

# THE UNITED IRISHMAN

AN t-EIREANNACH AONTAITHE

Bealtaine (May) 1969. Iml.XXIII. Uimhir 5. Luach 9d. (US and Canada 25c.)



Harold Wilson, England's Socialist Prime Minister, has shown the red hand in the Six Counties. Not the Red Hand of Ulster, however, but the one bloodied in Cyprus, Aden and Biafra, and bloodied time out of number in this country—the Red Hand of English Imperialism. A mere two days after applauding the Devlin indictment of Unionism at Westminster, Wilson despatched 550 English Soldiers to the Six Counties to help the 2,500 others permanently stationed there to consolidate the very tyranny that the Devlin speech attacked. Of so much value are speeches at Westminster and the applause of English Prime Ministers.

A house divided against itself must fall, reads the text in the Rev. Ian Paisley's bible but the house of Unionism, rent though it is by internal dissension, has the red hand of English Imperialism placed against its gable end to prop it up. The major lesson of the month that was in the North is that English interference in Irish affairs emerges once again as the main obstacle to Irish unity.

What is done directly by English

soldiers in the Six Counties is done indirectly by England's economic grip in the Twenty Six Counties. The neo-colonial status of the South determines the Dublin Government's reaction to affairs in the North.

Having given neither support or encouragement to the Civil Rights Movement during its initial stages they seek now to cash in on the Movement's success by jumping on the bandwagon for party political purposes. Even at this stage they still have not declared their support of the Civil Rights Movement.

The failure of successive Twenty Six County Governments to exercise responsibility and concern over Six County injustices is highlighted by their failure to make an issue out of those injustices at the United Nations, or indeed at the Council of Europe.

The Twenty Six County State became a member of the United Nations in 1955 and since that date no resolution has ever been tabled on Partition in the worlds largest discussion forum. At this late stage surely Frank Aiken, the "Republican" Minister for External Affairs could have tabled a resolution? Aiken went to the U.N. not to ask for action but "to inform the Secretary General and advise him of the situation". Since then he has stated categorically in Leinster House that it is not intended to raise the question at the U.N. No wonder the cry is 'Tories out—North and South'.

The success of Major Chichester Clarke in beating Faulkner to the top of the Unionist dung-hill by one vote only deepens the crisis within the Unionist Party. Tweedledum has replaced Tweedledee. More than ever now, the Rev. Ian Paisly is Prime Minister of the North.

The infuriated right wing, led by Craig, can be counted on to precipitate a worse crisis, than that which led to the downfall of Captain O'Neill. A chain of explosions similar to that which preceded the O'Neill downfall can always be relied upon to heighten tension.

Sinn Fein's epitaph to O'Neill will apply equally to fellow-Etonian Chichester Clarke: "His only contribution to politics in the Six-Counties was to place a liberal mask on the face of reactionary Unionist Ascendancy rule".

The prospect of continued infighting in the Unionist Party could lead to increased emphasis on Craig-Paisley U.D.I. tendencies and increasing activity by the Ulster Volunteer Force.

The Civil Rights Movement is better placed than ever now. (See editorial p.12.)

# WILSON SHOWS THE RED HAND



# Letters to the editor

## opinion

I assume the Connolly Cumann, Ballyfermot of which Sean Mac Giolla states he is Rúnai, is a Sinn Féin Cumann. He states: "while many members of the cumann agreed with the statement it was unanimously agreed that the statement should not have appeared in the U.I. as it might alienate prospective supporters and members in the 'official' Irish organisations".

This takes exception to the statement (in Irish) in the March issue: "It appears there is some hope now that at last some action will be taken to smash the official Irish language 'movements' and to restore Irish to the Irish people, that is, to the dispossessed".

Those official organisations by their silence, their complete inaction, their supineness over a lengthy period, have committed what amounts to treason to the language and hence also to the Irish Nation. At the moment they are sending one of their interminable appeals signed by so many 'daoiné measla' (respectable people), to use their own wording, to a Government and their grovelling appeals with complete contempt. It is inconceivable, to say the least, that a cumann of Sinn Féin would welcome support from such a quarter.

Mairtin Ó Cadhain,  
Baile Atha Cliath 6.

## policy

An Coiste Seasta, Sinn Féin have instructed me to write to you as follows:- It is the policy of the Republican Movement to work for the development of progressive policies within the existing framework of the Conradh na Gaeilge, encouraging progressive elements within it, and supporting local Craobh where possible.

We find that the policy of the U.I. is in conflict with this and that members of the movement attempting to pursue the policy of the movement have been seriously hampered and embarrassed.

Mairín de Búrca,  
Ard Rúnai, Sinn Féin  
B'fhíú don Choiste Seasta an dara eagarfhothac ar leath-  
anach 12 a leamh.—Eóg.

## surprised

I was surprised to find in last month's Northern Letter a reference to the People's Democracy policies of "the disbandment of large estates, workers' control in industry, the takeover of Catholic (I) schools and banks" as being "manifestations of extreme leftism". Obviously your correspondent is unaware that the sectarianism about which he is (properly) disturbed has its roots in the accumulation of property—or perhaps he is one of those who have been doing well on the Catholic brand of bigotry. In any case his comments are unworthy of your newspaper and you should replace him immediately.

It is also clear that your correspondent knows nothing about the policies advocated by the Republican Movement and Sinn Féin, which of course include the disbandment of large estates and the takeover of banks of all denominations. May I suggest that you should represent some of the more recent policy documents, if only to ensure that regular contributors know what kind of

movement they are working for.

Is mise,  
Cian O hEigeartaigh,  
Atha Cliath 6.

## support

By now many people are aware of the campaign for the nationalisation of Ireland's rivers, lakes and estuaries being waged by Conradh Ath-Ghabhla na nUisce Naisiunta (National Waters Restoration League). To date numerous public bodies, including four County Councils, have voiced their support to the demand. Fish-ins and public meetings have been held in various parts of the country spotlighting the public ownership of these natural assets.

At present the fisheries are owned and controlled by a few individuals who exploit these natural assets for their own private profit and so prevent local communities from exercising their natural rights to fish on these rivers and from earning a living doing so. Private ownership of the fisheries prevents the development of a major native industry.

The aim of the Conradh is to acquire the fishing rights of these fisheries for the Irish people and to organise the people to make a collective demand to have the necessary legislation introduced for the purpose of acquiring these rights. During the coming months we intend to escalate the campaign for the return of our fisheries and to do this funds are urgently needed. All donations, which should be sent to the undersigned.

An Rúnai,  
Aine Nic Ghiolla Chuilinn,  
Bothar na Sup,  
Ballina,  
Co. Mayo.

## doctors

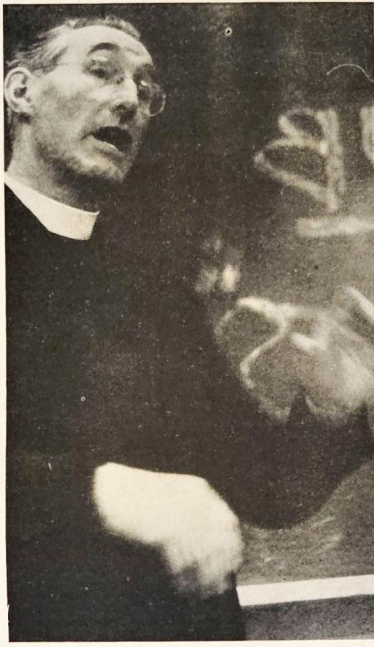
Due to the large number of cases of intimidation by landlords received by the Citizens' Advice Bureau over the last year, the Bureau now intends compiling a Dossier of Landlords with a view to exposing publicly the methods used to exploit the unfortunate Dublin families who seek adequate living accommodation.

We would like to have the help of your readers in compiling this dossier. We would like to hear from tenants who have experience of landlords' methods to increase rent, to evict and to extract large sums of money under the pretext of security money. We require the following information:

1. Landlord's name and address.
2. Other property which may be owned by him or her.
3. Rent charged.
4. Amount of key money required on taking possession.
5. Methods used to increase rent.
6. Methods used to get vacant possession.

All replies will be dealt with in the strictest confidence. Replies should be sent to The Secretary, Citizens' Advice Bureau, Landlords' Survey Section, c/o 3 Parád Mucois, Atha Cliath 7, or can be handed in at our public session at 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1 any Sunday between the hours of 11 a.m. and 1 p.m.

Sean Dunne,  
Citizens' Advice Bureau,  
3 Parád Mucois,  
Atha Cliath 7.



● Sweetman . . . church property at disposal of people.

# CHURCH LAND FOR HOUSING

— Jesuit

"The church owns, to my mind, an excessive amount of land in this city" . . . this is dangerous talk in the twenty six counties; when it comes from Rev. Michael Sweetman S.J., many people will find it hard to believe that a cleric could himself be so critical of his own institution.

However, it is not the first time that Father Sweetman has expressed such sentiments, as he very soon reminded a Dublin audience last month: "I have publicly advocated before that this (church) property should be put at the disposal of the people".

Father Sweetman, who has appeared on Dublin Housing Action Committee platforms in the past, went on to sug-

gest positive steps which would alleviate the housing problem. He advocated that a rents tribunal be established to control rents; that administration costs be cut, that new building methods be investigated, and that the professional fees of solicitors, auctioneers, architects and others involved in housing transactions should be reduced.

Father Sweetman then went on to ask a question: "I sometimes wonder why the property of golf links is not attacked?" We are happy to answer Father Sweetman's question with a positive example of just the sort of case he had in mind, albeit it is small farmers, rather than Dublin tenants, who are doing the attacking.

The case occurs in the West, at Uachtar na Co na Gaillimhe, to be exact and the protagonists are the newly founded Land League in the area, and the Land Commission. The facts of the case are simple: the Land League, which represents approximately eighty small farmers, wants the 170 acre Willis farm to be divided among the local small farmers.

The Land Commission had other ideas however and at a Land Court meeting in Dublin on October 15 last the Land Commission decided to consent to the sale of the estate to local business people who wish to turn what the Land League claims to be—"the best farm in Connemara"—into an eighteen hole golf course.

Wrangling over the Willis estate has been going on for over six years. Now the small farmers are united (the average farm holding in the locality is 12 acres) we may expect that whatever the golfing in the area may be like it will certainly not be entirely peaceful.

## PUBLIC OWNERSHIP DEMAND IN SLIGO

Over 500 people attended a public meeting, the theme of which was "Who Owns Sligo", outside Sligo Post Office on Saturday afternoon 18th April last. The meeting which was organised by the Sligo Land League and the National Waters Restoration League was addressed by Aine Nic Ghiolla Chuilinn, Ballina (National Waters Restoration League), Seán Ó Connaithe, Galway (Sinn Féin organiser for Connacht), Declan Bree, Sligo (Connolly Youth Movement), Cecil Holmes, Sligo (Sligo Civil Rights Association), and Séamus Reid, Collooney (Sligo Land League).

Aine Nic Ghiolla Chuilinn in the course of her address stated that the profit made by private owners of the inland fisheries does little or nothing at local level to develop new employment or increase the potential of the land. "Much of it leaves the country altogether because many of the owners are foreigners. Some of our finest rivers run through the poorest land in Ireland, yet their wealth does nothing for the people", she said.

"Were Queen Maeve to descend from her lofty heights on Knocknaree in search of a bradan she would be expected to ask permission to fish from Lt. Commander E. P. F. Cooper of Markree Castle who has control of Ballisodare Estuary and the Owenmore and Owenbeg rivers. If Lt. Commander Francis Cooper refused permission as he often does, Maeve could approach Wood-Martin who controls the Garavogue river which flows through Sligo town, and so on with most of the rivers of Sligo.

"The concern of the National Waters Restoration League is with the deprivation of the contemporary Irish community of what, by superior rights, is the possession of the whole community—the natural resources of the region it inhabits.

Seán Ó Connaithe called for a united front between urban workers and small holders in Sligo to smash the grip on our natural resources by River Lords, Land Lords and Ground Rent Lords.

"Sligo", he said, "was particularly noted for its many walled estates and its privately owned rivers. It is said locally that Lt. Commander E. P. F. Cooper owns over 2,000 acres, in fact much of the best land in the county, at Collooney and also owns

fishing rights at Ballisodare and on the Owenmore and Owenbeg rivers and ground rents at Collooney. If rural Ireland is to continue to raise Irish families then the peoples growing demand for the breaking up of these huge estates and the nationalisation of our rivers must be met without delay by the Dublin Government."

Declan Bree said "During the past few months we have seen the youth of Sligo become concerned with the present ownership of our

fisheries, land and wealth of the country by the privileged few. Large tracts of land and miles of rivers here in Sligo are being bought up by these gentlemen who use these natural assets for their own gain while the population of the country decreases annually and the unemployment figures increase.

"These facts which are often accepted as a 'fact of life' by many of the younger generation, have been questioned by the new generation.

"Ireland", he said, "must return to the principles of Eirias, Lalor and Countess Markievicz if Ireland is to survive and it is with the youth of the country who have the solution of survival".

## AG DUISEACHT THÍAR

"The West's awake" mar adeir an t-amhran agus muna bhfuil sí "awake" ar fad fós, ar a laghad tá sí ag baint na sramai as a cuid suile.

Thosnaigh an duiseacht crúinníú i Seol an Chnoic, Cois Fharráige agus socraíodh píead a chur ar Theach Furbo agus aoid a dheanamh le R.T.E. agus socrú a dhéanamh. Gluaiseacht Chearta Sibhialta na Gaeilteachta a thabhairt orthu.

Ag na crúinnithe poitín a heagraíodh ar fud na dúiche o shoin leagadh amach cúspoir na Gluaiseachta. I dteite aite ta na daoine oga sa nGluaiseacht seo ag lorg Udaras Pleanála aitiúla don cheantar ar a mbeidh baill tofa as gach ceantar i nGnamara. Ar na ruda eile a d'iarr siad bhí tabhairt ar ais na gearr iascaireachta farriage agus infirí don phobal agus staisiún radio do Ghaeilgeoirí.

I rith na míosa freisin bhí crúinníú ar cheibh Ros a' Mhíl chun cur in aghaidh plean chun cheibh iascairí a dheanamh i gceathair na Gaillimhe. Tá iascairí an chéad ar fad ag iarraidh e bhéith i Ros a' Mhíl.

Ar an 14 Aibreán bhí

píead ar Theach an Chustáin ag an nGóiste nuair a bhí crúinníú idir an Láire Riatais Aitiúil, Aire na Gaeilteachta agus bainisteoir na gceartaíochta a bhfuil Gaeilteacht iontu fós. Ag deireadh an tráthnóla bhí agallamh ag lucht na bpíead leis an Aire.

Tar eis uair a chloig b'eigean don Aire imeacht, tar eis do gan rud ar bith a ghealladh na a mhóladh ach a chur ina lú ar an nGluaiseacht nach raibh aon chumhacht aige fein i ndeire thiar. Ba iad B.S.L., Bord Fáilte, An Aire, Talamhaíochta, i.r.l., a rialaigh an Ghaeilteacht. Fuarthas amach don 1000 uair go raibh suim ag an Aire sa nGaeilteacht agus sa nGaeilge.

Eirí Amach na Casca 1916  
CRIOSTOIR O FLOINN

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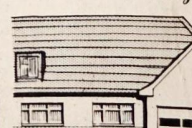
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# RUC GARDA LINK UP

Ever since the people of the North took to the streets in pursuit of civil rights and more particularly since October 5 1968, the Leinster House regime have been wondering how long it will be before the same happens south of the Border.

It was expected that the Peoples' Democracy march which ended in Dublin on last Easter Monday would prove to be the spark which would ignite the flame. It did not happen.

Steps are now being taken by the 26-County government to deal with such a situation and we can now reveal that a special crash

course is under way at the Depot, Phoenix Park, and has been for some weeks past.

"Riot squads" have been organised for Dublin, Cork Limerick and Galway. The very latest techniques have been introduced and members of the R.U.C.'s infamous "Riot Squads" have been seconded to the Gardaí for instructional purposes.

Riot equipment has been purchased abroad including shields and helmets and are ready for distribution to all centres where demonstrations are likely.

Hundreds of Gardaí are now working overtime on the "Bash-in". Chief superintendents; superintendents; inspectors and sergeants from all over the country are undergoing the course. Actual stonethrowing is engaged in to gain experience and squads are opposed to squads to learn the "art" of crowd control.

Special films of the scenes in Derry have been borrowed from R.T.E. for showing during the "Bash-in", as are films from France of the Sorbonne riots last May. Mayor Daley has made available the films taken,

from the police point of view, of the blood bath in which the Democratic Convention ended in Chicago. Films were also asked for from the Scotland Yard collection.

Specially chosen officers of the 26-County police have been sent to the North as observers and operated in "civvies". They, too are making their contribution to the "Bash-in". They were given special facilities by the R.U.C. for that purpose.

Co-operation between the two forces is now a priority with the Stormont regime and Leinster House. The situation as now exists is that there is now ONE police force. Not two. The Tory governments north and south have united against the common danger of the demand for civil rights.

All the Gardaí who are taking part in the present "Bash-in" at the Depot, Phoenix Park are ordered to observe the strictest secrecy. The courses are being done in "Overtime" in order not to deplete the force and are taking place night and day without let-up. Time, they feel, is running out.

## PUBLIC ORDER BILL

The Public Order Bill, may soon become law in the North, it provides:—

### MARCHES:

Requires you to give 96 hours notice of a march. In England NO notice is required. YOU can be sent to prison or fined £100 for TAKING PART in a march which has not given 96 days notice to the police.

YOU can be sent to prison for 2 years or fined £500, if you defy a ban on a march or a police re-route order. It is NO defence that you believed the ban or order to be improper. This Bill says Courts CANNOT question the

### UNIONIST GOVERNMENT.

#### SIT DOWNS:

YOU can be imprisoned for 1 month or fined £50 or both for "sitting, kneeling or lying down in a public place." YOU can be fined £20 if you refuse to give your name to a police officer at a "sitdown".

### PUBLIC BUILDINGS:

If you protest peacefully in any Public Building, in anyway YOU are liable to 2 years imprisonment or £500 fine or both. Public Buildings include any government local authority, school or university Building. A police officer can remove you BY FORCE without the consent of anyone in charge of the building.

A separate law should deal with offensive weapons and para-military organisations.

This Bill is Repressive. It intends to banish peaceful protest against it NOW. The answer to unrest is full Civil Rights: not more power to police and government.

## REPUBLICAN CLUBS ACTIVE IN DERRY

A new Republican Club has been formed in the Coleraine area (Co. Derry). Officers elected for the year were: Chairman: Cathal Newcombe; Secretary: M. Marchine. A new area executive was formed to cover the areas of Derry City, Coleraine, Limavady, Strabane, Clady, Sionmills, Inishowen, Lifford and Omagh. There is to be a concentrated drive to build up the Republican Movement in this area in the next few months. The officer board of the new area executive is: Chairman, Sean White, Derry City; Secretary, Liam McElhinney, Strabane; Treasurer, Cathal Newcombe, Coleraine.

### LURGAN

Mr. Brian Patterson, Newry, delivered the oration

### 1916 VETERAN

Mr. Patrick Dunne-Cullinan, Ballycumber, Co. Offaly, is the new president of the Royal Dublin Society. He was educated at Belvedere College, Dublin, and Ampleforth College, Yorkshire, and founded the Ampleforth Beagles in 1916. He is a well-known breeder of bloodstock. A noted shot, he breeds his own pheasants on his 1,000-acre Offaly farm.

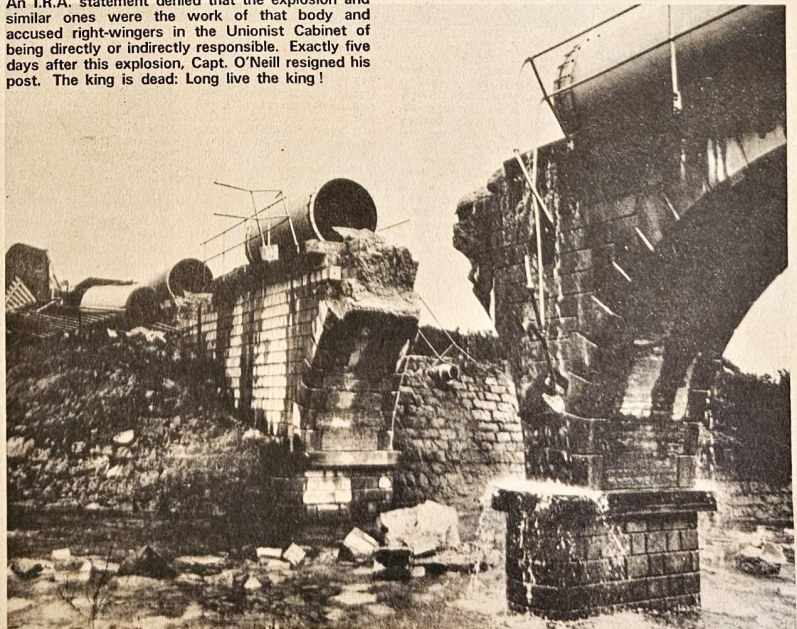
at the annual Easter Commemoration in Lurgan, Co. Armagh on Easter Sunday. Two thousand people marched to the grave of Staff Captain Thomas Harte where the oration was delivered. The Easter statement was read by Malachy McGurran, Lurgan. Brian Patterson also spoke earlier that morning at a commemoration ceremony at the grave of Seamus Robinson at Maghera on the shore of Lough Neagh in Co. Armagh. Part of his speech here dealt with the exploitation of Lough Neagh's eel fishery by English owned companies.

### UNEMPLOYMENT IN SIX CO'S.

Newry and Derry have by far the highest unemployment in Britain and Ireland. In Newry 15.5% of the employees were idle on February 10th (the latest date for which over-all figures are available) while in Derry the percentage was 14.1.

Of the total of 2,611 idle in Newry 1,929 were men. Men comprised 3,160 of Derry's 3,935 unemployed. The figures for these towns stand out starkly in returns from the Department of Employment and Productivity for development areas and other areas.

● The picture below shows the wrecked water pipeline near the Silent Valley reservoir, Co. Down. An I.R.A. statement denied that the explosion and similar ones were the work of that body and accused right-wingers in the Unionist Cabinet of being directly or indirectly responsible. Exactly five days after this explosion, Capt. O'Neill resigned his post. The king is dead: Long live the king!





## \*\* NOTES &amp; COMMENTS

## \*\* NORTHERN LETTER

SWEET Jack Lynch has been at pains to deny that he threatened to resign after a Cabinet row early in April. Well, let me let you all in on a little secret. There was a Cabinet row, in which Lynch, Haughey, Blaney and Boland were involved (mainly over Blaney's ill-timed pronouncements on Partition). So fierce was the acrimony that Jack Lynch did threaten to resign and was only prevailed upon not to do so because of the obvious spectacle of Fina Fail dissolving into pieces.

Further, the row had such an adverse effect on Jack that he was on the point of collapse and was ordered by his doctor to take a rest. This he did, secretly and suddenly, by flying to the Canary Islands, leaving a puzzled and worried Cabinet after him.

So quickly did he leave for his enforced holiday that even the Director of the Government Mis-information Bureau did not know that Jack had gone. (Not surprising this, since the Director did not even know where he himself should be on a recent occasion when Radio Eireann phoned the G.I.B. for a comment on a broken press embargo).

Anyway Jack Lynch had his vacation in the sun, the Cabinet crisis eased for the time being—and Fina Fail are now putting on an appearance of unity for the coming election. Let's see how they face-up to their defeat at the polls in the near future.

## MISSING MINISTER

AND while we're chatting, let's examine the case of the missing Minister. You will recall that about the middle of April the Minister for Health, Sean "Fiddler" Flanagan, was to address the conference of the Irish Medical Association in Killarney. He did not turn up to deliver his speech—and set off a spate of rumours.

The newspapers speculated that there was another Cabinet crisis and that Flanagan was recalled when half-way to Killarney. Another report had it that the Minister was taken ill in Portlaoise and had to return to Dublin. According to a statement dragged from the Government Information Bureau, Flanagan simply had to return to Dublin—no reason being given.

Well, I suppose we could not expect the Bureau to admit that the Minister was ill or that there was a specific cause for his illness. Sure many of the man hasn't felt well after a few too many. Look at Charlie Boy, for instance, who wasn't at all well when he had that car-crash down in Westford and nearly killed himself and his driver (who was not driving at the time, I must point out).

## NEVER SAY DIE

AYE indeed, better men nor the "Fiddler" Flanagan have been the ghost under similar circumstances. Credit where credit is due, Sean is not a man to give in easily—you remember his magnificent stand at a few years ago at a St. Patrick's Day dinner in London. Never say die until you're in the dirt, says the bould Sean, and more power to him.

In any way it is becoming fashionable to be marked absent nowadays from State occasions—just look at all the boys who were away when the Easter Rising was commemorated in Dublin this year—Jack Lynch among them!

## THE CONQUEST

I SUPPOSE a similar diplomatic illness would keep most of them away if we were celebrating this year the 800th anniversary of the land-

ing of the Normans. I have already seen it in print that no official recognition will be taken of the date—in case of political repercussions, according to a Bord Failte spokesman, reported in the "Irish Independent".

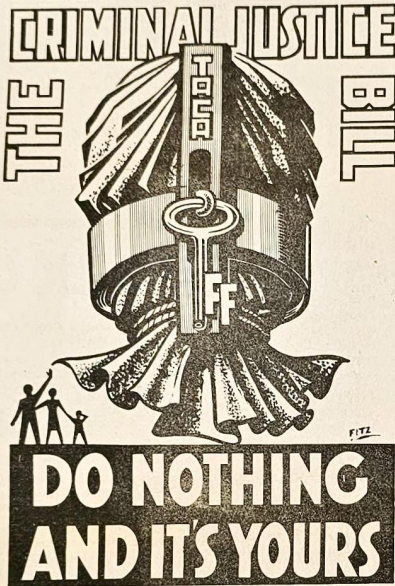
Yerra, 'tis little they have to worry about. Who in their right senses is going to crib about commemorating the Norman invasion of 1169 when we're in the middle of another invasion ourselves at the moment?

Maybe 'tis how they fear that someone would draw attention to the new con-

quest that's going on all around us—the conquest by the well-heeled speculators the moneyed foreigner and the supermarket chiefs. Come to think of it, it would be rather embarrassing if the Government had to try to explain how the Norman conquest by the sword failed and how the English and U.S. conquest by the pen is succeeding.

That would call for shrewdness which even the Long Tella would envy.

## MAC DARA



## \*\* CLUB na bPOBLACHTANACH

EASTER sees a great deal of activity in all the student Republican clubs before radicalism surrenders to a desire for self-preservation and libraries are more crowded than marches.

The role of the Republican Clubs in the Universities is seen as an educational one, the examination of theory and practice from an abstract position that only students can aspire to. Usually student radicalism is dissipated in senseless gestures, mainly because of a lack of connection with real circumstances; but the informal relations between the Republican Movement and the Republican Clubs have channelled this radicalism to useful purposes.

The production of "Republican News" by the Trinity Republican Club is much to their credit and it has been improved in quality as depth continually.

Now they have started a new series of publications, called "Republican Documents". These are publications of important statements on the Republican position from Tonn onwards, which are now difficult to find.

Issue No. One is concerned with private property rights, and contains an article by James Fintan Loran, originally published in "The Irish People", by Padraig Mac

Phiarais, and a speech given by Seamus Costello at Bray in connection with ground rents. The introduction points out the thread of continuity that runs through all three articles, and the Republican position is seen in its historical perspective.

## LIAM MELLOWES

Issue No. Two contains an article in Irish by Padraig O'Conaire on Trade Unionism; Liam Mellowes "Notes from Mountjoy", the I.R.A. programme of 1933; and the Bodestown Oration of 1966 given by Seamus Costello. Again in the continuity of Republican thinking is made apparent, and the introduction looks forward to a future when the aims and aspirations of the Irish people, as therein depicted, are realised.

Further issues planned include selections of writings by John Mitchell, articles on the Irish language and culture, and on the North.

These documents are a very valuable contribution to the internal education that is going on inside the Movement at the moment, and all Republicans would benefit by getting them. They cost 1/- each post free and can be ordered from the Treasurer, Trinity Republican Club, Room 4, Trinity College, Dublin 2.

Mar fhocal scior, ta mic leinn gaeilge ag eiri an-reabhlóidach faoi lathair. Bhí a lan díobh ar an bpeicead a cuireadh ar theach an chustaim le deanaí, agus ta seans maith ann go mbeidh fas ar a dtuisic ar an suol agus go mbeidh a lan díobh páirtaigh in obair na bPoblachtanach — iad sud nach bhfuil ina bPoblachtanach cheana.

Is docha mar chualthas moran tractar ar an Gcomhairleamh, ach is eagrais idir-loiscle e a bhfuil se in ainm bheith mar aidm aige iarracht a dheanamh an Ghaeilge a chur chun cinn sna scoileanna agus cursai oid-eachais a phlé go ginearálta. Ta ag teip ar na haidhmeanna seo le roinnt bliain anuas, agus bhí Poblachtanach an mhi-shasta leas an oifigiúlaigh a bhíodh ag iarraidh aire na Gluaiseachta a dhírú ar Rialtas an Daisicir in ionad bheith ag cuidiú leis an gnath-phobal lena geidh fadhbanna a reiteach.

Ach anois, fe stiúir na bPoblachtanach, ta an Chomhairleamh dul Comhdháil a reachtail i dtír Chonail. Go n-ínuadh ar an bhaint a idir an Ghaeilge agus an reabhlóid náisiúna. Ceist i n-atair-rhabhachtach sa Ghaeilge féin mar nach feidir meath na Gaeilge a chos go tabhacht na teanga a mhinú go cruinn i gcomhairle náisiúna agus Poblacht na nDaoiné.



● R.U.C. Sergeant takes time off from "peace-keeping duties" to threaten youth at Lurgan Civil Rights March last month.

control the thugs of the Orange and kindred organisations.

In one of the most vicious Irish elections for many years the young Queen's University student, Devlin, showed great bravery in defying threats to her life and the massive throwing of bigoted mobs to hammer the Unionist hope in the traditionally Republican Mid-Ulster constituency.

And although Bernadette has professed sentiments which could be construed as being anti-Republican, one must admire her courage and trust that within but a very short space of time, she will realise that it is only in a united Ireland can her election pledges hope to be fulfilled.

It is perhaps a pity that Kevin Agnew dropped out of the election race, but he no doubt realised that a split vote would only once again mean a Unionist misrepresenting republicans and an anti-Unionist, any anti-Unionist, would be preferable to that.

This election, and events over the past few months, have shown the power of a conjoined people. Whereas before the advent of the Civil Rights Movement and October 5th, Northern opposition politicians had no time for each other, now they are all being seen as ardent Civil Rights and brothers in distress. Miss Devlin's election platform was filled at different times by such as Gerry Fitt of the Republican Labour Party, Paddy Devlin of the N.I. Labour Party, Usher Murnaghan of the Ulster Liberal Party, Austin Currie of the Nationalists, and among others, Independents John Hume and Ivan Cooper. Each one of these knew that a refusal to help in the election would, or could, be political suicide.

The Unionist Party realised that facing a united opposition and are now trusting in the old ally, antagonisms between Catholic and Protestant, to save them. The law, such as it is, has been administered unjustly. I will give some examples.

For the disturbances on October 5th, last year at Derry, over 50 arrests were made. For Newry a few weeks later over 20 were arrested with more to follow. For Burntollet where Orangemen and 'B' Specials, in full view of the police, displayed the greatest brutality in attacking civil rights marchers, only half-a-dozen arrests were made and none of the arrested were charged as they should have been. We have had the notorious rampage through Derry's Bogside by members of the R.U.C. on January 5th and now a more recent one, later, we are still awaiting the result

of an 'impartial' investigation.

It is true that Paisley and Bunting are behind bars, but their thuggery was far too blatant for the Government to ignore and had threatened that 'O'Neill must go'. Porter is an O'Neillite and he knows that if Terry goes that he may follow.

Guns have been used by militant Orangemen (I distinguish between a militant Protestant as a man could be such without being a thug) at Dungannon, at Armagh and in Derry. Explosives were used to destroy the Roddy McCorley memorial at Toomebridge; two Catholic chapels, one almost completely, were wrecked by explosives; and the person of intelligence accepts Stormont's propaganda story of the I.R.A. being responsible for the destruction of the Castlereagh electrical transformer. All of these life-endangering episodes were carried out by Government supporters, the type of hoodlums which brought the Six Counties into being in the first place.

Today as I write, news is filling in that yesterday's (April 19th) trouble in Derry has again flared up. This must have been expected. No people, no matter how humble they may be, will not eventually uprise against their oppressors. And the people of Derry have suffered enough through the years. Misrepresented by the Nationalists and Unionists, denied the right to work, denied adequate housing facilities, spurned and derided by successive Stormont Governments, they had to revolt and that Saturday last October was their tempering.

THE ONLY danger is allowing the confrontation to develop into a direct Catholic-Protestant fracas. It is hard not to be provoked into retaliation when a Unionist is waving a mob, with the apparent connivance of the R.U.C., chant party songs and obscene slogans in your face. When, because of threats by armed Orange bandits, otherwise peaceful demonstrations are banned. When police pick their victims for abuse and arrest and allow the real agitators to go free.

The North is not a police state—we have no police here, only an army of Government pursuans. And that Government itself is rotten, eaten with the cancer of bigotry and place hunting. A charade of justice which ultimately must destroy itself by the rottenness within. Let Republicans then prepare themselves to assume the mantle of 'Government' by the people, for the people.

FRANK HEGARTY



A young lad of eight years old charged down the road with his pals. They were playing at "Cowboys and Indians". In the boy's hand was a gun. On being stopped the gun was closely examined. It was found to be a bull-nosed .45 Webley. The pistol was taken from the boy and handed to his mother who lived a few yards away. She said that the boy had taken it from the top of a wardrobe and that she just could not hide the gun without his finding it.

On top of the wardrobe was a packet of bullets to fit the Webley. The boy's pals told this writer that they had often loaded the gun but never actually fired it. Sheer luck, it would seem, had saved at least one of them from an early death. The boy's father was a member of the Special Branch political force. He has since retired.

In the south Dublin district of Dundrum a party of friends were being given a demonstration of a pistol in use. Someone squeezed the trigger and a young wife died almost instantaneously. It was a Special Branch gun.

#### SEAN GANTLY

Two prisoners escaped from Mountjoy. During the ensuing chase the Hammond Lane Foundry was "combed" by the force on which the security of Ireland depends (sic). From behind a large coal bucket, such as are used to unload ships, a figure arose. A shot was fired by a nervous, or trigger-happy Branchman. Supt. Sean Gantly, himself a member of that force was fatally shot. He died within a few minutes. Rumour had it, at the time, that Gantly was most unpopular and that the result was not altogether unwelcome. True or untrue, the Special Branch are known to be no respecters of persons.

A young man, Jackie Griffith, was cycling along Mount St., Dublin, in July, 1943. Nearby a car was parked. A Thompson sub-machine was seen to poke its nose through the window of the car. There was a burst of fire and the young man fell from his bicycle mortally wounded. The car number was noted by passers-by and reported as was the presence of Chief Supt. Gill, at that time head of the Special Branch, in the car. Nobody was ever charged with the murder.

In New Street, quite near St. Patrick's Cathedral, a young man walked along the footpath. He was cut down by a burst of sub-machine gun fire. He died within a few minutes. The car from which the murderous attack came bore the same number as the one mentioned above. Gill was in the car on this occasion as well. In neither this nor the previous case was an inquest held.

#### MICHAEL GILL

Still another murder can be laid on the doorstep of Chief Superintendent Michael Gill. In Co. Kildare a young man hiding out in a farm labourer's cottage after his escape from the notorious Curragh concentration camp left the cottage to go to a nearby village. The same pattern was repeated as in the two cases related above. The same car; the same Michael Gill and the same sub-machine gun tactics. The young man was almost cut in half by the thugs in the car. The number of the car was the very same as before. It was given to the local gardai, but no one was charged with the foul murder. There was no inquest.

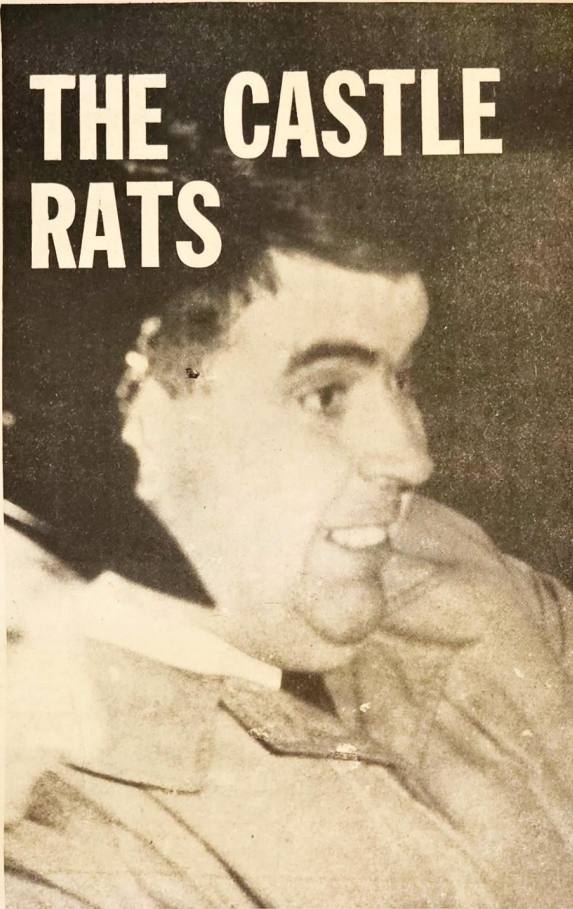
It will be seen, therefore, that the Special Branch is a law unto itself. It is its own judge, jury and executioner.

The notorious Michael had all the traits of a gangster, Chicago style. He had been Cosgrave's hatchet-man in the Cumann na Gael government. Had acted against not only the I.R.A. but Fianna Fail as well. It is ironic that de Valera's Minister for Justice, the Englishman Gerry Boland, born Manchester May 1885, was the instrument of Gill's return. Boland knew his man — and de Valera, of course, knew Boland.

Gerry Boland is the father of Kevin Boland who tried to ram the "Yes" vote through in the Referendum of last October, and failing that has now carved up the electoral map, and eliminating County Leitrim from that map in the interests of his murderous party — Fianna Fail. Gill died a couple of years ago. May God rest him. He'll need it!!! For only God can rest him. As for Boland, he was discarded by de Valera at the first opportunity, and was later discarded by the electorate. Some people wonder why Boland was not shot. It is better the way things are. Let him live to a ripe old age with his conscience — if he possesses one.

More recently. A flat in Rathmines was broken into on at least four occasions. The

# THE CASTLE RATS



first was reported to the local police. Nothing happened. On the remaining visits a valuable guitar was smashed. Records were wantonly destroyed and after the most recent visit £50 was stolen. The raiders were recognised as being members of the Special Branch.

#### FINTAN SMITH

"Last night a young man, A.B. on his way home from a function in the City was attacked by a group of men near his home, and badly beaten. On the approach of a number of passers-by the attackers fled. A.B. suffered severe facial injuries. He could give no reason for the savage assault. The Gardai are investigating the case." This particular report is fictional, but very often one reads such reports in the evening papers. The case of Fintan Smith some months ago springs to mind. The next time you read such a report give a thought to what republicans have to suffer from the Special Branch because of their convictions. The garda "investigations", needless to add, never get off the ground once they know the score. It was merely another republican, trade unionist or student intimidated by the Special Branch.

#### VICTIMISATION

"Murphy, I am not at all interested in your political activities, but we have just had a visit from the police; they looked like members of the Special Branch to me. This is the third occasion on which they called. We just can't have this kind of thing, so you had better call to the office on your way out. I'll arrange for a week's pay for you, in lieu of notice. I'm really sorry. You are a good worker. I hope you will find a good job for yourself very soon."

The above is typical of many cases of victimisations of republicans and others by members of the Special Branch. No charges. No accusations, just a word of advice to the employee's boss without actually telling him to get rid of the republican. The employee's family; wife and children are of no account. The economic weapon against women and children is used more often than those not involved would think. It is Fianna Fail's

subtle weapon against those who are the one constant threat to that party. Perhaps the time is at hand when people will give thought to what is going on and by speaking out in public and realizing what the Fianna Fail hired gunmen are doing against republicans, trade unionists and, indeed, professional people, that a stop will be put to such activities.

#### THE BLACK BOOK

Recently a little black book was "acquired" by the Republican Movement. It is an indexed one with a black, glossy cover. Inside the cover is a list of the names of the Sinn Féin Comhairle Ceanntair. The following pages carry the names of various cumann in Dublin and elsewhere, complete with names of the officers elected. The letters of the index are hand-written in red ink. Beginning with the letter "A" follows the names, addresses; height; the year of birth and any distinguishing marks, such as "Wears beard"; "Round face"; "Walks with a slight limp" and so on. One entry shows the car number of the "Girl friend". Another the christian name of a person's wife. Places of employment are noted, such as C.I.E.; Aer Lingus and many places of a private employment. There are names of priests, architects, dockers, trade union officials, including the branch and number of section: ballad singers, sailors, motor mechanics, teachers, journalists students, university lecturers and almost every spectrum of life in Ireland.

Republicans number surprisingly a modest 55 per cent. All others 45 per cent. It is certain that many of those listed are completely unaware that they are the object of interest to the Special Branch. Needless to say, steps are now being taken to rectify that situation. The list in the little black book, containing hundreds of names, is taken from the official secret files in Dublin Castle where the rats are now claiming "Civil rights" since the Special Branch have moved in on their territory, due to re-building. The rats just don't like the idea at all, so whilst one set moves in the other takes to the streets!

More evidence of the political use made of the Special Branch is revealed in a statement issued by Tomas Mac Giolla following allegations made by the Minister for Justice during the Criminal Justice Bill debate . . . Mr. O Morain's quotations from a Sinn Féin internal circular to its cumann throughout the country, raises once again the sinister operations of the Minister's Special Branch. We have repeatedly protested to the Post Office in regard to the tampering with our mail which has recently become a major headache. We were always aware that the Minister for Justice and his peeping toms were stealing our mail, but we now have the proof from the Minister's own mouth!

A registered letter containing the Free Wales Army trial article (page 11) was posted to this newspaper on April 23 — it arrived seven days later in response to pressure on the G.P.O. Authorities. Any answer Mr. O Morain, Mr. Childers, or Mr. Lynch?

• Left:  
Chief Superintendent Sean Gantly, head of the Special Branch, Dublin Castle, who was shot dead by another member of the Special Branch on Jan. 21, 1948.





SE

"Fish-ins" and rumours of "fish-ins". It must be getting very close indeed to the end of private ownership!!

Last month a very successful "fish-in" protested at the high-handed method in which the E.S.B. leases its stretch at Leixlip on the Liffey. A dozen anglers fished the river in the area while Gardaí, bailiffs and a crowd of supporters numbering one hundred looked on. The E.S.B. had for years ignored bids for the lease by a local group of anglers while giving exclusive use to other angling bodies.

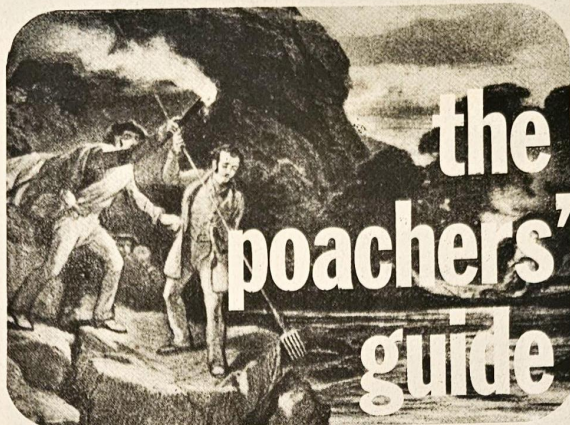
Mr. Christy Maher, of Killocock Anglers' Club told a "teach-in" on public ownership in Liberty Hall on April 9 how he himself had to drive 50 miles to have a day's fishing although he lived beside the Liffey. This is the one big failing of the E.S.B.—that while trojan work is being done to rebuild the potential of rivers harnessed for hydro-electricity (at the cost of £75,000 last year)—the E.S.B. treats riparian dwellers and local interests with all the contempt of a major River Lord.

The E.S.B. is the only major owner in the 26 Counties that has a progressive policy towards restocking and rehabilitation of fishing rivers and it is a pity that such good work on one aspect could not be balanced by a proper policy towards local interests. But fishermen in the midlands are still up in arms against the E.S.B. about the manner in which they were forced off the Shannon and its tributaries during the past decade.

The Leixlip "fish-in" had an interesting sequel. Three men were charged by the local Board of Conservators with illegal fishing. A week later the charges were dropped. Perhaps the E.S.B. is beginning to revise its public relations.

A "fish-in" with a difference took place at Casla in the heart of the Connamara Gaeltacht early last month. Organised by the newly formed Coiste Cearta Sibhialta na Gaeltachta the Casla "fish-in" netted four liathan or white trout.

The valuable Casla fishery is one of the main natural resources of the Gaeltacht and is presently owned by a consortium of private business people headed by race horse trainer Vincent O'Brien. The fishery is used to provide fishing for prospective customers of Mr. O'Brien's training stables who are charmed by the surround-



ings and the natives before signing on the dotted line for some racing bloodstock to take back home. Whatever benefits might accrue to Mr. O'Brien as a result add nothing to the economy of the area: even the paint used to repaint "private fishing" notices is not bought in the locality.

The demand of the Coiste Sibhialta embraces only the Gaeltacht area and offers tremendous scope for a breakthrough in the nationalisation campaign. The Connamara Gaeltacht, a homogeneous area, contains the poorest land in the West and the heaviest concentration of valuable fisheries.

Sir Richard Levinge (of Guinness) has gone on record stating that the value of river rights in the west amounts to many millions of pounds. Sir Richard, largely through the Zealand Fisheries, controls the salmon rich Inbhear, Gabhla and part of the Baile na hInse systems in the heart of Connamara. Crumlin fishery is controlled by English interests while the

millionaire American and ex-Potez executive, Herbert Buckley, controls Abha an Spideil.

Public ownership of the fisheries in this area should be pursued as a special objective in the context of regional independence. A victory in Connamara would have a significance not only for the campaign of public ownership but for the concept of regional self government throughout the whole country. All the better if the basis of this breakthrough is a region, the west has more to gain than any other single area from the success of the campaign.

And from Donegal comes a rumour—as yet unconfirmed—of the founding of a branch of the National Waters Restoration League in the county. One of the main targets in the Donegal area must be the Crana river where last year Major Hamilton-Stubber, Fivemiletown, Fermanagh, held out for a rent of £500 for

the lease of the river by the Buncrana Anglers' Association. The Major is heavily engaged in the crisis of Unionism in the North but to date the peasants of Buncrana have not tried to take advantage of his embarrassment by running a "fish-in" protest on the river. If they do so and help to nationalise the river the Major will find himself with less money with which to oppress 6 Co. nationalists.

The Orange administration of the Foyle Fishery Commission might face a novel "fish-across" if local fishermen from both sides of the Foyle combine to protest against their policies of discrimination in employment on the Commission staff. The Commission is jointly owned by the 6 and 26 County Governments but is controlled from the Orange dominated H.Q. in Derry.

Another bad aspect of the affairs of the Foyle Commission is the practice of cross-border felon setting. Members of the Garda Síochana appear in courts to give evidence in poaching cases. Speaking at a symposium on the Foyle Commission on April 6, Mr. G. D. Fitzgerald Hadoke, Secretary to the Commission, a hard bitten Colonial Civil Servant, described the spectacle of members of the Garda appearing in 6 County Courts as "unusual but highly gratifying". To whom, one wonders?

Reports on the U.D.N. disease indicate that its virulence and presence is nowhere as bad as last year. Inspector Michael McHale reports that the Ridge pool on the Moy has provided excellent catches reminiscent of the pre-drainage days. Upstream of the weirs rod anglers had caught 178 salmon as opposed to 68 for the same period last year. Spawning is considerably up. The privately owned Moy Fishery Company with shareholders as far away as Rhodesia should have another good year's plunder of an Irish natural resource.

And a last word from Mr. Sean O'Connell, Sinn Féin Organiser for Connacht, speaking at the "teach-in" at Liberty Hall who stated that 10,000 leaflets against fishery ownership had been distributed in the West where ordinary Irish people were being denied the right to fish the rivers.

"This agitation must continue", he said. "We intend to focus attention on this ownership. We intend to escalate the campaign and will go as far as we can to organise 'fish-ins'."

The I.R.A. story

the man in the silk hat

While I.R.A. trials were being carried out in England the bombing campaign was provoking sharp reaction from various bodies in Ireland, including the Leinster House and Stormont Governments. "The Treason Bill" and the "Offences against the State Bill" were introduced to the Free State Dail, the latter on February 21st. One or two days later a meeting against the Treason Bill was held at Clanvaraghan, Co. Down, where a resolution was passed condemning the Bill. At this meeting, Eamonn Donnelly said "In case of war Ireland must be a unit — not cut in two pieces to suit the requirements of certain politicians". In America Clann na Gael was conducting a postal campaign with stickers on letters saying "Partition must go".

On March 2nd Mr. Rutledge, Minister for Justice, moving the second reading of the Offences against the State Bill, said that deputies had received a document from some person speaking on behalf of the Old I.R.A., which stated that if they voted in this bill, they would precipitate civil war. On this cue, Mr. Norton, leader of the Labour Party, said that the Bill had aroused considerable indignation in the country and even among members of the Government party. At a public protest meeting at the Torch Theatre, Capel St., on March the 9th, Senator Frank Robbins said that the De Valera measure was more coercive than the one he had himself denounced in 1931.

Simon Donnelly, President of the Old I.R.A. quoted one Fianna Fail deputy as saying that if he got support against the bill from his constituents he would resign from the Party, and Sean Dowling, another Old I.R.A. leader declared that the Offences against the State Bill was aimed at stopping the bombing in England. This argued considerable public support for the I.R.A. campaign in England. More support was forthcoming.

On March 27th a Resolution from Cork Corporation condemning the Offences against the State and the Treason Bills and demanding their with-

drawal was placed before the Dublin Corporation. In a heated scene, Mr. John Corr vacated the chair. Another Councillor Mr. Rollins took his place saying "I will take the chair to take honest Irishmen out of prison. They are there because they followed De Valera, who now wears the silk hat of Mr. Chamberlain and is under the protection of his umbrella".

Corporation member Holland stated that the bills had been brought in to give Chamberlain support in sentencing five young Irishmen to 100 yrs. Imprisonment. The Treason Bill was carried on March 30th by 58 votes to 32. Mr. Cogan, Independent T.D. remarking "There have been too many executions in the past 25 years". There would be more.

On March 16th Patrick Rutledge announced that Garda strength was to be in-

creased from 5,618 to 6,000 (mostly Special Branch). He referred to the incidents at Jimmy Joe Reynolds's funeral in Leitrim. According to his version "Guards prevented one party from firing, but another party came in and fired the shots, Guards fired shots over the heads of the people but could not risk arresting". Within 13 months the man in charge of this funeral party Commandant Tony D'Arcy of Headford, O.C. Western Command, would be lying dead in St. Brinin's Military Hospital after 51 days on hunger-strike.

Emigration from the 26 Counties to Britain during 1938 was 21,000. In the 6 Counties 50 Republicans had been arrested on February 9th and lodged in Crumlin Rd. Jail; on March 14th Arthur Halfpenny was arrested and charged with the explosion at Tullydonnell in the prev-

ious November. In Birmingham on March 14th, John McShane were arrested.

Meantime the bombing continued merrily in England. At 2.30 a.m. on March 2nd an attempt was made to blow up the aquaduct carrying the Grand Union Canal over the North Circular Road near Stonebridge Pk., Willesden, London. In a terrific explosion, windows were shattered over a wide area and the pillars carrying the aquaduct were severely damaged. However the steel casing carrying the water remained intact, so the operation was not 100% successful. Three days later two departmental stores were set on fire in Birmingham while the firemen were lured away on bogus calls. On the same day a bomber escaped after attempting to place a bomb on the railway at Willesden Green, and two cylinders of explosives were found in a ship discharging at Plymouth.

On Thursday March 29th in London four men engaged a taxi to drive them to Ewell. On the way the chauffeur was made to divest himself of his uniform which one of the men donned. They drove to Hammersmith Bridge where two of them got out and placed explosives. In a few seconds the bombs went off, dislodging girders, demolishing lamp standards and damaging the centre of the bridge to such an extent that traffic bound for the Oxford-Cambridge boat race on the following Saturday had to be diverted. Damage was done to surrounding premises, including hundreds of windows.

After the explosion the men drove off in the commandeered car, after releasing the driver who promptly phoned the police. A car chase followed and two men were arrested and charged. They were William Browne, Grafton Place, described as a barman, and Edward J. Connell, a salesman of Elmbank Gardens, Barnes. William Browne was Willie Gaughran of Dundalk who was released in a dying condition from Campbell and now lies in Dundalk cemetery.





*Cad a dheamfaimid feasta gan adhmaid,  
Ta deireadh na gcoillte ar lar,  
Nil tracht ar Chill Chais na a theaghlach,  
Ni chuirfeam a cling go brach.*

The destruction of Ireland's forests was an act of conquest by England designed to deprive the toraithe and the ropairi (tories and rapparees) of the important strategic shelter afforded by woodlands and their game and also to replenish the war chests of colonial domination.

So thoroughly was the destruction carried out and so marked the effects on the lives of the conquered that it left a deep and permanent impression on Irish popular literature of the time. The poem Cill Chais is a perfect cameo of what happens when "the crown of the forest is withered and the last of its game is gone". Sean O Duibhir a' Ghleanna cites the destruction of the woodlands and its effects as the reason for his emigration. "Anois ta an choill da gearradh, Triallfaimid thar caladh —'s a Sheain Uí Dhuibhir an Ghleanna, ta tu gan geim".

What of today? Why has the attempt to rebuild forests ground to a halt? What of the danger that the modern neo-colonial conquest will take with the cheque-book what the old took with the sword? Very great indeed in view of the Fianna Fail propensity to sell all natural resources to the foreigner.

The re-afforestation of Ireland was started by the British before they were ejected from Ireland, but their work was of limited value. In 1922 there were only 3,000 acres of state forests in the 26 counties. Under the Free State Government, a further 4,600 acres were added by 1939. During the war, the shortage of timber led to a reappraisal of the forestry programme and grants were given to private concerns to grow timber. These grants of £10 per acre were increased to £20 in 1958. In that year, the Minister for Lands cast doubts on the advisability of heavy capitalisation in forestry, but the report by Dr. Whittaker gave ground for optimism about such investment.

The policy of investment in forestry was not purely economic, but social and political as well. Forestry provides a supplementary means of income for many small farmers, particularly in the West, where over half of Ireland 606,968 odd acres of state forests are located. The need for employment in rural areas and the provision of a home produced supply of timber are paramount considerations of policy.

In 1950 Mr. Roy Cameron of the Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations forestry division recommended a dual role for forestry, one economic, the other social. He admitted that those in the second category would be of low productivity, but balanced against this would be the provision of additional employment. Cameron's plan was directed towards that area. By 1955 over 12,000 acres a year were being planted along the western seaboard. In the past decade 97,000 acres have been planted.

Forestry could be considered economic if the sale of crops yielded enough to repay the capital cost, with compound interest. But because of the long rotation of timber, about 35-40 years and the high rates of interest, it is difficult to compute this. Norwegian experts have argued that the climatic and soil conditions in Ireland are favourable to the rapid and sustained growth of timber. Thus, if timber of shorter rotation can be produced, say over 15 years, the return on capital will in economic terms be more profitable.

# WHAT SHALL WE DO FOR TIMBER?



The state has invested about £56 million in forestry, the bulk of this since 1958.

However, in the last few years, a disquieting feature has appeared in government policy. Despite an annual target figure of 25,000 acres, new plantings have been declining; in 1964 there were only 21,000 acres added, while in 1965 the figure dropped to 18,257 acres. Last year, acquisitions were negative. At the same time, foreign concerns have been looking at the possibility of exploiting existing forests. For the past few years a team of Canadian consultants have been reviewing Irish conditions. Could it be that the hint given in 1958 by Mr. Childers about the profitability of investment is now being taken up as an excuse to sell out state forests to foreign business concerns, in the same way as Erin Woods was sold out to Heinz?

Various reports indicate that the kind of timber being grown in Ireland is unsuitable for industrial purposes, but as long ago as 1945 Arnold Marsh pointed out that second grade timber could be used for wood pulp, cellulose, cattle fodder, chloroform and many more items. Marsh considered that forestry could be a profitable investment for the State and, in 1958, Dr. Whittaker said much the same thing.

The problem was how to assess the worth of a return in say 20 years in terms of present day values. Costings of a 50 year rotation at existing prices show that forestry losses about £630 per acre per rotation. But if we take into account the benefits of employment provided, the increased fertility of the soil, the prevention of flooding and the value of woodlands as tourist attractions, we will undoubtedly come out with a profit.

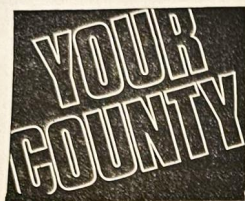
It is also interesting to note that by the year 2000 there is expected to be a considerable shortage of timber in Europe and the major producers, Russia and Canada, because their principal supplies lie in inaccessible regions, will not be able to produce timber at an economic price. If Ireland can produce the timber she will not be short of markets to sell in, even with the competition of wood substitutes.

In the early 1950s European supply and demand were approximately in balance but since then there has been a steadily widening gap between production and consumption. The emphasis has switched from the production of fuelwood to wood-pulp and pulp products. Most of the increased consumption arises from the greater use of pulp in the form of paper and paperboard for packaging, paper for printing and writing, fibreboard for building, and from the wider use of plywood and particle board in construction and packaging.

The concept of social forestry seems to have lost favour with the civil servants but the need to provide rural employment is justification for the continuation of the policy of investment in it.

The funds which are now being diverted away from forestry are being used to promote the encouragement of foreign industry here. Thus, while the Fianna Fail government is telling the country what a valiant job they are doing in providing employment, they don't tell the people exactly what the cost is. The people of the west will soon feel the pinch, when the employment being provided in forestry stagnates and eventually dries up. The small farmers will feel the breeze when the trees which now provide wind brakes around their homesteads are cut down like the trees of Cill Chais.





# FEAR MANACH



"Water water everywhere" gives a very apt picture of Fermanagh. One third of the area is water — mainly the two great Erne Loughs, Upper and Lower. Fermanagh is one of the most obscure and little known of Irish counties. Many people from parts of the county do not even know that it is one of the Six Counties and of those who know that very few know anything more about it.

Excluding rivers and lakes its area is 420,241 acres or 657 sq. miles. This is 13 per cent of the total area of the Six Counties. It is the most westerly of the Six stretching to within six miles of Donegal Bay. It has social and economic problems which are partly those of the West of Ireland and more importantly those of the Drumlin belt which stretches across the county taking in South Down, S. Armagh, Monaghan, Cavan and Leitrim, and Fermanagh; it also has its own peculiar political problems which do nothing to help.

Enniskillen, with a population of about 7,500 is the only large town. Otherwise Fermanagh is an area of widely scattered small farms, interspersed with a number of large estates, small villages and lakes. The Border lake, Lough Macnean, is the scene of the famous lament cum drinking song of Cathal Bui Mac Giolla Gunna — an Bunann Bui. The county has a long and diverse history. It was one of the great monastic centres of the "Island of Saints and Scholars" and there are many well preserved monastic remains on the islands of Lower Lough Erne, notably on Devenish Island.

Fermanagh was "Maguire's County" until the Ulster plantation. Since 1608 it has been a divided County. Religious, social and economic factors have interacted in different ways through the centuries to keep the small Roman Catholic majority and their Protestant fellow countrymen divided. In modern times this division has been perpetuated by a political party which depends on gerrymandering, discrimination and prejudice.

The Census of 1841 shows Fermanagh's population at its highest — 156,852. Even since the 1840's it has been declining each census. The 1966 figure, which is the latest is 49,886. This is 3.2 per cent less than the '61 figure which itself is 2.9 per cent less than 1957. The rate of outward migration is increasing all the time. There has been some movement into the urban area of Enniskillen but this obviously has done very little to offset the rural decline.

The usual Irish rural problem of a male imbalance, with all its related social problems, affects Fermanagh also. There are 941 females for every 1,000 males. The in-

dustrial backwardness of the county is evidenced in the fact that only 23.3 per cent of females are registered as "occupied". Fifty per cent of the working population are engaged in agriculture, forestry and fisheries. High percentages are also engaged in construction, distributive trades and public administration. There is up to 10 per cent unemployment rate.

The "market" and the Stormont government have failed to make Fermanagh a viable community. In agriculture the market demands larger scale production. The Stormont government does nothing to encourage agricultural co-operation and by such means as the Agricultural Act '67 actively assists in rural depopulation. In this type of Drumlin area cheap capital and help in drainage are absolute necessities. As in the rest of the Six County area agricultural subsidies are quite good, but there is no real alternative to basic viability and they are probably demoralising.

Though land is generally in relatively small units Fermanagh most certainly has its large estates. The most notable of these are those of Ely and Colebrooke. The Ely estate is owned by Lord Grosvenor who also holds the title of the Duke of Westminster. This man also has extensive property in England. The Colebrooke estate is of course owned by Lord Brookeborough.

Most of the rivers and lakes of Fermanagh and consequently its fisheries are directly controlled by the Stormont Government. Fisheries, even including game fishing for sport, have been allowed to decline, despite the promotion of angling in "Ulster's Lakeland", as Fermanagh has been designated. The Ely estate controls some fishing rights on Lough Melvin, which is one of the best known game fishing lakes in the country. The Crana River in Donegal is controlled by a Major Hamilton-Stubber with an address in Fivemiletown, Fermanagh. His activities have led to a demand for the nationalisation of waterways by the Buncrana Urban District Council.

It has almost been openly stated that Government policy for Fermanagh is to turn it into a remote and depopulated recreational area. There can be no doubt that it has great tourist potential but this should only be seen in relation to its people and their welfare should come first.

Forestry is quite highly developed at least in relation to the other five counties. There are twenty forest areas in Fermanagh covering about twenty thousand acres. Forestry is under the control of the Ministry of Agriculture. The county has

quite a high potential for forest development and it is a pity that it is rather a small employment industry. A peat resources survey to the South and West of Lower Lough Erne has proved negative. There are only a few areas of more than 200 acres with a depth of more than six feet.

Beleek china is a world famous Fermanagh product. The pottery was set up in 1857, the clay coming originally from the local area. It is now imported from Norway. The use of feldspar gives the china its distinctive appearance. No proper survey of the local clay deposits appears to have been made. The pottery employs about 180 people and should have great potential.

The only other industries of note are bacon and electronics factories in Enniskillen, a textile factory in Lisbellaw and another in Lisnakea. It is obvious that only gross negligence or actual intent could have produced this situation. Admittedly Fermanagh is rather remote as far as ports are concerned and its natural resources are meagre, but surely it is the function of government to attempt to solve these problems and to directly foster suitable industry. The imposition of the Border saw the beginning of the end of Fermanagh's rail system; not an inch of permanent way remains. Subsidised freight rates would go a long way in minimising Fermanagh's remoteness problem.

A closer look at the emigration figures of the county reveals one of the sources of the Stormont Government's reluctance to promote economic activity. Between '51 and '61 (the last year in which a count was made on a religious basis) the Catholic majority fell from 55.6 per cent to 53.2 per cent and there is evidence to show that Catholics now form not much more than 50 per cent of the population. Between '51 and '61 Catholics over 21 declined by 11.9 per cent compared to 1.2 per cent for other denominations. An ex-editor of The Imperial Reporter, Mr. Trimble, has gone on record stating that "the Papishes are vanishing like fun from South Fermanagh". The same Mr. Trimble is probably under the impression by now that they were leaving for Mid-Ulster!

Two Unionists and one Nationalist have traditionally been elected to Stormont, the constituencies having been nicely arranged of course.

In this year's February General Election Fermanagh people were offered a socially inclined, non-sectarian alternative when People's Democracy candidates stood in all three constituencies. They polled over one-third of the votes in the Nationalist constituency (S. Fermanagh) and one-third

and up to one-fifth respectively in the other two (Enniskillen and Lisnakea). But this has only been a first move on a long road.

Sectarianism is very rife in Fermanagh and the county remains a beacon-light of the old order in the sectarian back-peddling of O'Neill. Both Unionist representatives at Stormont, Harry West and Captain John Brooke are anti-O'Neill. The village of Brookeborough boasts its own Free Presbyterian Minister and many sectarian inspired incidents have taken place over the last few months.

A notable feature of Unionist representation for Fermanagh has been and is the social class and position of the representatives. Lord Brookeborough, large landowner, was a member of Stormont for almost 40 years, his place having been now taken by his son Captain John Brooke. Lord Grosvenor is a former member of the Westminster Parliament for Fermanagh and S. Tyrone, and his place has now been taken by the Marquis of Hamilton, son of the Duke of Abercorn who lives on his estate at Newtownstewart in Co. Tyrone. The fact that Harry West got his fingers so dirty in his wheeling and dealing that he had to be dismissed from the Unionist Cabinet is also a nice point.

"Lucky" Fermanagh is the first county in which Stormont's new local government policies have been implemented. Whereas the number of Stormont electors on the '67 register was 30,959, that for local government elections was 21,612. Chaired by John Brooke the County Council has a two-thirds Unionist majority. Of course the local Civil Rights Committee are agitating for one man, one vote and an end to gerrymandering but, as they realise, the problem (or its manifestations) goes much deeper. A good example is that of school bus drivers of whom there are 72. Only two are Catholics. The same can be seen in all jobs under local authority control. The Civil Rights Committee are compiling a very interesting dossier.

Fermanagh's problems must be seen in relation to those of the other border counties. Much can be done under present circumstances especially if the people mobilise themselves under the banner of Civil Rights and other such movements. But ultimately Fermanagh's destiny should lie in a socialist 32 County Republic which cherishes all its children equally and which has an overall policy to halt rural decay, through a combination of agricultural co-operatives, tourism and industrialisation.



# 21 bliain ag fás!

**bealtaine 1948**

**bealtaine 1969**

Ta bliain agus fiche saraithe ag AN tEIREANNACH AONTAITHE an mhí seo.

An cuspoir a bhí againn bliain agus fiche o shoin, ta se againn go foill, An Phoblacht ar gcuspoir. Chuige sin a bunaíodh an nuachtan—le go mbeadh guth na bhFinini le cloisteail ar fud na hEireann agus ar fud an Domhain mar is dual don dream a leanann treoir Wolfe Tone.

For twenty one years our paper—your paper—has come out without a break. In that period it has continually kept the division of our country before the Irish people. It has exposed the sell-out of our country to British Imperialism by native gombeen men.

It has defended the rights and the interest of the people in every circumstance. It has been a radical tribune and advocate in the best traditions of Irish revolutionary journalism, a worthy successor of the "Nation", "The Irish People", "An Claidheamh Solais" and "The Worker's Republic".

The Republican Movement through The United Irishman possesses a unique advantage over all other political organisations—its own combined news and policy medium without the distorting influence of a profit motive or an advertising policy.

Through the columns of this paper Republican policy and Republican attitudes to topical events and information about what Republicans are doing at local and national level is readily available to the general public . . . that great mass of the people which the Movement must lead in its bid to give the people power.

Ireland unfree shall never be at peace. The historic task of the Republican Movement and The United Irishman and all the people who help make it what it is to win that peace spoken of by Pearse and Connolly.

Speaking of the task of the United Irishman, in forwarding the cause of the Republic, our first editorial, May 1948 stated: "The Irish people must have in their hearts the enthusiasm of Pearse, the devotion of Connolly, the anger of Mitchel, the heroism of Emmet, and the faith of Tone. To inspire them so is the task we have before us in the columns of this paper. With God's help, and our readers' co-operation we shall succeed".



## Welcome Home!

We extend a hearty welcome to Tomas McCurtain, Harry White, Jim Smith, Liam Rice and Eamonn Smollens, recently released from Portlaoighise Jail. We hope we will soon be giving the same welcome to the remaining Republican prisoners in British and Irish Jails.

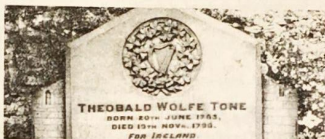
—From the first edition of The United Irishman, May, 1948.



## THE GREAT TRADITION

The United Irishman is the only newspaper in the country that depends entirely on circulation for its finances, hence its immeasurable debt to the voluntary sellers that have kept it in continuous existence for one and twenty years. Without their dedication and zeal no issue of The United Irishman could be printed. Behind the poster at Bodenstown in 1958 stands Paddy Leonard with other keepers of a great and necessary tradition.

## MAR A BHI AR DTUS AGUS MAR ATA ANOIS



The policy of The United Irishman is the same now as it was twenty-one years ago. It is the policy of the Republican Movement—the complete overthrow of British rule in Ireland and the establishment of a 32 County Irish Republic in accordance with the terms of the 1916 Proclamation. The task of the paper is to expound this policy in contemporary terms and relate it to the problems of the Irish people.

## THE MODERN U.I.

The modern United Irishman is engaged in social and economic agitation of all kinds. Series such as "Who Owns Ireland?", "Your Country", "The Poacher's Guide to Ireland" and campaigns on the housing problem and ground rent are geared to educate the public in the ownership of the means of production and distribution and to help the people decide that control of their economic destinies is essential to national well-being.

## AN SEACHTAR A FUAIR BÁS AR SON na hEIREANN I 1957

In one year alone, during the height of the I.R.A. guerrilla campaign in occupied Ireland, The United Irishman recorded the deaths of seven men who died for Ireland. The year was 1957. Except for Michael Waters, who was 55, they were all young men under 30. Sean Sabhat and Feargal O'háinlinn died at Brookeborough on New Year's Day, 1957. Pol MacGabhann, Oliver Craven, George Korgan, Patrick Pearle and Michael Waters died at Edinstubber on November 11 in the same year. They died for a freedom not yet won.



Sean Sabhat's pioneer work in charting the large estates of his native Limerick is the inspiration for the popular "Your Country" series currently featured in this newspaper.

The ideals of Sabhat and his comrades live on in the columns and interests of The United Irishman.

## Beatha agus Slainte!

Joe Clarke, 1916 veteran of the Battle of Mount Street Bridge, and a life-long Republican has written to congratulate us on our twenty-first year in existence and wish us beatha agus slainte for the future. Joe represents the living link with past generations of Republicans while The United Irishman represents the philosophical and doctrinal link with the republicanism of Tone, Emmet, Davis, Mitchel, Pearse and Connolly to the present day. We salute Joe Clarke, the unwoven Fenian who fought with Pearse!



## THE FUTURE

Neither Crumlin Road nor the Curragh Concentration Camp (Guard Box at left) has stifled the voice of Republican Ireland over the past two decades.

The task of the next decade is to give strength and coherence to that voice until the long march towards the Republic gets underway again. It is expected that The United Irishman will be an instrument of that advance.



AN t-EIREANNACH AONTAITHE  
Bealtaine (May) 1969. Iml. XXIII. Uí mhír 5. Luach 9d. (US and Canada 25c.)

# THE UNITED IRISHMAN



"We gather once again to commemorate the ment of 1916 and all those generations of men who fell in the fight to establish the freedom of the Irish people"; so spoke Cathal Goulding at the Easter Commemoration in Cork. As Cathal Goulding spoke these words all over the thirty two counties men, with a similar dedication, with a similar purpose, echoed his words.

For Republicans Easter, with its attending commemoration, is after Bodestown, the most honoured event in the political calendar, serving as it does its double purpose—of remembering past heroes and of formulating Republican policy for the present and future.

## Derry

This year pride of place goes to Derry Republicans. They turned out, all 6,000 of them, and marched triumphantly the two miles from Letterkenny Road to Guildhall square carrying half a dozen tricolours as they went in defiance of an R.U.C. ban, served the night previously, prohibiting the carrying of the Tricolour over the last four hundred yards of the route. As Sean Keenan, a veteran Republican, said in his oration, "This is indeed a proud day". Sean Keenan's pride was shared by Republicans the length and breadth of the country; the North was indeed awake and in the vanguard showing the rest of the country what a Republican demonstration should and can be.

The tremendous Derry turn out is a tribute to the role that Republicans have been playing in the Civil Rights Movement and it was on the role of Republicans within the N.I.C.R.A. and indeed the role of that organisation itself that Sean Garland stressed in his oration in Belfast.

## Belfast

"Now more than ever the Civil Rights Movement must attract into its ranks people from all sections of the community regardless of class or creed", said Mr. Garland. Stressing the necessity for a non-sectarian struggle Mr. Garland continued: "unless and until the N.I.C.R.A. is able to re-create that unity of purpose and discipline of action as the Protestant and Catholic working classes of this city of Belfast in particular showed in the earlier part of this century and as they again showed in 1932 when Orangemen and Republicans fought shoulder to shoulder against their common enemy there can be no hope of success".

On the task of the Civil Rights movement Sean said: "the movement must show all workers that an injury to one is the concern of all" and of the role of Republicans within the Six Counties itself, he said: "fully supporting all the demands of the Civil Rights movement Republicans must press on with the primary task facing the Republican Movement—that of ending British domination of our country and to force the withdrawal, by any and every means in our power, of British troops and to smash for ever the suffocating stranglehold of both a native and foreign class over our particular economic affairs."

## Cork

Speaking in Cork Cathal Goulding too took up the theme of Civil Rights North and South. Speaking of the Six Counties Mr. Goulding said: "the Civil Rights movement has succeeded in a matter of months in causing widespread division within the Unionist party and has succeeded in bringing its grievances to the notice of a sympathetic world. Its tremendous success to date has been due more to the brutal and repressive response of an arrogant regime than to any other single factor."

"The place for civil rights is in the streets", he con-

tinued, "the brief hard fought campaign on the streets has exposed to the world the corrupt infra-structure of a Tory Unionist rule and has shattered the self confidence that has come from half a century's monopoly of power."

Stressing the need for caution, he continued: "danger of betrayal must be recognised and this comes from those who appeal for moderation. Their voices grow daily louder yet these self same voices belong to those who were silent through the years when injustice was the normal pattern in the Six Counties. These "moderates" are the same false champions of old; they fear change for, as green tones, they know well what change will do to their privileges".

## Burntollet

Reminding his audience that the words "civil rights" have a meaning outside the Six County context Mr. Goulding said: "when the words 'civil rights' are mentioned most of us are inclined to think of Armagh, Derry and Burntollet Bridge but if we in the Twenty Six Counties, Republicans, trade unionists and all others affected do not unite with the recently formed Citizens for Civil Liberties and fight the Criminal Justice Bill and the anti-Trade Union Bills in their entirety, every trade dispute, every housing agitation, and every demonstration and commemoration will become a Derry, an Armagh and a Burntollet Bridge."

"These measures are infringements on our rights as citizens and as James Connolly said a free nation is one that not only possesses absolute control over its resources but which tolerates no restrictions".

"We as Republicans are fighting on two fronts to defeat British Imperialism and establish national freedom—and to lead, at the same time, the social struggle of the Irish people versus the exploiters" continued Mr. Goulding.

Explaining present Republican trends Mr. Goulding said: "we must rise both to the exigencies of the present and the wants of the future and today there is a place in our organisation for every man who believes in the goal of Connolly, the goal of the Workers Republic".

Continuing he answered some of the recent criticism directed at Republicans: "For Republicans the adhesion to the ideal of a Workers Republic may be said to be a new departure. There is a certain amount of truth in this for in the past the Republican Movement made the mistake of concentrating on armed force to the exclusion

of all other aspects of Republicanism. Thus the fight for freedom became isolated from the philosophy of freedom; this was the greatest of our past mistakes and the main reason why we have failed to bring our fight to a successful conclusion".

## Dublin

Dublin's annual parade this year was disappointingly small. About 600 marchers followed the Tricolour and the Plough and the Stars from the Custom House to Glasnevin Cemetery where a crowd of several hundred assembled to hear the oration.

In the course of his address Mr. Derry Kelleher, Graystones said:

"Between the Unionist Party and their Fianna Fail counterpart of the south there has been a competition in hypocrisy and uncious self righteousness in defence of their actions but in this respect Fianna Fail has had a clear lead."

"This party was once the leader in the field of Arthur Griffiths economic nationalism, but now having sold this country's natural mineral resources to international monopoly capitalism, having subsidised these agencies with the Irish taxpayers money into the bargain, having entered a ruinous economic arrangement with Britain in the

# EASTER



1969

through sheer neglect on the part of our own neo-unionist establishment. The farming community could well do with some of the millions that have been squandered on foreign industries and this needed financial help must be made available to our farming community if Irish farms are to continue to raise Irish families".

## Laois

Mairin de Burca, Ard Runai Sinn Féin was the speaker at Co. Laois's commemoration in Mountmellick and she told her audience that their fellow countryman James Fintan Lalor was with Connolly Ireland's greatest social thinker. Said Miss de Burca: "the Ireland we seek is one of absolute justice and equality for all, where the right of private property is in Lalor's words 'the right of a man to possess, enjoy and transfer, the substance and use of which can give a valid right of ownership to himself created.' Concluding her oration Miss de Burca said: "we today consider Lalor's definition of private property and its validity in morality to be the sole and only title of absolute private property", and she appealed for all Republicans not to leave the task of building "the new Ireland to yet another generation".

serve our interests (unlike the careerists of Leinster House and Stormont) we can never shatter the present system. Speaking of a programme for the people Mr. O'Murchu said we must demand for ourselves ownership of our rivers and waterways; we must force the abolition of ground rents, without compensation; we must develop the Gaeltacht and language movements into a sledgehammer that will crush the Anglo Irish Ascendancy who stifle our lands and finances. We must demand proper housing and full employment for all of our people regardless of religion or race".

## Killroe

Seamus O. Reachtagain (Ard Comhairle), at the Longford ceremony in Killroe, said: "the Republican Movement is in the lead in the people's struggle against political, social and economic oppression, in local Land Leagues, in Housing Action Committees, in Tenants' Associations, etc. The movement will not hesitate to take political and militant action on behalf of the ordinary people".

## I.R.A. statement

"We call on the people of the 26 Counties to move before it is too late in defence of their limited personal freedoms which are gradually being taken away by such acts as the anti-trade union Bill, and threatened by the Criminal Justice Bill; and in particular we call on all organisations in the 26 Counties, especially trade unions, farmers' organisations and tenants' associations, to demand the repeal of the Offences Against the State Act, which has been used against their members in the course of defending their own interests, and to prevent the implementation of the Criminal Justice Bill and the anti-trade union Bill by every means in their power."

"All Irishmen must view with concern the ease with which the London government can tear up trade agreements, and the servility with which the Dublin government can in any way support another. We call on all Irishmen, and in particular the trade union movement, to reject utterly the concept of free trade with large and powerful neighbours, which will have but one effect—to ensure the gradual re-integration of the British Isles into the British empire."

"January of this year saw the 50th anniversary of the First Dail. No greater proof of the hypocrisy and sham freedom that exists in the 26 Counties can be made than to point out that the Democratic Programme of the First Dail has never been implemented. If any honest effort had ever been made over the past 50 years to put this programme into effect, it would have received the full support of the Irish people; and all the resources of the country, such as land, fisheries industries now in the hands of foreigners—including the obnoxious English system of ground rents which still exists here and is still in the hands of the descendants of the Lords of the conquest of 1169, would instead be transferred to their rightful owners."

"The Republican Movement has shown over the past year by its involvement in agitational activities and direct action, a lead to all in resisting the economic, political, physical and cultural sell-out of our country; and we call on all Irishmen and women to support our programme of economic resistance, political action and military action in pursuance of our objective—a 32 County Workers' and Small Farmers' Republic".

## Limerick

Speaking on the role of the Republican Movement in 1969, in the course of an oration at Limerick's Republican Plot, Brendan O'Cathaoir said: "Patrick Pearse's message of fifty years ago is a challenging one—it is a Christian thing to hate evil, to hate untruth, to hate oppression and, hating them to strive to overthrow them". Therefore, from this historic city of Limerick, we salute the members of Peoples' Democracy who are at present on the way to Dublin. The best way in which we can help further civil rights in the north, is to work for the establishment of full social justice here, to seek the withdrawal of the Offences against the State Acts, to fight the proposed Criminal Justice Bill.

A feature of the Limerick parade was the presence of a contingent of the disbanded Gumann nBán in the ranks of the marchers.

## Drumboe

"Ni neart go cur le cheile" was Eoin O'Murchu's message at Drumboe's commemoration in Co. Donegal, continuing Mr. O'Murchu said, "for until we join together under the resolute leadership of a principled movement that will



● A section of the Limerick Commemoration parade.





Free Wales Army men training in the Welsh Mountains.

# Beatings and solitary for Free Wales Men

What should concern anybody with the smallest amount of respect for civil liberties is the manner in which the trial of members of the Free Wales Army has been conducted right from the very night of the arrests of the nine accused. As Dennis Frost, of BBC 'World At One', said: "It smacks a little too much of the jackboot and the knock on the door at midnight . . ."

The backstage story of this "showbiz trial" is a story that will surprise even the most hardened British politician. There is even evidence that Home Secretary, Jim Callaghan himself is of the opinion that the Free Wales Army trial now running at Swansea has proved to be a major mistake—especially in the Prince of Wales Caernarvon Investiture year.

To jump straight into a few of the nasty truths behind the gleeful headlines in the British press, most particularly in the pages of the "Western Mail" newspaper (a flintyhearted organ of reactionary Welsh anti-nationalist politicians) the tale is one of sluggings, threats, solitary confinement for the accused, who are not even convicted men

yet, and of general intimidation of their children and families by the political police.

Appeals are being made even directly to Prime Minister Harold Wilson by the defence solicitors regarding the appalling conditions these accused men are being held under in prison while on trial.

"Being treated like animals" is how Mr. David Llewellyn Evans, the senior partner of the defence solicitors, described the treatment he has seen meted out to his clients.

Mr. Llewellyn Evans is Town Clerk of Lampeter and emphasises that he himself is not a Welsh Nationalist; "But" he says, "the way in which this trial has been handled has turned the moderates in Wales into extremists".

Once again, with the wheel of Fate swinging round we have Caernarvon Castle, Welsh politicians, and a shaky British Government in the exact-est juxtaposition for the formula that produced civil revolt in Ireland.

Two prominent members of Plaid Cymru are pilloried there in the dock in Swansea. The shower of mud which

the police prosecution is slinging is designed to stick to every Welshman who has dared to question the moralities of Whitehall domination.

During the course of the trial, however, facts and truths unpleasant for the Whitehall warriors are starting to emerge.

The trial goes on despite the fact that several senior policemen have voiced doubts now at this stage whether it has been, after all, a wise move on the part of the British Government to stage it during Investiture Year. However, the trial is unstoppable.

As defence solicitors, Arnold Davies & Davies of Lampeter have publicly expressed it: "Jock Wilson of the Special Branch is on a loser either way. If he loses this case he has lost control of the situation in Wales and if he wins the case and makes martyrs of these Welshmen he has lost it anyway. Because public sympathy will swing onto their side."

The investiture of Prince Charles later this month, should be a most interesting investiture indeed in view of the present level of hysteria in Government and Police ranks.

Sligo town Sinn Fein cumann has been disbanded following an Ard Comhairle ruling (April 12).

A letter to Eamon Healy, Secretary of the former cumann, signed by Mairín de Barra, Ard Runai, explained the Ard Comhairle decision: "there is evidence that members of Sligo town cumann defied an Ard Fheis ruling by preventing some members of the Connolly Youth Movement, the Republican Movement and the Labour Party from participating in the Easter parade and physically assaulted another member of Sinn Fein."

"It was decided, therefore, to disband the cumann and arrangements are being made to form a new cumann in Sligo town within the next few weeks."

A press release issued a week earlier (April 8) reiterated Sinn Fein policy: "The Republican Movement has no objection to members of the Connolly Youth Movement or other radical organisations marching in Republican parades provided they agree to abide by the instructions of the parade marshal and stewards. The Connolly Youth Movement were in fact carrying out banners at Sligo and were participating as individuals and accepting stewards instructions."

"It certainly is not Sinn Fein policy to introduce sectarianism of either class or creed to a Republican commemoration."

The statement went on to correct certain press inaccuracies following the Sligo ceremony: "It is not true that the official speaker in Sligo, Liam O'Coinnigh of Derry, and the Easter Statement were withdrawn because a decade of the rosary was being recited in the grand in the yard. They were withdrawn because of the organisers' objection to Sinn Fein policy and their interference with the parade."

In the text of his undelivered speech Liam O'Coinnigh wrote of problems in the locality: "10,000 acres of land in this locality are owned by half a dozen big landlords—land that should be worked on a co-operative basis by the people."

Mr. O'Coinnigh went on: "Ballisodare and the rivers, the property of the people, are being used by the landlords. The rape of the Irish people is as devastating in Sligo as it is in Dublin, Donegal or Derry."

The conclusion of a t-tual O'Coinnigh's speech called for the formation of a national front and for action: "by establishing and participating in a national front organisations as housing action, land leagues, war restoration leagues and tenant associations we will win the re-conquest of Ireland, as envisaged by Connolly, cannot be put off any longer. The National Front Commemoration Committee (Dublin) issued the following statement (29-4-69): "The National Front Committee wish it to be known that the Sligo branch has been disbanded and that a new local committee will be formed in the near future."

The statement went on to "apologise to the people of Sligo who were prevented from taking part in the Easter Parade" and the Committee said they wished to make it clear that in the Easter Parade, the Bodenstein Commemorations they "welcomed everyone who wishes to participate and obeys the Chief Marshal or other persons in charge."

Sligo town Sinn Fein cumann has been disbanded following an Ard Comhairle ruling (April 12).

## Malicious damages opposed

"If a malicious injury claim was going to be made central funds should pay the damages as the Government was to blame for the incident" . . . so spoke Mr. T. Kane following the burning of Mr. Jacobus Wieben Holstein's mansion, Ferrans Lock, near Summerhill, Co. Meath. Mr. Kane, showing that he had read "Going, going, gone" (last month's United Irishman), was speaking at the indignation of Co. Meath's Committee of Agriculture. All credit to Mr. Kane for roughly a fortnight later in response to similar demands from Conradh na Gaeilge and Sinn Fein, Meath's N.F.A. County Executive passed the following resolution . . . "that if claim is made in relation to damage done to property owned by a foreigner at Ferrans Lock, the Government should pay the claim."

The County Meath burning of the indignation grows against foreign-owned land all over the twenty-six counties. Disquiet is met with reaction from the State: "as one news report put it: "it is understood that surveillance of the property of foreigners by the Gardaí is of a routine nature, but extra precautions are being taken in the case of some estates."

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There are more than 30 English land-owners in Meath. 19 Germans, 2 Americans, 2 French, 1 Pole, 1 Swiss, 1 Portuguese, 1 Czech and at least two international syndicates. But who is going to stop this silent conquest? Certainly not Fianna Fáil—the TACA boys, the real power in the party, are making fortunes out of the big business that the sale of land has become in recent years. "Fine each being backed by much the same interest, will not do anything. Labour may talk of nationalisation but each fallow is no morman."

What about the NFA? It would be expected that this organisation would be sponsoring resistance to foreign takeover of land, but instead of this, the NFA actually acquiesces the foreigners as members and indeed send their organisers to solicit subs from the GERMANS, the English, the Yanks and the others who have acquired our land—and in some cases have been bluntly refused by arrogant members of the master races.

So far, in Meath at any rate, only the Republican Movement has taken action against the land grabbers. A land league is in process of being formed and it must be concerned with the protection of our people and for the preservation of the family farm.

# CIVIL LIBERTIES GROUP REPLIES TO MR. O MORAIN

The strangest feature of the controversy surrounding the Criminal Justice Bill (now in committee stage in its third reading in Leinster House) is the fact that the Minister for Justice, Mr. O Morain, with typical flamboyance, last month issued a booklet "The Criminal Justice Bill and some of its critics" in reply to criticism of the Bill by the Irish Association of Civil Liberties and Citizens for Civil Liberties.

Over 1,500 copies of the pamphlet have been printed and as far as it is known the printing of such a pamphlet is unparalleled in either this country or England. As Mr. Con Lehane, Chairman of Citizens for Civil Liberties, said at the founding of a Wicklow branch of the organisation: "the booklet is most unusual. There is nothing on the face of it to enlighten us as to whether its origin is the Government Information Bureau (the booklet is not available from the G.P.O. Arcade) or the Fianna Fáil headquarters in Mount Street." Although it is certain just who issued it, there can be no doubt but that you, the taxpayers, are going to pay its publishing cost.

The third stage of the Bill in Leinster House (a favourite hunting ground for Fine Gael lawyers-turned-politicians) the Minister has shown further reaction to criticism; he has proposed introducing six new amendments to be

Sections 12, 19, 28, 42, 53 and 54; in addition to the amendments dealing with sections 30 and 31 this now makes a total of eight amendments, which Mr. O Morain hopes will quell disquiet against his Bill, particularly that from within his own party itself.

The Minister is in a tough time as in recent Irish Press editorial (wonders will never cease) shows: "as bureaucracy expands there is manifested a growing tendency to put administrative convenience first—the codification of laws is given priority over the convenience or, indeed, the freedom of the individual."

The Minister's propaganda booklet has not silenced Citizens for Civil Liberties, however, and last night a press conference was called to reply to the reply of the Minister. At the conference Con Lehane expanded the theme of the Civil Servants in the booklet have attributed to us statements not made by us, have in fact answered arguments which we did not make, and to cap it all have ignored the real criticisms of the Bill made by Citizens. He went on to state: "Mr. O Morain unfortunately seems to find it difficult to credit that the mass of people who are worried about his Bill and who are standing for civil liberties are neither anarchists, cranks or Communists—whatever the colour of their berets." Copies of a memorandum on the Minister's Bill prepared by Citizens for Civil Liberties may be had from the Secretary, 188 Rathfarnham Road, Dublin 14, said Mr. Lehane, "and," he continued, "the Minister can rest assured that Citizens for Civil Liberties will, despite his obvious wishes to the contrary, continue to actively educate people about civil liberties."

One section of the Criminal Justice Bill which surprisingly has escaped large-scale public criticism is section 43 dealing with the "abolition of the unanimity rule affecting verdicts in a criminal trial."

The Bill proposes that majority verdicts of ten jurors should be sufficient to convict in criminal cases. It is a long-established principle of the criminal law that the accused is entitled to the benefit of the doubt; put another way this means that the prosecution must prove its case beyond

reasonable doubt. A twelve-man jury with two dissenters would suggest to the popular mind the existence of a reasonable doubt, yet under the Minister's proposals a prisoner would be convicted despite the fact that two jurors thought him to be innocent.

Perhaps the Bill's most callous section, which has been completely ignored by Ministerial amendment (despite the fact that this section was one of the most heavily criticised at the Fianna Fáil Ard Fheis), is the section under which a prisoner can be transferred to military custody—Section 45. This section is "justified" by Mr. O Morain, in some mysterious way, on grounds of cost. Section 45 gives the Minister or Justice virtually absolute discretion to transfer persons from civil to military custody on very vague pretexts, and as Citizens for Civil Liberties have said, "a temporary shortage of money or adequate prison accommodation is no justification for the introduction of an arbitrary system of military custody which, in effect, opens a back door to the establishment of internment camps and other forms of para legal imprisonment."

It is the Ministers arrogance which has left sections like 43 and 45 completely untouched and indeed it is the arrogance of power which led Fianna Fáil to introduce the Bill in the first place. The only answer for Republicans to this Bill is to press for its total repeal irrespective of O Morain's amendments.



## An t-Eireannach Aontaithe

Published by Republican Publications,  
30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.

Fon: 41045

BEALTAINNE, 1969

Is é An Phoblacht ár guspóir.

## Demand it now

CERTAIN dangerous illusions appear to be current among some supporters of the six-county Civil Rights movement, including some prominent public figures.

The basis of these illusions is the mistaken idea that the main enemy is the Orange Order and the local Unionist juntas. These elements could not stand up for long if English support were to be withdrawn. The main enemy is English imperialism rule which has used religious sectarianism to delude generations of Protestant workers that in some way Irish democracy is their enemy.

It is necessary to keep up the demands that have split the Unionists, consistently, with mass demonstrations, with order and discipline, and with no violent tactics. The demands are not only One Man One Vote but also that this should be effective within electoral divisions which represent real local identity. To be fully effective, One Man One Vote must be supplemented with a demand for P.R. in genuine electoral units set up by an independent commission. Nor is there any need to wait for 1971 before having a local election. Demand it NOW!

The question has arisen: in what way can the people of the 26 counties help? Dublin Establishment national pretensions are now clearly sham: their language movement policy, their policy on Free Trade and the Common Market have exposed this to all; similarly their tea-drinking with the Unionist bosses. So we ask in what way can the people in the 26 counties help the people in the 6 counties get what they want?

They can act in an organised way. They can set up support committees, with broad representation from the uncommitted ordinary people. Such committees can demand, by organising pressure on the elected representatives and other means, that the Dublin government should act in the interest of the Irish people as a whole.

It can raise in the U.N. the question of democracy in the 6 counties. It can act in such a way as not to give ammunition to the Orange backwoodsmen for the confusion further of the Protestant working-class: this means by strengthening democracy in the 26 counties by improving local government and by withdrawing the Trade Union and Criminal Justice Bills.

Above all, it can act in such a way as to kill for once and for all the myth of Home Rule Rime Rule, by initiating the revision of Article 44, which gives a special position to the Catholic Church. This has been used again and again by Paisley. There is no reason why this article should remain: it is an embarrassment to the Hierarchy and a charter for second-class citizenship for the Protestants, Jews, Quakers and others. Its abolition was recommended unanimously by the Inter-Party Commission on the Constitution. The reason that the demand was not taken up by the 26 county Protestants is presumably because the wealthy are not affected and the poor are too scattered to have a voice. It is therefore necessary for the radical forces to take up this demand on their behalf, in the interests of the development of unity of the people of Ireland, without which the achievement of the Republic is not possible.

## The turning point

AN tEIREANNACH Aontaithe (Marta), in an article on the language movement's latest appeal to the Government, said: "Ta seans anois go ndéanfar beart a bhfuil ga leis le fada: na gluaisneacht oifigiúla a bhriseadh agus an Ghaeilge a thabhairt ar ais den áit a bhí aici sa hEireann, sin le rún choimeádhúint". April's issue had a letter from the Connolly cumann in Ballyfermot complaining that while many members agreed with this statement it should not have been published as "it might alienate prospective supporters and members in the 'official' language organisations".

We believe that the Connolly cumann is wrong in suggesting that disagreements over policy should be hushed up. We believe also that the abolition of the "official" language movement as it stands is necessary to the survival of the language and is therefore important to the Republican movement in general.

As Cathal Goulding said in his Easter oration in Cork: "Economic and political subservience to British Imperialism shows itself in many different ways, and in particular, in the crisis of confidence over the question of our national language, the most distinctive badge of our peoples' nationality." "It is revolting to think, continued Mr. Goulding, "that the most effective action the leaders of the language movement can envisage to save this most important part of our cultural heritage is to petition a Government which has sold out the country to British Imperialism both politically and economically. Their action can only be compared to the appeal of the lickspittle pseudo-nationalists to Queen Victoria and the British Government of that day to save the Irish people from extinction during the famine of 1847. And the response to this appeal on behalf of the language will, I am sure, be comparable to the response of Victoria and the British Government. Since the language movement allied itself to the Establishment, the revolutionary vigour that was typical of the early days of the language revival has disintegrated and now what is termed 'an all out effort' to revive the language becomes a whining appeal to a bureaucracy which has more to gain from its annihilation than anyone else."

In all this the official movement has co-operated. People who complained were frozen out or ignored, or even attacked. A few years ago one of the leading revival organisations tried to destroy "An tEireannach Aontaithe" by sending threatening letters (i.e. threats) to its printer. The campaign was a complete fiasco. The work of the organisation, good as well as bad and giving advice for the future prospective supporters!

A turning point has been reached, either the language movement takes a new course, or it ceases to exist. The official leaders stand resolutely for a policy of no change—that is, for a "non-political" language movement eating out of Fianna Fáil's hand, avoiding controversy, breathlessly hurrying to "sell" the language with the latest commercial gimmicks—and quite unable to understand why they are failing, why the people are getting tired of them.

It is true that the language movement is potentially republican, intrinsically revolutionary. But this potential cannot be realised until the movement accepts a fundamental truth—that there is no place for Irish in an Ireland dominated economically, culturally and politically by Britain and America (or for that matter by Europe).

The Connolly Cumann, if it is true to its name, should not fear controversy. We invite them (and all other readers) to give us their opinion on the present condition and future of the language movement.

# RADIO TAKEOVER BY NEWSPAPER BOSSES?

It is reported that a meeting took place in the "Irish Times," Westmoreland St., Dublin, on 2nd April, 1969, attended by Major Valera, Managing Director, Irish Press Ltd., Mr. T. V. Murphy, Chairman of Independent Newspapers Ltd.; Major T. McDowell, Managing Director, Irish Times Ltd., and Mr. Nicholas Leonard, Editor and Director of the Dublin magazine, "Business and Finance," which belongs to the Creation Group and News of the World.

It is thought that the meeting was the fourth held by these four persons to consider a plan to apply to the Government in Dublin for a franchise to operate an advertising-backed radio station powerful enough to be heard throughout Ireland and Britain.

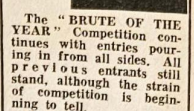
It was considered that since sooner or later such a service might emerge, it ought to be controlled by those who now own the main news outlets. It was thought that such a venture could produce substantial profits and television was

suggested as a likely future extension of the idea.

However, at the fourth meeting there was some friction reported following a proposal by Mr. Murphy, of the Independent, which would result in the main control of such a radio service being placed in the hands of his newspaper group, which, it was pointed out by Mr. Murphy, was the wealthiest of the four and therefore the one most likely to provide the bulk of the initial capital sums required. Major de Valera's reply to this was that, as

Independent Newspapers was now operating on a bank overdraft, that group could hardly claim any special financial position.

The meeting ended at that point, but it was agreed that because of the huge rewards that such a venture (given Government approval) would produce, further discussions should take place. Plans for a further meeting have been made, but the date is not yet known. The four persons taking part agreed that secrecy should be maintained.



The "BRUTE OF THE YEAR" Competition continues with entries pouring in from all sides. All previous entrants still stand, although the strain of competition is beginning to tell. Sergeant O'Sullivan (C28), accused of brutality at the City Hall housing demonstration in 1968, has changed his number to C23. He is still attached to the same division as denoted by the letter C and quite a mystery surrounds the jump from 28 to 23. Traditionally, numbers remain the same unless a transfer to another division has occurred. The strain, perhaps? The Sergeant need not worry as punters hold him a hot tip for a prize.

## N.C.A. SPEED UP RECOVERY

Although the last couple of years have been trying times for them, the National Cycling Association are quickly re-establishing themselves as Ireland's premier cycling body.

Since the Autumn of 1967, when the N.C.A. changed its name to the I.C.F., quite a few cyclists have switched their allegiance from the N.C.A. to the "new" federation.

There is an old proverb

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which says a leopard may change his spots but can't change his face; what an apt description of the Irish Cycling Federation. They may have changed their name but they certainly didn't change their image.

The portrayal of this false image has been responsible for the luring of some lost sheep into the flock and it is indeed tragic to think that it is these renegades the honours of misrepresenting their country in international competition is more important than the principle of a thirty two county Ireland.

During the last couple of years or so there have been many self-made prophets who forecast doom and extinction for Ireland's only two county cycling body. But these optimistic predictions were made more in hope than

in confidence and the last few months have proven how far from the mark the prophets were.

Of course such predictions were made by "foreigners" from a rival association who would dearly love to see the N.C.A. on the floor; that is a day which they will have to wait a long time to witness.

If the N.C.A. was losing ground for a while then the last few months has seen the re-birth of the N.C.A.; counties like Louth, Meath, Carlow, Galway, Mayo, Sligo, Kerry, Tipperary and Clare are in a better position than ever before with plenty of new blood coming into the sport.

On the other hand, plundered areas such as Waterford, Limerick, Cork, Kildare and Dublin have recovered in fine style and are beginning to thrive again. It is interesting to note that some riders who changed

over have since seen the light and returned to Ireland's premier cycling association.

This article would not be complete without giving special credit to the members in the six counties, who despite operating under great difficulties have always been a great inspiration to their colleagues in the south. Needless to say, the N.C.A. is in a very strong position in this area.

## Sympathy

Craobh Barnes & McCormack, Clann tEireannach and Wolfe Tone Club, Birmingham, tenders its deepest sympathy to Con Cronin on the recent death of his mother. Mages offered.

### PUBLIC MEETING

CRIMINAL JUSTICE BILL  
SATURDAY, MAY 17  
The Square, Ballinastoe,  
8 p.m.

—SINN FEIN—

### "LET CONNACHT LIVE"

PUBLIC MEETING  
WEDNESDAY, MAY 21  
Imperial Hotel, The Mall,  
Castlebar, 8.30 p.m.

—SINN FEIN—

### "WHO OWNS MAYO?"

SATURDAY, MAY 31st  
The Octagon, Westport,  
8 p.m.

—NATIONAL WATERS RESTORATION LEAGUE—

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SUNDAY, 18th MAY, 1969  
KEVIN HARRY HALL,  
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### REPUBLICAN PUBLICATIONS

Seán Cronin: The Rights of Man in Ireland	2s. 6d.
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Write for Book List