

Although I will not be dealing in this lecture with the state of the Gaelic revival within the Six Counties, my main proposals should be relevant also to that area. I have no detailed knowledge of the movement in the Six Counties. Possibly the Gaelic League there cannot do much more than it is doing at present to advance its cause. However it would be a significant contribution to the movement in Ireland if the nationalists in the Six Counties were to express their dissatisfaction with the indifferent attitude to the language revival that is manifest in the Twenty-six Counties. This they have never done. Of course the hostility of the Stormont Government to the language is greater, but at the end of the day the indifference in the Twenty-six Counties is more deadly than any hostility.

In the beginning it seems that a person's outlook on the language movement was conditioned by whatever objectives he or she considered as being part of the Gaelic cause. Other aims were also tied on to the movement. Self-esteem and pride in one's people were promoted as aims, expressed for example in abstaining from alcohol on St. Patrick's Day. It was claimed that the Irish people had special qualities that should be fostered. Arising from this, and not directly connected with cultural matters, was the aim of promoting Irish manufactures and goods. This closely concerned politics and a leading political figure was soon to adopt it as his policy.

A political change occurred in the movement when the constitution of the Gaelic League was amended in 1915. Some say that if Douglas Hyde had continued to play an active role in the Gaelic League other great changes would have taken place in the future. It seems to me that no one could claim that the Gaelic movement as we know it today, is in any respect similar to that which Douglas Hyde, Eoin MacNeill and Fr. O Growney planned.

Attempts have been made, and are being made at present to bring about changes. Setting up an autonomous body in the Six Counties was a big change necessitated by the existence of two states. The Civil War was fought out more zealously in the Gaelic League than in any other organisation. When the Free Staters failed to take over the League they then tried to kill it. The Gaelic bureaucrats of the new State — "the starched-shirt brigade" as Seamus Mac Grianna called them — paraded themselves as being much more respectable than the Gaelic League. Enemies of the Gaelic are mistaken when they think of the language as part of a bureaucratic state which is trying to force the language on the people. It was never thus. In the early days of the Free State George McNicholl declared publicly that "by hog, dog and devil" he would establish the Gaelic language. Scarcely had his breath cooled when Ernest Blythe, Minister of Finance, Deputy Head of State, a big man for the Gaelic, refuted McNicholl. At least the declaration was made. It would not be made today.

The old Gaelic Leaguers who supported the new state in the 1920s, and others, such as Douglas Hyde and Art Ryan, who supported the inheritors of that state in the 1930s, endeavored to create a new organisation in competition with the League. They expected the League would wither away under their influence, as it is said the State itself in Russia would wither away under Communism. They did not succeed and died off one after another. However they did hold back the Gaelic League and prevented its revitalization to the vigour it had before 1921. That was their objective of course. Even in the 1940s, during the war years, the League was capable of facing up to difficult conditions even to taking a revolutionary stance.

De Valera knew he could not trust the League, because if it changed, the change would be a revolutionary one. He saw to it that this would not happen. He set up a counter-action in the form of a National Congress for the Gaelic. It was a governing body to oversee the language movement — an echo of the I.R.B. control over the Volunteers. It is worth remembering that on the opening day of the Congress De Valera called for three cheers for some African bishop or other, who was present. A neat and holy political gimmick indeed.

Even so the group who succeeded, through a coup d'état, in gaining control of the Congress was fairly progressive in the beginning, under the aegis of the Comhcaidreamh. But affairs soon took a reactionary turn. For example, the bigoted Glun na Bua became involved. This was an organisation which had been flirting with Fascist and Nazi ideas a short time beforehand. Enfinvint Malherbe in the shape of Ernest Blythe took control of the Congress through the chair. It had no stamina or effectiveness, except to foment disunity and put obstacles in the way of any other organisation. It has become a centre for "respectability", reaction, trifling and uselessness. It is a Mandarin for the production of memoranda, an autocracy more stifling than that of the Third Republic of France which submitted so weakly to the advancing Germans in 1940.

The Gaelic League and the Congress were opposed to each other from the start, and the League was an unwilling partner. The Congress was a convoluted organisation typical of De Valera's way of thinking. Probably for the sake of showing its own independence the Gaelic League would take a different line. For instance in the early 1950s there was so much dissatisfaction with the Government Publishing Department "An Gum" that it was evident that a new State Publishing Board should be set up. At that meeting the League delegates pointed a sarcastic finger at the proposers saying, "There you have it, more state control". In the event their own proposal for a Gaelic Books Department amounted to the same thing.

The Congress was more a hindrance than a help to the Gaelic League. It occupied itself continually with petty issues. It occupied itself continually with petty issues. At one stage the arch-reactionary Mac an Behatha tried to cajole the League with his opinions even though they had previously refused to follow his line of policy. The League ceased putting forward critical demands which previously had some effect. It was difficult for them to resist the new atmosphere of "respectability" and so they went along with it. Today no one expects even a token challenge from the League such as putting forward a known republican for the chair. For some years now, and probably as a defensive mechanism, they have been drawing closer to that most conservative of Irish organisations, the Gaelic Athletic Association.

The Congress is a barren body. It has spread confusion and initiated nothing new—not even the proposed Book Club. Some of you will remember the mound of signatures collected from the public in support of language revival. I know that thousands of them were flushed down the lavatory. Some of us said that it was stupid to welcome so profusely the Government's White Paper on the language question because it was not worth a tinker's curse. Today the Fainnes are being produced in greater numbers at public expense while the language is getting weaker. Recently the Congress, in conjunction with the Gaelic League, published an appeal from the "respectable people". They are a replica of those of Taca and the Knights of Columbanus, two organisations by way of which membership is a must for election to high position in the Congress. Is it possible to say anything in favour of this kind of

caper? Should the Government not intervene and bring about a merger? Money is spent on new offices, decoration and equipment when the Gaelic headquarters would serve all purposes. Money is spent on officials who run about aimlessly and whose activity serves only to provide ammunition for the Language Freedom Movement and others hostile to the Gaelic revival. But they also provide a continuing excuse to the continuing neglect by the Government of the language. Indeed every time a government minister sees one of them in action his heart fills with uplifted hope and he will proclaim that all is flourishing in the Gaelic world and he will sleep soundly on that tragic conclusion.

It is not a good sign for the Gaelic League that Mac an Bheatha's paper "Inniu" has been praising its work for some time now. The greatest weakness of the League is its resistance to change when change is inevitable. It often seems to act as if change can be avoided. Today it is in much the same position as it was in 1900, or as the Roman Catholic Church today compared to 1950. I spoke of Mandarinism just now. I am uneasy about the suffocating mass of TRADITION: much of it dead tradition that I see around, and the way we search after it whether it be dead or alive. Daniel Corkery wrote some explanatory pamphlets such as "What's this about the Gaelic League". It was a tradition in itself with the League that Corkery, and nobody else should write these pamphlets and it was not a bad tradition. The Gaelic Athletic Association also had a tradition where it would be unfitting for anyone else but Bryan MacMahon to write the scripts for the pageants in Croke Park. I do not know if the Gaelic Leaguers read what Corkery had to say about the League but if they have I am sure they have misinterpreted him.

The main annual event of the Gaelic League is the Oirreachtas which takes place in the late autumn. It was moulded on the Welsh Eisteddfod, as were most of the cultural activities of the League. It was from Wales that it derived its aversion to politics. It is almost incomprehensible how the most Irish organisation in the country could remain completely outside politics for more than twenty years. The Oireachtas lapsed for twenty years until it was resurrected at the beginning of the last world war. Much had changed between times. The Irish State had been in existence for twenty years. Gaelic had been widely taught in the schools of the twenty-six counties and the Constitution stated that it was the first official language of the state. One would expect therefore that the Oireachtas of 1939 would be different from that of 1919, not to speak of 1899. Changes would be in the format and variety of the competitions.

A Gaelic Festival, certainly, but there was no necessity that it should be entirely cultural in its programme. you would expect the re-organisers to take cognizance of the changed world and also glance into the future. I believe there were people at the 1939 Oireachtas who had attended the first Oireachtas thirty years earlier. The attendance was larger at the first gathering and the atmosphere livelier. Perhaps the first thing the veterans noticed was that it was a very different occasion. What with the Ode, and other items, it was a copy of the Eisteddfod. For the Eisteddfod the Ode to the Chair has to be in the "Mesurau Caeth", the Welsh form of the Irish syllabic poem. It is hardly likely that anyone in Ireland today would be willing to undertake the task of composing a Bardic ode.

However the Oireachtas does attempt to imitate this with the stipulation that part of the poetry be in traditional metre. It is strange that we should make a

Tradition of Welsh notions of which are based on the work of Lolo Mortannwg in the eighteenth century.

I took the Oireachtas as a good example of the indigestible food with which the Gaelic has to cope. I am not condemning it. In some ways it is doing good. Some years ago I gave a lecture on folklore. Whether my opinions were right or wrong they raised quite a controversy. The editor of a Gaelic journal offered to publish the lecture. He soon discovered it was easier said than done. The officials bitterly opposed publication even though the Gaelic League has always fostered our folklore. This was the renewal of the old battle that Padraig Pearse and Padraig O Conaire had to wage with Henebry and the "old Ireland" mentality.

The Céilí and the Feis are other examples of this mentality. The League has been struggling to keep them alive but it is swimming against an enveloping tide. Methods of work outdated years ago will not succeed under today's conditions. The Feis was merely an instrument or technique, although the Gaelic League would have us respect it as a TRADITION.

The branches of the League and their mode of operation have changed very little. The language class proceeds as always, except that today the teaching is more usefully directed to express the practical experience of everyday life in the home or on the farm. The continuing misuse of the Gaelic Summer Colleges is another field in which fault can be found. In the Dublin area where I live, the League had a sub-committee to look after the children and they gave up the work. In July there were seven hundred children within the confines of the Gaelic College in my home parish in Connemara.

An equal number will be there next month. What is the advantage to any of these children of going to this particular college above any other college in a district where Gaelic is not spoken, say to Carrigaholt of Ballinskellig? They could learn as much Gaelic in class in any of these places, more perhaps with the modern methods of tuition. The Gaelic Colleges are very old-fashioned in this old-fashioned country of Ireland. A child who does not attend the college is not entitled to the Government grant. I sent a little girl to Connemara recently. She speaks Irish as fluently as the children living there. I would not let her go to the Gaelic College. They would only destroy her language. As a consequence she will get no allowance.

Part of the burden that Gaelic has to carry is that it is too much tied up with schooling. Should a lad be as fluent in the language as Seanchán Torpéiest he will not be eligible for the 10 sterling grant unless he has attended the college on so many days in that year. It could be said that this stipulation has the precise aim of registering that his Gaelic was learned in the college, a college where the language is not spoken outside of the classroom, School! School! School! The same condition that applies to schools and colleges goes also for the 1 sterling weekly allowance to the landladies. And this is the only scheme the Gaeltacht Ministry has been able to devise! I do not believe that these colleges, as presently organised, are of any value except to those who run them. As things are I do not see that they advance the language revival. They are but another floundering TRADITION, when any good effect they may have had has gone out of them. There are people, who having spent there weeks in Carraroe, would have us believe they speak Gaelic with the accent of the Connemara dialect.

I knew a schoolteacher who would not admit that there was any worthwhile method of learning Irish except through the books of father O Growney. I have known republicans who not only believed in the physical force as the method,

and the means, to win Irish freedom, but that the armed struggle was an end in itself. For them the only way to learn soldiering was to train secretly and unlawfully. When some of us suggested it did not matter how one trained as long as the training was up to good purpose, we were considered taboo. This way of thinking is also a danger among Gaelic revivalists.

There is another aspect of this TRADITIONALISM which seriously impairs the Gaelic cause. It is safe to say that anyone who participates in, or supports the Gaelic revival movement, will of necessity be caught up in other related activities. It is part of the ETHOS of the Gael to be in the Gaelic Athletic Association. In so far as those of us who are interested in games, it is in the kind called "Gaelic Games" that we are involved. They are the first diet we are fed and the only one we enjoy. But the games themselves are not the same thing as the G.A.A. The GAA is of no use to the language movement. Let it be challenged. The language movement must distance itself from the GAA. The first thing a revived movement should do is to demand that the GAA fulfill its duty to the language and to involve it in competition with other games organisations, by asking those organisations to support our movement also. Specific objectives should be put to them and their assistance sought to carry them out. I would not mind seeing a couple of thousands of Gaels going into Dalymount Park recognisable from their proudly-worn Fainnes obtained on hire for the day from the Colonel.

The G.A.A. is in a better position to help than other bodies. In a radio broadcast of a game half of that game should be reported on in Gaelic. A televised report presents no problem because the course of the game explains itself. Any repeat showing a game should have the commentary in Gaelic. The G.A.A. has a rule—a slovenly rule in the way it operates—that the names of the players must be given in their Gaelic forms. It is not shameful that these names appear in English also in the official programmes? The G.A.A. has never brought into notice of the newspapers, the Radio or Television that they should respect this rule about names. Their smooth hypocrisy should be made public and kept before the public.

The Gael of necessity had to be a céiliúgoer. I think the Céilí dance is still the only form of dancing recognised officially by the Gaelic League. Attendance at céilís was as important as speaking the language. To others attendance at the Gaelic games and abstention from other sports was a most important principle. Such was the order of merit!

In another way there is a fairly widespread system of taboos and prohibitions which hem in the Gaelic revivalist. My wife's acquaintances could never understand why she was not a member of the Realt or the Legion of Mary. There are many fainne holders in these organisations. There are many in the two large confraternities in Dublin. Every Gael goes at least once a year to Lourdes and often to Knock and Loch Derg. It is almost compulsory for a woman, and praiseworthy in a man, to wear the Pioneer badge.

The Pioneer pin and the Fainne—these two go together. An official in a Gaelic language organisation who is also a member of Fianna Fáil is almost sure to be in an official position in that political party. Gaels are more often seen going to Shelbourne Park than to Dalymount.

If you are an ex-pupil of the Jesuits it is no harm, indeed it is to be recommended, that you attend Gaelic meetings in Trinity College. I am not damning any of these customs. I am trying to outline the pattern of social life within the Gaelic movement.

Some of you will have read the article by Róise Ní Mhistéil in the “Irish Student” about the learning of Irish. I am in agreement with most of it. Anyone learning a language, for whatever reason, needs hours of linguistic practice. This can be done in a language laboratory as well, if not better than in the company of language speakers. I think I am saying the same thing as Róise Ní Mhistéil in another way.

You remember the commotion in 1969 at Stradbally, near Dundalk, during the commemoration of the poet Peadar Ó Doirnín, when there was a demonstration against Faulkner for Minister for the Gaeltacht. Afterwards seven or eight people wrote to the newspapers condemning the action. Among them were the headmaster of a vocational school, a Christian Brother or two, some schoolteachers and C.E.O. Who were these people? In this particular case they grouped themselves under some name or other, but without any doubt they can be grouped under another name — the local committee of the Gaelic League. They form a class of people to which others may be added, a bank clerk perhaps, the local head of the Garda Síochána, a young priest. They will all have the Gaelic. But is it mainly the language that brings them together? If there was a labourer from Connemara working in Stradbally is it likely he would be a member of that branch of the League? Or would I be? The same thing applies to most of the branches throughout the country.

The branch is a social milieu where you meet with your social equal. It is the kind of environment that suits Faulkner. There it is easier for people to deceive themselves that they are serving the cause. In the small towns the Gaelic League branch is a secure haven for these people where controversy can be evaded. It is worth noting when one of these branches dissolves and some other organisation, whatever its aims, is formed how often, and how conveniently, the membership of the new group consists of the very same people as previously belonged to the defunct branch.

In Stradbally these people were horrified and very angry. Not only that they had never seen a public protest like this, but they had never experienced a protest at a Gaelic meeting. It simply was not the done thing! One of them heard two of us talking. He turned to his friend, “they are Gaelic speakers” he said. They asked us why we had spoken English in public. “To make sure Faulkner understood what we were saying,” I told them, but that if they wished we would continue the protest in Gaelic. “Oh! Don’t do that” they said, “It will only do harm to the Gaelic”. People should not argue and fall out with each other at a Gaelic meeting!

All these members were also members of the Fianna Fáil party. They could not conceive a person could be otherwise in Stradbally or any other place. They are a small group in a ghetto of the worst sort, the ghetto of the mind. I think this is what the Gaelic League has done to itself. Outside the League there is no salvation.

“It’s all right for you sitting on the bar stool and holding forth”, says Malachy, “But I have the responsibility of five thousand people on my shoulders.

Where were you when we were fighting the Language Freedom Movement in Cork, Waterford and Ballinasloe . . .” It is not the Gaelic League, the Dublin section of it at any rate, that fought in Cork or Waterford. As regards Ballinsloe it was scandalous that no fight was made. Whatever battle is now being carried on in Ahascragh the League is far away from it.

Whatever knowledge they had, or have now, of these events they are keeping it secret. Win or lose they will come out of it well. They will claim a victory as their doing. In the case of a defeat they will say the Gaels did not back them up. *C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre*. Their concern is for their public image. In this situation there is no indication they could ever raise the agitation to the level required to convince the Irish to change a language.

The Gael-Linn organisation was modern, unburdened with too much tradition and unhindered by past theories and prejudices. However it had this peculiar division within it from the start. The same people spending half their time on raising funds and half on promoting the language. It was an unsettling way of working. Later they took on much of the responsibility of the Gaeltacht Ministry and part of the Educational Department's work on the language. Gael-Linn was now a Government Agency and big business combined. The officers became very reasonable, very respectable and very cautious. Just now everyone is asking the question as to why they bought Devoy's hotel and not O'Neills. I do not know. Perhaps one was more expensive than the other. Perhaps one had a bigger trade than the other. Anyway if Gael-Linn disappeared tomorrow it would not be missed, any more than would any of the other language organisations. And that is the terrible thing to have to say.

Glór na nGael carries on the type of activity in a district that brings young and old, rich and poor, Gael and non-Gael working together in diverse projects. Through this kind of action it can carve a proud place for itself in the language revival movement just as the G.A.A. did in other fields. It is evident that in any organisation there must be activity, even if it is only community singing. This is what is lacking in a great many branches of the language movement. There is nothing to do and so nothing is done. For instance it would be better for members of the Realt to be praying, for that is action, than to be forever listening to lectures. It would be better for a branch to dissolve when there is no longer any cohesion in it and no objective in sight.

The other day I had a letter from a Literary Gaelic Club asking for help to set up a library on Tory Island. I understand that people have to wait for long periods for the ferry to and from the mainland at certain times of the year I am sure that could be remedied. Or Tory Island inhabitants could be assisted to set up an industry for the manufacture of statuettes of Balor of the evil eye. One last example — the dead do not return. There are plenty of things wrong in the language revival movement, in the Gaeltacht, in the six counties and in Ireland as a whole. I read some time ago of a meeting of the dead, that is, of this organisation, that the only resolution on the agenda was to ask the French Government to grant democratic rights to the Bretons and their language.

It never occurred to me to wonder why these organisations existed until I began writing this and putting my thoughts together. I asked myself why the Gaelic League, the Congress and the Comhchaidreamh existed. The answer forced on me was that they served their purpose as a SOCIAL MILIEU and it is their ineffectiveness and uselessness that keeps them in being.

Because if they were effective that would create a strength and an urgency which would bring change in spite of themselves and the greater the effectiveness the greater the change. The leaders of the movement are saying things like "The Irish language movement must be all things to all men". To that there is the reply, "The Irish language has ended up by being nothing to

nobody". That is how things stand but we must propose a change and try to bring it about.

I hope we all agree there is no future for the Irish language under Fianna Fáil but its extinction. If you do not agree it will die out anyhow and then it does not matter. The great change needed is to take Ireland out of the control of Fianna Fáil and its likes. The impulse of the struggle that wrests Ireland out of the grip of Fianna Fáil would also, if the opportunity was grasped, give the language back to the people. After the Public Fast protest in the G.P.O. in 1966 during the commemoration of Easter Week I said that henceforward the Irish language movement would have to play an active role in the struggle of the Irish people to fulfill the aims of the 1916 Manifesto. This is the Reconquest of Ireland, the revolution, the revolution of the mind and heart, the revolution in wealth distribution, property rights and living standards. To live as Gaels in our own tradition and in our own way.

I do not want to say more about the Dublin fast, or the one in Belfast on the same occasion, but it showed that the Gaelic is still a weapon and a source of strength and guidance for the Irish people. Incidentally I do not know whether the officials of the Gaelic language movement have more hatred for "misneach" (as someone accidentally christened it) than for the Language Freedom Movement. The Gaelic League committee were going around and declaring with empty boastfulness that they had defeated Misneach.

It is said about Douglas Hyde that he admitted he lacked fighting spirit and avoided controversy because he disliked upsetting people. I do not agree. Can you imagine the leaders of the language movement today, even if they knew they could win, putting up the same struggle that Douglas Hyde and his committee did against the bishops in 1908-1909, or even the fight against Mahaffy and Atkinson?

Until very recently there was no necessity to explain the terms "The Reconquest of Ireland" or "The Workers Republic". In 1932, the year Fianna Fáil came to power, these ideas were gaining ground. But in the 1930s the Labour movement was not able to make headway against Fianna Fáil. The Government had the Catholic Church at hand to excommunicate those who preached revolution, socialism and the reconquest of Ireland. There would be no mention of James Connolly at the meetings of the Gaelic language movement. It was only in the prison camps that his ideas were discussed. Now the world has grown used to the idea of socialism, in one form or another. Sooner or later socialism will come to Ireland. That much is certain.

It is the duty of Gaelic revivalists to be socialists. The Gaelic-speaking population in the Gaeltachts make up a class that is the most abandoned and the most oppressed of the Irish people. Their salvation and the salvation of the language are one and the same thing to me. But this is not possible without the reconquest of Ireland — Ireland and its productive resources to be taken back into the control of the people. To me the revolution that is necessary for the reconquest is necessary also for the salvation of the Gaelic language. Therefore any action which raises the spirit and enthusiasm of the Gaelic-speaking public is an important part of the reconquest.

You notice I frequently use the word "CLASS" and some of you will think of "CLASS WAR". This concept was sunk into my mind before I left the Gaeltacht and before I had ever heard of Marx or Connolly. Connolly understood the problem of the language revival. If he had had more knowledge of the Gaeltacht and its conditions I am sure he would have used it

to strengthen his teaching. For class distinction is to be seen in the Gaeltacht more than in any other part of Ireland. Marx, Engels and Lenin would have found clear proof of their conviction that the men of property, the capitalists, are quickest to betray the people's culture. The poor were the Gaelic speakers. Class hatred burned in me before I ever read a word of Connolly or Das Kapital. When I did read them I understood immediately what they were about. Today the same position holds in the Gaeltacht. There is no reason that it should be otherwise. You have only to look at the way the people of property in the Gaeltacht are killing off the culture and the language of the people. Is there hatred in the propertied class in the Gaeltacht towards me and my like? Certainly there is. It is not I who affirms this class war. The Petie O Sheas, the Fullers and the Rosses Hotel carry on this war from day to day, from year to year, operating against the lower classes and its culture.

The Gaelic revivalists should be playing their part in the reconquest of Ireland for that is the only cause worth fighting for. But not only taking part, it is our duty to be leading and guiding it. Let the Gaelic steer the revolution and so the most progressive ideas will be expressed through the Gaelic and that means the language will be saved. The Gaelic language is the reconquest of Ireland — the reconquest of Ireland is the restoration of the Gaelic language. The language of the people will free the people. Therefore let the Gaelic posters and the slogans be seen where the struggle is the fiercest. Where the challenge is strongest against capitalism, against injustice, in the cause of the disadvantaged and the poor let the Colonel's Fainne be seen to be used in a way the Colonel never imagined for it.

I do not know in detail how to go about this campaign. If I did, I would not have time now to go into it. If people are convinced that great changes are necessary I am sure they will know better than I do how to tackle the tasks. I am also sure that their methods will not be all that different from my own. I have a couple of suggestions. Activity will have two aspects, one of resistance and the other of positive demands. Since it is national activity on the political, social and economic fronts I am proposing, we must be mindful that there is a particular field to which the Gales should give attention. This means demanding civil rights for the people of the Gaeltacht and for the Gaelic speakers throughout the country. I will deal with the Gaeltacht areas later. There are three or four ways in which to operate. The old way is by agitation and argument: letters to the Government departments, resolutions, deputations and so on. I do not think there is much to be gained by this method any longer unless it is backed up by active resistance. The government department, office branch or whatever must suffer inconvenience. This has been done already but on too small a scale. A sit-in in an office or outside it, publicise any misdemeanours of a Minister or high official - the ends justify the means. There are one hundred other ways to create a scene. These actions should be carried on consistently but the venues varied. Leaflets should always be distributed to the public explaining in the issues involved in a reasonable and logical manner.

A couple of years ago the Post Office could not supply me with a document in Gaelic that I needed in connection with the death of my wife. I gave them due notice if they did not produce it by a certain day I would take action, without stating what that action would be. What I had in mind was to bring an armful of books into the office concerned and sit down to read and write until I was thrown out and then to sit at the door. I intended to persist in this. However before the day notified I received a letter saying that the

Minister of the Department knew me and there was no need for any document in any language. There the matter ended. The picket is another form of this activity. This scandalous affair concerning the hotels in the Gaeltacht should be publicised until the scandal becomes common knowledge. But do not make picketing a habit as some do. That way it loses its effect. Interruption and disruption in public places can be effective if carried out by varying tactics and in a disciplined fashion. That way it loses its effect. A Government Minister or official, pontificating and telling lies in a public meeting, should be made so uncomfortable that they would prefer to stay at home. I hope we have abandoned the useless signature appeals, although on rare occasions they have been useful.

In our organisation we must be as cute as foxes. We must gather the full facts about everyone. We must be knowledgeable about all the business carried on in the Colonel's office and in the officers of the Government. However we must protect the sources from which we obtain this information and some of us are careless in this regard. The information we had on the anti-social behaviour of the leader of the Language Freedom Movement enabled us to strike a heavy blow on that organisation. If the language movement had any go in at present it could have stopped the GAA from holding the big marches in Ballinasloe last year. Ballinasloe traders would have lost thousands of pounds. If a town was threatened with losing that much money they would not give a damn what the grubby solicitors of the L.F.M. would do. That the language movement did not even consider such action shows they are not a serious movement.

There is an organisation at present which uses the Gaelic to popularise revolutionary ideas. Much more needs to be done. Translations of the work of Connolly and Lalor for the Gaeltacht and reprinting of Mitchel's "Jail Journal" and translations of his writings - the publishing of pamphlets of important speeches for sale or distribution, especially in the Gaeltacht. It is fitting here to remember the success of our pirate radio station broadcasts. It showed the time was past when the Gaelic movement could be described as blind and blundering.

Issues should be chosen with care. It is better they should not be exclusively concerned with the language but connected with other matters of public interest. If it is purely a language issue it should only be taken up if it is likely to receive general public support sufficient to carry it through. The demand for car insurance in Gaelic is not a suitable issue. The insurance companies are not looking for car insurance business. A driver involved in an accident will not be taken on by another company. There is no point in changing from company to company since you will only end up looking foolish.

There is a type of protest which could be called Creative Activity. An example would be to create a dormitory town for Gaelic speakers. Out in the country fifteen to twenty miles from Dublin. The inhabitants would be working in Dublin pending the setting up of industry in the Gaelic town. Such a town could be a harbinger of our future — Gaelic, egalitarian, cooperative, an echo of Ralahine and the visions of Lalor, Connolly and Pearse: a town where young Gaelic cadres of the revolution could be trained.

A parallel action is needed in the Gaeltacht, an industrial complex in Rosaveal in South Connemara for instance. There will be a large harbour there soon. This is a better site for industrial development than Carraroe. The sordid politics which try to bring everything to Carraroe should be stopped.

There are many ways in which the meeting, the picket, the tying to railings, the fast and the sit-in can be organised. To create revolutionary thinking all the worthless notions and manifestations have to be challenged, for example, the Gaelic phrase-a-day and the equally fatuous novel-a-day as promoted in one newspaper. To obtain the best results we have to learn the techniques of protest and revolution. We can learn them through lectures, seminars, publications and from experience. Consistent organisation is called for to restore the Gaelic.

Elections are a form of protest. In the issue of "Comhar" September 1969 I gave a report on the election on West Galway. I will only say here that we began without money, organisation or election machine. We were ignorant of election regulations in a constituency where Fianna Fáil had a Paisley-like hold. We won part of the Gaeltacht and made a deep impression in Galway City. We beat four candidates, one of whom was an ex-Lord mayor of the city. I think it would be easy now to double our 1,500 votes. The lesson to be derived is this. If the Gaels take up other issues not connected with the language and get even a couple thousand votes in some constituencies they will be able to turn the electoral balance upside down. It is to be hoped that Donegal, Mayo and Kerry Gaeltachts will adopt that tactic. I do not recommend nor do I condemn unlawful activity. It would be a sad day for Ireland when the Gaelic was not worth the shedding of a drop of blood.

That day will never be. There are things more important than official positions, respectability, personal freedom or even life itself. We must see to it, by one means or another, that no other hotel shall be set up in the Gaeltacht that does not belong to the people and that it shall be a Gaelic hotel. The sale of land in the Gaeltacht to individuals for house building must be stopped. In future such land should be sold to the Gaeltacht Authority, or to a special Board which can then sell or rent it to a Gaelic speaker. Otherwise it is a waste of public money and robbery of the Irish people to be giving grants to the Gaeltacht. The problem of the Gaeltacht cannot be solved unless the powers that I propose are vigorously applied. In an effort to avoid this solution the despicable Pateen Faulkner said he was a developer and not a preserver.

These powers that I recommend could be exercised in the towns and even in places in the countryside. It should be emphasised that this should be carried out no matter who loses by it. The national heritage is more important than the moral scruples of the likes of disgusting Pateen or the Taca men of property.

Sometimes a great threat is useful in one set of circumstances and to carry it out in another. Passive resistance is another weapon in the struggle. I am thinking of that form of it that turns the other cheek. This kind of resistance would be more effective in a law court than putting your case and explaining why you committed the alleged offence. Better to remain silent and accept whatever sentence is imposed. I think this sort of pliant and gentle attitude would disturb the Court and the public more than if you were to raise Cain about democratic rights for the Gaelic. This kind of pleas is outworn and foolish to the degree where public opinion is less understanding than ever. A mixture of all these methods is necessary. If all of them can be used at the same time so much the better. I would like to think if James Connolly was alive today the progress of his thinking would be along these lines.

A Citizen Army of the Gael in the cause of the Gaelic Language and of Ireland is what is needed now.