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IN MEMORY OF TONE

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SCILLING

1798 — 1966

Theobald Wolfe Tone is remembered and honoured as the Father of Irish Republicanism. This booklet is published as a tribute to him and as a guide to the many events of Wolfe Tone Week in Dublin. It also contains articles in which the principles of Irish Republicanism are discussed in the light of the present state of our country.

NATIONALISM

by

Tomás Mac Giolla, Uachtarán Sinn Féin

THE Irish people have always ardently wished to participate in European and international events and ideas. Some of the finest of our race have been so frustrated by the narrow provincial atmosphere in Ireland that they could no longer live or work here. This longing to be European and to develop an international outlook is finding widespread expression in many circles at the moment. It is, unfortunately, being expressed as a reaction against Nationalism.

Those who are loudest in promoting the European idea are also loudest in opposing all things national. They argue that nationalism is a narrow and outmoded concept; that the restoration of the Irish language and the promotion of Irish cultural activities are retrograde steps; that efforts to achieve unity and sovereignty for the Irish nation are irrelevant and futile. They appear to assume that the attributes of separate nationhood somehow restrict our mental development and prevent us from thinking European or thinking in a world context. This of course is the very reverse of the truth. Our thinking will remain provincial so long as our status remains provincial. Our outlook can become international only when we really become a nation.

Ireland was most European and international in its thought and in its influence when it was most Independent and most Irish. When the nation was reduced to colonial status the road to Europe was barred by Britain. She still lies across our path. The parliamentarians in Irish history have generally developed a narrow parochial outlook and could see no further than Westminster and a friendly settlement with England. The separatists and revolutionaries have always succeeded in broadening the horizons of the Irish people by making them look to friends in Europe and beyond. Tone absorbed the democratic ideas of the American and French revolutionaries and applied them to Irish conditions. Connolly absorbed the social philosophies of the European socialist movements and gave Marxism his own individual stamp when applying it to Irish conditions. The intense nationalism of these men gave them international status. It certainly did not make them narrow or provincial.

Ireland is regarded by most countries today as a mere province of Britain. Our European ambitions are not really taken seriously. We will only be accepted internationally when we prove ourselves a nation. When we prove that we have backbone enough to take control of our own country, to speak our own language, to make our own friends in the world without seeking the sanction of the Anglo-American alliance; when we develop pride and confidence in our own people and in our own nation, then we will win inter-

national respect and will be qualified to contribute to international co-operation.

Nationalism is the dynamo which can spur the nation to progress—social progress, economic progress, cultural progress. Nationalism and patriotism make us eager to give our own people better conditions than any other people. It helps us to create our own ideas and develop them by our own efforts. By building up a dynamic and progressive national socio-economic structure based on an ideology developed from Irish conditions and on Irish needs, we can give a new lead and new hope to the many young nations which have in recent years emerged from European colonialism. Many of these are still groping in the dark and are easy prey to the great powers who are casting their bait from East and West.

Co-operation between small farmers or small traders enables them to compete with the giant cartels or supermarkets. Similarly, co-operation and mutual trading between small nations could enable them to develop and build a progressive and viable economy independent of the great powers. A strong spirit of Nationalism and independence gives the best basis for a true spirit of internationalism. Dominated as we are by a powerful industrial neighbour who rules part of the country and controls the economy of all of it, we are compelled to support or at least refrain from opposing her imperial and colonial policies in the international field.

If we pursued an independent foreign policy we could open up tremendous possibilities of expansion of trade with Eastern Europe, Africa, the Middle East and many other smaller nations throughout the world. Here is our greatest hope for industrial expansion on a huge scale, particularly for the heavy industries of the North.

True Nationalism, far from being a narrow concept which retards our development, is in fact the fertile soil which is essential for the life and growth of the Irish nation. It can promote economic growth and increase the prosperity of our people at home and it can increase our international stature. Until we become one nation with a proper appreciation of the importance of Nationalism we shall never reach maturity as a people.

Economic Resistance: A Re-examination

by Dr. Roy Johnston

SINCE this term was first used in the 1964 Wolfe Tone Week, and then its meaning developed in the November 1964 *United Irishman* article, a certain amount of practical experience has been gained. This note is an attempt to evaluate that experience.

It will be recalled that the central idea was that it is not sufficient to resist British military occupation of the North alone; while people were engaged in attempting to do this, without success, in the fifties, the economic life of the country was being eroded and the stage was being set for a massive sell-out of the nation's assets by the Fianna Fail regime.

It was suggested that the possibility existed for uniting the social groupings whose interests were adversely affected; this unity would come within the framework of an 'Economic Resistance Movement', the basic principle of which would be co-operative.

The social groupings adversely affected by the existing economic set-up were enumerated. It is no harm, for clarity, to repeat this, with one or two modifications:

1) The Dublin people: here the main squeeze comes via the housing crisis. This has got progressively worse in the last two years. Demolition proceeds apace, speeded by underhand means. Construction is slow, new estates distant, the journey to work gets worse; the bus queue in the rain typifies the worker's lot. Country girls crowd bed-sitters at £3 a room, evicted families have the choice of workhouse conditions or life in the open. Suburban environments repeat the worst mistakes of London in the thirties. Gang warfare among bored suburban youth assumes the British pattern. Good houses in pleasant surroundings are demolished to make offices. The Irish housing rate is the lowest per head of population in the whole of Europe.

This wrecking of Dublin affects not only the workers (why have the unions been so slow to react to this?) but also small businesses and professional people. It hits even the tycoons via the traffic problem: what is the advantage in living in Foxrock if it takes him over an hour to get home?

2) People in small towns in rural areas: here the main issue is still the closure of the small local firm under 'rationalisation' procedures: the Cahir mill was true to form.

3) Small farmers, who are on the verge of extinction. The number of areas in the country where viable small-farm co-operation is a possibility is in rapid decline. An ageing population watches for its neighbours to die off to get an extra field for itself. Marriages are a rarity, most of the girls being either in Dublin or in England.

The Western Gaeltacht areas are the worst hit; the future of the language hangs by a very slender thread.

4) The Belfast working-class: here the main issues are religious discrimination, job security even for Protestants in the face of the decline of the traditional industrial plums of Orange patronage, and the housing question.

5) Catholics in the North as a whole, who face second-class citizenship in all walks of life.

6) Young graduates, especially technically qualified, who have to accept jobs where their technical ability is neither used nor appreciated.

All these social groupings (I could add more: rural curates aware of their declining parishes, etc.) constitute the *revolutionary potential* called into existence by the failure of the 1916-21 attempt to gain national freedom.

They are all consequences of allowing ourselves to be dominated by blind economic laws imposed from outside. There is no need for any decisions to be taken by hostile foreigners; the ordinary operation of the laws of 'free enterprise' economics is enough on its own to complete the job started by the Act of Union and consolidated by the Famine.

It was suggested that it is open to the common people of Ireland to say 'stop' to these laws; it was stressed that the Trade Union movement had already put a stop to a complete 'free enterprise' system as regards wages. The co-operative movement was suggested as a further means whereby capitalist economic laws could under certain circumstances be flouted. People are important; social investment is important. A capitalist closure ignores both. A firm non-viable by capitalist standards could be viable as a co-op. Co-operation could integrate a number of small farmers into a viable business.

Recognising these possibilities the Republican Movement can adopt the following programme if it so chooses. It can recognise itself as a movement principally of the one-man farm and the one-man firm; the men of small property, whose existence is threatened by the existing economic trends, especially the foreign monopolistic take-overs. It can consciously adopt a co-operative programme adapted to the needs of the small producers and the small urban businesses (whether retail or productive), and *seek alliance* with a Trade Union Movement in which the 'men of no property' were organised *as such*.

There is no doubt that co-operation among small producers (farmers, fishermen) is economically successful. It is also close to the Republican tradition. This movement *requires political expression*; the laws need to be made such as to favour it; it needs to assume a conscious 32-County form.

This solution would require that Republican supporters who were urban working-class should consciously join with the Trade Union and Labour Movement and help to revive the Connolly tradition within it.

Liaison would be kept between the two movements at all levels by joint activity on problems of common interest (e.g. Dublin housing); elections would be fought on an agreed programme of democratic unity. Liaison should be possible also within the framework of the non-political club or society; such dialogue as has occurred in Dublin has taken place formally or informally within the framework of the Wolfe Tone Society. Possibly this type of 'bridge' organisation can be generalised, without interfering with the sovereignty of either movement.

The 'Democratic Unity Programme' given below may possibly be regarded as a basis for further dialogue between the Labour and Republican Movements. None of it is far from the thoughts of most people today. This programme has no official standing; it is put forward to stimulate thought and discussion.

DEMOCRATIC UNITY PROGRAMME

1. Declaration of a Housing Emergency in Dublin. Nationalisation of all urban land. Housing loans at reduced interest. Security of tenure for furnished tenants, subject to a tribunal of appeal. Loans to families for conversion of old property.

2. A National Transport Policy to halt and reverse the decline of public transport. Low fares and subsidy paid for by a levy on private vehicles in cities.

3. Halt to the over-development of Dublin; all economic development (except housing) to be concentrated into the worst emigration areas.

4. Differential prices for milk and fertilisers, to favour small producers and their co-operatives.

5. Credits for small-produce co-operative development, in both production and marketing; agriculture, industry and fisheries.

6. Establishment of strict control over movement of capital in and out of the country. An end to the sale of our assets to foreigners.

7. Maximum utilisation of our own technically trained people in development projects. An end to the cult of the foreign expert.

8. Introduction of spoken Irish classes in all areas, for people of all ages, using modern language teaching techniques.

9. Increase in wages for all lower-paid workers.

10. Complete reform of the taxation system, in the interests of the lower-paid workers and primary producers.

11. Reform of Local Government in such a way as to take the burden of rates off underdeveloped areas.

12. Complete reconstruction of the Civil Service on the basis of maximum democracy and decentralisation of decisions. Administration of technical projects by technically competent people.

13. Maximum support of all 32-County organisations which unite the interests of the common people, north and south, irrespective of religion.

14. In the Six Counties: an end to discrimination in housing and the democratisation of Local Government by introducing 'one man, one vote.'

This is proposed as a programme which would unite a large number of people for limited objectives that are 'real' to them. If this got moving, other longer-term objectives, such as the unity of the Nation, would become more clear to greater numbers of people. There is no conflict between the short and long term objective, provided there are enough people who understand the nature and significance of each step in the overall process. The Movement must constitute itself into this 'hard core' which understands and keeps the National Objectives firmly in mind, while working locally to make successes of all organisations which help to defend the Economic, Social and Cultural life of the people.

WOLFE TONE WEEK

SUNDAY, JUNE 12 — SUNDAY, JUNE 19

SUNDAY 12th :

Céilí Mór — Liberty Hall — 9 p.m.-1 a.m. Buíon Cheoil Eamonn Ceannt. Cead isteach 5/-.

MONDAY 13th :

Bus Tour : "In the Footsteps of Lord Edward". Leaves Liberty Hall at 7.30 p.m. sharp. Fare 4/6. Guide : Éamonn Mac Thomáis.

TUESDAY 14th :

An Dr. Seán Ó Tuama, Lecturer in Irish at University College, Cork, will speak on "**Irish and Politics**". Chairman Seán Ó Brádaigh. Liberty Hall at 8 p.m. Admission Free.

WEDNESDAY 14th :

Kader Asmal, Lecturer in Law at Trinity College, Dublin, will speak on "Trade Unions, Industrial Relations and The Law". Chairman: Tomás Mac Giolla, Uachtarán Sinn Féin. Liberty Hall. 8 p.m. Admission Free.

THURSDAY 16th :

Brendan Halligan, M.A., Chairman, Community Development Ireland, will speak on "The Impossible Philosophy" Liberty Hall. 8 p.m. Admission Free.

FRIDAY 17th :

Concert—Ballads, Traditional Music and Dances. Cotorie Folk—Dolly McMahon and Bob Lynch—Inis Ealga Dancers—Ballyfermot Boys' Band—Eamonn Keane—McKenna Folk—Jack Bracken—Prentice Folk. Fear a' Tí: Seán Óg Ó Tuama. Liberty Hall. 8.15 p.m. Admission 7/6, 5/-.

SATURDAY 18th :

Parade at 8 p.m. from Liberty Hall to Wolfe Tone Memorial Park where short ceremonies will take place.
Open-Air Rally at 9.30 p.m. in College Green. Theme : "To-day's Separatists"

SUNDAY 19th :

Memorial Service—St. Mary's Church, Mary Street. 10.15 a.m.—Rev. Canon G. Hobson.
Train for Bodinstown leaves Heuston Station at 12.40 p.m.
Céilí Mór—Teach an Ard-Mhéara. 8.00-12.00.

AN PHOBLACHT ABU! —cen ceann acu?

le Seán O Beirn

LEATHCHEAD blian tar éis Eirí Amach na Cásca dúinn agus fós gan aon cheann de na gluaiseachtaí náisiúnta ar aon intinn faoi chéard is Poblacht ann. Is iontuigthe go mbeadh tuairimí éagsúla ann faoin mbealach is fearr leis an bPoblacht a bhaint amach, agus go mbeadh 'chuile dhream ag obair ar a chonlán féin, ach is fearr go mór a bhféadfaí na bealaí oibre a mhúnlú ach an cuspóir a bheith tuigthe i gceart.

Le cúpla blian anuas tá tomhais eile le feiceáil ag Ghluaiseacht na Poblachta féin: ní leor saoirse tíre feasta—cuid bhunúsach den tsaoirse sin anois neamhspleáchas eacnamaíochta. An ionann an dá chinéal neamhspleáchais seo agus Poblacht? Conas a réitíonn an tuiscint nua seo leis an bPoblacht a bhí i gceist ag Tone agus Mac Piarais? ag an gConghailéach? Céard is Poblacht ann?

An té a bhí i gceannas ar Oglaiigh na hEireann sa mbliain 1916, an té a thug an óráid ag uaigh Tone i mBaile Bhuadáin cúpla bliain roimhe sin, Pádraig Mac Piarais, rinne sé sainmhíniú ar chéard a thuig sé le náisiúntacht agus Poblacht sna paimfléidí a scríobh sé idir Mí Eanáir agus Cáisc 1916. “Ghosts”, “The Spiritual Nation” agus “The Sovereign People” na teidil a bhí orthu. Duine ar bith atá ag iarraidh an Phoblacht agus Poblachtas a thuiscint, níor mhór dó na scríbhinní seo a scrúdú. Ionu atá soiscéal iomlán an Phoblachtais le fáil: len a aghaidh sin a scríobhadh iad.

Dar leis an bPiarais, tá na sainchomharthaí seo ag baint le náisiún atá neamhspleách.

1. Neamhspleáchas intinne.
2. Neamhspleáchas tíre.
3. Neamhspleáchas eacnamaíochta.

An Náisiún atá saor ar fad, tá an trí neamhspleáchas sin aige ar scáth a chéile. Is beo náisiún gan (2) agus gan (3) go minic, ach ní beo náisiún gan (1), neamhspleáchas intinne. Sin coimriú ar theagasc an Phiarsaigh sna scríbhinní atá luaite cheana. *Sine qua non* i ndéanamh náisiúin, dar leis, an neamhspleáchas intinne. Níl i (2) agus (3) ach na toscaí atá riachtanach le go mbeidh a réim féin gan teora ag an neamhspleáchas intinne agus spioradálta:

“Freedom is a condition which can be lost and won and lost again; nationality is a life which if once lost, can never be recovered. A nation is a stubborn thing very hard to kill, but a dead nation does not come back to life, any more than a dead man . . .”

Agus is minic léirithe ag stair an domhain gur ionann bás teanga agus bás náisiúin agus nach bás go dtí é. Sin atá i gceist aige le “nationality.”

“But I believe that there is really a spiritual tradition which is the soul of Ireland, the thing which makes Ireland a living nation, and that

there is such a spiritual tradition corresponding to every true nationality.”

“The spiritual thing which is the essential thing in nationality would seem to reside chiefly in language, and to be preserved chiefly by language; but it reveals itself in all the arts, all the institutions, all the inner life, all the actions and going forth of the nation.”

Nuair a chuaigh an Piarais amach an Luan Cásca úd bhí Gaeltacht sa tír agus an chuid is fearr dar tháinig slán den oidhreacht náisiúnta. B'fhiú dó dul amach agus troid a dhéanamh. Cad tá fágtha anois againn? Más ionann Gaeltacht agus pobal aonteangach le Gaeilge, ní féidir a rá go bhfuil a leithéid againn níos mó. Agus is ionann bás na Gaeltachta agus bás an náisiúin Eireannaigh, “Eire na Staire, Eire an chian-thnuthain chun saoirse agus chun a bheith in a hEire, Eire na Gaeilge”—is ionann agus bás na Poblachta.

Ní gá mionscrúdú a dhéanamh ar imeachtaí na gluaiseachta le fada blianta le taispeáint nach bhfuil Poblachtaigh an lae inniu ar aon fhocal leis an bPiarais faoi chéard is Poblacht ann. Is rud le cois í an Ghaeilge ag gnáthphoblachtach an lae inniu: sí an riachtanas is mó don Phoblacht í dar leis an bPiarais:

“Irish nationality is an ancient spiritual tradition, and the Irish nation could not die as long as that tradition lived in the heart of one faithful man or woman. But had the last repository of the Gaelic tradition, the last unconquered Gael died, the Irish nation was no more. Any free state that might thereafter be erected in Ireland, whatever it might call itself would certainly not be the historic Irish Nation . . .”

THE BLARISMOOR TRAGEDY

Many Irishmen in the British army joined the Society of United Irishmen prior to the insurrection of 1798 and deserted to fight with the people on the outbreak of hostilities. This street ballad of the period tells the story of four soldiers who were executed at Blarismoor military camp, outside Belfast on May 17th, 1797, for being members of the Society of United Irishmen. The last four lines of each verse are repeated.

Ye Muse, grant me direction,
To sing this foul transaction,
Which causes sad reflection
Late done at Blarismoor,
By wicked Colonel Barber,
Should I proceed much farther
And call his conduct murder
'Twere treason I am sure.

Belfast may well remember
When tyrants in their splendour,
In all their pomp and grandeur,
They hoist them on a car;
While calvalry were prancing
And infantry advancing
And glittering armour glancing
All in the pomp of war.

They were of good behaviour,
No heroes e'er were braver,
But a perjured base deceiver
He swore their lives away;
For the sake of golden store
This villain falsely swore,
And the crime we now deplore
In sorrow and dismay.

Amidst a hollow square
Well guarded front and rear,
With guns and bayonets there
Their constancy to move—
When they received their sentence
Their hearts felt no relings
They bowed to each acquaintance
And kneeled to God above.

Their foes held consultation
To find our combination,
And then this exhortation
Curs'd Barber did propose—
"Arise from your devotion,
Take pardon and promotion,
Or death will be your portion
Unless you now disclose."

Some moments then they mused,
For their senses were confused
But, smiling, they refused
And made him this reply—
"We own we are United,
Of death we're not affrighted,
And hope to be requited
By Him who rules on high."

The guns were then presented,
The balls their bosoms entered,
While multitudes lamented
The shocking sight to see.
Those youthful martyrs four
Lay weltering in their gore,
And the plain besprinkled o'er
With the blood of liberty.

In coffins they were hurried,
From Blarismoor were carried
And hastily were buried,
While thousands sank in grief,
Crying, "Grania, we much wonder
You rise not from your slumber,
With voice as loud as thunder
To grant us some relief!"

BY MEMORY INSPIRED

This street ballad dates from the middle of the last century and commemorates the leaders and heroes of the insurrections of 1798 and 1803. It is sung to the air of "An Cruiscin Lán."

(I)

By memory inspired
And love of country fired,
The deeds of bold men I love to dwell upon;
And the patriotic glow
Of my spirit must bestow
A tribute to Wolfe Tone that is gone, boys, gone!
Here's a memory to the friends that are gone.

In October 'ninety-seven
May his soul find rest in heaven
William Orr to execution was led on;
The jury, drunk, agreed
That Irish was his creed;
For perjury and threats drove them on, boy, on;
Here's a memory to the friends that are gone.

(II)

In 'ninety-eight—the month July—
The informers' pay was high;
When Reynolds gave the gallows brave McCann;
But McCann was Reynolds first—
One could not allay his thirst;
So he brought up Bond and Byrne that are gone, boys, gone;
Here's a memory to the friends that are gone.

We say a Nation's tears
Shed for John and Henry Shears;
Betrayed by Judas, Captain Armstrong;
We may forgive, but yet
We never can forget
The memory of McCracken that is gone, boys, gone;
Here's to the memory of the friends that are gone.

(III)

How did Lord Edward die?
Like a man, without a sigh;
But he left his handiwork on Major Swan!
But Sirr, with steel-clad breast,
And coward heart at best,
Left us cause to mourn Lord Edward that is gone, boys, gone;
Here's the memory of our friends that are gone.

September, 'eighteen-three,
Closed this cruel history,
When Emmet's blood the scaffold flowed upon;
O' had their spirits but been wise,
They might then realise
Their freedom—but we drink to the bold men that are gone, boys, gone;
Here's the memory of the friends that are gone.

These ballads are but two of many to be published soon by Red Hand Books in "Ballads From The Streets And Jails Of Ireland".

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