, it really advertised the Movement, particularly in Munster and Leinster where the young people were avidly reading the literature of the Young Irelanders, thus they became susceptible to the persuasive pleading of the Fenian recruiting agents.

The Irish People

We next find Rossa in Dublin as business manager on the staff of the Irish People. This paper was the successor of the famous Nation; it was jointly edited by John O'Leary, Charles Kickham and T. J. Luby. There was nothing niggardly in the editorials, the Fenians believed in straight talk, there was never any casuistry tolerated and the times did not avail of such. Ireland was still in a shaky position in regard to her national feeling.

(To Be Continued)

FOLK

by Gerald de Villy

Origins, Versions, Originals

IN every branch of study you will find points which by their mere mention, will set off a lengthy discussion that will carry on "into the wee hours." Folk, among folk lovers, is loaded with points worthy of discussion.

Some points are the origin of songs, the versions, the original. This month I would love to set some interested people talking on some of our well loved and best known songs.

One song came back to mind over the past few weeks with the reported death in America of Mr. Dee one of the survivors told of in the song called "The Valley of Knockanure." The song is attributed to two people. We find that there are two versions and I have yet to find out, with accuracy, which came first. I have seen both change hand on this issue but no one has yet proved conclusively the proper order of composition. I would be glad of the considered opinion of readers on this item.

I am glad to find some people taking a keen interest in the collection and preserving of our old songs. One of these is Sean McCarthy, a Kerryman at present living in London. He has never forgotten the songs he heard at the knee of his father, Ned McCarthy of Listowel. To find an old folk song topping the "very modern" top twenty is indeed strange and the credit must go to Sean McCarthy for reviving and reintroducing this song, "Step It Out Mary." He found it, added missing lines and presented it to Danny Doyle. This is but one of the many fine songs dug out by Sean and I have it from well known singer Ted McKenna that versions of "Step It Out" were sung in Co. Meath some decades ago with

the line "Show your leg to the Black and Tan." I am sure there are other versions to the same or different airs.

Sean McCarthy writes original songs also and many are tinged with his own problem, emigration. He writes on comedy affairs also and with a punch line like . . .

O Paddy dear and did you hear the awful things they say,

Young Maggie and Lord Snowden went and joined the I.R.A.

They are drilling in the mountain to the sound of fife and drum.

Tony takes the snapshots while Maggie fires the gun.

Back with us last month for a very successful concert tour, his first for a long number of years, was Dominic Behan. Dominic has long been known as another who revives old airs to which he writes songs of national importance or songs, words and music long out of use put back into circulation again. Many people of older generations have told me that they had sung or heard these songs in their younger days.

Here in Ireland songs have for centuries been the means of recording our victories and defeats, our joys and sorrows. In history, victory has so often side-stepped us and so there is much truth in the saying "All our songs are sad and all our wakes merry." We need these "fighting" songs to keep the idea of nationalism before us. The deeds of one generation are an inspiration to the one that follows and we at this time are in dire need of a revival of that spirit. I know that every village, town and county in our country had its poets and balladeers who recorded in song the deeds and misdeeds of the



Maevie Mulvaney

local hero or renegade. Some of these have moved into general use but so many are confined to the locality still. I would like if you have a local song which records such deeds, to please forward them to me with the airs to which they were sung. There is need to collect these songs and to make them known to a larger public.

The mention of Dominic Behan leads to his Stadium Concert which unfortunately clashed with a charity concert in the city on the same night. Dominic could do no wrong in this show following his request to the audience to come down and fill the expensive seats. Dominic ran the full gamut of his regular material plus some fine new ones. With him he had Mark McLoughlin, "Folkstones" who now include Anne Carroll. Sweeney's Men and The Brian McCollum Group were their usual good entertainment. Maevie Mulvaney was back with the type of material that she is well known to sing. The odd-group-out were The Johnstones who, though singing as they always do, were out of place in that they confined themselves to American material and this was a real "Irish night." This type of show is guaranteed excellent support and should be promoted more often.

FIANNA NEEDS YOU!



Fianna boys on map-reading exercise.

THE above photograph shows Fianna boys engaged in a typical outdoor activity. There are hundreds of boys throughout Ireland who spent the Easter week-end in similar activity.

Fianna is a small organisation. It is small because its resources are small.

Here you can help. Fianna has an associate membership scheme through which you can help Fianna to grow.

"The Fianna ideal can save the Nation" was said a long time ago. That ideal has not changed; the organisation is still served by leaders who are filled with the same purpose, the same

determination as that possessed by its historic leaders.

The sum of 10s. entitles you to one year's associate membership. You can join this great fellowship as easily as that.

Send your subscription now to Fianna at Box 187, G.P.O., Dublin.



A FAMILIAR sight in Dublin's O'Connell Street at Easter time was provided by Mr. Joe Clarke selling the Easter Lily. Mr. Clarke, a veteran of Mount Street Bridge and a life-long Republican, has sold the Lily every year since its inception and has no intention of stopping now. Mr. Clarke is in his mid-eighties and is still a most active figure in Dublin. He states that activity keeps him alive and it is certainly true that he has a most alert interest in everything that concerns the Republican Movement.



THERE were a number of incidents in Dublin at Easter week-end. In O'Connell Street, a number of scuffles between members of the Republican Movement selling the Easter Lily and Special Branch and Gardaí broke out. See picture above.

In one of the scuffles, a child (picture left) was injured by a police inspector who struck him with his cane. The child was dazed and bruised by the assault. An ambulance conveyed the child and his mother to hospital.

On Easter Sunday the Republican parade assembled as usual at Liberty Hall where the flags of the Nation and of the Citizen Army were broken out. Some of the policemen present evidently did not recognise the blue flag of the starry plough for what it was and confused it with the Brigade flag carried at last year's Easter commemoration. The flag was, however, unfurled before any real damage was done.

After the commemoration ceremonies at Glasnevin, the young men who composed the colour party were seized outside Liberty Hall by a group of 15 Special Branch detectives and arrested under Section 30 of the Offences Against the State Act and detained for some hours. So far there has been no protest against this action by any Civil Liberty group nor have any inquiries been made among Republicans as to the details of the case.

Photos by Don O'Shea.



THE recent Language Freedom Movement meeting in the Mansion House was not nearly as exciting as the original meeting. In place of the haracking and heckling which was such a feature of that famous occasion we had an assembly of people drawn to the hall more out of curiosity than interest.

The meeting was chaired by Mr. Gay Byrne, of TV fame, and was intended to comprise of short state-

ments by the leading figures of the L.F.M. followed by a question and answer period. Things did not quite work out as intended.

Heckling began as the meeting commenced and resulted in the expulsion of a number of people from the hall. The chuckers-out (see picture above) were efficiently organised and numbered among them some members of a well-known Dublin weight-lifting club. It is not known whether these people were acting in a professional or voluntary capacity. Included in the L.F.M. arsenal were a number of walkie-talkie sets but it is thought that the purpose of these sets was more to impress the natives than to increase security.

The meeting never really got off the ground. Sheehy-Skeffington spoke for far too long and did as effective a job as though he had been in the pay of the language organisations. When Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington sat down none applauded as strongly as Mr. Morris; one felt it was from relief though a little approval of what the speaker said may have been intended.



Brian Devlin, Arthur Hughes, Christopher Morris, Gay Byrne, Owen Sheehy-Skeffington, L. Pratt.

CARSON AND "THE ORANGE CARD"

MR. MORTIMER, in his paper, "LORD CARSON: IRISH-MAN", has stated that Lord Carson's last important speech — delivered in the British House of Lords during the debate on the "Treaty" settlement of 1921—showed him as an Irish Unionist disappointed with the result of political career.

From the point of view of many Irish Unionists the result was, of course, a disappointment. His very strenuous campaign in defence of landlordism — "I made Carson," said "Bloody" Bal-four, "and Carson made me" — can hardly be called altogether a success, though the landlords became bond-lords instead, and did pretty well for themselves. The winning of Home Rule by the Twenty-six Counties was displeasing to all Irish Unionists. Their support for the "Treaty" state against the Republic was only a second best. And still, in the wider sense, I cannot think of Lord Carson's political career as having been an unsuccessful one.

In that last speech he is seen by Dr. McDowell as "An Irish Unionist, a member of a deserted garrison, a conservative facing defeat and seeing the close of a great tradition." "A conservative facing defeat" — I wonder. Could a man of Lord Carson's ability and experience have failed to realise how successfully he had served the interests that he had undertaken to serve? Those interests were not especially Irish.

Tory interest

The primary interest of the Tory Party was not centred in Ireland, though the condition of Ireland was of great importance to it. Mr. Mortimer has pointed out that "The Unionist tradition that Lord Carson represented was a wider one than that of most of his supporters in the North of Ireland". Wider, he might have added, than that of a good many in the South as well, but it was true especially of the North.

James Connolly wrote something to the effect that all Irish revolutionaries who became dangerous to the imperial power were men who advocated their principles as part of the creed of the democracy of the world. It is equally true, surely, that the effective leaders of the conservative tradition — whether they were English or Irish — have been men who saw their cause in its world setting as the worldwide defence, ultimately, of the essential values of Toryism — of the power and privilege that go long to the possession of wealth. It is because I think of Lord Carson as an effective leader of Toryism that I find difficulty in believing that he died a disappointed man.

In spite of minor vicissitudes the position of Irish Unionism had not in Lord Carson's day, nor has it yet, changed basically since certain events in Ireland had frightened Pitt into engineering the Act of

Union. I think it is generally conceded that Pitt's main purpose was to prevent Ireland from becoming an effective force in the progressive movement of world politics, and to integrate it instead into his war effort against the French Revolution and for the restoration of the rule of the Bourbons and the Hapsburgs, the Papal Kingdoms and the Grand Turk, and all the crowned heads and every backward thing in European and in world politics, as well as the defence of the almost feudal landlordism in which monarchy made its impact on Ireland.

Weariness

The event that frightened Pitt was indeed to any supporter of the old regime, an alarming one. The Ulster Protestant people who for a hundred years had been regarded as an outpost, though at times an uneasy one, of the imperial power, had grown weary of landlord and ecclesiastical tyrannies, and, fired by the example of the revolution in France, were calling upon their Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen to forget their old racist and religious antagonisms and join with them in proclaiming the Rights of Man in an independent Ireland. Pitt had good reason to be alarmed, and to tighten his grip. The Union of Great Britain and Ireland came into being.

The Irish Unionist position in Lord Carson's day had not changed in its wider significance as a sheet anchor of conservatism. The working-class, farming-class Protestant people of the North were still the key to the defence of the Tory interests. They had abdicated their position in the vanguard of progressive politics, and Lord Carson's task was to consolidate them in their new role as defenders of the Tory interests.

The Unionist position had not changed — and neither had the method. The wedge that had been driven between the religious sects must be hammered home. When faced with Gladstone's Home Rule bill some years before, Lord Randolph Churchill had advised the Tory Party to "Play the Orange Card". When Lord Carson accepted the leadership of the Irish Unionists he continued to play the Orange card, and from the point of view of the defence of Tory politics in general, he played it with success.

Hatred

He may for all I know have felt some regret and disappointment at some of the results of the campaign that he led. I am no judge of his motives. I can only speak from my knowledge of less sophisticated tiers of the population that supported him. I have some personal recollection of the intensity of the spirit of hatred — hatred based on fear — that was blown to white heat during that campaign. I was a child

at the time. I lived in County Dublin and went regularly to County Armagh for holidays, and there was a sense of adventure in going from the rather comfortable security of County Dublin to Armagh where every shrubbery and every dark corner quite probably concealed a nightmare being—a Papish—sharpening a knife to behead me.

It was, of course, from somewhat unsophisticated tutors that I learned about the Papishes—I was thankful really, in spite of comparative dullness, that there was none in County Dublin—but when I inquired from a rather more sophisticated source about the dangers of a certain shrubbery I was told not to be afraid; there was not a Papish within miles of the place, and, not long afterwards, I was presented with a story-book about the fires of Smithfield.

Lord Carson, of course, did not originate that method of driving in the wedge. I cannot say, even, that he approved of it. He did, however, lead a campaign that depended largely upon "that method of holding the people of North-East Ulster as a support for their Tory masters. If he had been an Ulsterman with a normal share of feeling for an Ulster ancestry, a man of his stature might have been stirred by ancestral voices to take a very different course. He might have rebelled against the idea of playing his people as cards are played. But Lord Carson was not an Ulsterman. Being a cool-headed Dublin barrister with the wider vision of the Tory Party he "Played the Orange card". To many whose ears had been carefully tuned to less courageous voices he became "King Carson" who had come to save them from Pope and popery, brass money and wooden shoes. The wedge was well and truly hammered home, and once again, as in Pitt's day, Ireland, torn by sectarian savagery, ceased to be a danger to the imperial power.

Savagery

We must not thing too badly of the savagery that marked that Irish Unionist defence of Tory politics. The world has moved on since then, and the Belfast pogroms seem like parlour games beside things that have since been done in the same cause in other lands.

The people of Belfast did not erect gas ovens for the mass extermination of people they had been taught to hate from all the good motives that always support the defence of the privileges of the wealthy. They did not fry children in jellied petrol, as is being done every day in Vietnam in the same unquestionably worthy cause. They did, though, abdicate the proud position that their ancestors had held in the vanguard of this nation when it had attempted to fall into step with the progressive political movements of the world, and accept the role of supporters of the purveyors of poison gas and napalm. Their great grandfathers had decked Belfast with burning and marched in procession to celebrate the fall of the Bastille. They had welcomed Tone to Belfast and speeded him on his journey to seek help from the Republicans of France to free them from the

George Gilmore

"supersition of royalty" and proclaim "The Rights of Man in Ireland . . . the inherent and indefeasible claims of every free nation to rest in this nation". Now they abdicated leadership and allowed themselves to be "played" as a card in the Tory pack . . . to become an effective force in the backward pull in the politics of both Belfast and Dublin—for each affects the other . . . and in the world so far as they affect the world. When their Tory masters had played them to their satisfaction and felt that the unity of purpose that they feared had been destroyed for another generation—when they grew weary of the sectarian strife that was tearing the city to pieces . . . we saw those concrete walls built across the Belfast streets to



make it less easy for the descendants of the United Irishmen to get at each other's throats. Their ancestors had celebrated the fall of the Bastille. Now we had those walls as symbols of the bastilles that we build in our minds.

The spirit that decorated Belfast to celebrate the fall of the Bastille is a difficult spirit to destroy for ever. It keeps

cropping up even in unexpected places for it is the spirit of mankind striving upward. When we compare the spirit that proclaimed the Rights of Man in Ireland with that other spirit that put three walls across the streets, I think we can only see Lord Carson's political career, whether failure or success, as having been a disastrous one for Ireland.

GROUND RENT PURCHASE SCHEME EXPOSED

King's County, Spring.

Cyril, Dear,

You have written for my advice on the new ground rent law. I postponed replying as J.O., the Count, and myself had organised a little conference on the matter (great minds!) and I am now in a position to communicate to you all the wisdom distilled at that sitting.

The answer to your question is quite clear. You have absolutely nothing to worry about. "Voxey," as they call the Count down here is one of the biggest in the country and has lived off them almost exclusively for years. Yet he was cock-a-hoop about the whole affair! So why should mere mortals such as we worry? He explained that the new law amounts to ground rent in perpetuity without the encumbrance of tenants or the cost and tedium of annual collection. And he proved his point; he really is very good at figures.

As you know, according to the new law, any tenant can buy out his ground rent if he is willing to pay 13.2 times the annual rent in a lump sum. The fact that this form of settlement was compulsory on the landlord obviously had you worried. I admit it also had me worried until the Count cleared things up.

He based all his figures on the average suburban ground rent of £10 per annum, partly because J.O. and myself have no agricultural land and also because £10 is the handiest comparative unit. The tenant buys out your interest by paying £10 x 13.2 = £132. (The tenant pays the fee of carriage to the solicitor, approx. £60). Now Cyril, all you have to do is invest your £132 at the ordinary rate of interest available to the common public—a 4 per cent tax free—and let it accumulate as in the table below, noting carefully the interest return on the fourteenth year when

the next £10 moiety would in the ordinary course, fall due.

I need hardly mention that the above table is reproduced for your enlightenment by kind permission of the

The intercepted letter printed here gives us a landlord's eye-view of the purchase scheme. The moral for all is — DON'T BUY

£132: Ground Rent Lump Sum on £10 unit for 13.2 years invested at 4% per annum compound interest for 14 years.

INITIAL ANNUAL CAPITAL	YEAR No.	INTEREST 4% PER ANNUM
£132 0 0	1st	£5 5 7
137 5 7	2nd	5 9 9
142 15 4	3rd	5 14 7
148 9 11	4th	5 18 7
154 8 6	5th	6 3 6
160 12 0	6th	6 8 4
167 0 4	7th	6 13 7
173 13 11	8th	6 18 9
180 12 8	9th	7 4 4
187 17 0	10th	7 10 2
195 7 2	11th	7 16 2
203 3 4	12th	8 2 4
211 5 8	13th	8 9 0
219 14 8	14th	8 15 9
228 10 5	15th	9 2 10
237 13 3	16th	9 10 0
247 3 3	17th	9 17 9
257 1 0	18th	10 5 9

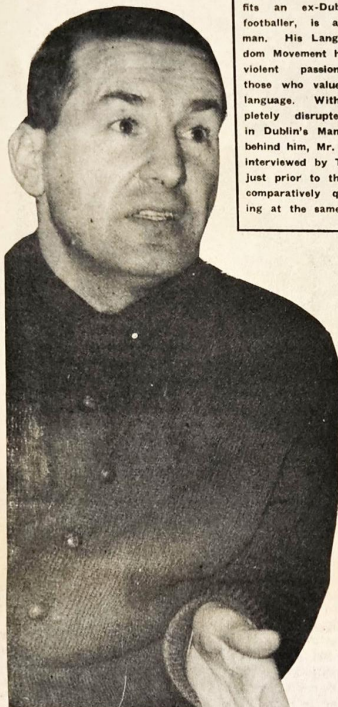
Count. J.O. insisted on champagne all round when he had it explained to him.

Fear no more, Cyril. For each £10 ground rent bought out under this law and invested at 4 per cent minimum for the 13.2 years to compound interest you not become a figure of godsend! In ten years' time, at the present inflationary pace, a figure like £10 would cost more to collect than it would be worth. The Count used the 4 per cent figure but I think a lot of this will go into four. You saw their ad. in the paper recently saying they expected a modest 15 per cent return per annum on monies invested. I'll be satisfied with 10 per cent because each of my £132 will yield £13 4 0 interest, £3 4 0 more than the ground rent is worth in toto over the same period. But a word of caution. As the ground rent has not only

(Contd. Page 9)

L.F.M. L.F.M. L.F.M. L.F.M. L.F.M. L.F.M. L.F.M. L.F.M.

A Talk With Christopher Morris



Christopher Morris, as befits an ex-Dublin Minor footballer, is a tenacious man. His Language Freedom Movement has aroused violent passions among those who value the Irish language. With one completely disrupted meeting in Dublin's Mansion House behind him, Mr. Morris was interviewed by Tony Meade just prior to the last, and comparatively quiet, meeting at the same venue.

wants to speak to a man in the street and not know whether he speaks to him in Irish or English which is bilingualism. This morning I see somebody from Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge has said something else. Dónal O Moráin has said bilingualism is the ideal. The white paper says the aim is to have Irish as a national medium of communication or something like this. In article 14 it says the aim must be to restore Irish to primacy as the National language. It is quite clear from articles 14 and 15 in the white paper that it visualises the Irish language being number 1 and English being number 2. We feel that we have crystallised this. This is what we oppose, this replacement of English by Irish as the first language.

T.M.—On that question, there has been a shift in the L.F.M. policy. In the Sunday Independent of the 10/4/66 you are quoted as saying "At the start we were opposed only to the method of reviving Irish. We were neutral about the principle of revival itself; but now we are also opposed to the revival because the language programme has recently been identified by Mr. Colley as the replacement of English by Gaelic. We thought our members might sit on the fence about this but they have agreed to our new approach unanimously". Mr. Patrick Browne, Secretary of the L.F.M. stated on the 15/12/66 that "the L.F.M. is not against the revival of Irish but it is opposed to the methods employed at present". How do you Mr. Morris reconcile these statements and what is the present policy of the L.F.M.?

C.M.—We have to define terms. People have not been defining terms. We admit by the way that our statement of policy was as clear as we thought it should be but we found that people, not necessarily our enemies, but even those just interested, found it less clear than we thought it should be. So we have revised the wording of the statement of policy. You may remember before the Mansion House meeting there was a poster out about the sacred cow. We described the language policy as a sacred cow — language policy, not the language — which was to replace English by Irish as the first language. We stick by that, and here is the point. When L.F.M. was formed the people who were in it said that we had better not say that we are neither for nor against the revival in principle, we'll leave that on the shelf. We are only against compulsion and discrimination. Then we formed a committee at the Gresham Hotel and this committee started studying to see if we did need to define our aims in further depth. We found that there was an illogicality in this, that in fact it was opposition in principle to the idea of replacing English by Irish that inspired all of them, the committee. Now I was on this committee and we had sensed this tendency to try to leave this issue alone, among all the members. But we having studied it in what we considered sufficiently greater depth felt that we couldn't leave it alone. We had to state our attitude towards the policy in principle and our policy was opposition in principle. We put this to the first general meeting of members of L.F.M. which was in Jury's Hotel in I think Oct. or Nov. 1965 and they agreed to our approach unanimously. They seemed to think that this was the only logical course to adopt and in my opinion it is. We accept compulsion and discrimination in our everyday life when the ultimate aim is acceptable.

T.M.—But looking back on the history of the language revival in the past forty years, I wouldn't think that it would be necessary to push a strict definition of aims because it would be conceded generally that government policy has been a waffle on the Irish language.

C.M.—Well would you not agree that any movement towards anything must define its aims.

T.M.—I agree.

C.M.—Its long term aims as well as its short term aims. When you're saying that you're agreeing I can tell you that you are disagreeing with Mícheál O Riain, Chairman of Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge who says that because it won't happen in our lifetime the ultimate aim is irrelevant. This is to my mind very sloppy thinking. Nobody has shown that we would be a better nation if we are speaking Irish instead of English. Nobody has shown that it would be for our economic, our social, our cultural, our educational, our religious, our political benefit.

T.M.—What place do you see the Irish Language playing in the Ireland that you would have?

C.M.—I would see it in the same situation that replacers would see English—as a second language—used by those who wish to use it whenever they wished to use it. I feel that those who are interested in the traditions of our country, the history of our

country, and there are some people who are, and there are some people who are not, but those who are interested must learn the Gaelic Language to get a grasp of our culture and our traditions. Without it, it is like trying to study the bible without a knowledge of Greek. So we accept it as an essential part, first of all of a study of our traditions, so that we can know where we came from, where by far the most important section of our culture came from but not the only section of our culture.

T.M.—How did you arrive yourself to the decision to set up the L.F.M. what forced you to this and had you any particular reason?

C.M.—I am not in the organisations that many Catholics are in, Sodality or charitable organisations or things like that, which many of my contemporaries have been in and are in. I am married but I have no children. I felt I should help the country in some way. I saw considerable damage being done to our educational system first of all by the amount of time being devoted to this language drive. I saw an attempt being made increasingly to claim a monopoly of patriotism by those who have one set of views, and this I thought was intellectual arrogance of the worst type that was becoming more and more noticeable, and like everybody else I was saying "why doesn't somebody do something about it?" The same as everybody says the same of cursing, or corporal punishment or about anything else like this. Then I asked myself "What's stopping me?", and I couldn't find an answer and I was more or less forced by my own conscience.

T.M.—Did you have any difficulty in school yourself with Irish?

C.M.—Tá gaeilge agamsa cuíosach maith fós. Bhíos ar scoil i Sraid Synge. Bhí am uair amháin nuair a smaoininn beagnach tré Gaeilge.

T.M.—Ni raibh aon deachracht agat leis an Ard Teastas?

C.M.—Níor dheineas an Ard Teastas, dheineas an Matric ach ní raibh deachrecht ar bith agam. Rinneas cuíosach maith i nGaeilge agus i mBeirle.

T.M.—An bhfuil aon suim cultúrtha agat i nGaeilge anois, an léann tú aon leabhar nó fillocht anois?

C.M.—Admhuighim nach bhfuil. Ní raibh aon suim agamsa i nGaeilge ón uair a d'fhágas an scoil.

T.M.—Ar léigh tú faoi o shoin?

C.M.—Do leigheas anois agus arís dréacht as an pháipéar. Tá mé ag léamh níos mó anois ná ar léigh mé chéanna féin. Bhínn indán labhairt beagnach chomh maith tré Gaeilge agus mar a bhí sé ar mo chúmas tré Bhéarla, ach níl an líomhacht agamsa anois agus a bhíodh.

T.M.—Do you have unanimity of policy views in your organisation?

C.M.—Yes we do. But we are an amateur organisation. For instance I do not know where you got this thing "L.F.M. is not opposed to the revival of Irish but is opposed to the methods employed at present". I would say that was probably qualified by saying "not against the revival of Irish as a second language". We are not against the revival of Irish as a second language provided it is by voluntary means, and that people are not discriminated against in their educational or employment opportunities. It is alright for a private company doing it if they want to. It is different when the state decides as a state policy to discriminate against one group of people because of their native language.

T.M.—Do you accept that it is the duty of the Government to preserve and to further as much as possible the use of the Irish language? That it is extremely natural for them to translate this into compulsion?

C.M.—Do I accept that it is up to them to further the use of it as much as possible? No. We do not accept that it is their duty to further it to the extent that it would replace English as our first language. We do not accept that because we say that it has not been shown to be for our good. It is up to the people who are spending the money to show that it is in our interest.

T.M.—I'd say it would be difficult for somebody coming from abroad to this country, somebody who had been abroad for very many years wanting to take up state employment but almost anybody who has come through the state schools or any schools under this Dept. of Education have a reasonably decent knowledge of Irish?

C.M.—They should have. But they should also have a reasonably decent knowledge of English. Nevertheless people fail in their leaving certificate in English after studying English for a long as they studied Irish.

T.M.—Perhaps we should have a look at the English language policy?

L.F.M. L.F.M. L.F.M. L.F.M. L.F.M. L.F.M. L.F.M. L.F.M.

In this article, Micheál S. O Loinsigh, of Gaelic Weekly, considers the importance placed on the language by the men of 1917-1921 and stresses its importance today. If we face up to the problem, he says,

WE WILL BUILD A TRUE DEMOCRACY

THE importance of the Gaelic cultural aspect to the men of 1917 to 1921 can best be judged by the programme of the first Dail in relation to the Irish language.

Despite the fact that the Dail was waging a life and death struggle it laid down very important and very sensible proposals for the restoration of the language as the spoken tongue of our people. First of all, it set up a ministry for Irish. The Minister for Local Government in the first Dail devised a scheme to further the use of Irish in the business of the public boards and local authorities. As a result of this the general council of County Councils at the time set up a committee to select suitable terms to allow business with the public to be done through Irish and a handbook of these terms was printed.

Furthermore a special scheme of travelling organisers was set up to help the work of teaching Irish in the schools and a scheme of Irish Scholarships was devised to provide boys and girls with an opportunity to become qualified teachers well able to teach Irish.

Despite the lack of finance a sum of £5,000 was provided to produce suitable text books in Irish. All this was done while the Dail was at the same time engaged in the life and death struggle for its own survival and the survival of Ireland.

The failure to establish an All-Ireland Republic by force of arms and the subsequent treaty and civil war had a marked effect on both the separatists and the Gaelic culturalists; and particularly on those who believed in both ideals.

Played with problem

The Cumann na nGael Government which came into power in 1922 in the Irish Free State and the Fianna Fail Government which succeeded it in 1932 did have on their programmes the restoration of Irish, but neither the Cumann na nGael Government nor the Fianna Fail Government have fully understood what they have to do in order to bring this about and, therefore, they have played with the problem, throwing the responsibility for the revival of Irish over onto the schools and doing virtually nothing, and being afraid to do anything, to ensure that the people who acquire Irish in the schools are able to use it afterwards in the general life outside.

Agreement may not be found on this short treatment of the efforts of Cumann na nGael and Fianna Fail. Documents, reports, commissions and white papers may be quoted while in all of these there were attempts to find a way there was never the will to put anything worthwhile, anything revolutionary, anything designed to doing the job, into practice. We have paid dearly for this vacillating attitude to one of the most important planks of the Irish Revolutionary Movement as laid down in 1916 and as endorsed by the first Dail and it has brought things into being in this country which are completely out of keeping with what would have been if we had pursued the idea of the Gaelic Revival courageously and with revolutionary zeal. This brings us then to the important point of this article and that is that to have true democracy in Ireland we shall have to face up honestly to this problem, the problem of establishing an atmosphere and set of conditions which will guarantee the emergence of characteristics needed not only to secure political freedom for the entire country but which will enable us to develop our hearts and minds in such a way that the unique Irish character, fashioned by thousands of years of civilised and cultured endeavour, and influenced by cultures other than our basic Gaelic one, will emerge. If we fail to do this, and we are failing at present, then we will be as badly off as we were when Douglas Hyde founded the Gaelic League, because we will have refused to do the one thing that was necessary for us as a people, if we would seek to mend the many grievous mental and spiritual injuries which we have suffered from so many years of alien subjugation and exploitation.

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We will not survive

I will go further and say that we will not survive as a people on this island, unless we are prepared to fight might and main to retain and develop our cultural heritage. We need badly to expurgate this sense of failure, frustration and smallness which we still have despite 1916 and the Four Glorious Years.

Such a genuine, sustained, remorseless effort on behalf of our language and culture will require two things—a clear appreciation by the people of the issues involved and a return by the Gaelic and separatist movements in this country to a revolutionary way of thinking and acting. The people who believe in our language and culture and those who are dissatisfied with our present political philosophy and aims are natural allies and they must recognise this before it is too late. Looking around at the complacency, the mental torpor, the play seeking and hypocrisy that characterise many aspects of our lives today, I maintain that if we did not have a language problem we would be doomed. This may seem a wild claim but the great task of halting the decline in the speaking of Irish and expanding its use in several aspects of our life will have to be gone through, by and for the people and this is where it will involve the development and use of highly-refined democratic practices.

This whole effort, if properly pursued, will keep alive in this country the idealism and sense of revolution that is needed to solve the many other problems that we have, apart from that of the Irish Language and culture.

To illustrate this, I would mention those people in the Gaeltacht and, God forgive us, sometimes in the Gaeltacht, who are trying to bring Irish as much as possible into their lives.

For those in the Gaeltacht who wish to rear their families through Irish there are great difficulties that involve many personal sacrifices. They have only a limited number of schools in their area where most of the subjects are taught through Irish. They have to arrange to take their children to these schools when young, and this often involves very practical ups and downs and repetitive day-to-day sacrifices.

Unsympathetic bureaucracy

They are faced with a general public which was, up to recent times, unappreciative of their efforts to buy and sell, sport and play, work and study as much as possible in Irish. Finally, they are confronted very often, when doing business with the Government or public bodies, by a completely unsympathetic bureaucracy, which obstructs, hinders, abuses and endeavours to intimidate them at every opportunity.

I suggest that these people who suffer all this for their devotion to a cause which brings them nothing in personal rewards are better people because of it. They give allegiance to an ideal which they believe to be necessary if their country is to survive and do not count the cost. People in the Gaeltacht who prefer to use Irish at all times, are, sometimes, similarly beset by local authority or government officials and have found difficulty in



some areas when confronted with English-speaking and English-minded clergy.

These people who fight a personal battle for the language are the best of our people and they have enough faith in Ireland and its future to struggle against what, oftentimes, must appear to be very great odds.

For the great failing in Ireland today is that too many of us and, particularly, too many of those in positions of leadership, are conservative when we have nothing worthwhile to conserve, are proud of minor achievements while refusing to admit major problems and the necessity for solving them and, above all, are satisfied with two insignificant neo-nationalist states when, what we require to survive and what our history demands from us, is an independent, enterprising and democratic Irish Nation.

I submit that if we face up to and tackle our language problem we will build a true democracy and will produce a people of significance who will justify the long struggle of our forebears for survival and self expression and who will have much, as a result of this achievement and the many things attendant upon it, to give to the world.

Easter Statement Support Language

THE Easter Statement from the leadership of the Republican Movement which was read at all commemorations under the auspices of the National Commemoration Committee on Easter Sunday spoke strongly in defence of the Irish language.

The statement linked the recent onslaught on the language with the de-nationalising influences at present at work in Irish life, especially in the economic sphere.

"If there is an attack being mounted against the fabric of Irish life in the economic sphere," the statement says, "it is also true that in the cultural sphere there is forming a determined attack on the Irish Language. It is stated that Irish is a bar to progress, that it is an encumbrance on our educational system. This is a ruthless attack on a part of our heritage as a people which must be resisted in every possible manner. It is not right from a national point of view to reduce everything to a commercial value. There are other criteria maintained by civilized people and it is these criteria we must hold the Irish Language is also an expression of militant Republicanism. Support for these criteria we must hold the Irish Language is also an expression of militant Republicanism."

Nationality are rampant today and these must be met with and must be defeated.

"The Republican Movement would stress its continued resistance to the denationalising element in this country who seek to destroy it or at least mould it to a form unacceptable to the mass of the Irish people. But it is not sufficient for us merely to be Republicans. We must be militant Republicans, conscious always of the inevitable armed struggle with those forces in Ireland who would destroy us and all that we stand for. Militancy is not best served by an active defence but by an active attack. And this attack must be mounted by us whenever we see an opportunity. Active resistance to the foreign take-over of Irish land and assets is an expression of militant Republicanism. Support for these criteria we must hold the Irish Language is also an expression of militant Republicanism."

NOT A POLITIC BREW

(AIR: "Master McGraw")

THE L.F.M. are a wonderful team,

With their cant, their lies, those things I mean,
To save our language is what they profess,
And for such pious aims they'll surely be blest.

CHORUS

Too-ra-la, too-ra-lee,
It's a short trip to London
From Baile-Atha-Cliath.

The teaching is wrong, we'll admit it is so,
But our teanga is precious we'll have you to know,
And the L.F.M. will not cast it away,
To please little minds that must have their say.

CHORUS

We've fought with the Dane, with the Saxon and Tan,
With Auxiliary, and traitor, and gomben man,
Now the L.F.M. is but another the same,
Take those "O's" and "Mac's" away from your name.

CHORUS

And in conclusion I appeal unto you,
Never let our language be a politic brew,
For election to Dail or to offer for sale,
By the L.F.M., and here ends my tale.

—Fintan Byrne.

BOOK REVIEWS



Military on the track of the Fenians, 1867.

England's Shame Was Rossa's Glory

My Years in English Jails, by O'Donovan Rossa, editor by Sean O Cearnaigh, published by Anvil Books, 240 pp., covers, 5/.

LAST year saw a deluge of commemorative literature of rather uneven quality. The centenary of the Fenian rising of 1967 has so far produced nothing like last year's performance, and for this let God be thanked.

Of all the personalities linked with the Fenian organisation, that of O'Donovan Rossa is undoubtedly the best remembered, and deservedly so. His was the unconquerable spirit of the Irish rebel, nothing could cow him, resistance to aggression and the thousands of petty tyrannies to which his jailors subjected him came as naturally to him as acceptance of present conditions is accepted by most men.

The book under review tells the story of Rossa's prison life. It is a story of outstanding courage and steadfastness in the face of what an editorial in the *Spectator* of the time called torture. It wasn't that the prison authorities merely carried out the rules regarding recalcitrance in prisoners, but that they exceeded the regulations in their efforts to break the spirit of Rossa. This is the story of that attempt, of endless periods in solitary confinement, of bread and water diet, of humiliation and degradation practised on this Corkman. But he would not be broken. It is hard to break a man who fights back. Only the supine can be broken.

"It is a sorry admission to be obliged to make," said the *Spectator*, commenting on the report of the Devon Commission which inquired into the prison conditions of the Fenians, "but it is the truth and we believe that the policy, no less than the

duty, of those who seek to reconcile the people of England and the people of Ireland is to state the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, on all questions at issue between them—it is the truth, then, we are sorry to say, that the complaints so angrily and persistently made in Ireland for the last few years, regarding the treatment of Fenian prisoners detained in English jails, have been, if not literally maintained, certainly in their substance justified."

This was an establishment journal admitting that the prison authorities under which Rossa served his time were barbarous, savage beyond even the barbarians of whom Gladstone wrote in anger when reporting on prison conditions in Naples. The years of horror served to bring about the release of the Fenians because the English liberal conscience was appalled that such horrors could happen in Britain.

Rossa faced not only the physical tortures of imprisonment and the mental agony which sprang therefrom, but he was also subjected to an attempt on the part of his jailors to blacken his moral reputation. Rossa attempted to smuggle a letter to his wife through the mother of another prisoner and this personal letter was intercepted by the prison governor. Rossa was accused of trying to carry on an affair with this other woman whom the governor understood to be the wife of the other prisoner. It is difficult to see how the governor could have put such a construction on the letter except through malice. Rossa's great worry was that this judgment of the governor would appear

on his prison record and that it would be used against him when he was dead. A half century later the name of another Irish patriot was blackened on evidence rather flimsier than that which satisfied the malicious mind of Rossa's jailors.

This is a book which should be read by everyone seeking to understand the Fenian mind. We can be grateful to

Anvil Books and to Sean O Cearnaigh for publishing this really worthwhile piece of documentation.

—John Stines.

NATIONAL BOOK SERVICE

New Titles in stock.

The Course of Irish History—21/-

The Bold Fenian Men —3/6

My Years in England Jails—5/-

Basic Fenianism

The Bold Fenian Men, by Seamus G. O'Kelly, published by Irish News Service and Publicity, 98pp, covers, 3/6

THE Bold Fenian Men gives us brief biographical sketches of eight of the most outstanding Fenian leaders. Included in the book are the lives of James Stephens, C. J. Kickham, Thomas Clarke Luby, John B. O'Reilly, John O'Leary, John Devoy, J. O'Donovan Rossa, and Colonel John O'Mahony.

Mr. O'Kelly gave us *The Glorious Seven* last year, a brief account of the signatories of the 1916 Proclamation of the Republic and this little publication has no doubt merits. Conciseness is not only desirable in anything which is to be widely read but it is absolutely necessary. The one demand which must be filled is that the matter be accurate. This Fenian tribute from Mr. O'Kelly draws heavily on Devoy's published correspondence, the great source of information on the period, and the author had the knowledge of Desmond Ryan and Seelie to draw on.

The portraits are all interesting and will help to have these great men better known among the younger generation of Republicans to whom the Fenians are an unknown quantity. These men do not deserve only a blanket approval from us, they were individuals, each with his own virtues, each with his own personal limitations. Stephen's was a failure, Devoy was heroic in his persistence, dreadful in his bitterness in controversy.

Mr. O'Kelly's epilogue is interesting in its insistence on the pre-eminent position of the I.R.B. in the organisation of the 1916 Rising. Connolly, who after all was the leader of his own armed grouping, is given less of a place than this reviewer thinks he deserves. But this disagreement with Mr. O'Kelly's conclusion is lessened by the equally important admission by the author of the social content of Fenianism.

There is a good collection of Fenian ballads and poetry included in this publication and this reviewer would recommend it for those who require some basic knowledge of Fenianism and of its leaders.—J.S.

National Book Service

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Mass will be offered on Sunday, April 9, at 10.45 a.m. in the Franciscan Church, Merchants Quay, Dublin, in memory of Tony Darcy, Sean McNeela and Sean Martin.

NIL REITEACH GAN REABHLOID

— deir Deasun Breatnach

CORRAIT tá daoine ar aon tuairim iliom: thar lear, deir Walter Lippmann gach bhfuil deireadh le héifeacht choras na polaitíochta úd ar a dtugtar "Daonlathas an Iarthair" agus sa bhalléicinn an L.A.-Gn. Míchéal Ó Coisdeal na státseirbhísh as an gcumacht a bhain siad ó na polaitíoirí agus as an bpraiseach atá a dhéanamh acu sna 26 Contae.

Ni ag déanamh gaisce as atáim nó is iomaí duine a shléann amhlaidh.

Agus é ag labhairt le hiriseoir uair dúirt W. B. Yeats go raibh snaith an Bhearáin in aigine an Eireannaigh.

Paraitir, b'fhíor dó agus is fíor fós dó é. Dá mbeadh aigine na Gaeilge ag na státseirbhísh a bhfuil cumhacht an stáit acu ní baol go mbeadh cúrsaí chomh dona is atá.

Geilleagraithe in uachtar

Siad na geilleagraithe atá in uachtar agus, de ghnáth, is iad is nimhne in éadan na Gaeilge. Tá dílseacht ag dul go teanga i gcónaí, go comhfhiosach, agus go fócbomhfhiosach, agus an tEireannach ar mbealach an Béarla ná an Ghaeilge tá sé de chathú air cúrsaí a mhéad de réir Shasana nó de réir Mheiriceá.

Sin is b'fíor le maidm de shaineolaíthe is de chaispeistí ó Shasana is ó Mheiriceá small; níl muid i riocht ár gcul cúrsaí féin a mheas. An tairmheon in uachtar.

An lá faoi dheireadh labhair an tAthair Mac Daidhí faoin Bheile agus faoin Ollóin.

Is fíor dó gur measa i bhfad fadhbanna mhuintir na dtíortha sin ná mar a bhí nó atá romhainn anseo.

B'éigean dóibh talamh a ghoid ón fharrage; níl le déanamh againne ach carragaeacha a chaitheamh isteach san aigean agus an tuisce a bhaint as an talamh áiteanna eile chun na mílte acra a chur ar fáil don talamhlaucht. D'fhéadfaí talamh a bhaint den fharrage áiteanna freisin ach beidh sé sách luath tabhairt faoi sin nuair a bheas an chuid eile i gcrioch.

Na mílte diomhaoín

Ach, a deir tú, céard faoi na mílte acra atá diomhaoín nó gan ach caoirigh nó ba orádh, talamh ar bhain ár sinsear, ar chuir siad in oiriúint agus ar shaothraigh siad. Teigh ar síúlóid, a dhúine, ar na sléibte agus tabhair faoi deara, faoin raitheach, rian obair na nEireannach 100 blian ó shin — in éag atá an oidhreacht sin, freisin.

Taighde

Is fíor taighde a dhéanamh ar thionscal an bháidín san Damhghair. In Eireann sea d'fhoghlaim siad an coard agus in uachtar atá siadsan inniu agus muidhe thíos.

Céard faoi thionscal an uisce bheatha? Ag tús na haoise seo againn a bhí an t-ollmhargadh ach ag na hAibhneacha atá sé anois. Agus tionscal na long? Chomh

fada is a bhí muintín againn asainn féin bhí linn. Bhí tionchar na Gaeilge fós ar aigine na ndaoine a bhí "living on a cultural overdraft" de réir scríbhneoir ón mBreatain Bheag.

Iobairtí mora

Nuair a bheas an réabhlóid thart caithfidh muid tabhairt faoi obair dhian is faoi iobairtí mora go ceann gúine ar a laghad, an saol bog compórdach a chur dhin, agus a bheith sparlach agus gort faoi gach rud ach daoine agus, go hairithe, páistí.

Déanfaidh muid sin cuid mhóilth as ar gconáil féin ach fáilteoidh muid roimh chónamh ó dhúine nó ó áit ar bith, an t-Iarthar agus an t-Oirthear san áireamh, gan bheith beag beann ar éinne. Ní hé an saol bog éasca a chuirfínn ós comhair na ndaoine ach an saol cruu ar leas an phobail agus de réir theagasc UI Chonghaile atá bunaithe ar shóisceál an tSáineolaíochta.

Dá tabharfaí cothrom na Féinne do na daoine dhéanfaidís an beart.

Na "saineolaíthe"

Má ligtear do na "saineolaíthe" is beag duine a bheas fágtha san Iarthar i gceann 10 mbliana. Ina dhiaidh sin titfidh na bailte, beaga is móra, ó chéile. Ní bheidh fágtha ach ní bheidh chára móra agus ní bheidh a dhóthain daoine iontu siúd chun Stát ar bith a choinneáil. Daoine a thugann saibheas.

Tá 12,000,000 de dhíth go gear. Caithfidh muid tabhairt faoi athphobúil an náisiúin agus is cinnte nach ndéanfaidh muid sin gan obair dhian, gan iobairtí agus gan chruantán. Muna ndéantar sin tá deireadh leis an gcine.

Tir gan saothrú

Tir gan saothrú atá in Eirinn inniu. Bhí sí saothraithe uair ach theip na daoine ar a sinisir. Tá orainn bealach na Croise a chur orainn féin fé mar a rinne na Rúisigh.

Nuair a bheas an réabhlóid thart beidh orainn dian-smacht a chur orainn agus bheith gan trócaire in éadan na bhfealltóirí agus na ngadaithe ach gan cur isteach ar cheart an duine anonaí.

"Is tabhachtal an cine ná thú féin" — b'fhíor mana Húidre agus a chaidre agus dreamanna nach iad. Is é is fíor faoin seál go gcuirfeart an cine i gcontúirt a bhacsa nuair a dhéantar neamhaird an duine anonaí.

"Ní féidir deireadh a chur le peaca an teimseir", a deirtear. Ní féidir, cinnte. Ach is féidir díreach a rith ar leas an phobail agus ar leas an duine anonaí chomh maith céanna.

Más lofa agus passé córas na polaitíochta a fuair muid ó na Sasanaigh céard é is féidir a chur ina ionad? O Fhionntain O Leathlobhair tá an fhealsúnacht, mar atá, gur mór ceart ag an gcine ar an talamh ná mar atá ag an té ag a bhfuil sé de réir choras ghallda (na Normannach a thóg isteach anseo an dtús é) mar gheall ar shuíl na nEireannach a fuair

bás ar ár son: sí a bhfuil síúd a cheannailigh talamh (agus saibheas i gcoitinne) na nEireann ar son an phobail atá agus a bheas.

Ar chóras an chomhar-chumainn, dá bhri sin, a bheas an stát nua bunaithe cé go caithfidh a bhunú, leis, muid airdéallach i gcónaí muid stáchaipitileachas agus faoi mhaorlathas (nó tiorantacht na státseirbhíse).

Caithfidh muid gach ball agus gach gné de shaol agus de riachán na tíre a scrúid. Caithfidh muid éadailthas chuide go mbeidh daonlathas beo againn fé mar atá sé beo ar an leibhéal is ísle san Eilbéis. Ach san nua Eirinn seo atá in aisling beidh páirt ag na daoine ar gach leibhéal. Déanfaidh muid an náisiún a athbhunú ar bhonn an pharóiste.

Beidh gach mórfeirm comhar-chumainn agus gach monarcha faoi smacht na noibritheoirí — siad a thoghas saoisit, bainisteoirí agus lucht riacháin i gcoitinne. Déanfaidh ar brabús a roinnt ar na daoine móran sa chaoi chéanna is a dhéantar i gcás na soitheachaisca, mar atá, a sciar féin don long, agus a chuid féin do gach laisceair. Sílím go bhfuil seicim móran ar an gcuma sin faoi lán teicil san Yugo-slaiv: is féidir linn ceacht a fhoghlaim gach áit.

Go cothrom

Déanfaidh an chéin a chinntú go roinneair saibheas an phobail go cothrom ar gach éinne agus go deimhin ní dhéantar dearmad do na seandaoine, do na daoine atá tinn nó bacach nó lagintinneach.

Ground Rents

(from page 5)

retained its value but actually increased it by this law. I would advise you not to encourage all your tenants to buy at the moment. Depending on the public attitude, and it is very good at the moment, the market will certainly rise for ground rent holdings and that's the time to offload. Most tenants I've spoken to think they've got a bargain law! It's important that nobody disillusion them. That is why this effort to make the figure 14 times instead of 13.2 is a good move; The Count was in on that one! But get rid of them all within three months either way. The hatchet of politics will soon be cutting at the 13.2 limit and even if that does not reduce it what use will £10 per annum be in seven years' time? I think your latest date should be local election fortnight.

The Count's table proves how unfounded were your fears re the government.

Beidh fadhbanna ann fós romhainn. Ní dhéanfaidh muid córas gan locht a bhunú riamh sa saol seo. Beidh na peacal ann i gcónaí — an tsainnt, an formad, an tuabhair, an craos, an leisce — ach ní bheathóidh an córas nua iad fé mar atá an "Daonlathas Iartharach" a dhéanamh faoi láthair, an drúis, an tsainnt agus an craos go mór mór.

Beidh na fadhbanna ann i gcónaí ach ag tabhairt fóthu a bheas muid in ionad ag glúadh leo agus fulaingt fóthu, innir mubónite, fé mar is fíor inniu.

Ar na bunphrionsabail a bheas romhainn beidh an fhirinne, an tsaoire, an ceart, an tsairbhís (in áit on bhraibís), an smacht agus grá don chomharsa.

Faelsúnacht de chineál éigin atá againn anseo, mar sin, an mhí seo. Is faelsúnacht seo, creidim, a spreag Wolfe Tone, Jamie Hope, Emmet, Fionntain O Leathlobhair, Pádraig Mac Piarais, Séamus Ó Conghaile, Fear-Sabhat agus na mílte eile a thug a raibh acu ar son an phobail. Is faelsúnacht í chomh maith céanna, creidim, a spreagann a lán in Eirinn inniu — na hOglaigh, na Poblachtóirí i gcoitinne, pobal na Gaeilge, cuid mhaith oibritheoirí, roinnt sagart, corr easpag, bhféidir, daoine sa Pháirtí Oibreachtas agus sna páirtithe eile, Caitlicigh, Protastúin, Easaontóirí agus aindiachaithe.

Aon duine a bhfuil cúrsaí measta aige tuigeann sé faoin am seo nach bhfuil aon réiteach ann ach an réabhlóid, an casadh bunoscionn, an seanchoras a scrios agus atosú. Bail ó Dhia ar an obair sin.

Why should they or any of the other parties cut us off? Not only Charlie has rents but so has young Norton and Paddy Belton. But even they will not brace public opinion if it is aroused.

So my advice is to sell within three months. You can fool all of the people only some of the time as "Voxy" says. Alas!

Yours faithfully,

Christopher.

Wexford Reorganises

A reorganised Comhairle Ceannairc of Sinn Féin was recently set up in Wexford. The meeting included delegates from a wide area of the County and the problems of the movement in those areas were discussed. Officers elected were:

Chairman: M. O'Leary. V. Chairman: O. Murray. Secretary: S. Swann. Treasurer: M. Treacy. Publicity Officer: S. O. Dubhghaill.

"The Irish Question is enough for me"

CONSTRUCTIVE criticism of the march article has not been lacking. Writers will forgive me, I hope, if I quote from letters instead of printing them in full.

Firstly 'Tom Rebel': On Industry there is much to be said in favour of involving workers in management decisions, even under private ownership. But ultimately the question of rights of ownership must arise. A private owner under working law has the right to sell up without consulting his workers, as Perry's did to Guinness some years back. Guinness policy, economically sound, according to its own light, was to run the place down and ultimately to close it.

Going and Smith in Cahir under existing law were perfectly entitled to sell up under the miller rationalisation scheme. There was a brief moment when the workers who had been paid off were in the same place as the farmers looking for their final grain cheques. A little good local leadership there and there could have started an agitation to keep the mill going as a worker-farmer co-op. Enough working capital to allow this has already been spent on restoring Cahir Castle!

Unity of Interest

Regarding big and small farmers: there is unity of interest in the N.F.A., but the rancher stands to gain more from the meat marketing board; if the N.F.A. gets its demands, the small man will still rear the calves. I agree that a larger farm could rear its own calves and that maybe this is the coming thing, if the small man is eliminated altogether.

The Fianna Fail policy is to turn farmers against workers. This can be countered by moves from both sides. The commodity strike was good: the Dublin workers understood it better than the road-blocks. If the N.F.A. had looked for support from the Trades Councils, the dockers could have 'blackened' anything moving by sea. Unfortunately this type of relationship doesn't yet exist. It can be brought into existence by the N.F.A. opposing the E.S.B. Bill shortly to be discussed in the Dail, the object of which is to restrict the right to strike in 'essential services.' This Bill can easily be amended to render a further Commodity strike by the N.F.A. illegal: the N.F.A. must therefore oppose it, thereby gaining the sympathy of trade unionists for the farmers' demands.

The movement is now engaged in working out its social theories and in learning the art of government at grass-roots level precisely in order to obtain power without the corruption process so typical of Fianna Fail.

I refuse to chase the hares raised by P. O.C. relating to practically every revolutionary or reactionary movement that ever was. The Irish question is enough for me.

Intellectuals

On Intellectuals, I named Connolly and Tone. I have no desire to try and prove Pearse wasn't one; it so happens that a higher proportion of Connolly's and Tone's works than those of Pearse (excepting the Sovereign People) are readable and relevant today. The 1919-21 period produced Dev, Collins, Griffiths, Mellows, Brugha, O'Connor. Of these only

In this article Roy Johnston replies to criticism of his recent article, "The Key to Leadership."

Griffith produced a body of writings: this was non-revolutionary separatist in content. Griffiths in 1913 attacked the workers, unlike the I.R.B. who supported them, being revolutionaries. Gilmore has outlined how the mantle of Griffiths fell on De Valera. The one revolutionary Document from the '21 period was Mellows' notes smuggled from jail; scarcely enough to give the necessary widespread understanding.

Good Points

There are a lot of further good points here, but I must pass on to P.O.C. (Surrey), who is worried about the Fianna Fail/Clann na Goblaic process and believes that the dislodgement of the imperialists from the North East is a matter of pure gunmanship and that no theory is necessary: ana tradisiúnach go foill.



Roy Johnston

As I have said before: the exact recipe for the Fianna Fail process is to take a gunman and put him straight into politics without a period of training in leadership and the art of government in the various mass organisations. The poor sod immediately is led up the garden path by the Civil Service and having no social theories simply thinks in terms of patronage for his friends.

The movement is now engaged in working out its social theories and in learning the art of government at grass-roots level precisely in order to obtain power without the corruption process so typical of Fianna Fail.

I refuse to chase the hares raised by P. O.C. relating to practically every revolutionary or reactionary movement that ever was. The Irish question is enough for me.

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Connolly : A Consistent Socialist

THE seeds of the next Revolutionary period were sown, in exile in the city of Paris, when in 1857, James Stephens, Michael Doheny and John O'Mahony established the Irish Republican Brotherhood, commonly known as the Fenians.

This remarkable organisation, which incidentally had General Cluseret, later Commander in Chief of the Paris Commune of 1871, as its first military commander, was given its political meaning from the fertile plottings of Stephens, a Revolutionary of European consciousness. The Republican Brotherhood dominated the history of Ireland for almost seventy years, spawning a number of fringe movements and auxiliaries in a fertile succession, of which the Land League was the most important and the G.A.A. the most enduring. The Volunteers, the Rising of 1916 — the Gaelic League, all these sprang from the Fenian conception, and the movement, was a closely knit catalyst, a leaven working incessantly in the unthinking mass.

The history of the Fenian Brotherhood, and that of its onetime rival and later partner — Sinn Féin — is an illustration of the curious dichotomy of Irish Politics. These movements started at opposite poles of the political spectrum, moved towards each other and reversed their positions in a tragic danse macabre which combined dialectic and tragedy and ended up in each other's political position. Thus, the IRB, which started out as a revolutionary organisation, with connections with the First International and the approval of Marx, ended by selling the Treaty, throwing the whole organisational weight of its discipline behind the conspiracy to destroy the Republic, and killing Liam Mellows and Joe McKelvey. Sinn Féin started out as a curious blend of Proudhon and Brian Boru, with a built-in bias against the Labour struggle and a disposition to accept the 'Kings Lords and Commons' of Ireland as the 'National Objective' and, after shedding wave after wave of opportunist daughter organisations, has now adopted radical and progressive social policies. The question of its political policies will be mentioned later on in this lecture.

In the present century, the tensions between the two streams of thought in the National movement were outlined with telling clarity by George Gilmore in his booklet 'Labour and the Republican Movement' — an essential source for anyone who seeks to understand the great tragedy of the Treaty. The opening years of the period were hectic with the growing and conscious rivalry between Griffith's concept of nationalism, and Connolly's clear determination that freedom must bring economic prosperity and governing power for the common man. The respective journals of the two tendencies poured streams of invective on each other and the leading protagonists had a holy contempt for each others principles.

Impregnable Rooted

It is important to understand the context. An outside observer, with casual interest, would never have suspected that the tip of an iceberg was showing, and that great events were moving towards a conclusion. On the surface, the tiny Labour and Trade Union movement of Connolly and the frantic caucuses of the IRB and Sinn Féin had no influence on events. The whole political scene was overshadowed by the Irish Parliamentary Party, with a complete monopoly of the national scene that could never be achieved by the combined organisations of Fianna Fáil, Fine Gael and the Ulster Unionist Party, in the present day. This monolith seemed impregnable rooted, bolstered up by the warm support of the Church and the arrayed forces of property. The arguments between Griffith and Connolly would have seemed very academic to a politician accustomed to counting noses.

Yet in a few dramatic years, the entire national picture had changed utterly. The Nationalist Party was swept into the rubbish bin of history. Even the Republican movement, the movement of Pearse and Clarke, the child of the IRB, which should have been the logical successor to Redmond, has disappeared. The two tiny factions that had quarrelled for the leadership of the national struggle, the Labour movement of Connolly and the petty-bourgeois nationalism of Griffith had locked in a final polemic, and Griffith had won — or at least his policies had won. The Republican movement was submerged in 1918, and the great rally at the Mansion House was the swan song of the party of Pearse and Clarke. The organisation had been taken over by the Griffith-Collins-De Valera axis, with the smooth organising of the IRB, and Labour had been rudely pushed aside. This within a few years of the death of Connolly.

It is time now to assess the contribution that Connolly made to the development of radical thought and action in Ireland. Across the years, the deeds of this remarkable man evokes the allegiance of a generation to whom his is only a legend — the legend of a mighty figure standing against the smoke and flame of Easter Week. But into the making of that legend was poured a lifetime of study and furious activity, of quiet and ceaseless striving on behalf of his class, and of patient teaching by pen and tongue of the road that

they must follow to free themselves. The flaming guns of his Citizen Army in Easter Week tell only part of the story. The rest of his life is a record just as noble, if not so colourful.

Fifty years have passed since that Spring morning that Connolly was carried out to face the rifles of the firing squad. In that time his grave has been rifled by a horde of political body-snatchers anxious to attach the prestige of his mighty name to whatever creed they espouse — and in the same period the movement to which he gave birth, the Party of Labour to which he gave inspiration and purpose, has almost forgotten the principles for which he died.

A dozen different political groupings have squabbled for possession of his heritage, have claimed his allegiance to their principles, have proclaimed the foundation of their philosophy on his ideas, have said that he was simply a Republican, more than a Republican, a Nationalist, an Internationalist — a Communist, a Social Democrat — even the mentor of the George Colley wing of Fianna Fáil. Yet the simple truth stands clear in every action of his life. This man was, above all else and before all else a Socialist, and he died as a witness to his faith in the Brotherhood of Man.

Consistent Socialist

Connolly was a more consistent Socialist than many of his doctrinaire critics in the movement. He was a member of the Second International, and one of his early triumphs was in securing independent representation for Ireland at the conference of the International at Basle in Switzerland — the first time ever that Ireland was recognised as a nation in an international conference.

In the years before the First War, the International Labour Movement never tired of proclaiming that it would not permit the quarrels of the Imperialist governments engulf the workers of Europe in armed conflict. Under the promising slogan of "Turn Imperialist Wars into Civil Wars" they threatened mass strikes, civil disobedience and insurrections should the latent rivalries of capitalism thrust them into war. Yet, when the guns began to boom in Flanders, the International collapsed in shame — reminiscent of the swaggering bluster of the Young Irelanders. Their leaders rushed into coalition cabinets, and the Socialist Parties of Britain, France and Germany, not content with voting money for the prosecution of the slaughter, urged the workers of Europe to maim and murder each other to the advantage of the shareholders of Schneider-Creusot, Krupp and Vickers. In that dark hour, only a few kept their heads, and James Connolly was the foremost.

In Germany, Liebknecht was imprisoned, and Rosa Luxemburg. In France Jaures was murdered. In Austria Frederick Austerlitz shot the Minister for War and disappeared into the darkest dungeon of the Dual Monarchy. Their actions were individual, their influence slight and transient. Only in Ireland did Connolly succeed in keeping a section of the movement true to its programme.

His first action was typical. He hoisted the famous banner over Liberty Hall bearing the slogan — "We serve neither King nor Kaiser — but Ireland" and that phrase became the keynote of his campaign. In the columns of his paper he vomited his contempt for the traitors who led the workers of Europe to ruin, and those at home who hoped to do likewise, and when two years later he stormed the GPO at the head of the first workers army in the world — it was James Connolly turning the Imperialist war into a civil war in earnest.

Crash of Guns

He was at the flowering of his life when he was taken from us. He had reached his greatest clarity of expression, and his maturing life would have been an immense national asset. On May 12th 1916, the crash of guns drowned his voice for ever, and the brain that had directed the most incisive and inspiring pen in Irish history was shattered and lifeless. He left a rich heritage behind him, and who can measure his influence, not alone on his contemporaries, but on the young men of the present generation who must achieve in practical victory the principles to which he gave the last full measure of devotion.

During his brief life in Dublin he gave the only real analysis of our history from the people's viewpoint and he drew from it the axiom that only the advanced workers are capable of leading the nation in a period of stress. Any movement, any leadership, not imbued deeply with the principles of Connolly and Socialism must always falter and compromise, must fall short of the needs of the hour and make a false agreement with the enemies of freedom. Thus he explained the failure of the Risings of '48, the defeat of the Fenians, the fall of the Land League, and had he known it — the fate of the Republican movement during the tragic years of its shame and defeat from 1919 to the present day.

The general election of 1918 saw the political triumph

In this, the second part of a lecture delivered to Scéim na gCeardchumann in Dublin, Vincent McDowell writes on the betrayal of Connolly.

of Sinn Féin. There was no place for Labour in this assembly and the ghost of Connolly smiled grimly as the deluded Republicans shoved De Valera, Collins and Griffith into the leadership of the nation. Where now was the party of Redmond — the Irish National Party — where now was the party of Labour — waiting as spear carriers in the wings? — where indeed was the party of Pearse and Clarke and MacDiarmada — and where was the party of the timid bourgeoisie who had been overwhelmed by the popular sentiment aroused by the blood of Easter Week? Why, in the leadership of the National movement, the Revolutionary movement with a programme for no change in property relations — the movement that asked the people to shed their blood and fight the empire in order to remove the seat of government from Westminster to Leinster House — and of course — to paint the pillar boxes green and remove the Royal crest.

(CONCLUSION NEXT MONTH)

MORRIS INTERVIEW

(continued from page 6)

C.M. — No the mere fact that people fail is a fact of life. That people do fail that they have weaknesses in certain subjects and that the subject is relevant to their particular type of work but the fact that a doctor or a potential doctor fails in advanced maths isn't a serious thing or the fact that an engineer is no good at music isn't a serious thing either, as far as his profession is concerned. And the fact that anyone in particular in Ireland at present but a teacher is not as fluent as people would like him to be isn't a serious factor in the efficient execution of his job. Take these people you say come home from abroad, engineers having spent 3/4 years in Africa where they have got professional experience of the best type. They come back to take up a job in the local County Council and they are rejected in preference for somebody straight from college who has no experience of the work, who get the job because he has a superior knowledge of Irish not necessarily a competent knowledge according to the authorities but a slightly superior knowledge. But he has never to use that knowledge again. This is such a ridiculous policy on the face of it that even people who would support the theory behind it must see that there is a lunatic element in it.

T.M. — With regard to the organisation itself, is it very strong at the moment?

C.M. — Yes. 3,300 or 3,400. There are about 900 in Dublin, nearly 1,000 in Cork, about 300-400 in Carrick-on-Suir, I understand. Wherever there are two or three strong people prepared to devote any time to the thing the organisation is doing well. J. B. Keane in Listowel here is a group of about 250 people in his district. There is a new branch in Tralee. Apart from these organised groups there are mainly individuals spread all over the place.

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Republicans Defy Ban

(From Page 1)

both Westminster and Stormont were also invited to attend.

The Directorate statement slammed Stormont for a gross interference with the liberty of the people and especially condemned the banning of the Republican Clubs as both indefensible and a concession to the more rabid elements of the Unionist Party. "The Republican Clubs are organisations of Irish citizens Catholic and Protestant," said the Directorate statement, "whose purpose is to organise the people of Ulster in defence of their political, economic and social rights and to apply the principles of Irish Republicanism in the constitutions of Ireland of the 1960's, a time when more and more Irish people of all religious persuasions are coming to recognise that only in an Ireland ruled by Irishmen, and not partitioned and ruled by the Government of another country, can the deep-seated problems of our present society be solved and our people live together in harmony and prosperity."

Not illegal

"None of the activities of the Republican Clubs have been illegal or objectionable in any way, except to the Stormont Government which has imposed this ban in response to pressure from the Unionist extremists, and who fear any activity which would lead to the growth of a better understanding among the people of the out-of-date and reactionary character of Unionism today, and to the undermining of the half-century-long rule of the Unionist leaders."

"It is about time that the people of Northern Ireland and the people of Britain, in particular those who are neither Republicans nor Nationalists, were made fully aware of the backward and deplorable character of the political and civil liberty situation in this part of Ireland. The Special Powers Act, under which the Republican Clubs have been banned, gives

powers to the Stormont Minister for Home Affairs that are essentially no different from those possessed by the most undemocratic police state. Under this Act the lives and liberties of peaceful Republican citizens have been harried and interfered with in most outrageous way.

No appeal

"There is no system of appeal against these arbitrary and indiscriminate bans, the Stormont authorities have to produce no evidence to justify the absurd allegations which they use as an excuse to impose them; they can be used against any progressive or democratic organisation — and seemingly will be so used — by a Government the reputation of which has today reached an abyssal low throughout the western world for its undemocratic and bigoted activities."

"Under these bans also a wide range of publications and political literature cannot be published, read or disseminated in Northern Ireland. It is that the Unionist Party thinks the ideas contained in these publications too dangerous for the people to read? Yet, all such literature is freely available for sale and purchase in England, Scotland and Wales. Parity with Britain, of which the Stormont Government makes so much, clearly cannot be allowed to extend to parity of freedom of speech and assembly."

Unjust

"These and other aspects of the Special Powers Act, as well as other and well-known features of the civil liberties and electoral situation, are totally indefensible and unjust in the conditions of Ireland today. We believe that they are in force more as a con-

26 Counties Not In Control of Resources

"THE 26 County Government is so circumscribed by Political and Economic restrictions from British interests and native vested interests that it is not in a position to plan for the growth and expansion of the economy. The most it can do is propel and programme, extract and urge and futility of this has been proven by the abysmal failure of the 2nd Programme for economic expansion," said Tomás MacGiolla, Uachtarán Sinn Féin, speaking at an Educational Conference in the Glebe Hotel, Killarney, on Sunday, 18th March.

Mr. MacGiolla then outlined the history of the E.E.C., emphasising the common bond which held the six together. They all have suffered tragically from two European Wars; five of them are ex-colonial powers who have only recently lost their colonies. They need each other. They need an expanded home market to compensate for the loss of their colonies and they find it necessary to co-operate to ensure that they will not be competing against each other for essential raw materials from their former colonies.

Head high

The 10 years spent trying futilely to gear the economy for entry to the E.E.C. could have been more profitably spent in gearing the nation to take control of all its territory and all its resources and using the wealth created by Irish Labour, for the benefit of the Irish people. In this way a strong virile Irish Nation could be established which would be able to hold its head high in any community of Nations.

A united sovereign independent Republic has obviously got no place in the thinking of the Dublin Government. The recently issued N.I.E.C. Report acts on the assumption that we will still be a divided dependent Nation in 1980 and all projections for the future are based on a 26 County State.



Tomás Mac Giolla

GOING GOING

ANOTHER Irish company approaches the take-over point. The firm of Williams and Woods has now 47 p.c. of its Ordinary shares owned by the international giant, Nestlé, Mr. C. V. Griffiths, chairman of the company, commenting on the most recent purchase of Ordinary shares by Nestlé, welcomed the increase of interest shown by the foreign giant in "their Irish investment" and announced that plans for the co-ordination of Nestlé and Willwood group of companies' trading operations in Ireland are under consideration and await the decision of Messrs. Nestlé.

There is a possibility of a bid for the remaining shares from Nestlé.

THE sympathy of the Republican Movement is extended to the Fitzgerald family of Rock St., Tralee, Co. Kerry, on the death of Mr. Fitzgerald, Snr.

cession to the Unionist Party's extremists than because of any genuine fear the Stormont authorities have of the activities of the Republican Clubs.

"All Irishmen — including Irish Republicans — have the right to freedom of speech and assembly in the Six Counties, which is part of their country. It is a right no bans or governmental prescriptions will take from them."

"We appeal to all Irishmen," the statement ends, Protestant and Catholic, to all democrats at home and abroad, and particularly to the Labour and Trade Union Movement, to stand by us in our assertion of this right and to support and join us in defiance of 'this outrageous ban.'"

Attendance

Delegates from most of the invited organisations attended the meeting together with Mr. Gerry Pitt, Republican Labour M.P. to Westminster, and Mr. Harry Diamond, Republican Labour M.P. to Stormont. Mr. Tony Smyth, Secretary of the British National Council of Civil Liberties, attended also, and spoke of the denial of civil liberties inherent in the Minister's order.

Resolutions passed unanimously by the meeting demanded:—

- The withdrawal of the ban on Republican Clubs;
- The lifting of the ban on Republican publications;
- The removal of the oath to the Queen of England as a requirement for holding of public office;
- Electoral reform and an end of gerrymandering.

Arrests

On conclusion of the meeting a number of those present, including Mr. Tom Mitchell, Mr. Kevin Murphy, and Mr. Michael Gordon, who chaired the meeting, were taken into custody. No charges were preferred, but the men were questioned as to the attendance at the meeting and as to whether the meeting was a protest against the ban or an act of defiance of the ban.

The release of the men was ordered at 10.30 p.m. The effort of Mr. Craig to have the men prosecuted failed, evidently, to secure the support of his colleagues in the Stormont Government. Craig had boomed, and boomed badly.

Kerry Republican Social

THE fourth annual South Kerry Republican Social was held recently in the Glebe Hotel, Killarney. It was the largest ever organised by the Comhairle Coantair of Sinn Féin, over 300 attended the function.

Mr. Redmond O'Sullivan, M.C.C., presided and Mr. Jack O'Shea addressed the guests after the dinner. Afterwards there was a most enjoyable Ceilí.

O'NEILL SAYS NO SURRENDER

"BECAUSE the style and content, the pace and methods of politics have changed, no one should suppose that authority can be divorced from some code of consistent beliefs," said Mr. Terence O'Neill, Six County Prime Minister, recently.

"To be blunt," continued the Captain, "it is not enough to hold power — it must be held for some purpose. I do not believe that in the long term political activities based on pure expediency can succeed although they can be very successful in the short term."



Captain O'Neill

Principle

Capt. O'Neill stated the underlying principle of his own political life as being the maintenance of Northern Ireland as a respected and increasingly prosperous part of the United Kingdom.

Referring to the present drive of the Campaign for Democracy in Ulster, a body which is attempting to secure electoral reform and an end to gerrymandering, Captain O'Neill stated that in recent times Ulster had received some very unflattering publicity in Great Britain.

"Potentially," continued

NORTON AND LABOUR

THERE have been no further developments reported in the affair of Mr. Patrick Norton, Labour T.D., and the houses he is attempting to redevelop in Drumcondra, Dublin. As reported in last month's "United Irishman," Mr. Norton was brought to court by Dublin Corporation because of the dangerous condition of his property.

At the hearing Mr. Rex Mackey, appearing for a number of the tenants, made the allegation that Mr. Norton had deliberately run down the property so that he could redevelop it. Presumably without allowing for the tenants who will be evicted from the present property.

Grave disquiet has been caused in the Labour Party because of the case. Those members possessing a social conscience and already disturbed at the dreadful housing situation in the Dublin area, feel that the duties and obligations of property owners as practised by Mr. Norton are not compatible with the social image desired by the Labour Party.

Other issues

In addition, there are a number of other issues on which Mr. Norton, socialist, is at odds with members of the party. In a recent vote in Leinster House on the question of the right of capitalists to maintain bank secrecy, Mr. Norton was counted as being in opposition to the Labour Party stand. It is also resented in many quarters that the deputy urged the electors of Waterford and Kerry in the recent by-elections to vote their number 2's in favour of Fine Gael, despite the independent line adopted by the Labour Party leader, Mr. Corish.

It is felt that the increasingly apparent differences between Mr. Norton and the Labour Party in matters of spirit and discipline must result in an early clash. All the signs are that this clash is being actively sought at the moment by the more vigorous and committed members of the Party.

CLANN AND THE WEST

CLANN na hÉireann has set up a sub-committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Desmond Fay, Louisa, to organise a number of summer work camps for the West of Ireland.

Last year Mr. Fay was responsible for the organisation of the very successful camp held in August at Glencolumbkille. This year he intends to set up three camps, one in Glen and the others in Connacht.

Volunteers who would like to take part in the effort are asked to contact Mr. Fay at Clann na hÉireann, 6 Albarne Way, Clerkenwell, or write to this office.

London Clann Reorganises

A GENERAL meeting of all members of Clann na hÉireann in the London region was held on Wednesday, 8th March for the purpose of streamlining organisation in the area.

Opening the discussion, Tomás MacAilustrum, President of Clann na hÉireann, said that of the four Craobha in the region, only one, the Plant-O'Neill Craobh in Kilburn, had been functioning in a satisfactory manner. He suggested that the other three Craobha should be disbanded and a single new craobh be formed to serve the whole London area outside Kilburn. This proposal was put to the vote and agreed upon. The meeting then proceeded with the formation of the new craobh and the election of officers. At the suggestion of Stan Doran, who pointed out that 1967 is the Fenian Centenary Year, the name O'Donovan Rossa Craobh was adopted.

The officers of the new craobh are as follows: Chairman, Tomás Mac Ailustrum; Deputy Chairman, Jack Lewis; Secretary, Pádraig Mac Aodhagáin; Treasurer, Peter Andrews.

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CRAIG'S BAN

CRAIG has bungled. No amount of threats, of bluff, of vicious determination can alter the fact that the Six-County Minister for Home Affairs has been successfully and defiantly challenged as to the justice of his action in banning the Republican Clubs in the area under his iron heel.

Grown arrogant with the heady years of unresisted bans, Mr. Craig and those who support him have at last met with resistance. Not only have there been statements from Republican quarters on this further denial of civil liberty, but sixty delegates of the Republican Clubs together with a broadly based group of ordinary Irish people, and English people, challenged his right to ban these political clubs. Let there be no doubt but that Mr. Craig's police would have arrested everyone present at that historic meeting but for the presence of representatives of organisations such as the British National Council of Civil Liberties, the Northern Ireland Council of Civil Liberties and representatives of Trade Union organisations. The presence of Mr. Gerry Fitt and Mr. Harry Diamond complicated the situation further for Mr. Craig, who was thus prevented from employing the basic Northern technique of the baton charge.

The selective arrests employed by Mr. Craig spell his complete defeat at the hands of these ordinary citizens of the Six-County who at last had come to the conclusion that they had had enough of Stormont bullying. And even here the unfortunate and bewildered Minister could not be allowed to have his way. Too much attention was focussed on that meeting to allow the suave Mr. O'Neill and the more intelligent members of the Northern regime indulge the totalitarian inclinations of Mr. Craig. And so the arrested men were released.

There are lessons here for all Republicans wherever in Ireland they may be. The naked aggression of the Craigs of Ireland can be met with and defeated if the problems they pose us are studied well and attacked intelligently. Craig knows that he cannot wipe out Republicanism no more than his fellow tyrants over the last two hundred years have succeeded. But he does think that he can continuously force Republicans to 'move on,' to use a police term.

We will not be moved on indefinitely. We will stand and fight when we can find ground suitable for our purposes. We found it in Mr. Craig's ban. There are so many other areas in which we can give an account of ourselves if we but steel ourselves to resist.

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Costello Calls for Nationalisation

"THE Republican Movement of today stands for the ownership of the land by the Irish people, and we in the Movement maintain that the land should be distributed and cultivated in such a way as to give the greatest benefit to the greatest number of our people," said Mr. Seamus Costello of Bray addressing the recent Fenian commemoration in Cahirciveen, Co. Kerry.

"The only way in which this can be done," continued Mr. Costello, "is by confiscating the large estates and on them creating co-operatives under the control of the people, and by setting a legal limit to the amount of land anyone may own. We also advocate the nationalisation of all Banks, Loan and Insurance companies the policy of which is the investment of Irish money abroad. It is only by accepting a policy such as this that we can ensure that the land of Ireland and the wealth that it produces is used for the betterment of all sections of the community."

Commenting on the recent attempt to divide the worker on the land from his industrial counterpart, Mr. Costello said, "Let us beware of those who would try and divide us. Let the farmer reject those who would tell him that the industrial worker has everything, and let the industrial worker reject those who would tell him that the farmer has all."

Mac Giolla Attacks Craig's Ban

"MR. Craig banned the Republican Clubs because they are undoubtedly, a very real threat to the established ascendancy in the Six-County areas," said Tomas Mac Giolla, Uachtarán Sinn Féin, speaking at the Tyrone Easter Commemoration in Carrickmore.

The commemoration drew an attendance of over 5,000 people from all over the county.

"The people who have joined the Republican Clubs all over the North and here in Tyrone are not prepared to fit themselves into the groove of a loyal opposition," continued an tUas Mac Giolla. "They have been quietly educating their members with a view to organising an opposition to the system which is destroying our people."

Members of the Republican Clubs, said Tomas Mac Giolla, do not see problems in terms of Protestant versus Catholic or Unionist versus Nationalist. They see the problems of the North in terms of power and privilege versus the ordinary

N. A. T. O.

(From Page 1)

sistance to this country felt in many European quarters.

There is only one drawback. The people of Ireland have not been consulted. A nod from George Colley and a beck from the representative of Fine Gael are not yet sufficient to commit the nation to an abandonment of neutrality. No doubt the softening-up process has begun but there is no doubt that the resistance to any such move will shortly make its appearance.

Wicklow Honours Patriots

"THE British Government must shoulder responsibility for the present deplorable situation in the North," said Mr. Seamus Costello of Bray addressing the annual Blessington commemoration in Easter Sunday. Mr. Costello was commenting on the banning of the Republican Clubs and Republican publications in that area.

Earlier at Bray, Mr. Sean Stephenson of Navan addressed the local commemoration assembly and spoke about the links which bound the Fenians to the Republicans of today. "In common with the Fenians, we are proud to have our roots among the people," said Mr. Stephenson, "and the presence of Bray and District Trades Council at this commemoration gives new life to this bond which binds Republicans to the working people of Ireland."

Chairman at Blessington was Miss Kitty Humphries. Tony O'Reilly of Bray read the proclamation and Paddy Murphy of Kilkenny read the Easter statement. The meeting at Bray was chaired by Seamus Costello and the Easter statement was read by J. O'Brien.

Britain's Crisis Ireland's Opportunity

BITISH imperialism was in crisis at the present time, a crisis which gave the Irish national movement a new opportunity of pressing forward to win unity and independence for the country, said Mr. C. Desmond Greaves, author of "The Life and Times of James Connolly" and editor of the "Irish Democrat", speaking recently in the Moira Hotel, Dublin, on the topic "Ireland in the Twilight of British Imperialism".

One expression of the crisis was the credit-squeeze and unemployment in Britain, now over 600,000, and the accompanying attack on the trade unions. The vulgar explanation of the crisis was the need to remedy the deficit in the balance of payments, the surplus of expenditure over income, by economising, by cutting down on wages and by increasing exports and decreasing imports. This was the British Government's own diagnosis, which they were currently trying to sell to the British Labour movement.

Real reason

The real reason for the crisis was entirely different, and not due at all to Britain buying more than she could sell. For trade was not the only item in the "balance of payments". In 1965 Britain drew £1,000 million in interest on private investments abroad, including British investments in Ireland. In the same year British private investors invested £312 million abroad. Britain spent £350 million on foreign military, and also paid out interest to American and other investors in Britain to the tune of £300 million.

If these factors are taken into account, the position is that the foreign military expenditure, plus the private foreign investment — amount-

ing to £650 million taken together — converted a payments surplus of about £100 million into a deficit of £500 million. It would be quite possible for Britain to balance her accounts completely by axing these two items, the foreign bases and foreign investments. But his would mean that Britain would have to cease to be an imperialist country; for the essence of imperialism was investment in colonies and neocolonies with the aim of obtaining higher profits than were available from investment at home, with the need to protect those investments by political and military domination. Britain's relationship with Ireland continued to show all the classical features of political and economic imperialism.

Rich gains

Imperialism brought rich gains to Britain's rulers and owners of large capital, but it brought backwardness, unemployment and "deflation" to the British people. The ordinary people of Britain suffered from the consequences of imperialism as well as the peoples of the dominated nations. The best elements of the British Labour and trade union movement were today the natural allies of the national independence movement in Ireland and elsewhere against the common enemy of both — imperialism. Today in Britain there was a desperate struggle between pro-imperialism and anti-imperialism in the ranks of British Labour.

Opposition grows

Opposition to imperialism was becoming stronger, not least in relation to Ireland, where wide sections of the trade union movement, and large numbers of Labour backbenchers, were pressing Wilson to secure reforms in the Six Counties. If these were obtained it would split the Unionist Party wide open and give an immense fillip to the independence movement in the Six Counties, and inevitably as a consequence to the national movement in Ireland as a whole.

Sympathy

The sympathy of the Republican Movement is extended to the family of the late John Comerford of Kilkenny and Huddersfield, who died recently.

Sinn Féin Private Members Draw

THE ABOVE DRAW
HAS BEEN POSTPONED
UNTIL APRIL 29



Mr. Morris's burgled property

L. F. M. Statement Resented

Mr. Christopher Morris, leader of the Language Freedom League, immediately prior to the L.F.M. meeting in the Mansion House last month that he had information from "sources within Sinn Féin" that an attempt was to be made to kidnap Gay Byrne, chairman of that meeting. In the same statement, Mr.

Morris made reference to Tomas Mac Giolla, President of Sinn Féin, as the man who had taken the microphone from him at the last Mansion House meeting, and this was associated in the same statement with a report of a burglary at his premises at 196 Sundrive Road, Dublin.

Singling out

It appears from Mr. Morris's statement that this was no ordinary burglary, but that the thieves were looking for evidence which might discredit Mr. Morris personally or perhaps discredit the L.F.M.

The apparent singling out of Sinn Féin as a target for inuendo by Mr. Morris surprises no one. That he, and the "Irish Times", which published Mr. Morris's statement, should link the President of Sinn Féin with a burglary at the business premises of the leader of the L.F.M. is little short of a smear and will be seen as such by all who are either familiar with the L.F.M. or Sinn Féin.

IRISH FOLK IN QUEENS

visit

Bellew McManus

of the

LIFFEY TAVERN

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