

# THE UNITED IRISHMAN

AN t-EIREANNACH AONTAITHE  
 Tuil (July) 1969. Iml.XXV. Uimhir 7. Luach 9d. (US and Canada 25c.)

**CONWAY** "Marxists are hindering social evolution by preaching social revolution."

**DUNNE** "We have a 'do-it-yourself' brand of trade unionism which treats with contempt all that our movement has created."

**LYNCH** "Extreme left-wing socialism is alien to the traditions of the Irish people."

# BACKLASH!



The "Red Scare" certainly had a great outing last month. It was flogged to death by Fianna Fail spokesmen during the general election, from Paramount Chief Lynch down to wet-nosed Davern in South Tipperary.

With hard evidence now coming in of widespread clerical intervention in the election, and Cardinal Conway's denunciation of marxism hard on the heels afterwards, it seems apparent that a right-wing "backlash" has hit our political life.

The three conservative gentlemen quoted above have varying theories to put before the Irish people, all of which we have heard before, all unscientific, and all with the one object—conserve the status quo.

● Mr. Lynch has done just that in leaving the foul-mouthed Mickey Moran in charge of his Department of "Justice". We can expect therefore that the obnoxious "Criminal Justice" Bill will be forced through Leinster House. Our answer to that is that we in the Republican movement will defy the obnoxious provisions if they become law, in the streets of every town and city in the state.

● Cardinal Conway's worry for the youth of Ireland is interesting. Last year the leading prelate of the Roman Catholic Church attended the opening of "Civic Week" in Armagh, the first item of which was an "Army Display" by the first battalion Kings Own Regiment. Ecumenism for the watching nationalist audience, recruiting as usual for the British garrison. Who corrupts the youth of Ireland more? The "purveyors of marxism" or the purveyors of British Imperialism? Maybe the Cardinal will tell us.

The Cardinal also made the point that those who preach social revolution are holding back the cause of justice and hindering social "evolution". We reject this. It is not revolutionaries who are hindering social progress but those at present in authority North and South whose answer to social ills is the Special Powers Act, The Riot Squad, The Water Cannons and the Criminal Justice Bill. Although the Criminal Justice Bill has been condemned by many prominent members of the Church of Ireland and the Presbyterian Church, no official comment has been forthcoming from the Cardinal's own Church.

● Mr. James Dunne had the usual thing to say at the ICTU annual conference in Bundoran: "We have a 'do-it-yourself' brand of trade unionism which treats with contempt all the institutions, practices and procedures that our trade union movement has created over the last sixty years". Mr. Dunne apparently thinks that institutions and procedures are more important than the actual needs of the trade union members. What is needed, is for trade unions to be real fighting organisations of the working people, democratic not bureaucratic, not watered-down house associations under the thumb of the FUE.

It is important that we who stand for national independence, and ownership of Ireland by all the people, should make our position crystal clear. Tomas Mac Giolla, Uachtaran Sinn Fein, did this at Bodens-town last month when, in the course of his oration, he said:

"Our objective has been to make it clear to all that a Republican is both a socialist and a separatist. We are not going to be deflected from policies we know to be right and in the best interests of the Irish people, because of temporary shifts in public opinion. We do not regard socialism is a fashionable cloak to be worn or discarded as popular taste dictates. I think we can say that no one is today in any doubt where a Republican stands ideologically."

## PATRIOTS' REMAINS RETURN

After years of agitation for the return of the remains of the two Republican martyrs of 1940, the Barnes and MacCormack Repatriation Committee announce that the bodies of the two IRA men hanged in Winson Green Prison in Birmingham are being returned to Ireland.

The General Headquarters of the Irish Republican Army, in a special statement, thanks the committee for working so hard and so successfully for the repatriation of the bodies of Barnes and MacCormack.

The Irish Republican Army calls on all veterans of the struggle for Irish freedom of previous and subsequent generations to vindicate their memory by a massive turn-out at the Custom House, Dublin on Friday evening the 4th of July to meet their remains on arrival from Dublin airport, and again in Mullingar for the interment on Sunday the 6th of July. A place of honour in the cortege will be allotted to their comrades of the forties, and to the members of the Special Expeditionary Force who carried the fight to England.

It is our hope that the homecoming of Barnes and MacCormack will be a unifying force in Republican ranks for the struggle against British imperialism which is strengthening its grip on our country politically, economically, and culturally.

**FRIDAY 4th July.**  
 2.45 p.m. Arrives Dublin Airport.  
 6.00 p.m. Depart Airport.  
 7.00 p.m. Parade forms at Custom House; marches to Merchant's Quay church via Eden Quay and O'Connell Street.

**SATURDAY 5th July.**  
 11.00 a.m. Mass  
 11.45 a.m. Remains leave Merchant's Quay; parade to Four Courts via Capel St. bridge.  
 12.00 a.m. Depart for Mullingar; arrive 2.30 p.m.; stop at two towns en route: Enfield (1.15), Kinnegad (1.30).  
 2.30 p.m. Arrive at outskirts of Mullingar.  
 3.00 p.m. Arrive at Mullingar Cathedral.  
**SUNDAY 6th July.**  
 12.00 a.m. Mass.  
 3.00 p.m. Parade from Cathedral to graveyard.

## BAN DEFIED: U. I. SOLD

As announced in last months issue members of the Republican Clubs throughout the North publicly defied the Stormont regime's ban on the sale of the United Irishman.

The ban is part of the notorious Special Powers Act and is the only portion of the Act at present in force, excluding the ban on the Republican Clubs themselves. The main organised defiance of the ban was on the weekend of 20-22 June. Members of Republican Clubs offered the paper for sale in public places in the following areas:— Newry, Armagh, Belfast, Dungannon, Coalisland, Pomeroy, Omagh, Derry, Dungiven, Maghera, Swatragh and Magherafelt.

Mr. Malachy McGurran, Chairman of the Six Counties Regional Executive of Republican Clubs said in a statement to the press: "We will continue to defy this obnoxious Act, both in sales of the United Irish-

## THROUGHOUT NORTH

man and in Republican Club activity.

Sale of the paper was very brisk wherever it appeared and police intervened only in Armagh and Newry where the Riot

Squad was called out. Only a few copies were seized by the police, however.

## STORMONT BAN DEFIED

The Stormont ban on the sale of United Irishman in the Six Counties will be publicly defied in all major areas throughout the area this

the ban, first imposed in 1954, renewed for a three-year period in December last by the then Secretary of Home Affairs, Captain W.

United Irishman has, of course, continued to be sold in the Six Counties despite the ban but, in recent years, at least, there has been no sale in public places. The sale of the United Irishman in other areas and will be

**ACTS**  
 (Ireland) 1922 to 1940  
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# letters to the editor

## Civil Rights

Dear Sir,

I was able, last weekend, to read the June issue of your paper and especially the Editorial, "Civil Rights — What Next". Generally speaking, it was a very balanced piece of writing. I have only one or two comments to make.

The writer stated that Chichester-Clarke would not keep his promises. This, in my opinion, is a two-edged conclusion. It expresses, and not unnaturally, a distrust of Clarke, his Government and party. On the other hand, it conveys a lack of confidence in the people here to be able to force the Government along the road of reform. This latter conclusion could be harmful and could weaken the spirit of those who want to, and are willing to work for, changes in the Northern Ireland context. (One has listened so long to the old refrain, "Nothing will ever change here" and one hopes that it has gone out of fashion forever.)

It was further said that "no genuine reforms" will come from the bigoted Unionist politicians in Stormont. This is to bring into question the gains already made and, in the minds of those not so well acquainted with the whole situation, make them believe that the struggle waged since August, 1968, has been in vain.

After all, if the people are not able to effect what, in essence, are minimal changes, how will they ever be able to bring about the greater changes that many people visualise? One must, when one occupies a position of responsibility, inspire hope and confidence and not doubt and despair.

The Civil Rights programme is alleged to be "a reformist one". One acknowledges that the programme is one of seeking elementary reforms. But to state that it is "reformist" is to link it with one conceived by *Reformists* and all that that name conjures up in progressive political circles.

One feels that this was not the intention of the writer but, in this context, words are of the utmost importance.

One agrees, as pointed out in the Editorial, that the Irish in Britain are in "a tremendous position" to back up the Civil Rights demands. Unfortunately, their efforts are much impeded by two things:

Firstly, there is not the required unity among all the Irish organisations there to enable the pressure to be exerted in the necessary strength and in the right quarters and, secondly, some of the Irish organisations tend to devote their energies to working out solutions for the Civil Rights campaign *within* Ireland and do not devote their efforts in the direction of forwarding the work in Britain.

Unity at home and in Britain and elsewhere, on a common programme, is the need of the hour. Unity is also required in the sphere of tactics and strategy. When we arrive

at such a mutual understanding, much more will be won.

Betty Sinclair, Belfast.  
June '69.

## Farmers

A Chara,

Propaganda from the Irish Sugar Company's HQ this year told farmers that no extra beet acreage would be given this season. In this area, the parish of Aghada, many local farmers asked for an extra acre or two. They were refused point blank. Still, you have an alien "estate farmer" in the area who never grew a drill of beet last year, being handed a large number of acres!

There are plenty of farmers who would welcome extra beet acreage in the parish. I ask, is this fair play?

Now, another matter that concerns local farmers; this year Whitegate Refinery Estate are handed well over 100 acres of peas from Erin Foods Ltd., while other farmers cannot get even one acre of carrots. Is this fair play?

It is time that the local and native farmers came out of dreamland and woke up to what is really going on.

Thomas Wall,  
Ballinookera, Whitegate, Co. Cork.

## Palestine

Dear Sir,

The lengthy analysis of the Israeli-Palestinian problem I found interesting. However, few people realise that the Palestine problem has a parallel with the Irish 'Ulster problem'. There was never a Palestinian Nation as such, as no doubt there was never an Ulster Nation.

The Palestinian Arabs owed allegiance to Jordan or other states just as the majority of Ulster people were under coercion, allied to London. Israel contends that a dialogue for permanent settlement should be between both sides concerned and not between Israel and the so-called "Big Four" powers. The latter showed very little consideration for the cause of Irish Unity.

Another aspect I would like to put forward on this question is that Israel's very existence is threatened by the ever increasing populations of her Arab neighbours. The opposite is true concerning Ireland, if we can cure our emigration problem and keep our people at home. The Catholic population of 'Ulster' will be 55 per cent of these Six Counties in 15 years. Let us make certain that in the meantime our friends in the Six maintain the nationalist tradition and objective.

An Israeli leader told me a few days ago that he managed to secure a regular copy of the U.I. over the past 15 years and that the one item that impressed him most in the constant message of Sinn Féin and the U.I. was the

"ever recurring exaltation to all Irishmen to restore the soul of Ireland".

Finally, when we were being put into the mass graves of the Famine times, one and only one voice was heard in defence of the dying and disbanded Irish Nation — it was that of Rothschild — who immediately donated £3,000 to relief and urgently founded and chaired the Relief Fund.

Breffni O'Rourke.

## Enniskerry

The Enniskerry Citizens Action Committee demand that the Powerscourt Estate be taken over by the State, and the Waterfall, Woodlands and the non-arable land be used as a National Park.

In the interests of the Community we demand that the total arable land be acquired by the Land Commission to be used as a farming co-operative.

We are opposed to any scheme which uses this arable land as a wild life reserve or any other tourist venture. Whether the idea of a wild life reserve is desirable or not is a matter for the State Enterprise to decide and we suggest that any decision should take into account the expert opinion of the Dublin Zoological Authorities.

We affirm our support for the concepts as expressed in the first paragraph of the Democratic Programme of the first Dail.

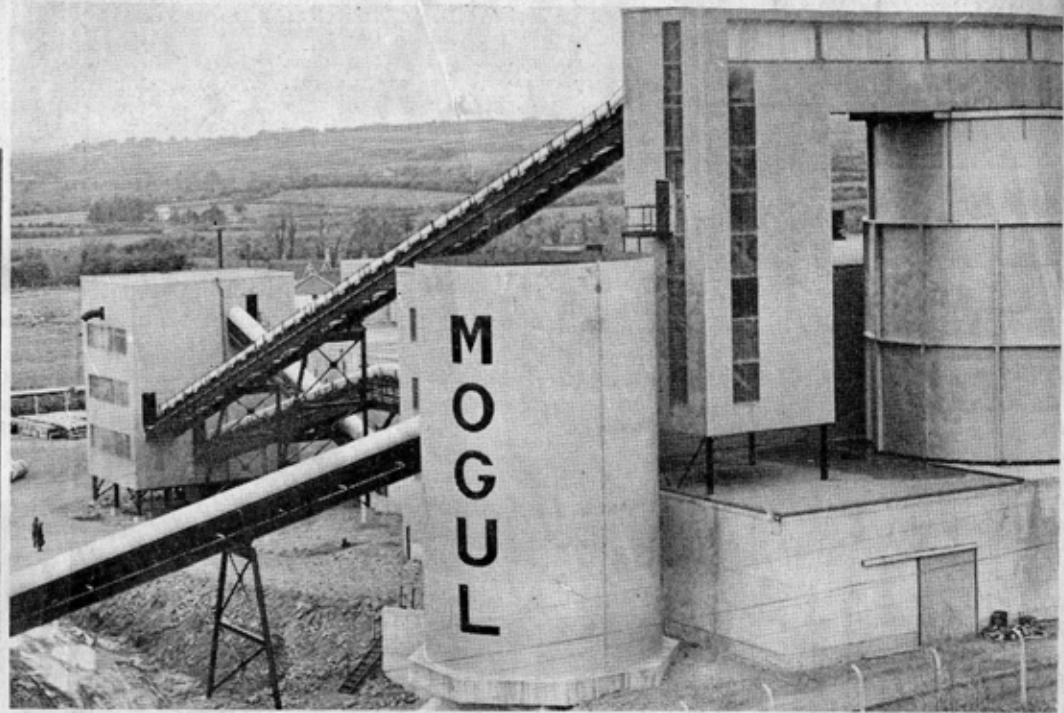
"We declare in the words of the Irish Republican Proclamation the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies to be indefeasible, and in the language of our first President, Padraig Pearse, we declare that the Nation's sovereignty extends not only to all men and women of the Nation, but to all its material possessions; the Nation's soil and all its resources, all the wealth and all the wealth-producing processes within the Nation, and with him we reaffirm that all rights to private property must be subordinated to the public right and welfare."

Noel Sutton,  
Information Officer,  
Monastery,  
Enniskerry,  
Co. Wicklow.

## Toronto funeral

Mr. Hugh McElinden was buried in Toronto on Saturday 24th May last. Although 60 years in Canada, Mr. McElinden retained his love of Ireland to the last.

A subscriber to the U.I. for the past 12 years, his last request was to be buried with the Irish Flag. He was buried from St. Helen's Church, Dundas Street. After the interment the flag which had covered the casket was presented to Mr. Hugh McElinden Jr. by William O'Connor of the Thomas Clarke Clan na nGael Club.



## TRANSPORT UNION FAILS YET AGAIN

at Gortdrum Mines in Co. Tipperary which threatens to organisation in the area.

## The 'link with Britain' rejected

In Belfast last June 17, at a debate at the Teachers Training College, French House, a motion "That the link with Britain must be maintained" was opposed by Con Lehane, Solicitor, Dublin, and Derry Kelleher, Sinn Féin Comhairle Ceanntair, Wicklow.

Con Lehane said that Tone's dictum that the British were the source of Ireland's evils was still valid today. "It is still valid in the sense that the root cause of our social and economic problems, both in the 26 Counties and in the Six Counties, is our economic links with and subservience to the British capitalist system" he declared.

Continuing, Mr. Lehane said: "While in the Twenty-six Counties our economic subservience is partial," he said, "in the Six Counties yours is complete, and is aggravated by the fact that you are politically and legislatively tied to the British political system."

The whole history of Ireland's struggle for freedom from Britain's interference in Ireland's affairs, was really the history of a class struggle. There had never been conflict, hostility or antipathy between the revolutionary movements for Irish freedom and the radical British working class.

The Six Counties link with Britain, rivetted on the area by the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, had resulted in the setting up of an artificial statelet, based purely upon the desire to maintain a permanent majority in the area for the rump of the British Tory Party.

It is the link with Britain that has brought about a situation where fundamental civil rights had been denied one section of the working class so that they could be divided from another section not under the same disabilities, and this latter section gullied into the belief that their Tory exploiters were really their protectors.

Derry Kelleher in his address stated: "The Constitution of the Six Counties is the Government of Ireland Act of 1920 which provides neither autonomy nor sovereignty to this region. It is debarred from legislating on such matters as the Crown, treaties with foreign States, and other vital matters essential to sovereignty. It lacks control of Post Offices and 90 per

cent of its taxation is reserved to Westminster including Incomes Tax, Customs and Excise and various profits tax. Credit squeezes at Westminster have had the most onerous effects on the Six County economy without producing any move on the part of Stormont to defy article 75 of the Government of Ireland Act 1920. Britain's international agreement limiting industrial expansion can also have serious effects on development and prevented for example, the Six Counties going into the sugar-beet industry some years back.

The Six Counties balance of payments position is not known because it is obscured by inclusion in the overall U.K. account. It is noteworthy that the significance of the £100 million subvention which Mr. Terence O'Neill claims is provided by the U.K. free gratis and for nothing, has been in fact denied by Lord Brookeborough in April 1948 when he stated that Ulster (meaning the Six Counties) pays its way. The uncertainty in the position only serves to emphasise the subordinate role of the Stormont Government to Westminster.

Thus far from providing a "Protestant Parliament for a Protestant people" the Government of Stormont is in reality a puppet of Westminster and the English monarchy. It is certainly nothing that a latter day avowed follower of Cromwell, such as Mr. Ian Paisley, should be proud of and however much he may fulminate at Home Rule being Rome Rule he is in fact in the same camp as the Catholic Duke of Norfolk and others of his ilk. The struggle for national freedom has in fact fundamentally nothing to do with religion and Republicanism certainly cannot be claimed to be a Papist invention — quite the contrary. Once Protestant and Catholic workers realise their identity of interest whilst at the same time recognising the identity of interests between the blue tories of the North and the green tories of the South they will recognise in the border the division of spheres of influence of the Knights of Columbanus and the Orange Lodges and will proceed to sweep this historical monstrosity into the dust heap of reactionary and forgotten things.

The motion was defeated.



## \*\* NOTES & COMMENTS

### RTE resignations

THE fact that I have to pen these notes so early in the month is at times frustrating, at times a good exercise in having a go at sensing what is going to happen in the near future.

My remarks last month about further trouble brewing in RTE had hardly reached the printer when the news broke of a wave of resignations among producers and other personnel. Bob Quinn, Jack Dowling, Lelia Doolin and announcer Brendan Balfe, courageously holding to their principles, handed in their resignations in protest against the rot in the so-called national television and broadcasting service.

They are not the first, and they will not be the last, to make such a protest. The root cause of the discontent goes way down to the murky depths of politics and the in-fighting between power groups of Fianna Fail henchmen in RTE.

Messrs. Blaney, Boland, Haughey and Tod Andrews could tell you a lot more about that and about the "hot" lines between their offices and the hasty visits to Montrose and nearby hotels for their scheming and plotting.

Suggestions have been put forward for an independent advisory board for RTE as a cure for its present ailments. Surely the solution is the setting up of a truly national service and have it run by those best qualified, the people with the experience, expertise and right outlook, without interference from the politicians—or the advertisers.

### Profit criterion

PROFIT-making seems to be the criterion of standards in RTE at the moment—and obviously there are profits to be made (at the expense of standards, of course). Other people, outside RTE, appear to be well aware of this also. As far back as December, 1967, I wrote here about the moves by private and/or political interests to set up a second radio and television service and mentioned that the idea had come from a certain financial magazine.

My information was proved correct in May when it was reported in the newspapers that the four major publishing groups, the Irish Times, Independent Newspapers, the Irish Press and (note this) Creation, owners of a financial magazine titled "Business and Finance" had met and made tentative proposals for such a new, commercial service.

The newspaper reports did not tell the fate of the proposals but I can now reveal that, for the time being at least, there will be no second

TV or radio service. Which may be all to the good, since it would be totally commercial, non-national, non-cultural and devoted solely to the making of money for its owners. For such a "pop" station this country has no need.

### Charlie's farm

SENSATION of the end of May was, of course, Mr. Charlie Haughey's celebrated sale of his residence and farm at Raheny. (Again I must remind my readers that this column published the news of that sale, albeit with much too low figures, several months ago and long before the Irish Times thought it had a scoop in its edition of May 28).

But there is some background news to Charlie's

move out to his new place in Cloghran, in Co. Dublin, that may be of interest to my readers. Even before he moved Charlie had special telephone lines laid to his new home (how many people are waiting three years for phones?). This may be in order for a Minister who must have the means of rapid communication in the interests of the state. But Charlie thought nothing of ordering the uprooting of a line of poles which carried another phone wire to a doctor's house nearby—merely because the poles stood on his property. Then a new line had to be set up to the doctor's home—a much longer, costlier one.

At whose expense was this needless operation carried out? At yours, my friend, at yours and mine, the taxpayers of this banana republic of the western world.

MAC DARA



It's alright boys, I'll fix it.

## \*\* CLUB na bPOBLACHTÁNACH

It would be a bad thing at the end of the Academic Year to attempt an assessment of the years activities and to point out some guidelines for future activity.

In the first place the keynote of next year must be construction. Our approach to affairs to date has been too haphazard and this has affected all areas of our work. To take one very important example; all the universities groups sell Republican publications. Sales of the UI continue to rise in all the Universities, with active clubs and indeed, that is how it should be. But when we get on to other publications the picture is less rosy.

We must systemise our production and sale of such publications as Republican News and Republican Documents. Again, there have been too few of these documents produced. The need for more publications has never been greater. When we consider how simple it was for Fianna Fáil to play the "Red Scare" in the general election it is now more than ever essential to show what Tone, Lalor and Connolly really did say. The clubs should be supplying this need.

The basic unit in the university is the faculty. This is where students have their

problems. Up to now it was assumed only too readily that students would flock to a Republican banner out of loyalty to some abstraction called the 'Republican Ideal'. We should have realised that you cannot organise on an abstraction, but you can and must organise on the basis of need. This is what Tomás Mac Giolla meant when he spoke at Bodenstown about a "peoples' struggle". In the university that would mean organising students on the basis of faculties.

To date, this has been tried in some universities; TCD and UCD, and these examples should be studied. But the university is only one side of the coin. Our work with the housing groups has not been what it should have been. The tendency towards exotic behaviour displayed by some students during the Dennehy campaign was not matched by their work in the DHAC. In fact, when work had to be done students were usually out of sight.

### U.C.D.

In UCD the Club has at last got on its feet and is set for a large-scale expansion in the next Academic year. The Club had a difficult time getting started. The



Orangemen defending liberty at Burntollet, 1968.

On Sunday (June 15th), in Belfast, there should have taken place the second James Connolly commemoration parade of recent years, but through the connivance of the Stormont authorities and the Orange-dominated Shankill Defence Association, the demonstration was called off at the last moment. And this is as blatant an example as we will ever have of the Paisley / Chichester - Clarke link up.

The decision to hold a parade in honour of Connolly and his ideals was no sooner made public than it was announced by Unionist supporters that a counter-demonstration would be staged. Once again we then beheld the fairness of the law in action as defined under Unionism. The Connolly crowd were denied the right to the Royal Avenue sector of the city centre and confined to the Catholic Falls Road area, whilst the Orangemen also were rerouted—from an alleged walk through the lower Falls district—but permitted to end their march in Royal Avenue

where the Connolly commemorators were to start theirs! So much for Chichester-Clarke's 'fairness and firmness': we saw the first abrogated in deference to his own extremists and the second upheld by the R.U.C. who were deployed in strength to see that no 'rebel' would defile the sacred streets of Belfast.

Groups of the Shankill Defenders clustered at street corners some armed with blackthorn sticks, and the police ignored them. Once again a counter-demonstration had taken precedence over a legally-applied for parade, once again the police are shown as a partisan force, and once again Chichester-Clarke shows himself in his real colours. For, it is only a few weeks back that he proclaimed at an Orange rally in Bellaghy that he 'was proud to be an Orangeman' and that anyone who condemned the Order knew nothing about it. Well, we know enough to understand that the Orange Order and Unionist Party control are synonymous, and that the ordinary rank-and-file Orangeman, in his bigotry or stupidity, is being led by the nose by the big-wigs of the Order who, almost without exception, are large estate owners or big businessmen.

However, to my eyes the Connolly commemoration had already lost some of its effectiveness by the actions of a group of so-called Socialists. They, and in particular Michael Farrell and Eamonn McCann, had made an issue over the carrying of the Irish Tricolour. Whatever the rights and wrongs, and no matter how politic it was, or was not, to carry the flag, to class it as being a sectarian or divisive emblem shows these would-be Connollyites in their true sheen.

### National flag

Farrell and McCann, two of the proposed speakers for the final rally in McGrory Park, in a joint statement declared the Tricolour to be '... the symbol of a non-irrelevant all-class alliance (which) serves merely to alienate the Protestant working-class, while confusing the Catholic working-class.' Two years ago we had a similar utterance from another member of the federation to which Farrell and McCann belong—the Young Socialists—when Cyril Toman declaimed the Irish national flag as being the flag of the bourgeois.

Let us make no mistake; every symbol, every cause which has mass support, will eventually attract the attention of people whose motives may not be of the purest. The Civil Rights cause in the North is a glaring example of this.

Today we have all Northern opposition parties stating their honest-to-goodness belief in civil rights for all: where were they before October 5, 1968? Eamonn McCann, recognised by some as a sincere Civil Rightist, stated not so long ago that it was time the C. R. Movement split along the political divisions of right and left. In other words he wants to further his own political philosophy through the movement which has done most to unite the Northern people since the state was founded. Like his friend, Michael Farrell, he claims that the C. R. Movement must ultimately become completely left wing, which, as anyone who cares to distinguish between civil rights and politics well knows, is not strictly true.

Now before anyone starts reaching for their pen to condemn this correspondent as a Capitalist, I must make clear that I was one of the earliest to welcome the Republican swing to the left. It is only by involving the Movement in the basic problems of the people can one hope to gain popular support, as it is only by making the people realise their own strength does one deserve that support. But we must evolve our socialism in the context of the Irish Nation. We must divorce politics from religion, but at the same time guaranteed full freedom of religion. We must make full use of the resources of the Nation, both its human and mineral wealth, but without turning the people of the Nation into robots to do, and go, exactly what, and where, directed.

But to come back to the Tricolour issue. Let those who deride the flag understand one important fact: James Connolly fought beneath, and died for, the ideals enshrined in the Green, White and Orange, even though he had reservations about some of those he soldiered with. He was a Socialist: he also was an Irishman. The flag of Ireland was his flag and if some people didn't like it—well, that was their own business.

If, as the Connolly Commemoration Committee determined their parade was to walk through the centre of Belfast, it WAS more politic that the Tricolour be not carried; but once the decision to carry it had been taken then it was up to every member who preaches allegiance to Connolly to follow on. After all it was a majority decision and, as Messrs McCann and Farrell in their People's Democracy guise so often boast, a majority decision should be adhered to. If they are not prepared to honour both sides of Connolly, the Socialist AND the Irishman, let them get off the bandwagon.





# THE PROBLEMS OF IDEOLOGY

BY D. KELLEHER

(Continued from June Issue)

So obsessed were the clerical and other enemies of these principles that they failed to stem the growing tide of Hedonism because they either would not or could not recognise that this was symptomatic of international monopoly capitalism in decay. Somehow Hedonism and Marxism became inextricably associated in their minds as the two sides of the same coin of "the world, the flesh, and the devil". The result is that the liberalisation of thought by Vatican Council II, however welcome it may have been, in many respects has produced a type of schizophrenia resulting in an impotence, if not tolerance, in some ecclesiastical quarters in the face

of the "signs of the times" including the Hippies, Flower power and pornography. In this permissive atmosphere the 'rebel without a cause' with his drug addiction is considered less innocuous than the rebel with the cause "to end the age long tyranny that makes for human tears".

More enlightened counsels in the Church recognising that man cannot serve the two masters of Socialism and Capitalism (or God and Mammon) have sought a means to escape this dilemma by seeking for a view of man in Society that is at once heroic and evolutionary. Many have seen in the philosophy of the French Jesuit Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (1881-1950), the solution to the problem of the purpose

of life, of man's role in the universe, and in which, moreover, work and effort are regarded as humanising factors, leading to the flowering of the diverse cultures, the expression of their nationalities, of the peoples of the earth, rather than as a traumatic punishment for original sin. Man thus becomes the maker of history, not merely interpreting the world but consciously seeking to change it, rather than forever being alienated in a hostile universe from the fruits of his toil; rather subject to be able to plan, co-ordinate and control his efforts, than to be subject to the free play of economic forces.

The primary importance of Teilhard's philosophy, expressed in such works as

'The Phenomenon of Man', 'Mans' Place in Nature', and 'The Future of Man' is that strating with Darwin's theory in its modern form, it gives full significance to the importance of the theory of evolution in relation to the emergence of life, mind, and society in the Universe. To get the importance of this into perspective it may be noted that Karl Marx writing in the first volume of Capital in 1867 stated that it was Darwin who aroused his interest in 'natural technology' or the processes by which plants and animals through their various organs maintain their existence. Marx extended this idea to the processes of production by which man sustains his life and inferred that these processes in turn form the basis for his social relationships and for the thoughts and feelings arising therefrom and stated, moreover, that "any history, even of religion, that fails to take account of this material basis is uncritical".

James Connolly in his work "Labour, Nationality, and Religion" defended this philosophy and pointed out that the brilliant Irish Scholastic Duns Scotus had taught a similar, but obviously less developed, doctrine in the Middle Ages. In our times against the background of scientific developments both in the biological sciences which investigate mans emergence or evolution from primitive life forms, and in the social sciences, which evaluate the economic growth or evolution of the societies in which we live, it is to be expected that such a philosophy should be expressed in a more developed form.

Karl Marx used this basic idea to weld together and unify classical British political economy, French Socialism and German philosophy as if in direct acceptance of Marx's challenge concerning the formulation of historical ideas. The modern philosophy of Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (1881-1950) seeks to reconcile christian theology with the scientific theory of evolution in an intimate and indissoluble way.

(To be Continued.)

In last month's article we examined the history of the Palestine "problem" since it was hatched by the British during the First World War up to the "June War" of 1967.

The '67 war had a profound effect on the Palestine Arab population now in areas occupied by the Israelis. It led to a general re-awakening of national feeling among the Palestinian people. Between then and now several organisations have arisen among the Palentinian people. The best known and most familiar to Irish people is AL FATAH.

Recently, a prominent member of this organisation was interviewed by the Palestinian magazine FREE PALESTINE. The answers he gave to some of the magazine's questions will give an idea of the feelings of many Palestinians at this important juncture in their nation's history;

**Q.** What are the objectives of AL FATAH?

**A.** AL FATAH is a national liberation movement. Therefore its main objective is to liberate Palestine, that is to liberate the Jews from Zionism and to destroy any racial or sectarian notion, which might exist amongst the Arabs. We aim ultimately at the establishment of a democratic, progressive Palestinian State, free from racialism and Zionism.

**Q.** How representative of the Palestinian people is AL FATAH?

**A.** The majority of the Palestinians support at present the Palestine National Liberation Movement AL FATAH, which has also a great appeal among the Arab masses. This is due to the fact that our Movement has imposed itself through its actions. We can clearly see the results anywhere in the Arab world, at the first sign of hostility by any group or government towards AL FATAH. What seems also relevant is that our military forces "AL ASSIFA" were the first to start the operations against the enemy immediately following 5th June, 1967. AL FATAH is very keen on gathering around it all the loyal Palestinians and of expanding its popular basis. I am not exaggerating if I say that had we been able to have a referendum 95 per cent of all Palestinians would vote for our Movement.

**Q.** It is true that AL FATAH attacks civilian targets? How does Israel score on this?

**A.** We have made it our point not to attack civilian targets, except in retaliation for Israeli attacks on our civilians. We have never undertaken an attack on civilians except after repeated warnings to the Israelis. This is because we believe that there is a large number of poor Jews who are being exploited inside the occupied territories and we know that our war is not directed against them and we do not wish to lose their friendship which might in the future play an important role in the solution of the problem. On the other hand 90 per cent of the Israeli military operations are directed against civilians in the East Bank of the Jordan, such as Al Salt, Irbid, etc. We could if we wanted, carry out extensive attacks against the civilians, but we only choose to do so in retaliation.

**Q.** What will happen if a political solution is imposed by the Powers?

**A.** We have waged our war of liberation, a long time before 5th June, this means that we are against the Zionist existence under all its forms. The issue at stake is not whether Israel should withdraw a few miles, it is the very existence

of a Zionist state in the area. This is why AL FATAH has adopted the slogan 'Revolution until Victory', meaning the liberation of Palestine and the eradication of Zionism and all other aspects of racialism whether Arab or otherwise. We shall, therefore under no circumstances, accept any other alternative.

**Q.** Could you explain the differences that exist between the Palestinian resistance groups?

**A.** Many of the divisions that existed within the ranks of the Palestinians were phenomena related to the pre 1967 war period, when the Palestinians in the Arab countries were forbidden from organising themselves politically and had to join the different ideological groups in those countries or resort to secret activity. Today, however, there is no longer any justification for these divisions with the opportunity now available for semi-open Palestinian organisations on the national level.

The reason why other groups beside Fatah exist today is that many of these groups do not recognise that the present stage of the Palestinian struggle is that of

national liberation and rely on deliberately limited support within the Palestinian population. We feel that such restriction is contrary to the interest of the Palestinian Revolution in its present stage, and that all effort should be exerted to mobilise the Palestinian people as a whole — or rather all those within the ranks of the Palestinians who are sincere in their patriotism and dedicated to the principle of national liberation.

Al Fatah, which is the largest and strongest of the Palestinian organisations has taken important steps towards achieving the unity of the Palestinian armed struggle. It has entered the Palestine Liberation Organisation and taken up responsible positions within it. Al Fatah has also been instrumental in forming the Command of the Armed Struggle which is responsible for co-ordinating the operation of the groups that are members of the Command. It is our view that as time provides proof of the effectiveness and growth of the activity of this unified command, other organisations now outside it, will eventually merge with it.

# palestine





# AN CONRADH NUA

LE MAOLSHEACHLAINN  
O CAOLLAI  
(Uachtaran Conradh na Gaeilge)

## REVOLUTION

The present condition and future prospects of the restoration movement can be understood and assessed only if examined in relation to its history. No adequate history of the movement's early, or indeed, later years has yet been attempted. Its contribution to the national awakening still awaits full analysis and interpretation. Nevertheless there is widespread agreement that in its first phase the "language movement" acted as a power house of ideas and motivation which by sharpening the people's consciousness of nationality and desire for freedom prepared the way for the attempted revolution of 1916-1922.

Undoubtedly its influence was immense. Following the Black and Tan and Civil Wars, however, the national influence of the movement was virtually eclipsed. The reasons for this included interference and dislocation caused by war, loss of members through deaths and defections, political divisions, and of course, the disillusionment which often follows civil war.

## DECLINE

The effect of all this was to drive the movement into a watchdog position. The new state was pledged to the restoration. It must have appeared to some that the restoration work of the movement could be left to the state. The movement, with its membership greatly reduced, withdrew into itself and tended to concentrate its efforts within narrow confines. Some aspects of the recreational life of the people became almost of central importance while educational activity was almost abandoned.

The narrowing of vision and organisational frustration which accompanied the eclipse of the movement's momentum and influence inevitably led to the familiar pattern of splintering and fragmentation. If designed and executed by an enemy, the break up of the movement could not have been more effective in thwarting the aims of the restoration.

## FRAGMENTATION

Fragmentation, of course, caused internal weaknesses and failure to influence the environment. In its first phase the movement was comparatively united within one organisation — Conradh na Gaeilge. The present situation in which there are about 20 different bodies and organisations claiming membership of the movement is a direct result of this process. Furthermore, fragmentation led to the separation and alienation of intellectuals and specialists from the main mass organisation. Thus, renewal became almost impossible.

Pub-stool revolutionaries tend to remain sitting on pub-stools. Organisations which do not contain a sufficiency of thinkers

tend to displace and lose sight of their objectives. Without a clear cut *raison d'être* such organisations tend to peter out. It must be remembered that organisational health is measured not so much by numbers as by the members feeling and sense of membership and by their understanding and commitment to clear cut objectives and appropriate methods of attaining objectives as well as the organisations understanding of the truth about its environment.

## THE NEW DECADE

As the mid-1960's approached, it certainly appeared that the position of the movement could only worsen. Established pub-sitters continued to siphon off large numbers of those who by involving themselves with the people, could build up a new movement. Despite this, the years 1965-66 marked the beginning of a new phase in the movement. At this stage a number of factors came together and initiated a renewal which promises to become a transformation.

Ironically, the first break in the merry-go-round came in 1964 with the rumour that the government was preparing to issue a white paper in response to the report made by the commission on the restoration the previous year. The white paper in preparation was said to contain proposals for the watering down of the already watery state policy on the language. This led to a great deal of hostility to the state establishment. The signature campaign of 1964 followed.

## YOUTH TO THE FORE

The signature campaign, whatever else it achieved, in addition to the collection of over 425,000 signatures in support of a positive state policy for Irish, drew together almost all the various elements supporting the restoration. More importantly, it drew together many young people especially students, who under the existing institutional arrangements would have been fodder for the pub-stool alienation, and thus would never have worked together among the people.

Realising the strength of organisation and the utter futility of charismatic and putsch oriented groupings, many of these young people decided to work for the restoration within Conradh na Gaeilge. The renewal and transformation of An Conradh was thus begun. A number of other factors had a bearing on this development.

## SPAWN OF GAIMBINISM

About this time the gaimbin element in Irish society spawned a group which was openly anti-Irish. The group consisted

mainly of middle-aged, well-to-do solicitors, factory owners, factory managers, pub owners, ranchers, landlords and politicians who somehow sensed in the restoration an implicit threat to their vested interests. Could it have been the ghost of the restoration movement's most illustrious member knocking at their doors demanding justice for the "Risen People"? God knows.

Again ironically, perhaps fatefully, this new spawning served the purpose of encouraging renewal in Conradh na Gaeilge by bringing into the open some of those who all along had been working quietly against the language. This caused polarisation which brought more young people into An Conradh and also sharpened the will of the young people already working within the organisation.

## GOVERNMENT PROMISES

Since the foundation of the 26 Co. state every government has protested its loyalty to the *raison d'être* of the National Movement. In the area of language and nationality however, their endeavours have been anything but spectacular. Government efforts have been confined mainly to some areas of education. For the past 20 years these efforts have been petering out. More recently, as a result of agitation, more extensive efforts are being made in the Gaeltacht. These, however, are on a scale far too small to effect a stoppage of the bloodletting which threatens to wipe out even the Galway Gaeltacht within the next decade.

Also, as a result of agitation, some recognition for the language has been achieved in the television service which however, continues to condition our people for assimilation and neo-colonisation. In general, it is certainly true to say that the restoration of Irish has not yet been attempted by the state. Successive counts and surveys since 1961 have shown that despite the tremendous losses caused by compulsory emigration from the Gaeltacht, about 30 per cent of the population of the state have a speaking knowledge of Irish while a further 30 per cent or so can understand it. This alone is surely proof that if the restoration had been attempted it would have succeeded.

The realisation of this fact has caused many young Irish speakers to view all major political parties with hostility and often contempt and has convinced them of the need for an active movement. Frequently, the enemies of the restoration have tried to associate the movement with loyalty to a single party. In fact among young Irish speakers, loyalty to a political party is very rare and is often viewed with suspicion. Young people hold attitudes which are far more radical than those of their predecessors in the movement.

A further factor was the bringing to bear of scientific thought on the restoration and also the renewal of social conscience which has been occurring in the religious sphere. The period since 1920 has been marked by great advancement in the social sciences. The sciences known as sociology, social psychology and cultural anthropology together with the new science of sociolinguistics have now confirmed much of what Conradh na Gaeilge taught about language, nationality and their importance to the individual over 70 years ago. They have also provided us with much new knowledge about these matters. These sciences are having a strong influence on the thinking of Conradh na Gaeilge today.

It is now clear, for instance, that language shift is a form of social change which like other forms of social change, has repercussions through the whole social system and style of living of a people. Culture is seen to include the whole pattern of living, institutions and values of a society. A shift to Irish as the first and mother language of a large number of our people would bring with it new outlooks on life in all areas of the culture.

These facts which were implicit in the philosophy, actions and campaigns of the movement in its first phase, are becoming explicit in the new Conradh. In many ways Conradh na Gaeilge is retracing its steps. The philosophy which it is developing promises to be as broad as its original philosophy. The breadth of vision of the original movement is usually overlooked and in fact is understood fully only by those who have taken the trouble to immerse themselves in its literature.

## THE FUTURE

Of course, there will be no attempt to reach pre-eminence by an exact repetition of the methods which were used in a different epoch. The changed and changing Ireland calls not alone for a renewed philosophy, but also for new concepts of the role of the movement, for new strategy, methods and organisation. All these are being developed and implemented. Despite immense difficulties An Conradh is again appearing on the map, maybe now as a small speck but gradually gaining prominence.

The road forward lies along the way I have indicated. We can change Ireland if we keep to this road. Much of our strength lies in the fact that our organisation is a bridge between people who place Ireland first in their list of priorities. Thus, our status as a non-party, non-sectarian, non-racial body will continue to be guarded at all costs. People of all parties, religions, races, and of no party, religion or race are welcome to commit themselves to serve our people through Conradh na Gaeilge.



"... Each extension of the principle of public ownership brings us nearer to the re-conquest of Ireland by its people; it means the gradual resumption of the common ownership of all Ireland by all the Irish — the realisation of freedom." — JAMES CONNOLLY.

With these words of Connolly in mind the different branches of the Republican Movement last month escalated the campaign for the re-conquest of Ireland with forceful demonstrations against the foreign and native speculators, control of our country's natural resources.

## LEIXLIP

On Sunday, June 8 a most successful fish-in was held at Leixlip, Co. Kildare, organised by the very active Leixlip Cumann of Sinn Fein and the Kildare branch of the National Waters Restoration League. More than 400 people gathered for the start of the fish-in which began with casting of lines on the section of the River Liffey in Leixlip itself. This section is controlled by the ESB and local people are being prevented from fishing there. Gardai looked on while the crowd filed through a small gateway onto the river bank. To the accompaniment of recorded music relayed through amplification, a dozen or more anglers cast their lines into the forbidden waters. But, whether it was due to the music or the noise of the crowd, no worthwhile fish were taken, not that this worried anyone as the main point of the fish-in was to establish the peoples right to use of the river.

The anglers were luckier at the second spot chosen for the continuation of the demonstration. This was a privately owned section of the River Rye, a tributary of the Liffey, just outside Leixlip. The owner, an Englishman named Stoney is a relation of the Woodmartins of Sligo (see Poachers Guide). As well as preventing locals from fishing in the Rye, Mr. Stoney has attempted to deny them the use of a right-of-way through the grounds near his house. A brick wall which was erected across the right-of-way was recently demolished by person or persons unknown.

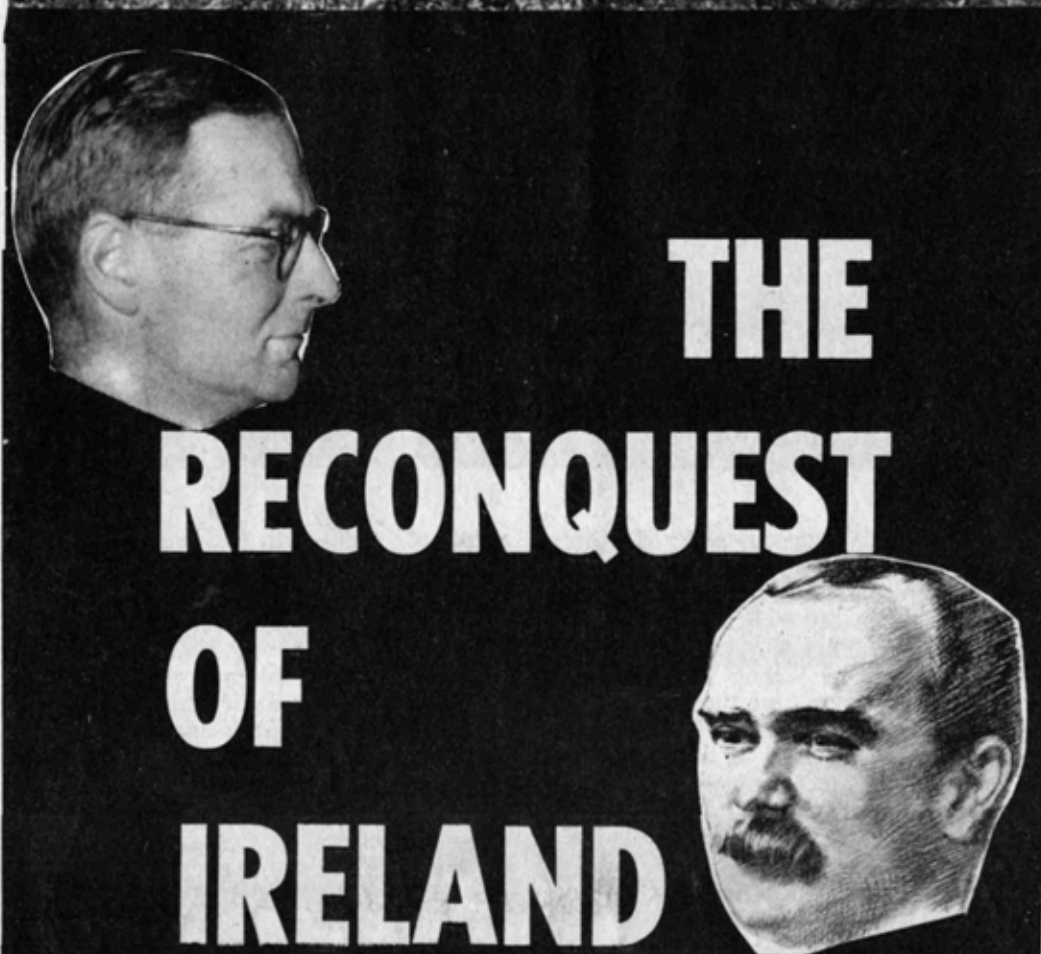
A public meeting was held in front of Stoney's house before the fish-in commenced. The anglers succeeded in taking a number of trout and it was decided to end the demonstration shortly afterwards. The members of the Leixlip Cumann and the Kildare NWRL deserve all praise for the efficient manner in which they organised and carried out the protest.

## MEATH and LOUTH

Co's Meath and Louth were the scene for the next protest against foreign ownership in Ireland. On the 11th June, in the early hours, units of the Republican Army destroyed by fire houses and other buildings on foreign owned farms in these counties. The places hit were; Dysart House near Dunleer, Co Louth (Owner; Mrs. Anneliese Kolln, Hamburg), Drakerath Stud, Carlanstown, Co. Meath (Owner; Mr. Johannes Kohn), Ballymacgarvey Stud, near Ceannanas Mór, Co. Meath (Owner; Dr. Martin Andree), and Oldbridge Farm, near Drogheda (Owner; Major D. H. Coddington, 600 acres). The same Major Coddington also controls fishery rights on the River Boyne.

In a statement issued the following day the IRA explained that the action had been taken in support of agitation by many people in Ireland for the recovery of foreign-owned lands for division among the nation's population and as a follow-up to an earlier statement warning foreigners against acquiring property in Ireland. It went on to criticise Mr. J. Lynch, 26-Co. Prime Minister, who, not unexpectedly, condemned the burnings.

"Mr. Lynch's statement regarding the guarantee given by foreign owners of Irish land stands badly in comparison to the furore in the German parliament following the burning of the Farrens Lock House in Co. Meath last March. If property in this country is the concern of foreign governments, what assurance does Mr. Lynch have that the internal policies of any 26-Co.



government will not be affected by the interests of foreign powers as a result of the ownership of property here by their nationals.

"What assurance can he give that a "Bay of Pigs" landing will not occur here should any future Irish government attempt to recover this land now being bought by foreign cartels, or even to regulate its use to the benefit of the Irish people."

## WICKLOW

The other main area of agitation during the month was Brittas Bay in Co. Wicklow. The beach at Brittas Bay, one of the finest in Ireland has been fenced off by local speculators, Brittas Bay Estates and William and Philomena Maguire.

These individuals have set up a "checkpoint Charlie" at one entrance to the beach and have been charging the public 2/6d. entrance fee to the beach. Every Sunday during the last month members of the Sinn Féin organisation in Co. Wicklow have picketed this entrance and have urged members of the public to pass through without paying any fee. On the second Sunday of the month the picket was set upon by a large force of impartial Gardai and four members were arrested. They were later in the week charged at Wicklow court with "unlawfully throwing down a gate the property of Brittas Bay Estates and William Maguire" and with being "guilty of conduct calculated to lead to a breach of the peace". The case will be heard in mid July.

The campaign is continuing and has gained support even from the "Irish Press" which stated in an editorial on June 30; "There would appear to be an unarguable case for giving the public free access to popular beaches — to those in cars as well as pedestrians. A right-of-way by path is virtually useless in this car-conscious age — whether the public right to enjoyment of the beaches is secured by negotiation or compulsory purchase of a landowner's rights matters little so long as it is secured."

## MAYO

To end the month's activities two more fish-ins were held. In Co. Mayo on Sunday June 15, about seventy people attended at the Errif River near Westport to protest against the ownership of the river by Lord Sligo. Speaking at the protest, Aine Nic Ghiolla Chuilinn said: "It is entirely illogical for a government who claim to base their political philosophy on the freedom charter of 1916 — the proclamation proclaimed outside the G.P.O. — that declared the ownership of Ireland for the Irish people, to still deny 50 years later the natural resources to the deprived people of our country and to stand by the Establishment of Cromwellian Days."

In Drogheda on June 29, more than 1,500 people gathered on the banks of the Boyne at a place known as Curley Hole, for a fish-in organised by Louth Comhairle Ceantair of Sinn Féin in association with the NWRL.

This stretch of the Boyne is controlled by Major D. H. Coddington (see above). The large crowd watched as over twenty anglers cast their lines in the historic river. The fish-in took place at a point near the site of the Battle of the Boyne, 1690. Three water bailiffs watched the proceedings but made no attempt to interfere. Towards the end of the fish-in a large salmon was hooked but when landed, slipped from the hands of the angler and splashed back into the Boyne.

The fisheries campaign continues this month with "NATIONALISE THE FISHERIES WEEK" starting on Sunday July 13, in Galway city. A determined effort must be made this year, the anniversary of the Norman invasion of 1169, to undo the effects of the Conquest, to defeat the successors of the invaders — "Sir" Richard Levinge and his cronies.

Top: Brittas Bay. Centre, top left: "Sir" Richard Levinge, Director of Guinness and leading opponent of Fisheries Nationalisation. Bottom right: James Connolly. With megaphone: Donncha MacRaghnaill, Cathaoirleach, Sinn Fein Comhairle Ceantair Lughaidh. Bottom: Protest at Salmon Weir Bridge, Galway last summer.



'But what is astonishing to the visiting correspondent is that this situation has gone relatively unchronicled by the press, radio and television of the western world. It is far from being a Vietnam at this stage; perhaps a rough parallel might be Vietnam in 1953 when the skirmishing was light and the two sides were only beginning to take up battle positions.'

Irishmen could be forgiven for not being able to trace the context of the above reference, made by Patrick Keatley of the English liberal newspaper, *The Guardian*, in July 1968. The vulgar intellectual philistines who run our newspapers starve us of the kind of news, especially from Africa, which might provide insights into our political perspectives. The above extract is a description of the guerrilla fighting in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) since August 1967.

The only war in Africa is not the civil war in Nigeria. Like all civil wars, it has already resulted in the bitterness and violence which has captivated the world. But in two parts of Africa there are being waged the most highly-developed anti-imperialist wars of national liberation, where the inhabitants of the so-called dark continent are displaying not only the most highly-sophisticated understanding of guerrilla warfare methods, but also, like their Vietnamese counterparts, establishing model revolutionary forms of government and administration in the areas which have been freed from colonial rule.

In West Africa, in the tiny colony of 'Portuguese' Guinea, the PAIGC, led by Amilcar Cabral — truly one of the most advanced guerrilla leaders in the world today (see Basil Davidson's new Penguin, published last month, entitled *The Liberation of Guiné*) — has already liberated over two-thirds of the country, confronting a Portuguese army of over 30,000, proportionately twice as big as the U.S. forces in Vietnam. And Southern Africa is becoming a major area of armed struggle.

The clash between the African peoples (and their allies from the other races) of Southern Africa, and the white racist régimes which oppress them and exploit them, cannot be regarded as a purely local conflict. It is one of fundamental international interest and which affects directly and indirectly all people, everywhere.

The aggressive military axis of Pretoria, Salisbury and Lisbon constitutes a serious and direct threat to world peace. This is particularly true of the fascist Republic of South Africa with its powerful military machine and expansive imperialist structure. It has illegally annexed the former mandated territory of Southwest Africa; it has forcibly intervened in Zimbabwe to sustain the illegal Smith régime in the face of a popular revolution; it is extending its attempts at economic, political and military domination from neighbouring Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana northwards, first to the near-puppet state of Malawi, but with the object of penetrating all independent African states (especially Kenya and the Congo). South Africa has made blatant and aggressive threats against Zambia and Tanzania, and the Minister for 'Defence' has already threatened a pre-emptive strike against Zambia for harbouring guerrillas.

What is the background against which these events have taken place? Why is it that the presidents of Zambia and Tanzania feel considerable apprehension as the events unfold in Southern Africa?

The reason is that the Vorster, Smith and Caetano régimes are already at war with the indigenous peoples of Southern Africa and Guinea. Guerrilla struggles are already in progress over a considerable part of this vital territory. All the indications are that these struggles will steadily mount in intensity and scale until the entire area is involved.

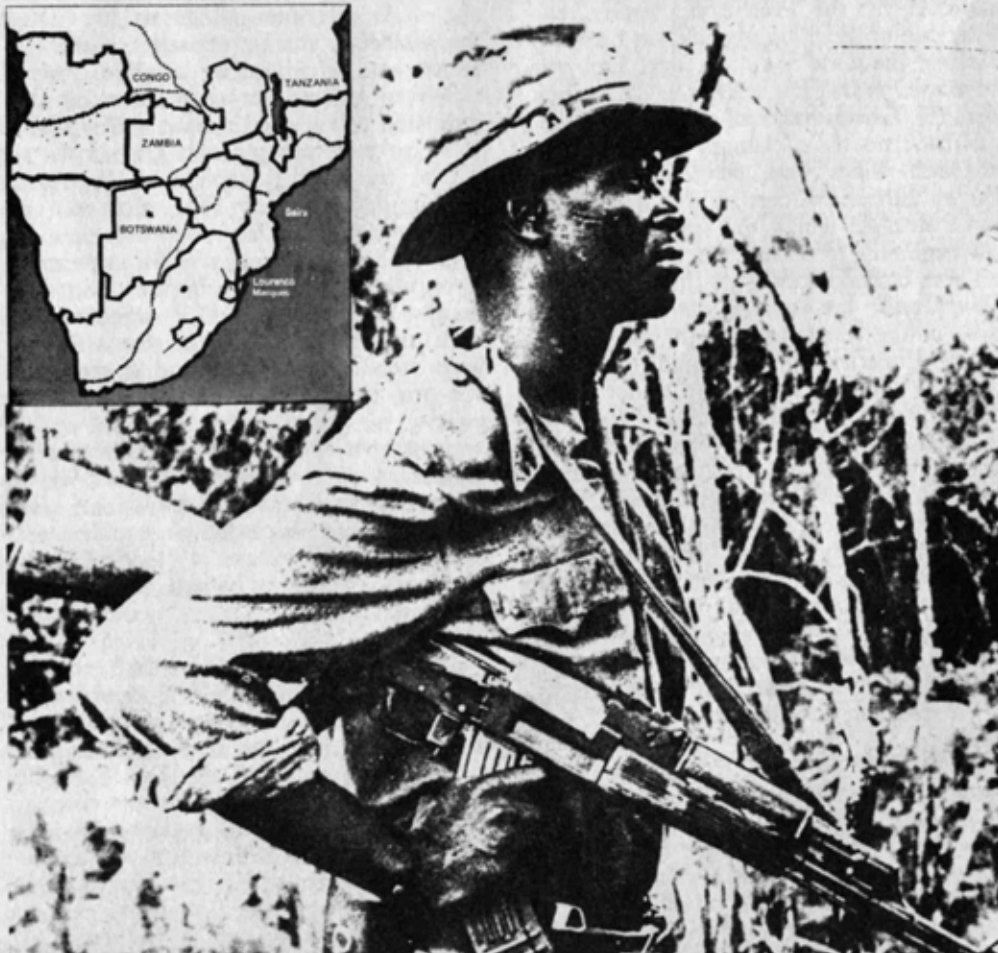
Since 1962, when the People's Movement for Angolan Liberation began guerrilla activity in the north of their country, activity has continued to mount with Frelimo (Mozambique Liberation Front) following suit in September 1964. A year later, in September 1965, the first group of fighters organised by the South-West African People's Organisation entered South-West Africa, and in August 1967 the African National Congress of South Africa and the Zimbabwe African People's Union announced an armed engagement with the Rhodesian army.

The outburst of guerrilla activity showed the true face of Portuguese imperialism. Fed on a stable diet of that country's Christian 'liberal' race policy (unlike the Protestant Anglo-Saxons) many people accepted the myths of Portuguese rule. But the facts slowly began to emerge (and for a vivid statement of what life has been under Portuguese rule, see the recent Penguin, *The Liberation of Mozambique* by the assassinated leader of Frelimo, Dr. Eduardo Mondlane). Since the war, thousands of peasants have fled from Mozambique and Angola to the adjoining countries of Congo, Tanzania, Zambia or to the liberated areas. Villages on the Tanzanian and Zambian sides of the border have been bombed from the air.

The Lisbon government is sending out more and more troops to the two colonies. There are over 50,000 troops in Angola and 30,000 in Mozambique. To conduct these colonial wars, and the one



# Fortress Zambia and the liberation struggle



in Guinea, the Portuguese régime devotes 7.4 per cent of the gross national product of the country to its military budget. This is second only to the United States among the NATO countries. This veritable slum in Europe increased its defence budget in 1968 to £90 million. In spite of this formidable mobilisation of resources, plus the military and financial backing of the United States, Britain and West Germany, the Portuguese are in retreat.

In Mozambique, where a quarter of the whole territory is liberated, there are now 9,000 liberation fighters in the field. 3,500 Portuguese soldiers have been killed, and 250 vehicles and 18 planes destroyed. Half the 30,000 troops had to be moved to guard the Beira-Umtali oil pipeline, and the Portuguese are in control of only one of the cities and the military strong-points. South African forces have already undertaken guard duty during the construction of the £102 million dam project at Cabora Bassa: the dam is being built by a West European consortium to supply South Africa and Mozambique with hydro-electricity.

In Angola, MPLA began with 250 men organised in groups from 5 to 12 in number. Now there are over 7,000 troops and 3,000 auxiliaries. The fighting began in the north but has now spread to the south and east, where the freedom fighters control the vital Benguela railway between the Congo and the coast. MPLA trains 80 per cent of its military force inside Angola, with only officers being trained abroad. 3,000 Portuguese farmers and merchants actually live and work in MPLA-controlled areas, and are allowed to remain there so long as they do not collaborate with the Portuguese authorities. Some Portuguese families have, under MPLA protection, been evacuated to Tanzania from where they have emigrated to some country other than Portugal.

In the liberated zones of both countries, an independent administrative apparatus has been set up; hospitals, schools and arms workshops are operating, and farms are organised to assist in producing the food supplies needed for the combatants. There is demoralisation among the Portuguese troops. Mutinies have occurred, according to official Portuguese sources. There are now innumerable photographs of deserters presenting themselves to the liberation movements and, instead of being murdered—as the Portuguese propaganda instilled in them—they have been allowed to emigrate through a friendly country.

Unity among the liberation organisations is growing. In August 1967 the representatives of Frelimo, MPLA and the PAIGC met in Brazzaville to co-ordinate their campaigns; and, in an unparalleled act of revolutionary unity, the ANC and ZAPU have come together in a fighting alliance. The Organisation of African Unity has adopted a new and important principle in relation to the liberation movements. Instead of demanding formal unity among liberation organisations of the same territory before granting help and recognition, it has decided to recognise those organisations effectively carrying on the struggle.

The first encounter between Rhodesian and ANC-ZAPU forces in August 1967 were the initial stages of the campaign to free South Africa. Armed actions have continued, though the Salisbury government tries to conceal the news and merely announces 'mopping up' operations from time to time (which our morning newspapers duly print). The first engagement took place at Wankie, and since then there have been actions in the Zambesi river valley, Northern Matabeleland, Bulawayo, and the whole area between the Victoria Falls and the Kariba Dam. At Tjolotjo, 200 freedom fighters engaged the Rhodesian forces for 48 hours, and South African militia were flown in to help.

In the initial stages of guerrilla warfare, only the fools expect glorious military victories. Consolidation and education among the peasants take time, but it is interesting to note that although the Rhodesian and South African police have offered £100 reward for any freedom fighter, dead or alive, none has been betrayed by the poverty-stricken peasants who, on the contrary, are already providing active support, and recruits, for the liberation movements. The guerrillas are not a flash in the pan, a useless gesture against overwhelming odds. No less a source than the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* concluded recently that 'The guerrilla campaign against Rhodesia is now a full-scale war of attrition'.

Patrick Keatley, after his visit to Southern Africa last year, was extremely impressed by the military developments, and concluded that 'It is this military factor that is the striking new element in Southern Africa. The siege has begun, and the masters of fortress Africa may well be tempted to make a pre-emptive strike north'.

The wars that are being fought in Southern Africa are revolutionary people's wars. They are directed against a block whose aim is to maintain and preserve the colonial system of white supremacy. Against the military might of the white racist régimes and their economic hegemony there must be counterposed, as the ANC recently stated, the masses of the oppressed people. Revolutionary war is a war of the masses.





# BODENSTOWN

ORATION BY  
Tomas MacGiolla



Failtim romhaimh uilig chuig "an ait is naofa in Eirinn" mar a ghlaioigh an Piarsach air. Ta daoine anseo o gach aird in Eirinn. daoine oga. doine aosta. agus ta muid uilig anseo toisc go bhfuil suim againn sa da rud—cearta na daone agus neamhspleachas na tíre—a chaith Tone a shaol ag obair ar a son.

Thar cheann na daoine atá i láthair chuirim ár mbeannachtaí chuig muintir na dtíortha eile, thart fá'n domhan, atá ag troid ar son na n-aidhmanna chéanna, mar atá sa Róidéis, sn Aifric Theas agus go mór mhór i Vietnam, tír beag eile atá ag fulaingt an críchdheighilt mar aon le hÉire agus atá ag troid ar son aontacht agus neamhspleachais mar ba chóir dúinne a bheith. An tachaíocht is fearr is feidir linne a thabhairt do mhuintir Vietnam ná aithris a dhéanamh orthu agus tabhairt faoi'n Impireacht atá ag déanamh géarleanúint ar ár muintir fhéin.

Tá feachtas Cearta na Daoine ar súil le blian anuas sa Tuaisceart ag lorg neamhspleachas na tíre, agus ar ndóigh, ní bhainneann an cheist sin leo ach de bharr an méid agóide a deineadh le blian anuas ar fuaid na Sé Chondaethe beidh sé níos fusa anois do ghluaiseacht na Poblachta feachtas ar son neamhspleachais na tíre nó aidhmeanna eile réabhlóideacha a chur ar bun.

Ní réabhlóid go réabhlóid cultúrtha, agus faoi láthair tá glún nua ag teacht chun tosaigh i ngluaiseacht na teangan. Níl poblachtóirí ag tabhairt dóthain tachaíochta dóibh agus ar ndóigh, i mór chuid áiteacha thart fá'n dtír níl caidreamh ar bith ag gluaiseacht na Poblachta le gluaiseacht na Gaeilge. Ba chóir go mbeadh dlúth bhaint idir dá eagraíocht — ní feidir linn bheith dílis don náisiún muna bhfuilimís dílis don teanga.

## RE-ASSESSMENT

This annual gathering at the grave of Wolfe Tone is a time for reflection, a time for re-assessment, for all who are dedicated to the Republican ideal. At this time we look back in order to gather strength and determination for a further leap forward.

Tone is still very much alive amongst us, and whenever we are in doubt we look to him for guidance. In 1963 we celebrated the 200th anniversary of his birth. In that year, the Republican Movement began an intensive re-think of its whole position in relation to the Irish people in order to determine what its future role should be, and what strategy and tactics it should employ in order to achieve its objective in the shortest possible time.

During the 1956 campaign, there was a theory that an ideological stand was divisive, and that the broad mass of the people would support a movement dedicated to the achievement of a united independent nation on the basis that when independence was achieved, the Irish people could themselves decide what type of nation or society they wanted. This theory was exploded, as it had already been exploded in the forties. The War of Independence 1919-1923, had adequately exposed the real danger of fighting without a secure ideological base. The ideology of the 1916 rebellion had been shelved when De Valera dismissed the people's rights when the contemptuous phrase, 'Labour must wait'. The nation then devoted itself with single-minded purpose to the task of breaking the connection with England and establishing a free nation. When, on the very brink of victory, the sell-out took place, the people had no clear understanding of what was happening or why the leaders treacherously accepted the treaty of surrender. Apart from a few individuals like Mellows, who were promptly murdered by the Free State leaders, the leadership of the opposing sides in the Civil War had the same basic ideology. This was proved ten years later when De Valera took over the Government of the Free State, and made no basic changes in the society he found. Sides were taken in the Civil War on the basis of personalities in a sordid power struggle which the Irish people are only beginning to understand.

These considerations led the Republican Movement to the decision that in the next phase of the revolutionary struggle against British Imperialism in Ireland the Irish people would not be in any doubt as to what it was we wished to achieve and how the struggle affected them. From now on it was to be a people's struggle. We would place our trust as Tone did "in that large and respectable body of men—the men of no property" and like the United Irishmen we would dedicate ourselves "to a great end—the promotion of the Rights of Man in Ireland". In setting a social philosophy to guide the Irish people in a revolutionary struggle we listened carefully to the voices of the past and to the traditions of our people.

We listened to Lalor:- "Let laws and customs say what they will, these truths are stronger than any laws, and will overcome them; the fact that those who control your lands will make your laws and control your liberties and your lives". And to Pearse saying:- "Let no man be mistaken

who will be Lord and Master in Ireland when Ireland is free. The people will be Lord and Master", or again:- "I do not disallow the right to private property but I do insist that all property is held subject to the National sanction", and we listened to Connolly who said:- "The whole age long fight of the Irish people against their oppressors resolves itself in the last analysis into a fight for the mastery of the means of life, the sources of production in Ireland".

Just 50 years ago these distilled thoughts and ideas of Irish Revolutionary history were accepted and endorsed as a Democratic Programme by Dail Eireann, the first Parliament elected by the Universal suffrage of the whole Irish Nation. At their first sitting on January 21st 1919 they re-affirmed their allegiance to the Proclamation of the Republic in 1916 and stated:-

"In the words of our first President — Padraig Pearse — we declare that the nation's sovereignty extends not only to all men and women of the nation but to all its material possessions, the Nations soil and all its resources, all the wealth and all the wealth producing processes within the Nation and with him we re-affirm that all rights to private property must be subordinated to the public right and welfare".

These were our guidelines when we set out to restore the Republican Movement to the philosophy of Tone. For the past few years we have laid continual emphasis on the social philosophy of Republicanism so that it has become again part of our very nature and tradition. Our objective has been to make it clear to all that a Republican is both a socialist and a separatist. We are not going to be deflected from policies we know to be right and in the best interests of the Irish people, because of temporary shifts in public opinion. We do not regard socialism as a fashionable cloak to be worn or discarded as popular taste dictates. I think we can say that no one is to-day in any doubt where a Republican stands ideologically

## IRISH SOCIALISM

There are many people in doubt as to where some Socialists stand nationally and it is essential that we now emphasise the separatist character of the Irish Socialist tradition. That tradition has come down to us through secret organisations like the White Boys and Ribbonmen or revolutionary organisations like the United Irishmen, the Fenians, the Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army and it has been ex-

pressed by men like Tone, Lalor, Pearse, Connolly and Mellows. All of these men and all of these movements of the people, have been chiefly characterised by their implacable opposition to British Imperial rule in Ireland. This always has been and still remains the very hallmark of the Republican Movement. The revolutionary movements of the past all saw clearly that the British Connection was the bulwark of Tory ascendancy rule in Ireland, the mainstay of the established propertied class and the fountainhead of all reactionary elements.

They saw that British rule in Ireland must be broken before the Irish people would be free to establish the society they wanted. They recognised that Socialism was a native growth on Irish soil and that feudal Capitalism was a foreign importation alien to the Irish people and to the Irish way of life. They each set out to break the connection with England in order to give the Irish people control over the resources of the Nation and to use the resources not in accordance with British feudal standards but in accordance with Irish standards of Common ownership each man having rights to personal property but no man having rights to exploit another.

In these circumstances we must beware of the 26 Co. Socialists and the 6 Co. Socialists. Those who speak of socialism in a Free State context or a U.K. context are fooling no one but themselves. They certainly are not fooling the Irish people. The Irish people know the sham followers of Connolly because they know the primary objective for which James Connolly died. "We went out", said Connolly in 1916, "to break the connection between this country and the British Empire to Establish an Irish Republic."

With two Tory Governments strongly entrenched in both Belfast and Dublin we can expect that as opposition to the British Connection increases full use will be made of new coercive measures. Our strength is in our links with the people as a movement of the people cannot be coerced. In spite of possible coercion and jackboot tactics against republicans let us here undertake the solemn obligation which Wolfe Tone, Russell, Neilson, Simms and McCracken undertook on McArts Fort, The Cave Hill overlooking Belfast City:-

Never to desist in our efforts until we have subverted the authority of England over our Country and asserted her independence.





At 2.30 p.m. on the 25th August 1939 a bomb exploded in the busy Broadgate centre of Coventry, England, killing five people, seriously injuring twelve, and wounding forty others to a lesser degree. It was clear, from the General Directive issued by I.R.A. Headquarters for the waging of the sabotage campaign in England "to avoid loss of life", that the explosion of a bomb in such a place and at such a time could not have been deliberate.

Yet two brave Irishmen, Staff Captain Jimmy McCormack and Company Captain Peter Barnes, were tried by a British court and hanged for this explosion although it was not pretended that either of them had a hand in the placing of the bomb, or indeed that it was planned that the bomb should explode in the place it did. In fact it was assumed by all concerned, including tacitly by the trial judge, that the bomb was intended for some other target.

In the words of Letitia Fairfield, in her legal study *The Trial of Peter Barnes and Others*, "It may be surmised that the bomb was intended for some public building, say the Coventry electric plant, and that the rider (of the carrier bicycle, carrying the bomb) having perhaps had the experience of the uncertainty of the I.R.A. clocks had abandoned his ship in mid channell".

According to the I.R.A. plan of campaign, the S plan, a copy of which had been captured by the English authorities in January, Paragraph (IX) of the section outlining targets says, "In selecting these, consideration should be given to the size of towns and the degree of dependence for industry on electricity. Of all towns Coventry would seem to be the most dependant in relation to its population".

For this explosion and the accidental deaths it caused, three Irishmen and two Irish women were put on trial at the Birmingham Assizes on a charge of murder. Two of them, Staff Captain McCormack and Company Captain Barnes, were executed in Winson Green Prison, Birmingham, at 9 a.m. on Ash Wednesday, 7th February, 1940. They marched out together and met their deaths in a manner befitting soldiers of the Irish Republic. After they had been sentenced to death by Justice Singleton on 14th December, 1939, a great outcry arose in Ireland against this judicial murder of two Irish patriots, under conditions almost identical with the execution of the Manchester Martyrs in 1867.

It was pointed out that these two men could not have been tried for murder on account of this accidental explosion under French law or that of any other European country. England, however, had laws especially designed to deal with Fenians and their successors of the I.R.B. and the I.R.A. Monster public meetings were held and resolutions passed by sporting and cultural organisations and public bodies throughout the country. The Lord Mayor of Dublin, Mrs. Tom Clarke, widow of the executed 1916 leader, declared at a meeting of the Dublin Corporation that in the opinion of many, Barnes and McCormack had not had a fair trial. And Pádraig ÓCaoimh, General Secretary of the G.A.A.,

at a public meeting in the Mansion House Dublin, said "I have authority from my organisation to speak for 100,000 Irishmen and say that these executions must not take place . . . The people know that these men are under sentence of death because Ireland is partitioned and unfree."

Yet in spite of these protests and the best efforts on the legal side by Con Lehane, Albert Wood and others, the English government went ahead with the execution. On the morning of the execution, as indeed during the trial, large scale precautions were taken by the police to prevent any rescue or demonstration.

There is some doubt as to whether Jimmy McCormack was born in Mullingar or Tullamore. In any case his parents came from Ballinaleck in Westmeath. His mother died when he was a child and his father when he was 16 years of age. The family was then living in Tullamore. Shortly afterwards he worked for the county council in the neighbourhood of Mullingar, where he attended I.R.A. parades and went to céilithe with his republican comrades. He is described as intelligent, courageous and likeable in character. Physically he was well built, of medium stature and pleasant appearance. Early in the I.R.A. campaign, Chief of Staff Seán Russell went down to Mullingar where there was some dissatisfaction among the Westmeath I.R.A. with H.Q. policy on account of its lack of social content. As a result of his visit Jimmy McCormack volunteered for service in England. He was taken up to Dublin where he was appointed a staff officer and

Peter was one of the first to volunteer for service in England. Another volunteer was Jimmy Kelly, a bosom pal of Peter's. It was to him that the fatal letter found on Peter Barnes describing his visit to Coventry on the night previous to the explosion and signed "Dixon" was written. This letter which he had forgotten to post was used against him at his trial.

After about a fortnight he was brought up to the I.R.A. camp for training under Maxie Conway. Towards the end of June he went over to England with Jim and Dan O'Regan, and Dave Horgan, all of Cork, and Jimmy O'Brien of 2nd Battalion Dublin. These were operations officers posted to the London area. Peter Barnes was a transport officer operating mainly between Glasgow, Liverpool and London. All were arrested in London, 25th August, the day of the Coventry explosion. As the men were carrying the bombs downstairs Special Branch officers from Scotland Yard closed in and after an exciting chase over the rooftops the four men already mentioned were captured.

Barnes, however, was still at large, but not for long. At 9 o'clock that night he returned to his lodgings at 176 Westbourne Tce to find Special Branch officers under detective Sergeant Hughes awaiting him. The sergeant said "We are police officers and have reason to suspect you of being concerned with causing an explosion in Coventry." Barnes was unlucky — given one more day of freedom he would have been safely at home in Ireland.

As a result of information supplied by neighbours, No. 25 Clara St., Coventry



up from Coventry at 11.30 the previous night. He was due for return to Ireland, but he was given one more assignment.

Peter Barnes, James McCormack, Joseph and Mary Hewitt and Brigid O'Hara were charged with murder. The two I.R.A. men Peter Barnes and James McCormack were found guilty and sentenced to death. The Hewitts and Brigid O'Hara were acquitted. It would be wrong to blame any of them for the evidence they gave in court. The women under terrible stress gave evidence on their own behalf and not as prosecution witnesses. Joseph Hewitt's evidence was designed to protect both Barnes and McCormack even though his own neck was in danger.

Barnes declared his innocence and quite correctly so. Those two visits of his were his sole contacts with Coventry. His knowledge of the time, place and nature of the explosion would necessarily be vague and perhaps mere surmise. He did not even meet the man who made the bomb and caused the explosion. Therefore, even if he had brought the potassium chlorate he would feel himself justified in declaring his innocence of the charge of murder. There was also evidence that the man who made the bomb brought with him to Clara Street a brown paper parcel. This could have contained the explosive. To try Barnes for murder on account of the Coventry explosion was like trying a munitions worker or a transport driver for complicity in the bombing of an open town. Standing orders to members of the expeditionary forces were "In case of capture get out of it as best you can". Also those who escaped capture were forbidden to give themselves up.

Jimmy McCormack, during the trial proudly declared his membership of the I.R.A. expeditionary force. In the witness box his evidence was directed not towards saving himself but towards shielding the Hewitts, Mrs. O'Hara and Peter Barnes from a verdict of guilty. The only statements he made on his own behalf were to show that his part in the making of the bomb was limited to supplying the potassium chlorate and that he deplored the explosion in Broadgate during the day time "because it is in the instructions from the Irish Republican Army that no lives are to be endangered." Nevertheless as a loyal comrade he refused to divulge the name of the man who bought the bicycle or the man who took the bomb away from 25 Clara Street at 1.10 p.m. on August 25th.

Before sentence of death was passed on him Staff Captain James McCormack made a short speech which concluded thus: "As a soldier of the Irish Army I am not afraid to die as I am doing it for a just cause. I say in conclusion "God bless Ireland, and God bless the men who fought and died for her." Company Captain Peter Barnes said, "I would like to say as I am going before my God, as I am condemned to death, I am innocent and later, I am sure, it will come out I had neither hand act nor part in it. That is all I have to say."

# THE BARNES AND McCORMACK STORY

trained for the English Campaign.

After acting for some time as operations officer in London and Birmingham he was posted about the end of May to Coventry and in August owing to the acute shortage of volunteers in that sector, he became acting O.C. Coventry. In the course of duty he handed over potassium chlorate and other explosives to whatever operations officers were sent to him. On Sunday August 13th his chief ammunition dump, a shed on an allotment plot accidentally blew up, leaving him without explosives. Jimmy narrowly escaped with his life.

Peter Barnes was born at Banagher, Co. Offaly in 1907. In 1921 he joined the local slua of Fianna and in 1924 he became a member of Óglaigh na hÉireann. He has been described by his O.C., Walt Mitchell, as a good soldier. He worked as a "steam raiser" for the Offaly Co. Council and by nature was kind and gentle and beloved by relatives and neighbours. His wife was an invalid stricken by a fatal lingering illness and he nursed her with patient and devoted attention until she died. In physical appearance Peter Barnes was not very tall, of slim build and with dark hair. When Larry Grogan, Q.M. of the Irish Republican Army, came to Offaly,

was raided on August 28th—three days after the explosion—by a squad under Chief Inspector Boneham of the Coventry police and Detective Inspector Barnes of the Special Branch. The tenant, Joseph Hewitt, his wife Mary, his mother in law Brigid O'Hara and their lodger Richard, whose real name was James McCormack, were arrested.

The next day they were let out on bail of £5 each in their own sureties, while deportation orders were applied for. In the meantime forensic experts had found traces of potassium chlorate in a suitcase taken from the coal shed in Clara St. On Saturday, Sept. 2nd, McCormack, the Hewitts and Mrs. O'Hara were arrested under the Prevention of Violence (Temporary Provisions) Act 1939.

Owing to the accidental blowing up of his ammunition dump the Coventry O.C., Jimmy McCormack, was without explosives. Barnes was therefore ordered to contact him which he did on Monday, August 21st at 25 Clara St., Coventry, occupied by a Belfast man Joseph Hewitt, his wife Mrs. Mary Hewitt and her mother Mrs. Brigid O'Hara. On the morning of the Coventry explosion Peter Barnes reported to the officer in charge of Special Operations and the O.C. Britain in London. He had come



# Hard hats and soft heads

The holiday season is with us again, and along with it the Great Annual Folk Festival of the North.

The annual pilgrimage to Finaghy to hear speeches while the children romp in the fields; beer, sandwiches and fizzy lemonade; how like all other folk festivals: Bodenstown, where the Protestant Wolfe Tone is honoured by the working people of all Ireland; the Fleadh Ceoil, where the young people have asserted their right to live rough and listen to music for a whole long weekend; Puck Fair, pure conviviality with origin lost in antiquity.

The basis of the Orange tradition is a healthy democratic resistance to the European feudalism of the 17th century, in which the Vatican undoubtedly played a key role. It matters little that the actual alliance structure in the Williamite Wars was such as to include William and the Pope on the same side; this was a temporary aberration of power-politics. By and large the Orange tradition is to defend 'our freedom, religion and laws' against dictatorship; this they identify with the Pope, on the whole with some justification, except that they mistakenly assume that the rest of the Irish democrats are somehow on the Pope's side. Nothing could be further from the truth; every significant blow for Irish freedom has been struck despite opposition from the Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church, and Roman Catholic freedom fighters have often had to go without confession.

What we want is not less than the right for any peaceful procession to march anywhere and convey its message. This must apply to all Irish people, of all creeds.

## Fianna Notes

### GHQ

Members of GHQ Staff visited the camp site for this year's annual camp in Co. Sligo. As we go to press, over 200 boys and girls have booked in for the camp.

An Ard Taoiseach wishes to thank all officers and scouts for the magnificent turnout at Bodenstown. Two hundred and sixty boys and girls took part in the parade.

### BAILE ATHA CLIATH

Fianna continues to progress in the Capital City. Over two hundred boys and girls attended the Whit Camp to Knockree, Co. Wicklow. The valley and surrounding mountains echoed to the sound of Irish song and music on Sunday night when a giant Camp Fire was held.

### CORCAIGHE

The two sluaite in the city are very active and are preparing to go on the annual camp. Slua Patrick Hanley have set up a parents committee and they are running socials to raise funds for the slua. This area had a good turnout at Bodenstown.

### LU

The two sluaite in Co. Louth are highly active. OC's Andy Corbet and Ciaran Moore report that their sluaite are progressing well.

### AN TUAISCEART

Fianna boys and girls from the North travelled to Bodenstown for the annual commemoration there. Members stayed over in Dublin for the Commemoration Ceili that night. Members of Fianna in the North will also be attending the annual camps in Co. Sligo from August 5 to 15.

### AITEACHA EILE

All other areas Limerick, Portarlington, Galway, Drumshanbo, Drumsna report steady progress and growing strength.

### CAILINI

Progress, progress, progress, this section of Na Fianna has grown in leaps and bounds since its formation last January. Upwards of one hundred girls took part in the Wolfe Tone parade in Bodenstown this year.

Should you be interested in forming a slua in your area write to: Director of Girl Scouts, c/o Na Fianna Eireann, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.

A final word, to our Protestant friends, especially those who are prepared to bear arms to defend themselves from what they regard as a threat to their liberty from Rome. We, as Republicans, Democrats and Socialists, object as strongly as you do to any interference from Rome or the Bishops in Irish politics of the Irish Constitution. We condemn the Constitution of de Valera, with its Article 44 giving a special position to the Roman Catholic Church. We are actively engaged in educating people towards understanding the need for its revision.

We urge you to accept your Irishness and to think independently. Look at the Civil Rights demands: are they not such as to enable you to face the world a free man, without any obligation to your employer, who in his capacity as local councillor at present decides whether you should get a house or not? Would it not be better if you were able to get a house as of right, without taking your hat off to anyone?

You will perhaps find that we have more in common than you have been brought up to believe.



## WALES DEFILED!

On July 1 as we go to press a representative of the English Crown, the most vicious institution of murder the world has ever known, was installed as "prince" of Wales.

Surrounded by the largest force of police and troops ever mounted in peacetime the English "royals" imposed themselves on the people of Wales. The "royal" occasion did not pass without protest

however: bombs exploded in Cardiff, the Welsh Capital, and in Abergele, forty miles from Caernarvon, two men were killed while placing explosives in a government office.

At the same time the marathon trial of members of the Free Wales Army was coming to an end and the verdicts were due to be announced on July 1. Referring to the trial, our Welsh correspondent writes:

Now as the Free Wales Army trial drags to its seemingly interminable close the moment of decision—the "crunch"—arrives. Not only for those patriots in the dock at Swansea. The hour of decision has arrived for the whole movement towards devolution of Government away from the Whitehall tyrannies of the Harold Wilson regime. Sadly, most sadly, one or two signs of the cracking of resolve are to be seen amongst those who took upon themselves the heavy responsibility of putting themselves forward as martyrs in the cause of the struggle to save the lifeblood of the Welsh nation.

The inspiration for the Welsh militant movement sprang—as it was bound to do—from the great examples of the Irish patriots of the time of Ireland's agony.

But from the example of the martyrs for Irish independence those who are now in doubt—and who can blame them after the ordeal they have undergone in English prisons over the past months?—they, these new martyrs in the cause of Wales, must draw fresh strength.

They must stand firm. One sign of weakness, one indication that one or two may be tempted, fatally, to "crawl out from under" the weight of their responsibility—a responsibility to the generations of new Welshmen and

women in the years to come—and the very existence of Wales, as a Nation again, will be equally fatally threatened.

Stand firm, the new martyrs of Wales.

Remember the examples of Pearse, of Connolly, of Ap Griffith, the Welshman himself who inspired in those days of the other struggles for the freedom of Ireland. Stand firm. For the dignity of the Welsh nation.

Only stand fearless before the threats of the London Government hirelings, the Quisling traitors of Wales, who are even now drawing their wages in Saxon gold as drovers of the Welsh cattle out of Wales and to the "Sais" New Towns, only stand firm now and all can be won.

Only stand firm now and as Ireland survived its testing hour, so can Wales today.

A heavy responsibility rests on the shoulders of the men on trial. They must prove themselves worthy of it.

Any sign of weakness, any sign of fear, and the whole movement towards the renaissance of the Welsh spirit will be put back a hundred years.

The men on trial at the Inquisition of Swansea have the ability to write themselves into a golden page of Welsh history. Stand firm Welshmen. The heart and soul of a new Wales is with you. The new martyrs of Wales have already been likened to "the tip of the spear"—this one action, this one public martyrdom, and the modern "Siege of The Post Office" in open court can win Wales its freedom after 500 years of insidious and open oppression.

Stand firm and all can be won.

Stand firm for Wales!





# ATH EASCRACH DISPUTE

Despite protests from all over the country, and warnings from the Republican Movement, the outside-inspired anti-Irish hate campaign has continued unabated in Co. Galway.

'There are none so blind as those who will not see,' said Breasal O Caollai, Sinn Fein organiser for East Connaught, at a meeting of Cumann Caoimhin de Barra in Cinn Mhara. 'How many people in Ath Eascrach still believe that the so-called Language Freedom Movement are not directly concerned in spreading their anti-national cancer in the area? The "LFM" stated that they were not involved in the attempt to remove Irish as the teaching medium in Ath Eascrach. Now we read that Mr. Norbert Colbert, who was chief "LFM" agent in the Ballinasloe dispute, has now emerged as the prime mover in Ath Eascrach.

### Solicitor's fee

'Is the undermining of the Irish language as a teaching medium in Irish schools to become another source of income for solicitors of Mr. Colbert's views? What is the fee charged? Does it vary with the number of young pupils successfully cut off from their spiritual heritage as Irish people? No greater wrong can be done to the

youth of the country than deprive them of the life-line that the Irish language is, providing as it does a rational link between the past, future and the present.

'What needs to be attacked in Ath Eascrach and in countless other areas of its size is not the only cultural values left to us as Irish people, but the economic depression of the present which is sapping our will to continue in existence as viable communities. Ath Eascrach at the present day, with its lack of industry and employment, is typical of the "economic Aughrim" being inflicted on the whole rural community. The symptom of this defect is the attack on the Irish language and those cultural values that are the pride and joy of thriving communities in any healthy society. Mr. Colbert is the vulture that appears at the end of the day to feed on the dead.

### Economic regeneration

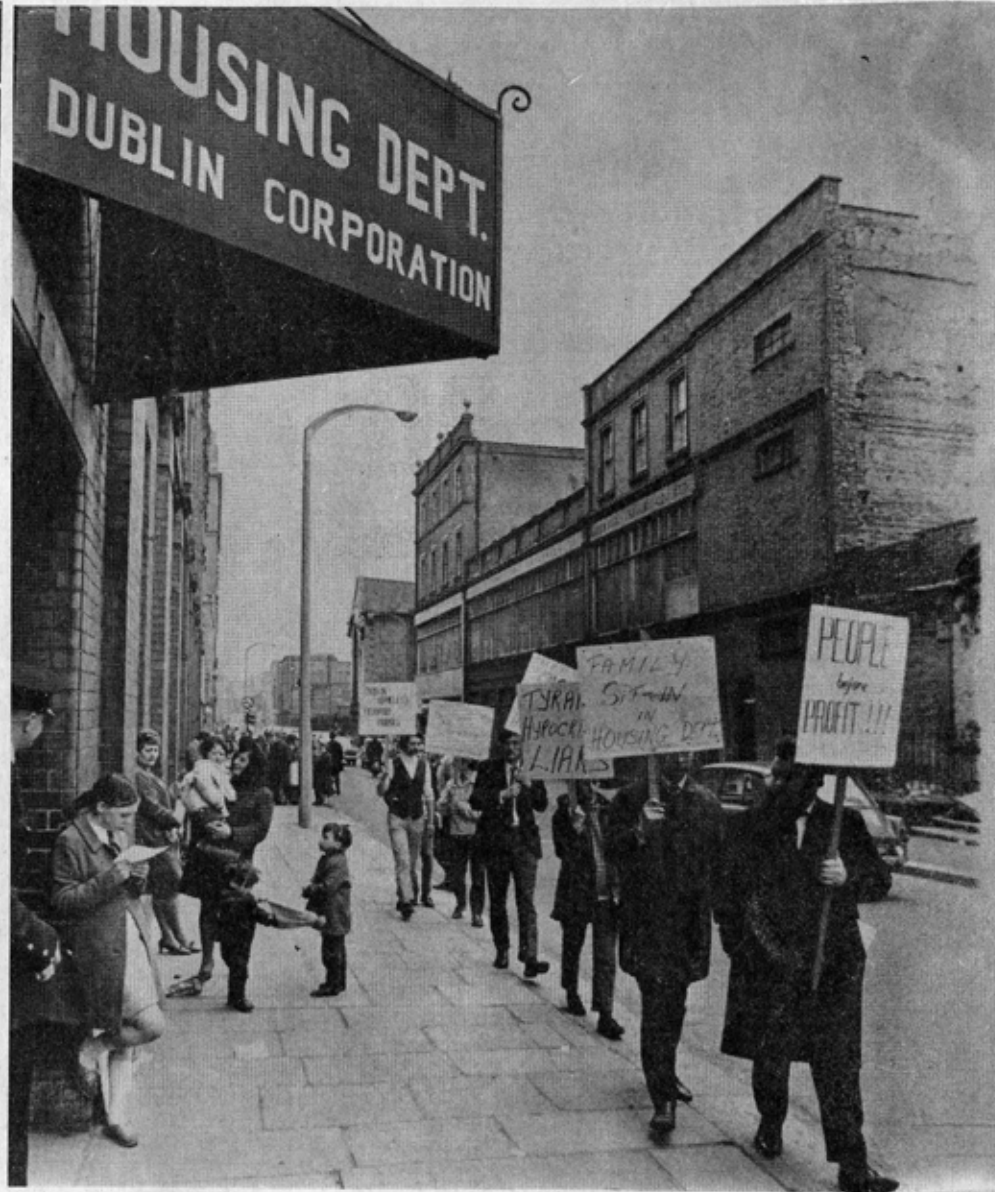
'It is not vultures that are needed but pioneers with the vision and strength to lead towards the economic regeneration of decaying rural areas. This regeneration involves also the correction of the morale deficiency so marked in many areas.

'In thriving industrial Dublin the "LFM" have gained no victories. Neither

have they in Cork City. In Dublin, one of the most prominent leaders of the "LFM" is a slum landlord and a trading cheque merchant. It is a short step from preying on people's poverty to preying on those spiritual qualities that give morale and independence of mind. It is this independence of mind that now, as in the past, threaten the vested interests of those who prey on the public in no matter what capacity and under no matter what flag.'

### I.R.A. statement

And following this came a statement from Galway Command, IRA, answering an "LFM" announcement which facetiously suggested that, by supporting the teaching of Irish in the schools, the IRA had become an unwitting supporter of Fianna Fail. 'So far from being supporters of the Fianna Fail party,' the statement said, 'we see little or no difference between the actual (as distinct from the pretended) language policy of the 26-County Government and that of the "LFM", and believe that it will lead to just such a situation as these anti-national elements would wish for, unless the people of Ath Eascrach, and the rest of the country, can be made to realise the full implications of the anti-Irish campaign.'



Members of Dublin Housing Action committee picketing Dublin Corporation Housing Dept. in Jervis Street recently.

## MORE FAMILIES SQUATTING

The number of families squatting with the support of DHAC is increasing week by week. At present the squatters are occupying the following houses:

1. 146, Pembroke Road, Ballsbridge, Dublin 4. Occu-

piated by five families since the month of March, 1969.

2. 12, Estate Cottages, off Mount Street Bridge, Dublin 4. Occupied by two families since May.

3. 17 and 19, Waterloo Road, Dublin 4. Occupied by six families, three in each, since early June.

146, Pembroke Road, is owned by Paul Stritch, Jeweller, Dublin. Dublin Housing Action Committee have negotiated with the landlord about alternative accommodation for the families involved. The landlord has promised that he will seek other accommodation for the families. He has given an

undertaking that the premises will not be used for any purpose other than housing.

12, Estate Cottages, is owned by Fiat Ireland Ltd. Landlords in this case have got a Court injunction restraining the families from entering the premises. However after negotiations with the Action Committee, the directors of Fiat have promised not to enforce the injunction for a month. In the meantime, they have promised to seek alternative accommodation for the families.

17 and 19, Waterloo Rd. The owner in this case is not known yet. It is believed that the premises are to be turned into office accommodation.

## APPEAL FROM WALES

By now many people in Ireland are aware that nine Welsh patriots were arrested in February this year. Eight of whom are still in prison. They have been kept in solitary confinement since their arrest and have had privileges denied them readily granted to murderers and the like; all this and still they haven't been sentenced or released.

Sentenced for what? . . . The love of their country and their longing for her freedom! But, alas it is not only them who have to endure this unjust act of English imperialism but their wives and children too.

It is for them we appeal to you Irishmen and Irishwomen who know too well the experience and anguish of these families, to donate whatever sum you feel appropriate to the deserving hands of the dependants of these brave Welshmen. All donations, which will be acknowledged, should be sent to: Miss Janice Williams, 47, Leeson Park, Dublin 6.

### MASS

Mass will be offered on Sunday, July 13, at 10.45 a.m. at the Franciscan Church, Merchants Quay, Dublin for the repose of the souls of:

TERENCE PERRY, JACKIE GRIFFITH, PATRICK MAC MANUS, whose anniversaries occur about this time.



Fianna Eireann marching in this year's Bodenstown parade. Fianna had the largest number participating under their banner since the 1930's.

## CIVIL RIGHTS DENIED IN GAELTACHT

In a strongly worded statement issued May 5, 1969, Conradh na Gaeilge criticised the policy of Government and semi-State agencies in deliberately trying to foist anglicisation on the people of Gaeltacht areas. The statement makes the following telling points on this Government policy:

1. It is directly in line with superseded British Occupation Policy to impose upon the Gaeltacht community a polling - station apparatus entirely in the English language. Photos in the public press prove conclusively that recognition is being denied to the true and proper form of names of people and places. "Oat-quarter," for instance, is the terminology of British Colonial Occupation in the Aran Islands.

2. It is directly in line with superseded British Colonial Policy for State Departments to flood all Irish schools, wherein the Irish language is, in accord with professed State policy, being used, with questionnaires and outlines of syllabuses entirely in English.

3. It is directly in line with superseded British Occupation Policy for semi-State bodies such as Aer Lingus to flood Gaeltacht and non - Gaeltacht 'A' - Colleges with pamphlets almost entirely in a language other than that of these schools. This is being done even when Irish versions of letters and other

documents have been prepared by staff members of these same bodies.

4. It is directly in line with superseded British Occupation Policy for semi-State bodies, in their tourist "literature", to adopt a name for the Irish language specifically designed by a notorious anti-Irish group to make the Irish language sound foreign to Irish ears. The language spoken by the people of Arainn is Irish; it ill becomes semi-state enterprises to so lower the national dignity as to classify this language as something 'quaint' and foreign.

5. It is pure Cromwellianism and a modern-day re-enactment of outmoded repressive legislation of the type of the Statutes of Kilkenny to appoint officials in semi-State enterprises (e.g. drivers), who bully Gaeltacht women and children into relinquishing their own language and using English before they may gain access to public services. All pious propaganda from such bodies to the contrary notwithstanding, this oppression and callous, contemptuous discrimination is going on now, in these summer months of 1969. Minor autocrats in Co. Councils are also taking it upon themselves to obliterate from public amenities and vehicles, even in Gaeltacht areas, every trace of the language of the community of these areas.



## An t-Eireannach Aontaithe

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Is í An Phoblacht ár geuspóir.

## Aftermath

The main result of the General Election is that Fianna Fail is back in office, with 75 seats in the Dail and more first preference votes than they have got in thirty years. The Labour Party has lost seats instead of gaining them, as most people had expected; but in the process the political base of the Labour Party has shifted decisively to Dublin.

How did Fianna Fail do so well—despite the Criminal Justice Bill, despite Taca, despite the housing crisis and despite twelve years of government during which the 26-Counties has been set decisively on the path of economic absorption by Britain?

In our view the main reason was—Kevin Boland's gerrymander aside—that Fianna Fail's sell-out of the country to Britain was hardly mentioned during the election, instead of being made the central theme of the opposition attack, as it could have been.

But how expect Fine Gael to oppose imperialism when they are themselves the most ardent advocates of the collective imperialism of the Common Market? And how expect the Labour Party, who concentrated on their version of 26-County Socialism, based on hastily-prepared policy documents whose implications neither the Labour rank-and-file nor the general Irish public were clear about?

For some people the Labour Party wasn't really socialist at all. Its Socialism was a matter of images, rhetoric and admiss expertise, rather than a consistent ideology based on thought-through ideas. To others its Socialism was immoral and dangerous, threatening the property of small farmers and small shopkeepers, fears Fianna Fail stirred up and exploited. To both sections Labour's policies and statements were full of ambiguities; they could be read in two quite different ways, depending on whatever you wanted to think. In any case, the essential prerequisite for the attainment of socialism, national unity and independence, was scarcely referred to.

This is where Republicans have a decisive contribution to make during the period ahead. Republicans stand for the Republic, for the political unity of the nation and economic and cultural independence. The Republican policy is to eliminate foreign, and especially British, interference in Ireland. It therefore opposes the take-over of Irish land, property and industry. It opposes the Free Trade Agreement and the Common Market. It upholds the national language and stands for the strengthening of all the features of our nationality. Republicans hold that it is only when Ireland is unified and free from the bonds of British neo-colonialism, when we are a 32-County Republic in other words, that it will be possible for the Irish people, or those of them who want it, to move towards Socialism—real Socialism that is and not a hotch-potch programme dignified by the name.

This is the conception we have and which the Labour Party at present is almost totally without. That is why the Free Trade Agreement and Common Market, the main expressions of Fianna Fail's sell-out policies, were scarcely mentioned in the election. The Labour Party was in fact in favour of doing away with Irish as an essential subject in the schools. On this issue it was Fianna Fail whose policy was the best of the three Dail parties. When we talk about putting the struggle for national independence and identity first and foremost, we are speaking a foreign idiom to many of the Labour Party people. It is part of our job to convince them they are wrong on this.

There needs to be less talk too of spurious "Socialisms". The word has become popular among so many nowadays that there is danger people will think a socialist Ireland can be achieved without a struggle against British imperialism. The Labour Party's "Socialism" is 26-County oriented. The "Socialism" of many people in the North is entirely compatible with staying within the Empire. Both are in fact pseudo-Socialisms, for they dodge the question of national independence. Until this matter is understood and faced up to the progressive movement in Ireland can never make headway.

During the next three years Fianna Fail will come down strongly on civil liberties and democratic rights. They must do so if they are to continue acting as de facto servants of the British. They will try particularly hard to crack down on the Trade Unions, as the main organisations of the Irish working class. They will desperately try to bring the country into the imperialist Club, the Common Market, along with Britain. They will step up the auction of our national land and businesses to foreigners. English culture and language will continue to make inroads.

Our programme will be to defend the nation against this sell-out and to organise on behalf of the interests of the people in every possible field . . . For civil liberties and democracy . . . For the ownership of Ireland by the Irish people . . . For a policy independent of political and economic blocs . . . For the use of national resources for national development . . . For the strengthening of our national language and culture.

If we stand by these principles we have the key to defeating Fianna Fail, as well as their Unionist henchmen in Stormont, and their common master, British imperialism.

# DUBLIN RALLY FOR EMIGRANTS

Clann na hEireann, the exiles' branch of the Republican Movement, are to hold a mass emigrants' rally in Dublin on Saturday, the 2nd of August. In doing so, it is asking for the support of other Irish emigrant organisations in Britain and those abroad.

Clann na hEireann, according to press officer Pádraig Yeats, are not looking for the support of the three political parties. Their records in power, and in opposition, betray a total unconcern for the emigrants and their problems. Mr. Aiken's refusal to give any government backing to the idea of an emigrants' hostel in Birmingham, which has an Irish population of 120,000, is only the latest example of criminal negligence by Ireland's political 'leaders.'

Ireland has the highest emigration rate per head of population per year in the world. Any party which ignores the fact that 1 in 5 of the country's population must emigrate is making a mockery of democracy. There are serious faults in this system of 'democracy' if 1 in 5 of the population are deported, disfranchised, and left without even a means of protest at its failings.

In the next month we intend to conduct an intensive campaign to mobilise emigrants' support for our Dublin rally. We hope to follow this later in the year with a second rally in Belfast. These rallies, however, will only be the first step in a long-term campaign to force the Irish governments, from whichever party or parties they are formed, to provide a radical solution to the problem of emigration.



## NEW CUMANN FORMED IN ARDEE

A Sinn Fein Cumann was launched at a well attended and enthusiastic meeting held in Ardee, Co. Louth, recently.

The chairman of the Louth Comhairle Ceanntar, Donnchadha Mac Raghnaill, presided over the inaugural meeting.

In the course of an address, he outlined the structure of the organisation and the relevance of Sinn Fein to the modern Ireland, the re-establishment of a workers' and small farmers' Republic and the restoration of the Irish language and culture.

The duty of the Cumann, he said, on the local scene was to give active leadership and fight for the rights of the people.

Resolutions condemning the sale of Irish land to foreigners and demanding the abolition of the Criminal Justice Bill were passed.

The following officers were elected: Chairman, Miceal O Ruairi. Vice-Chairman, Mr. F.

Rooney. Secretary, Sean O Cail. Treasurers: Mr. Maurice McCarthy and Mr. Patrick Murphy.

The chairman of the new Cumann assured the Com-

hairle Ceanntar of their active support in the future and pledged the Cumann to take the leading position in fighting for the rights of the people of Ardee.

## BALLINASLOE CUMANN

A new cumann of Sinn Fein, Cumann An Athar Ui Ghriofa, was formed in Ballinasloe during the last month. The following officers were elected for the coming year: Cathaoirleach, Mattie Ganley, N.T. Leas Cathaoirleach, Sean O Cionnaith. Runai, Martin O'Connor.

Cisteoiri, Oliver Colohan and Robert Finn. P.R.O., Rory O'Connor.

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Blake—Mary Henry, Carrrowmena, Maghera, Co. Derry.  
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Deep Run—John M. Edwards, Yepty, Pontrnydfendinaid, Sir Aberteifi, Wales 63.  
Dutch Rider—E. Ryan, 426 East 4th St., Brooklyn, N.Y.  
Intermezzo—Aidan M. O'Kelly, 168 Kennelsfort Rd., Palmerstown, Dublin.  
Moon Mountain—Pat Gallagher, 2 Dirnagh Cottages, Coalsland, Co. Tyrone.  
Northern Mist—S. McEvoy, 47 East Wall Rd., Fairview, Dublin.  
Onandaga—J. McGuckin, 45 Gooch St., London W.1.  
Prince Regent—Jan Muir, 30 Esterbrook Ave., Willowdale, Ontario, Canada.  
Reindeer—Michael Gallagher, 1 Brook St. Ave., Derry.  
Ribofllo—James Laughran, Knockaconey, Armagh.  
Santamoss—Gordon Baines, 102 Blackwater Rd., Woy Woy, New Sth. Wales.  
Selko—Thomas Walsh, 154 North St., Boston, Mass., U.S.A.  
Tanzara—Sean O Liathain, Priomh-Sraid, Sraid an Mhuilinn, Co. Corcaigh.  
Vivadari—Michael Rogan, 108D Norglen Parade, Turf Lodge, Belfast 11.

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