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MORE ANTI-WORKER LAWS

IRELAND HONOURS TONE

HUGE DEMONSTRATION

The Republican takes to the air filled with the solid measure of their tread. They bear the many flags proudly. The boys of na Fianna look better every year, well uniformed and officered. They are led by two wolf-hounds (lent for the occasion) and between them marches the tiniest boy of all, his head hardly on a level with those of the massive animals. He is a little apprehensive but doesn't falter. Cumann na mBan look very smart in their green and, seen in strength, surprise one by their number. The Cailini are also numerous and augur well for the future of the parent organisation.

From the strength and martial air of the Vanguard to the worried keep-in-step efforts of the smallest Fianna boys, from the serious air of the Cumann na mBan girls to the self-consciousness of the Cailini, the Republican Movement is on its best behaviour.

And this demonstration always manages to impress the onlooker. The men march well,

marked the first occasion on which this body of Trade Unionists has taken part in the Wolfe Tone demonstration. In future years we hope to see their ranks increase. Elsewhere in the parade march representatives of Belfast Trades' Council.

Stewarding can be well done or it can be unobtrusive. Under George O'Mahony the stewarding was of the latter variety, efficient and quiet. State stewards, or policemen, were in shorter supply than ever before, but they were not missed by anyone.

At the graveside everything was in order. Sean Keenan, the chairman, did his business well. There were more wreaths than ever, and a feature of the wreath-laying was the tremendous ovation

To the rear of the parade marched the men and women of Scéim na gCéardchumann under their own banner. This



COMMEMORATION REVIEW

THE 10.45 a.m. Mass at Merchants Quay Church on July 10 will be offered for Jackie Griffith, Terence Perry, Brendan O'Boyle, Aloysius Hand and Patrick McManus.

The Casement Commemoration Week in Dun Laoghaire will open on July 31 with a parade from Castle Park Road to Casement's birthplace at Sandycove Road where a wreath laying ceremony will take place. A committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Joe Nolan has organised a number of commemorative functions during the week including a lecture on Casement at the Town Hall, Dun Laoghaire, on August 2 and a Ceili at the same venue on August 5.

The annual tribute to Dundalk patriots, Richard Goss and Liam Gaughran will take place at St. Patrick's Cemetery, Dowdallshill, Dundalk, on Sunday, August 14, at 3.15 p.m.

The Wolfe Tone Week functions, held last month, organised by a Committee of which Mr. Proinsias de Rossa was secretary were of an excellent quality and were in all cases well attended.

Widespread interest was shown in the lectures held in Liberty Hall on June 14, 15, 16, when Dr. Sean O Tuma, U.C.C., Mr. Ryan of Sandford Park School, and Mr. Brendan Halligan, M.A., Chairman, Community Development of Ireland, lectured respectively on "Irish and Politics", "Trade Unions, Industrial Relations and the Law" and "The Impossible Philosophy".

The sermon at a memorial service at St. Mary's Church on the morning of June 19 was delivered by Rev. Canon G. D. Hobson.

GOULDING FREE

JOHN GARLAND OUT JULY 10

CATHAL GOULDING, sentenced to three months imprisonment with the alternative of a £50 fine on June 8, was freed from Mountjoy Prison on June 15. His fine was paid anonymously through a Dublin firm of solicitors.

On Friday, June 17, the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau in a statement on the release of Mr. Goulding, who had been in prison since February 6, said:

"Cathal Goulding did not pay nor did he authorise anyone to pay the fine imposed as an alternative to the im-

prisonment which he was undergoing at the time of his release."

JOHN GARLAND, sentenced on May 10 last to two months imprisonment for the possession of documents is due for release on July 10.

A veteran of the Brookboro' Raid of January 1, 1957, in which Sean Sabhat and Fergal O hAnluain lost their lives and he himself was wounded. John Garland has served terms of imprisonment in Mountjoy and Belfast Prisons together with a term of internment in the Curragh Camp.

E.S.B. ACT ONLY A BEGINNING

MEASURES similar to those contained in the Electricity (Special Provisions) Bill, which was passed in both houses of the 26 Oireachtas on June 8, will be included in the new Trade Union legislation which has been threatened for some time.

Noted Republican Dies

Mrs. Margaret McDermott, Cornmore, Kiltyclogher, Co. Leitrim, who died on June 18, was a sister of Sean MacDiarmada, signatory of the 1916 Proclamation.

Members of the Republican movement wearing black berets acted as pall bearers and provided a guard of honour at the funeral on June 20 when Mr. Rory Brady delivered the oration.

Earlier this year Mrs. McDermott attended many of the Republican 1916 commemoration functions. She and her sister refused to accept the honorary degree from the National University conferred on surviving relatives of the 1916 Proclamation signatories. They also wrote a letter of protest against the action of the Government in holding 1916 Golden Jubilee ceremonies at Kiltyclogher on Easter Sunday.

Daughter of a Fenian, Mrs. McDermott's home at Cornmore was subject to raids on numerous occasions by Crown forces during the War of Independence and also by 26 County forces during the Resistance Campaign of 1956-'62.

It is understood the legislation which is being prepared by the Department of Industry and Commerce will

- Lay down by statute what is or what is not an official strike;

- Give union executives the power to veto strikes even when a two-thirds majority of workers have voted for strike action;

- Make it compulsory that decisions to strike are taken by secret ballot;

- Raise the negotiating license fee for unions from £1,000 to £5,000 (this in consultation with the I.C.T.U., if possible);

- Empower the Minister to revoke any licence.

- Make it illegal for a union to represent workers in an industry where a negotiating license has already been given to other unions.

- Inflict severe penalties in the form of heavy fines or imprisonment on unions and individuals in the event of unofficial strikes.

Forbidden

The Electricity (Special Provisions) Bill nullifies the immunities of the Trade Disputes Act 1906 which form the charter of trade unionism.

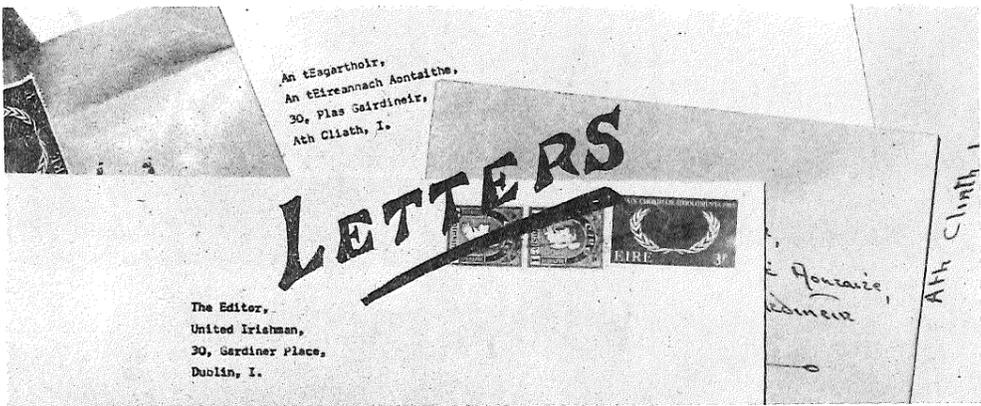
Under the terms of the Bill strikers are forbidden to place pickets on their places of employment; unions are precluded from paying strike pay—the Attorney General is given power to restrain a union from doing so by applying for an injunction; every person who contravenes (i.e. places pickets), attempts to contravene, or anyone who aids, abets or conspires with those who contravene any provision of the Bill is guilty of an offence. Such persons would be tried summarily and would be liable to a fine of not more than £25 and if it is a continuing offence, a further fine not exceeding £5 for every day.

(Contd. Lch. 12)

"FREE" TRADE FROM JULY 1

"No country, however economically advanced, has hitherto attempted such a feat. Neither Britain nor Germany nor France nor the U.S.A. nor Italy would seriously contemplate the opening up of their domestic markets to imported industrial products without securing in return access to new markets for their own industries, and any suggestion that they should do so would be treated as a joke. Yet this is what Irish industry is now being asked to face."

—Senator Garrett FitzGerald



The Rats' Club

LENAR dTUAIRISCEOIR

THE time had come when new status symbols must be exchanged for old, when new approaches in 20th century language must be made to the old problem, stated the Hon. Cecil Muckety-Muck in Dublin last month.

He was addressing the Dublin Rats' Club at a seminar organised by the Dublin Chamber of Commerce, the Law Society, the Friendly Society of Loyal Stockbrokers, Dublin Rotary and other bodies.

Quite soon the upper echelon of society would achieve an affluence in which there would be little difference in salaries or incomes and status would really come into its own.

This new science would have its highly qualified advisers, technicians, clinics, university chairs, demonstrations; it would be patronised by the highest in the land. It would be recommended as therapy by the most advanced psychologists.

"In my grandfather's day," said the Hon. Mr. Muckety-Muck, "a highly esteemed status symbol was a genuine coat of arms of great antiquity, often considered superior to a recently bought title."

The advent of the motor car had ushered in a new era "but nowadays even Jaguars and Mercedes are used by the most commontypes."

There was something to be said for the return to the horse and he praised the enterprise of the Agriculture Minister, Mr. Haughey, in this respect.

JUDO

Karate and Judo both had acquired status in recent years: "Judging by the stories going around — at the Irish Club in London and the Intercontinental Hotel in Dublin—Mr. Haughey usefully could acquaint himself of these arts," quipped the honourable speaker. The audience sniggered in sympathy and the Taoiseach, Mr. Lemass, shifted a few times in his seat.

"Even the bould Brian would be able to acquit himself somewhat better with some slight knowledge of this art," continued the speaker, "though he has demonstrated that he can kick efficiently when his opponent is down."

A status all its own, arousing considerable admiration in the best circles in modern society, he continued, was a reputation for ruthlessness, toughness and even an element of brutality, acquired by some of the more prominent politicians.

Chivalry was "out"; the cad was "in." What was essential to success was the ability to get away with it. The successful bowsy tended to become the local hero. This was not quite new; it was a revival. He quoted a few lines from Synge's "The Playboy of the Western World" and then described some of the more outstanding incidents in the life of the "Playboy of Limerick City" — the breaking of the tumbler; the plate glass affair; the breaking into a widow's pub after hours, beating her up and celebrating

Such persons, he stated, had earned fully their high places in Irish public life. They were an inspiration to business, particularly to the Irish export drive, with their emphasis on belligerency, refusal to accept obstacles, the essential "I'll have what I want" attitude, vital to commercial and national success.

He praised the Irish habit of copying England and America, and lauded the efforts of Tom O'Higgins in the presidential election.

"A middle-aged Kennedy act with the cocktail or afternoon-tea habit of the northern Unionists and our Tory Party, an excellent mixture," he enthused.

"Could the new middle class image have been put across better by any other possible candidate," he asked. "The dignified paunch; the bedside lawyer's smile; the white, soft hands; the cultured Clongowes accent—there you had your ideal president to perfection."

UNCOUTH ACCENT

Mr. de Valera had not done too badly either, "despite his rather uncouth accent." His many appeals—mostly in English — for the Irish language had moved many hearts. His outstanding loyalty over the years to the British connection had earned him friends all over the English-speaking world.

He had given peasant cuteness a new status in the 20th century. He was to Ireland in this age what the Liberator, Daniel O'Connell, had been to another. His theories of relativities were being studied assiduously from the Congo right across Africa.

Such people were projecting a new, vital image of Ireland abroad — a land where only the price mattered (and that price never was too high).

The result would be to attract here the most astute financial brains in Europe and elsewhere. All the conditions — party patronage, state grants, labour's abdication, the lot—ensured a new era for Eire.

He urged, however, that the national symbol of the harp be changed. Even if reversed — as in the trade mark of the well-known brewery — it would not strike quite the harmonic note required today.

"Why not an open till — or a cash register — on your coins?" he queried. "Or a hand of cards on one side, with your Mr. Lemass on the other."

The Celtic cross on some of the stamps also should be changed: a sterling symbol would be more appropriate ("no false sentiment").

He was aware that Irish was not the language of the Just Whizkids' Society but urged that their accents be tuned closer to London or America ("Mr. Eamon Andrews' accent is an excellent compromise").

Right Rev. Monsignor Aristotle Bingo, V.G., chairman, thanked the speaker for his contribution to Irish culture. He was a son of a distinguished Irish peer who was trying to get his seat in the House of Lords, he reminded the audience.

"It is a great tribute to the ecumenical movement," Right Rev. Monsignor Bingo said, "that we have here tonight representatives of all denominations from Dublin's business, political and intellectual life."

"In the past hard things have been said by churchmen about wealth. Today, however, it is a patriotic duty to become wealthy. Wealth creates wealth and gives employment. What Ireland needs today is less thinking, less agitation and more enjoyment. Let our motto be a transistor in the hands of every, Irishman. Let our beaches and public parks ring with the joy of pop music. Ireland, the land of music! Let us be worthy of Moore! Daniel O'Connell, the father of our two states, north and south, would not have wished it otherwise."

He hoped the Rats' Club would become a prominent part of Irish life

Will Fitt Act?

The following is the text of a letter sent by Clann na hEireann to Mr. Gerry Fitt, M.P.

"As you are no doubt aware five young Irishmen, Michael Kieran, Sean Murphy, Joseph McCann, J. P. Watson and Henry O'Neill, were sentenced to twelve months imprisonment in Belfast last December on political charges, the nature of the charges were so trivial that in any democratic state they would merit little if any punishment.

Our organisation some months ago took the matter up and several influential people were contacted including members of the British Parliament. The vast majority of those contacted agreed that the sentences were out of all proportion, and in a letter to Eric Lubbock, M.P., Mr. O'Neill, 6-County Prime Minister, agreed that the charges were trivial, but that other matters had to be taken into consideration. One matter he referred to was the Easter Commemoration celebrations. We feel that the time is now ripe for further pressure to be brought on the Stormont authorities for the immediate release of the twelve young Irishmen.

It would be greatly appreciated if you would give this matter your urgent attention and use every opportunity to force attention on this grave injustice".

Sean O'Cionnaith,
Organising Secretary.
Clann na hEireann,
London.

ANTI-REPUBLICANS

A Chara,
At a meeting of Cumann Tomas Mac Curtain, Sinn Fein, Cork I was instructed to write to you and protest against your featuring of photographs of well-known active anti-republicans in the columns of the United Irishman.

It occurs twice in the June issue and also in a recent issue. We believe that it confuses supporters and puzzles younger elements in the movement. The use of valuable space and the expense is not justified. As our paper is small and can only appear once monthly we believe

every available inch of space should be used in Republican interests only.

Seamus O Riogain,
Runai.
Cumann Tomas Mac Curtain,
Corcaigh.

NOTE: The following pictures appeared in the June issue of the U.I.: Cathal Goulding, George Dearle, Hugh McAteer, William Butler Yeats, Paddy Holden, Frank Lynch, Dan Quigley, Harry White, Terence MacSwiney Sean O Gormaille, Peadar O'Donnell, Brian Lenihan and Eamon de Valera.—ED. U.I.

Time For An Awakening

A Chara,
How much further does the 26 County Government intend to go?

We have political prisoners simply because they will not compromise the ideals of Pearse and Connolly. We have Mr. Lemass selling what Irish industry there is by means of his Free Trade Agreement. Now we have the last straw — the E.S.B. dispute. "Picket and go to jail" is what the government are saying.

Is this the Ireland envisaged by the noblest soldiers of the Irish Republic?

It is time for a new awakening in Ireland and amongst the exiles. To the exiles I would say: "Do you want to see the land of your birth despoiled by reactionaries and foreign capitalists?" If not come down off the fence, join the exiles movement, Clann na hEireann, and help the struggle for a decent Ireland for all its citizens.

Sean MacSeoin,
Clann na hEireann.
Birmingham.

Release The Prisoners

THE Dundalk Felons Club at their monthly meeting unanimously called for the release of political prisoners, the abolition of the Offences Against the State Act and for an independent public inquiry into the scenes at the Easter Commemoration in Dublin on April 24 and particularly into the activities of the Special Branch.

A letter from Nancy Watters was read at the meeting expressing thanks to the Felons Club for the tribute which they had paid to the memory of her deceased uncles.

EMBASSY INVADED

Nine members of Clann na hEireann were forcibly removed by police from the Irish Embassy in London on June 15 after they had persisted in squatting on the floor of the embassy hallway. They were protesting about the continued detention of political prisoners in Irish jails. After a similar "sit-in" at the embassy five weeks earlier the Irish Ambassador, Mr. J. G. Molloy, promised to notify the Department of External Affairs of the grievances.

A statement issued later by Clann na hEireann said that no action had been taken since this demand was submitted. After their ejection from the Embassy the Clann members continued to picket outside.

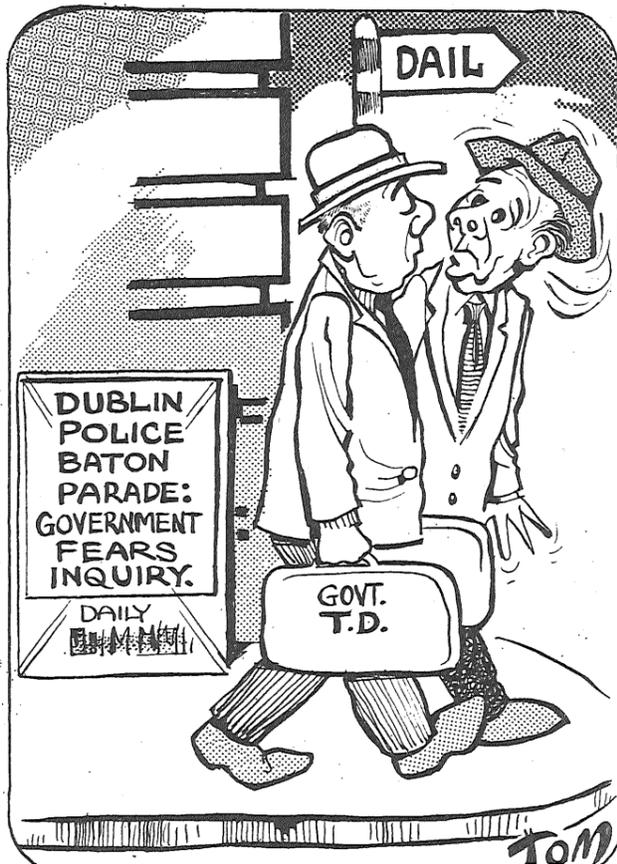
Sympathy

Tipperary Comhairle Ceann-tair of Sinn Fein extend sympathy to W. Hayes on the death of his mother and to Paddy O'Keefe on the death

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Notes and Comments

Of Television and a Pension, of Judo and Grants

FOR lessons in politics, or more bluntly in "fixing things," one must hand it to the Fianna Fail party. There are times when even their severest critics, like the ranks of Tuscany, can scarce forbear to cheer.

One of those times was just before the recent Presidential election when, one after the other, a series of masterstrokes was carried out with no other object than to win friends and influence voters.

Let's take a look at the way in which Fianna Fail sought to sway the electorate in typical brazen, yet efficient manner. First, if I remember rightly, there came an announcement from the Industrial Development Authority that five new factories were to be set up—in places where the natives might not have thought much of Dev and his boyos up to that.

There was ne'er a word, of course, about the length of time a few of those factories were hatching or the fact that word about their setting-up was deliberately delayed until just before the election. Doc Hillery must be congratulated on his little coup. How many voters were taken in by the move is another matter!

Gaeilgeoiri and lovers of the Irish language had been petitioning the Government for a long time to do something to keep the firm in operation as the only progressive Irish publishing firm in the state. Hope had almost been given up — when along comes a Presidential candidate in need of the votes of Gaeilgeoiri and Bob's your uncle or should I say "Dev's your fairy godmother."

The Gaeilgeoiri who were wooed so cunningly knew all about the move beforehand—unfortunately for the Government, who hardly won an extra vote on foot of the whole scheme.

TOD'S PITTANCE

THE biggest bluff of all, like the good wine at a wedding, was kept to the last. I refer to the reported appointment of Dr. C. S. Andrews as Chairman of the Radio-Telefís Eireann Authority, in place of Mr. Eamonn Andrews who had so fortuitously resigned a few days earlier. I consider this as another blatant effort to win the support of language enthusiasts who might be inclined to see in Dr. Andrews a stouter champion of the

candidate in thanksgiving. Morya!

FIXERS

AS I said at the beginning, Lemass and his henchmen are adept at "fixing things." Right well did they fix things before the Presidential election—though the result cannot have been altogether to their satisfaction. The point about the whole situation that I want to stress here is the immorality of it all, the utter lack of honesty and principle in it all, the sheer hypocrisy of the whole thing.

There can be very few adult voters who do not see through the entire filthy game. The result of the election speaks for itself. Fine Gael party hacks can fool themselves into believing that the huge vote for Mr. O'Higgins was a solid vote of support for Fine Gael. But no one else—least of all Mr. Lemass and company—is so easily hoodwinked. The truth is that the Fine Gael candidate's vote was mostly an anti-Fianna Fail vote, a vote of protest against Lemass, his minions and all their abjectly insincere works and poms.

From the whole procedure Republicans, progressives,

CLASH OVER TV AUTHORITY'S LANGUAGE PLANS

Eamonn Andrews

MINISTER AND EMPLOYERS IN

resigns

Was it in fact an argument on Irish?

NEXT on the list of masterstrokes came Charlie Haughey's long - expected announcement of further aid for the farmers, particularly the dairy farmers (the men whom he termed a "circus" if you remember). Well, it turned out that Mr. Feely made a good ringmaster and made Mr. H. jump at the crack of his whip — just in time for the Presidential election of course. Up went the price of milk. Up too goes the price of butter—but we didn't hear much about that before the election.

Mr. Feely and his dairy farmers are no fools, of course, and were by no means taken in by Mr. Haughey and his increased prices. But it was a good try by Charlie boy—who had been taking considerable punishment in other arenas in recent times and deserved to win a round or two, if only to get back into Sean's favour.

FIANNA FAIL TO THE RESCUE

MASTERSTROKE NUMBER THREE took the form of a modest little paragraph in the newspapers saying that the Government had decided to subsidise the Irish publishing firm of Sairseal agus Dill — a decent firm which deserved far better treatment than it has been getting for

the Fianna Fail outfit for language than his namesake Eamonn.

I hasten to disillusion all of them. In the first place the resignation of Eamonn Andrews could easily have been over quite another matter altogether apart from the language. Certain members of the Radio-Telefís Authority were, no doubt, anxious to see him go but I'm told that the deciding factor was the rather mundane question of whether members of the Authority (and this included the then Chairman) should present for examination the figures of their earnings (in any shape or form) from Telefís Eireann.

When Eamonn Andrews resigned he presented (albeit unwittingly) the Fianna Fail Director of Elections with an opportunity of winning thousands of Irish-speaking voters and Fianna Fail jumped at the opportunity. Tod Andrews was within a few weeks of resigning from C.I.E., he was a good party supporter — and most important from the election point of view his image in the eye of the Gaeilgeoiri was favourable. So Tod gets the job (adding another thousand pounds a year to his C.I.E. pension of over £3,000 per annum). And the language enthusiasts, the Government hopes, are happy and rushing

trade unionists, Labour Party men and others can learn a lesson. It is this—Fianna Fail can be brought down. The idols of Upper Mount Street have feet of clay and it only awaits the day when they will come toppling down to lie in the muck they themselves have created. And let us all also remember that the bigger they come the heavier they fall!

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EMPLOYERS AT WAR WITH WORKERS

Lenar gComhreachaí Oibreachais



John Conroy, President of I.T.G.W.U.

THE courageous survey of Mr. John Conroy last month stripped away the fog which so long surrounded the labour relations in the 26 Counties and put the blame where it belonged, on the employer side.

In a nutshell, organised Irish employers are waging a vicious war on the Irish working class and they are being abetted by the communications media. The result is that many well meaning people, including prominent churchmen, have been deluded as to the real situation.

The class war is warming up: nobody in his senses could deny that there is such a war. After Mr. Conroy's survey no reasonable person could accuse the working class of aggression. It is clear that they are defending their very existence.

The reasonableness — some might classify it even as "timidity" — of Irish working class leadership was illustrated in the Congress decision to negotiate a national wage agreement a few years ago.

As Mr. Conroy showed, the Irish Congress of Trade Unions entered the agreement with complete goodwill. Yet, within a few months, what had been gained had been eaten away by increased prices. In fact, after that spell of inflation the working class was worse off than before but, significantly, the ruling class had improved its position.

SCANDALOUS INCREASE

This improvement was illustrated in the scandalous increase of top salaries by well over 20 per cent (for the workers 12 per cent) and the high dividends of such as the banks.

Beginning last autumn Congress made a number of attempts to negotiate a new agreement, to be snubbed by the Federated Union of Employers-propped Government and the F.U.E. itself.

The choice, apparently, then was to surrender or to fight. Congress, again most reasonably (even timidly) compromised with its demand for a £1 a week increase.

This would not recover the lost position. It was merely a desperate, stop-gap attempt to save workers from economic disaster. Yet it was resisted bitterly by F.U.E. and Government.

The workers, of course, are moving instinctively to economic and political control of the economy and capital realises this.

Irish workers are but a section of the entire Western European working class movement so engaged; and it is from outside this country that much of the impetus is coming.

Perhaps this is not realised very clearly by most Irish workers. But these same workers are comparing rates and conditions abroad with their own and seeking parity. That is where the impetus lies.

Capital's reaction when the going gets really tough — as it did in 1913, for the shape

clear—is to call in the police. It is in this light that the Government's Special Powers Act against the rights of the E.S.B. worker to strike must be seen.

Up to the passing of this act the initiative lay with the Irish worker. Had Congress acted much quicker this round might have been won by the working class.

Lemass rushed this act through Leinster House so as to rob slow-moving Congress of its initiative. Congress must call together its executive committee before taking action. This could not be done without a document to examine. Ideally, Congress should have called a general strike of one day before the Act was passed.

SALAZAR-LIKE MEASURE

Although the Labour Party opposed this Salazar-like measure its opposition was not nearly enough to meet the situation. Ideally the entire party should have quit the house and called on Congress to organise the workers' protest in an immediate general strike. But Labour Party politicians, well meaning and honest though many of them may be, are not very good working-class leaders and as far from the revolutionary mind as is General de Gaulle.

Congress still may call such a general strike; but its leaders, realising that this would have to be followed up by more resolute action still, are unlikely to risk it unless pushed very hard by the rank and file.

What they are likely to do is to pass the buck to international bodies instead of acting quickly and toughly at home in the assurance that, in such an event, they would be backed by the free working class everywhere.

Once again an Irish opportunity to lead the international working class movement has been muffed and muffed badly.

Trade unionists now will have to ask themselves very searching questions about the Labour Party, trade union and Congress leadership. For one, how far committed to upholding the status quo are these same people?

LABOUR MUST WAIT

In the early days of the real Republic, as George Gilmore reminded us recently, Labour was told it must "wait."

Since then it has virtually abdicated any part in the independence movement. This accounts for the weakness of that same movement. Labour politicians and trade union leaders have confined themselves to a defensive rear-guard action.

On occasions their lack of spirit has been astounding. Enterprises such as Bord na Mona and the E.S.B., founded on the people's money through taxation, were denationalised (i.e., passed over to private

Labour (capital L) didn't even say "moo."

Their attitude, viewed at its best, seems to be thus: "We are not responsible for the state of this society. We aspire to no real part in it. Our job is merely to look to pay and conditions — to hell with ideals."

How very far from Connolly! Ideals are objectives: Labour lacks the will to rule. Top Labour, that is. By its even remote association with the flummies of Leinster House it is losing the respect of the ordinary worker.

The fact that Labour still attends Leinster House after the sell-out over the recent act of economic union between Ireland and Britain is extremely difficult to grasp. It is impossible to negotiate on any level with such proven traitors (or fools).

The new special powers Act, restricting strikes and picketing by E.S.B. workers, is only the thin edge of the wedge. The precedent has been created. The act has been passed by the overwhelming majority of Fianna Fail plus Fine Gael, a combination made possible by the submissiveness of Labour to obey the "waiting" call.

WHAT'S NEXT

What will be the next area for coercion? The docks? The airports? Food services? Communications? Hospitals? An equally good case can be made to control one or all in exactly the same way.

The constitutional protest is not enough. In a civilised society it would be; but we are not living in a civilised society. The objective of this society is to protect and make richer the rich and to Hell or Birmingham with the worker, the farmer, the fisherman.

Those prepared to follow in the footsteps of Pearse and Connolly must be prepared to hear from leaders who fear for their positions and privileges and the "wrath of the risen people," talk of "pinks" or "socialists" or "Communists" or "extreme Republicans."

Let that not deter them! Let them remember, with comfort, another phrase: "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after justice for they shall have their fill."

Those tempted to shrink from the violence which will be necessary when the employers call all their police out should remember that Christ whipped the moneylenders from the Temple. For too long our temple—Ireland — has been desecrated by the money-changers, the descendants of those who ordered

JAMES FINTAN LALOR

A MAN FOR THE PEOPLE



By Eamonn Mac Thomais

FOR more than three score years a grave lay neglected and forgotten in Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin. Nay, not forgotten but boycotted, shunned out of sight and memory...



A Heading of "The Nation".

The writings and teachings of James Fintan Lalor are needed just as much to-day as they were in the days of coercion and starvation 119 years ago. It is only by a continuous study of the past, the ideals and principles...

I am a Dublin man but Lalor's demand for the land of Ireland for the Irish people means to me, a city resident, a house and home for every family, a decent job and an opportunity to educate our children in primary, secondary, vocational and university classes without payment.

A Beginning

"Somewhere, somehow and by somebody a beginning must be made," said Lalor. Lalor spoke almost alone in his day as the Republican Movement speaks almost alone to-day. Go down, reader, to 39 Parnell Street. The house is almost gone. The windows are blocked up. Go there where Dublin families lived in a slum neighbourhood a short while ago...

thoughts settled down he asked himself what he could do and answered, "I can do nothing". The next day he again put the same question to himself. He decided that saying "I can do nothing" was but a lame excuse for doing nothing! That evening he wrote down his ideas and his plans. The greatest social and economic thinker in Ireland had just been born. On January 11, 1847 his first gospel came forth. To Gavan Duffy, editor of "The Nation", he wrote: "I am one of those who never joined the Repeal Association or the Repeal Movement—one of Mr. O'Connell's creeping, crawling, cowardly creatures though I was a Repealer in private at one time".



The Corn Exchange, Dublin.

Lalor's next letter "Tenant's Right and Landlord Law" was written in answer to Dr. Hughes' lecture which he read in "The Nation" on May 1, "Conditions of Ireland". Lalor's letter was strong and fiery with no holds barred. He again attacked the Landlord system in Ireland and made a final appeal to landowners to adopt the only course that could now save a struggle.

By the summer of 1847 the starvation system was in full swing in Ireland. The blight on the potato crop had come in 1845 and in the two years that followed the position got worse. All grain and other food such as cattle was being exported daily out of the country while the Irish people died on the roadside and in the ditches and fields, yet the Young Ireland movement failed to lead. Lalor, Mitchel and Devin Reilly were voices crying out in the wilderness. When the lead eventually did come it was too late. If O'Connell had held the monster rally in Clontarf in 1843 despite the Dublin Castle ban and even if 5,000 people had been butchered it would have been better because it would have avoided the starvation of 1847. O'Connell had warned the British in 1845 that they must stop all exports of food produce, but they ignored his plea just as O'Connell himself had ignored the wishes of the people to hold the rally in Clontarf and lead on for full freedom.

John Mitchel was driven out of the Confederation (a new movement which was set up by the Young Irelanders after they broke with O'Connell and the Repeal Association) on the physical force issue. Mitchel wanted to fight: Smith O'Brien, Meagher and Duffy wanted peaceful agitation. On a vote the issue was: for Smith O'Brien 314; for Mitchel 188. Mitchel then founded the United Irishman newspaper, his colleagues being John Martin and Devin Reilly. The first issue appeared in February 1848. "I hold there is no opinion in Ireland worth a farthing which is not illegal," said Mitchel

the people and it was not long before Dublin Castle took note—Mitchel was arrested. The United Irishman was banned a treason felony act passed and Mitchel sent in chains to Van Diemens land for life.

To make up for the loss of the United Irishman two new papers appeared, "The Irish Tribune" and "The Irish Felon", the latter paper was edited by John Martin and Fintan Lalor was his assistant. From Number 12 Trinity Street "The Irish Felon" came forth. Five red-hot issues and then the Castle acted. Down Dame Street came the town mayor and the city sheriff with eighty horse and a hundred foot soldiers of his Majesty the King. The offices and equipment were smashed, printing press broken up, papers burned in the street and several selected copies and letters were sent back by special messenger to the Chief Secretary's office in the Upper Castle Yard. The warrants for the arrests were issued and the soldiers were ordered to confiscate every copy of "The Irish Felon". From the hands of newsboys, from the homes of supporters, from shop windows and from private carriages the papers were snatched and burned.

Lalor evaded arrest and made his way to Tipperary, to join up with O'Brien. He was arrested at Ballyhane and lodged in Nenagh Jail, later he was transferred to Newgate, Dublin and held without charge or trial under the suspension of the habeas corpus act. His health broke down and when he was released months later he was a dying man. Nevertheless he again tried to reorganise another Rising in 1849. He went to Tipperary to organise and rally support to the cause. He was again arrested and lodged in Newgate Jail. He was later released to die in his room in Parnell Street. Even from his deathbed he tried to rally support for the cause. Thomas Clarke Luby, John O'Leary and O'Mahony were each evening by his bedside listening to his ideas and plans. By late December 1849 the end came and the brave Lalor went to meet the God he loved. From his room in Parnell Street men went forth with his spirit and zeal in their hearts, the spirit and zeal that in nine years was to organise the Great Fenian Movement and the Irish Republican Brotherhood.

Valley of Knockanure Survivor at Chicago Ceremony

MR. CON DEE, survivor part in the organising of the 1916 Rising and called on all present to give their approval to a 32 County Republic. A Commemoration function held in the Ferrara Manor on the last post sounded, the Easter Sunday night. With Proclamation was read by him at the speakers' table were Fr. Joseph Madden; Presbyterian Minister Rev. Mr. Horace Dunn; Hugh McAteer and Sean Maxwell, who delivered the oration.

Earlier that day the Easter Week Parade took place to the Basilica of Our Lady of Sorrows in West Jackson Boulevard where High Mass was celebrated for those who died for Irish Freedom. Mr. Eoin MacNamee, Hugh McAteer and New York columnist Sean Maxwell led the parade, which was the largest and best organised event to be held in Chicago for forty years.

Following High Mass a huge motorcade went to the Clan Na Gael monument in Mount Carmel Cemetery where General Chairman, Eoin MacNamee, spoke of the Clan's



Mr. Hugh McAteer



M. Doheny



T. Devin Reilly

James Fintan Lalor was born on March 10, 1807 at Tenall, Abbeyleix. As a child he suffered from a spinal disease and as he grew up he was badly deformed and partially deaf. His early education was received in private and he was sent to Carlow lay college in 1825. On leaving college he got a position as an apprentice to Dr. Jacob of Portlaoise. He had been good at chemistry and medical studies and it was decided by his family that Fintan would become a doctor. However after 18 months Fintan sold his horse and left Ireland for France.

On returning to Ireland he toured the countryside and was appalled at the misery and poverty of the peasants. In his own words, "I hold there is no opinion in Ireland worth a farthing which is not illegal," said Mitchel

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Cuireadh Chun Réabhlóide

"In Eirinn tá an Stát Béarlach; tá an Eaglais Béarlach; tá pobal na Gaeltachta ag imtheacht uainn agus gan oideachas; agus níor tugadh faoin bpobal eile a ghaeltú — a mhalairt: cuireadh risleáin i mbealach na ndaoine a thug faoi."

"**F**EAR a bheadh ag rá nár naomh é, déarfadh sé rud ar bith, bhéarfadh sé greim ar rud ar bith, satlóidh sé ar dhuine ar bith"—Deasún O Fionnaile.

"Dá dtiocfaidís na fearchoin A chuaigh uainn go dtí an Spáinn, Da dtiocfaidís do chachfaidís Ar lucht na léinte bána." —File gan ainm.

An usaicme nua atá faoi ndear ag Deasún, is cosúil. Dona go leor a bhí an seandream ach bhí oideachas éigin acu. Agus inniu, faraoir, tá a phór an-ghnasa sa tír ach amháin sna Sé Chontae.

Sauve qu'il peut: an polaiteoir gairmiúil, an t-ard-stáitseirbhíeach, lucht stiúrtha na gcomhlachtaí stáit, gaimbínfhostaitheoirí na tíre, an mheán-aicme i gcoitinn. Greim ar rud ar bith — mar an conradh saorthrádála le Sasana, an babhta is deirneanai de chluiche an ghaimbín. "Circenses" gan "Pan."

"Seachain gleacáí mílis sleamhain, Seachain teanga Iofa mear, Ná géill dá gcomhrá caoin, Ná fós d'éinne dá luaidhfidh leat."

AICME NUACHUMTHA

Agus seachain an polaiteoir, a pháistí agus an córas dám-anta uilig.

Cáineann Deasún iad siúd atá beagbheann "ar thoil dhaonlathach an phobail." Cuireann sin i gcuimhne dom an *cliché*-raiteas úd, gur ar thoil an phobail atá sábháil na Gaeilge ag brath.

I 1921 rinne daoine an Conradh le Sasana a shíniú gan toil na ndaoine a thástáil faoi. I 1965 rinne dream eile conradh eile le Sasana a shíniú gan fhiosrú faoi thoil na ndaoine. Arís agus arís eile, ar scála beag is mór, cuireadh in iúl an dimheas atá ag an mbeagán ar an mórán.

Nach é an t-airgead agus a chéile, an chumhacht, a stiúiríon an córas "daonlathach" s'againne thuaidh theas?

Bhfuil bealach ar bith seachas réabhlóid fágtha ag pobal na hEireann—an pobal bhí i gceist ag an bPiarasach agus ag an gConghailéach—chun a mhian a chur in iúl? An iad guthanna an phobail sin Teach Laighean, Stormont, Radio is Telefís Eireann, na nuachtáin?

Ach tá aicme nuachumtha ann ó 1921 anuas chun freastal ar an mbarbaracht atá ag loit ailtireachta agus dúlra agus meon na n-óg.

Ag dul in olcas atá cúrsaí. Fiche bliain ó shin bhí náire ann; áit a bhfuil náire tá grásta. Inniu tá an seoinín ag bladaráil uaidh gan náire dá laghad. Tugtar áit an onóra dó ar chláracháí raidió is teilifíse. Cuirtear fáilte roimhe sna nuachtáin. Agus tá bacseinséir-eachas, biwiteachas, fisci-eachas agus popaireacht ann ar an nua-nós. Tá cros ar bhlas ionraic Eireannach ar raidió is ar theilifís ach amháin, b'fhéidir, i leithéid chlár churaíochta nó Gaeilge.

In áit na físe—fís 1916 — tá an teilifís. Agus líonann an teilifís Teach Laighean. Daonlathas?

Níl Deasún dall ar a bhfuil ag tairlú cé gur séimhe a bhealigh ná mo chuidse: "I nGaeilge tugadh Galldachas ar an rud nimhneach a bhí ag teacht idir duine is dúchas, an bhreiteacht a bhí le sárú, agus féach, ciallaíonn gallda coimhthíoch, fremd, alien. Is ionann gail dachas agus "coimhiú."

macht intinne"—abairt eile ó Dheasún. Ach bhfuil leigheas orthu trí dhá thrá a fhreastal? Rud coimhíoch fós sea an Béarla in Eirinn. Sa tír i gcoitinn níl taobh thiar de ach 100 bliain. An traidisiún is láidre agus is dúchasaigh atá aige tá sé 'sna bailéid agus san ailtireacht. A dtáinig faoi bháth anseo mar litriocht i laethe an dóchais, ní raibh inti ach meathán ó chrann na Gaeilge, go dtí Joyce féin i bh"Finnegan's Wake."

An fíor do Dheasún é seo a leanas: "Níor éist pobal na hEireann le na Gaeilgeoirí le daichead bliain anuas toisc gur ri-annamh *d'athbheochain*teoirí friotal beo ina bheal aige?" Daoine a scríobh i nGaeilge is dócha go raibh athbheochain na Gaeilge gar dá gcroí is dá n-intinn. Más ea, céard faoi Mháire, Seán O Riordáin, Máire Níac an tSaoi, Máirtín O Cadhain, Liam O Flaith-earta, Melius na Gopallín, Ciarán O Nualláin, Dónall Mac Amhlaidh, Cruise O'Brien, Máirtín O Direáin, Diarmuid O Suilleabháin, Donn Piatt agus daoine nach iad? An fíor an ráiteas fúthu siúd?

Cloistear go minic gur ar shárlitricheacht atá neartú teanga ag brath. Moltar dúinn ár gcuid Dante féin a sholáthar: eisean a shabhálfas an Ghaeilge! Ach bhí pobal ag Dante, Eaglais is Stát ag taca leis.

STAT BEARLACH

In Eirinn tá an Stát Béarlach; tá an Eaglais Béarlach; tá pobal na Gaeltachta ag imeacht uainn agus gan oideachas; agus níor tugadh faoin bpobal eile a ghaeltú — a mhalairt: cuireadh risleáin i mbealach na ndaoine a thug faoi.

B'fhéidir go bhfuil duine éigin eile i gceist ag Deasún san fhocal úd, athbheochaint-eoir. An iad cinnirí ghluais-eacht na Gaeilge tá i gceist? Lucht na rún is na bhfó-rún, an dream a rinne club den teanga?

Déantar muintir na hEireann a cháineadh as ucht a neamhshuime i bhfoghlaim agus in úsáid na Gaeilge. Déantar muintir na Gaeltachta a cháineadh as a dúchas a thréigean. Ní léir dom gur leath ná ionraic sin. Is é atá ann dáiríre ná bhfuair coismhuintir na hEireann an seans. Is é is miorúiltí fúithi go bhfuil sí bádhúil fós ar an teanga, ar an gceol, ar an méid den traidisiún atá fágtha aici. Ní gan ábhar dúirt Tone, an Piarasach agus an Conghailéach gurb í tá inti aicme dothruailithe.

Rinneadh pobal na hEireann a thástáil i leith na Gaeilge tá tamall ó shin, uair amháin i bhfeachtas na síníochán; uair eile, trí shuirbhé. Do réir chosúlachta ní h-í coismhuintir na hEireann tá ag loic ar an teanga ach an mheánaicme. B'amhlaidh a bhí an toradh i suirbhé eile, leis, faoin bhfeachtas "Ceannaigí Gael-earraí."

Inár bhformhór i dtír ar bith téann muid le sruth agus tá sruth an Bhéarla go láidir ó Stát agus ó Eaglais anseo ó 1921 anuas. Chuaigh na daoine leis.

CROS AR CHATALANAIS

O 1939 tá cros ar Chatalánais a mhúineadh sna scoileanna sa Chataláin. Trí Chaistilís sea foghlaimíonn siad gach ábhar, teagasc Críostáin san áireamh. Go dtí le fíordheireanas ní sna séipéil, fiú. Agus i 1939 ní raibh ach Caistilís le cloistáil bhí Catalánais á labhairt ag os cionn 90 faoin gcéad den phobal. Inniu níl ach corrdhuine ann ar féidir leis an teanga a léamh ná a scríobh agus tá meath tagtha ar a labhairt. Ach tá Caistilís ar eolas ag cách.

D'fhéadfaí samplaí de mharú teanga agus d'athbheochain teanga a thabhairt chun solas a chur ar a bhfuil i gceist agam. Is é an trua Mhuire é nach raibh cur síos ar a leithéid i dTuarascáil na Gaeilge.

"Tríd an agallamh eadrainn féin is le na foinsí tiocfaid ar an bhfírinne agus déanfaid sí láidir sinn agus éistefar linn nuair a labhraimid," a deir Deasún; ach nach-heol dó go spreagana *finnegan* in.

An cuid deireannach de léact ar thug Deasún Breatnach uaidh in ollscoil na Ríoghna, Béal Feirsde.

eagla, go mór mhór ar údarais? Cuirfead deargaithe agus lucht thrith-stáit inar leith — sin a bheidh ann, mar thoradh. Ina dhiaidh sin an ghéarleanúint. "Rinneamar faillí san teach leathógtha a fhág an réabhlóid mar oidhreacht dúinn. Táim ag filleadh uirthi ach ní mian liom filleadh im aonar"—agus fáilte is fíor-fháilte romhat. Cuir "íobairt" in ionad "réabhlóid" agus tagaim leat, a mhac. Ach an ndéanfaid tú an gníomh? An cnoc is airde is é is fuair, gé gurb uaidh is giorra an ghrian.

Maith dom má dhéanaim atagairt do thábhacht an traidisiúin. Tabhair faoi deara nár le harm a tháinig an Chríostaíocht isteach anseo agus gur éirigh lenár muintir í a fhith isteach sa traidisiún. Le harm sea tháinig an Chríostaíocht in áiteanna eile a g u s scriosadh traidisiúin, teanga, éigse na ndaoine i gcoitinn.

Nuair a tháinig meath ar an Impireacht Rómánach ní raibh aon seantraidisiún beo chun na daoine a chothú; bhí an traidisiún nua ró-óg chun teacht i gcabhair orthu; agus léim an bharbaracht isteach.

B'éigean dúinne "deoraithe Dé" a dhéanamh dinn féin chun iad a shábháil. Thug muid tacaíocht do na teanga-cháí óga, rud nach ndéanfadh Impireacht. Agus ní tháinig siad slán go dtí gur tháinig bláth ar na nua-theangacháí sin, go dtí go raibh préamh-acha ag an traidisiún.

Ní raibh aon amhras ná com-pleácas ísealach ag na deoraithe Dé sin i dtaoibh na Gaeilge. A mhalairt. Agus má theastaíonn uainn Eoraip a shábháil inniu is trín ar ndúchas féin, ár dtraidisiún agus ár dtéanga a dhéanfaim muid é. Is mó tionchar ag Mícheál Mac Liammóir ar mhuintir na Mór-Roinne ná ag Lemass ná Béarlóir ar bith eile ó Eirinn.

FORSA SPIONTA

Tabhair faoi deara, leis, stair na hEaglaise iarghortaí anseo; tá cur síos cruinn déanta ag an Athair Donn-chadhna O Floinn faoi i bpaim-fléad dá bhfoilsigh Veritas (agus i mBéarla). Tá a tuilleadh—i nGaeilge—ar throdán "An Sagart."

"Is é an phríomhchúis gur theip ar ghluaiseacht na Gaeilge ó 1921 i leith na go ndearna sí neamhshuime de dhaoine agus den duinníocht," dar le Deasún.

D'fhreagair muid sin cheana; ach cuirfidh muid béim ar a ndúirt muid le seo, a leanas: gur arm stáit teanga; gur féidir le stát i bhreiseadh nó neartú.

Céard é dúirt Pádraic Mac Piarais (Mí na Samhna, 1913, "An Réabhlóid atá le teacht") Fórsa spionta ab ea Conradh na Gaeilge (b'ionann é agus gluaiseacht na Gaeilge). Bhí a chuid oibre déanta. "Bhí muid ar scoil ag Conradh na Gaeilge": feasta chuirfeadh rialtas Eireannach an obair chun críche. Le teacht na saoirse, ar ndóigh.

NA COMHARCHUMAINN

Ach, a Dheasún, níor tháinig an tsaoirse agus lean an "Murder Machine" ag céasadh anam agus intinn n-óg.

Dá ndéarfá gur chuir cinnirí ghluaiseacht na Gaeilge — cuid mhaith acu—dallamullóg orthu féin; gur cheangail siad iad féin leis na polaiteoirí fealltacha, d'aontóinn leat. Teanga linn leat, Gaeilge liom leat. Ach ní féidir an ghluais-eacht a dháimn as a bhfuil déanta ag cuid des na cinnirí mar bhí an dream eile ann i gcónaí, daoine mar Dhónall O Corcora.

I "What's This About the Gaelic League?" chuir Dónall a mhéar ar a raibh ag teastáil — stát gaelach, stáitseirbhís gaelach — agus dá mbeadh a leithéid ann ba chuma faoi na scoileanna.

Má bhíonn aon mhórlucht le cur i leith ghluaiseacht na Gaeilge is é gur thréig sí muintir na Gaeilge.

sí fáilte roimh an bPáipéar Bán? Nár cheadaigh sí do Theilifís Eireann? Nár fháiltigh sí roimh sócrú an Aifrínn Ghaelaí? Gluaiseacht oifigiúil na Gaeilge, tá me a rá.

Ach tá Gaeilgeoirí gníomh-ach i ngluaiseacht na Poblachta, sa Chomhaltas, san Oir-eachtas, sna comharchumainn nua; chuidigh siad leis an Athair O Daidhir ó thús; tá a bpinginí i bhFastnet agus in Errigeal agus i gComhar Linn. Siad a thug neart do Ghael-Linn.

Ní féidir cur i leith na n-eagras sin nár spéis leo daoine; a mhalairt is léir. Ach cumhacht atá de dhíth orainn chun go rithfidh na comharchumainn faoi lán tseol, chun go dtiocfaidh rath is bláth ar Eirinn athuair. Réabhlóid atá uainn.

Tá cuid den Ghaeltacht fágtha. Is inti atá tobar na teanga agus an traidisiún. Má chailltear í tá an cluiche thart. Tá rud seachas teanga i gceist: daoine, comhthionól. Sí an Ghaeltacht is mó a fhulaingíonn imirce. Chun na daoine sin a shábháil tá réabhlóid riachtanach. *Rancho* nó áit do dhaoine: sin atá romhainn. Faoin Dara Clár is mó béime ar eallaigh ná ar dhaoine. Is mó airgid a chaitear ar shláinte eallach ná sláinte daoine. Réabhlóid amháin a chuirfeas deireadh leis an geur i gceill frithchriostúil seo.

CATH CAILLTE

"An Ghaeilge in éadan an Bhéarla, sin cath cailte." — Deasún arís.

Fear amháin a shábháil an cine daonna, mar Iosa Críost. Chreid Pádraic Mac Piarais go bhféadfaid fear amháin muintir na hEireann a shábháil ach bás a fháil ar a son.

Fear amháin a chuir an Eabhráir ar lámh shábhála, mar Bhen Yehuda. Chreid an Piarasach go raibh an náisiún slán chomh fada is a mhair duine amháin a raibh an náisiún á chaomhnú istigh ann féin.

Toil is ciall le seo uilig. Nuair a bheas 100 duine againn a bhfuil toil láidir acu ar son na Gaeilge agus a sheas-fas an fód beidh linn. Comhthionól Gaelach atá de dhíth sa chathair.

Ach "in éadan an Bhéarla": céard é go baileach atá i gceist ag Deasún? Ní chóir aon chultúr a bheith in éadan chultúir eile. B'fhearr liom féin muid Gaelach agus gan bheith frith-Bhéarlach. Ach fé mar atá cúrsaí inniu caithfead polaitíocht an Bhéarla éigeantai a throid gan fuath bheith againn don teanga féin, sa chaoi chéanna go gcaithfidh muid Sasana a throid gan fuath againn do Shasanaigh.

Ní fíor é go bhfuil an cath cailte; ar siúl fós atá sé. Biodh dhátheangachas ina theoric deas againn ach biodh muid ionraic faoi as a bhfuil ar eolas againn faoi theangacháí i dtíortha eile. Is é mo bharúilse nach féidir le muintir na hEireann a bheith dhátheangach. Is féidir le mionlach a bheith dhátheangach ach ar ball glacfaidh an pobal le haon teanga amháin—sa Chataláin; i dTír na mBáscaich; agus in Eirinn, leis.

Tá Sasana ró-chóngarach dúinn le go n-éireoidh le Gaeilge gan beart polaitíochta agus gníomh Stáit. Caithfead greim a fháil ar an Stát, seans cothrom a thabhairt don teanga agus traidisiún agus déanfaidh an dúchas an chuid eile.

Caithfead an coras polaitiúil a scrios, an "Murder Machine" a chur ar ceal agus scoileanna a sholáthar a mbeidh athas, síocháin, dóchas agus aisling ag baint leo. Caithfead ruag a chur ar an gcomórtas-armire atá sna scoileanna faoi láthair agus, in a áit, comhar na ndaoine a bhunú. "Tug an Coimhde cor don rotha do chlaon-regno na mbreath ngann íseal anocht atá an braithrín ní bhfuil ach regnavi ann." Agus d'fhéadfaidh sin tarlu athuair.

An é atá i gceist ag Deasún san IV cuid den tráchtas, "Constaici agus Géibhinn," bunchloch na Gaeilge a bhaint den teach agus "páirt a ghlacadh

na Sasanaigh féin ag straoisil. "Tá eolas ar an gcultúr Sas-anach san naoú céad déag riachtanach chun daonnachtas cultúrtha na réabhlóide a thuiscint," ar seisean. Rachfainne féin píosa ní ba fhaide siar, go Wolfe Tone agus Muirtheadh na Fraince—Cearta na bhFear. Agus ar sheanmóin an tsleibhe féin atá cearta na bhfear bunaithe. Athsmaoineamh: agallamh; comhar na gcomharsan—sin a bhfuil de dhíth ar Dheasún. An bhfuil sé sásta glacadh leis na pointí seo a leanas:

1. Gur gné amháin de chogadh na n-aicmí sea an choimhlint chun an Ghaeilge a shábháil;
2. Go bhfuil an réabhlóid de dhíth orainn fós — réabhlóid intinne ar dtús agus réabhlóid pholaitiúil in a diaidh, agus a cuspóir saoirse coismhuintir na hEireann a bhaint amach.
3. Go bhfuil soiscéal an Chonghailigh agus an Phiarasach chomh fíor inniu is a bhí i 1916. (tá chuile ráite, mar fhealsúnacht, dar liom, i "An Poblal Ceannasaí").
4. Go bhfuil ár ndóithean le déanamh againn i sábháil na Gaeilge gan trácht faoi Bhéarla a shábháil leis. Má ghlactar leis na pointí sin is léir go mba chóir dúinn uilig páirt ghníomhach a ghlacadh i ngluaiseacht na Poblachta agus i gcomharachumannachas; an chomhacht a bhaint amach san dá fhórsa

sin; agus an réabhlóid a thabhairt chun críche. Ach an Ghaeilge idir an dá linn?

Gan ghéilleadh don Bhéarla — is cuid den choimhlint shíorraí in aghaidh Shasana an seasamh sin. Tá an rud diúltach slán ann féin — gan ghlacadh le foirmeacha Béarla, nó le Béarla éigeantach ó na húdarais ar bhealach ar bith; ach tá an rud dearfach, de dhíth, leis — comhthionól Gaelach a bhunú sna cath-racha.

"Fornocht a chonnaic thú, a áille na háille" — b'fhéidir gur ró-nocht an fhírinne, rógheal an fhís do ghluaiseacht na Gaeilge.

Agus b'fhéidir go dtiocfaidh an réabhlóid agus go mbeidh ina bun daoine nár spéis leo Gaeilge, daoine nach dtuigeann an traidisiún, dream a cheapann gur leor é freastal ar chorp na coismuintire, gurb é aran amháin a chothaíonn an cine.

Tá an réabhlóid romhainn ach céard faoin bhfís? Is uafásach an fhreagracht atá ag lú ar ghluaiseacht na Gaeilge inniu agus má loiceann na Gaeilgeoirí ar an réabhlóid caithfidh siad a leithscéal a ghabháil faoi le Mac Dé féin Lá an Luain.

"Ná bí cruaidh is ná bí bog, 's ná tréig do charad ar do chuid; a mhic mo chroí, ná hadhain a troid 's na hob i más éigean duit". Toil a réitíonn síl.



Al Ryan and Peggy Cuffe after their marriage, performed by Rev. James McDyer, C.C.

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BODENSTOWN



E. MacThomáis, one of the organisers, looks quite pleased.



Tom McGuigan, represented Philadelphia.

We give below the text of the oration delivered
by Seamus Costello
at Bodenstown on June 19.

We have assembled here today to pay our respects to the memory of Theobald Wolfe Tone, the Father of Irish Republicanism. If we, the Republicans of 1966, are to pay a fitting tribute to Tone, it is essential that we examine in depth the ideals for which he fought and died. He believed that the Irish people "had but one common interest and one common enemy; that the depression and slavery of Ireland was produced and perpetuated by the divisions existing between them, and that, consequently, to assert the independence of their country, and their own individual liberties, it was necessary to forget all former feuds to consolidate the entire strength of the whole nation, and to form for the future but one people."

His attitude towards the so-called 'Irish Parliament' of the day is also worthy of attention. He maintained that the Parliament was a totally ineffective body, that it had changed nothing in Ireland, that the social and political order remained the same, and that, as before, the real power lay with the British Government. He realised that until such time as the Irish people united and demanded their just rights that the wealth of this country would either be controlled directly by Britain, or that it would be syphoned off with the willing connivance of a subservient Irish Parliament.

Break the Connection

Having seen the problems that existed at the time, Tone in conjunction with the other leaders of the Revolutionary Movement decided that the first logical step towards a solution was to "break the connection with England, the never failing source of all our political and economic evils."

You may well ask why we of the Republican Movement, 168 years after the death of Tone, find it necessary to advocate the same course of action that he advocated. The answer is simple. We find it necessary to advocate the same course of action because of the fact that the Irish people still do not control their own affairs, and because their economic and political independence is considered a fit subject for barter or sale by our two subservient puppet parliaments. If the Irish people have any doubt about the truth of this statement and want proof of what I say they have only to take a close look at the situation that exists today in each part of our partitioned land.

Puppet Regime

In the North the destinies of 1½ million of our countrymen are controlled by a puppet regime whose existence for some 45 years has depended on the support of British armed forces. This regime has found to its apparent delight that one of the simplest ways of ensuring its continued existence is by the furtherance of bigotry and sectarianism. Ample evidence of this policy can be found in the recent antics of a certain reverend agent provocateur. These then are the means by which the British Imperialists intend to maintain the people of the North in perpetual slavery

which the working classes are divided against their own material welfare. The pro-British capitalist class who control the economy of the North know very well that when the people reject those who foster sectarianism that their next step will be to demand a just share of the wealth which they create. These are the real reasons why one section of the community are led to believe that it is in their interest to discriminate against another section. Never are they told that the standard of living which they enjoy, at the expense of their victimised neighbours, is theirs by right, rather are they tricked into believing that these natural rights are a reward for their support of the regime. These tactics serve to ensure that a large section of the population of the North remain loyal to the regime and at the same time do not insist on having a bigger share in the wealth.

Economic Subjection

In the 26 Counties the most that can be said of the position is that it contains one evil less. Religious discrimination is absent. The political and economic subjection of this part of Ireland to Britain is no less complete than that of the North. However British control over the destinies of the people of the 26 Counties is not as obvious. This is due in the main to the fact that since 1921 they have had the co-operation of successive quisling parliaments in order to ensure that their interests here are fully protected.

The effects of this economic subjection are obvious in every sphere of life in Ireland at the present time. We of the Republican Movement have no need to tell the Irish people of the sorry mess which has been made of the economy.

The politicians are telling us every day. They tell us that this position arises as a result of the workers insisting on having a better standard of living. Never are we told that the profits which accrue from our labours are invested abroad by the native and foreign capitalists who control our resources. We are constantly told that we must work harder for the same wages despite the fact that we have to live with an ever increasing cost of living and an ever increasing burden of taxation. Up to now we have been "advised" that it is wrong for workers to withhold labour in the struggle to wrest a decent wage from those employers whose only role in life seems to be the exploitation of workers. The situation in this regard has now changed radically, with the introduction of coercive anti-worker legislation. We now find that Mr. Lemass in his eagerness to please his Imperial masters is prepared to use against farmers and workers the same type of repression which was previously reserved for Republicans. It now seems inevitable that the Republicans in Mountjoy Prison will soon find themselves joined by farmers and trade unionists.

We Republicans must not be content to criticise those who misgovern both parts of our country. If we are to regard ourselves as true followers of Tone, we must provide the Irish people with an alternative. It must be a realistic and practical alternative. Our target must be the achievement of the ideals set out in the Proclamation of 1916—the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities for all our citizens. This in effect means that we must aim for the ownership of our resources by the people, so that these resources will be developed in the best interests



S. Costello speaking at Bodenstown.

of you may feel that these aims are impossible to achieve until such time as we have an independent all Ireland government. It is certainly true that some of these aims will not reach fruition until such time as we have an all Ireland parliament. However, in the meantime, you as Republicans have an extremely important part to play in the furtherance of this policy.

It is your duty to spearhead the organisation of a virile co-operative movement among the farming community. It is also your duty to use your influence as Trade Unionists to organise a militant Trade Union movement with a national consciousness. In short, it is your duty to become active, hard working members of each and every organisation that is working for the welfare of all the people and towards the re-unification of the country. You should use every possible opportunity to acquaint the people with our policies on land, industry and finance. We believe that there should be a limit to the amount of land owned by any single individual. We also believe that the large estates of absentee landlords should be acquired by compulsory acquisition and worked on a co-operative basis with the financial and technical assistance of the State.

In the field of industry our policy is to nationalise the key industries with the eventual aim of co-operative ownership by the workers. The capital necessary to carry out this programme can be made available without recourse to extensive taxation by the nationalisation of all banks, insurance, loan and investment companies whose present policy is the re-investment of our hard earned money in foreign fields.

This in short is our policy. This is our definition of freedom. It was Tone's definition, Lator's definition, Mitchel's definition, and the stated aim of Pearse and Connolly. We can expect the same reaction to the implementation of these aims, from the forces of exploitation whether native or foreign sponsored, as the originators received in '98, '48, '67 and 1916. Therefore to imagine that we can establish a Republic solely by constitutional means is utter folly. The lesson of history shows that in the final analysis the Robber Baron must be disestablished by the same methods that he used to enrich himself and retain his ill gotten gains, namely force of arms. To this end we must organise, train, and maintain a disciplined armed force which will always be available to strike at the opportune moment.



Fianna looked very smart.



Thomas MacGiolla, represented Sinn Féin A.C.



Loretta O'Leary, represented Clann na nGael Executive.



Cathal Goulding laying a wreath on behalf of Oglais.

1916 and 20th Century Freedom

Movements

— by **KADER ASMAL** —

This is the first part of a lecture delivered by Mr. Asmal, Lecturer in Law at Trinity College Dublin, as part of the Jubilee Lectures organised by Muintir Wolfe Tone. The second part will appear in the August issue of the *United Irishman*.

AS a lawyer I have tended to lead a detached life as most lawyers do and my personal interest in 1916 was encouraged by a father, not a very lettered man, who was fired by the passion of anti-imperialism and who fed me on a diet of Connolly and Pearse from the age of twelve onwards, until by the age of eighteen I had read everything that I could get hold of in South Africa by Connolly, so that my introduction to all politics was, I am afraid, an introduction to Ireland and the debt that I owe to my own father is a debt that I cannot calculate. The second reason why I am very proud to be associated with this commemoration is that the Irish Revolution more than any other Revolution fired the imagination of people of the generation before me in a sense that it was the first Rebellion against modern imperialism.

But there are more fundamental reasons why I have always had an interest in the 1916 Rising. The most important reason was not the humanity and the breadth of vision of the very great leaders of 1916, of McDermott and Clarke and Pearse; it wasn't so much the greatness of that extraordinary self-educated man, James Connolly, it was the internationalist tradition. What has always attracted me to the Irish Revolution was that revolution that was fired by the motto "ourselves alone" was the most internationalist in its attitude, the most outward looking in its attitude, the least chauvinistic of the great revolutions that have taken place in this century. It was the international attitude of the leaders of 1916 and the subsequent leaders of the Irish revolution that, in fact, attracted the interest of such diverse people as Lenin and of Pandit Nehru in India. It was the kind of attitude that was epitomised in the extract from Casement who said: "The Congo question is very near our hearts but the Irish question is nearer. It is only because I am an Irishman that I can understand fully the whole scheme of wrongdoing at work in the Congo". This is one illustration, but for me, a very personal interest in the Rising in 1916 and ultimately which led me to relate the 1916 Rising to its broader international context, was, I'm afraid, the loyalty which I felt, from the age of twelve onwards, to James Connolly and if I do tend to emphasise James Connolly and his contribution to 1916 and his contribution to the freedom movement in other parts of the world it is not out of disrespect to the other leaders of the Rising in 1916, but is conditioned by the fact that I know most about James Connolly and probably because his effect was a real and actual contribution to freedom movements in other parts of the world.

In Tradition of Tone

In fact Robert Lynd's introduction to Connolly's "Labour in Irish History" is particularly appropriate "that of all the leaders of the Insurrection of Easter Monday, 1916 Connolly was most in the traditions of Wolfe Tone and the United Irishmen. He took up, not as a citizen of Ireland, but as a citizen of the world". But even more so Connolly's remarks from Fintan Lalor are appropriate to Connolly himself, when Connolly said that Fintan Lalor like all the really dangerous revolutionaries in Ireland advocated his principles as "part of the creed of the democracy of the world and not merely as applicable only to the incidence of the struggle of the Irish against England". Now this was part of the very broad international outlook of the Irish leaders. But I think also that a very important aspect that we must not lose sight of which really fired the imagination and interest of others in the world was the brilliance in theory and action, the foresight, the humanity of all the leaders that participated in the Easter Rising, from the suffering and the degradation of Clarke to the magnanimity of James Connolly on his deathbed. I think that this is an important reason why a man like Nehru whose leadership and whose movement subsequently adopted a different road to your struggle in this country, that a man like Nehru could say writing of the Easter Rising that "Ireland is a brave and irrepressible country and not all the might of the British Empire has been able to crush that spirit or cow it into submission". And he could draw the conclusion as a consequence of his own study of Irish history that though the Rising had failed, in its very failure it had triumphed. So while the Rising itself did not have a direct result of setting in motion largescale uprisings in the French Empire, in the British Empire, or in the Portuguese Empire, there were certain consequences.

Now I am due to speak on the Rising and Freedom Movements of the Twentieth Century. I do not intend to give you a historical account of the influence of 1916 on later Rebellions and Revolutions. What I want to examine is the political character of the Rebellion and the various forces taking part in it is a paradigm of similar movements in many other countries. Before I come to this I want to mention two points that are highly significant and which affect my own attitude and my own impression of the Rising. The first point is that the Rising took place in the carnage of the first World War, the war which divided the rest of the world between conflicting imperialisms. Of all the leaders of the Socialist International there were only three leaders in three countries that opposed the war. Strangely enough in South Africa the Labour Party supported the war and as a result there was a breakaway from the Labour Party called the International Socialist League that was founded in 1914 as a reaction against the Second (Socialist) International support for the war. You know that in this country Connolly, in disgust against the opportunism of the English Labour leaders who supported the war, in disgust against the leadership of the Social Democrats in Germany who voted for the war funds and therefore supported the war, was instrumental in getting the Labour movement in this country to oppose the war. The only other country was Imperial Russia where the Social Democrat Federation opposed the war. It is interesting that in these three countries the most important question facing humanity at that time, the war, was opposed. So I find myself in this wonderful situation that my own country was part of the tradition that Connolly had established in 1914. I may say that I was only able to establish this recently when I was doing some research into the attitude of the South African movement towards the Easter uprising.

The first point I want to look at is the composition of the social forces of the 1916 uprising, and to try to relate this as a paradigm to revolutions elsewhere. If we look very carefully we will find that one of the most extraordinary results was the transformation by 1916 in the attitude of James Connolly. Now, James Connolly from about 1905 to about 1913 had insisted that the only revolution that really mattered was the emancipation of the working people, that this was the reality of life in this country. In fact the transformation from this attitude to 1916 which was the first of the national revolutions

development. The 1916 revolutionaries were not sentimental revolutionaries. They visualised independence as an essential prerequisite for the development of a society in Ireland which would 'cherish all the children of the nation equally'. The programme on the Easter Proclamation was a democratic programme, a programme which unified all the diverse social forces in that country and on the basis of which they were able to advance the cause. To James Connolly it seemed that social justice could never be achieved as long as Ireland's economy served the interests of Britain rather than the interests of the Irish people.

A significant Alliance

But Connolly, by 1916, had drawn the conclusion that it was impossible to counterpose socialism to nationalism within Ireland, that this was a false antithesis—they were two different aspects of the one democratic transformation of society. We see this in two extracts I shall give you, one from 1914 and the other from 1915. In 1914 he said: "The Labour Movement in Ireland stands for the ownership of all Ireland by all the Irish. It fights against all things calculated to weaken the hold of the Irish upon Ireland as it fights for all things calculated to strengthen the grasp of the Irish upon Ireland". By 1916 he had moved towards a situation where he would associate his own forces, particularly the Irish Citizen Army born out of the turmoil and the blood of 1913 as a protective force, with the Irish Republican Brotherhood, associated with Clarke and Pearse and the others. This alliance which he was able to form was a significant alliance, and the justification was in this extract in 1915: "That the Irish Citizen Army was the first publicly organised citizens force south of the Boyne. Its constitution pledged and still pledges its members to work for an Irish Republic and for the emancipation of Ireland. It has ever been foremost in all national work and while never neglecting its own special function has always been at the disposal of the forces of Irish nationality for the ends common to all". The last few words are the most significant words of that extract as the Irish Citizen Army, the military arm of the working class, would now be used in alliance with other forces to achieve the "ends common to all". And the ends common to all were the national emancipation of Ireland to national independence. This is the great contribution that Connolly both in his theory, particularly in "Labour in Irish History", and in his practise from January 1916 to that fateful Easter Monday, has left behind for Freedom Movements.

Dangerous illusions

The first point that established quite clearly, and we see it duplicated in the history of national freedom movements elsewhere, was that any aspirations that people may have, that they could safeguard their future through adherence to elusive concepts like dual monarchies, to assimilation of a sponsor country through appealing to the best interests of the imperial country, that all these illusions were really dangerous illusions. He was able to lay down for his own class that he espoused and the class that was dear to his heart and whose liberation was dear to his heart, he was able to convince them that unless there was an alliance with other forces and unless the working class played a significant and preponderant role then, one of two things could happen—the national revolution could fail or the national revolution if it succeeded could take part and go on to roads not in the interests of the class that he supported. These were the most significant contributions that the Easter Rising at this stage had made.

I want to look at two or three countries and investigate the development towards independence and if we examine them we will find that the lesson of Connolly was not lost. I want to look at India, Algeria, Cyprus and South Africa.

For people of my generation the Algerian revolution has had a tremendous effect throughout the world and people identify themselves more with Algeria than with any other country. Interestingly enough the whole history of Algeria's opposition to French imperialism has many direct parallels with this country, physical contiguity with France, cultural and political identification, a very violent, bloody history of occupation, the destruction of the social forces, the destruction of the language, the attempted destruction of the religion of the indigenous population, the widescale movement of population of millions of Algerians from the fertile areas where they grew grain and foodstuffs to rocky areas, where the complete distortion of the economy of Algeria which was, a hundred years ago, a predominantly agricultural country, which a hundred years later imported most of its food and imported a great deal of its wheat—in short, a distortion of the social fabric of the country. The parallels with Ireland are there. The interesting feature of the Algerian revolution was that the history of the Algerian political struggle from the first world war until 1954 when the war of independence started is, in fact, dominated by three predominant motives. First of all the general movement of the politically conscious Algerians from assimilationist demands to militant nationalism. Secondly the continual deflection and sabotage of the liberalising instincts of the metropolitan country by the entrenched colonists in Algeria and, thirdly, the immense difficulty in the circumstances of evolving an effective nationalist strategy.

But we will find that in Algeria until 1954 when the war of independence started that the movement towards

Irish underwent from 1900 to 1916. We find that the first problem in Algeria was a problem of national identification, that after a hundred years of colonial spoliation, after a hundred years of colonial rule the 'slave-hearts' in Algeria lost their belief in an Algerian nation. In fact as late as 1936 Ferhat Abbas, whom one could compare to the Pearse of the 1916 Rising, could say that "I shall not die for the Algerian nation because the Algerian nation does not exist". Connolly said that one of the most important functions of the Gaelic League and the other organisations concerned with culture was that they ought to now encourage the consciousness of an Irish nation, they ought to encourage the Irish people to believe that they were a nation and that they could exist as a nation. The story related by Brian Farrington is I think particularly appropriate because this story is common to all colonial situations. When Douglas Hyde was discussing the finding of the Tara Brooch with the President of the Irish Academy the reaction of the President was: "But the Irish hadn't had a history before the English came to this country". What significance had the Tara Brooch when the feeling that colonial peoples did not have a history, a social structure, a political organisation before imperial rule had started? This feeling was indeed pervasive throughout colonial countries. In fact one of the strongest methods by which imperial countries entrenched themselves was through the educational system where they destroyed the indigenous language and particularly the feeling that the subject peoples had a history, a history which would enable them to find a cohesiveness and to find a unity. The Algerian revolution particularly from 1932 was an attempt by the nationalists to encourage the feeling of identity as Algerians. This was done through the encouragement of the language, through an encouragement of the study of pre-French Algerian society. But at this time, in the nineteen thirties, the nationalists in Algeria were nationalists in name. What they believed in and supported was a policy of assimilation with France. This, in fact, reflects a similar attitude in Irish history.

What the Algerians wanted was to be treated as Frenchmen. They wanted the political and the civil rights of Frenchmen and not independence. But they were soon disabused particularly when the Popular Front government which was supposed to be the most left-wing government that France has ever had, the Leon Brun government, made very timid proposals, even more timid than the proposals of the 1913 British government to give Home Rule to Ireland. These proposals for civil rights to twenty thousand Algerians who would be treated as Frenchmen were, in fact, vetoed by the colonists in Algeria and by the French parliament. This was the great divide because by 1936 the Algerians recognised that one could lay no trust in the protestations of a French parliament, one could lay no trust particularly in the protestations of the French Social Democrats and the French Labour Party. If they relied on the French Labour Party to attain independence for Algeria then they were living in cloud cuckoo land and the great change came in 1944 when the Algerians made certain basic demands. The demands were the kind of demands that I suppose the Irish through the Sinn Fein movement had made around 1910, for Dominion status, for a certain degree of autonomy, encouragement of the Algerian language, the division and the differentiation between Church and State. These were not accepted by France again when Republican France, a de Gaulle France, was fighting for the freedom of small nations, fighting against Nazi Germany.

In 1945 there took place widescale demonstrations through strikes. This turned into a kind of revolution in Algeria and as a result a hundred French-Algerians were killed. The Algerian estimate was that 45,000 Algerians were killed in this general strike and revolution that arose. From 1945 to 1950 the Trade Unions began to play the predominant role. It was the Trade Unions who moved the faint hearts among the lower middle class, the 'salaried'—and those who in fact benefitted through the existence of French rule in Algeria. The Trade Unions and the Socialist forces used pressure on the political movements largely controlled by the middle class to reach some kind of alliance. This, in fact, was the period that Ireland had reached in 1916, the attempt to set up some common front between people of all class groups and the great success of the War of Independence between 1952 and 1961 was the success in forging common links between the working class and the other classes in Algeria. The great tragedy, as the great tragedy in Ireland, was that the 'men of no property' did not retain the leadership of the Algerian revolution.

(To be continued)

A Proud Tradition

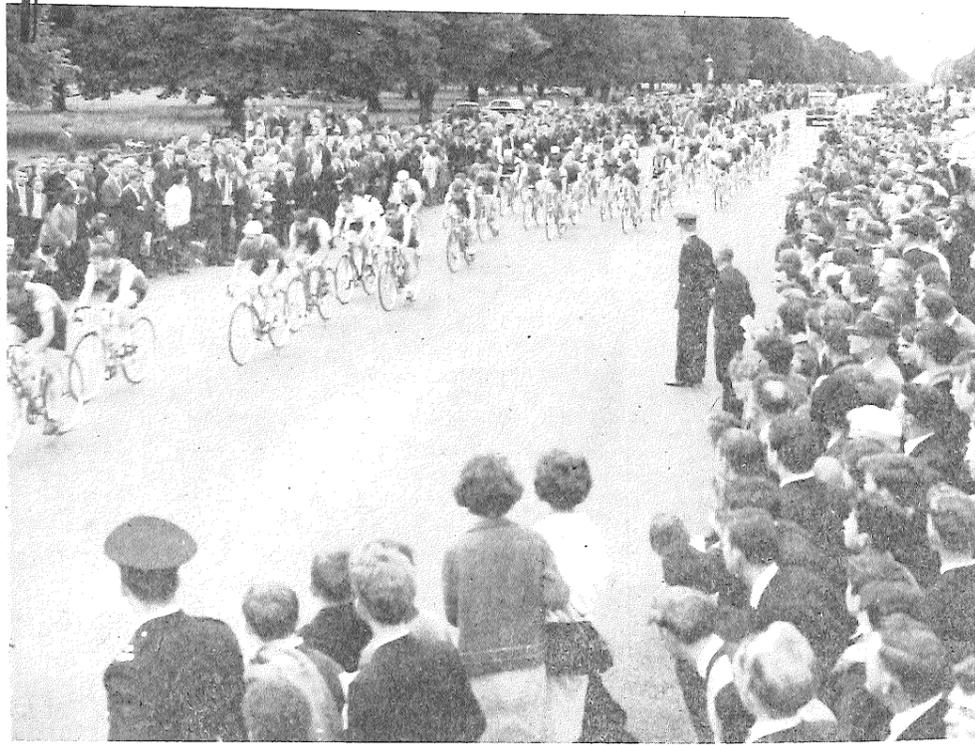


Pictured above are Micheal (left) and Anthony O'Leary of Cork. Both father and son are members of the Cork Volunteer Pipe Band. Micheal was Pipe-Major from 1932 to 1942 and Anthony is the present Major of this famous band which was founded by Tomas MacCurtain in 1915. A proud tradition indeed. At present the VoIs. are raising money for new uniforms, many of the present band being without, and so far they have raised £200 of the £600 needed. This is a cause worthy of the support of the many

Rás Tailteann, 1966

ROUTE OF AN RAS TAILTEANN

July 1st., Friday (Tom Clarke Stage): Dublin — Uaimh (via Ashtown, Clonsilla and Dunshaughlin) 27 miles.
 July 2nd., Saturday (Michael Mallin Stage): An Uaimh — Dundalk (via Kells, Ardee) 42 miles.
 July 3rd., Sunday (Seamus MacDiarmada Stage): Dundalk — Ballyjamesduff (via Castleblaney, Monaghan, Clonsilla, Cavan) 77 miles.
 July 4th., Monday (Eamon Ceannt Stage): Ballyjamesduff — Ballinasloe (via Castlepollard, Mullingar, Athlone) 85 miles.
 July 5th., Tuesday (Colbert Stage): Ballinasloe — Limerick (via Portumna, Scarriff, Ennis) 87 miles.
 July 6th., Wednesday (Tom Kent Stage): Limerick — Killarney (via Newcastlewest, Abbeyfeale, Listowel, Tralee) 95 miles.
 July 7th., Thursday (James Connolly Stage): Killarney — Carrick-on-Suir (Circuit) 30 miles.
 July 8th., Friday (Thomas McDonagh Stage): Carrick-on-Suir (via Mallo, Mitchelstown, Cahir, Clonmel) 98 miles.
 July 9th., Saturday (Joseph Plunkett Stage): Carrick-on-Suir — Kilcullen (via Rye, Kenny, Carlow) 72 miles.
 July 10th., Sunday (Patrick Pearse Stage): Kilcullen — Dublin, Phoenix Park (Circuit) 42 miles.



Last year's finish in Phoenix Park.



Gene Mangan (Kerry)



B. Gallagher (Galway)



B. Monaghan (Down)

Previous Winners

- 1953 Colm Christle, Dublin.
- 1954 Joe O'Brien, Dublin.
- 1955 Gene Mangan, Kerry.
- 1956 Paud Fitzgerald, Kerry.
- 1957 Frank Ward, Dublin.
- 1958 Mick Murphy, Kerry.
- 1959 Ben McKenna, Meath.
- 1960 Paddy Flanagan, Kildare.
- 1961 Tom Finn, Dublin.
- 1962 Seamus O'Hanlon, Dublin.
- 1963 Zbigniew Glowaty, Poland.
- 1964 Paddy Flanagan, Kildare.
- 1965 Seamus O'Hanlon, Dublin.



P. Wall (Tipperary)

On Friday July 1st, An Ras Tailteann starts from Dublin and for the following ten days the great race will pass through eighteen counties in an anti-clockwise circuit of the nation. The event has established itself as one of the highlights of the sporting year in Ireland and its gradual build-up to this eminence has been a remarkable achievement.

The first Ras Tailteann started as a two days race in 1953 with little or no public interest. But even at

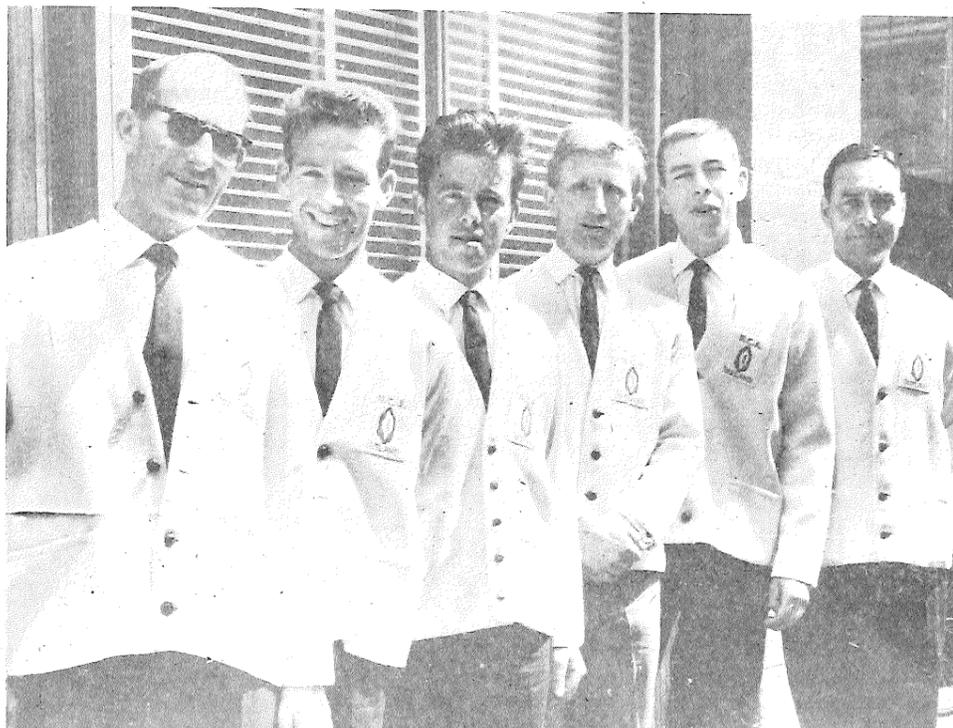
its birth there were signs that this was not simply another cycle race. Before the start a wreath (woven from laurels cut at the scene of the ancient Aonach Tailteann) was laid at the Cuchulainn Statue in the G.P.O. Framed in the wreath was a parchment which dedicated An Ras Tailteann to the ideals of nationhood. The architects of An Ras have made the event through the years since 1953 a symbol of nationhood. Yet these men admit that the real success of An Ras Tailteann is a tribute

to the co-operation of the people of Ireland.

It was wise therefore that an event of such character to the people should in its very name embody a great and glorious title originating way back in the reaches of history.

Aonach Tailteann was the first sports and cultural festival which world history records. The festival was held before Christ came on earth; before Moses was found by the River Nile and we learn in the annals of the Four Masters that it was through Greek traders bringing back to their own country news of the nature and extent of An Aonach Tailteann that the Greeks themselves founded the Olympic Games.

The 1966 Ras Tailteann is dedicated to the Ideals of the 1916 Rising and for this special occasion the event is extended to ten days. Taking part are a host of racing cyclist from the Four Provinces and a team from France.



The Irish team which put Ireland in the forefront of world cycling with their splendid performance in a recent continental tour. Left to right: Mick Christle (Manager), Paddy Flanagan (Kildare), Tony Murphy (Monaghan), Jim Kennedy (Dublin), Seamus O'Hanlon (Dublin) and Jack Ryan (Dublin).



Ben McKenna and Mick Creighton.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE MAN ON THE WHEEL

Na Múinteoirí Taistil. Aindrias O Muimhneacháin. Conradh Gaeilge. 1s.

LEABHRAN staire chugainn ón gConradh in a bhfuil cur síos déanta ar shaothar na múinteoirí taistil sa tréimhse idir 1899 agus 1916. Le linn na mblianta 1898-1909 is mó a tháinig bláth ar obair an Chonartha: 'sna blianta sin a cruthaíodh agus a cothaíodh an réabhlóid agus cuid thábhachtach den obair sin ba ea éacht an mhúinteora taistil—the man on the wheel.

Tá eolas sa leabhrán seo. Deirtear linn nach raibh leath-chéad Craobh den eagraíocht ann sa bhliain 1898, ach go raibh breis agus 600 díobh ann sa bhliain 1902, agus corraíodh ar 750 Craobh sa bhliain 1904. Agus níorbh ionann na craobh na hama sin agus na craobh an lae inniu. Má's aon treoir é líon na ndaoine a d'fhreastalódh ar na ranganna, bhíodh de bhreis ar trí scór duine in aon Craobh díobh coitianta. Ach cé go dtugtar an t-eolas seo dúinn, ní léirítear cén fáth go raibh an scéal amhlaidh ná cé na toscaí len a raibh na múinteoirí seo ag plé seachas a bhfuil de chur síos ar an gcrúatan a d'fhulaing siad mar dhaoine agus iad i mbun na hoibre.

P. Mac Uinseannáin ab ainm don chéad múinteoir taistil a thug aghaidh ar bhóithre na Eireann agus ar mhuintir na hEireann: "Meán Fómhair 2, 1899, is ea chuaigh sé i mbun a dhuailgais nua. Dhá chraobh a bhí faoinne chúram ar dtús — Iúir Chinn Trá agus Camalach—ach laistigh de mhí bhí trí craobhacha eile agus a ranganna iontu faoi sheol aige — i gCairlinn, i gCarragh an Bhráid, agus sa Chocóg—deich gcinn de ranganna aige, 685 duine sna ranganna sin, agus é féin ag imeacht ó cheann go ceann acu ar a rothar a dteagasc. Púnt sa tseachtain an tuarastal a bhí aige."

Faoin mbliain 1904, bhí an oiread sin múinteoirí taistil ann agus an oiread sin múinteoirí den uile chineál, ag teastáil gur cuireadh Coláiste na Mumhan ar bun le oiliúnt fé theagasc na Gaeilge a thabhairt dóibh, go háirithe do na múinteoirí taistil. Faoin mbliain 1906, bhí sé cinn de na



Aindrias O Muimhneacháin

coláistí seo ar fad ann ar fúid na tíre. Tugtar imlíne a fháis seo sa leabhrán seo agus léirítear go mion an fhobhairt a deineadh ar na modhannaí teagaisc, forbairt go bhfuil rian le feiceáil go láidir ar na mhodhannaí múinte atá á gcleachtadh i ngach scoil sa tír a múintear Gaeilge inniu. Is cosúil gur as leabhra mion-tuairiscí an Chonartha agus as an Chlaidheamh Solais is mó a baineadh an teolas atá le fáil san aiste seo ag Aindrias.

Má tá easnamh ar bith san imlíne a tharraigh an túdair is é nach ndéantar trácht morán ar an obair breise a bhíodh ar bun ag na múinteoirí taistil. Tá leidí le fáil 'sna cuspóirí a chuir Cumann na Múinteoirí Taistil roimhis sa mbliain 1904: "(1) Cúis na Gaeilge a chur chun sinn. (2) Déantúsaí na hEireann a chur chun cinn, go mór-mhór deantúsaí na muintire atá ag cabhrú le cúis na Gaeilge. (3) Múinteoirí cliste d'fháil do gach Craobh agus Coiste Ceantair a bheidh á lorg. (4) Cosc a chur le himirce"; agus arís san abairt "murab í an Gaeilge féin a bhíodh á teagasc acu do b'í an Náisiúntacht é."

Is trua gan tuilleadh eolais féna cúrsaí seo bheith ar fáil san leabhrán seo. Bhí an dá intinn ann ag an am sa gConradh faoi'n obair breise seo, an intinn a bhí ag an bPiar-sach ar thaobh amháin agus ag Douglás de hÍde ar an dátaobh eile. Dar leis an gCraobhín, ní cóir go mbeadh baint ag an gConradh le "poilitíocht." A mhalairt a chreid an Piar-sach. Ag scríobh dó sa mBarr Buadh, Bealtaine, 1912, deir sé: "Ní raibh an ceart ag na fearaibh óga do ghabh

le na n-ais an Ghaeilge do chosaint agus a gcúl do thabhairt ar an bpoilitíocht. 'Sé ba chóra dhóibh do dhéanamh freastal ar an bpoilitíocht i nGaeilge. Do b'fheirde an Ghaeilge é. Nílimid a rá gur ceart do Chonradh na Gaeilge féin, i dtús ná anois ná aon uair, baint do bheith aige le poilitíocht. Ach ba cheart go mbeadh baint ag gach duine dá leanann de Chonradh na Gaeilge le poilitíocht, agus gurab í an Ghaeilge do tharraingidís chuca chun ceist-eanna poilitíochta a phlé. Dá mbeadh fir óga an Chonartha ag taisteal na tíre agus iad ag gríosadh Gael in aghaidh Gall i nGaeilge, nár thairbhighe agus nár bh uaisle do ghnó dhóibh é iona bheith ag taisteal na tíre ag moladh na Gaeilge agus gan mórán toraidh ar a nglórthaibh?" Ní thugaim an méid sin i gceist ach gur ábhar conspóide i gConradh an lae inniu an seasamh ar chóir don Chonradh a ghlacadh i saoil poilitíochta na tíre agus go mb'fhiú conspóidí na linne úd a scrúdú ar mhaithe le treoir d'fáil. Theastóidh leabhar eile le cur síos ceart a dhéanamh ar an gcoimhlint intinne seo a tharraing an oiread sin clampair ag Ard Fheis na bliana 1915. Treoir leabhar speisiúil é an ceann seo ar fiú é léamh.

S. T. O.

Will Help Co-Ops

Just what is the aim of Comhar Linn? Comhar Linn's purpose is to raise capital to assist incipient co-operatives by supplying (a) Educational facilities, (b) Organisers and (c) Risk Capital.

Would you elaborate on that somewhat?

Well, as regards education in Co-operation people need to have the Co-operative idea explained to them. There is the old Irish proverb, "Ní neart go cur le chéile", and we want to show the people that there is virtually nothing they do individually that cannot be done better co-operatively. Yet education cannot end there. Even when people come together to form a Co-operative there is generally a need to show them how to get started.

But even to get them

Our first effort has been in the nature of a weekly lottery. This operates just like a football pool. We raised a considerable amount of capital for this and it is now all spent. However, we have at last arrived at the break-even point. But it has been bitterly disappointing that it took so much time, trouble and capital to get there.

Had you expected to break even much earlier and, if so, what delayed you?

We had believed that we would be making a profit by now. However, though we met with goodwill and good wishes everywhere, there were very few indeed who were willing to go out and get subscribers. Possibly that was due to the fact that we were looking for members who would subscribe two shillings a week and our prize

Tomás O Dochartaigh, General Manager of Comhar Linn talks to Tony Meade about his organisation and its aims.

into their pockets to provide financial help. I am glad to say that Republicans of the 'twenties, 'thirties, 'forties, 'fifties and 'sixties are still doing that. We would welcome that sort of "infiltration" from any source. Republicans have been asked to "infiltrate" in this way but appear disinclined.

What is Comhar Linn's immediate need?

People who will take a book, secure members and see that the book and cash arrive in our offices each Saturday in time for the weekly competitions. And I am not talking about big books (the man who will get us a hundred members is, of course, more than welcome) but even six members is worthwhile and anyone could get six members if he tried. Co-operation is everybody's business and mere good wishes are just no use.

I suppose you consider that the co-operative movement is the only way to make the small farms economic?

I doubt if there is any other way at all. But it would be a mistake to consider the co-operative movement as an economic one only. True the Glencolumbkille experiment led to the establishment of a vegetable processing plant which has made the growing of crops in this area a worthwhile proposition. By reason of this fact the young people of Glencolumbkille can now earn a livelihood in the Glen. But people, and particularly young people, need more than work and Father MacDyer and the spirit of co-operation in the Glen have provided a playing field, a local hall, ceilithe, film shows — the whole gamut of social life. It is literally true that one can lead a fuller life in Glencolumbkille than in any place in Dublin.

It has been said that Comhar Linn and Dochas are an unnecessary duplication and that they are in fact rival organisations. Is there any truth in this?

Dochas, like ourselves, are endeavouring to raise funds for the co-operative movement. If any rivalry ever arises I hope it will be a "holy rivalry" as exists between religious orders working for the same cause in different ways. But it would be a funny thing if cooperatives could not co-operate. While Dochas searches for people who will each lend five pounds to the co-operative movement, we are looking for people who will subscribe a shilling or two shillings per week to a lottery for the same purpose. We hope Dochas will raise a very considerable sum and, I am sure that Dochas has the same hopes for us; and any movement ever since 1919 has always helped the cooperative sacrifice and Republicans have always been ready to dig deep given enthusiastically.



Ethna Viney and Roy Johnston with Fr. McDyer.

together, and then to keep them together and get the work started, — all this needs organisers. Quite a lot has been done by voluntary organisers, but the employment of full-time, fully trained organisers would multiply and expedite results.

Thirdly when people have got together and formed a co-op there is generally some capital required. Having subscribed to their personal limits, they often find that they have not enough. There is, at present, no one to provide the balance and it is this we are thinking of when we say that Comhar Linn aims to provide Risk Capital for new co-ops.

Would it be too early to ask you whether you have yet been able to supply any of the three things you mentioned?

Oh no! not too early at all. We conducted a three month course on co-operation in Liberty Hall, Dublin. It was a very good course: we provided films, lecturers, printed material and conducted discussions. In all, this was a very successful course and it was free and open to the public.

Has any field work in organisation been done?

Virtually all our Directors are people who have been doing this work voluntarily for many years and the commencement of Comhar Linn has spurred them on to greater efforts. Co-operative workers all over the country know and respect the work of Mrs. Ethna Viney, Dr. Roy Johnston, Seamus O Mongain and Seamus Mac Riocaird. Ethna and Roy are engaged in co-operative work in Longford, Mayo, Cork and Kerry; Seamus O Mongain has given trojan service to the co-operative movement in Mayo; and Seamus Mac Riocaird is indefatigable in his efforts to help the fisherman's Co-ops. Yet we have not been able to give a token payment towards their expenses as yet, not to talk of putting full time organisers on the road.

fund was only £330. Now, however, we can take members at one shilling per week and our weekly prize fund is £1,000.

With so much publicity about the co-operative movement, possibly it is the only single thing which everyone praises, I should have thought that you would have no difficulty in finding people who would take a book and enroll their friends?

Well it is difficult to understand the mind of the passive "good wisher". In the field of co-operation, as in the fields of the language and of political independence, people seem to think that all they have to do is wish and their dreams come true. That is not to deny that we have some utterly tireless supporters, but when one thinks of the places in which men are unemployed and families underfed and all because of the lack of a little capital — capital which grows from the accumulated efforts of many people — one wishes that we had a Pearse or a Connolly or a MacSwiney to shock men and women into activity for their people.

What do you think of the suggested infiltration of the co-operative movement by the Republican movement?

Firstly let me say that one of the chief reasons I believe in the cooperative way of life is because it is a mathematical impossibility to take over a co-op. The co-op. is controlled on the democratic principle of one man one vote and therefore it is virtually impossible for anyone to "take it over". But the Republican movement ever since 1919 has always helped the cooperative movement through work, and help that either organisation sacrifice and Republicans have always been ready to dig deep given enthusiastically.

A Novel Of The Rising

Dé Luain. Eoghan O Tuairisc. Allen Figgis, Baile Atha Cliath. 224 pp. 15/-.

The time of this latest book by O Tuairisc is the twelve hours from Sunday midnight until the Angelus bell on Easter Monday morning. The subject is the birth of the Easter Rising in all its tension and drama as portrayed in the thoughts, feelings and actions of most of the leading personae dramatis of the time, including those of people who have come to prominence since that time.

Taking for granted a good knowledge of the facts of the Rising, O Tuairisc is free to portray the feelings and passions of protagonist and antagonist alike and so breaks new ground and provides an original and sobering viewpoint for veterans in literature of the period. The extra dimension which marks this book apart from all others in the field is supplied by the creative faculty but is too firmly rooted in the known facts to be dismissed as pure fiction: Particularly noteworthy is the exploration of the jealousy and distrust, culminating in the countermanding order, which existed between MacNeill and his supporters on the one hand and

frailty of the inquisitive we ask — did it really happen?

The style of writing used is a development of that used with success by the author in "L'Attaque" (an imaginative recreation of '98 in Mayo). An interweaving pattern of pictorial impression, vignettes, dramatic monologues, and literary allusions (from three literatures!), is the technique used to fan the reader's imagination to comprehension and realisation by a process of sublimation. It is this style of presentation that gives the book some of its finest and dullest moments: the chords of fate seem to be struck too often and too sonorously and tend at times to be obvious and artificial.

Allen Figgis must be praised for publishing a book of such ambition and value. Careless proofing and layout defects make it fall short of the standard for Irish books set and maintained by Sairséal agus Dill in all their productions, but at fifteen shillings the book is a good

COMHAR LINN

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Ní neart go cur le céile.

Gaelic Sports Review

A KILKENNY — LIMERICK

FINAL FORECAST

by Maurice Hogan

*Great was their deed; and to an end magnificent,
And with strange joy they hushed their melody
To captain those whose lips no song has graced,
Hands that awhile had graced the racing pen,
The frail revealer of their visioning,
Now clutched firm guns, for that their souls had filled
With storm that needs must issue in a flame,
And stream, not black, but in ensanguined flood.*

*They sing again, but now in spirit-wise,
and we, below, do mourn impoverished
Thinking of earthly songs they might have made.
But hark!! A voice speaks down admonishing;
"Did you not know we stayed but for a while?
Did you not hear the burden of our song?
Read, and this truth you will discover there:
No songs had we but the heart's overflow,
The sad, sweet cry of Eire to her sons,
Which, answering, we carried down the wind
To lure men's hearts to her.
Such is the order of heroic years,
Vision, interpreting, and deed to consummate.
Therefore, mourn not our song should cease
But be ye glad that after flower, came fruit."*

—Robert Farren

We do know that for after Olly Walsh had lost another year at least Tipperary has ceased in a title winning sense to be the centre of gravity. Few amongst us can cross our hearts and say "I told you so," and fewer still can restrain a feeling of inner conflict, if we get down to studying what has happened, and endeavour to relate it to the likely winning trends in July. To attempt this is to run head-on into all manner of contradictions. The dapper Kilkenny hurlers were, for instance, the toast of all Gaeldom for the poise and confidence which brought them with full marks through a tension packed, scoreless, closing quarter in mid-May.

It was the unrelenting type of struggle that spotlighted every little want in hurling hunger, every little imperfection from the physical fitness aspect, that can in a crisis make a possible scoring chance appear to be not worth chasing.

Two incidents will ever remain etched in the memory of all who lived through the white heat of those closing exchanges: (a) Pat Henderson's contempt for the numerical odds that were stacked against him as he swept the ball to safety down the Hogan Stand sideline and (b) Kilkenny's providential escape

sight on the fringe of the goal-line of the one ball he had fumbled. Could they be paraded as indictments of a loss of edge against opposing forces whose proud heritage has long been based on dash and dare-devilry? Many made the case that a goal-mouth escape such as this could not have happened had Sean McLoughlin been on duty but we have now to accept this evidence in its wider concept. A hurling tiredness born of the strain of incessant strife had at last got mighty Tipp and confidence which brought judgment had to be deferred until the evidence was affirmed by Limerick.

LIMERICK'S HOUR OF GLORY

And affirmed it was, to the point where the holders must have thought that the hurricane Alma was on the rampage. Opening and closing quarters of positive brilliance by Limerick completely cancelled out what Tipperary accomplished in between. The yard or two which the fleet-footed challengers had to spare in the run-up, coupled with the delightful fluency of their striking, particularly in the K. Long, T. O'Brien, B.

Hartigan and E. Cregan instances had their less mobile opponents in real trouble when it came to holding them at bay, while Herbertstown 6 feet plus J. J. Bresnan, and flankers almost as well favoured in physique E. Rea and J. McDonagh, had something still in reserve after every positional artifice to break their resistance had been tried and found wanting. And, granted that it was a team victory, it was also a big personal triumph for 3-5 Cloughaun crack marksman Eamon Cregan.

As recently as '63 Eamon, in company with A. Duns-worth, then in goal, was on the losing end of the Minor final against Wexford, and a year later he captained the local C.B.S. to their first ever Harty Cup final success. He skimmed like a swallow in the June sunshine to exact a terrible retribution from defenders who not so long ago were believed to be impenetrable, but then hurling is in his blood. When Limerick's fortunes were at their meridian and a pale green jersey was an honour not lightly bestowed, part of the winning line-up read: Tom Shinn; Ned Cregan, Tom McCarthy, Mick Kennedy, Mick Cross, Paddy Clohessy, Garret Howard. Are those nostalgic days in the process of returning? Should the answer be yes it will be another blow struck for those whose reliance is placed on youth. There may be others — the name Savage seems to ring a bell — but E. Grimes was on the team that lost the final to Dublin in '65 and Bresnan, Carey, O'Brien and McDonagh helped in the defeat of Galway in the All Ireland Minor Final of 1958.

All Ireland Final day may be with us before we know in full where we erred most in acclaiming those whose out of the blue successes over Tipperary lose something of their giant killing glitter when all the circumstances are viewed calmly at a distance. You must get the breaks to reach the top and they who would retain this eminence are still more dependent upon them. That Lady Luck had decided to lavish her favours elsewhere was the only possible deduction after bereavements, injuries and absentees had all taken their toll. They would be more than human who could weather a three-pronged adversity of this magnitude and now July gets down in real business-like fashion to spotlighting their likely successors.

THE PATHOS OF PARTING

For all but a score of years Waterford hurling has been spoken of in terms of Philly Grimes, Mick Flannelly, Seamus Power while the seasoned but not so long serving Martin Og Morrissey had also become a household name.

They will be missing from the blue-piped white brigade that tackles Galway in the first of the Munster

semi-finals at Limerick and somehow it carries all the pathos of parting with old friends to peruse a Waterford line-up that no longer includes the accomplished Mount Sion quartette. And while confidence may as yet be voiced in something of an undertone, Waterford's form in a try-out with Limerick was good enough to suggest that they will be still in the reckoning when the Munster final gets under way on July 24. And, have you noticed how the unavailability of Thurles due to the big reconstruction scheme has reacted to the obvious advantage of Limerick, who in three games running will have had close-up studies at the Ennis Road grounds of the strong and not so strong links in the armour of their prospective opponents.

Any possible suggestion of complacency will have been banished by the spirit of urgency that actuated both Cork and Clare in their drawn game. It was waged in circumstances in which one or other had an unanswerable alibi had the occasion shown them to have submitted to the resolve-destroying barbs of fate. Assailed as they were from within and without they showed tremendous heart. How ironic it all seems that those who gave most in the cause of good external relations should find their efforts boomerang back so destructively, but fortunately a decision was withheld, and the two weeks' grace resulting from it will have given sorely tried officials the time they needed to win back the confidence that can stem only from mental composure. Not since '61 has the Ennis Road

enclosure been called upon to cater for the multitudes who aim at seeing this replay. In its own right this pairing could fill this well appointed venue to capacity, but time marches on, so in also as though by way of attraction incentive goes the Waterford v Galway semi-final.

BIRR UNDER ECLIPSE

And because of this, Birr is a somewhat unhappy choice for the second of the Leinster semi-finals between Kilkenny and Offaly, who have for some months now been much in the hurling news; the former in winning Division I of the National League and Offaly staking an indisputable claim in annexing the honours in Division II to be the most improved of all the challenging counties. But defensive lapses when issues appear to have been sewn up by enterprising up-field men have stayed with them all the time, and until this fault has been corrected not even the heart they put into their hurling can give them more than a gambler's chance of appearing in their first Leinster Senior final since 1928.

Following their long overdue victory over Tipperary there were pictures depicting the defensive technique of Pat Henderson, Jim Lynch and Jim Treacy, that would make a valuable contribution to any text-book on the art of airtight resistance. Even opponents with the free scoring credentials of Tony Doohy and Paddy Molloy are

unlikely to prise it open, so the result apart, it should be a repeat of the Wexford-Kilkenny '65 final in Croke Park on July 17. Was there an element of fluke in the clutter of scores that cascaded Wexford into a late lead on that occasion and left their non-plussed opponents with insufficient time to mount an effective recovery bid? The answer will be different on opposite rims of the Blackstairs ranges, but without taking sides in neighbouring feuds it would seem that the wily Noresiders have meantime derived more benefits from that reverse than did Wexford from victory.

Taking all the grades in bulk it is questionable if any other county can stand abreast of Wexford in general standard. Apart from '62 when Carlow effected their big break-through, they have literally owned Inter grade in Leinster throughout its five years' span and have fashioned two All Ireland title-winning selections in addition. This should normally be the last jumping off ground to senior status and yet what difficulties their selectors have run into over the same term, after say ten of their tried and trusted have been allocated positions. With eight counties still in the running — Wexford, Kilkenny and Offaly in Leinster, and Limerick, Cork, Clare, Waterford and Galway in Munster, it is strutting in where angels fear to tread to essay a long-term forecast but just to be difficult and different I take more than a chance. I take infinite pleasure in feeling that the chance is still there for a return to the glories of the 30s, the era when the Kilkenny-Limerick duels set the hurling heather ablaze.

Sympathy

The Ard-Chomhairle of Sinn Féin has voted sympathy with the McDermott family of Kiltyclogher, Co. Leitrim on the death of Mrs. Margaret McDermott, sister of Seán Mc Diarmada, one of the signatories of the 1916 Proclamation.

The McDermott family has always been loyal to Republican principles. During the latest resistance campaign in the six occupied counties their home was raided and searched by 26-County forces who were patrolling the Border.

The Jubilee Year Felons

Twenty-two men and one 16-year-old boy are at present in jail as Republicans.

Crumlin Road Prison, Belfast
Michael Kieran, Sean Murphy, Joseph McCann, John Watson, Henry O'Neill.

Mountjoy Prison, Dublin

Robert McKnight, Denis Carmichael, Laurence Malone, Anthony Murray, Liam Boylan, Noel Murphy, Noel Ridigan, Sean Garland, Malachy Haughey, Leo Steenson, Michael Murray, Joseph Coughlan, Martin Killeavy, John Stone, Michael O'Connor, St. Patrick's Borstal, Dublin
Simon O'Donnell.

Limerick Prison
Walter Dunphy.

Socialist Youth Union call for Inquiry

The Irish Association of Labour Student Organisations was represented at the Eighth Congress of the International Union of Socialistic Youth in Vienna last month by Mr. Michael Farrell.

The Congress unanimously passed a resolution on Ireland calling for an investigation by the British Government of religious discrimination and the electoral law in the Six Counties and immediate steps to end these abuses. The resolution also called for the immediate repeal of the Special Powers Act and the Offences Against the State Act.

A further resolution condemned the proposed anti-Trade Union legislation in the 26 Counties and the increasingly anti-worker bias of the Lemass Government.

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LEACHT DO DHONAL O REAGAIN (Dan O'Regan Memorial)

The memorial to the late Dan O'Regan will be unveiled in

St. Joseph's Cemetery, Ballyphehane, Cork, on July 17, 1966.

MASS: Holy Trinity Church at 8 a.m.

PARADE: From Halla Thomais Aghais to Fr. Matthew Quay at 11 a.m.

UNVEILING: At 11.45 a.m. (approx.).

The Memorial Committee is deeply appreciative of all financial help received and take this opportunity of thanking all those who subscribed.

"The national territory consists of the whole island of Ireland, its islands and the territorial seas."—Article 2.

Jamer McNellis writes on

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The '37 Constitution

CONSTITUTIONAL government in Ireland, as we know it to-day, began with the 1937 Constitution. Few Irishmen fully understand the document although most of us are familiar with its more general provisions. We learned in our early school days that the Constitution provides for an Uachtaran or President and two legislative chambers called the Dáil and the Senate. We know the Dáil appoints (through the President) the Taoisach or Prime Minister. However, beyond this, the average citizen knows little more. What rights are guaranteed by the Constitution? Are our civil liberties protected by the Constitution? How do our courts operate? How does one contest an unconstitutional law? How does the Constitution treat the Six Counties? These are all questions too few can answer. We will not attempt to present here a study in depth of the Constitution. However, we will attempt a short, concise analysis of the more important aspects of the Constitution and discuss their meaning to the average layman. It will serve our purposes if this analysis gives rise to further interest and study by the reader on a subject of major concern to all Irishmen in an age when personal liberty is the driving force of all human progress, political, social and economic.

The Constitution has been described by some legal experts as "bizarre", by others "unique", by still others, "inconsistent". It creates rights and then takes them away. It created a judicial system and then limits the authority of the courts it has created. It purports to have authority over all of Ireland including the Six Counties but suspends the operation of the Constitution over the latter "pending re-integration of the national territory". For these and many other reasons, the Constitution leaves much to be desired. Let us examine some of those provisions which have given rise to controversy among legal authorities at home and abroad.

Perhaps the most bizarre aspect of the Constitution is found in Articles 2 and 3. Article 2 reads as follows:

"The national territory consists of the whole island of Ireland, its islands and the territorial seas."

The sovereignty set forth in Article 2 is suspended in part by Article 3 which states:

"Pending the re-integration of the national territory, and without prejudice to the right of the Parliament and Government established by this Constitution to exercise jurisdiction over the whole of that territory, the laws enacted by that Parliament shall have the like area and extent of application as the laws of Saorstát Éireann and the like extra-territorial effect."

By reason of Article 3 — Domination over our "national territory" as declared in Article 2 is deliberately suspended in the area of the Six Counties, "pending the re-integration of the national territory". In other words the right to govern one part of our sovereign nation is deliberately suspended in the same Constitution which asserts the right of sovereignty. In effect, the sovereign concedes it is not sovereign. It is claimed by some authorities that the Constitution in effect, legitimatises the partition of the Six Counties and recognises Britain's claim to the area. Unfortunately, the Constitution is subject to this interpretation. The constitutional position on partition, as outlined by Article 3, is somewhat inconsistent. While it is true that surrender of

"pending the integration of the national territory—", nowhere does the Constitution define "integration" and nowhere does it outline a policy of terminating "integration". Indeed Article 3 is unique in the annals of western constitutional law in that the sovereign acknowledges its lack of sovereignty over a vast area of its domain. Our constitutional provision on this subject is unknown in any other Anglo-Saxon or European constitutional document. It is a position Irish legal experts find difficult to explain and justify.

Civil liberties are outlined in Article 40 of the Constitution. These include (1) equality before the law, the right of privacy, freedom of speech, freedom of religion and the right to freedom of association and assembly. However, these basic rights are unfortunately not made absolute rights by the Constitution for Article 40 Sub-division 3 states that they are guaranteed "as far as practicable" and no further. This provision has the effect of nullifying our co-called "bill of rights" and, as has happened in the past, we have no civil rights if the governing authorities decide it is not "practicable" to allow them. The Offences Against the State Act is but one example of a situation wherein basic human rights are suspected as not being "practicable". Unlike the English and American citizen who enjoys absolute civil liberties under their respective constitutions, the Irishman has no absolute civil liberties. His exist at the pleasure of the authorities by reason of Articles 38 and 40 and legislation enacted pursuant thereto.

A glaring example of a civil right granted and then withdrawn is found in Article 38 of the Constitution wherein it is provided in Section 1 that

"No person shall be tried on any criminal charge save in due process of law."

This Section appears to afford a citizen a valuable right, at first glance at least. However, the right is withdrawn by Sub-division 3 which allows the government to suspend the right to due process by setting up "special courts" in any case where it appears to the government that "the ordinary courts are inadequate to secure the effective administration of justice,

lic peace and order". It also eliminates the citizen's rights under Section 5 which provides that "no person shall be tried on any criminal charge without a jury". In other words, your right to trial in criminal cases and your right to due process of law are eliminated whenever the government in power decides to withdraw these basic rights. Under these circumstances, the citizen faces a military tribunal, in special hearings which are secret and presided over by army officers with no legal training. In effect the regularly established civil and criminal courts and juries are suspended and your constitutional rights are terminated. (See part 5 and 6 of the Offences Against the State Act for provision relating to the termination of civil liberties and the suspension of our established court system).

The power to make laws is vested in the national parliament or Oireachtas under Article 15 of the Constitution. Section 4 of this Article provides that "The Oireachtas shall not enact any law which is in any respect repugnant to this Constitution or any provision thereof." This directive to parliament would seem to afford broad protection to the citizenry. However, the protection is less real when we consider the fact that a citizen has no right to attack the constitutionality of a law in certain cases outlined in Section 3 of Article 34. This latter section states that "No court shall have jurisdiction to question the validity of the law—" if the Bill setting up the law was referred to the Supreme Court before it was enacted into law. By the use of this device, a citizen is deprived of the right to contest in court a law which he feels is unconstitutional.

In other words, certain laws are beyond protest and must be obeyed without first undergoing a judicial test of validity. This unique device has been severely criticized by international legal authorities as it manifestly permits the political party in power to enact legislation without responsibility to the people for its effects and consequences. The section reads as follows. Article 34 Section 3—

"No Court whatever shall have jurisdiction to question the validity of a law, or any provision of a law, the Bill for which shall have been referred to the Supreme Court by the President under Article 26 of this Constitution, or to question the validity of a provision of a law where the corresponding provision in the Bill for such law shall have been referred to the Supreme Court by the President under the said Article 26."

This constitutional technique is unknown in other countries where, like ours, the Anglo-Saxon system of justice is applied. Indeed, it is an elementary rule of law that no court may pass upon the validity of any law until such time as the law is enforced in a given

justifiable issue arises from its enforcement. In other words, there must first be a legal dispute growing out of the application of the law. Upon enforcement of the law, an "aggrieved" party can contest the validity of the law. Then, and only then, can a court exercise its functions. As is obvious the Constitution provides that an aggrieved party (one injured by the law's enforcement) has no right to contest the law and goes one step further and deprives the courts of jurisdiction to even hear such a case. This device has made it possible to enact the Offences Against the State Act a law which cannot be contested by any citizen for the simple reason that the people are deprived of the right to do so and the courts lack jurisdiction to entertain such litigation.

The constitutional problem is further complicated by the fact that the Supreme Court cannot disclose any dissenting opinions in cases under Article 34 and in fact cannot even disclose the fact that the judges disagreed in its rulings. Article 34 Section 5). The disclosure of dissent on the issue would, of course, give rise to further discussion of possible demand for corrective legislation. Section 5 reads as follows:

"The decision of the Supreme Court on a question as to the validity of a law having regard to the provisions of this Constitution shall be pronounced by such one of the judges of that Court as that Court shall direct, and no other opinion on such question, whether assenting or dissenting, shall be pronounced, nor shall the existence of any such other opinion be disclosed."

In a free society, there seems to be no justification for such suppression of judicial dissent. Indeed, dissenting opinions very often become majority opinions in later cases, especially where the composition of the court is altered by retirement and new appointments. The sections outlined above are all the more significant when we consider that Supreme Court judges are appointed by the President and are not elected by the people (Article 35 Section 1). Moreover they cannot be removed from the court except for "misbehaviour or incapacity" (Section 4). The President's power of appointment is therefore impressive since he can determine the character of the supreme court by the type of appointments he chooses to make and thereby affect the type of decision the court will make.

The Constitution, as presently drawn, falls far short of affording Irishmen many of the rights and guarantees of our oft dreamed Republic. The Republic is, in fact, not even mentioned in the Constitution; and, as is obvious from the above analysis, we do not enjoy a Republican form of government. It is true that all references to the "Crown", the "Commonwealth of Nations" and the

"Governor General" were removed from the 1937 Constitution but, unfortunately, these deletions do not create the rights and guarantees generations of Irishmen have so long sought after. A people are only as free as their Constitution permits them to be free. Our liberties are drastically limited under the Constitution by reason of the restrictions contained therein. The authority of the state is made omnipotent while the rights of the citizen are made subservient to the state. The Constitution, as an instrument of national fulfilment is a failure—at least from the legal and political point of view. It is almost as if the framers of the Constitution disbelieved the old maxim that "Liberty is always dangerous, but it is the safest thing we have." This conclusion logically follows from the fact that the constitution, as presently drawn, treats the granting of complete liberty to the people as an unsafe measure creating a danger to the state. The time for constitutional reform is long overdue.

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Is í An Phoblacht ár gcuspóir.

STAND GUARD

FROM what one can learn in Trade Union circles in Dublin, the proposed Anti-Union legislation to be introduced by the 26-County Government is of a variety guaranteed to raise the hackles of every working man. With the invincible and blind contempt of high Tories for the man in the street, the Fianna Fail "statesmen" have decided, no doubt with the full approval of the business interests they serve, to curb the march to a better standard of life of the ordinary people.

And this legislation will be introduced in an atmosphere of National emergency. We are already being told that the state of the economy is due to the rapacity of the workers, to the never ending demands of the wage-earners for more. We are continually told that the workers demand more money and shorter hours but do nothing to increase productivity.

Surely productivity is the business of the managerial class in which this country abounds.

We share many things with Britain and, thanks to Mr. Lemass, we will share more as time passes. And one of the criticisms levelled at the British economy at the present time is that its managers have failed to keep pace with the march of progress, they have failed to keep abreast of developments. We can be confident that a similar survey of Irish management would yield a like result.

Recently one of Ireland's managers, Mr. Tod Andrews, received a retirement gift of £8,000 from C.I.E. He will also receive a pension in excess of £3,000 per annum. And this became public knowledge at a time when the politicians were in full cry at the workers' 'rapacity'.

If it is responsible for a man in Andrews' position to receive such outrageously high emoluments from a company which has not shown a profit in years, how can it be seriously suggested that the worker should wait?

The policy of Fianna Fail is the policy of moral bankruptcy. It has consistently moved to the right as it became more and more dependent on business for its Party finance. It is as out of touch with reality and the people of Ireland as was the Tory Party of Britain prior to its collapse. Long rule and the absence of a worthwhile opposition has given it the stupid arrogance of a 16th century Spanish Grandee.

Now it has reached the last lap on its course to extinction. For the Trade Union movement will and must fight the coming attempt to reduce their organisations to the status of Government appendages. There can be no compromise on the right to strike. That right was hard earned. Nor will the rank and file Trade-Unionists relinquish the rights of the Branch to any Executive which, by its very nature, is removed from the cut and thrust of factory level difficulties.

Lemass has a fight on his hands. The Unions have a fight on their hands too. Let Republicans throw their weight on the side of Democracy, on the side of those whose best interests are at stake in the coming battle.

WE NEED HELP!

For seventeen years the United Irishman has been the voice of Irish Republicanism: a steadfast witness to the people's wishes, an enemy of bluff and compromise. It has survived the wrecking of its presses, the hostility of governments, the slander of the opportunists. It is an achievement unique in European publishing history.

The United Irishman has always been sensitive to the needs of the time and to the most effective ways of fulfilling Republican national aims. It offers a platform for the most vigorous and progressive ideas which elsewhere are stifled by the forces of reaction. To-day the paper before its job is...

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SINN FEIN ASK FOR PROTEST

The following was issued by Sinn Fein on June 18:

Three Belfast men are being prosecuted by the Stormont administration on the grounds that they did not give the R.U.C. advance notice of the Easter Commemoration parade held on April 17 last. It is quite possible that they will be jailed on this charge.

As the holding of this parade was common knowledge for months beforehand this ridiculous charge is merely an excuse for taking punitive action against Belfast Republicans. Not only was the holding of the parade widely known beforehand, but a special Stormont cabinet committee had been meeting for weeks before Easter to decide what attitude should be taken towards all the Golden Jubilee functions, and an excursion train from Dublin was banned some days before.

Quite possibly this is also an effort to divert attention from the disturbances caused recently by the Rev. Mr. Paisley who has been fomenting sectarian strife and is aided and abetted by the R.U.C. in this.

Sinn Féin asks the Irish people who turned out in their thousands last Easter to honour our patriot dead to protest now against the latest attacks on the Belfast Republicans who organised their wonderful tribute in spite of intimidation from Her Majesty's Government and indifference towards continued British aggression by the 26-County regime.

O'Farrell Memorial

ELIZABETH O'FARRELL, who carried Pearse's message of surrender to the British, is to be commemorated by a newly-established foundation for nursing education and research.

A committee, including women who were active with Nurse O'Farrell in the Rising, and members of the medical profession, has been formed for this purpose. The official announcement was made last month at a conference in the Gresham Hotel, Dublin.

Sighe Bean Uí Dhonnchada, committee chairman, said that Nurse O'Farrell had come to the attention of the public during the Easter Week Commemoration, particularly due to the "Insurrection" series on television.

"So many people asked me about the nurse who courageously carried despatches and tended the wounded in the G.P.O. that a group of us decided that something should be done to honour her memory," she said.

The committee is working in collaboration with the Irish Nurses' Organisation. Appeals for funds will be made throughout the country, primarily to women's organisations. Miss Maureen McCabe, president of the I.N.O., said that opportunities for post-graduate nursing education are extremely limited in Ireland. The foundation proposes to supplement activities now sponsored by international agencies, such as the World Health Organisation, statutory bodies and private professional groups.

Nurses would be sent abroad for further education and the committee hopes eventually to establish needed facilities in Ireland. A plaque commemorating Nurse O'Farrell is to be placed in the new wing of the National Maternity Hospital, where Nurse O'Farrell qualified. A medal will be given annually by the committee to the highest qualified nurse of the year.

Lily Sellers Fined

At Belfast Magistrate's Court on June 9, Ann McKnight (18) McAuley Street, Belfast; Mary Hughes (18) Irwin St., Belfast and Oliver Quinn (20) Percy St., Belfast, were each fined 40s. for selling Easter Lilies outside St. Malachy's Church on Easter Sunday last.

Denied political treatment

Simon O'Donnell, a twenty-year old Dublin man, is still undergoing solitary confinement in St. Patrick's Borstal, Dublin. He was sentenced to two months' imprisonment in late May on charges of assaulting Special Branch detectives when they were making an arrest after a public meeting in Dublin.

Pickets protesting against the treatment of Mr. O'Donnell, who has been denied political treatment, paraded outside the G.P.O. during the month. The Sinn Fein Ard Comhairle also issued a statement in protest.

BODENSTOWN

(from lch 1)

which Cathal Goulding received when laying a wreath, as the "Independent" said, "on behalf of an illegal organisation". Clann na nGael was represented by Miss Loretta O'Leary and Tom McGuigan laid a wreath on behalf of Philadelphia Clann na nGael. Tom spoke a few words on behalf of the organisation in the States, pledging the support of the exiles to the Republican Movement. David Kissane represented Clann na hEireann.

The oration was short and to the point, continuing the precedent of recent years. More and more the Bodentown oration is seen as the major policy speech of the Movement for the succeeding twelve months.

And then it was over and the long march to Sallins commenced. There was only time for a brief chat with friends from other parts of the country and then it was goodbye. Until next year.

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BARGAINS FOR ALL TASTES.

Anti-Worker Laws. From Lch. 1.

Repeal Campaign Commences

If they are tried and convicted on indictment they are liable to a fine not exceeding £5,000 and a further fine of not more than £100 for every day on which the offence is continued. Where there has been a trial and conviction on indictment of a person acting on behalf of a union the fine imposed would be paid by the union.

The Fine Gael Party and Independent Deputies J. Sheridan (Longford / Westmeath) and J. Tully (Cavan), voted with the government in the passing of the Bill.

The district secretary of the A.T.G.W.U., Mr. M. A. Merrigan, said the Union was prepared to take on the Board of the E.S.B. and the Government in a confrontation on the Act and he added that their attitude towards the Board would be "not to give an inch".

On Saturday, June 18 before a protest march through O'Connell Street, Dr. John O'Connell, T.D., told hundreds of E.S.B. employees that they should not be satisfied with small protests. They should have a country-wide stoppage of work to show Fianna Fail and Fine Gael what they thought of the Act.

CONGRESS STATEMENT

A statement from the Irish Congress of Trade Unions said the Bill bore all the marks of hastily prepared legislation, with dangerous and far-reaching consequences. "The Bill," said Congress, "demonstrates the Government's apparent belief that industrial problems can be resolved by dictatorial methods... if the Government is prepared to hold Ireland up to ridicule among European nations by introducing a forced labour law in a democratic community, the trade union movement must take steps in defence of its members and of democratic institutions."

The Executive Committee of the National Busmen's Union which is not affiliated to the Irish Congress of Trade Unions commented on the Bill as follows:

"The Executive Committee of the N.B.U. deplore the 'Jackboot' and 'Brownshirt' attitude of the Government in introducing the Electricity (Special Provisions) Bill. This piece of repressive legislation nullifies the protection of the 1906 Trade Disputes Act and is worthy of the highest condemnation by all trades unionists.

"It behoves all sections of the working classes to register its protest against this progression towards the Police State. "Voters, in future elections, should remember the proposers and supporters of this intrusion on the rights of workers."

The first step in an organised campaign by the trade union movement to have the emergency E.S.B. legislation repealed was taken on June 17 when the Amalgamated Transport and General Workers' Union, which has 2,600 members in the Board's employment, decided to initiate protest parades and meetings throughout the country. The I.C.T.U. gave the protest its official backing, the main speaker at the meeting being Mr. Barry Desmond, industrial officer of Congress.

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