

Political, Economic and Social Reconstruction

— A PLAN OUTLINED —

I.—INTRODUCTION.

There is an appalling lack of Political and Economic thought and teaching in this country. Probably in no other country have these been so badly neglected. The result is that the people are completely at the mercy of those whose interest it is to maintain the existing Imperialist and Capitalist order—political and economic—which dominates and controls their lives, their well-being and very existence.

Every exposure of present conditions and every effort made to alter or end them is attacked as being heretical and immoral! The interests and the agencies which thrive under existing conditions are numerous and powerful, because they control wealth, influence and patronage, and so are able to buy up and attach to themselves innumerable agents to carry on their work and propaganda.

To expose the nature of Imperialism and Capitalism and the parts played by their agents is an essential duty. Until these are exposed, no effective progress in organisation for their overthrow will be made. We shall, therefore, aim in this series of articles to show the real weakness of the exploiting minority, and the invincible strength of the majority they are plundering when these, understanding their might, organise it.

UPHOLDERS OF EXPLOITATION.

Few political and economic thinkers in modern times in Ireland have attempted to enlighten the people on their rights, their strength, and the full life which is justly theirs to achieve. On the other hand, there are many writers who attempt to show that the people can only exist on the good-will and the sufferance of the privileged minority.

These have given fraudulent ideas of real wealth, of money, of industry, and of what should be the Christian motive for the production and distribution of goods.

Pagan and immoral ideas have been sedulously expounded and unfortunately too generally accepted. To this has been added the shameful sanction and authority of the clergy of the Churches who should be the guardians of right and social justice.

The State, too, as we know it, is the organisation of coercive weapons to uphold the exploiting order—Parliaments, military and police forces, bailiffs, courts, prisons, firing-squads and hangmen. The State machine thus enumerated is the instrument created by the minority to preserve its interests and wealth by force against those it plunders. This plunder takes place either by open robbery as in the case of landlordism, or under the forms of legal sanction and protection by rack-rents, usury, profiteering, inadequate wages, or the creation of monopolies.

In modern times amongst Irishmen, the following stand out pre-eminently as those who took the side of the people against their oppressors and social enemies: John Mitchel, James Fintan Lalor, James Connolly, P. H. Pearse. To these we may justly add the name of Liam Mellows. Each of these had a keen understanding of the root basis and power of British Imperialism and its allies in Ireland, whether natives or planters. Never

was feudalism and landlordism more mercilessly exposed both in origin and in practice than by Mitchel and Lalor.

They showed clearly that Imperialism is essentially economic, and that political rule and political oppression are the outward expressions of the control to safeguard and retain these economic interests.

They knew that to strike and overthrow landlordism meant cutting away a great prop supporting the Imperial structure here. No Irish thinker or writer went deeper into or explained more clearly the causes of economic ills and the degradation and social injustices arising from them than James Connolly. He showed the remedy in a broad and clear way.

Pearse's writings displayed a deep passion against the economic and social injustices which abound. He was deeply touched by the poverty of the people, and came out strongly on the side of the workers. We are justified in believing that had Liam Mellows not been murdered he would have made contributions both in thought and leadership to the movement for social emancipation as great as he did to that for National Liberty.

REVOLUTIONARY LITERATURE

Yet the pity is that none of these developed their philosophies into a complete system. Connolly went furthest in this direction and it is certain that, had he not been killed, he would have developed his ideals into a detailed scheme of government and social re-organisation. Still, Connolly's principles are clear and there is sufficient to guide those who desire to accomplish that social emancipation which was his ideal.

Due to deliberate policy the writings of these political philosophers are not easily available; usually they must be hunted for in libraries and bookshops. There are many other useful books and pamphlets little known because of the same deliberate policy of suppressing them or otherwise keeping them out of the light.

To collect and build up this literature and bring it to the notice of Irish citizens is a matter for attention. Organised effort to end the present system can only grow out of understanding and knowledge.

The best effort will be forthcoming when the people grasp clearly the things to be swept out of their path; recognise their enemies; appreciate their own strength, and see clearly the goal towards which they must strive.

Since the World War economic organisation and control have taken a new turn. Before that war economics were based largely on land and industrial production. During the World War and since, a new development has grown and expanded to what are now evidently uncontrollable proportions. Finance, banking, credits and monopolies attained a controlling and now a strangling grip on the whole life of the peoples of the world. This development has created problems which have confounded all capitalist economists and brought millions of the workers of all

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countries to starvation. Bankers, Trusts, Monopolies, and so-called Rationalisation have created complete chaos, where they aimed at absolute political and economic dictation.

Our Review and examination of existing conditions and the plan proposed to replace them will deal concretely with Irish problems—our requirements; our resources; the development of agricultural and industrial capacity by utilising our credit to the fullest extent. This plan will be based on the ownership and control by the people of the natural resources, production and distribution, and of banking and credits; of imports and exports. We will outline a plan for a regulated and balanced economy—producing and providing primarily for the full needs of our

own people; arranging for the disposal of surpluses to procure in exchange those essentials and services which we cannot produce or provide ourselves.

We will prove that National Economy cannot be dealt with piecemeal, and that any one aspect of it cannot be dealt with independently of another; that it must be considered as a whole. Under Capitalism, economy has been allowed to develop or decay blindly, without plan, check, or attempt at management. Capitalism denies the right of the community to interfere with its working. Hence conditions in this country—in all Capitalist countries—to-day.

The keynote of Capitalism is individualism, and this has now been destroyed, beyond hope of revival, by over-organised Capitalism. Ireland can be no exception to what has occurred in other countries better organised and better equipped.

Yet, in spite of these facts, there is a strong trend apparent now in the Twenty-Six Counties to undertake a widespread industrial policy, on a purely capitalist basis, with State aid.

Having proved a failure everywhere, this system will inevitably fail in the Twenty-Six Counties, when the point of saturation in Capitalist production is reached. Unemployment and want will begin all over

again, only on a larger scale because of industrial development, and the increased number of workers.

While pointing out the necessity for knowledge and information in regard to political, economic and social policy, this however will not be sufficient for the achievement of National and Social Freedom. There must be propaganda, agitation, and organisation. Leadership and direction will be indispensable. There must be cohesion between all revolutionary elements. It will be of the utmost importance to emphasise the common interests of those who gain their livelihood on the land, and of the workers in the cities and towns. As each have their own peculiar problems, so will they have different activities and tasks to perform in the struggle. While agriculture has been, and will remain, the warp and woof of Irish economy, still increased attention must in future be given to industrial problems, and to the importance of the industrial workers.

Should we get agreement on our analysis of the political and economic situation, and on the policy by which we propose to deal with it, we could then organise and advance with confidence to the achievement of our aims: the Sovereign Independence of a United Republic, and the restoration to the Sovereign People of their rights and heritage of which they have been so long robbed and dispossessed.

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THE HARVEST.

(After Louis Veuillot.)

Bending their heads of gold, the generous grain
Nobly sustained the treasure of the wheat;
Ripe, for the Reaper knew their hour complete,
And lo! those heads of gold on the earth are lain.

The pious wind of Heaven strews, like a rain,
From the mown golden heads a fragrance bland,
And as if we were touched by a viewless Hand
A holy tremor awakens our souls amain.

Fair they, as Truth! The Land, no more hate-seamed,
Blesses withal their fall, and feels redeemed.
So fall Thy Saints, O Lord, ere this day wane,
And Death is doomed to win Life back again:
Thy law of love, that all to love would shape,
Sets 'neath the mill-stone, wheat; in the wine-press, the grape.

GEORGE NOBLE PLUNKETT.



FAMILY WITHOUT FOOD

TERRIBLE CONDITIONS IN DUBLIN

Last week at a meeting of the Dublin Board of Assistance, presided over by Mrs. T. M. Kettle, the following letter was read. The letter gives a pitiful insight into the plight of some of the poor families in Dublin.

"Dear Sir,—I beg to draw your attention to the fact that the room at Bridgefoot Street which I am occupying is very damp. I am in receipt of outdoor relief of 12/6 per week. I have to pay 10/- rent for a back parlour. I hope you will excuse me for writing to you, but I cannot see any other way out of it, and as a poor man's friend I appeal to you to consider my case.

"I am disabled and prevented from earning anything through bad health. The starvation I am undergoing is something cruel. My wife, my little boy and myself are naked, and we had to pledge our bed-clothes and our clothing to get food. Now we have to starve, as all our wearables are gone. Hoping, sir, that you will give my letter your kind consideration.

"Yours faithfully,
"(- - - - -)"
Councillor Medlar—"Something should be done about the exorbitant rents being charged by landlords in the city to-day. This man, who wrote that letter, was in with me and told me that himself and his family had not seen food for two days. I suggest that the City Manager be ap-

proached and requested to find a cheap room for these people."

Alderman O'Neill—"It is a horrible case. This man is paying 10/- for rent and is only receiving 12/6 relief in the week. I would almost suggest a return to the Land League days and pay no rent. There should be a boycott on landlords who eke the last penny out of unfortunates who are depending on relief to keep them alive."

The matter was referred to the Supervisor, Relieving Officers, for investigation and report.

—Evening Mail, 4/5/32.

OUR COMMENT.

AN PHOBLACHT comments on this pitiable case, in the words of Victor Hugo:

"So long as there shall exist, by reason of law and custom, a social condemnation, which, in the face of civilisation, artificially creates bells on earth, and complicates a destiny that is divine, with human fatality; so long as the three problems of the age—the degradation of man by poverty, the ruin of women by starvation, and the dwarfing of childhood by physical and spiritual blight—are not solved; so long as, in certain regions, social asphyxia shall be possible, in other words, and from a yet more extended point of view, so long as ignorance and misery remain on earth, papers like this cannot be useless."

Australian Exiles and I.R.A.

(By Air Mail).

17th April. —Coburg, Australia,

The Tone-Pearse Republican Cumann, which for some years has been the only militant Irish Republican organisation in Australia, has been watching developments in Ireland the last few months with great interest. The result of the elections in the "Free" State brought a certain amount of satisfaction, as it meant the downfall of the Cosgrave regime. The Cumann, however, did not lose sight of the fact that the elections involved only a change of leadership in the "Free" State, and that the existence of the "Free" State was not in any serious danger. The Cumann made its attitude clear by passing the following resolution:

"That this Cumann, while welcoming the downfall of the Cosgrave regime, cannot see particular cause to rejoice in the electoral success of Fianna Fail. We draw attention to the published announcements of the Fianna Fail programme, such falling immeasurably short of the national claims as enunciated by all the national fathers. We affirm our unqualified belief in, and adherence to, the faith and teachings of Tone, Davis, Mitchel, Lalor, Connolly and Pearse. We pledge ourselves to continue our

work in assisting to achieve the complete independence of Ireland."

This resolution was published in the local Irish papers.

The Cumann, alone among Irish organisations in Australia, saw clearly the implications of the present position, that there was need to state the position clearly, and that it was necessary to indicate that in this distant part of the globe one body at least stood by the uncompromising separatist movement. Accordingly, the following cable was despatched to AN PHOBLACHT:—

"Tone-Pearse Republican Cumann sends greetings to released prisoners and Oglagh na h-Eireann. Steadiness and determination will conquer. No slackening till unpartitioned Sovereign Republic of Easter Week visioned by Connolly and Pearse attained by only means possible. Pledge ourselves support best we can. Changed leadership in Free State little consequence."

BAILIFFS BUSY. SEIZURES MADE IN OFFALY.

Seizures (which included a cow and four calves and a pony and trap), were made by sheriff's bailiffs in Clonbologue district, Daingean (Offaly), on foot of decrees for the non-payment of land annuities.

A Plan for Political, Economic and Social Reconstruction . . . Chapter II.

The Basis of Political and Economic Power

This series of articles will set forth a plan for Political, Economic and Social reconstruction within the Republic of Ireland. The series represents the Editorial policy of AN PHOBLACHT. We request from all readers the closest consideration for this plan, and the line of policy and the activities outlined to make it effective. It is our alternative to the present iniquitous, degrading and chaotic political and social order.

J. J. I.—Editor, AN PHOBLACHT.

Despite its seeming broad base, resting on the mass of the people, due to the illusory and sham democratic operation of adult suffrage, "freedom of the Press" and "Free Speech," this Parliamentary machine once constituted, becomes the instrument, willing or unwilling, of the exploiting class within the nation. It is due to this sham democratic sanction of popular election, more than to any other cause, that the real role of the State and its institutions is obscured from the mass of the people. They are deluded into the belief that because they have votes they have power.

THE GOVERNMENTAL MACHINE.

The courts and the judiciary are devised to give an appearance of sanction and legality to the acts of the legislature, because this sham democracy is especially keen on seeming legality. In the Courts the exercise of privilege is seen at its worst. The judiciary and the legal profession are invariably the most corrupt and reactionary elements in every country. A complicated and most expensive procedure deliberately precludes all but the wealthy from using the courts to assert or defend their rights.

It is of great importance to distinguish between the Nation and the State. The Nation is all the people, while the State represents the particular section or sections for which the Government caters. The State is the governmental machine, which we defined in our previous article.

In capitalist society, those who seized or otherwise became possessed of the resources, wealth and credit of the country, found it necessary to disarm those they looted and dispossessed. To keep the mass of the people permanently disarmed and in subjection, the State machine was organised.

FALSE CONCEPTION.

The conception of the State as something standing above and outside the clash of opposing interests, dealing out even-handed justice to all, to the worker and wage earner equally with the capitalist employer, to the small farmer as to the landlord, is something that Republicans must rid their minds of, in order to get a true grasp of the essentials of the struggle, and to follow clearly the policy aiming at the abolition of capitalism and imperialism. They must see as a correct definition that the State is essentially the instrument of class domination; that it arose with all its repressive machinery—police, military, the courts and judiciary—out of the irreconcilable antagonisms between different sections of the community—the exploiters and the exploited; and that its function to-day is, while softening the collisions between these elements, to maintain the domination of the capitalist order over the lives of the great majority of the Irish people.

This definition of the role of the State would no doubt be more apparent to the mass of the people of Ireland at the end of the eighteenth century when a narrow clique of landlords and of manufacturers sat in a Parliament in Dublin and watched over the exploitation of the people, or during the nineteenth century when a similar body in London directed the operations and guarded the loot of the landlords and of the bankers, and when the State machine was frankly and openly exercising its repressive functions in the interests of that class which created and controlled it.

ORIGIN OF STATE.

In those days the State did not need to camouflage its role under the guise of democratic sanction; the "will of the people" had not then been devised to draw a film over its true nature, and take from the people by theories of "moral sanction" and "the State as God's instrument," their right to revolt. In its power to oppress the minds as well as the bodies of men, the modern State is a more

potent instrument of slavery than its older and more obvious form.

From what interests has the State machine arisen in Ireland? Under the direct British régime, it was based on the landlord, planter, the banks and the importers and distributors of British manufactures. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, some of the poorer class of native stock were admitted to minor posts in the Civil Service, the police were almost entirely Irish, so were many lawyers and court functionaries, who were found to serve the State as loyally and slavishly as Englishmen.

Since Catholic Emancipation, Irishmen were graciously permitted to become members of the London Parliament.

Nothing could illustrate more clearly the structure and role of the State, than the manner in which the "Treaty" was put into effect in 1922 and since. During the war of 1918-1921, while the revolution did not go very far in destroying the base of British economic power and influence, it was always menacing them. The British and their agents here realised that if the revolution had been directed to doing so, it could have succeeded then.

TWO MACHINES.

When the Provisional Government of the twenty-six counties was set up in 1922, every British interest rallied to it, because they saw in it the hope for their security against the revolutionary masses opposed to the "Treaty." This Provisional Government was encouraged and supported by them in every way. The British Government handed over to it arms, ammunition and all kinds of military equipment. Expert advice was given to them and experienced Civil Servants placed at their disposal. They got promises that their financial difficulties would be made easy—at the outset. The Press, which was the creation and mouthpiece of these interests bellowed the praises of the "Treaty" and denunciations of those who opposed it. This combination carried the "Treaty" through in the confusion it succeeded in creating.

On these interests the so-called "Free State" was reared, and on them it has since rested and developed. There were no changes made in the State machine as operated by the British. All the British laws then existing were adapted, based as they were, on the Imperialist and Capitalist order of society. A "Parliament"

ment" was set up in the twenty-six counties, an exact model, even in procedure, of that in London. Everything that existed remained intact; what did not exist was copied.

The so-called "Parliament" of "Northern Ireland" set up in 1921 is frankly a puppet of London. Power is exclusively in the hands of the manufacturing and commercial interests, though outwardly, it is made to appear that it has a religious basis. This is because the manufacturing and commercial interests have been able to use the dependent classes, through the Orange lodges, by playing on and inflaming their religious passions. This bigotry, artificially maintained, is catered for by the jerry-mandering of electoral areas which prevents nationalists or Catholics from exercising their full influence in elections. This concession is given to the ignorant to blind them to the fact that they are being exploited.

SCRAP THE MACHINES!

In Southern Ireland the Cumann na nGaedheal party catered specially for the British Imperial interests which sustained it. To cover up the role they played, they professed an interest in the well-being of the poorest sections of the people. For instance, they talked a great deal about the Gaelteacht, while doing practically nothing to improve the conditions there. What did they do for the fishing industry, which could do most to better the lot of those living along the sea-board? The cottage industries were never supported sufficiently to rise above the most primitive methods. The Cumann na nGaedheal ministry is now replaced by Fianna Fail. It is evident that the policy of this administration is based on and makes its appeal to the manufacturing interests: high tariffs, and State aid to manufacturers. So far no proposals have been made either to control the wholesale and retail prices of the goods manufactured under the protection of tariffs and so protect consumers and users of these goods, or to insist on decent wages and good conditions for workers in these manufacturing concerns. The farming industry is being assisted by the butter bounty, but here again there is no evidence of concern for the conditions of wage earners.

When the existing system is overthrown, an immediate task will be to scrap or completely overhaul the State machine. The present Government Departments were devised to carry out the prevailing system. From their very nature they are incapable of performing the functions of the State to be set up to serve the interests of the masses of the people.

THE BUDGET.

As we go to press the new Budget is announced. We will deal with it in our next issue.

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AN ANTI-IRISH IRISHMAN

Senator Oliver St. John Gogarty, surgeon, poet, playwright—and hotel keeper, is engaged by the *Graphic* to write a series of articles on Irish affairs. In the first, which appeared in April, he considers "What Next in Ireland?" and prides himself on the fact, in an introductory note, that he "declines to mention the new President's name." The same issue gives a picture of political prisoners released at Arbour Hill, with a title suggesting the dangers of such release. The Senator is greatly worried about two things—first, the neglect of the Romans to conquer Ireland—they gave cooks and architects, he says, to England, and look at how much more civilised that country is, as compared with us! Second, the problem of the "unemigrated" youth of the country bothers him: with the late Lord French he attributes our troubles to restless rebellious youth. In his first article he figures the "destruction" (caused entirely by the Republicans, of course) at forty-five million pounds; in the second it has shrunk, unaccountably to thirty-five million pounds.

WHO WANTS A REPUBLIC?

Warming up in the issue of May 5th (the Senator now adds "political and forceful writer on Irish affairs" to his qualifications), Dr. Gogarty discusses "Who Wants a Republic?" and decides that he, individually, does not. For one thing, Republics are not spiritually-minded enough for him—look at the "greatest of them"—U.S.A.—where "Law is divorced from Majesty," and the "oddest of them all, which has given kings to every throne in Europe"—Russia, presumably—not content with royal marriages—"having set up a republic as a penance and a phlebotomy," while "the latest of them (Spain) repudiates its spiritual heritage. In face of all this who wants a republic? The reasoning is not very obvious, nor cogent at that. But it serves for English consumption. The rest of the article is devoted to the congenial task of slandering and belittling the writer's own people, who have, incidentally, to stomp up his senatorial salary. In no other country but this would it be tolerated that a public representative—even a nominated one—would write for a foreign country deliberate vilification of his own land. Could one imagine a French Senator writing for pay in the German Press setting forth the blessings of German as opposed to French rule, or an Italian writing, say, for Spanish newspapers, suggesting the advisability of the new republic scrapping its form of government and swearing allegiance to the King of Italy? The very idea is preposterous: yet in Ireland it is an accepted thing. "Since the quota on emigration came into force six years ago a new and unemployed class of unemigrated sons and daughters of farmers" came into being, and these are the people who displace governments—they should be on emigrant ships!

THE CROWN'S COURTESY.

"The link of the Crown is a link which, if it were absent, should be instantly sought, if for nothing more than to preserve that courtesy, characteristic of our people and which no republic ever produced. This is one of Ireland's immemorial traditions . . . it is a link that can only be to our advantage." We should, the writer goes on, stamp a little crown on every pat of butter that we export. This would save us £600,000—and make our butter which is not now "bacteriologically" sound, fit for British consumption. We could be "the greatest mart for bullocks and brains in the world" within the British Empire, exporting both. And at home? Well, the Senator says that "a town manager with a committee to advise him without the elaborate paraphernalia of universal franchise" could run this little country's insignificant affairs.

(Continued at foot of next column.)

A Plan for Political, Economic and Social Reconstruction . . . Chapter III.

THE MOTIVES OF PRODUCTION

It goes without saying that all the regular readers of AN PHOBLAHT are rebels, and have been in revolt for years against the unjust and immoral occupation of this country by English forces and against the unwarranted intervention by England in the affairs of the Irish people.

Any examination, no matter how casual, of the implications, in a social sense, which have arisen out of the immoral occupation here by England for over seven centuries, will serve but to make more deeply-rooted our hatred of the injustice committed against the Irish people, and will show that

British rule in Ireland ultimately rests upon the social system it has imposed upon the Irish people.

It will be readily admitted that tied as we have been for centuries to the chariot wheel of a robber Empire, what is called the social order of society here is but a reflection of the order in Britain, that it is based upon Capitalism—upon production for profit, irrespective of the suffering, insecurity and degradation caused by such profit seeking, upon the exploitation of the weak by the strong.

KEYSTONE OF CAPITALISM.

Trusting implicitly in the sovereignty of the Republic being made effective in our lifetime, noting the obvious signs of decay in the British Empire and, above all, observing the universal tendency to the breaking up of Society as at present organised—if it be organised—under Capitalism, it behoves every Republican to have an intelligent appreciation of the scheme for social reconstruction in Ireland, advocated by AN PHOBLAHT, urged implicitly by Tone and Mitchel, and explicitly by Lalor and Connolly.

It is conceded that the keystone of Capitalism is production for profit;

that production for profit demands a dumping ground or market for goods, whether of agricultural or industrial nature; that dumping grounds create the need for conquered territory; that such conquests mean, and have, so unfortunately for mankind, meant, long-drawn-out bloody wars in which men have been degraded to the level of beasts, and have meant the suppression of the rights of small inoffensive peoples by those countries highly organised on the production-for-profits basis. And thus the resistance of the Irish people to British political and economic exploitation

(Continued from previous column.)

MISSING A BEAT.

We are not to be trusted, however. And what is wrong with the body politic is simply that there is a king (i.e., an English king) in the heart of every Celt and it is missing a beat just now with all this new-fangled freedom. If only we agreed to that king proposition we would be so spiritual, so courteous, so artistic and prosperous, with our young people all emigrating nicely once more—and our Senators staying at home and writing for the British Press.

EVERY PICTURE TELLS A STORY.

The article has a cartoon of a dignified John Bull in a beautiful garden and an impudent schoolboy, leaving a small cottage beside it and being warned by his grandmother—the Irish Free State—not to trespass. At the end is a picture of "Free State snipers in the window of a Sackville Street house during the rebellion of 1916"—a lovely howler that will miss its British readers entirely, though it is quite in keeping with the rest of the "facts" in the article.

THE SLAVE MIND.

The whole reminds one of the poem on the Anti-Irish Irishman—
One slave alone on earth you'll find
Through nature's universal span,
So lost to virtue—dead to shame,
The anti-Irish Irishman.

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—Editor, AN PHOBLAHT.

expresses the resistance of the masses of the exploited Indian and Egyptian peoples to British intervention; of the natives in what is called the Belgian Congo, of the Nicaraguans to American Imperialism, of the Chinese people against Japanese aggression in Manchuria and Shanghai. It is as well that the vast implications of the devilish conditions of affairs which have arisen out of production for profit be realised and that all the brutality, violence and misery for which it has been responsible be never lost sight of.

RESULTS OF PRESENT SYSTEM.

Production and distribution for profit entails, particularly in industrial areas, the creation of a wage-earning section of the community, which as we know, is not even guaranteed security in its inferior status. In agriculture it has meant continuous slavery from one end of the year to the other for occupiers of land who have seen the fruits of their labours robbed from them by the monopolists in the transport and distributive trades.

Thus, classes and class distinctions have arisen out of the relations between exploiters and exploited, out of the terms employer and wage-earner.

And, intelligent observers have to admit that as, apparently, profit must be forthcoming, employers endeavour to force the hiring conditions of the employed to the level where the greatest profit can be secured; that out of such efforts a war—a class war—is actually created by the strong preying upon the weak. Not the least appalling phase of the indictment that can be prepared against the production-for-profits basis is the insecurity in life for those who are the exploited.

This insecurity—the prevailing note in all industrial centres—has made life a nightmare to those who have to sell their labour. It has invaded the sanctity of the home, has driven millions into exile, has made wanderers of migratory labourers and of craftsmen, has deterred the more thoughtful and responsible elements of the exploited from marriage and from the setting up of homes, and thus has created the abuses of which every social worker in Ireland—who knows the truth—is only too painfully aware.

And it must be conceded that this insecurity tends to make servile a large section of the Irish people, prone to adopt the line of least resistance in national affairs and that eventually public life in Ireland is reduced to a hectic opportunism where individuals attempt to escape the threat of the gutter or the country roads by selling themselves into the services of the exploiters.

And the claim that exercise of free will is available to those who are forced to—and have no alternative but to—produce as wage-earners, as inferior beings, is preposterous when the appalling conditions of wage-earners all over Ireland are realized.

TERMS DEFINED.

It is apparent that the term exploiter in Ireland really connotes the English usurpers and such Irish elements as sold themselves to the English, and, that the term exploited connotes the Irish who, for centuries have been dispossessed of their heritage—the ownership of Ireland and all its resources. In land, a forced bargain was struck in one generation

through which the craven leaders of the Irish people of that time were content to buy out their own lands from the English landlord class.

This forced bargain will yet be repudiated through virile leadership in the "No Rent" campaign, in spite of references, in unexpected places, to an English-created Act of 1920.

In industry, it is the real Irish who are dispossessed, who are the victims of exploitation for profit, who have not yet bought and, please God, never will buy out—the alien interests.

A FREE IRELAND.

The sin and crime growing out of private monopoly of land, mines, fisheries, the products of nature—in short the whole production-for-profit basis—must never be tolerated in a free Ireland. The old idea of romance of how the country boy comes to the city, starts one huckster shop, opens more, exploits his wage-slaves, grows rich, leaves a public library or makes bequests to religious institutions, must go.

The new idea of romance must be to undo all the meanness, cruelties, hypocrisies that the old order which (arising in Ireland out of British exploitation), has bequeathed us.

A free Ireland must be visioned as a classless society in which forced poverty and degradation arising from it shall be terminated through a planned national economy based upon production in agriculture and industry for consumption and use, in which sanity shall prevail, in which the strong preying upon the weak, as in the present jungle, shall not exist.

Therefore, the declarations that the ownership of Ireland—of the land of Ireland, of the rivers, lakes, territorial waters, the wealth-producing processes—is vested, under God, in the people of Ireland, can have but one meaning for us. It is that such resources shall be utilised—not for private exploitation, but on behalf of all the children of the nation who are prepared to render service, whether by hand or brain, for the nation. Thus, in land those who now occupy holdings in trust for the nation shall be confirmed in their occupation, and but one condition sought of them—the use of such holdings to the maximum productivity point, and the making available for the nation of the surplus beyond the needs of the occupiers' families. This confirmation of occupancy is, of course, dependent upon the liquidation of ranch lands, of the congested districts and of uneconomic holdings.

A CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

In the trifling amount of industry existing and in that which must be created, through state enterprise, those who are engaged will produce for the nation, will operate factories in trust for the nation, will create, annually if necessary, the internal control of such factories. And thus all the vast, complicated, insane machinery which has arisen out of production for profit is terminated.

Life reduces itself to a simple exchange, through a co-operative distributing scheme.

of exchange of surplus between agricultural and industrial centres; the surplus from both being utilised for the acquisition through external exchange, of commodities not procurable in Ireland.

In the Ireland of the future, which we visualise, the Central Government should assuredly arise from the different occupations and services which serve the needs of the people in proportion to their services, and their relative importance in the social, economic and cultural life of the Nation.

With the nation mobilised in such a way, the huge army of lawyers, with their idiotic references to English-created Acts of Queen Anne, George II. and to the Act of 1920; of those

(Continued at foot of next column.)

A VOLUNTEER'S LIFE-STORY

The Irish Volunteer. By Francis Carty. (Dent & Sons. London. Price 7/6.)

This is a Tailteann Prize Novel, dealing with the life-story of an Irish youth and telling how he became a Volunteer. The scene is laid in a small town in Co. Limerick, where the hero's father has a boot-shop. The little country town background is well described; the gradual steps by which the dreamy, bookish youth came into the movement are well told. A "Manchester Martyrs" commemoration in the town causes Eugene's first awakening—though his mother's bed-time story ascribes the authorship of *God Save Ireland* to Thomas Davis! A meeting at which John Redmond and the local M.P. spoke in aid of recruiting, where Irish youths are urged to go forth to fight in defence of the Catholics of little Belgium recalls the war atmosphere. Next comes the Rising and young Ireland's reaction to it in the time that followed; young Russell finds Pearce—"Here was the voice of an idea older than Empire, that would outlast every empire, the voice of one of the ancient, indestructible things of the world, which sets the heart on fire."

After this the story moves more swiftly. Raids and counter-raids, ambushes, reprisals, attacks upon R.I.C. barracks, an interview at Vaughan's Hotel with Michael Collins, life on the run, in the flying column, scenes at a Sinn Féin court, a faithful record that reads at times like an account in the daily Press of current events, but at times achieves something better, crossing that sharp dividing line between literature and journalism. Here is a list of Maurice Barry's favourite authors stored in the hidden room in the Brigade's headquarters: Emerson's *Essays*, *Seadna*, *Memoirs of Myles Byrne*, *Fabre's Book of Insects*, *Livingstone's Pageant of Greece*, *Taylor's Life of Owen Roe O'Neill*, *O Conaire's Seacht mBuidh an Eirghe Amach Alice in Wonderland*, *Connolly's Labour in Ireland*, *Newman's Apologia*—a fairly Catholic choice. Pierce Butler, the cynical lawyer; Maurice Barry, head of the column—human with a good sense of humour; Matty Cheevers, the old signalman; Tony Farrell (British ex-serviceman who "went over" to the Volunteers) with his interminable "gassing"; the "loyal" dour R.I.C.-men with their grim stubborn resistance; "Nickser," the tricky publican, playing with both sides—such are the *dramatis personae*. Though not great literature, the *Irish Volunteer* is very readable and an accurate portrayal of life. It ends with the Truce, July, 1921, a convenient time for breaking off with a happy ending. H. S.

(Continued from previous column.)

who are compelled by existing conditions to huckster; of those who are willing to work and cannot secure work; of middlemen; of advertisers in that stupid and wasteful phase of capitalistic life can all be dispensed with and their services made available in the nationally-planned economy.

Let us guarantee security to all those who are prepared to render service by hand or brain, to all in Ireland, upon such a basis. And what happiness, what leisure can be forthcoming to all! It is then, when the haggard looks of strain, worry and anxiety have passed from our people, when literature, music and culture are made available for all, that the long suppressed genius of the race can flourish. It is then that free will—at present a myth—can really be exercised. It is then that the soul of a large section of the Irish people now dragged through the gutters of expediency, degradation and squalor can flower.

Suppress the motive for profit-seeking as a danger to Society and as inimical to good order and public welfare, and what a transformation in the lives and characters of our people can be effected!

THE MOTIVES OF PRODUCTION

WHERE IT LEADS.

To the Editor, AN PHOBLACHT.
Sir,—A shoemaker making a pair of shoes for his neighbour adds to his customer's account—in addition to the cost of leather and materials—a figure representing his time and labour, a figure commonly known as his profit.

In a sparsely populated country this individualistic method is the most readily workable.

When, however the population increases so that factory production becomes feasible the motive tends to change from making boots to serve the community—to that of making profits for the owners of the factory.

This involves a distinct change in the status of the workers; they are now part of the machinery of production. Their employment on boots is purely adventitious: it might be anything. The object of their employment is to make profits.

The increase in population has introduced a social advantage—the division of labour. The factory owners have taken advantage of this, and may be passing it on to their customers as reduced prices. But the workers have had their status lowered from that of working for the community (which the individual shoemaker did) to that of working for the private advantage of individuals.

The community, unconscious of the advantages conferred by their numbers, allow individuals to appropriate them. Given time, this appropriation extends all round; so that the workers in the industries are themselves the customers for the product they make.

It is their existence which makes the factory system possible. They work in these factories—not for the purpose of making the goods they want—but such goods as the proprietor thinks will show a profit.

The workers, then, are their employers' customers. They produce the goods which they use, with the employer a barrier between them in their respective capacities of producers and consumers.

Where the factory owner recognises his true position as an organiser of the country's needs—as many of them do—the worker's position is more self-respecting. How, then, can the community recover this lost advantage?

If a factory owner is also manager, and efficient, retain him in that capacity, if agreeable; with a council of workers for consultation. The owners of those concerns managed by employees should be offered compensation on equitable terms.

The attitude of their workers to them if offered alternative work will soon decide their fate.

And what of the private shoemaker? Is he to be prevented from working at home? No, he is to be encouraged. Every man who works is reducing the amount required from others. Factory boots do not suit the feet of everyone.

Special skill on his part, or special work, may bring him customers—otherwise to hold his own against factory produce he will require to work longer hours and expend more effort for a given result, besides being cut off from the comradeship that would bind State workers together.

JOHN BEATTIE.

Dundalk.

DEATH OF ARMAGH VOLUNTEER.

We regret to announce the death of Patrick McCoy, former member of B. Coy., Alistragh, Armagh, old 4th Northern Division area, I.R.A., whose death took place on Wednesday, May 4th, at his residence Little Patrick Street, Banbrook, Armagh.

The deceased, who was only 29, was in failing health for over a year. He was prevented from taking the part of an active Volunteer, a part so dear to him from 1919 to 1922. Deceased leaves a wife and two children, to whom we extend our sincere sympathy. The funeral took place on Saturday to St. Patrick's Cemetery, Armagh. A beautiful wreath was sent by a few old companions who survive him in the I.R.A.

A Plan for Political, Economic and Social Reconstruction . . . Chapter IV.

SOME ASPECTS OF EXPLOITATION

Under present conditions there are scarcely any financial transactions or exchanges into which an element of profit does not enter. The very motive underlying these transactions is profit on one side or the other. Every advantage is taken of necessity and scarcity. Justice and equity rarely come into play. Hence we witness extortion on every hand.

As it would cover too wide a field and absorb too great a space to follow the long chain of exploitation and extortion in all its ramifications in life, we cannot do more than comment on some important and common phases of the system.

These may be summed up under the following heads:

- (1) Wages and workers' conditions.
- (2) Profiteering by manufacturers, manufacturers' agents and distributors.
- (3) Interest charges and usury by bankers and other moneylenders.
- (4) Rents on lands and houses.
- (5) Professional charges.

WAGES.

Wages are governed largely by the weapon of starvation which employers are able to use against those compelled to sell their labour. Workers are not paid on the basis of what is produced by their labour, or of the service they render. They are paid as little as possible, and must submit because of their dependent state. The small farmers are at as great a disadvantage as the wage-earners. They are as much wronged and cheated by dealers, middlemen and merchants as the wage-earner is by the employer. Often their condition is worse, because they have not a guarantee of even a particular sum, no matter how low; they must wait until they take their products to the market and submit to all fluctuations.

PROFITEERING.

It is impossible to exaggerate this evil or to discover its magnitude. Prices are rarely governed by actual costs of production or distribution, but by special causes, for instance, by scarcity, monopoly or competition.

The present system has resulted in chaos, particularly in regard to distribution. There are no restrictions on the number of shops, nor has the number any relation to the population they serve. There are so many shops that, to maintain them, an exorbitant profit is added to the commodities they sell. Instead of the excess in number and the consequent keen competition, resulting in low prices the reverse is the case—the prices are all the higher.

In shops in which the owners are also the workers, long hours are worked; many are open twelve and sixteen hours. There is an anomaly in the capitalist system in that the owner-worker has an advantage over the large owner employing workers. The hours of the latter are regulated by either trade union rules or legislation, whereas, in the case of a business conducted by owner-workers there are no restrictions except in the liquor trade.

The profiteering practised in necessary foods such as meat, bread, milk, butter, vegetables and fruit is notorious, that is when we compare retail prices to the consumer with those paid to the producers. In clothing excessive profits also are made. The multitude of provision, drapery and boot stores gives an indication of the extraordinary overlapping and waste, and of consequent expense which this chaotic system imposes on the people.

The importers and distributors of manufactured goods are highly organised in "manufacturers' associations," and "Chambers of Commerce," which are really rings or monopolies for fixing and controlling prices. No wonder the importers howl against tariffs, or any measures which curtail the mass of profitable business passing through their hands. These, however, can be counted on to get control too, in the handling of native products, and to continue their trade without diminution of their profits.

This series of articles will set forth a plan for Political, Economic and Social reconstruction within the Republic of Ireland. The series represents the Editorial policy of AN PHOBLACHT. We request from all readers the closest consideration for this plan, and the line of policy and the activities outlined to make it effective. It is our alternative to the present iniquitous, degrading and chaotic political and social order.

—Editor, AN PHOBLACHT.

INTEREST AND USURY.

The influence of the monopoly, by the banks, of money and credit is far-reaching. The more it is probed the greater its extent is appreciated. Interest is an important factor in most businesses, as the majority are operated on borrowed money. Off-hand the power of the banks and the importance of interest charges can be roughly appreciated when we remember that while the banks obtain money on deposit at one and a half per cent., they loan out this money at six or seven per cent. In other words, for an investment or payment to the depositor the banks gain on an average five pounds, or three hundred and thirty per cent. gross.

The waste and over-lapping in banking becomes evident, when we see four or five banks in each town, and their huge profits can be realised when we observe that all these branches can be maintained.

Private money-lending is usually a vile traffic, operating secretly and untroubled. Sufficient is known to prove that blackmail enters largely into the traffic and that it is responsible for suicides, and the degrading of countless people. There is no limit to the usury which can be practised on the victims who become enmeshed. In a sane social order this practice of usury would be made a penal offence.

Pawnbroking is the open form which usury assumes, and through this the very poorest and most poverty-stricken are further degraded and exploited.

LANDLORDISM—RENTS.

It is unnecessary to point out in detail how unjust and without moral justification are the rents collected by landlords on land, or how harshly these exactions press on the majority of those obliged to pay them. Land is a gift of nature, and that a privileged section should be able to establish a monopoly in it is simply a tyranny.

How the lands of Ireland were confiscated by force and divided amongst the foreign plunderers ought to be well known. That this privilege thus established should be not only tolerated, but defended in the name of law and by the alleged sanction of the victims is amazing. The present depressed condition of the agricultural population has brought forward acutely the question of rents on agricultural lands.

Landlordism in land in cities and towns has, so far, received little attention. Its influence and the addition it makes to the rents of houses is little appreciated. Proportionately rents for lands on which houses are built are far in excess of those on agricultural land.

House rents in most cases are so extortionate that they approximate to the level of usury. House rents are one of the most glaring injustices of the present social system, and are responsible for the appalling conditions in which such a large section of our people live.

Landlordism will be dealt with in a separate article later in this series.

PROFESSIONAL CHARGES.

Professional charges operate very harshly on the poor who are obliged to have recourse to the services of professional men.

Law costs are the most glaring. These are so high, and for the poor so prohibitive, that the notion of justice is a myth and a mockery. For litigation and ordinary administrative functions undue charges are imposed. Wherever property rights are involved

procedure is complicated and charges excessive. Practically all litigation arises from property rights and disputes, and into which equity seldom enters. For deeds, titles, transfers, mortgages, wills, leases, exorbitant charges are made for little labour. To a poor widow to whom her husband's property, perhaps only a small holding, passes, the charges for administration are so high that she cannot avail of the necessary procedure to obtain legal possession or ownership.

Laws are made by lawyers who deliberately complicate procedure and so make it expensive.

Enough has been stated to show with what waste, injustice and hardships the present system operates in even the limited matters to which we have referred.

In subsequent articles it will be shown how these evils and the parasitic conditions of life at present can be eliminated. They are the growth of the system in which individuals have unlicensed liberty for extortion—free from any curb or control. The community has become subservient to the interests of individuals and groups without conscience. The law and the State machine support them, because they have made the law and created the machine for their own ends. Nothing is a crime except that which they decree to be criminal. Anything which would challenge or curtail their powers of exploitation, or threaten their monopolies is always regarded as criminal.

1916 CLUB. HISTORICAL RESEARCH COMMITTEE.

After various representations had been made to the Executive Committee of the 1916 Club, it was decided at a general meeting of the members, to appoint a historical research sub-committee to deal with all matters of historical interest arising out of Easter Week, 1916, and earlier or subsequent periods.

The Committee will strive to procure all possible data in connection with incidents surrounding Easter Week, and make a list of articles associated therewith for the purpose of record.

The members of the club, therefore, earnestly appeal to the public in general to help in this matter of National interest and importance by letting the committee have all particulars of articles in their custody, as soon as possible so that arrangements may be made for their safe keeping and care in some Dublin public institution, where they will be available for inspection.

The Committee feel that a loan exhibition of these articles will prove most interesting to visitors to the Eucharistic Congress and Tailteann Games, as well as the general public.

Will those having data or articles of Easter Week interest please communicate immediately with:

Hon. Secretary,
Historical Research Committee,
1916 Club, 32 Lr. Abbey Street,
Dublin.

Brigadier Sean de Bhall

On May 6th, 1921, Sean de Bhall, Brigade Commandant of the Easter Limerick Brigade, Irish Republican Army, fell in action at Annacarty, Co. Tipperary. For nearly twelve months previously he had served the Republican cause in a dual capacity—as civil administrator and military leader—risking death continuously. He died, as he wished to die, in battle against the old foe. The story of his services to Ireland will be told in our next issue by one of his comrades.

THE UNDOING OF PARTITION

A BELFAST-MAN'S VIEWPOINT.

To the Editor, AN PHOBLACHT.

A Chára,—Your article in last week's issue—"Boycott the Belfast Parliament"—sounds a call to Republicans in the Six Counties. On the admission of Devlin and Co., their attendance in the Belfast Parliament is a fake and a deception.

You might have brought out even more clearly the subordinate position the Six-County Parliament occupies in relation to London. This is becoming so evident that few are unaware of the fact.

The workers in the Six Counties know that the cost of living, as influenced by taxes and tariffs; the rate of unemployment insurance or the dole, are matters entirely outside the competence of the Belfast junta.

The people who form judgments on facts know that it is London, not Belfast, which decides their fate. This being so, and if abstention is to be advocated, why not add the demand, "Boycott the London Parliament as well as Belfast"? Supporters of the Republic in the Six Counties have allowed political stagnation to develop, with the result that no political activity is now open to Republicans. A lead is necessary, especially for the young people. The sham of Devlinism and Hibernianism must be exposed.

Passivity might be taken as acquiescence—opposition must be active.

The tariff policy in the Twenty-Six Counties will strike hard at manufacturers and distributors in the Six Counties who do business in the Southern province. This will bring home forcibly how wrong and unnatural is partition.

But there must be a political leadership and direction if there is to be a movement for the ending of partition, and the bringing about of a United Republic.

The movement for freedom, to be effective, must seek to organise the workers who are the victims of industrial Imperialism. Religious differences, while a great difficulty, must be no bar to unity of effort. Economic pressure will surmount the religious barrier used artificially by Imperialists in the past.

Belfast. JOE McCANN.

Ex-Volunteers

To the Editor, AN PHOBLACHT.

A Chára,—The official statement from the Adjutant-General of the Irish Republican Army regarding pensions and compensation is very much welcomed. It will spike the guns of those who are exploiting these questions to get themselves in the lime-light.

Recently groups of men who have ceased to be active members of the Volunteer movement have been using the name of the I.R.A. in one connection or another, but seldom to help and push forward the Volunteer organisation. The kind of publicity they have been getting for themselves has been to give a wrong impression and to mislead young men into looking up to them for guidance in national and Republican questions.

I believe that "old" or ex-Volunteers who still cherish the Volunteer spirit could be a good influence on young men, if they would but suppress their vanity and tell young men that while they feel themselves unable to be any longer active Volunteers, they are faithful to the ideals and principles of the Volunteer movement.

The Republic is still to be enthroned, and until it is we need the Irish Army—the Irish Republican Army.

There is work for all who wish to serve the Army actively or by moral support.

MICHAEL O'GRADY.

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DEMAND FOR PRISON REFORM

WHY NOT APPOINT A DIRECTOR OF PRISONS?

"Humanitas" writes:—

There is a widespread demand for the humanisation of prisons in the Twenty-Six Counties. Such demand is supported by the more enlightened and progressive among the Irish provincial Press, which often leads our metropolitan dailies. It is a demand made also by Republicans (most of whom have had the opportunity of studying prison conditions directly from behind bars themselves).

A CONTRAST.

The Free State prisons, taken over from the British as part of their evil heritage have all the vices of the British system at its worst: the solitary confinement, the monotony, the silence rules, the spying and touting among warders and stool pigeons, the starvation diet, the utter hopelessness to all who enter jail portals. What is worse even: the British jails have had certain reforms introduced in the last ten years or so. There are educational lectures, there is certain association, the food is better and more varied, a chance is given and a hope to the prisoner, more humane methods are being used, though much remains to do, as instance the recent Dartmoor mutiny and its reactions.

THE POSITION HERE.

But not one of these ameliorations has been permitted to penetrate to the "Free" State: in fact, in many respects the late and ex-Minister for Justice left the wretched prisons worse, the prisoners' lot more hopeless than when the "Free" State started. Northern Prisons in the Six-County area are actually much better (as some Republicans have testified) than those in the Twenty-Six Counties, because, automatically the improvements wrought in British prisons as a result of the penal reform movement, were copied in the Six-County jails.

Mr. Fitzgerald-Kenney used to boast that as part of a scheme of "economy" he cut off milk from the prisoners' porridge and cut down even further the already meagre rations, so that it is now a commonplace that practically every prisoner in "Free" State jails goes hungry. This is a disgraceful state of affairs and should not be tolerated in a so-called Christian State. There are many other hardships and disabilities crying for reform. Public bodies have had the right to nominate prison visitors (held under the British) taken from them. This right should be restored.

OVERHAULING NEEDED.

But most of all, the Prison system needs a thorough and drastic overhauling: there should be a full inquiry into our prisons, a light let in upon their dark places. When Spain set up its Republic it put at the head of its system a woman lawyer and revolutionary of Irish descent, who has introduced many reforms, who since her taking office has been responsible for introducing a complete change in prison life and has had to face all the massed forces of reaction in consequence.

WHY NOT THIS?

Why should not this example be followed? There is no one in Ireland to-day more versed in the knowledge of the workings of the antiquated and discredited system than Madame Gonne McBride, whose work for prisoners extends over nearly half a century. Why not appoint her Director of Prisons with power to introduce some of the many needed reforms and to clean up the Augean stables of Mountjoy, Portlaoighe and the rest?

A Plan for Political, Economic and Social Reconstruction . . . Chapter V.

LANDLORDISM: ITS UPROOTING

This series of articles will set forth a plan for Political, Economic and Social reconstruction within the Republic of Ireland. The series represents the Editorial policy of AN PHOBLAIGHT. We request from all readers the closest consideration for this plan, and the line of policy and the activities outlined to make it effective. It is our alternative to the present iniquitous, degrading and chaotic political and social order.

—Editor, AN PHOBLAIGHT.

Landlordism in land is again clearly in view. Landlordism is smashing up homes, and anger against it is rising rapidly. Landlordism in rivers breaks into the news every now and then when it drags men before the courts for "poaching." Landlordism in land and exercised in the form of ground rents in cities is the most effectively concealed activity of all forms of landlord loot. A government that would appropriate ground-rents to meet the crisis of unemployment would find itself loaded with money. Already enquiring minds are digging into these ground-rents and soon there will be an exposure of the traffic. The fight that will develop around this issue will be fast and furious.

THE FIRST LANDLORDS.

The attack on landlordism raises an enquiry into its origin and the rights of landlords.

James Connolly said Capitalism is the most foreign thing in Ireland. Certainly the landlordism we endure was a foreign invention. According to our clan system and communal ownership of land was smashed up by the British invader, court favourites were given a countryside under title of the British King. It was to grab our lands that the invasion took place. The invaders were pretty raw beef. They came to rob, and rob they did. They had as much respect for the civilization and culture of the country they invaded as the Black and Tans had. They came to Ireland in the spirit of an unfortunate underworld suddenly let loose on a city.

DISPOSSESSING THE NATIVES.

The necessity for alliance with local support stayed the hand of the invaders considerably at first, but as they got entrenched territories could be conferred with greater freedom on the British court favourites. In some cases the concession was given on the understanding that the area would be planted with needy Britishers who would supplant the Irish owners and make themselves a new garrison. There was a great clamour for such concessions when it became clear that the Irish resistance was weakening. It was finally decided to sweep the whole Irish population into selected areas, and even in these reservations they were to pay tribute to Britain. Sweeping the old race into these areas was somewhat difficult: families were pitched out, but they sort of hung around rather than face the trek into the unknown, and these needy, homeless folk became rather an annoyance. However, the Empire usually finds a use for its by-products, and in order to clean up the country the traffic in slavery with the West Indies came in. Women between twelve and forty; men between sixteen and sixty were sold in thousands to order. And so ordered government was more or less secured. "Valid" titles to land were issued. Landlordism was enthroned. All that the Irish had to do was to honour the King and obey the laws.

BORN INTO BARBARITY.

Landlordism, therefore, is blessed by the full sanction of the British Crown. It is as binding as British laws can make it. It is a fixed institution. To attack landlordism is to assault the whole meaning of British occupation of Ireland. In the shade of landlordism and planterism British rule has grown up. The slavery of the mass of the Irish people could only be achieved when they were torn from their homes and made serve the stranger. To get on in the world any Irish family had to serve the rulers and earn their confidence. There was only one way to do that, and that was by assisting in the enslavement of the dispossessed race. The prosperous Irish families that grew up within the Empire

are bailiff stock, whether their bailiff work was as judges, police, touts, informers, traitors, jailers, hangmen or the like. In fear and trembling a family grew rich, and the richer it got the more slavishly sensitive to the smile or frown of our rulers. Let exceptions prove the rule. The Empire built its forts here when it established landlordism, and every sprouting that now defends Imperialism grew up within the shelter of these forts.

There is no room for argument about the right of landlords. The present inheritors of landlord interests were born into the barbarous role they have to play. It would be idle to go punishing them: just dispossess them.

ABOLITION A NECESSITY.

The struggle in landlordism which achieved such heights fifty years ago was sold out in the peace terms. Undoubtedly the position of the mass of the Irish farmers was improved, but the root evil was not destroyed: landlordism was changed into a bond-lordism, and rents were called annuities. Just as it is taking the mass of the people some years to see the treaty to be what it is, so it took time to see that bond-lordism is the old enemy in a new form and that the gale day continues to be one of the anxieties of rural life.

To-day a more enlightened youth demands the abolition of landlordism. Against these demands of thoughtful and generous youth stand the dark dunghills of vested interests and the maggots of intellects that feed on their garbage. The youth must see their resistance to be what it is, a diseased condition of our social life. One does not argue with sick people, one treats them. There are many minds caught in the poison of these evil agencies and they must be rescued.

BIG VERSUS SMALL.

When we are agreed that landlordism or bondlordism must cease, life presents us with questions: as things are, does the abolition of landlordism mean no

rent? does that mean big farmers escape into new positions of privilege?

As a matter of fact the biggest of the big farmers have escaped: such landlords as turned Capitalist farmer enjoy freeholds already (the Powerscourts and the like). The mass of the small farmers and the wage-earners in abolishing landlordism say that an increased share of the burdens of to-day's bad times must be passed up on the big farmers in common with the others in whose hands is concentrated the "hiring of labour and the conduct of trade." The question of principle is the abolition of landlordism: what the facts of life force on the minds of the mass of the workers and small farmers in addition to the abolition of landlordism is not in detail within the scope of this article. Life demands that the big farmer must pay charges from which the small farmer is freed.

THOSE GROUND RENTS.

That individuals own rivers is surely a proposition that has only to be stated to be flouted. And yet the Duke of Devonshire not only states this nonsense, but has it accepted. And others like him. Such damn nonsense! Life does not press such a mass of people against the fisheries as against land as a means of subsistence so there has been less struggle around the issue. But the pressure of these bad times is sharpening the clashes here.

The coverings over the ground rent traffic are pretty close. A shop-keeper pays £1,000 per year ground rent and passes it on to his prices. He does not fight the burden because he can pass it on. An investigation of ground rent charges is a matter of great urgency and importance.

A SIMPLE SOLUTION.

Are we out to make new beggars? we will be asked. Has a landlord no right to a living in the country? There is one answer to these 'heartrending' tales of poor dispossessed landlords. We believe that every human being willing and fit to work should be given work to do. If work is not available he is entitled to maintenance. We have no intention of vindictively refusing the protection of these safeguards to anybody. An unemployed landlord will be offered work like anybody else. If he is unfit to work he will be supported like any other worker. If he won't work, then he can burn around. If he tries to organise to restore the barbarous practices of his regime, he will go to prison or to hospital, or be in some way restrained. Simple? It is the simple things that startle the world.

CONDITIONS IN BELFAST PRISON

PRISONERS' NOTES AGAIN!

People have become so tired of reading about political prisoners that many actually resent the reappearance of these notes.

It is only natural that people should prefer to look at the happier side of things and for the first time for ten years in the Twenty-Six Counties there are no political prisoners.

But much as we would like to let your minds dwell on the rosy side of the picture we must be honest and remind you of three of your fellow-countrymen who are spending these summer days locked up in solitary confinement in that grim jail in the Crumlin Road, Belfast.

PAUL CORRIGAN.

In that jail Paul Corrigan, a mere youth is serving a sentence of three months for being in possession of firearms.

Owing to his age he is serving his sentence in the special section for juveniles in the B Wing of the jail. At his trial in Armagh he defiantly refused to recognise the authority of the court.

In a province where every policeman openly and most provocatively displays his revolver as his method of upholding British rule the surprising fact is not that Paul Corrigan was in

possession of a gun but that every young man in Ulster is not in possession of firearms.

THORNBURY AND CONNOLLY.

In D Wing, in the same jail, Arthur Thornbury and Jim Connolly, two well-known Republicans, are awaiting trial on a charge of raiding for arms on the night of April 3rd.

Arthur Thornbury is one of the best-known Republicans in Belfast and his arrest is due to the vindictiveness of Craigavon's Government. At the preliminary trial, in spite of their bribes the police failed to find anyone who would agree to identify him as being one who took part in the raid. But evidence is no more necessary in Craigavon's court than it was in Cosgrave's, and Craigavon sleeps better at night when he knows there are three Republicans less at large. He has however employed the wrong tactics this time, as Paul Corrigan, Arthur Thornbury and Jim Connolly, who might remain un-

GAELS AND REPUBLICANISM

(Continued from page 2.)

and experience. In support of this, we would mention the case of a young athlete of fine promise who was forced to compete in four running events at a Sports Meeting in Dublin last season. Two of these immediately succeeded each other, and the result was that the young fellow strained his heart. Such sins will continue to be committed while the quantity complex features athletic propaganda.

Better far to train 20 athletes as they should be trained—a whole-time training—and the successes of these men would evoke more quality than the making of 200 speeches, or the indiscriminate formation of as many clubs.

IRISH INSURANCE PARK.

Rain fell almost continuously during the earlier part and pitilessly towards the end of the fine programme arranged in connection with the opening of above Park at Killester last Sunday. Quite a hosting of Insurance Chiefs, including Messrs. Nugent, O'Reilly, Thornton, Victory, and O'Mahony were present, as were also many old Gaels, amongst whom were noticed Messrs. T. Hayes, E. Corbett, and R. Curtis. The Hurling match between Keatings and New Ireland Assurance Company was vigorously contested. Keatings won. In the Football contest, Clann na nGaedheal had an easy victory over the recently-formed Irish Insurance Federation team.

The grounds are well-equipped with pavilion accommodation, and are splendidly laid out. No doubt the railing-in of the Hurling and Football pitch will engage the early attention of the Committee responsible.

REPUBLICAN BAND APPEAL.

The O'Rahilly Republican Brass & Reed Band (Dublin) appeals to all Republicans to help it to procure uniforms for Bodenstown Sunday. Its members have already expended their slender financial resources in instruments, and have little left towards uniforms. A generous response to this appeal will ensure that this Dublin Republican Band will be suitably equipped on the occasion of the great hosting at the graveside of Wolfe Tone. Every subscription will be thankfully received by L. Byrne, Secretary, O'Rahilly Brass and Reed Band, 41 Parnell Square, Dublin.

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The Fallen Brave

The Last Post. Compiled by Mary Donnelly. National Graves Association, Dublin. Price 1/-.

This record of Ireland's heroic dead in Dublin City and County contains for the first time a complete list of the various places—Glasnevin, Arbour Hill, Mountjoy, Croppies' Acre, St. Werburgh's, St. Michan's, Bully's Acre, Golden Bridge, Inchicore, Dean's Grange and the rest—where Republicans of earlier times as well as of recent years lie buried. It has also the names of burial places throughout County Dublin. One would like to see other counties following up this good example. For the first time, not only are the graves in Glasnevin properly listed and located—there is an excellent map, index and plan of the Cemetery—but the jailyard graves and the names of their occupants are given also. In Dean's Grange we note the monument to Reginald Dunn and Joseph O'Sullivan, two Irishmen hanged in London for shooting General Wilson of Pogrom fame. Memorial crosses to Republicans murdered by Free State agents are also listed and a complete Roll of Honour of the Irish Republican Army (Dublin area) is given, together with a list of the executions that took place in Dublin

RIDNEY SKEILLY MISSING!

Ridney Skelly has had another mental lapse. As a result, his exclusive and exhaustive interview with the famous Madame MacCorkscrew did not reach us until this morning. We can't find room for it—nor for Orr's expressive portrait of the dame until next week.

from *Samuel's Rising* (1803) to 1923. Here are the figures:

1803—Twenty-two executed.
1867—Fenian Rising, four executed.

1880-83—Land War, four executed.
1916—Fourteen executed (Easter Week).

1920—'Tan War, twenty-four executed.

1922-23.—War to Enforce Treaty, seventy-nine executed, seventy-seven being members of the I.R.A.

A list of civil victims of British militarism and Imperial capitalism is added, including the victims of the King's Own Scottish Borderers at Bachelor's Walk, 1914, and those of the D.M.P. at the Dublin Lock Out Riots in 1913.

There is a foreword by Maurice Twomey and an introduction in Irish on behalf of the Committee. Not least attractive are the illustrations of various memorials. In this little volume of less than a hundred pages there is a world of history and research. The National Graves Committee deserve to be congratulated on their idea, particularly on their happy selection of a historian, for Mary Donnelly has given of her best—and there is no better—in this unique labour of love, for which Republicans, not only of the present, but of future generations owe her a deep debt. This is true pioneer work of the most valuable kind and it is still left for individual initiative and devotion to carry through. "Speranza's" lines from the frontispiece ring out a nation's indictment:

"For the Angel of the Trumpets
will know us as he passes,
A ghastly spectral army before
great God will stand,
And arraign ye as our murderers,
O spoilers of our land."

A Plan for Political, Economic and Social Reconstruction

Chapter VI.

METHOD OF DISTRIBUTION

This series of articles will set forth a plan for Political, Economic and Social reconstruction within the Republic of Ireland. The series represents the Editorial policy of "An Phoblacht." We request from all readers the closest consideration for this plan, and the line of policy and the activities outlined to make it effective. It is our alternative to the present iniquitous, degrading and chaotic political and social order.

Editor, AN PHOBLAUGHT.

In some parts of the world wheat is thrown into the sea. In Brazil coffee is burned. In Ireland not later than a fortnight ago fish was dumped over the side of some English trawlers off Galway. Yet if you want to obtain wheat, coffee or fish you will find that it will not be given away to you even if you are starving.

These are merely a few instances. Such things are done, to create a scarcity and so that the prices of your requirements shall be increased. That is an underlying principle which forms the basis of Distribution as at present organised.

There is no side of the present economic structure which is more wasteful than distribution. Distribution is, or at least should be, the method by which products—whether they be manufactured or obtained from the soil—are distributed from the fountain head to the actual consumer.

Like production, under the system we live in, distribution is to-day run for profit and not for service.

YOU PAY HIS PROFIT!

In the existing method of distribution of industrial goods are included the manufacturer's agent, the wholesaler, and the shopkeeper.

The manufacturer's agent does not actually handle the goods; his function is to secure orders from wholesalers and big merchants. These he relays on to the manufacturer. The manufacturer's agents receive a commission from the manufacturer on the sales. This commission varies greatly with the different types of goods.

The next agent in the process of distribution is the wholesaler. His function is to re-sell the goods at a profit to the shops. He receives a commission or discount of from 7½ per cent. to 20 per cent.

Finally we come to the retailer, whose function it is to distribute the goods to the consumers. The average retail profit on goods would be roughly 12½ per cent. to 15 per cent. (for some lines his profit would be as much as 40 per cent.).

In addition to these agencies there are numerous others which make their profits from distribution. The principal one among these is advertising. The manufacturer advertises; the wholesaler advertises; the retailer advertises. They advertise for the purpose of inducing each other to buy.

Whenever you buy a manufactured article you can take it for granted that it has gone through all these agencies.

And that each one of them has made his share of profit on it for which you pay. Not to mention the profits made by the Railway, Shipping and Cartage Companies for which, of course, you also pay.

THE VICIOUS CIRCLE.

It can be taken for granted that 30 per cent. of the retail price of a manufactured article has been devoted to the process of distribution outlined above, and in excess of the cost of manufacture. In other words when you spend £1 on making purchases, at least 6/- of that £1 has been spent in trying to induce you to buy the articles which you needed—or if you didn't need them—to fool you into the belief that you did. It may be said that if people are foolish enough to let themselves be fooled, there is no remedy. But then it must be realised that in the present state of things they have no alternative. Not only has the consumer no chance of avoiding the system of distribution, but the manufacturers and the shopkeepers have no way of avoiding it. If the manufacturer does not abide by it he will not sell his goods, and if the shopkeeper does not abide by it he will not be supplied.

HOW IT SHOULD BE.

The distribution like the production—of all the essential needs of life—should be organised as a social service and should not, as at present, be organised to bring profits to certain select members of society who have enough money to buy at a cheaper rate and to hold their purchase until a scarcity has been created.

There is one remedy and one remedy only for this evil system of distribution, viz., that like the distribution of letters or parcels

it should become a State Service, to be run for the benefit of the community as a whole, and not for the purpose of allowing a few select people to gamble with the necessities of life.

EVILS OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM.

Not only is the present system injurious to the consumer, but it is also injurious to the shopkeepers and the smaller manufacturers. Gradually, but very surely, big concerns, mainly British, are crushing out the local traders. Apart from this, visualise in your own district the overlapping and waste which occurs through the multiplicity of shops. In your own town how many shops are there within easy reach of you, all supplying the same goods? If you happen to be a shopkeeper you will realise better than anyone else the wasteful competition which exists.

Let it be understood quite clearly that no blame can be attached to those engaged in the present system of distribution—whether they be shopkeepers or employees—because under existing conditions they have no alternative but to fall in with it.

WANTED—A CO-OPERATIVE BASIS.

In the Ireland we visualise distribution should be a State service on a co-operative basis, for the benefit of the producer and the consumer, under State supervision. Stores or distributing centres would be established on a basis sufficient to cater for the needs of the population in each district. These stores would be controlled by co-operatives of consumers

and producers who would be responsible for their administration. A Board would be set up by the Government to:—

- Examine and decide upon the kind, quantity and quality of the goods necessary for the needs of the people.
- Purchase these goods in bulk for the whole country, thereby securing them at a lower price.
- Determine and fix the price at which these goods must be sold.
- Be responsible for the supervision of the co-operative stores.

The guiding principle should be to supply the essentials of life at a price as near cost price as possible. It is visualised that in some goods which are not essentials—or which are luxuries—prices would be fixed which would allow a margin of profit. Such profits would then be used to reduce the price of essentials to below cost price if possible.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

One of the first questions that will be asked is:—

"What will happen to shopkeepers and those employed in the distributive trade at present?"

A large section would, naturally, be employed in the new system of distribution, but also a large section would become redundant—as in fact they really are to-day. Under the Ireland we visualise it would be the duty of the Government (as outlined in other articles) to provide substitute employment for those who are redundant. How many small shopkeepers would not willingly today relinquish their hazardous occupation if they were assured of a guaranteed occupation which would bring them security?

Another objection which will be raised is the cost of organising such a system and the "red tape" involved. What could be more costly than the present system? The accounts of the Co-operative Stores would have to be published. You would know the cost price of the goods and you would know the price you paid for them. You, being a consumer, would have a controlling voice on the local co-operative and could supervise its working.

At present do you know the net cost price of the articles you buy in a shop? Do you know the profit the manufacturer makes on it? The profit the wholesaler and the retailer makes on it? The amount of money that is spent in advertising it? No, you don't know any of these things—though you pay for them—because these factors in themselves would be an exposure of the system.

In a reconstituted Ireland the distribution must be organised with the greatest economy possible as a National Service for the benefit of the people.

ADVANTAGES OF ESPERANTO

The Editor

AN PHOBLAUGHT,

Sir,

I agree with Dr. Muresky that Esperanto should be the second language for Ireland. The smallest nation clings to its own language, but as it is impossible to live isolated from others a second language is necessary as a means of communication with the outside world or with strangers visiting their lands for pleasure or business. By using languages of more powerful nations they hide their own individuality, and tend to become identified with those whose national speech they adopt. If they wish to avoid the extinction of their own language or isolation from the world, there is only one remedy—the adoption of a language belonging to no other nation—an international language such as Esperanto. Latvia, Estonia, Czechoslovakia and Finland have perceived the advantages of Esperanto, and are already adopting it for use with foreigners.

By means of Esperanto, people of other nations become acquainted with Ireland as a separate entity from England. *Esperanto Praktiko*, a German magazine, published a number of Dr. Hyde's folklore stories, a Hungarian review published "Land of Song," and "A Dhruim-Fhionn Donn Dilis." These were re-translated into Polish and published in a Lodz newspaper. *Katolana Esperantisto*

and *Helena Esperantisto* published articles on "Irish language and literature" in 1925 and 1930. *Heroldo de Esperanto*, a German weekly newspaper, published articles on Irish stamps and coins, the Gaelic League, *Tailteann Aonach*, the *Samhain* festival, Shaw's "Apple Cart," Seán O'Casey's "Silver Tassie," "Countess Markievicz" and "Bernard Shaw." *Faite na nGaedheal* also published an article in English on "Irish and Esperanto" in 1926.

When such well-known Irishmen as Dr. Douglas Hyde, Liam O Riain, and Art O Briain support Esperanto, surely it is time that the Irish public generally should explore its possibilities. Mr. F. McCormick, of 5, Mount Eden Road, Donnybrook, Dublin, is the Secretary of the Irish Esperanto Federation, and will, no doubt, give information to anyone who wishes it.

I am, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

E. L. OSMOND

(London).

"Irish Artists"

(A REPLY TO PEADAR O'DONNELL)

Those of us who have written something in Irish found Peadar O'Donnell's article on "Irish Artists" which appeared in last week's *Phoblacht* very interesting. I found it particularly so, as I had given up hope where Gaelic writing is concerned, and was actually about to attempt an English translation of my book of short stories for publication in America.

I agree with all that Peadar O'Donnell says about translation, only that I would remind him of what Bobbie Burns said to the "glaiket gleesome dainty damies" who came from "Castalia's wimplin' streamies" to reprimand the smuggler who took a job as a gauger. Apart from this consideration—and perhaps the reason why he didn't stress it was because he thought it too obvious—he has said the truth about translation.

But Peadar seems very hopeful when he writes about the future that is before Gaelic writers. I think a little explanation will make him modify his opinion on the matter. When a man like Peadar O'Donnell gives serious thought to Gaelic culture and Gaelic literature, the least thing we might do is to inform him fully as to the present position. So to make matters clear beyond doubt I will take a concrete example:

Peadar O'Donnell and I have each of us written a book on the life of the Rosses folk, and people who have read and understood the two books found a certain resemblance between them in almost every chapter. I mean *Islanders* and *Caisleán Oir*. Now to make the position of the Gaelic writer clear to Peadar I will ask him to suppose the case reversed and tell me if he would have any hope in the future of English fiction. Suppose that English was spoken only where Irish is spoken at present—the Gaeltacht—and that Irish was the language of the rest of Ireland. That Irish was the language of the legislature and of practically every branch of the administration. That Irish was the language of England and of England's

THE FLAG OF THE REPUBLIC.

We are asked by the Army authority to point out that the flag of the Irish Republic should not be disfigured by any inscription whatsoever.

Empire, and also of the United States. That at home the English speakers, living on kelp and carrageen along the narrow strip of bogs and boulders from Dingle to the Rosses, were too poor to buy *Islanders*. That the only sale for it in Ireland was in schools and colleges. That those who read it could never get near, say, the death of Mrs. Doogan, that they were around her death-bed with note-books to get the last subjunctive mood or irregular verb from her before she died. And suppose they got certificates and degrees for their collections of subjunctives from inspectors who were equally dead to the realities of Gaelic literature. Imagine all that, Peadar, and you will have a kind of idea of how the writer who makes Irish his medium is situated.

When Peadar O'Donnell writes a book some people will disagree violently with him. Others will express their warmest appreciation of him. It doesn't matter (for the purposes of this argument) whom he provokes. His stories are read as human records, not as collections of grammar or idioms.

The Gaelic revival movement was at its best only a linguistic movement. It was never a literary movement or anything approaching it. It never made any appeal to those who wanted to write. The few who chose Irish as their literary medium did so for the best reason possible—because it was their native language and the only language that could express the life they knew and could write about.

That is all I have to say for the present except that I hope to see more from Peadar on the subject.

"MAIRE."

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"Irish Artists"

A REPLY TO "MAIRE" AND
P. O'DONNELL.

To the Editor,
AN PHOBLAIGHT.

I had an article (See "A Cosgrave Relic," page 5) written before reading Peadar O'Donnell's article. All I add to it is this: "The Gúm must be confined to schoolbooks or go altogether. Its effects on Irish literature have been most disastrous. Literature could not grow in the Gúm atmosphere."

Personally, I was losing all hope for the language. Thank God for Peadar O'Donnell and "Maire" for bringing up the question at the eleventh hour.

I could hardly have done so, as to my eternal shame I worked under that diabolical scheme for three years. That is hard to admit. It is very hard to admit one has been gulled and fooled. The literary reputations of "Maire" and Peadar save them from criticism—unjust though it might be—that could be directed against me. Has "Maire" himself produced any good work for the "Gúm"? No! He could not. The Ministry that made the "Gúm" feared original thought.

A HUMILIATING EXPERIENCE

I am bitter, I admit. I am fearfully bitter. In 1926, as reference to the Gaelic periodicals of the period will show, I was striving to mould a literary style in Irish. I spent most of 1928 and part of '29 on the Continent, with the purpose of getting into touch with ideas and working for Ireland in Irish. In 1929 I was earning my living teaching, and meanwhile writing reams which, please God, I shall yet publish.

I was approached to write for the "Gúm," told that as long as actual current politics—which were pretty dead, were not written on—every facility would be given. I fell into the trap, thinking I could use Cosgrave's money for Ireland, and throw up any connection with the Civil Servants when things livened up, and would meanwhile do something for the language. I might as well have joined the Free State army in hopes to republicanise it. . . . I got out of it nothing—neither glory nor money, nothing but humiliation at the hands of a certain clique.

All those who can write, write something at least, without any monetary inducement. In the "Gúm" the real writers were snowed under—undersold on the market—by people who were simply told to send in stuff, and would suffer any humiliation, obey any order of Editor or Committee to see themselves in print.

WHOSE ADVICE?

The rest were dubbed "perennial cranks"—see the "Cumann na nGaedheal organ" and told to go to hell or let the Editors mutilate their work.

And now, Cumann na nGaedheal has the effrontery, through its organ, to advise Mr. Derrig, not to listen to the "cranks." I wish Fianna Fáil well, so do all the "cranks." Is our advice or C. na nGaedheal's to be taken? Would a sane man even consider the advice given—against that of men like Peadar O'Donnell and Séamus O Grianna—the advice given by the *United Irishman*?

I have been out of work for the past year, through a belated and futile stand against personal injustice suffered from the clique. I have lost, at least partially, the right to speak along with men like Peadar. I have lost several golden years, striving to get good things amongst inefficients. If I had not some small hope of Peadar and Séamus being listened to, I would write in English, and devote all the powers God gave me to kill the language movement which has made the "Gúm" possible.

"Official" Irish is bad enough. But "official literature" in a country as backward as the "Conquest" has made us!

From official mutilated literature, O Lord, deliver us!

DONN PIATT.

A Plan for Political, Economic and Social Reconstruction

Chapter VII.

IMPORTING & EXPORTING AGENCIES

This series of articles will set forth a plan for Political, Economic and Social reconstruction within the Republic of Ireland. The series represents the Editorial policy of "An Phoblacht." We request from all readers the closest consideration for this plan, and the line of policy and the activities outlined to make it effective. It is our alternative to the present iniquitous, degrading and chaotic political and social order.

Editor, AN PHOBLAIGHT.

Under existing conditions we, in the Twenty-Six Counties, imported in 1930 £56,768,702 worth of goods, and exported £45,745,019.

At a rough glance, these figures would convey the impression that we had to buy from other countries, nearly 57 millions worth of produce which we needed, and could not produce ourselves; that we exported nearly 46 millions worth of goods which we did not need for home consumption. On examination, however, it will be found that of that £57,000,000 we imported, over £40,500,000 was paid out, not for raw material but for manufactured articles.

There are no manufactured articles which could not be manufactured here; it may be contended that some cannot be manufactured economically, but the fact we want you to grasp at this stage is, that

given the raw material and the labour there is no tangible obstacle to manufacture or production as such in Ireland.

Having once established this fact, we want you to remember throughout the remainder of this article that £40,500,000 worth of goods, which could be manufactured here, are imported instead.

A COMPARISON.

The easiest way of getting a clear idea of national economics, as affected by imports and exports, is to compare the nation to a small farm and a family living on a small farm will till the land for two purposes: (a) to secure food for their own needs and (b) to secure a surplus with which they can buy the goods which they cannot produce.

The less they have to buy the more surplus they will have. On the other hand, the more they have to buy the smaller the surplus, until the stage is reached when they are no longer trading on their surplus but are trading on that portion of their products, which was actually needed for their own consumption. (Incidentally, this is the position of a great many of the small farmers at present).

Likewise with a country, the greater the amount of the exports the lesser becomes the amount left for home consumption.

Exports are made for the purpose of importing goods in return—therefore the lesser the imports the greater becomes the surplus of home products available for consumption.

PURCHASING POWER.

These are undisputed facts; but now, we come to the question of deciding what is the purchasing power of a country. Capitalist economy, under which we live, lays it down as being the equivalent to the exports. Theoretically that is quite sound, provided, that only the surplus left over after the needs of the nation have been supplied is exported.

That is what is not done. We say, that no food should be exported so long as there are people who are in need of it.

The production of food is essential for the life of the people, and should not be used as a bargaining instrument, until the entire needs of the people have been supplied. By exporting before the needs of the nation are supplied, a scarcity is created; then the prices increase and food is put out of the reach of the poor; when the prices arrive at a sufficiently high level other goods are imported to supply the need.

THE THREE CLASSES.

Who is responsible for the imports and exports in the present economic order? A whole host of traders who make their profits from this bartering and who have no responsibility good bad or indifferent to the nation. They can be divided roughly into three classes. The agents of foreign firms, whose aims are to destroy any Irish competitors, to prevent any

new ones from starting, and when they have achieved this successfully, to create an artificial scarcity of the goods they deal in, so that prices will rise. The buyers from England whose main interest is to keep the people poor so that they will be able to buy our products at a price below their value. And finally, the agents of Shipping Companies whose profits come from export and imports.

These gentlemen usually style themselves "business men," as distinct from shopkeepers, manufacturers or travellers. There is something quite innocuous about this name "business men."

Yet, it is these people who, together with the banks, have the destinies of the people in their hands.

They band themselves into institutions known as Chambers of Commerce. Their interests are the same; they all want to prevent home enterprise unless it will work under them and within their system. They all want more imports so that more exports will have to flow from them. It is these gentlemen who will create a scarcity in the things the people need, so that prices may rise—it does not matter to them if in doing so people starve or children grow up under-fed, provided they profit by it. It is also these gentlemen who, when prices go up, will avail of the need for money, thus created, to buy the products of the people at a price far below their value. If a poor man begs or steals food, he is thrown into prison, but when these gentlemen loot and plunder the nation, and cause untold misery to thousands of people, they merely become "successful business men."

SUCKING THE LIFE-BLOOD.

Make no mistake about it, it is these innocuous Chambers of Commerce and Banks which hold your destinies in their hands. Their function is to live on the life-blood of the nation, without rendering any service to the nation. These institutions are the vampires of the nation. Within the present structure there is no check or control on their activity.

They are allowed to work with absolute impunity for the economic destruction and starvation of the nation.

Not only that, but through the system and through cunning, they have worked themselves into positions of respect in the country; they get titles and honours bestowed upon them; their photographs are published at the slightest provocation; any half-witted, commonplace remark they make at one of their "little banquets" is printed with reverence in the papers. Even the Ministers have to secure their "advice" before any scheme can be put through.

It may be said that, individually, these men do not mean to do any harm to the country or the people in it. That may be so, but then, a cannibal does not eat his victim because he has any animosity against him—the result is the same.

IMPORTANT CONCLUSIONS.

A good deal of space has been taken up to indicting the present system governing the imports and exports. This was necessary in order to determine the essential principles which should guide us in the reconstruction of Ireland. We can come to the following conclusions:—

- Only such goods as cannot be produced or manufactured here should be imported.
- No food or essentials should be exported until the full requirement of each individual in the nation has been fulfilled.
- Exports and imports should be organised for the benefit of the nation and not of profiteers.

In the Ireland we visualise, no individual would be allowed to import or export any goods on his own. An Economic Council would be set up whose function would be:—

- To determine what products could be exported and in what quantity, remembering always that only the surplus could be exported.
- To find a market for the exports decided upon and to determine the price to be paid to the producer. In practice this would mean that the producer would receive a fixed price from the Economic Council, who would then be responsible for disposing of the products.
- To determine the goods which could not be produced in Ireland and to make arrangements for purchasing them in bulk from other countries. For instance, instead of say 1,000 coal retailers purchasing each a few hundred tons of coal in dribs and drabs throughout the year the Economic Council would purchase in bulk a sufficient quantity to meet the national requirements for the year, thereby obtaining it at a cheaper rate. Distributors of goods would purchase straight from the Economic Council instead of purchasing through the agents of foreign firms.

There are about £40,500,000 worth of manufactured or partly manufactured goods imported; it would be one of the first functions of the Economic Council to stop these imports and to put forward schemes for the building of the industries necessary to replace them—even if this, in certain cases, is not economical. This is one of the most frequent and fallacious arguments put forward by the friends of these "business men."

WORKING AT A LOSS.

Return for one moment to the small farm comparison. Assume that out of the five sons in the family there are only three who work, and that there is a shortage of say, potatoes, though untitled land and potato seeds are available; the obvious remedy is for the two sons who are not working to till the land and grow the potatoes needed. Even though the intrinsic value of the potatoes may not be equal to the intrinsic value of the labour, the result will be that the family will have secured potatoes instead of having had to sell eggs which they needed, in order to buy potatoes.

Similarly with the nation, it will be cheaper to manufacture goods here at a loss even, than to pay the Englishman to do so at a profit.

However, throughout these articles, it must be remembered that no one phase of the present economic structure can be remedied independently from the other. The whole structure must be rebuilt from top to bottom.

If you grasp the aims and methods of the present method of national trade, you will be able to realise that any argument put up in favour of it is either downright stupid or dishonest because no defence can be pleaded for it.

As Cosgrave Sees It

Commenting on our disapproval of the new "National Guard," the Cosgrave weekly organ says:—

"It is a little reassuring to find the POBLAIGHT attacking the proposal and declaring that Mr. Aiken's idea is merely to strengthen the Free State Army. . . . For once, we hope the POBLAIGHT is right, and that the young men who may be brought into the new force will be taught to serve the nation, not to mould it to some new arbitrary pattern."

The "nation" (in the eyes of our contemporary) is this 26 County British Dependency. An Irish Republic would, in its opinion, be of an "arbitrary pattern."

A Kerry Book

ROMANCE, LEGEND, LITERATURE,
HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY.

Romantic Hidden Kerry. By Tomás O'Sullivan. *The Kerryman*, Ltd., Tralee. 7s. 6d. post free.

Romantic Hidden Kerry contains 660 pages with 52 pages of invaluable Notes, Authorities, and References; 28 illustrations; and a useful Index; and deals with the Legend, Romance, Literature, History, Biography, and Archaeology of Kerry. In addition, there are some very vivid chapters dealing with the social and economic conditions of the Gaeltacht;

While a good deal of attention is devoted to "Hidden" Kerry—the ancient barony of Corkaguiny, which is co-terminous with the Dingle peninsula and includes the Blasket Islands—there is no portion of the "Kingdom" neglected; and the author has skilfully linked up local incidents with national history, and in this way presents his readers with a comprehensive glimpse of our country's story from pre-Christian times down to the Anglo-Irish Truce of 1921.

A NATIONAL APPEAL.

The book, therefore, appeals not only to persons interested in local history, but to students of our National history in its outstanding features. There can be no doubt that the writer is a Republican who never fails to emphasise the National point of view. The chapter on that patriotic young Kerryman, Tom Ashe, is full of pathos and inspiration.

Mr. O'Sullivan's strong National convictions do not, however, distort his vision as a keen student of Irish history, literature and archaeology.

Romantic Hidden Kerry is one of the most conscientious books ever written. There is nothing hurried or slipshod about the volume. It is the result of years of the most painstaking labour and research, and every single important statement in the book is carefully vouched for by some competent authority. In fact, the array of authorities at the end of the book is truly formidable, and is a tribute, not only to the erudition of the author but to his tireless energy in exploring every possible source of information bearing on his subject.

But while there are abundant evidences of scholarship in the work, *Romantic Hidden Kerry* does not contain a single dull, or uninviting page in its huge bulk of admirably arranged, attractively written, and well-documented material.

FASCINATING HISTORY

History is made a fascinating study, not a mere dry record of battles and hostings. The rich antiquarian treasures of Kerry—bee-hive cells, oratories, duns, cromlechs, Ogham stones, galls, mediæval churches, lioses, ceallurach burial grounds, holy wells, penitential stations, feudal castles, artificial caves, cairns, inscribed stones, "Contract" stones; mysterious perforated pillars, sites of ancient churches, etc.—are described in such a way as to appeal to the most unimaginative mind; and the great archaeologists who have visited them, from Petrie's and O'Donovan's time down to our own day are enumerated and quoted. The poignant tragedies which almost wiped out the native population, and deluged the glens and valleys of the "Kingdom" with blood in Elizabeth's reign evoke feelings of horror and indignation as if they were recent occurrences associated with our own lives; and when we read of heroic incidents in the struggle for national freedom we find ourselves exalted by the conviction that, sooner or later, foreign rule is doomed in our native land.

There is one feature of the book which is peculiarly gratifying—the co-operation of author and publishers in presenting the public with a remarkable work of permanent value, not as a mere commercial speculation. The author has given his labour without fee or reward, and the publishers are merely seeking to recoup themselves for their out-of-pocket expenses in connection with the publication of the book.

Romantic Hidden Kerry is not merely a book for all Kerry men. It is a book all Irishmen may read with profit; and we cordially commend it to our readers at home and in exile.

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Do Permanent Officials Control Wages?

(From Our Correspondent.)

The Maharee Peninsula lies northwards from Castlegregory, its soil being light is admirably suited for potatoes, for the cultivation of which large supplies of seaweed, washed in by the tide, is used each season. Kelp is also a growing industry there. For a long time the people were agitating that a road should be made and a wall built at Portcass to help to get better access to the seaweed harvest that high tides bring in. Just before the election the late Minister for Fisheries decided to sanction a grant under some relief scheme, details of which are not available.

The work at Portcass started recently. Six men were employed, sent by the Department, plus a ganger and steward. The wages fixed was twenty-one shillings per week, less insurance. After working a week the men went on strike, and the strike is still on.

The matter being raised in the Dail, Mr. Rutledge agreed to the men's terms for increased pay. It would appear that the officials of the Department in Kerry are responsible for holding up the rise, however. Another instance of the reign of the permanent official.

The Governor-General

Madame MacBride writes:—

The conduct of the Governor-General in disregarding the direction of the Executive Council not to publish the correspondence between himself and the President, and in choosing for doing so a time of national crisis, when Ireland is being threatened by a foreign power, and making the press of that foreign power his medium for publicity, is exactly on a par with the conduct of those smaller agents of British Imperialism, the C.I.D. secret police, who, having kept quiet since the defeat of Cosgrave's Government, have started again their provocation of republicans, of which the recent assaults in the country and the arrest of Capt. Dempsey in Dublin are the outcome.

The object of the British Secret Service is the same in 1932 as in 1922—to create a situation to divide the Irish nation in face of the enemy.

The remedy is simple if President de Valera is strong enough. Make every British agent in this country amenable to Irish law and punish treason as it would be punished in any free country.

The Governor-General must be made to realise he is only the costly figurehead of a ridiculous Crown of a foreign King-Emperor, for which the Irish people have no use or respect.

The C.I.D. wasp nest, being dangerous, should be cleared away at once.

No extra legislation is needed to deal with treason, but the definition of the word "traitor" should be broadcast in a country where for centuries the word has been misapplied.

Call to British Workers

"We call upon the Executive Council to abolish the Senate and the office of Governor-General, as these institutions serve no useful purpose in the life of the nation, but are a serious burden upon the financial resources of the Irish people."

"We extend to our fellow-workers in England fraternal greetings, and emphasise the unity and solidarity of the trade union and working-class movement, and call upon the organised workers in Britain to use their powers against the act of their National Government in prosecuting this economic war against the Irish nation, as such a struggle can only harm the workers of both countries."

(National Union of Railwaymen, Broadstone No. 1 Branch).

A Plan for Political, Economic and Social Reconstruction

Chapter VIII.

TRANSPORT CHAOS: THE REMEDY

This series of articles will set forth a plan for Political, Economic and Social reconstruction within the Republic of Ireland. The series represents the Editorial policy of "An Phoblacht." We request from all readers the closest consideration for this plan, and the line of policy and the activities outlined to make it effective. It is our alternative to the present iniquitous, degrading and chaotic political and social order.

Editor, AN PHOBLAIGHT.

The Public Transport services are of vital importance to every nation. An efficient service is necessary for trade and industry. It is therefore something in which the whole community is interested and in which their well-being is involved.

For fifty years the railways were the chief inland service in Ireland. Before the railways were developed canals served wide areas from Dublin. Since the end of the world war there has been an enormous development of road transport. Quite recently a considerable amount of traffic has been diverted from the railways to the roads. The result is that the railways to-day, both as regards the volume of traffic and the workers, are in a parlous state and indeed threatened with extinction.

This article will be concerned chiefly with showing the chaotic condition of transport.

At present there is no co-ordination, nor regard for the welfare of the community or the workers engaged in transport. Private enterprise, its recklessness and total disregard of the interests of the community, stands nakedly exposed in this matter. It shows that an essential social service should not be in the hands of and at the mercy of individuals owing no responsibility to the community.

RAILWAYS.

It is a fact that when railways were being constructed in Ireland they were made to serve British military strategic needs rather than those of the people. This will be evident to anyone following the course of the G.S. and W. Railway from Dublin to Cork. The stations serving some towns are long distances from them.

Moreover it is true that the Railway Companies never gave any facilities to Irish industry; on the contrary, freights were arranged in conjunction with British Shipping lines, and through rates were given from England to destinations in Ireland which gave the English an advantage in competing against Irish industries. In some cases these rates were so low that it was as cheap to send

goods from say Liverpool to Irish towns as from Dublin to the same towns.

This can be understood when it is remembered that the Irish Railway Directors were entirely British in their outlook, and very probably had investments in the Shipping Companies also, or the Shippers had large holdings of Railway Stocks.

ROAD TRANSPORT.

From the point of view of national economy, one fact to be borne in mind is that road transport is a big drain. The vehicles, accessories, tyres, oil, have all to be imported. The amount of these items annually is enormous. The development of oil-driven vehicles, to the extent that it replaced horse-drawn vehicles, put an end to many Irish industries and large sources of employment—carpenters, blacksmiths, farriers, harness-makers. The large quantities of hay, oats, etc., which were needed for the feeding of horses were no longer required, and hence a large amount of income and employment was lost to the farming industry.

The upkeep of roads is a very big item. A large portion of the expenditure is derived from licences, but yet the tax-payers are called on to pay a large share. Owing to modern developments in the construction of roads and maintenance of road surfaces it is questionable if any extra employment is afforded in recent years on road work. Therefore there is no compensation for farm workers thrown out of employment by the decline in farm production.

WORKERS.

Owing to the confusion large numbers of railway workers have been dismissed, few, if any, of whom have been absorbed in road services. Workers' conditions on the railways are far better than those on road services. The railway workers are being dispensed with in increasing numbers in the past few years and their future prospects are now gloomy.

THE REMEDY.

In a sane and ordered state of society the Transport Services of the country should be closely linked up with Industry, and to provide for passenger services. All forms of public transport should be owned by the community, and be under the direction of a Council catering for economic needs. This Council should have the power of deciding what forms of transport are most suitable to serve the transport needs of every district.

It is obvious that as much heavy traffic as possible should be diverted to the railways. Bus and Lorry services should be so organised as to "feed" the railways, and serve for distribution of goods, and for passenger service in the districts around the railways. What could be more wasteful than half-filled trains and half-filled buses running on parallel routes serving the same people?

While the railways were making big profits and paying big dividends to the stock-holders the suggestion that the railways should be made a social service, would be met by the cries of "Bolehevism," "Confiscation." But now that they are no longer paying dividends—and as a consequence railway stocks have depreciated enormously, and have become practically unsaleable—these same people would welcome the taking over from them of the railways—at their estimate of their value! There is a danger that the railways may be taken over on an inflated valuation, and that the people would be taxed to pay an enhanced value.

The industrial development of the country will mean increased transport facilities, and the provision of these will always need to be in mind and be catered for when plans for production and distribution are being made.

A BODENSTOWN LORRY

The generosity of the Irish race is proverbial. Irish people the world over generally like to give their fellow-man "a lift," whether it be in their struggles through life, or, as in the case of motorists, in their desire to reach a destination. Owners of certain motor vehicles may, if they so desire and without infringing the law, use them to carry people from place to place, but if that vehicle happens to be a licensed commercial lorry, then they should pause before allowing their generous nature to get the better of them, as, if they do, they may find themselves in a very unenviable position. If, for example, such a lorry carries twenty passengers, the owner may be fined £210. Surely a big fine, but yet that laid down by law, as was revealed at the Kilmish District Court, when, before District Justice Gleeson, Thomas Fitzgerald, Kilmish, was summoned for using a lorry for a purpose other than that for which it was licensed.

Supt. Feeney prosecuted, and Mr. Twomey, solr., defended.

GOING TO BODENSTOWN.

Guard Cullen said that on the 19th June last, at 12.45 a.m., he found eighteen passengers on defendant's lorry. The driver informed him that they were going to Bodenstown. The lorry had a commercial licence.

Supt. Feeney said that what he submitted was that this lorry had been

engaged to go to Bodenstown, and he thought the party travelling did not pay anything—an organisation would pay for it.

Replying to the Justice, Supt. Feeney said that he presumed that all the passengers were huddled together.

"I submit that he is quite entitled to carry as many passengers as he wishes, provided he did not get any payment," said Mr. Twomey. "That's our case, and defendant is willing to swear that he did not get any payment or arrange for payment."

Michael Pender, driver of the lorry on the date in question, said that the passengers did not pay anything and he did not arrange for payment.

Replying to Supt. Feeney, witness said that they were going to Bodenstown. There were about eighteen passengers in the lorry and they were not employees of Fitzpatrick.

The Justice consulted the section on the point, which stated, in short, that the penalty, on conviction, was three times the difference between the licence paid and that which should have been paid on a vehicle to carry an equal number of passengers. As the licence paid was £30 and as that which was required to have been paid was £100, the penalty was three times £70, or £210.

Supt. Feeney said that his submission was that the vehicle was used for a purpose other than that for what it was licensed.

The Justice said that the only weakness in Mr. Twomey's case, and he had to determine it on the evidence, was whether the defendant, in the goodness of his heart, free, gratis, ran his lorry to Dublin and back without getting a halfpenny in payment. He would adjourn the case to the next court.

Irish Artists

I made a gesture towards Gaelic writers because I know that there is genius among them but that this genius is being dragged away from the material that excites it. Donn Piatt discovered that, when he deserted his material and tried to make literature out of the Yellow Buck, they deal in around the "Gúm." He choked the creative impulses in his mind. Such as he must get back to their material. The creation of a Gaelic literature is vital and of course cannot be produced simply because it is necessary to the linguistic movement, but a linguistic movement that had not within it the genius through which the literature is to be achieved would be of as little meaning as the national colours on the Bank of Ireland lately; almost.

But it is because such artists were arising that the "Gúm" was invented. When a system of National Education had to come the National Board arose to make certain such education would be a devitalising influence. When Gaelic artists came forward to reveal the Ireland of their day there was no easy way of telling them off, so the "Gúm" arose to keep them busy. It was such an obvious tactic.

I appreciate fully all that "Máire" says in explaining why the "Gúm" succeeded. I have taken no active part in the linguistic movement nor do I intend entering on that specific work now: I just see good minds being smothered, and I feel, even in myself, the need for the Gaelic medium to voice aspects of (Continued at foot of next column.)

Two Affidavits From Clare

STATEMENT OF JOHN COPLEY
Keating Street, Kilmish, Co. Clare.

On Thursday morning the 30th of June, 1932, in company with Willie Hartney I was passing Crotty's Corner, Kilmish, when we met a group of C.I.D. men. They said "Good night," but we passed on and made no reply. We went to the public lavatory, and when leaving the lavatory we were met by one of the C.I.D. men whom we had passed previously. The C.I.D. man asked me "What are you doing here?" and I said "What do you think would carry us in here?" He first asked me my name, which I gave as Copley. He then said "Out with the rest of it," making a suggestive movement with his hand towards his pocket. He asked Hartney his name, and Hartney replied in Irish. I then heard the C.I.D. man say to Hartney "this man knows Irish." He then asked him for his Fáiinne. "Here it is," said Hartney, showing him a Fianna badge. I saw the C.I.D. man striking Hartney on the face with his clenched fist. He caught Hartney by the coat and shoved him on to the street. The C.I.D. man then made use of the most obscene language. I said "You would not be so stiff if you had not a gun in your pocket." He said "I have no gun, but I am sent to Clare to get the guns." He then hit me on the back of the neck with his fist and shoved me out the door of the lavatory. With Willie Hartney I proceeded homewards, the C.I.D. man saying "Good morning." I saw Hartney bleeding from the result of the assault of the C.I.D. man.

JOHN COPLEY.

SWORN AFFIDAVIT OF WILLIAM HARTNEY,

O'Gorman Street, Kilmish, Co. Clare.

On Thursday morning the 30th of June, at about 1 a.m. in company with John Copley, of Keating Street, Kilmish, I was walking down McNamara Street, Kilmish, and when passing Crotty's Corner I saw a group of C.I.D. men coming towards us. They saluted us by saying "Good night." We passed on and made no reply. We went on to the public lavatory situated in the Market House. On leaving the lavatory we were met by a C.I.D. man at the door. He asked Copley his name and Copley gave him his name. He then asked me my name and I replied in Irish—Liam O'Hairne. He then asked Copley what he was loitering around the street for. Copley replied "I am going home." He further asked him was he going home immediately, and Copley said "Yes." The C.I.D. man asked some other questions of Copley and I replied in Irish "Is eadh." The C.I.D. man then caught me by the cape of the coat, saying "This man knows Irish" and further saying to me "Have you got your Fáiinne?" I said there it is on my coat, showing him a Fianna badge. The C.I.D. man then struck me on the face with his clenched fist, marking me on two places on the nose and under the left eye. He then caught me by the arm and shoved me out of the door of the lavatory on to the street. Copley came out after me and we proceeded homewards, the C.I.D. men saying "Good morning."

WILLIE HARTNEY.

Sworn before me at Kilmish this 2nd day of July, 1932, and I know deponent.

JOHN LILLIS, P.O.

life in the Ireland of our to-day. So I signalled to the youth writing in Gaelic. And again I say that Gaelic writers must get back to the creation of original work. What difficulties there are in the way they can best point out to us. If they will propose a solution of these difficulties they will get support for their proposals. Irishmen writing in English are very anxious to help Gaelic writers to set themselves free. I simply announce the good will of the Irishmen writing in English.

Mise,
PEADAR O'DONNELL.

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WHAT IS RABELAISIANISM?

There seems to be some doubt, because although we have been fed on English literature to bursting point we have only John Bull's hypocritical views on Continental Literature. Who was Rabelais? Well, you can get him in English in the *Everyman* library and see for yourself. Every Catholic writer in England or the Continent likes Rabelais. Belloc and Wyndham Lewis never tire of him, Mac Cuarta would have understood him, Eoghan Ruadh O Súilleabháin would have understood him. He is Rabelaisian, but not immoral. Not one of the books censored under the Censorship Act, is I believe, Rabelaisian. If it was, no real Catholic would censor it. It is the sophisticated, machine-made mind that is immoral.

This in explanation to those who do not understand my recent articles.

A word—Catholicism in Ireland got such a whacking in the Penal Days that it got timid. It is not the virile, constructive Catholicism of the Middle Ages, or of modern free countries. Religion here, got bent, got the slave mind. Our "holy people"—(professional) are a punishment for the sins we must accept in a true Christian spirit—that of the Monk who met the Robber. The robber hit him. The monk turned the other cheek. The robber hit him again. "Scripture gives no further instructions," said the Monk, "So I presume once is enough to turn my cheek." The Robber, at the time of going to press, had not recovered from the trouncing the Monk gave him! Get Urquhart's *Rabelais* ye who criticise me, and see what it is. Or read the R.I.A. Gaelic manuscripts. D. P.

ENGLISHMAN AND IRISH REPUBLIC

Dear Sir,

With reference to the review of my pamphlet *Ireland—A Republic by Reason*, that appeared in your issue of July 31st. While I am extremely obliged for the friendly and, in the main, competent review which appeared in your columns, I wish, nevertheless, to express a friendly remonstrance at certain errors of opinion, and, in particular, one very serious error in fact, of which your reviewer was inadvertently guilty.

France did not leave England alone. From the time of William the Conqueror to Napoleon, she frequently attempted to conquer her. If the English kings also attacked France, this was because they also ruled a large part of France. The expression which I used is more applicable to Ireland than to England.

It is not I who overestimate the League of Nations, but the British Government; and I appeal not to my logic but to theirs. Nor do I believe that logic alone can decide the issue "between Might and Right." But when one has an unanswerable case, there is nothing to be lost by demonstrating it. Much more serious is your reviewer's categorical statement "that the author entirely overlooks Britain's latest crime of violence upon us, namely Partition." This is totally false. If your reviewer reads the pamphlet again, he will find that upon page 28, I roundly denounced the Partition of Ireland as "that monstrous outrage on Nature and History," and went on to compare it with the worst excesses of the Versailles Treaty. Indeed, I explicitly pointed out that one of the strongest arguments for a Republic was that it would end this infamous division.

Accept, Sir, my good wishes for the future of your excellent paper and the great cause which it represents.

Believe me,

Yours faithfully,

"JONATHAN SWIFT (Junior)"

London.

A Plan for Political, Economic and Social Reconstruction - Chapter VIII.

ORGANISATION OF AGRICULTURE

This series of articles will set forth a plan for Political, Economic and Social reconstruction within the Republic of Ireland. The series represents the Editorial policy of "An Phoblacht." We request from all readers the closest consideration for this plan, and the line of policy and the activities outlined to make it effective. It is our alternative to the present iniquitous, degrading and chaotic political and social order.

Editor, AN PHOBLACHT.

Agriculture is, and must remain the basic Irish Industry. Even in point of exchange value agriculture is by far the most important industry either in the Free State, where manufacturing development is sparse and small-scale, or in the Six Counties, where large-scale industry is highly developed and organised. The Free State Census of Production for 1926 showed a total of something over £88,000,000, of which nearly £65,000,000 represented agricultural production. The disparity in value in agricultural and industrial production does not, however, indicate a prosperous, efficient agriculture; it indicates rather in the circumstances an unhealthy disproportion between a backward, ill-organised and wrongly-based agriculture and the manufacturing needs of the nation.

Accepting the National ideal, then, it is certain that no nation can base a healthy national life on one industry in the economic conditions of to-day with the widening and intensifying complexity of civilisation, and, as in Ireland the tempo of industrial development must at best keep pace with the rate of consolidation of its base, which is agriculture, it follows that the true road towards the achievement of a balanced National economy must be in the direction of a reorganisation of agriculture and a new appreciation of social and economic relationships in the spheres of agricultural production and distribution.

A DISASTROUS SYSTEM.

Up to now we have been able to struggle on as herdsmen swapping beef and the products of grass to the English in return for the bare necessities of civilised life and some ready cash to pay our sons' and daughters' fares to America. Around these pastoral activities has arisen a host of interests—banking, transport, importing, distributing, and various others. The landlord system of ownership, and the exploitation and waste arising out of it prevented the productive organisation of land and the intelligent application of labour nationally to agricultural production.

The policy of Industrial Britain, desiring cheap food for her workers and a monopoly market for her manufactured goods fostered the growth of an agricultural system in Ireland without parallel in Europe. In spite of changes in the outward structure of agricultural economy, land purchase and political events, the active idea pervading the Irish agricultural mind since the change over from tillage has remained up to the present the raising and selling of livestock and livestock products on the English market.

It has led to the depopulation of the countryside and the pauperisation and starvation of the agricultural labourer. It is to a great extent responsible for the slovenly domestic ideas of rural Ireland. It destroyed social life, neighbourly customs, decent standards of achievement and produced a race of people in wide areas attuned to the bleakness of the herdsman's life without that industry in work or satisfaction in achievement of the peoples of the tillage lands. The grey, mean villages decaying amidst the grass are a reproach and a warning.

Inadequate as was this system in the past the time has come when it can no longer serve even such miserable ends. Agriculture in Ireland is now gripped by the crisis which has developed in world capitalist economy.

INSTRUCTIVE ITEMS.

The widespread application of improved machinery to agriculture,

cutting down production costs, the vast increases in sown areas all over the world, the improved methods of production, the newer technique in dairying in other countries, faster and improved transport have raised world agricultural production to a point where it has become all but impossible for the Irish small farmer to compete even in the home market. On top of this world competition Irish agriculture is ridden by burdens other than the faults inherent in its organisation—annuities, rents, bank debts, exorbitant transport and distribution charges, etc. The amounts under the numerous Land Purchase Acts which transferred the farmer's "debt" from the landlord to the bond-holder are as follows:—

Land Purchase Act, 1891: £13,500,000 at 2½ per cent. interest;

Irish Land Act, 1903: £58,500,000 at 2½ per cent. interest;

Irish Land Acts, 1903 and 1909: £71,800,000 at 3 per cent. interest.

Free State Land Act, 1923, and Land Bond Act, 1925: £6,700,000 at 4½ per cent. interest.

Northern Ireland Land Act, 1925: £3,800,000 at 4½ per cent. interest.

The payment of interest and repayment of principal in the form of Land Annuities on these amounts and the further payment of rent on unpurchased land make a charge of approximately £5,000,000 on the farmers of the Free State, and about £130,000,000 is still outstanding for the whole of Ireland. The League of Nations Economic Committee computes that "up to the year 1930 and excluding land purchase advance the total volume of farming indebtedness to the banks is about £30,000,000." Many millions more are sucked from the industry by numerous commercial and financial groups.

These are but some of the burdens pressing upon our basic industry. There are many others. Credits, so necessary to the farmer to carry him over short periods of pressure, to help him make improvements in land, stock, and buildings are not available or only to be got at prohibitive charges. Education in the rural districts is wholly unrelated to the educational needs of a farming population and indeed seems to be directed towards unsettling and unfitting the children of the land from ever attempting to live honourably upon it. This is, of course, in keeping with the ideals of a society which regards emigration as the natural path towards achievement for the brains and strength of its youth or a "white collar" job at home with some of the parasitic interests as infinitely preferable to productive labour in agriculture or industry. And, indeed, when one looks on the condition of the farming community, the low standards of living, the lack of comfort and decent housing, the whole primitive economy of the countryside, it is easy to understand the attempt of the youth to escape, and understanding the forces acting upon them the inaction and lack of initiative of those who remain.

"THE LAND FOR —?"

In the matter of agricultural organisation and production the farmer has not a free choice. Granted that even within the existing social and economic structure he could improve conditions for himself individually, as

he undoubtedly could, this would not solve the problem of the organisation of agriculture in relation to the economic needs of the nation. The interests of the nation demand the greatest possible output from the land—primarily to supply food to the people and secondarily to make up a surplus for export against the commodities we do not make but require, and against those material and technical needs for the establishment of necessary industries. Peasant proprietorship in itself is not the solution of the national difficulty. It is easy to confuse "peasant proprietorship" with "the land for the people." "Peasant" proprietorship may be the solution of the "peasants'" difficulty and may mean only "the land for some of the people." At present it is not even the solution of the "peasants'" difficulty, caught up as he is in the labyrinthine tangle of annuities, bank debts, rates, and the adverse balance in agricultural prices, and compelled as he is to adopt a system of land usage against his own and the nation's best interests. Instance: Three hundred acres of ranch land has been bought by the Land Commission for division. Up to now it has belonged to a rancher who grazed it with certain bullocks—employing a herdsman and his dog to look after them. It is to be divided amongst a score or more "uneconomic" holders living in the neighbourhood. Map-makers, surveyors, officials appear, the whole ponderous bureaucracy of the Land Commission attack the problem and at last it is done. A furious energy caught up the twenty smallholders, their wives and sons. For weeks they laboured at the task the bureaucracy had set them—that of building high clay banks, so many feet wide at the base, having a ditch so deep and topped by thorn hedges over which a tall man may not see, round each of the strips. When at last the job was done the 300 acres showed from a height a pleasing chess-board pattern which no doubt offset the knowledge that a good portion of fertile land was now rendered unproductive because of ditches and banks. Now what happens? The same that happens in a great many similar cases throughout Ireland, especially where the richer lands are so divided. The twenty smallholders, having completed their task of fencing set off for the fairs to buy bullocks to replace those of the rancher—the chess-board that was one ranch with one man looking after the bullocks has now become twenty small ranches with twenty men looking after the bullocks only there are not now so many bullocks; or, indeed, the smallholder may not be able to stock it for himself, in which case he may set his new acquisition to be grazed by his neighbours' bullocks or for meadow-land. In either case the individual has not greatly benefited and the sum total of national production has not been increased. The farm labourer, excluded from the operation of land division benefits not at all. Only the annuity collecting apparatus and sheriff's bailiffs show any activity as a result.

CONNOLLY'S VIEWS.

Years ago James Connolly pointed the road out of this tangle:—

"The agriculture of Ireland can no longer compete with the scientifically equipped farmer of America, therefore the only hope that now remains is to abandon competition altogether as a rule of life, to organise agriculture as a public service under the control of boards of management elected by the agricultural population (no longer com-

(Continued at foot of next column)

"MAYO MEN" HELP ENGLAND!

To the Editor of AN PHOBLACHT.

A Chára,—Apropos of the "Mayo Men's Pilgrimage" to Ireland on a British ship the following is illuminating.

Lord Vestey, head of the Blue Star Line is at present in Buenos Aires, touting for shipping contracts. In an interview, he has stated that "Great Britain's economic situation is so serious that every project affecting trade either with the Dominions or with foreign nations must be adjudged solely on its merits from the point of view of the advantages to Great Britain."

So, England is looking to her own interests—trying to preserve them. The "Mayo Men's Association" is helping England. That is the plain truth of the matter. I hope the people of Mayo will make that clear to these alleged "Mayo men."

Mise,

P. J. McKEVILLY.

A PROGRAMME FOR TO-DAY

To the Editor of AN PHOBLACHT.

A Chára,—Your recent editorials on the national and economic programme that ought to be carried out set a headline to the Irish people. So far as I can judge, we are facing another situation like that of 1846. Lalor and Mitchel went unheeded then. The "constitutional way of settling differences" prevailed—with disastrous results for Ireland.

All Irish separatists must rally now to save the nation from "the constitutional way." The people drove out Cosgrave in order to break the connection with England. The people's wishes must be carried out.

The programme as outlined in AN PHOBLACHT should be kept before your readers every week, and every effort made to rally the whole people to—

- (1) Boycott British goods and thus help towards breaking the connection.
- (2) Take over the Banks, and thus put Irish money available for Irish needs.
- (3) Develop native industries and thus help towards economic independence.
- (4) Establish a mercantile marine and thus develop our own foreign trade.
- (5) Establish the Irish Republic.

Keep these aims before your readers. We must not fail through "constitutionalism" now that victory is within our grasp.

Mise,

PADRAIG O RUAIRC.

Cork.

(Continued from previous column)

posed of farmers and labourers, but of free citizens with equal responsibility and equal honour) and responsible to them and the nation at large, and with all the mechanical and scientific aids to agriculture the entire resources of the nation can place at their disposal. Let the produce of Irish soil go first to feed the Irish people and after a sufficient store has been retained to ensure of that being accomplished, let the surplus be exchanged with other countries in return for those manufactured goods Ireland needs but does not herself produce."

(To be concluded next week.)

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ANALYSIS OF THE PRESENT SITUATION

George Gilmore's Views

In the course of his address at Nenagh Aoidheacht on Sunday, September 25th, George Gilmore said that there was generally a tendency for Nationalist organisations to degenerate by degrees from their original high ideals and to continue to use old revolutionary slogans and symbols after they had ceased to pursue the objects for which those symbols stood. As instances of that he quoted the record of the Redmondite Irish Parliamentary Party in paying lip-service to the United Irishmen of '98, the Young Irelanders of 1848, and the Fenians of 1867, to all Republican Revolutionaries, indeed, except the Republican revolutionaries of their own time, and the record of the Cosgrave Party in continuing to use the Republican Flag and other Republican symbols after they had betrayed and waged war upon the separatist tradition which they had formerly supported. The reason for this was that it was much easier to keep up courage by shouting slogans and talking of freedom than it was to keep a clear idea of real constitutional, national and individual freedom.

FIANNA FAÏL'S OMISSIONS.

At present, he said, the working farmers and other workers—the people who create the wealth of the country—were undergoing hardships, which were the efforts of the acute realities of British Imperialism, while the present government of Southern Ireland was concentrating its attention upon comparatively unimportant symbols of our National subjection. He heartily agreed with the Fianna Fáil Government in abolishing the Oath of Allegiance to England and the land tribute, but said that they seemed oblivious to the fact that the great barrier against our National or Economic freedom was the fact that the whole financial system, the power of issuing and withdrawing credits, which was the biggest factor in governing a country, was controlled by the Banks in Dublin, which in turn were controlled by the Bank of England. The Fianna Fáil Government, while trying to make a further advance towards National Independence, was unwilling to abolish what James Connolly, very truly described as "the most foreign institution in Ireland"—the foreign Capitalist social system which was forced upon us by the English conquest.

There was no good reason why anyone in Ireland should be suffering material hardships to-day. The country was full of foods as the result of a bountiful harvest, and there was no lack of manpower anxious to get to work, nor of the raw materials necessary to manufacture the other necessities of life.

BANKER RULE.

The trouble was that the country was governed by the Bankers in the interest of an exploiting Capitalist class, and the people were cheated out of what was their rights. While it was true that that unjust and unchristian social system could not be altered while we remained in subjection to the British Empire, it was also true (and it was most important to remember) that it would be quite possible that we could achieve the status of an Independent Sovereign Republic and still suffer under that system.

He quoted as examples, the independent republics of U.S.A. and Poland. In New York, he said, there was hunger and misery as acute as in any part of Ireland. In Poland, which had formerly earned our sympathy and admiration as a liberty-loving nation struggling against foreign oppressions, there was now such a state of tyranny and oppression that a short while ago they were hanging people there for being in possession of what were described as seditious pamphlets.

Mr. Gilmore emphasised that fact, that his disparaging remarks were not aimed at Republicans, but were a warning against the very dangerous fallacy that the establishment of an Independent Republic would necessarily mean the end of all our ills. National Independence, he said, must not be regarded as a means to an end, but must not only keep the kind of Republics, but more important still, make sure to take the steps to obtain it.

A Plan for Political, Economic and Social Reconstruction

Chapter VIII. Concluded.

ORGANISATION OF AGRICULTURE

What has been stated shows that Agriculture suffers from many ills which can be summarised thus:—

- (1) The concentration of the best lands in the hands of a small number, who do not use them in the interests of the people, but for selfish ends—giving no employment.
- (2) Backward methods as compared with those of highly organised countries, in production and marketing.
- (3) Excessive burdens in the form of rents, bank-charges.
- (4) Lack of credit facilities.
- (5) A system of education unsuited to an agricultural people.

These fundamental evils must be grappled with before agriculture can be put on its feet. Without doing so it is futile to pretend that any other remedies can be found. The root evil is landlordism, which operates through the Land Commission Departments of Northern and Southern Ireland. The burdens of landlordism arise out of invasion and confiscation.

BANK TYRANNY.

Next is the tyranny of the banks. Bank-debts and usurious interest charges are the nightmares of countless farmers, who are often the most industrious and enterprising. The farmers are having thrust on them the effects of the deflation of currency policy, dictated by the British Treasury and the Bank of England, which has increased the value of the original amounts borrowed, as measured by existing prices and values of land and stock. The interests of Ireland were never even considered when the British were altering their financial policy.

The technical improvement and organisation of agricultural economy in many agricultural countries in recent years has reacted detrimentally on Irish agriculture. These improvements have put Irish farmers at a great disadvantage. In the unremunerative British market Irish produce was faced with the keenest competition. Because of our "crazy" economic policy Irish agriculture was almost entirely dependent on this market. Other countries sent only to Britain what was their real surplus which they were prepared to sell at dumped prices. This type of export was secondary to their home markets.

INCREASE CONSUMPTION.

All this must be altered. In future a greater proportion of our produce must be consumed at home and what we export must be only the surplus after home requirements have been fully satisfied. Our exports will be made to cover the cost of goods and commodities which we cannot ourselves produce or

This series of articles will set forth a plan for Political, Economic and Social reconstruction within the Republic of Ireland. The series represents the Editorial policy of "An Phoblacht." We request from all readers the closest consideration for this plan, and the line of policy and the activities outlined to make it effective. It is our alternative to the present iniquitous, degrading and chaotic political and social order.

Editor, AN PHOBLAcht.

manufacture. When that stage is reached prices will not be the same high consideration that they have been and are.

Our aim must be to produce sufficient food for consumption by our own people, and sufficient must mean, not the amount, as at present, which can be bought and paid for, but the maximum amount our people require. There is a great difference in this distinction. Just imagine the poor fare to-day of a majority of the farming community, farmers and farm-workers—how little meat, butter, and eggs they can afford to eat and how much more they could eat could they afford to do so. And think of the starved or under-fed condition of the workers in our cities and towns.

To supply the full needs of our present population would create a revolution in agriculture. And our population will be increasing.

A PROGRAMME.

How can this necessary and desirable state of things be brought about?

It will be necessary to organise the whole economy of the country in one great plan. Agriculture will be one of the greatest factors in this plan.

We will need a Food Budget and the allocation of production of the necessary food to the several areas considered most suitable for producing each particular commodity.

There must be guaranteed prices to the producer, and controlled retail prices to protect consumer and producer.

The present banking monopoly must be ended and the powers of issuing and controlling credits and currency assumed by the State on behalf of the community. With these powers thus controlled all the purchasing power necessary can be made available. The chief use to be made of this blessing will be the purchase of sufficient food.

When the banking monopoly is broken credits must be made available to develop agriculture on modern lines. Vast schemes of land settlement can then be undertaken under conditions in which the people on the land can live their lives free from the present hardships. Considerable amounts will be necessary for housing, stocking of the lands coming into the possession of

the new settlers, providing stock, machinery, implements, seeds, etc.

Central marketing of surpluses, and central purchasing of requirements from abroad will be essential to the operation of a National Plan of a full and balanced economy. The supplying of local needs could operate freely, since exchange would be regulated by controlled prices.

To carry out this plan agricultural communities must be organised in Co-operatives—in real co-operation. Through the Co-operatives credits would be made available; through these purchases would be made, and local surpluses dealt with and passed along to districts where there would be shortages, or for export. Employment and labour questions could be dealt with through the agency of the Co-operatives.

The Co-operatives would become the big factor in agricultural economy and could be developed to embrace educational and cultural activities. To brighten and make social life in rural Ireland more attractive is a pressing necessity.

THE FARM WORKER.

In dealing with agricultural reconstruction the position of the farm-worker is very often ignored. There is no section of the workers so unorganised, and consequently they are unable to promote their interests. There are many reasons for this, but the chief of these is the close relations usually existing between them and their employers. There is usually less of the Master in the farmer who employs labour than in the employer in a manufacturing industry. Yet while one would naturally expect greater justice on this account, too often it is the reverse. A big scheme for land settlement on ranches would mean a considerable number of workers being placed in a position of security and happiness and would thus lessen the numbers now so dependent and so miserable.

The rights of farm-workers must be secured by law. With guaranteed prices to his employer there must be for the worker a minimum wage. The welfare of the worker must keep pace with the progress in the industry he works.

All the opportunities exist for raising agriculture from a depressed and despised position to one of dignity. It must be elevated and given recognition as our industry of first importance. It must be recognised that all those engaged on the land are performing one of the most important functions in the Nation—producing food.

We must make life on the land attractive by every means, and end that outlook so long prevailing that intelligent and ambitious young men and women should fly from the land and regard agriculture as a degrading occupation.

TOWARDS A WORKERS' REPUBLIC

Fianna Fáil Lags Behind

A Chára:

In AN PHOBLAcht of September 17th I read an interesting article dealing with the Small Farmers, and how their problem could best be met. The alternative to the solution which is easy to be solved is "To stand to the principles laid down by James Connolly for a Workers Republic, the same principle adopted by 'Saor Eire' and the Irish Republican Army."

The struggle for freedom in Ireland is the struggle of the mass of the working farmers and wage-earners to break through the system that exploits them, and to achieve a free united Irish Republic.

Fianna Fáil will not lead this fight; the machine it takes over will pull it into opposition to this fight. The relics of feudalism and exploitation should be destroyed in Ireland at once and for ever. To break up the big ranches and demesnes, to abolish the game and fishing rights held by a number of the "gentry" on Irish lands and rivers, with their army of gamekeepers, water bulliffs, and the rest—this should be the first task of a National Government.

Why, in the name of justice and honesty should speakers and writers keep silent about the needs of these poor farmers and fishermen in the Gaeltacht? Now or never is the time to arouse the masses, to give the fullest expression to their thoughts. This is the hour to bring about the downfall of capitalism. On to the Workers' Republic!

Is mise, le meas.

MUIRIS O MUIRCHREARTAIGH.

—ooo—

How Irishmen Helped English Strike of 1919

The Life Story of J. H. Thomas is appearing in the *Sunday Chronicle*. The renegade labour-leader is praised for having terminated the General Strike of 1919, by a majority of one vote—his own—in favour of surrender. Writing to us, "P.M." gives the following story of the origin of the Strike:—

"About September 20, 1919, a secret circular was given to the firm of Hayman, Christy and Lilly's, Government Printers in London. Two million copies were ordered. They were to be sent to every police-station in England and Wales for distribution. The circular was an appeal for volunteers to replace the railwaymen in the event of the anticipated General Strike taking place. The compositor who got the circular was an Irish Republican, who immediately transferred the information to another Irishman who informed the *Daily Herald*, then a Labour organ supporting the Strike. As a result of this prompt action, a Lightning Strike took place before the circular could be distributed. That the strike failed was due to Thomas's surrender."

—ooo—

JOHN BRENNAN ON LIAM MELLOWS

In the course of a letter "John Brennan," 10 Belgrave Road, Rathmines, writes:—

"As to Dr. McCartan's statement that Mellows was not hungry in America: although it is true that the rank and file of the Irish Republicans were generous out of all proportion to their means, Liam was not the kind of man who would accept gifts of money, or make a free hotel of anybody's house. As my name has been mentioned by Dr. McCartan as one who always kept an open door for Mellows and himself, I may say that I was always deeply honoured to be able to give what small hospitality I could to my comrades who were working for the Republic, and that Liam Mellows, as a friend of long standing, whom I had known from the days when he was a Fianna boy, was always a very welcome guest. He came to our place much less often than we would have liked, and I can never remember him accepting anything more in our house than a cup of tea. Peadar O'Donnell has said 'Gol Mac Morna or Conan Maol had no harder code for warriors than Mellows had for himself.' Liam would not have spoken of hunger or

suffering, except when it was past, and he could make a joke of it. I do remember him telling me, after he had arisen from what might have been his death bed, that the doctor who attended him said something about his illness being brought on by hunger and privation. Liam, who was raving in a fever, and only half-conscious, thought that he was in Ireland, and that the doctor was trying to make out that his mother had neglected and starved him. Later, when he was in full possession of his senses someone told Liam that he had made a very laudable attempt to defend his mother's character by punching the doctor. Liam told another friend that his one worry during his illness was that he had only \$3 dollars, 'not enough to bury me!'

"One can easily judge how much Liam—or Dr. McCartan—could rely on the loyalty and friendship of the Devoy-Cohalan clique by remembering that these politicians refused to find bail for Mellows and McCartan when they were arrested in New York. Not only did they refuse to find bail, but urged other who were prepared to furnish bail not to do so,

as Liam was arrested with a German, and anyone befriending him might be mixed up in a 'German Plot'!

"I welcome the opportunity of putting on record, although briefly, the magnificent work done by Liam Mellows on behalf of the exiles. In the opinion of one who has met many great Irishmen during the revolutionary struggle, Liam Mellows was the greatest man of our generation.

"Mise, le meas,
"JOHN BRENNAN."

South Tipperary Orders Irish Coal

At a meeting of the South Tipperary Board of Health tenders were received for 40 tons of turf for Cashel County Home. It was decided to purchase 25 tons of Castlecomer coal for Clonmel, 25 tons for Tipperary, 10 for Carrick and 10 for Clogheen. Cashel institutions already have had a supply of Irish coal.

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85 TALBOT STREET
11 LOWER BACOTT STREET
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ISLAND BRIDGE, S. C. ROAD
76 PARNELL STREET
78 RATHMINES ROAD

75 SANDYMOUNT ROAD
166 PHIBSBORO' ROAD
24 MAIN STREET, BLACKROCK
97 TERENURE RD. RATHGAR
11 MARINO MART
3 ELM PARK VILLAS
RANELAGH

25 UPPER GEORGE'S STREET
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34 HENRY STREET
67 UPPER DORSET STREET
46 UPPER BACOTT STREET
98 UP. DRUMCONDRA ROAD