

# AN t-ÉIREANNAC AONTUISTÉ THE UNITED IRISHMAN

IML. X. UIMHIR 8.

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## BRITISH TROOPS MUST GO

PATRICK McMANUS

FOR those who knew Pat McManus there is no need to explain either his life or his death. For those who didn't, there is no need either if they accept the premise for which Pat died: that this country has a right to unity and freedom. The others do not matter. They cannot touch his nobility now and they cannot touch his bravery.

That he was a brave man goes without saying. Men with the dedication of a Pat McManus have to be brave and it is an accepted part of them; not noticeable at all. They do not count it among their virtues for they would be embarrassed were you to speak of these things. Nobility he would shrug off too in the commonsense way he had: Pat McManus was an Irishman and he came from Fermanagh where the people do not want British rule but where they have it in spite of that. This explains his life which reached its climax during the past 19 months. And it explains his death along a lonely mountain road.

Pat McManus was a rock when others faltered. He was a born guerrilla leader. His morale did not rise and fall as the struggle entered new phases or grew

difficult, or became more assured of victory. Through the dark and the light he remained the same: always sure of himself and the cause he served.

He must have escaped death or capture a score of times. And it is ironic that when death came in the end it should come in the way it did to a man so wise, so cautious, so experienced. There was iron in his soul as well as in his body and he passed it on to those who came in contact with him. I think we are all better men for having known him. There are men in Crumlin Road to-day who will agree with this; and men in the Curragh and Mountjoy; and men who are no longer with us but who preceded him on the road to eternity.

We mourn his loss but he would want us to do so in a way that befits men who have a job to do and who intend to finish it. Death and struggle inevitably go hand in hand. The names come to us, the roll-call grows longer and the martyrs pass us by.

Memory is a poor substitute for the man himself. But it is a memory that will never fade and never die. Fermanagh can be truly proud of such a son.

—S.C.

*The Resistance Movement fights in Occupied Ireland under the action-slogan: Britain must withdraw her occupation forces from Ireland NOW!*

IN what the London "Times" called the largest-scale operations carried out since the campaign of Resistance opened in Occupied Ireland on December 12, 1956, Irish Republican freedom fighters struck in 12 different areas on July 15-16-17, cut roads, communications, bridges, blasted Imperial Customs Stations and ambushed an R.U.C. patrol.

In the late morning of July 16 all traffic on the Dublin-Belfast road was halted at Killeen while guerrillas seized the building and demolished it. Customs posts were also blown at Middletown, Co. Armagh and Clontivrim, Co. Fermanagh.

In the latter place a patrol of British military of the 15-19 Kings Hussars—an armoured Regiment—were actually at the post when it was blown. Some of them were injured by flying debris.

The main Belfast-Derry road was cut at the Glenshane Pass. Communications were cut in other parts of South Derry. Roads were cratered and bridges blown throughout parts of South and North Fermanagh.

Patrick McManus of Kinawley, Co. Fermanagh, who was high on the Crown authorities "wanted list" with a price on his head, was killed in an accidental explosion on the Border near Derryrealt, Co. Cavan. Two other men were injured and were taken to Cavan Hospital. They were Peter Albert McGovern and John Owens of Swanlinbar.

In Armagh City, three men were arrested on July 17 after strong forces of R.U.C. entered the grounds of St. Patrick's Cathedral with guns drawn and machine-guns at the ready. They were: Michael Anthony Meade of Limerick City; Denis Foley of Tralee, Co. Kerry; and William Reilly of Armagh.

No other arrests were made. British security forces were put on an emergency alert throughout the Occupied area and homes, farms and buildings were raided by special units while cordons were thrown around them.

An R.U.C. man was killed following an attack at Carrickbroad, Co. Armagh.

### Editorial

### WORD OF COMMAND

THE third British Imperial Note to come to Dublin since the Campaign of Resistance in Occupied Ireland opened, has arrived.

The first was in January, 1957. It came to Mr. Costello who then headed the 26-County Government. It was followed by mass arrests.

The second came to Mr. de Valera after the July 4 Forkhill ambush in 1957. It was followed two days later by the opening of the Concentration Camp in the Curragh and the arrest of the Sinn Féin Ard Comhairle and key members throughout the country.

The third arrived after the attacks of July 15-16-17, 1958.

According to the political correspondent of the Unionist "Belfast Telegraph" (July 21) the Commonwealth Relations Office in London stated that Sir Alexander Clutterbuck, British Ambassador in Dublin, had a discussion with Mr. Frank Aiken, 26-County Minister for External Affairs, when he delivered the Note.

An exchange of views on events in Occupied Ireland apparently resulted.

The Resistance in Occupied Ireland will not be ended by British Notes delivered in Dublin. If a British Note could have stopped the fight for freedom of this generation it would have ended in January, 1957. And there is only one "exchange of views," Mr. Aiken could in justice, hand the British Ambassador:

"England! Withdraw your forces of Occupation Now."

Any other would be a betrayal of the Irish nation and further surrender to British Imperialism.

The choice was simple.

## Ireland Free and Undivided

AS we go to press there are rumours of impending new attacks on the Republican Movement. Our enemies are making agonizing new appraisals of our strength among the people.

These same enemies have written us off a dozen times in the past 20 months — since the Campaign of Resistance opened in Occupied Ireland on December 12, 1956.

The Crown authorities in British-Occupied Ireland are demanding

new measures against the Republican Movement in the 26-Counties. It isn't enough that there is a Concentration Camp and an Offences Against the State Act.

They have boldly included in their demands a ban on this newspaper the, "United Irishman."

Mr. de Valera has stated he may ask for more totalitarian powers.

This could well be a crisis-point in the present fight for freedom. The Irish people must now in turn demand:

That the 26-County Government cease doing England's police work for her.

Let the voice of our people be heard throughout the land.

Let them in turn tell Britain that we want here an Ireland free and undivided.

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## THOUSANDS ATTEND FUNERAL



Left: A section of the funeral cortege. Right: At the graveside of Patrick McManus.

## WHAT OTHER PEOPLE ARE SAYING

THE "Donegal Democrat (May 23) commenting on the arrest by the R.U.C. in the Border town of Belleek of a father and son from Rossnowlagh, Ballyshannon, County Donegal, noted the following:

"If an Irishman resident in the 26 Counties can be arrested in Six County territory and lodged in jail without trial, surely such action on the part of a junta without any moral justification to rule must have serious implications and be a matter of grave concern to every Irish man and woman who exercises the God-given right to travel Ireland unhindered from shore to shore.

"If such lawless conduct can be engaged in with impunity on Irish soil by Ireland's enemies, what in Heaven's name is the meaning of the freedom of which we boast here in the 26 Counties!"

And later on: "At present the position would appear to be that no one who displays a feeling of nationalism, in any form, can consider himself free once he crosses the detestable Border line. It is an unpleasant thought that the affairs of decent men are known to the sleuth-hounds of Stormont, who would seem to have a certain amount of freedom to operate here in the 26 Counties."

(NOTE: It is also true to say that no one with a feeling of nationalism from north of the Border can expect to escape without some form of police molestation in the 26 Counties also. Many from the north are in the Curragh Concentration Camp.)

### SOUTH GALWAY

THE "Galway Observer" (June 7) commented: "Should South Galway be merged with North Galway to make a five-seat constituency, Sinn Féin are nearly certain to win a seat. In the north they have Padraic Kelly, and no doubt with the new register he, like his colleague, Murt Qualter, will increase on his close on 3,000 poll at the general election. Murt has already jumped 1,700 votes in a short 15 months. What is happening in the Fianna Fail stronghold, South Galway, is almost certain to occur in nearly every other constituency. . . ."

### A BIG HOLE

THE "Daily Mail" (May 29) stated in a report: "Bombs in Northern Ireland have blown a hole in the Imperial contribution—for the second time in a year, it was revealed by Capt. T. O'Neill, Minister of Finance, in his Budget

speech yesterday. Britain gave 'Ulster' an additional £1,000,000 last February to meet the cost of security measures. This meant that the estimated Imperial contribution, in the 1957 Budget, of £10,500,000 had to be reduced accordingly."

Unionist M.P., Major Phelim O'Neill told a meeting ("Northern Constitution," June 7): "What worried him was not that it (unemployment) was over 10 per cent at the moment but that it was 10 per cent when the rate ruling in Great Britain was only 2 per cent. . . . They had two empty factories in Ballymoney, he thought he was right in saying, and they were waiting for some enterprising person to come over and put up the necessary capital. . . . The Budget figures in many ways made rather alarming reading. The Imperial contribution was a good deal less than it was several years ago, and money was not as valuable as it was then. The plain, stark fact was that Northern Ireland was not a wealthy country and at the moment they were not paying their way."

### LENISTER HOUSE DEBATES

THE following extracts are from the official reports of debates in Leinster House. In each case, the references are given at the head of the extract.

(Vol. 167, No. 1, 15th April, 1958. Col. 159):—Capt. Giles: "Unfortunately, at the moment we have also a wave of political trouble. The present Minister is a man of broad vision, courage and intelligence and I hope he will deal tactfully with the situation because the situation needs tact and consideration. However, internment without trial is a bad thing. It is history repeating itself. If a man commits an offence and is sentenced, that is all right, but these young fellows who are interned should be released. We are only making patriots out of them. We had the same experience during the Civil War when young fellows were brought in. We made heroes out of them by putting them behind bars. If we had given them a kick in the tail and sent them out, that would have been adequate to deal with the situation. This House has failed the country. I would ask the Minister to see that no man is interned without trial. We should not allow ourselves to be made the tools of the Northern junta. . . . We do not seem to appreciate what the people are suffering up there."

(Note—Capt. Giles' party, Fine

Gael, voted with Fianna Fail last year, for internment without trial or charge.)

(Vol. 167, No. 2. Col. 191-192, etc.):—Mr. P. J. Bourke: "This part of Ireland has had freedom only since 1922. There has been turmoil over long periods. . . . Everyone in this House stands four square behind the Minister for Justice in the difficult task he has to do. . . . In trying to put down any kind of blackguardism, the Commissioner and the Gardaí should get all possible encouragement. The blackguardly junta to which I am referring are pulling down the fair name of our nation." (The speaker did not name the "blackguardly junta" to which he was referring.)

(Col. 195) Mr. Desmond: "There is no use in presenting forms to any individual to be signed. What is the remedy? I cannot offer a clear remedy. . . . These men are no better, but they are not any worse, than the men who believed they were right in 1920. . . . We shall not succeed in solving that problem by holding to the line to which Deputy Bourke drew attention. It is fantastic for us to speak of our hopes and desires in regard to democratic government here while we hold these young people in jail without trial."

(Col. 275-6) Mr. Sherwin: "As far as I can see there has been no improvement as far as Partition is concerned. What have the present Government done?—a speech now and then. Do we follow up this speech?—no. Then we have another speech next year. We act like defeatists; we have no policy it seems; and we can do nothing about it."

(Col. 296) Mr. Dillon: "When I read some of the understanding plamás that is being published at present about our obligations to lick the feet of those who divided this country, when we are told it is our duty to forget that Bonar Law and the Tory Party undertook to destroy the British Constitution in order to divide this country, when we are told that we must eliminate all that from our minds and make a new departure, and when I think of the Buckingham Palace Conference and the men who wrecked their lives and careers rather than accept the ultimatum of Bonar Law, and, when I remember our people were, after 40 years, driven back into arms by disciples, not of the Fenians nor of the United Irishmen, but had arms forced back into their hands to defend themselves against the disciples of Bonar Law, Carson, the Marquess of Lansdowne and the rest of them, it makes me angry that I have to listen to the reproofs of those that we have a duty to forget all that as well as to forgive it."

"When I hear people telling me at international conferences that it is the business of Ireland to settle this matter, I cannot help recalling what somebody else said on another occasion, and I think his name was Pontius Pilate, that he was not called upon to make a judgment; let others take the responsibility. I do not want to exacerbate a difficult position, but I can look back vicariously at least over 100 years of the history of this throughout which my family has sought to secure conciliation between our people and the British people, and three times I have seen conceded to violence what was denied to reason and argument. On each of these

(Continued on Page 13)

## Which Party Do You Back?

"Mr. J. M. Dillon asked the Minister what made him raise the fee by £100 'when he had restored his own group to the Board.'"

"Mr. Childers said . . . all he was doing was placing the fees in line with those paid to persons in similar positions in other companies."

—Report in "Irish Press," 30th May, 1958.

"There was an angry scene at a special meeting of the North Tipperary County Council . . . Mr. P. Tierney (Lab.) made a remark that Mr. Fanning's nephew was a candidate for the vacant Thurles rate collectorship and Mr. Fanning, T.D. (F.F.) hotly resented the remark, left his chair and made towards Mr. Tierney . . . The Council were discussing a motion lodged by Mr. Hannafin (chairman, F.F.) to take steps to fill the vacancy . . . and to rescind a previous notice that the matter be deferred for 12 months. The motion was ruled out after a noisy discussion."

. . . Mr. Tierney said he objected to Mr. Fanning laying down rules and regulations because his own nephew is looking for the job.

"Mr. Fanning—You are wrong. You are a liar."

"Mr. Tierney—He was going for the job."

"Mr. Fanning—You won't use that talk to me."

—Report in "Nenagh Guardian" 31st May, 1958.

"North Tipperary County Council at a meeting last week rescinded a decision of a former meeting to collect the rates of No. 8 district through the Council instead of filling the vacancy created by the resignation of Mr. Frank Duggan. Mr. Fanning said . . . It was mentioned the last day that my nephew was a candidate for the rate collectorship. It was also said he was turned down at the party meeting. That was a lie and I am going to prove it to the people that he will be a candidate and let the party turn him down."

—Report headed "Co. Council's 'About Turn,'" in "The Tipperary Star," 14th June, 1958.

"An Independent, Mr. Colm O'Donnell, was elected chairman of South Tipperary County Council at a stormy meeting in Clonmel yesterday, when there was a split between Fianna Fail members in the vote."

"Mr. O'Donnell and Mr. Thomas Duggan (Fianna Fail), outgoing, were both proposed and seconded by Fianna Fail members. Mr. O'Donnell was elected by 15 votes (nine Fine Gael members, five Fianna Fail members, and one Independent). There were 10 votes for Mr. Duggan (eight Fianna Fail members, and two Labour members).

"The Mayor of Clonmel, Alderman Sean Treacy (Labour), said that he was shocked and amazed to learn that five Fianna Fail members had decided to support a member of a different party who could in no way be associated with their aims and aspirations."

"Senator Denis E. Burke (Fine Gael) said that the Fine Gael members were told that Mr. O'Donnell was to be proposed and if he was, it was their intention to vote for him. 'There is no mud going to be thrown on us just

because we voted for a man proposed by your party.'

"Mr. G. Meskill (Fianna Fail), who voted for Mr. O'Donnell, said that he had been deputed by the Fianna Fail Party to approach Mr. O'Donnell in connection with a recent co-option to fill a vacancy caused by the death of a Fianna Fail member."

"Without Mr. O'Donnell's support they would not have been able to retain the seat which belonged to them. Mr. O'Donnell agreed to support their nominee if, in return, they supported him for the chair at the annual meeting. He put Mr. O'Donnell's condition before a meeting of the party at which a majority was present, and the meeting agreed to support Mr. O'Donnell. He conveyed this information to Mr. O'Donnell, and the latter then voted for them in the co-option."

"I am sorry to say there are some here to-day who have gone back on it," Mr. Meskill continued. "I think it would be a despicable thing if I went back on my word and made a fool out of Councillor O'Donnell."

—Report in "Irish Times," 2nd July, 1958.

"Mr. Palmer—The political pull must be stronger there than in South Kerry. There should be no pull in allotting boats."

"Mr. Childers—Boats are not awarded politically."

"Mr. Palmer—I am sorry to say they are. I happen to know it."

"Mr. Childers—It is not true, Deputy. I am not exercising my influence in the awarding of boats. They are awarded on merit and the Deputy is very unfair."

—Report in "Irish Press," 2nd July, 1958.

"It isn't deserving people who are getting these jobs at all. Wealthy people, the people with the pull will get them, said Mr. Coffey at a meeting of South Tipperary County Council at which for the third time the Council asked the Minister to rescind his decision that there be one appointment for the vacant rate collectorship in Slieveardagh area . . . A majority of the Council want the area divided in two and the poudage of £1,000 to provide jobs for two men."

—Report in "The Tipperary Star," 14th June, 1958.

**AT** the Mayoral election of Kilkenny Corporation, Alderman Delaney said he was resigning from Fianna Fail because he said "after giving the matter consideration, it seemed to me there is intrigue, back-biting and a certain amount of dishonesty in the selection of the candidate (for Mayor) on behalf of Fianna Fail."

Alderman Michael McGuinness (Fianna Fail) who was re-elected Mayor said by way of reply: "I congratulate Alderman Delaney on his very outspoken remarks. As far as any conniving was concerned, I had nothing at all to do with it."

Councillor Gleeson said he could not vote for the Mayor because of the internment of Sinn Féin prisoners in the Curragh.

## Manchester Trial

JOSEPH McALEER and his wife Joanna McAleer of Bedwell Street, Manchester, were found not guilty of "conspiracy to steal firearms" and were discharged by a Liverpool Crown Court after being held in custody separated from their children for two months.

It was ruled that the cost of their defence should be paid out of public funds as compensation for their wrongful imprisonment.

The same court found Michael Joseph Hanly (24) a native of Roscommon guilty of the same charge. He was ordered to leave England for two years.

Mrs. McAleer and Michael Joseph Hanly were joint treasurers of the Sinn Féin Manchester Cumann. During the trial it was

proved that all branches of the Republican Movement are legal in Britain and that it is legal to collect on their behalf there and on behalf of prisoners "provided the common laws covering such matters are not broken."

### Memorial

THE people of Carrickarnon and Edentubber think it only right that a small memorial in the form of a Celtic cross should be erected at the place where the young men lost their lives for Ireland.

Persons wishing to subscribe to this worthy cause, please send subscriptions to the undersigned.

Is mise,

Mr. John Burns (Senior).  
Carrickarnon, Dundalk.

# FUNERAL OF PATRICK McMANUS

## Last Respects Paid by Thousands

**T**HOUSANDS attended the funeral of Patrick McManus of Kinawley, Co. Fermanagh, at Swanlinbar on July 18. There were 15 wreaths on the grave including those from his comrades, from families that had known him, from the Ard Comhairle of Sinn Féin, from Sinn Féin Cumainn, from his native County, and from Clan na Gael of America.

The oration over the grave was delivered by Seán Ó Bradaigh of Longford.

He said:

"Faoi dubhron croí atáimid tagaithe chuig an áit bheannaithe seo inniu. Tá brón thar cuimse ar mhuintir na dúthaí seo agus ar Chlanna Gael sa mbaile agus i gcéin de bhrí go bhfuil Pádraig Mac Mághnais básaithe. Fear cráifeach dea-mhóideach a bhí ann, a thug gach a raibh aige ar son a thíre. Chaith sé a shaol ag obair ar a son agus anois tá sé taréis a nama d'ibirt ar a son fosta.

Continuing the speaker said: "Patrick McManus left home and family at the start of the Campaign of Resistance on December 12, 1956, and worked ceaselessly from that date, enduring many trials and hardships. He has now made the supreme sacrifice. He has given his life for his fellow-countrymen, for us and for the generations that are to come, that we might rule our country in our own way without interference

from any foreign power. This place where we stand will henceforth be a place of pilgrimage."

And he concluded: Now is the time for all the Irish people to unite behind the Republican Movement and make Patrick McManus' ideal a living reality. And his ideal was to raise the Irish people into a sovereign



PATRICK McMANUS

independent nation. Let us now go away from this hallowed spot and bend ourselves to that task."

### VIGIL

An all-night vigil was kept on the coffin on Wednesday night. The remains were taken to the Church on Thursday evening. A guard of honour remained on the coffin until the Church closed.

Rev. Fr. Fox, C.C. officiated, assisted by Rev. Fr. Gilmartin, C.C.

Fr. Fox said Patrick McManus, who was better known as Paddy Mac, was held in wide esteem not only in his native Kinawley but throughout a wide area and his funeral tribute showed this.

## For Which Patriots Fell

**A**T a commemoration ceremony at the grave of Laurence Sweeney, of the 6th Dublin Battalion of the I.R.A., in Churchtown Cemetery, Mr. Kevin Boland said that the cause for which Laurence Sweeney died (he was killed in an engagement at Castledermot, Co. Kildare, in 1922) was that for which Fianna Fáil was founded and for which many other patriots had given their lives.

The cause for which Laurence Sweeney died was the setting-up of a 32-County Irish Republic based on the Proclamation of 1916. No one is so naive to-day as to believe that Fianna Fáil adheres to this aim. If they do, why do

## Philadelphia Irish Picket British Embassy



they imprison and intern Irish Republicans who have the same ideal, and why do they collaborate with the Imperial forces in maintaining the Border that divides the Irish people and prevents them setting up that 32-County Republic?

Mr. Boland was correct in saying that this was the cause for which many other patriots had

given their lives. In the last year or so a number of young men gave their lives for the cause of Irish freedom. What is Mr. Boland's attitude towards them? As Minister for Defence he was responsible for the action of the 26-County army in hunting down the comrades of the young men who died and turning them over to be imprisoned and interned.

## Fine Gael Organ Attacks U.I.

**A** NEW Fine Gael sponsored periodical, the "National Observer," makes its debut with a front-page attack on this journal. They find fault with our thinking and reporting. This is hardly surprising. Getting down to cases they charge us specifically with inaccuracy and worse in our account (June issue) of the conditions in Mountjoy Jail that led to the last hunger-strike.

The influential directors of the new publication, mostly high-ranking Fine Gael members, should have had no difficulty in checking our story were they so minded. It just isn't enough to say they don't believe us. Of course they don't believe us—or if they do they are hardly going to admit this in public. All they want is a peg on which to hang a moral and the moral is this:

"It is time that the strange perversion of values contained in this article and indeed in every edition of the "United Irishman" was rectified. Propaganda of this kind should not be allowed to disguise the truth or to discredit public servants engaged in the difficult task of upholding the laws enacted by an Irish Parliament for the common good of all."

We documented the brutal treatment in Mountjoy and we stand over our statement. We do not know what values the backers of the "National Observer" hold, but we con-

sider the hammering of a defenceless Republican prisoner in his cell a perversion of the values held by the majority of the Irish people. If the members of the board of the "National Observer" think otherwise then that is a matter for their individual consciences—and for the Irish people.

The editorial in question says we failed to mention that "eight warders had to undergo hospital treatment, some for suspected fracture of the skull, some for serious cuts, and some to have teeth extracted." Hospital treatment given free in a public service is a very broad term and can cover divers suspected ailments. We are dealing in facts—unlike the "National Observer." We said one warder fell down some steps as the prisoners tried to grab his keys. Perhaps it was suspected he had a fractured skull. He didn't. And the rest of the warders were back on duty except for two who took a week's leave.

The brutal treatment we reported had nothing to do with the struggle in the prison yard. It occurred in the cells later and led to the hunger-strike. Beating was only part of it. The facts are as we outlined in the June issue. We might add to this account the specific case of a youth from British-Occupied Ireland who was punched in both eyes by a ranking officer of the prison staff, was

kicked by several warders and finished up lying on the cell floor being kicked and punched in the ribs before being dragged to his feet for forcible incarceration in an empty cell.

As for his hospital treatment: the doctor visited him next day and the blood of the assault still remained on his face from that day (May 6) until the following Sunday May 11. They would supply him with no water for washing. The doctor made no comment on his condition and the prisoner would not humiliate himself by complaining.

Would a wounded animal be treated in this fashion by the gentleman who penned the editorial comment in the "National Observer"? Or perhaps that is how the Fine Gael backers of the "National Observer" believe young men from Occupied Ireland fighting for their country's freedom and who fall into the hands of the 26-County authorities should be treated? One thing we know: this belief is not held by the rank and file members of Fine Gael or by those who vote for it at election time.

Far from discrediting the majority of the warders we were at pains to point out that the warders involved in the cell-beatings were strangers to the prisoners. And only a couple of these were particularly vicious. No objection was raised to the

give-and-take scuffling in the prison-yard. The Republican prisoners have no complaints to make against the majority of the warders in Mountjoy Prison.

But Republican prisoners and this newspaper have a complaint to make against the strange perversion of values (to quote the "National Observer") involved in the deliberate whitewashing of such actions. They have a purpose, of course, their implication is that the "United Irishman" not be allowed to exist. We have an idea that the Young Empire Leaguers over at the "National Observer" office rather resent the fact that this journal speaks with the authentic voice of its generation of Irish men and women whereas West Briton Toryism is growing more and more unpopular.

—THE EDITOR

## Aloysius Hand

**W**E regret to announce the death of Aloysius Hand of Clones who was killed by British forces at Clontivrim, County Fermanagh. Our sincerest sympathy goes to his family on his untimely death.

Aloysius Hand was not a member of the Irish Republican Movement, but he died from British bullets in the Occupied part of Ireland. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam.

## Wexford Meeting

**A** LARGE attendance at the Bull Ring, Wexford, under the auspices of the Pearail Cumann, Sinn Féin, protested against the continued detention of Irishmen in the Curragh Concentration Camp.

Sean O Bradaigh said that the "Better Government of Ireland Act, of 1920 had divided Ireland into two parts and it was the aim of Sinn Féin to unite them. Here we had a population of approximately four and a quarter million people helping to maintain three Governments (Leinster House, Stormont and Westminster), two armies, two or three police forces, and two branches of the Civil Service. Ireland was unable to bear all this.

Continuing, Mr. O Bradaigh said that the Finance Board of London dictated the cost of living North and South. The solution was a Government which with its own financial system would ensure that the savings of the people would be invested at home. Only Sinn Féin offered this policy.

A statement from the Sinn Féin Publicity Bureau was read by Mr. Sean O Dubhail.

Charles McGlade (Belfast) spoke of the ties between his native county, Antrim, and Wexford in the past. The two counties had a lot in common in '98, and they had still one thing in common to-day—they were striving for a free and united Ireland. They are fighting in the North for independence to-day and he hoped that every support both morally and financially would be forthcoming from Wexford.

Sean O Dubhail, Hon. Sec. Wexford Comhairle Ceanntair, presided.

## Letters to the Editor

## OUR PARTITION STATUS

A Chara,

In spite of all our boasting about beating the Black-and-Tans, and gaining our independence, we have nothing to-day but the Partition Act which Redmond could have got us in 1918. It makes no difference how you dress up the lady, whether in long skirts, or short skirts, or even hobble skirts; the bobbed hair, or shingled hair; the H-line, or sack-line, she is still the same old lady that we rejected in 1918, and we are still ashamed to admit, that her father, Lloyd George, was able to dress her up in such different fashions, that we married the girl we had previously rejected without being aware of it.

The smoke of battle had scarcely cleared from the streets of Dublin in 1916, when the leaders in Frongoch were advocating a policy of entering the English Parliament under William O'Brien, and thereby, cashing in, and betraying the Republic that year. I was one of eight persons on the committee of the camp, and I was ostracised for opposing. In 1918, when the Irish people endorsed the action of Pearse, and his comrades, Lloyd George told his Cabinet, that if given his own way, he would break the Irish resistance. He accordingly created the infamous Black-and-Tans, with the object of forcing Partition on us.

When the Irish refused to accept Partition voluntarily, he ignored their views, and proceeded to pass the Partition Act through the House of Commons. When the Act was nearly passed at the end of 1918, he made four attempts to get the Irish to accept the terms. The men he used to make these offers were—Lord Mayor Farrell, Mr. Moyllette, George Russell, and last of all Bishop Clune. The terms he offered in all cases were the same, the three main items being:

1. Acceptance of the Government of Ireland Act.
2. The surrender of arms by the Insurgents,
3. The handing over of the books by the County Council for audit.

I got to know these terms from the late Sir Henry Bellew, and I was listening to George Russell telling them to Sir Henry. I did not believe them until I got notice on December 2, to attend a special meeting of the County Council to carry out our part of the surrender. I refused to do so and instead demanded recognition of the Republic by England, in what came to be known as the "Galway Resolution." For this I was condemned by all parties. Speaking in the House of Commons eleven days later on December 15, 1920, Lloyd George repeated the terms I have given, and here is what he said about the Resolution:—

"Whilst we welcome such gestures as the Galway County Council peace Resolution, nevertheless, to comply with its terms would mean recognition of the Irish Republic, and that is something His Majesty's Government cannot and will not do."

These statements can be found in the Irish Times of December

12, 1920, and may be read in the National Library of Kildare Street. Was it any wonder, therefore, that Lloyd George felt confident he would impose Partition when all the then leaders including Mr. de Valera condemned me for demanding recognition of the Republic and preventing them taking the Partition Act.

Even during the negotiations in 1921, Mr. de Valera showed his weakness by the hurried journey of two of his men to Garloch, and also allowing the delegates to bring maps to the conference room to discuss Partition. But in all Lloyd George's dealing with us, his cleverest move was after the vote on the Treaty in January, 1922. Lloyd George knew well, that there was more force and real backing behind the fifty-seven who were against, than the sixty-three, who were for the Partition Act. And realising it's danger, he coolly announced in the House of Commons:—

"Now that the Irish have accepted the articles of agreement we are going to transfer six regiments belonging to His Majesty's Army over to the newly-formed State to act as the nucleus of an Army. His Majesty's Government has no further claim on them."

Those regiments were the Dublin Fusiliers, the Munster Fusiliers, the Connacht Rangers, the South Irish Horse, the Royal Irish Rifles, and some other that I have forgotten. At the time England had so many men under arms that she did not know what to do with them, and Lloyd George found it a very convenient and useful way to get rid of them, as they were still used to enforce Partition, and Ireland paid for them. With those six regiments, nearly all of whom were English, recruited in England during the war, were one hundred and sixty British officers.

Now, if Lloyd George were foolish enough to send them in, dressed in British uniform and carrying the Union Jack, he could not deceive anybody. So he was careful to dress them in Irish uniform, and allowed them to carry the Tricolour, and in this way, they convinced a lot of innocent and well-meaning people, that they were an Irish Army, instead of being what they really were, the successors of the Black-and-Tans.

But the strangest thing of all is, that Mr. de Valera, who asked the Republicans to fight against the Partition Act then, and who asked seventy-seven young men to face the firing squads rather than take it, has now come to regard that same Partition Act as the lawful Government of the country, and claims the right, to execute, or jail without trial anyone who dares to challenge the right of this foreign-imposed Partition Act to be the lawful Government of the country.

A very prominent member of the Fianna Fail party once told me that the late Mary McSwiney warned Mr. de Valera, that once he began to slip, he would be unable to stop himself slipping to the lowest depths. Unfortunately, that prophecy has proved true, and Mr. de Valera has now found him-

self, like the late John Redmond, unable to retrace his steps, and instead, he tries to justify his capitulation to England.

He is like Redmond and O'Connell, trying appeasement although he knows well the disastrous consequences of such a policy in the past. The very first year he got full power he passed an Act consolidating the Border by making aliens of our countrymen in the North, and few knew about it, until a man named Cassidy from Newry, was fined for fishing in Irish territorial waters. In 1937, he meekly obeyed the commands of England to take them out of difficulties by passing the Abdication Act, without demanding a "quid pro quo," although England had us crippled in a spiteful economic war.

In 1938, when England knew the war was imminent, he made a bargain with Chamberlain, which could only be compared with the bargain of Moses and the Green Spectacles, and then tried to persuade the public that it was this bargain that kept us neutral, when he knew well, that only for American intervention at the time, England would have taken possession of the ports they ceded to us, under the Cosgrove-like bargain with Chamberlain.

Quite recently, we've seen Mr. Costello and Mr. de Valera stand on the same platform appealing for funds to build a chapel in honour of Terence McSwiney. But if Terence McSwiney had survived the great protest he made, he might have died before the firing squads of the transferred British Army in 1923, and add another name to the seventy-seven, or, if by chance, he survived that period, it is almost certain he would be behind the barbed-wire at the Curragh Camp to-day, on the orders of Mr. de Valera.

James Haverty.

Mount Bellew,

Co. Galway.

## 36 Years

A Chara,

Antrim Republican stated some authentic facts, and the conclusion of his letter—"our day is no exception," was really and truly appropriate. It is to be deplored that owing to the activities of our party politicians for the last 36 years that they have succeeded in corrupting the opinions and outlook of at least 70 per cent of our people in most of the 26-Counties.

John Kiernan.

Castleblayney.

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## The Concentration Camp

A Chara,

THERE is evidence that the Irish people are at last beginning to grasp the implications of the whole shameful concentration camp business, that it is done in their name and that the ultimate responsibility is theirs. Mr. de Valera and his colleagues have been busy trying to convey the impression that the release of the Republican prisoners is a matter for the Republican prisoners themselves to decide. Willy-nilly, the people who voted for Fianna Fail in all good faith, are made a party to a proceeding where men—many of them fathers of young families—are officially kidnapped and jailed as secretly as possible in a concentration camp, and held there without charge or trial until they sign a form which automatically brands them as law-breakers and criminals. And that is the "assurance" that Mr. de Valera demands—in the name of the Irish people. And that, the Leinster House people say, is a matter for the prisoners themselves.

The concentration camp in Belfast is readily recognised by the Irish people for what it is—part of the effort of the British Imperial regime at Stormont to crush the Republican resistance

campaign taking place in the North. The Stormont junta makes no bones about the evil. The Imperialists admit it is an evil and then they claim that it is a necessary evil in order to maintain "law and order" in the Six Counties. The "law and order" is the old British version, and the people of Ireland know from bitter and tragic experience what that is.

Stormont doesn't feel called upon to excuse itself. Leinster House has provided the excuse, if one were necessary. At this side of the Border where no resistance whatsoever is offered to the police or military forces of the Twenty-Six Counties, the "law and order" cry has gone out from Leinster House and the jails and concentration camps are being filled.

All the excusing for the two regimes is done by Leinster House. Britain can wash her hands of it before the world, and profess pious regret. Her position is secure. And that, precisely, is what they were intended to do when the 1921 Treaty was drafted and signed: to act as they have acted consistently ever since 1921, as coercionists and jailers for John Bull.

Mac Airt.

Cill Dara.

## Fianna Fail

A Chara,

Dr. Ryan stated recently that the youth of Ireland was interested in the Fianna Fail party. Fianna Fail has made many wrong statements, but this surely is the worst. How could the youth be interested in a party that has deprived them of the right to work and live in their own country? That has made thousands cross the sea to look for work in a country that has tortured the Irish people for close on 800 years? A Party that has helped the British and Stormont Governments track down young Irish Republicans.

If the youth are interested it is not in Fianna Fail but Sinn Féin because they know that Sinn Féin is the only organisation that has remained true to the Irish people. They are joining Sinn Féin because they know that by being a member of that organisation they are demanding Ireland's Independence for which our people have fought and suffered for so long. The youth who sell the "United Irishman" outside the Chapel gates once a month, the youth who are in the Curragh, Mountjoy, and Crumlin Road yes these are the youth that are interested in Ireland's future and not in Fianna Fail.

C. O. Dubhghaill.

Inis Corthaidh,

Co. Loch Garman.

## Sympathy

A Chara,

The sisters and niece of the late Richard Cox, Boat Street, Newry, Co. Down, wish to thank those who sympathised with them in their recent bereavement—especially his old Republican comrades.

(Mrs.) Mary Sexton.

## Hungary

A Chara,

There is so much hypocrisy in Mr. de Valera's Ennis speech on Hungary. No word about what has happened and is happening in Ireland! How about something on British Crown forces terrorism here?

Dochas.

Dublin.

A Chara,

I was amazed to read Mr. de Valera's statement re the Hungarian executions. While freedom loving people everywhere deplore the recent happenings in Hungary I doubt very much if Mr. de Valera's statement is sincere.

Mr. de Valera has applauded the Hungarian freedom fighters for their heroic stand but at the same time he is busy filling his jails and concentration camp with those who dared raise their voices fighting against British rule in Ireland.

Morgain.

Wexford.

## Emigration

A Chara,

As a reader of the "United Irishman" and worker of the Republican Cause, I think joining the Republican Movement would stem emigration.

Either way I think it my duty and every other youth's duty as Irishmen to fight side by side with the Freedom Fighters in the North against British torture and Imperialism.

It would be a proud thing to say that you fought for the same cause for which Sabhat and O h-Anluain gave their lives.

"Future Freedom Fighter"  
Co. Loch Garman.

## The Facts of Northern Irish Life

A Chara,

The "Irish Times" recently treated us to six articles on "The Northern Catholic." They were critical of the Nationalist policy for the last 40 years. That was no harm. They were realistic to a degree — the degree we have become used to. This is easily enough accomplished by men who can write semi-objectively about matters outside their lives: the "Irish Times" writer, of course, doesn't have to live in the Six Counties. Men with money or positions can also live quite happily under any flag.

Yet the facts of northern life must be faced sooner or later. As I see it:

Partition is an injustice kept in existence by many other acts of injustice. These acts of injustice are operated by (a) fraud in local parliamentary and other elections and by gerrymandering, (b) in appointments which can be proved by record-books, and (c) in housing where bigotry is the deciding factor.

All this ground has been covered before. Brookeborough would admit that it wasn't his statesmanship gave him the Prime Ministership of the Six Counties but his profession of bigotry.

We lose patience with injustice and hypocrisy alike. These are the facts of life in the Six Counties which have made the hardest-hit section of the population realise that there is only one way out: force the issue.

The unanswered question remains: Can we have real peace while justice is ignored and outlawed?

Pax

Co. Antrim.

## They Went to Bodenstown

A Chara,

I sincerely hope the great Republican tribute to Wolfe Tone at Bodenstown on June 15 will get a big write-up in July issue of the "United Irishman." I know the Irish people who are true to the teaching and principles of Tone, Emmet and Pearse, eagerly await the full story of that memorable occasion. They were not duped by the misleading figures appearing in the daily Press.

Let us, the thousands of Republicans who marched at Bodenstown re-echo the final words of J. J. McGill on that day Long live the Republic.

Is mise,

Seamus O h-Airmheadha.

Cillcais,  
Cluain Meala.

A Chara,

I have been going to Bodenstown for the Annual Wolfe Tone Commemoration for a long number of years. As a result of the internments, I was interested in the attendance this year and I can definitely say, that the attendance was larger than in former years

## From an Irish Mother

A Chara,

In these dark days of Irish history I feel compelled as an Irish mother to voice my feelings against the treatment meted out to the youth of Ireland, who are imprisoned, and whose only crime is love of country.

Some time ago the daily papers reported the British Queen Mother's arrival in Occupied Ireland, and gave prominent space to a photograph of her laying the foundation stone of yet another Imperialistic pinnacle. This happened almost within a stone's throw of one of Britain's dungeons where young Irish boys are pining away.

It is a sad thought that here in this part of Ireland we also have jails and Concentration Camps.

If we would just give a thought to our Irish mothers who sit and think of their sons who are incarcerated in English jails, and wondering will they ever embrace them at their doorsteps again. Such thoughts should move us to a realisation that it is the duty of every fair-minded person to lend their voices in protest against continued arrests and imprisonment. Le Meas Mor.

An Irish Mother.

Co. Leitrim.

## Rally Around

A Chara,

Is it possible that the spirit of the majority of the Irish is dormant or has shoneenism taken root? I hope not. In the 1914-18 war England went all out to impose conscription. The people made a firm stand and defeated the Act. Why don't we do the same now, unite and demand an end to emigration, unemployment and the exporting of our wealth to Britain?

We could use some of the £500-

million that is lying in the Banks to start rural industries. We could break-up the ranches and give land to the young. To carry out this programme let the people rally around the banner of Sinn Fein and support the aims of Pearse and Connolly. Let us have an end to slavery!

D. McCarthy.

Co. Cork.

## Keep Going

A Chara,

I must congratulate you on being able to keep the paper going in spite of recent internments of your staff. The standard of the paper has improved greatly over the last year. Keep it up. More articles dealing with the country's economy and a detailed history of '36-'48 period, the George Plant, Maurice O'Neill, Charlie Kerins stories, would do great for the movement at this time.

Old I.R.A. Man.

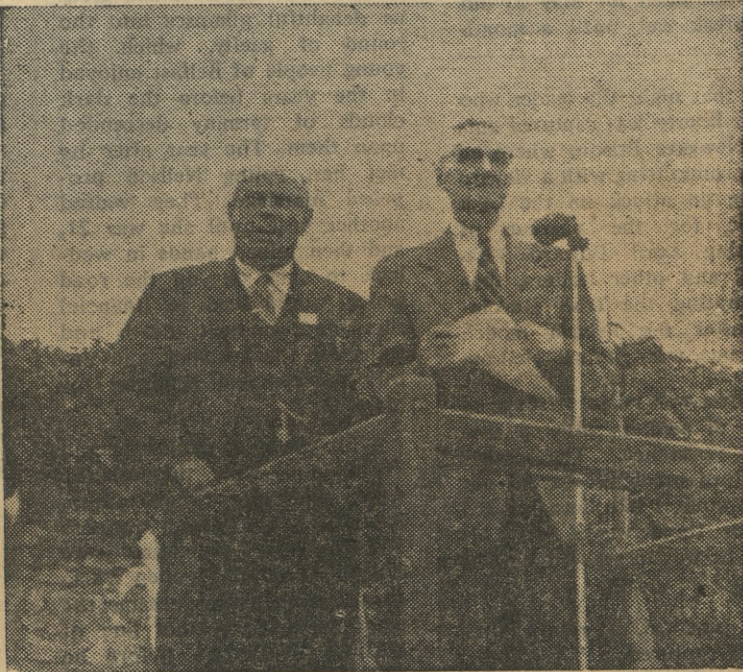
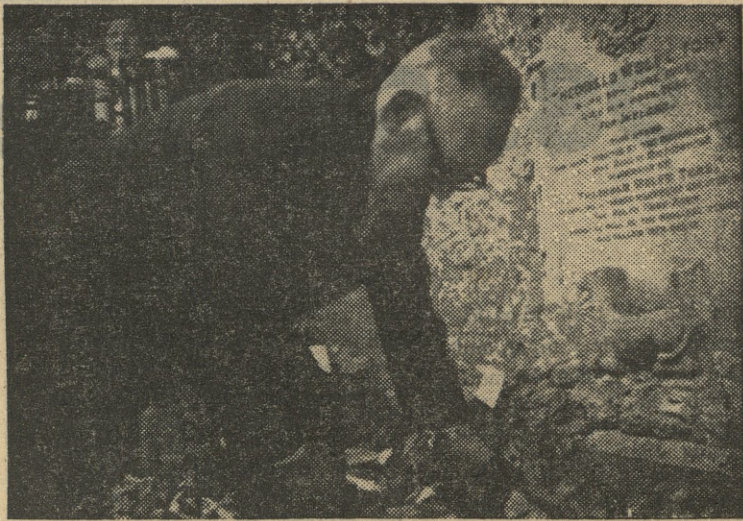
Kilkenny.

## Empire Day

A Chara,

Ceremonies are held in London each May 24 to mark "Empire Day." The various countries of the British Commonwealth are usually represented, sometimes by cultural delegations. On last Empire Day, Londoners had a choice of listening to a pipe band from New Zealand playing on the Horse Guards Parade or watching a couple of hurling teams from here giving an exhibition at Wembley. Why did the G.A.A. chose that particular day to send its teams to Wembley? Was it by accident or design?

(Continued in Column 4)



Pictures taken at Bodenstown: (Top) Mr. Sean Fitzpatrick of the National Graves Association lays a wreath on Wolfe Tone's grave. (Below) Mr. Michael McGinn, Executive member of the Clan na Gael of America, and J. J. Rice, T.D., who presided on the platform at Bodenstown.

(Continued from Column 3)

In view of the hints and suggestions which have come from highly placed politicians and others, I feel it is not unreasonable to suggest that the presence of those G.A.A. teams at Wembley on Empire Day may have had some significance. As a Republican, I think the G.A.A. owe the public an explanation.

James Harden.

Co. Limerick.

## Imperial Service

A Chara,

If you are interested in reducing to ridicule the expulsion of an Irishman from England to "Learn loyalty to the Queen" I'll give you a documented case.

I'm an ex-R.A.F. A/C 1 medically discharged after Middle East service without a pension. My appeal was quashed, and in a last desperate bid to receive justice I wrote the Queen who ignored my three letters over three weeks, her secretary eventually replied in an impolite manner saying that the letters were transmitted to the Ministry of Pensions thus indicating that nothing has been done by the Queen in my personal appeal to her for rehabilitation. The Ministry eventually wrote stating the case was closed, they'd no funds to help me nor could they do anything to rehabilitate me.

The publication of this case may upset recruiting of men into British forces.

P. Woods.

Ballyfermot, Dublin.

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# 1798: Samuel Neilson and the

It was the night of May 23, 1798. It was a dark night, and it was dark for Ireland in more ways than one, for it was the night which had been fixed for the Rising that did not take place because the leaders had been arrested. The Rising that had been fixed for May 23 did not break out until a month later.

On that night the leader who was at liberty was captured outside Newgate Prison, where he was reconnoitring with a view to leading an attack on the Irish Bastille for the purpose of liberating Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and other leaders, thus inaugurating the Irish Revolution after the French model. His name was Samuel Neilson.

Neilson was taken prisoner by a file of soldiers after a desperate resistance. The clothes were torn off him. He did not die of wounds like Lord Edward but for three weeks after his arrest he was in grave danger of death.

On June 26, a month after he was captured, a "Bill of Indictment for Treason" was sent up against Samuel Neilson, and in the life of Grattan, by his son, we find the following description of the scene in the Court, when Neilson was brought in heavily ironed. Says Grattan:—

When brought into Court, the noise of his entrance was like the march of men in irons. He was called to plead, and asked if he had anything to say: he replied in a stentorian voice, "No! I have been robbed of everything—I could not fee counsel: my property—everything has been taken from me," and he turned away. But he came again to the front of dock and said "for myself I have nothing to say: I scorn your power, and despise that authority that it shall ever be my pride to have opposed; but may I say not that I value it—why am I kept with these weighty irons on me, so heavy that three ordinary men could not carry them? Is it your law that I should be placed in irons, and in such irons?"

## NORTHERN STAR

The career of national service of Samuel Neilson did not start on the day he was brought into Court in irons, or on that day he was arrested outside Newgate Prison. It started many years before in Belfast, when he with Wolfe Tone, MacCracken, Russell and the others, started the first club of United Irishmen. Neilson also established one of the most memorable papers that appeared in Ireland. He called it "The Northern Star" and he founded it with his own money. He was its first editor, and finally its sole proprietor.

About 1783, Neilson a young man, the son of a dissenting Minister from Ballyroney, Co. Down, came to Belfast to serve his time as a woollen draper. He

was apprenticed to his brother John, who had already opened premises of his own. At one of the many social functions which enlivened Belfast at this period, Samuel Neilson met Anne Bryson at the house of Mrs. MacAteer, who in the letters of her brother, Dr. Drennan, gives us delightful glimpses into the round of gaiety, which the young people of Belfast enjoyed in the years before the dark clouds of tyranny descended upon them. The year after he met her, young Neilson proposed marriage. They waited another year until she was 21, and then joined hands in wedlock to start out on the road which would lead to financial ruin, imprisonment, death and exile, for the husband, and untold misery, and suffering for his wife.

With whatever money he had saved, and with the fortune which his wife brought him, Samuel Neilson set up business himself. His premises were called "The Irish Woollen Warehouse," and in time became the most extensive in that line of business in Belfast. Before he had been open seven years, Neilson had amassed a considerable fortune. He was reckoned to be worth about £8,000, which would be the equivalent to nearly £25,000 at present-day rates.

## THE VOLUNTEERS

In the early years of their married life, Samuel Neilson was a member of the Belfast Corps of Grattan's Volunteers. His love of liberty did not end when the Volunteers were disbanded. Neilson continued his work for Ireland, and the outbreak of the French Revolution gave a new meaning to the word "Liberty" as far as he and the other Protestant Republicans of the North were concerned. Tone in writing of the spirit of Republicanism which prevailed in the Belfast of those days remarks in his Diary: "Paine's Rights of Man became the Koran of Belfast." From 1791 onwards all Neilson's time was spent in working for Ireland. As a consequence his business was neglected. Of all the United Irishmen after Tone, Irish Catholics should cherish a special reverence for this Ulster Presbyterian, Samuel Neilson, for it was he who put Catholic Emancipation in the forefront of the Belfast Republican programme, and he helped to make it, and Parliamentary reform, the two principal planks in the platform of the United Irishmen.

When he established "The Northern Star" he made certain that week after week his paper would preach the doctrine of "Equal rights and opportunities" for his Catholic fellow-countrymen.

The Government of the day was, of course, the so-called Irish Parliament in College Green, but in reality it was the tool of the British Government, and was determined to keep religious bigotry going, in case

the Irish would unite to achieve freedom. When "The Northern Star" began to preach the new doctrine of brotherhood amongst Irishmen of all creeds, and classes, the Government took alarm. If unity came, independence would follow, as sure as night follows day, so unity must be broken at all costs. The first object of the Government's attack was naturally Samuel Neilson's paper "The Northern Star."

Dr. Madden writing of "The Northern Star," and the Government's war against Neilson says:—

"The various prosecutions carried on against it had obliged Neilson to dispose of all his property, and relinquish his business in order to meet the enormous expenses attendant of these proceedings, and the unexpected demands arising from them. The other proprietors, shortly after the prosecutions, disposed of their shares to Neilson, and thus encompassed with peril, he became the sole proprietor of the paper. In 1792 the printers and proprietors had been prosecuted and acquitted. In January 1793, six informations were filed in the King's Bench against them for seditious libel and in November, 1794, they were prosecuted for publishing the address of the United Irishmen to the volunteers."

## HELPS CATHOLICS

But it was not alone through "The Northern Star" that Samuel Neilson attempted to help the Catholics. He spent most of his time trying to compose the differences which existed between them and the Presbyterians, and at all times he tried to stop the efforts of the Orange Society to create disturbances. In this connection he worked in close contact with Luke Teeling, a Catholic merchant of Lisburn, Co. Antrim, whose two sons, Charles and Bartholemew were leaders of the United Irishmen.

In 1795, Samuel Neilson got a letter from young Charles Teeling telling him that religious riots were to break out in Co. Armagh. The Catholics of Co. Armagh had for over two years been terrorised in their homes by Orangemen. The persecution was so acute, that the Catholics could stand it no longer, and they were preparing to come into open conflict with their Protestant neighbours. At this time the Catholics were organised into a society called "The Defenders," and the Protestants into another society called "The Peep-of-Day Boys." Teeling asked Neilson to come and help to calm the people.

Neilson rode on horseback to

Portadown, where he was met by Teeling with the awful news that the riots had already broken out, and that the "Battle of the Diamond" had been fought with losses of life on both sides. Neilson denounced the riots in "The Northern Star," and charged the Government with fomenting them for political purposes. The following year, Neilson and Teeling were arrested, and brought to Kilmainham Jail, where they were kept until February 22, 1798, when Neilson was liberated on bail. As we know he was only free from February until May when he was arrested outside Newgate. During their imprisonment in Kilmainham, Lord O'Neill of Clones obtained permission for the wives of the prisoners to visit them, but although Neilson had a very tender affection for his wife he absolutely prohibited her from visiting him in prison.

## VISITS TO PRISON

Writing to her through the usual channel of the Office of the Secretary of State he says:

"I cannot suffer you to undertake a long and fatiguing journey at this season of the year to visit me in my cell. Here your nerves will be shocked by the brutality of the turnkey, and at the Castle your pride will be wounded by the insolence of a minion in office."

But Mrs. Neilson loved her husband so much that for the first time in her lifetime she disobeyed his wishes, and came to Dublin to see him. During most of the 17 months that he remained in prison, Mrs. Neilson with her two elder daughters stayed in Dublin at the hospitable homes of Mr. James Dixon of Kilmainham and Mrs. Oliver Bond.

The long confinement, anxiety about his family, the news of the ruin of his property, and the suppression of his paper all told heavily on his health. He came out of prison a complete wreck, and for a month or two he tried to restore his health by resting at the country home of his friend, Mr. John Sweetman, a prominent member of the Catholic Committee, and of the United Irish Directory as well.

On March 12, Mr. Sweetman was arrested at his Brewery in Francis Street, and the same day all the leaders were arrested at Oliver Bond's. Neilson knew that his own arrest was now certain. He also knew that he would be wanted to lead the Rising, so instead of surrendering to his bail, Neilson went "on the run."

## LORD EDWARD

In the time between March 12, and Lord Edward's arrest on May 9, Neilson was constantly

in touch with the young Geraldine. He visited Lord Edward at various places of concealment, and according to Madden "no matter how depressed Lord Edward was, the appearance of Neilson always brightened him up."

On the day Lord Edward was arrested, Neilson visited him. He dined with Lord Edward that evening at Murphy's, and the late Mrs. Helena Concannon in her book "Women of '98" has this to say in connection with that tragic evening:—

"He dined with Lord Edward, and according to Murphy, as soon as the dinner was over hurried away, as if a sudden recollection had occurred to him, leaving the door open behind him. Through this door an hour later Major Sirr and his party entered. Lord Edward's arrest following so immediately after Neilson's exit, his restlessness during the dinner, his fidgety demeanour at the moment of leaving the house, and the strange circumstances of the door being left open to Major Sirr, were circumstances that caused Neilson's conduct to be freely canvassed: and those who were in the secret of the treachery which really led to the capture of the prisoner took care to let suspicion light and rest on those whom it was thought desirable to bring into odium with their own party. Neilson and Murphy were made the scape-goats of the infamy of the memorable F. H. whose initials have finally been identified with the name of Francis Higgins, one of the worst men of the worst period of our history."

Francis Higgins, was of course, the infamous "Sham Squire" who betrayed as many of the United Irishmen as he could get information about, but his notable betrayal was that of Lord Edward. You can imagine how poor Neilson, and his wife Anne, and their children suffered, when this terrible imputation was cast on him.

After the suppression of the Rising, and the execution of the Sheares Brothers, the State prisoners in order to save two, of their number, Oliver Bond and another prisoner called Byrne, entered into negotiations with the Government, but in the middle of the negotiations Byrne was executed on July 20, and Oliver Bond after his reprieve died suddenly in prison under very suspicious circumstances.

All the time Neilson's health was getting worse and when the prisoners were being removed to Fort George he got delirious on the night that their ship "The Ashton Smith" sailed from Dublin Bay. The prisoners had to sit in twos at his bedside all through the night to restrain his violence. Poor Neilson thought he was fighting the British enemy, and on several occasions during the voyage attempted to get out of bed. One of the prisoners, Dr. McNevin, warned the Captain that something must be done to have

# 'Northern Star'

## NORTHERN RESISTANCE

the patient attended to. A petition was sent to the Castle for leave to have him landed at Belfast where he could get medical attention. The Castle authorities refused. They did not care whether Neilson died or not. In fact they would have been glad if he had died.

### FORT GEORGE

After arrival at Fort George, Neilson recovered satisfactorily, and in due course was well enough to move around with the other prisoners. It was then he asked for leave to have his little son Willie with him and leave was granted.

Samuel Neilson was a loving father, a good husband, and a great patriot. As well as that he was a Christian with a high standard of morality, as the letters which he wrote to his wife and daughters whilst a prisoner at Fort George prove. Writing to his wife he says with reference to the children:—

"My Dear Wife,

There is no part of education more essential than that which gives an early knowledge of the world; but above all it is necessary to keep the young mind employed, not to forced tasks or unreasonable attention, but to something (either of utility or amusement, and these can be easily united) so that the mind be not left to wander, and to become familiarised with the frivolity that is the fashion of the age; for that will certainly cause it to take the wrong direction . . .

"With respect to the spiritual direction of our children, I hope you will bear in mind this important lesson; that you will yourself educate our children in the true principles of Christianity, which believe me, are not to be acquired by a mere Sunday show. No! They are to be instilled in the life and conversation, and that only by precept and example . . . Continue to teach them a love of truth and Christianity with an utter abhorrence of falsehood and hypocrisy. There is a maxim of an ancient heathen author, which my father recommended to me when I was a boy: it had a great effect on my mind at the time, and worth your teaching them; it is thus translated:—

"Be this your wall of brass,  
no guilt to know

Nor let one crime sit blushing  
on your brow."

Writing to his daughters he has some interesting things to say in connection with their duties as citizens of the Free Ireland for which he worked. He writes:—

"My Dear Children,

"I am extremely delighted with your very great progress in writing and am only anxious on that subject that you will not forget what you have been taught. But my great and increasing care is about your progress in the

**M**OST Irishmen and women know the lines of the old song: "The North began, the North held on, God save the Northern land." It is as true to-day as it ever was. Unfortunately a section of our people in the North have been weaned away from the path their fathers trod in pursuit of independence. Artificial differences have been created in the North and the final result is that those who want to drive out England's Army of Occupation find that they are being opposed in many cases by fellow-Irishmen either in the R.U.C. or the B-Special Constabulary.

This is by way of introduction to a series of articles dealing mainly with Ulstermen who in past generations have taken the same stand on the soil of Ulster as to-day's freedom fighters are taking. The struggle has been continuous. Britain has used "Protestant against Catholic" in her old game of divide and conquer—but not always successfully.

Irish Republicanism was born in Ulster and some of its greatest leaders came from there. The first article in this series deals with one of the men who made the Rebellion of 1798, who founded and produced Ireland's first Republican newspaper, "The Northern Star" (the forerunner of every other revolutionary journal) and who died in exile because he cherished liberty more than life itself. His name was Samuel Neilson.

acquisition of industrious habits. It should be a first principle with people that they should actually earn whatever they enjoy. Writing is good and reading is good, but no learning should entitle a person to live by the fruit of another's industry. Your mother will help you to apply this principle. State your objections to it, if you have any, and in your next letter; and show me, if you can, why one part of the community should live on the labours of another."

### EXILED

When the State prisoners were released, Samuel Neilson was penniless. The British Government would no longer allow him live in Ireland so he decided to emigrate to America. He was unable to afford to bring his family with him. Little Willie went back to his mother in Belfast. In due course Neilson intended to bring the whole family out to the States when he had made arrangements for earning a living.

On the last day of May, 1802 the United Irish prisoners were shipped out of Scotland and released into the custody of the French Government at Hamburg. But Samuel Neilson saw Belfast once more. Before going to America he again risked his life and liberty to see his wife. Braving all dangers he stole back to Ireland for one last glimpse at its shores and accompanied by the faithful Annie Hope rode by night from Dublin to Belfast and there spent one last 24 hours of happiness in the bosom of his family.

Less than nine months after his arrival in America, Samuel Neilson died. His giant frame was worn out by all he had endured during his long years of imprisonment and he was as much a martyr for Irish freedom as if he had perished on the battlefield or on the gallows with most of his comrades of 1798.

The Grave of Anne Devlin.

### AFTERMATH

After his death, Mrs. Neilson who still had some money of her own left, opened a small business, and God prospered her.

She was able to bring up her children, give them a good education, and leave them before her death in such a way as it would have been their father's pride to have seen them had he lived. Mary Anne McCracken, writing of Mrs. Neilson, says:—

"Mrs. Neilson was a very superior woman, a most exemplary wife and mother, for whom I had the highest esteem, and continued on terms of friendship with her from 1795 when I first became acquainted with her until her death. I never saw a family so well regulated, such order and neatness on such a limited income; and such well trained children, most amiable and affectionate to each other, and so respectful to their mother, and all so happy together that it was a treat to spend an evening with her."

As for Neilson's children, little Willie, his son lived to be only 21. Anne married an American, named Maguinness. She lived in New York where he died at the advanced age of 60. Sophia and Jane married two brothers by the name of McAdams. One lived in Belfast, the other in New York. Mary, the youngest of the family, married William Handcock of Lurgan. Her son was the distinguished mathematician, Dr. William Neilson Handcock.

That is the story of Samuel Neilson. The tradition he left to the Protestants of Ulster is a tradition from which the Imperial connection has cut them off. One day they will again make contact with that tradition.



## Selling-out to foreigners

**T**HE "Irish Press" (June 7) announced with a large front-page splash—"Drive to Attract Foreign Investors Gains Impetus; 27 New Industries." In connection with this attempt here and a corresponding one in the Six Counties, to sell out to foreigners, the U.S. news magazine, "Time" stated on March 31:

"The Irish Government will buy a site and build a plant (for the foreigner); they will train his workers and pay half the cost of plant equipment."

The article said that in some cases, the 26-Counties Government "will grant two-thirds of the cost of the plant. Foreign enterprises will be freed from income taxes for at least seven years, and excused from 67 per cent of local property taxes for the same period." The U.S. business men "can send home all their profits in dollars." It is doubtful if anyone could think up a more expensive bait, or a more foolish way of selling-out to the foreigner.

Here are a few extracts from a strongly-worded editorial in the "Southern Star" (May 24):

"People everywhere who read Irish newspapers are becoming convinced that our national administration is overwhelmingly a Government for the promotion of foreign interests in Ireland . . . . Extern factories, large and small, have been established here during the past quarter century and much political press noise has heralded their advent . . . . An obvious and arresting fact associated with the bubble-factory boom of those past twenty-five years is the steady—though, in a sense, staggering—depopulation of the country during that period . . . Here we seem to have been perpetrating an Irish 'bull' of the

more factories, the less workers."

An article in the same newspaper (June 7) stated: "The craze for foreign capital, cultivated so assiduously by our politicians, appears likely to come home to roost. Its arrival at a Co. Waterford factory does not appear to have proved an occasion for bringing out the band to play welcoming music. Its entry to the milling and bakery trades has not shown that the people share the views of the politicians about its promised benefits . . . In another direction, foreign capital is flowing in to displace and replace priceless Irish capital — to wit, our emigrants. From week to week, one may observe the deserted farmsteads passing into new ownership. Lands, 'not necessarily with buildings' are the quest of foreign capital wielders who, backing away from the high prices of land in Britain, find crop or cattle ranching in Ireland a safe and profitable investment."

While the foreigner is being invited to come in with his money and make profit out of the poor "mere Irish," Irish money is flowing out. Here, for instance, from official returns for last year, are a few figures: Central Bank holdings in British securities were £64,500,000. Commercial banks, ditto, £93,000,000. State investment abroad of funds under the control of the 26-County Finance Minister, £17,400,000. Post Office Savings Fund (which totalled £90,300,000) invested £14,300,000 in foreign securities although the people were told those savings would be invested in this country. The total amount of Twenty-Six Counties money invested abroad is estimated at between £400,000,000 and £500,000,000 and the Six Counties total abroad is given as £413,00,000.

# WHAT IS HAPPENING IN

## Behind the Headlines

IN newspapers and magazines throughout the world a rash of articles have appeared of late explaining the situation in British-Occupied Ireland. A few try to be fair. The majority accept the stock British propaganda arguments and present as a consequence a completely false picture about the fight for freedom being waged in Ireland to-day.

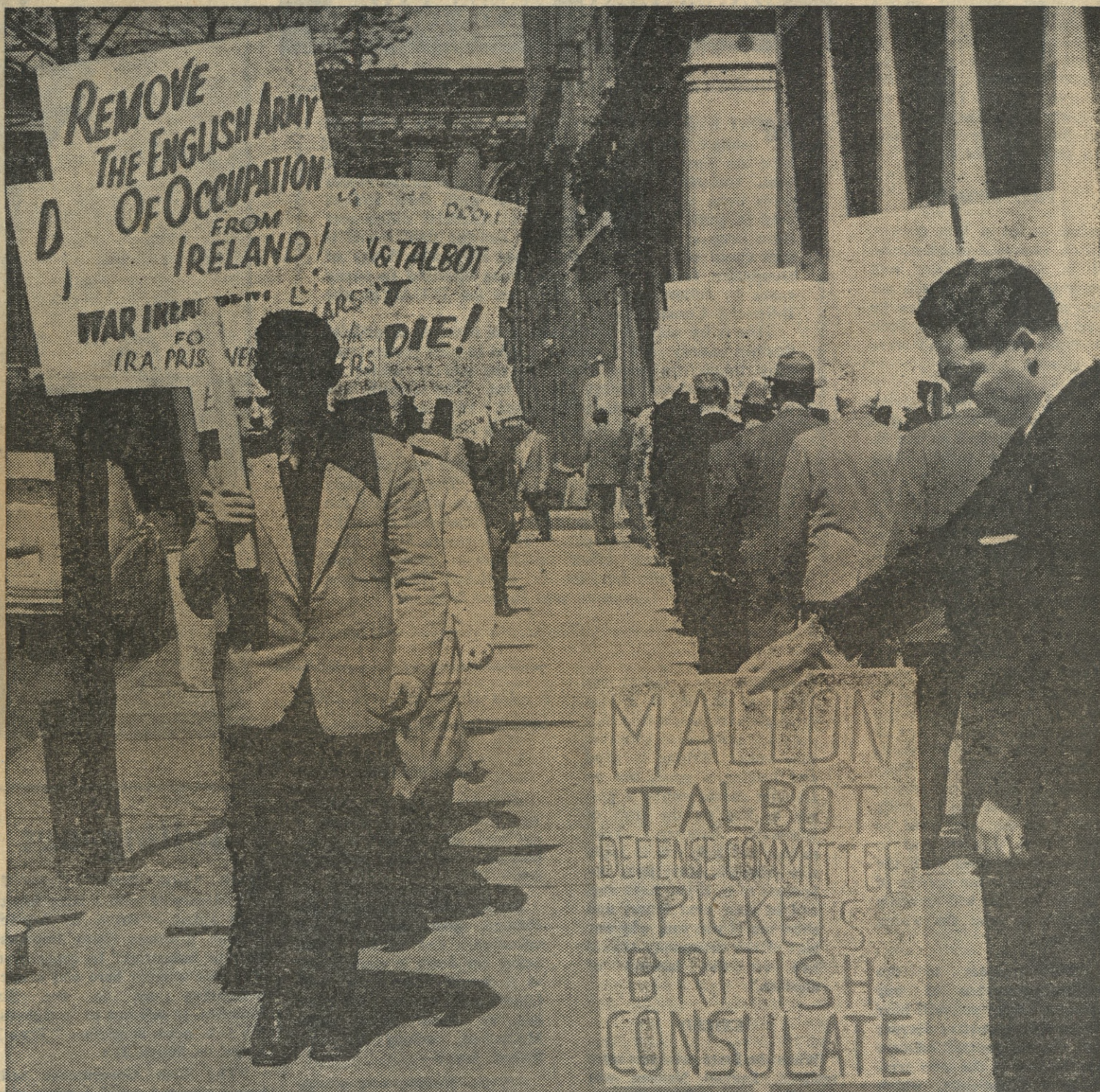
In these pages we try to answer the question, "What is happening in British-Occupied Ireland." This article should be a help to clarify the issues for our people at home and abroad. It should be read and studied by all.

The demand of the Resistance that "British forces of Occupation must withdraw from Ireland now" is placed against its true background here.

More than 100 years ago a French writer, Alexis de Tocqueville, visited Ireland and indicted the landlord Ascendancy class which he called the rottenest in Europe. This class was blamed for the social and political evil under which the Irish people suffered at that time.

De Tocqueville's thesis was only part of the truth. This Ascendancy was backed up by the British Imperial Government and owed its power to that Government and to that Government's garrisons in Ireland. Without British Imperial control the Ascendancy-landlord

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### WHAT IS HAPPENING IN BRITISH-OCCUPIED IRELAND?

What is happening in the Six Counties of North-East Ireland held by Britain as part of the United Kingdom and occupied by her forces?

British Government spokesmen have made their position clear: it is that the Irish people will never, under any circumstances, be allowed sovereign control over Ireland. They insist that the "Irish question," as they choose to call it, ended with the Treaty of 1921 which partitioned the island, established two States there, set up Occupied and Unoccupied zones to tie in with the Belfast and Dublin administrations, guaranteed British political and economic control over Irish affairs as a consequence. Legislative self-rule was granted the Unoccupied 26-County area.

Deputy Prime Minister, R. A. Butler, reinforced and emphasised this dogmatic Imperial position as late as June, 1958, when, during a visit to Occupied Ireland, he said his Government would use the forces at its disposal to maintain the connection between Northern Ireland and Britain and the Imperial constitutional link.

More than 80 per cent of Ireland's people demand the unity and independence of their country. They oppose Partition. They want British Occupation forces withdrawn. They believe all power in this island stems from them and not from British acts of Parliaments. Their national faith finds expression in the revolutionary activities of the Irish Republican Movement—a Movement dedicated to the independence of Ireland and the sovereignty of the Irish people.

This Movement is fighting in British-Occupied Ireland under the slogan: **All British forces must withdraw from Ireland NOW!** There in stark simplicity we have the situation in the Six Counties to-day—the demand of the Irish people for justice

being thwarted by foreign Occupation forces while the armed freedom fighters of the Irish Republican Movement actively resist British rule.

This Irish struggle for freedom is hardly new. For centuries we have been pleading, threatening, cajoling, arguing, demanding our right to self-determination. Peaceful agitation has been met by British bayonets and official contempt. Then, too late, we have resorted to armed resistance. And then we learn the bitter, humiliating, historical truth that the conqueror is unmoved by moral arguments no matter how just and eloquent; he understands only force.

The justice of the Irish case is obvious. The reasonableness of our cause is self-evident. But justice is an abstraction to which Great Powers pursuing Imperialistic aims pay little attention. They play off one section of the community against another. They buy off one group with petty privileges and they stimulate national strife. They allow some to make capital out of oppression and to climb to power as spokesmen of the underprivileged so that they may then play the role of trustees over the rest. Many have climbed to high station by putting themselves forward as advocates of Irish independence. This bitter experience is common to all subject peoples.

The Irish too have discovered that when their plea for liberty is too loud and determined to be ignored it will be by-passed by betrayal.

### THE TREATY OF 1921

The Treaty of 1921 embodying Partition was such a betrayal. Like the rest of their fellow-countrymen the Nationalists of North-East Ulster fought bravely against the British regime from 1916 to 1921. Following the British mandate of "immediate and terrible war," which was the prelude to the Treaty, the

(Continued on opposite Page)

**THE** death-trial of Kevin Mallon and Francis Patrick Talbot of Coalisland, Co. Tyrone, has excited interest wherever the Irish live. From their history they understand only too well the motives behind such trials as these.

Throughout the United States of America all British Consulates were picketed as the trial re-opened on July 28.

Defence Counsel, F. Elwyn Jones, Q.C., the Recorder of Swansea, had stated before the trial was abandoned in April that: "It would be contrary to the interests of justice and the practice of the courts to permit statements obtained by the police in these circumstances to be tendered in evidence. Otherwise it would be an encouragement to the police wrongfully to detain arrested persons beyond the scope of their authority in the hope that more lengthy police detention might produce an attitude of submission and a willingness to make statements."

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# BRITISH-OCCUPIED IRELAND

(Continued from opposite Page)

Nationalists of the North discovered that the Republican position had been scuttled, a British Crown regime was guaranteed in Belfast, permanent partition was accepted. In return the bargain called for a 26-County State to be named the Irish Free State. The name has been changed since; the basis remains. The 1925 Boundary Agreement sealed the betrayal.

Others (like Mr. de Valera) who at that time opposed the settlement on England's terms, rose to power later in the Free State and, while loudly denying that they had ever done so, in fact accepted the British-dictated position. The politicians who represented the Nationalists of Ulster in the invader's parliament used three decades and more to prove their thesis that British goodwill would end division and slavery. It didn't. The 26-County statesmen echoed their talk: talk designed to keep the Nationalists pacified. They spun a web of fine words to hide their actions and conceal their bankruptcy. For a time they were successful.

But the tides of the historical process will not be controlled indefinitely. At the British Imperial elections in 1955 the Nationalists of Ulster voted in block for the Sinn Fein candidates—for candidates who declared that the evil of foreign domination could only be ended by armed resistance. Two were elected in areas where Nationalist voting strength is such that the old technique of gerrymandering cannot work. When they were speedily disqualified from representing the people who elected them by British Courts it became obvious that the constitutional approach to the problem of national liberation was a detour to nowhere.

## THEY ROSE IN REVOLT

The oppressed people of British-Occupied Ireland then adopted the natural role which all enslaved peoples are forced into eventually if justice is denied them: they rose in revolt. Active resistance to foreign Imperial force became the road to liberation. On December 12, 1956, the active resistance against tyranny and violence opened; oppression and colonial rule were met by force; the Nationalist people of the North were striking for their freedom in the immortal revolutionary tradition of their fathers.

On December 12, 1956, simultaneous attacks occurred throughout the Occupied area. Manifestos proclaimed to the world the decision that the situation in Ireland demanded a fight-to-the-death for freedom. The armed resistance continues and grows. British military installations, British Crown forces, Imperial services and communications have been the targets of the Irish Republican Movement guerrillas. It is obvious that without the aid of the Nationalist population the fight could not be sustained.

The suppressive measures adopted by the regime have been far-reaching and cruel. During the opening phase the enemy claimed to have annihilated the whole Resistance. Since subsequent events exposed this palpable falsehood his claims have been more moderate, but he has struck wildly about him at the non-combatant Nationalist population, implementing to the full the vicious Special Powers Act, jailing hundreds without charge or trial or redress, torturing defenceless prisoners and sentencing captured freedom fighters and others caught in his dragnets to hundreds of years of penal servitude.

No better proof of the failure of these measures is needed than this statement by Home Affairs Minister, Colonel Topping, to the Stormont Parliament on June 5:

"It was true that the trouble (Resistance) had diminished largely thanks to the British forces. But the danger had not disappeared. There would be no relaxation of the (security) precautions."

Area-wise the Six Counties are small in extent—being no more than two-thirds of the ancient Irish Province of Ulster—and do not go beyond a million and a quarter in population, yet it takes more than 20,000 to police. Of course these are not police forces in any normal sense of the word: they are members of various Security forces who get the status of police because under the 1920 British Governmental Ireland Act the Six Counties must not maintain an armed force. The armed force clause is overcome by calling them police. They are a military force. And they are heavily armed.

This figure of 20,000 excludes the standing British Army of Occupation and its attendant air and sea units and bases. The police forces (so-called) are sub-divided into many categories: the R.U.C. (the Royal Ulster Constabulary), the R.U.C.-Com-

mandos (an alleged elite terror-force), the B-Specials (a sectarian grouping recruited from the Orange Lodges), the C-Specials (retired B-men for the most part). There has recently been established yet another force, nameless so far, but under War Office control, for the protection of Territorial Army camps and Barracks. The T.A. has been used on occasion against the Resistance but its loyalty is suspect. The Prime Minister of the area—a feudal landlord named Brookeborough—has defended under the cloak of "emergency" all kinds of humiliations heaped on the Nationalist population. The economically depressed and overwhelmingly Nationalist town of Newry was under curfew for a month. The most horrible forms of medieval tortures are practised on prisoners while under interrogation as "suspects." A "suspect" may be any Nationalist, man or woman, young or old.

The cases of Kevin Mallon and Francis Talbot (brought to trial on capital charges following weeks of brutal ill-treatment) are not exceptional. Their ordeal is described in graphic detail in the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau pamphlet—"British Torture in Ireland" (published December, 1957). At least three men are in lunatic asylums following "interrogation" at the hands of the security forces.

## VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The actions of the British authorities in Occupied Ireland are clearly a violation of the Human Rights Convention, which Britain has signed. However, she has specifically exempted Occupied Ireland (or Northern Ireland as it is called) from its clauses. Human rights may therefore with impunity be ignored—as they are—in that part of the United Kingdom.

The British Crown authorities insist on labelling the Irish fighters for freedom as terrorists and common criminals. They ignore the Hague Convention on the treatment of guerrillas and partisans. The Irish Republican guerrillas wear uniform or insignia where possible. They fight in organised Flying Columns under responsible officers of their own choosing. They have their chain of command and regular control. Their insignia of the tricolour flash is worn on the left sleeve arm of military uniform dress following no set regular pattern—as is the case with all guerrilla armies.

Finally, they abide by another provision of the Convention by carrying their arms openly.

As is to be expected the Crown argument in Occupied Ireland is that all they are doing is maintaining law and order. This carries little weight with the Irish people. Knowing traditionally the type of law and order Britain has brought to Ireland they are apt to be suspicious of such pleas—excepting, of course, the minority among them who stand to gain by the maintenance of the British-style law and order.

Morally and legally Irish Republican freedom fighters are carrying out the mandate of the Irish people in actively resisting British Occupation. Ireland belongs to the Irish. The Charter of the United Nations accept the principle that all peoples are entitled to self-determination. The Irish claim has been internationally established and to a great extent recognised.

The sovereignty of the Irish people is denied by the armed forces of Imperial Britain. To enforce this claim of the Irish to Ireland is the mission of the Irish Republican Movement. It takes its stand on the Proclamation of 1916 which declared the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland and to the control of Irish destinies.

## BEHIND THE HEADLINES

(Continued from opposite Page)

class would have disappeared overnight.

To-day the last stronghold of that Ascendancy landlord (cum big business) interest is to be found in the Six Counties of Occupied Ireland. By use of sectarianism it has provided for itself something of a mass base. That doesn't change its character in the slightest. And—as in De Tocqueville's time—its power stems from British Imperial control of Irish life.

"What is happening in British-Occupied Ireland?" is part of a pamphlet to be published shortly by the "United Irishman."

## PICKETS

(Cont. from opposite Page)

"The illegality of the detention which existed here taints all subsequent relationships between the police and the prisoners; taints the quality of the statements the prisoners made to such an extent that it would be contrary to law and justice for the statements to be admitted in these circumstances."

The statements were obtained after days of excruciating torture.

Our picture shows pickets of the Irish Republican Prisoners' Aid Committee of New York outside the offices of the British Consulate-General of New York.

## Republican Bureau Statement

The Irish Times on July 19 carried an editorial entitled "Black Deed," dealing with the arrest of three men in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Armagh City. Two points were made in this editorial:

1. "The evidence—which there is no reason to dispute—that the Cathedral precincts had been used as a base for armed forays."

2. That by this action the Republican Movement "had blasphemed" against Wolfe Tone's conditions "preliminary to true independence."

The following statement in reply was issued by the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau.

Apparently when it is a question of vilifying the Republican Movement and the Campaign of Resistance in Occupied Ireland, the nearest weapon at hand is good enough for the purpose. Now Republicans are to be charged with sacrilege by you and found guilty on evidence provided by the British Crown authorities.

To show that this editorial bias is hardly accidental let me point out that only last Tuesday, July 15, your Belfast correspondent was calling the Resistance "a disorganised, if not a spent, force." He proved a poor guide to events in Occupied Ireland. That night the largest series of co-ordinated attacks (according to the London Times) since December 12, 1956, occurred in at least a dozen areas. For more than a year your political correspondent has been telling your readers that Republicanism is on the wane in the 26-Counties. He has maintained silence on this subject since the Galway South by-election where Sinn Fein increased its poll by more than 80 per cent.

All of this is by way of showing that your tone of self-righteousness is not to be taken at face value. What are the facts? Three youths surrounded by enemies, apparently sought refuge in the Cathedral, were followed in there by more than 50 (according to one English newspaper) machine-gun armed R.U.C. who then seized and dragged them from the sacred place. Because of the circumstances of their arrest the youths did not resist—though undoubtedly under different circumstances they would have. Fair-minded people may differ strongly from you as to who was guilty of sacrilege. Republicans for their part are under no illusions as to the lengths the Crown authorities in Occupied Ireland will go to in crushing the Resistance.

The vault in the grounds of the Cathedral was NOT used as "a base for armed forays," as you put it. On occasion it was used as a refuge for unarmed men because the circumstances of life in Occupied Ireland to-day are such that men fighting for the freedom of their country must seek their refuge where they can and so prevent victimisation and wholesale terrorisation of sections of the civilian population. About this terror, you—in common with your

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# NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT: SINN FEIN PROGRAMME

(The first article in this series appeared last month.—  
Editor, United Irishman).

**T**HERE appears to be a good deal of confusion on just what is meant by industrial development in Ireland. The scope of industry covers practically all activities in the economic life of the country because everyone is producing something. In order to get some kind of clear picture, it should be understood that industry may be divided into three main branches.

First of all there are the extractive industries which deal with goods or wealth extracted from the soil or the land of the country. These may be further sub-divided into agriculture, forestry and fisheries, mining and quarrying. Then there are the manufacturing industries, for instance ship building, construction and engineering which include the treatment of products mined from the land, the manufacture of metal goods and also the chemical and allied trades. These manufacturing industries may be grouped roughly as industries concerned with the manufacture or production of capital goods.

But there is another branch of manufacturing industries which may be roughly grouped as the manufacture of goods for consumption. In this group we find textiles, leather goods, food, drink, tobacco, paper and printing, etc.

The third group may be described as the service industries which include the supplying of gas, electricity and water, distributive trades, transport, communications and storage, insurance, banking and finance, public administration, and defence and professional services.

## ORGANISATION OF ECONOMY

Bearing these divisions in mind, the next thing to consider is the organisation of our national economy. This is the major task with which we should concern ourselves, because if we are not able to plan to meet the economic needs of our people, freeing the country politically is not going to get us very far. The system that now obtains and the evils that flow from it will continue, and, if it is to be changed, we must have a grasp of the main factors involved.

Of these, the first is taxation—both central and local government taxation. The costs of production are one of the things that affect industry most; and one of the things that contributes most to overhead costs is taxation. The second factor involved is raw materials. The cost of these will be reflected in the price of the finished products. Then, there are transport costs, which will be affected very much by the distance between the source of the raw materials and the production centre, and also by the distance between the latter and whatever markets are available.

In this connection, and keeping before our minds the fact that we are primarily concerned with the organisation of our national economy as a whole, it should be borne in mind that though a great deal of propaganda is being made about Irish Shipping—i.e., shipping of the 26 Counties—most of the money those ships are earning is earned on charter work; the ships were built outside the country and financed by whomsoever controls them. Very little Irish goods are transported in them, so that they are of less value to Ireland on charter than they would be if they were transporting Irish goods.

## SALARIES AND WAGES

Another factor in production costs is salaries and wages. Then there are the markets for the disposal of the products, and the demand in these markets; the motive power (coal, gas, electricity, turf, etc.) and, finally, there is a factor which should concern us more than any other, namely, the motive behind the setting up of any particular industry. Generally speaking, as matters stand now in this country, the motive which governs the setting up of industries at present is a selfish one—private gain.

It will be found that many of the industries set up have been created with that purpose in view rather than with a view to the organisation of a national system of economy suited to and serving the interests of the whole country. If this latter purpose is to be kept in view, we must first of all consider the type of goods to be produced. There are two types of goods, capital and consumer goods. Generally speaking it will be found best to adhere as far as possible to the latter.

Considerable thought should be given to the question of whether the capital goods should be of an essential or luxury type. We should bear in mind in regard to capital goods, that normally they last for a long period. For instance, ships, rolling stock, motor vehicles, etc., with normal care give years of service and, consequently, the demand is unstable. In Belfast, when the demand for ships is good, as in the time of war, the number of ships built soars, as it did during the last war; but since then the number built has been falling considerably. With an industry of that nature, when there is a slump the ramifications are very wide because the ancillary industries go down too and unemployment follows.

The Six Counties are the most industrialised of the whole country, but, to-day, the percentage of unemployment there is about 10 per cent compared with 2 per cent in England. In manufacturing industries of this nature, when there is a slump the proportion of unemployment is greater and, consequently, demand for consumer goods drops more rapidly and to a greater extent.

As far as consumer goods are concerned, the variation in the number of unemployed, in the case of a slump of any kind, does not vary as much at all. The conditions are more stable. Another reason for this is that to a greater extent the consumer goods have a home market; whereas capital goods are more dependent on a foreign market.

## LOCATION OF INDUSTRIES

An important factor to be borne in mind in the organisation of industry is the location of particular industries. The tendency has been, in this country, to centralise industries, and this has had evil effects. For example, the rural population has been flocking into the towns and cities to the industries set up there. In some cases, particular industries were far removed from the source of raw materials which should, to some extent, govern the location of industries.

In the case of the E.S.B., it is very obvious that the sensible thing to do was to erect generating plants on the bogs. In the case of goods for export, it would possibly be better to have them manufactured near a seaport.

Another very important factor is the duplication of industries. One of the first things mentioned in the Social and Economic Programme of Sinn Féin is this duplication and the general effect it has on the whole country, not alone economically, but politically as well. In the industrialised Six Counties for instance, the problem has been to try to set up agriculture and strike some kind of balance between industry and agriculture; in the 26 Counties, the opposite is the case.

But, in a number of cases industries set up in the 26 Counties were a duplication of similar industries in the Six Counties and this has had the bad result of creating a vested interest in the maintenance of partition. One can take as an example a textile industry in which the main thing is weaving and which employs a few hundred workers. Perhaps foreign capital is invested and, consequently, the profits go abroad. Still, the few hundred workers, the native shareholders and the business people of the town in which the industry is located have all a personal interest in its maintenance.

If the Border were abolished, an industry of that nature on such a small scale could not survive against competition from the North. For that reason, the people closely concerned with the industry would not want the Border to go. That is not a reflection on them; but it shows how vested interest has been created in the maintenance of partition by the duplication of industries. Reference to this is made in the Social and Economic Programme of Sinn Féin.

## QUESTION OF TAXATION

In organising a national economy, the question of taxation is most important. In this connection, one cannot lose sight of the fact that Ireland as a whole is paying taxes to three governments—the central government at Westminster and the two partition governments. If we add to the taxation that these three governments are extracting from the people, the rates extracted by the local government bodies, we get, at a conservative estimate, a sum of £4,500,000 per week to run the 32 counties of Ireland. If that figure is broken down, it will be found that it boosts the costs of production sky high.

It will be found that in the 26 Counties, the revenue extracted mainly from rates and taxes is more than £3,000,000 per week in the current year (1958). When we understand this, we realise how the high level of taxation, both local government and central government is killing industrial production or production of any kind in the country.

This will continue as long as the level of taxation remains and, as things are ordered and administered under the present system, there is no indication that the level of taxation is going to be reduced. There is no need to go into a lot of figures in detail to get a grasp of these essential points, but it may be no harm to consider the following:—

The civil service, Gardai and defence services in the 26 Counties are costing the taxpayer in the current year (1958) 25,500,000. Broken down, the costs are: civil service £17,000,000, Gardai £3,500,000 and defence £5,000,000. The population of the 26 Counties is less than 3,000,000 people. The servicing of the public debt for the year 1956-57 was £20,250,000. This is most interest that has to be paid on moneys borrowed by the central government from one source or another.

For the year 1953, the profits of banks operating in Ireland on Irish business amounted to £1,338,651. This has nothing to do with gross deposits. Most of the industries set up in this country are in debt to the banks, or the Government or some other source, and they have to pay almost £2,000,000 annually in interest.

This, of course, makes it much more difficult for these industries to compete outside the country. Here is another matter which provides an illustration of the financial racket which is operating in the country; the E.S.B. Its capital investment up to 1957 is £92,000,000. Most of that capital was raised by

(Continued on Page 11).

## Co. Tyrone Prisoners

**O**RGANISED by Leitrim Co. Executive Sinn Féin to raise funds for the Mallon-Talbot Defence Fund a ceilidh was held in Doherty's Hall, Drumshanbo, on Wednesday, June 11.

There was a record crowd in attendance, representative of Leitrim and the surrounding counties.

Mr. Paddy Mulvey, of Carrick-on-Shannon, was M.C., and during an interval introduced to the large gathering Mr. Leo McGill, of Camber, Corriga.

In the course of an address Leo McGill pointed out that for the past 800 years Irish people have died fighting for freedom and the ending of British Imperialism here, and after all these centuries we are not yet in a position to write Robert Emmett's epitaph. At the same time the politicians tell us that they are opposed to emigration and partition. The politicians, continued the speaker, are helping to maintain partition and in that way helping emigration as both go hand in hand. English laws are introduced by England to keep the Irish nation divided and to-day Irishmen are deliberately collaborating with the enemy. Mr. McGill then referred to the Mallon-Talbot trial and briefly outlined the facts.

Mr. Paddy Mulvey on behalf of Leitrim County Executive Sinn Féin thanked those who patronised the function. He asked for further support for Sinn Féin, to show that Ireland is behind the Freedom Fighters and wishes to smite English law and give to the country the freedom it deserves.

## CUMANN NA mBAN

**C**UMANN NA mBAN is the woman's organisation of the Irish Republican Movement. Some of the greatest of the historic 1916-23 era have been among its members and its work at that time needs no retelling. It is now a part of our history.

Cumann na mBan stands for complete separation of Ireland from England—in Tone's immortal phrase "to break the connection." The aim of Cumann na mBan is the aim of every branch of the Republican Movement: the complete sovereignty of the Irish people over their affairs expressed in a 32-County Republican Parliament. We want to see the language, culture and outlook of the Irish people revived and fortified.

Members of Cumann na mBan never at any time forget the objectives of the Republican Movement. They never at any time entertain any doubts of success. They believe the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland will be established in this generation.

We ask God's blessing on our work that it may be good and fruitful. We want our Irish songs, dances and customs preserved. But that is only part of the work of Cumann na mBan. We want to see the Republican ideal alive in the hearts of our people and we want to see the Republic for which our martyrs died honoured among the nations.

For further particulars write to: The Secretary, Sean Tracey Street, Dublin.

## Law and Order

A REPORT in the Six Counties newspaper, "Northern Constitution" (July 2) stated that an Englishman who was fired on by a "B" Special patrol in County Antrim, and had damage done to his car that cost him £10 to repair, was fined in addition when the police prosecuted him at Bushmills Petty Sessions "for failing to stop when signalled to do so by a police constable." Defendant said he was from Huntingdonshire, England, and was on a geological survey for the Ministry of Commerce. He had seen a stationary red light on the road but thought nothing of it. He had seen vague outlines of persons. He was very surprised, he said, to see a patrol in this area. He "thought they would only be seen about the Border areas."

A report in the "Belfast Telegraph" the same day (July 2) stated: "A man who alleged that he was hit over the head and rendered unconscious by members of the Special Constabulary was awarded a decree for £130 at Omagh Quarter Sessions to-day." The plaintiff, James Donnelly, Coagh, said he met a patrol of 10 or 11 Specials all of whom were armed. He was held up, and he was beaten with rifle butts and knocked unconscious. He sustained injuries to his head and back and other parts of the body. A number of independent witnesses testified. One witness said he saw "a mob of uniformed men" move away from the many lying on the road. The defence of the Specials was: "The District Inspector had made investigations throughout the Special Constabulary and could find no truth in the allegations."

Next day (July 3) judgment was reserved for a week in a case in which the police — this time it was Sir Richard Pim, Inspector-General of the R.U.C., and Mr. L. Thompson,

Governor of Belfast Prison—were again the defendants in charges of brutal assault on defenceless people. Eight internees brought the proceedings but Judge Fox refused to take the cases together and the only complaint heard up to the third of July was that of Francis Card, a docker, of Belfast. He produced bloodstained articles, including a shirt worn by him when he was assaulted in his cell by the police. Counsel for the Crown said (as reported in the "Irish Weekly and Ulster Examiner," July 5): "The police in the prison that day came from many parts of Northern Ireland." The report said that the Counsel "cited legal precedence that neither the Inspector-General nor the Governor of the prison could be held liable for the acts of members of the police force." Counsel for Francis Card replied that if that contention was right, police or anyone else could be brought into the cells and allowed to assault defenceless prisoners who would have no redress. Card, Counsel said, had no means to identify the policemen who assaulted him." A week later, Judge Fox announced that Francis Card's appeal was dismissed.

And that is the "law and order" that the Stormont regime maintains, and that the Leinster House regime is supporting, as far as it can, at this side of the Border.

These are not merely isolated cases of brutality on the part of the police and "B" Specials in the North. They are, as Irish people are aware, a regular feature of life in Occupied Ireland. Britain's armed police and their agents sought to put Republican freedom fighters in the North in dock and brand them as criminals but now the boot is on the other foot and the Imperial terrorists are being branded, before the people, even in the Imperial rigged courts of "justice" in the North.

## While Our Principles Remain

COLUMNIST in the U.S. "Irish Echo" (May 17): "The pro-British regime at Stormont are complaining that the Dublin Government are not doing enough to stop the 'border raids.' Many sound Nationalists think that the Dublin Government are doing too much."

"Complaints of inactivity were again made by Topping, Stormont Minister for Home Affairs. That anti-Irishman wants all true Nationalists in the 26 Counties locked up. Mr. Diamond (pseudo-Republican M.P.) expressed amazement. He held that the South were doing their duty. But action against the British Occupation forces will go on as long as the principles of freedom live in Irish hearts."

## Released

John Joe Monaghan of Cuilmore, Newport, Co. Mayo, was released unconditionally from the Curragh Concentration Camp on June 17.

## Mr. P. Killeen

The funeral of Patrick Killeen (24) of Cloona hala, Gort, Co. Galway, had a guard of honour of Sinn Féin members wearing black armbands and a tribute was paid by Mr. Josie Gallagher (Gort) after Mr. Killeen's tragic death in a road accident on the Gort-Ennis road.

Deceased was a member of the Gort senior hurling team and was most popular. Gort hurlers marched beside the bier. Mr. Gallagher said Patrick Killeen was a staunch young Irishman who was at one with the young men of to-day struggling for Irish freedom.

## Arrests in the North

A NUMBER of men were arrested throughout British-Occupied Ireland during the last week of June. Six eventually were held and removed to Crumlin Road Jail. They are from Counties Derry and Tyrone.

Eighteen in all were arrested in Newry following the seizure of a Post Office van there. They were nearly all released.

The men taken to Belfast were subjected to long interrogation by the R.U.C.



Part of the Fenian Week parade in Dublin.

## Tionscal an éisc

LE OBAIN MAIRÉ FAIRBEAC A DÉANAMH DEN TIONSICAL SEO I OTIR AR BIÉ NÍ MÓR CUANTA BREACHTA AGUS CÓSTA FEILÚNAC A BEIT AR IMEALL NA TÍRE. AGUS I SCÓIR AN TIONSICAL SIN CÁ BFUL TÍR SA CRUINNÉ A BFUL CÓSTA NÍOS OIRIÚNAÍ AICI NÁ MAR ATÁ AG AR OTIR FEIN, ÉIRE? CÉ'N TÍR AR UOMHÁN A BFUL AN OIREAD SIN DE CUANTA BREACHTA POSCAITE INCÍ? SÍLIM SUIR BEAG OÍOÍ ATÁ ANN MÁ TÁ OIREAD IS CEANN AMHAIN. AC MO LÉAN! IN ANNEOIN SIN AGUS UILIS IS AMLAIO ATÁIMIO GO MÓR CUN DEIRIO MAIOIR LE TIONSICAL AN ÉISC ANSEO IN ÉIRINN.

SA TÁ ATÁ MNÍU ANN IS BEAG TÍR ATÁ ANN A BFUL AN MÉIO DAOINE OÍ-POSTAITE ANN AGUS ATÁ IN ÉIRINN. TÁ CEIST NÁ OÍ-POSTAÍOECTA A PLÉ GO RÍ-ÍMÍE.

FEAC AN NORBUAI AGUS AN ÉAOI A BFUL AG ÉIRI TEO I OTIONSICAL AN ÉISC. CÉ GO BFUL AN NORBUAI SUITE I LEACAO NÍOS FUIVE Ó TUAR NÁ ÉIRE, SÉ SIN I RÉIGIÚN NÍOS FUIRE, TÁ SÍAO GO MÓR CUN TOSAIG ORAINN. RUO EILE PÓS SEA GO OTAGANN NA H-ÉIS FAIRIO GO TEOR OÍMNE AGUS AR AN LÁM EILE DE BÍONN AR MUINTEIR NA NORBUAI OUL I BPAO Ó BAILE CUN TEACHT AR NA H-ÉISC. SÉ AN SCÉAL CEANNA É MAIOIR LE TRÁITÉIRI NA SPÁINNE AGUS NA FRAINCE. NÍ IONAD NÁ LAZAO É GO OTAGANN IASCAIRI EACHTRAN-NACA LAISTIG NÁR BFAIRRAISI TEORANN GO MÍE.

B'FÍU TIMPEALL AGUS CÉAO BÁO NUA OO CEANNAÉ AGUS IAO A

IS I SEO AN SCRÍBINN A BUAIG AN DARA DHAIS SA COMÓRTAS AISTÍ. TÁ AN SCRÍBNEOIR 17 BLIANA D'AOIS

ÉADHAIRE DOS NA H-IASCAIRI SA HSAELTACHT. TÁ MÉ CUNTE NAC MBEOU AN SCÁINTEOIRI OÚCAIS AG TEICÉAD A TUILLÉAD ÓN MBOC-TANAS, ÓN NGANNTANAS NÓ ÓN SELÁTAÍOECT MAR ATÁ SÍAO ANOIS OÁ OTADARPAI SIN I SCRIÉ.

### SAEL-LINN

Rinne SAEL-LINN BEARTAS AN-MAIRÉ AR PAO LE DÉANAI CUN PORBAIRE TIONSICAL NA H-IASCAIREACHTA A ÉADHAIRE I SCRIÉ. TÁ MONARCA TÓGEA ACU I SCARNA, CONAMARA, INA NOÉANPAR GLASRAÍ, ÉISC, JRL., OO MEAR-CHUISNIÚ OON MARGAD EASPORTÁLA.

TUGADAR CÚIG BÁO OO IASCAIRI PAOI LEIT TIMPEALL CARNÁ, AGUS NÍ BEIR OREU OÍOL ASTU GO OTÍ GO MBEOU SÍAO A' PÁIL BRABÚIS AS AN OBAIN. AR MAITE LEIS AN HSAELTACHT AGUS AN SCÁINTEOIRI OÚCAIS GO PRÍOMHA AN BEARTAS SEO AC IS AR ÉISIM SUIR GÁ A RÁ SUIR BEARTAS É A RAICAIÓ CUN LEASA NA TÍRE I SCOTIMNE COM MAIRÉ.

OÁ NOÉANPAR AN RIACAS AMLAIO MEASAM GO MBEOU COISCÉIM SAN TREO CEART A ÉADHAIRE ACU. BEAO NA PIN AGUS NA MNÁ ÓGA, OÚCAS AR NÁISÍÚIN, COMNITE SA MBÁILE ANSIN AGUS BEAO TÓGA AR BFEAR ÓS CUMASAC ÉAR N-AIS

AGANN I SCÉANN CUPLA BLIAN.

TÁ NA H-ÉISC GO FLÍÚIRSEAC ÉART TIMPEALL AN CÓSTA. TÁ PIN A BEAO SÁSTA OBAIN AR NA BÁIO —SEA CUILE RUO AGANN AC AN GLÉASRA. TÁ CUANTA LE TÓGÁIL AGUS LE VEISIÚ; TÁ BÁIO LE CEANNAC AGUS CÓRAS IOMPAIR LE H-EAGRÚ; TÁ MONARCANÁ LEASAITÉ LE TÓGÁIL—MITE UILIS A ÉADHAPAD OBAIN OO MÓRÁN DAOINE ATÁ UM AN OTACA SEO OÍ-POSTAITE.

TAOB AMUIG DEN BRABÚS A ÉIOCPAD AS TIONSICAL AN ÉISC BEAO NA CÉAOCA DAOINE POSTAITE SAN OBAIN—OIREAC AGUS MOIREAC. NAC MBÍONN MÓRÁN DAOINE DE SÍOR AG CÁSÁM MÉIO NA H-IMIRCE, GO MÓRHÓR AS AN HSAELTACHT, AGUS SEO OBAIN OO NA CÉAOCA—NÍ H-EA, AC OO NA MÍLTE—OIREAC AR AN OTÁIRSEAC AGANN. IS OÍGÍ TIOM GO MBEOU OÍOÍ FEAR AR A LAZAO AG TEASTÁIL AR GAC BÁO CUN IAO A LÁM-SEAIL.

NÍL ÁIREAMH AR AN MÉIO A POSTÓPAI AG TÓGÁIL CUANTA AGUS MONARCANÁ, AG ULLMÚ AGUS AG LEASÚ AN ÉISC SAR A SCUIRPI AR AN MARGAD É.

### BIA MAIRÉ PÓNTA

TÁ DAOINE ANN AGUS NÍ ÉART-NÍONN ÉISC TEO AR ÓR NA CRUINNÉ, AC B'FÉIOIR GO OTÁIRNÍONN AGUS NAB BFUL FIOS ACU. B'FÉIOIR NAC RAIB AN T-IASC ÚR A O'IT SÍAO AN AON UAIR AMHAIN, AGUS SUIR GLAC OÉISTEAN IAO RÓMPU. AC MEASAM FEIN SUIR BIA MAIRÉ PÓNTA É AN T-IASC, BIA COM PÓLLÁIN AGUS O'FÉAOFÁ A PÁIL.

AC MUNA LÁMÍSEAR I SCÉART É ÓN AM A TÓGTAIR AS AN UISCÉ É AGUS MUNA SCUIRTEAR ÓS A SCOMAIR GO H-ÚR AGUS GO SLACHT-MAR É NÍ GLACPAIO AN POBAL LEIS.

CUN É SIN A DÉANAMH NÍ MÓR EAGRÚ MAIRÉ ÉIFEACHTÚIL A BEIT AR AN SCÓRAS IOMPAIR IONAS GO MBEOU IASC ÚR LE PÁIL I NGAC BAILE IN ÉIRINN. DÉANTAR ROINNTE BEAG IASCAIREACHT FARRAIGE I SCOMAMARA, OÚN NA HSAELT, I SCORCAIG, I BPORTLÁINGE AGUS IN ÁITEANNA EILE LE PAO CÓSTA NA HÉIREANN. MAR SIN, BEAO SÉ ÉASCA GO TEOR TIONSICAL NA H-IASCAIREACHTA O'FORBAIRE AGUS A CUN AR BUN AR SCÁLA MÓR.

—MÍCEÁL Ó CAISLÍN.

## INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

(Continued from Page 10)

means of loans and grants from the 26-Counties Government. The capital redemption for last year was £637,000. That was all that was written off the £92,000,000 which the E.S.B. owed; but, while they were only able to pay that much off the debt they owed, they had to pay interest last year amounting to almost £2,800,000!

One can calculate how long it will take them, at that rate, to pay off the £92,000,000. All they can pay off is less than £1,000,000 a year; at the same time they must pay nearly £3,000,000 every year in interest!

Industries in this country are to a very great extent dependent on electricity, and the people, rich and poor, have to pay high charges for electricity. These are only some of the factors that will have to be taken into consideration in the organising of a proper system of national economy. And these factors were considered in the drafting of the Social and Economic Programme of Sinn Féin.

## Questions For Mr. De Valera

1. I understand that you, Mr. de Valera, first entered Leinster House in 1926 or 1927. How did you deal with the Oath of Allegiance? Did you really take it, or did you merely pretend to take it?

2. If you merely pretended to take it, and thereby represented yourself before the Irish nation as taking it, how did you reconcile that with your previous stand when President of Sinn Féin, that no Irish Republican could profess allegiance to the British Crown without betraying his principles?

3. As President of Sinn Féin, in 1922, you subscribed fully and publicly to the Sinn Féin claim that the Dublin and Belfast Parliaments were institutions imposed on Ireland under threat of "immediate and terrible war" by Britain; that the All-Ireland Republican Parliament had never been dissolved. Were you wrong then in what you said or are you wrong now in what you say?

4. I understand that when you seceded from Sinn Féin and decided to enter Leinster House, you condemned the Oath of Allegiance to the British Crown and declared your intention to abolish it if you were given a majority in the House, but once you had entered the House and had taken, or pretended to take, the Oath, you described it as an "empty formula." When did it change and how was the change brought about?

5. Correct me if I am wrong, but I understand that before and after entering Leinster House you waged a campaign against Cumann na nGaedheal (now Fine Gael) legislation—described by you and Fianna Fáil as the "Cosgrave Coercion Acts"—which legislation was directed against the Republican Movement; that, when you formed a Government in 1932, you ordered the release of Republicans jailed under that legislation, but that, some time later, you in turn proceeded to jail Republicans again. I understand, also that in 1939, after continuing to make use of the "Cosgrave Coercion Acts" against Republicans and reviving the military courts for which provision was made in those Acts, you had all the provisions of the Acts incorporated in your new Offences Against the State Act, together with an additional one providing for the imprisonment of citizens without charge or trial.

Do you hold that in all this you were following a Republican line of policy? If so, what line would you say Cumann na nGaedheal (now Fine Gael) were following when they were putting the same policy into operation? Do you hold that it was wrong when adopted by Cumann na nGaedheal but right when adopted by you?

6. It was reported some months ago, that a party of Stormont M.P.s who describe themselves as "Nationalists" and who, in addition to making the Unionist prescribed declaration acknowledging Stormont as "the legitimate Parliament of Northern Ireland," took an Oath of Allegiance to the British Crown, were cordially received by you and entertained at Leinster House. Did you intend this to be interpreted as giving your tacit approval to the policy of the Allegiance Oath takers? If

(By a student of the period of our history, 1921-1958, that is not taught in our schools.)

so, how do you reconcile that with your former declared abhorrence of the Allegiance Oath in Leinster House? If not, how do you suppose your reception of the Stormont Oath takers was interpreted by the Nationalist people of the Six Counties?

7. You were pictured and reported, last Easter, as laying a wreath on the grave of the 1916 leaders. In June, you were pictured and reported as laying a wreath on the grave of Wolfe Tone. In June, also, you were pictured in the fore in attendance at the funeral of the patriot priests, Frs. Albert and Dominic. All these men are on record as living and dying unrepentant and uncompromising, militant Republicans. In view of the fact that, on your own public admissions, you have abandoned that role; that you now wear the mantle of the constitutionalist they repudiated (John Redmond) that you have compromised and are now lined up openly with the Imperialists against the Republicans; and, above all, that you are now openly advocating a closer tie-up with the remains of the British Empire; would you agree that your gestures, last Easter and last June, invited the most unflattering interpretation?

8. How do you reconcile the following statements made by you: (1) At a Fianna Fáil Ard Fheis in 1948—"Is a small section of the people to be permitted to stand in the way of the rights of the majority indefinitely? If the minority took up the attitude that they wanted to be attached to Britain, the obvious thing was to tell them to go over to Britain," and (2) at a Fianna Fáil Ard Fheis in 1957—"The proper way for them (F.F.) to try to end Partition was for them to try and have as close a relation as they could with those in the Six Counties and to try to get them to combine on matters of common interest to them both. If they could get those in the North-East corner of the country who were politically opposed to them, to agree with them, then Britain could not hold them." The British have always tried to maintain that Partition is a matter for the Irish people themselves. When then did you come to accept this view?

9. Your 1937 Constitution purports to guarantee the liberty of the citizen (while, at the same time, allowing for legislation such as the Offences Against the State Act). How do you reconcile your claims for that Constitution with your silence when citizens of this State were officially kidnapped by the police of the neighbouring State and imprisoned without charge or trial? Do you consider that an outrage of this kind could be ignored, without the most damaging repercussions, by any other democratic government in the world? Would you agree that your silence makes a mockery of your 1937 Constitution?

10. You claim the right, under your Offences Against the State Act, to jail on suspicion and for an indeterminate period, without charge or trial, citizens from the

Six Counties where the writ of your Government doesn't run, as well as citizens from the Twenty-Six Counties. Would you agree that this automatically precludes you from taking any action on behalf of citizens of this State who fall victims in this way to the Stormont regime? Would you agree that, in this matter, your Government and the Stormont Government are guilty of the grossest violation of democratic rule, and that you and your Government are in your present unenviable position as a direct result of your entering a Partition Parliament and abandoning your former allegiance to the legitimate All-Ireland Parliament?

11. You say that the circumstances are different. You and other Leinster House politicians decry armed action against "brother Irishmen" garrisoning the North. What, in your opinion, is the saving difference between "brother Irishmen" manning Britain's armed R.U.C. garrisons in the North to-day and the "brother Irishmen" who manned Britain's armed R.I.C. garrisons all over Ireland up to 1921? What is the saving difference between the armed R.U.C. who torture Republican prisoners to-day and the "brother Irishmen" who are armed and given British ("B" Special) uniforms and are encouraged to become drunken and irresponsible terrorists in order to keep the people of the North in subjection, and "brother Irishmen" who wore Black and Tan uniforms and did the same job all over Ireland up to 1921? What is the saving difference between "brother Irishmen" manning Britain's military garrisons in the North and taking part there in the campaign against the Republicans and the people, and "brother Irishmen" who did the same job, in the same way, all over Ireland up to 1921? Finally, why was it so right to attack these forces of British occupation from 1916 to 1921, and so wrong to do likewise to-day?

12. Would you agree that the fable of the King's Magic (i.e., invisible) Suit has particular applicability to Fianna Fáil and its "Republican" policy to-day (whatever that policy may have been in the past) in that the "policy" (Magic Suit) which was adopted by the leader (King) and acclaimed by his colleagues (Courtiers) now proves to be non-existent, as was the King's magic suit of clothes?

### TO FINE GAEL

(I have but two questions for Fine Gael and I address them to one of the leading members of that party, Gen. S. MacEoin.)

1. Last year, you went on record publicly as opposing the Fianna Fáil policy of imprisoning Republicans without charge or trial. Several other members of your party took the same stand. However, when a motion was put down in Leinster House calling for the release of the prisoners held without charge or trial in the Curragh Concentration Camp, you and your party to a man joined with Fianna Fáil and voted against the motion. When did you go back on your publicly declared opinion of imprisonment without charge or trial? If it was wrong, in your

'Did Not Join 26-County Forces—

## TO MOUNT GUARD ON THE BORDER'

**PADRAIG O DOLAIN**, a regular officer in the Defence Forces of the 26-Counties, was sentenced to two years' imprisonment and dismissal with ignominy after being found guilty of charges (including one of conduct "unbecoming an officer") by a General Court Martial in Dublin last month.

He told the Court he made no apology for his actions or sentiments. He simply regarded himself as another casualty in the movement to bring about the unity of the country and the freedom of the nation. In common with many other members of the Defence Forces he resented the attempt of the politicians to turn the forces into John Bull's other army.

He said that if the evidence of the police was to be believed, the guiding factor in the decision to

arrest him was because his notebook contained a list of the members of the Sinn Féin Ard Comhairle.

He said that one was tempted to wonder what the reaction would have been if the notebook had contained a list of the National Executive of Fianna Fáil.

### HAD NOT FAILED

On the charge of conduct unbecoming an officer, Lt. Dolan said that he was much more concerned with conduct becoming an Irishman and in this respect his conscience told him that he had not failed.

"I did not join the Army to keep the Border intact for the British Crown, or to do guard duty at the only Concentration Camp in Western Europe," Padraig O Dolain said.

Col. T. Fox (President of the Court): That will not be allowed.

**Padraig O Dolain:** To get back to the charge of scandalous conduct, with all respect to Parliamentary draftsmen, the charge is redolent of Imperialistic British militarism and archaic Victorian jingoism.

Col. Fox: Will you stand down, please. We won't hear you further.

## Aeriocht for Prisoners at Oldcastle

A successful Aeriocht was held on the shores of Loch Ban, Oldcastle, Co. Meath, on Sunday, July 13, in aid of the Prisoners' Aid Fund.

Speakers were: J. J. McGill, T.D., Tomas O h-Uiginn and Michael McGinn (Philadelphia).

The Aeriocht was organised by Peter McKenna.

Mr. McGill said that some 500 Irishmen were now jailed in Belfast, the Curragh, Mountjoy and England. He said it was most important to keep support for An Cumann Cabhrach continuous.

The Emerald Girl Pipers Band from Dublin was present. A Ceili was held in the El Dorado Ballroom, Oldcastle and was well attended.

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view, when you were speaking against it to the people of Co. Longford and elsewhere, last year, what made it right when you voted for it? Would you consider a man or a political party trustworthy if they acted like that in their dealings with you? Would you have respect for such a person? Did you feel ashamed when you were voting in Leinster House?

2. Do you agree with the policy of imprisoning without charge or trial at the other side of the Border? Do you think Stormont can justify it? If not, why, in your view, is it wrong to intern in the Six Counties and right to do so at this side?

# TERROR: BEHIND PRISON WALLS

THE evidence was clear-cut.

The charges were admitted. There was no denial. A prison official swore that an R.U.C. Commando unit had broken into the cells and beaten the prisoners. But the Recorder at Belfast dismissed the claim for compensation in the civil action brought by one of the interned Republican prisoners held without charge or trial.

Let it now be admitted as part of British law in Occupied Ireland — that armed, specially-trained R.U.C. Commando members can enter the prison cells of men detained without trial or charge and proceed to beat them mercilessly.

The civil action claims by Crumlin Road internees against the Stormont regime have proved the correctness of the "United Irishman" lead story of April on the facts behind the "riot" in Belfast Prison. Stormont's defence is that it is not responsible for the actions of the R.U.C. and that it can't find the culprits anyway.

A prison official under cross-examination admitted the truth of the allegations of ill-treatment. He pointed out that the R.U.C. Commando unit were in the prison and burst into the cells to beat, batter and strip the defenceless prisoners.

The "United Irishman" story of April had pointed out that 44 Republican prisoners were badly injured on March 12 after members of the R.U.C. Commando unit broke into their cells and mauled, batoned, kicked and maltreated them in the most brutal fashion.

## NO RIOT

The Stormont authorities said the R.U.C. Commando unit had been called in after a "riot." There was no riot. There was no organised attempt at resistance. The men were stripped naked, flung to the ground, mercilessly beaten. They were not armed with any kind of weapon.

The orgy of brutality began after the discovery of an escape tunnel on March 11. Two internees were sentenced to two-months loss of privileges for shouting slogans through the

prison windows when two judges were inspecting a British military guard of honour, and then 100 warders entered C and D wings (where the men held without charge or trial are housed) and behaved in a provocative manner.

The discipline of the prisoners and the appeal of their own staff kept an explosive situation under control. But that night, after lock-up, a search was carried out. Verbal protests were made by some of the men when asked to strip naked. At these protests the armed R.U.C. Commando unit rushed into the cells—as many as half a dozen to each—and used their batons, fists and boots on the defenceless men.

## HAS BEEN PROVED

All of this has been proved by the civil action in Belfast. The result of that civil action otherwise is unimportant. What is very important—and must be of great importance to the mass of the Irish people—is that Irish Republican prisoners (uncharged and untried) are treated in this brutal fashion.

Not content with beating and kicking the men, the R.U.C. Commando unit attempted to get them to sing "God Save the Queen" and other British party songs. The 44 injured—including many lads in their teens—had split heads, welts and bruises on the arms, necks, backs and shoulders. Others suffered injuries to ribs and kidneys.

Crosses and religious and national emblems made by the men were smashed as well as personal property such as watches and the like. The most vile language was used during the course of these proceedings which lasted from 8.30 p.m. to 11.45 p.m. At least two cells were covered in blood as a result.

Next day (March 13) the same force of R.U.C. again entered the cells and on this occasion six men were injured. Later the authorities published a picture showing an assortment of chair legs and table legs and alleged that these had been used by the

## Inside Occupied Ireland

FROM OUR NORTHERN CORRESPONDENTS

men. These items of broken furniture had been left one side for repair purposes.

Isn't it time the Irish people as a whole did something about this situation now? When even a prejudiced court has to admit the truth of the charges it is indeed time that something was done.

Incidentally, the Recorder's reason for dismissing the action was that under the Special Powers Act, the Stormont authorities had the right to enter the cells and beat the prisoners.

## Mr. Sheil Again

MR. JUSTICE SHEIL, who is paraded as the Catholic member of the Stormont High Court for purposes of Stormont propaganda, is indeed serving his masters well. Mr. Sheil would hardly concern himself with injustices inflicted on defenceless prisoners — held without charge or trial. Nor would he open his mouth against the Special Powers Bill allowing such things. Nor indeed would he speak out against the discrimination practised in Occupied Ireland.

Not Mr. Justice Sheil has a job to do and he does it. He told the Grand Jury at the Down Assizes that, "It was evident that these people (members of the Resistance) came from the Southern part of the country."

Now tell us, Mr. Justice Sheil, how many of those "from the southern part of the country" are at this moment held in Belfast Jail?

## A Typical Day

HERE is the sort of thing that goes on all the time in Occupied Ireland and yet passes unnoticed as far as the rest of

the country is concerned. The following is from the "Belfast Telegraph" (Unionist) of June 26:

"Six men were moved to Belfast Prison to-day for detention under the emergency powers.

"They were arrested following investigations by the R.U.C. during the night. After being taken to local police stations the men were questioned by Special Branch officers.

"On arrival in Belfast they were seen by other officers.

"The six now taken to prison are residents of Counties Tyrone and Londonderry.

"During police investigations in the past two days a number of other men in rural areas have been interrogated.

"In Newry to-day the R.U.C. continued their investigations into yesterday's accident involving a Post Office van."

## A Show of Force

ON JUNE 27, a show of force was put on for the benefit of the Governor-General of British-Occupied Ireland, Lord Wakehurst, when he visited Omagh, Co. Tyrone. Thirty armoured cars, used to patrol the roads of Tyrone for over a year, were on display.

Daimler scout cars, Daimler armoured cars and Faracens were among the vehicles shown. They carried two-pounder guns and powerful searchlights. Wakehurst was visiting the 15th-19th Kings Royal Hussars at Lisanelly camp.

Wakehurst presented a British Empire medal to a Sergeant Fulcher who has spent a year in Occupied Ireland in charge of dogs used against guerrillas. He gave an exhibition with his dogs. A Sergeant Carey also got a medal — for services in Malaya.

## Republican Bureau Statement

(Continued from Page 9)

contemporaries—have maintained a discreet silence in your news and editorial columns.

This evidence produced by the Crown authorities which you see no reason to dispute consists of a manifesto issued more than seven months ago — on December 12, 1957, to be exact. That was the last manifesto issued in Occupied Ireland. It is, of course, available to the R.U.C. We might also mention that one famous Bren gun captured by the R.U.C. in East Tyrone 18 months ago has subsequently been photographed a number of times as part of various captured arms dumps. Again Republicans are under no illusions as to their methods and techniques.

Your leader-writer is concerned lest the principles of Wolfe Tone be jeopardised by the Armagh action. Republican policy of sectarianism is too well known to need defence at this late stage. But it might be as well to point out that Republicans didn't fashion the sectarian political weapon which they abhor and oppose. And Tone's principles are quite safe in their hands because they are well aware of the fact that Pearse wasn't shot because he was a Catholic no more than Orr was hanged because he was a Presbyterian. Protestant Ulstermen held without charge or trial in Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast, can testify to this also. The moral hardly needs underlining.

Whatever face you or others may try to put on events in Occupied Ireland, the root of the trouble is England's denial of full sovereignty to the Irish people. The action slogan of the Republican Movement is that "British troops must go!" This is hardly unreasonable in the circumstances of 1958.

You are entitled to disagree with the methods used. You are not entitled to distort them — or the motives of the men who carry out.

(signed) J. McGarrity,  
Secretary.

## Law and Order

MAEVE DALY, Newry, and Oliver Smith, Bessbrook, were fined £5 and £10 respectively at Newry, for carrying the Irish National Flag at an Easter Commemoration parade at Newry.

At a juvenile court, a 16-year-old girl was fined £4 for "disorderly behaviour." The R.U.C. accused her of carrying a national flag in the parade.

Michael Byrne, jnr., of Camlough, was fined £25 for carrying the national flag was arrested and taken to Belfast Jail to serve a four-month sentence for non-payment of the fine.

## Use of Force

"GREAT BRITAIN is behind Northern Ireland with all her strength. And when I say strength, I mean physical as well as moral strength."

—The British Home Secretary, Mr. Butler at Stormont on 2nd June, 1958.

## What Other People Are Saying

(Continued from Page 2.)

occasions a lifetime career of a patriot in Ireland was sacrificed and each time in 18 months there was never an Irish voice raised in defence of the partition of Ireland.

"It was never true that it was solely the concern of Ireland, but it may well be true—and I think it probably is—that in order to put right the wrong that has been done we here in the Republic may have to bear the heaviest burden and bring others to see the light and remedy the position for which we were not responsible but for which others were."

## ENTERTAINMENT

"RECENTLY certain information came this way which would indicate that more than £100,000 of the taxpayers' money is being spent yearly on lavish entertainment which is at once unnecessary and a grave injustice to the many thousands of our needy citizens," said Mr. John Conroy, General President I.T. and G.W.U., at a

meeting of Cork No. 2 Branch of the Union.

He said that numerous dinners, banquet, cocktail parties and such like were now the order of the day. The sum of £100,000 would provide the capital to fit out and stock about 100 small farms. This kind of lavish expenditure on entertainment and the continuous 'trek' across the oceans by favoured citizens, at the taxpayers' expense, should be drastically curtailed. ("Leinster Express," June 7).

## OUR HERITAGE

"ETTER published in the "Longford Leader" (June 7): "From 1522 Third Avenue, New York, Michael Sheenan writes—

"The freedom of speech and the freedom of the press are amongst the most cherished heritages of civilised man in any land. Poli-

cians and parties come and go but the spirit of our race and nation lives on. The bard said long ago that if you clothe man in a little authority he performs such antics before the high heavens as to make the angels weep.

"Apart from the Irish-American papers here we do not see as much news as we would like from Ireland. The news we get is often disheartening. We read here of emigration. We read of young men being put into concentration camps. We read about the hateful mutilation of our motherland, with pain. We all know that it is because our country is not free, that the young with great ideals have to go to prison."

## PARTITION

"Now that the Oath has gone, Republicans must concentrate on

securing the full independence of this country."

—Fianna Fail manifesto 25 years ago, quoted in the "Mayo News," May 31, 1958.

"Partition was a big problem for which he did not know any solution."

—Minister Dr. Ryan (F.F.) at Gorey, Co. Wexford, as reported in "Irish Press," June 9, 1958.

## 15c minute

11 o'clock Mass at University Church, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin will be held on Sunday, August 10, for the repose of the souls of:

SEAN RUSSELL (Dublin) who died overseas, August 14, 1940.

RICHARD COSS (Louth), executed Portlaoise Prison, August 9, 1940.

JOHN J. KAVANAGH (Cork), shot dead on August 3, 1940.

# This Movement Unites all the Irish People

It was Bismarck, Chancellor of Germany in the last century, who once said that patriotism stops at the palate. In Ireland to-day, unfortunately, patriotism too often begins and stops at the tongue.

There are in the country many who talk glibly about patriotism but refuse to act like patriots. There also are many whose patriotism extends as far as joining some well-intentioned organisation, thinking that by doing so they are fulfilling their obligation to themselves and to their country. But there is more to patriotism than speaking Irish, buying Irish and attending Irish games, dances and concerts. No criticism is intended, when saying this, of the diligent and enthusiastic work being done in the spheres of Irish economy, games and culture, for the work of organisations engaged thus is most commendable. And it usually will be found that the best work is done where there is least noise.

But the joining of such organisations should not be an end in itself. Due regard should be given to the basic meaning of patriotism and to the true ends of patriotic endeavour. Love for and loyalty to one's own country is the basis of patriotism but it implies many other things besides. Patriotism calls for more than merely THINKING Irish—it also demands that one ACTS Irish also.

If one has love for and loyalty to one's native land, the essence of one's patriotism should be a willingness to serve unselfishly that country so that it may enjoy full freedom and prosperity. If the country is not yet enjoying the full freedom and prosperity which are its due, then it is one's

patriotic duty to strive for the achievement of those ends.

It is good and commendable to strive to achieve those ends within the many voluntary organisations working to-day in this country for its betterment. But it may be pointed out that, in view of the restricted objectives and limited powers of these organisations, the attaining of Ireland's freedom and consequent prosperity is not possible through working within the many movements in question.

Undoubtedly they have done much; they have bettered, and are improving, conditions in rural and urban Ireland, among the farming community, among tradesmen and fishermen. They work to stem emigration and create prosperity through more employment. They seek to foster a spirit of industry and optimism among our people. They work for the restoration of the Irish language, culture and games.

But, praiseworthy and commendable though their efforts are, the Irish man or woman who cherishes the all-embracing ideal of a free, united and prosperous Ireland will not be enabled to work fully and completely for the achieving of that ideal within the movement referred to. It should not be necessary to point out that, while the work of these movements fulfills the objects laid down in their programmes, it helps only partially towards the fulfilling of the nation's destiny. Nor do any of these bodies claim otherwise or boast of having a panacea to cure all our national ills. In the light of their circumscribed and restricted objectives, they would be misleading their members if they so boasted.

Therefore, it would be wishful thinking on the part of any young Irish man or woman who joined any one or more of these organisations in the hope that by doing so they were doing enough to help free and unite Ireland.

THOSE organisations were not formed for that high purpose. Let young Irish men and women participate in the good work they are doing in their own limited spheres, but let not those young men and women confine their efforts to that. They must seek out for themselves the truth about Ireland's plight and study without bias the best means to remedy the situation. Then, having arrived at the means, they should grasp at them and, by using them, pursue the patriot's ideal of a free, united and prosperous Ireland. This they should do, unreservedly and unselfishly, if they are to ACT as patriots.

In their study they will be confronted with incontrovertible facts. Ireland is unfree because part of her ancient and sovereign territory is occupied by foreign troops against the wishes of the Irish people as a whole. The Proclamation of 1916, which is the foundation stone of the Irish Republic, lays claim to the territory of the whole of Ireland as the property of the Irish only. Irish Republicans must stand by the 1916 Proclamation and by the declarations of the First Dail of the Irish Republic. Irishmen have a moral and a legal right to claim the return of the occupied territory. If this claim is spurned, as it has been, then they have the right to take by force the occupied territory or to aid by force any attempt to cast out the occupier. That is what Irish men and women of

the Resistance Movement are doing to-day.

Ireland is not united because of the presence of the foreign troops who prevent the people of Ireland as a whole from coming together to work out their own destiny. England is the power that maintains this occupying force in part of the national territory. If Irish men and women rise to throw out the English and if they are aided by their compatriots from the unoccupied portion of the country, then they are acting according to the dictates of their own consciences and in accordance with the principles laid down by other Irish men and women who laid the foundations of the Irish Republic.

That a 32-County Republic has not yet been re-established is certainly not their fault, but in trying to do so, they have had to face the obstacles formed by the two English-caused parliaments in the two parts of the sundered nation. There was but one way to remain faithful to the principles of the 1916 Proclamation and of the First Dail and that was by non-recognition of those two English-inspired parliaments and adherence to the ideal of a parliament for the people of the 32 counties as a whole, elected by the people of the 32 counties as a whole.

IRELAND has remained impoverished because she remains unfree and disunited. There is no strength without unity and a dismembered nation cannot hope to bring to bear upon its problems the combined talents and efforts of all its people when they are prevented from doing so.

These are the incontrovertible facts which will confront the young Irish man or woman seeking the truth and the means to achieve Irish freedom and prosperity. It will be borne in upon them that they cannot hope to work to attain those ends within restrictive channels. The vehicle of their ideals must be one that gives full scope to the aims and efforts of the true patriot, that is, a movement in which they will be enabled not only to THINK Irish but also to ACT Irish.

Such a movement is Sinn Féin which seeks to free, unite and make prosperous our native country. In Sinn Féin young men and women will find a vehicle for their patriotic endeavours and nationalistic ideals. In it their work will bear most fruit for Sinn Féin is the movement that unites the Irish people for the freedom, unity and prosperity of Ireland.

NORMAN

## An Cumann Cabhrach

### CARLOW :

Carlow .... 2 0 0  
Gidhneach .... 1 0 0  
Broadford .... 5 0 0

### CORK :

Clonmult Martyrs Cumann,  
S.F., Midleton .... 2 12 6  
Cumann Sinn Féin,  
Glanworth .... 4 15 0

### DONEGAL :

Anon., Letterkenny .... 5 0 0  
Lifford .... 6 0 0

### DUBLIN :

Dublin Committee .... 122 0 0  
GALWAY :

Ceillidhe, Kilconnell .... 59 0 0  
Ceillidhe, Killalaghton .... 5 7 0

### KILKENNY :

Kilmaganny .... 2 10 0  
G.A.A. match,  
Thomastown .... 3 7 0

### LAOIS :

Shane .... 20 Dollars  
Laoighis .... 147 9 6

### LOUTH :

Dundalk Branch :—  
Raffle on Derby Sweep,  
June 25 .... 30 0 0  
G.A.A. match, Ardee .... 5 7 6

### MONAGHAN :

Tallanstown .... 4 3 7  
MONAGHAN :  
Monaghan .... 1 0 0

### OFFALY :

Collections at Birr .... 26 5 0

### ROSCOMMON :

Cumann an Athar Ui  
Fhlannagain, S.F.,  
Screamog .... 2 0 0

### BRUSNA (Bealach an

Doirin) .... 5 10 0  
Whitehall, etc .... 2 15 0

### WATERFORD :

Waterford .... 25 0 0  
WEXFORD :

### Cumann Sabhat, O hAnn-

luain agus S. O Caogain,  
Inis Corthaidh .... 29 1 6

### ENGLAND :

Birmingham .... 1 6 0  
AMERICA :

Detroit .... 17 14 5  
Full Freedom for All Ireland  
Committee of the United  
Irish Counties Association  
of New York .... 480.81

Dover, New Jersey .... 10.00  
Texas .... 2.00

St. Patrick's G.A.A. Club,  
Buffalo, N.Y. .... 121.00  
Ulster Celtic Benevolent  
Assoc. of San  
Francisco .... 25.00

### CANADA :

An Cumann Cabhrach,  
Toronto .... 150.00  
AUSTRALIA :

Tone-Pearse Cumann, Sinn  
Fein, Melbourne .... 12 0 0  
S. AFRICA :

Cumann Cathal Brugha,  
Sinn Féin,  
Johannesburgh .... 20 0 0

### PHYSICAL FORCE

“While she (England) explains the futility of force (by others), it is the only argument she listens to.”

—Michael Collins, quoted in an article in “The Kerryman” (May 31, 1958).

“When I read some of the understanding plamas that is being published at present about our obligations to like the feet of those who divided us . . . Three times (in 100 years of Irish history) the lifetime career of a patriot was sacrificed and each time there was conceded to violence, in 18 months, what had been argued for nigh on 80 years.”

—Mr. Dillon, T.D., in Leinster House, April 16, 1958.

## Prison's inhuman Conditions

KILKENNY CORPORATION has adopted a resolution from Sligo Corporation asking all public bodies in the 26-Counties to join in a protest against the inhuman treatment of internees in Crumlin Road Prison, Belfast.

Ald. Delaney said he was not sure whether Sligo Corporation, when they passed their Resolution, were aware of the facts that came to light through a recent Court case in Belfast.

“The British Government, through its agents in Belfast, is carrying out a tyrannical policy. Conditions are as bad to-day as they were at any time in the long history of persecution in this country, and it is only right that we should protest and express our sympathy to these young men.”

Mr. Murphy said that very inhumane treatment was meted out to young people whose only crime was that they loved their country.

“We hear a lot about concentration camps. I do not think there is any difference between the Northern Ireland camps and Belsen.”

The Resolution was adopted unanimously.

## The Rebels of our Land

Arise, my friends, let us salute  
Republicans to-day;  
Not all who've fought in Freedom's Cause  
Had truer hearts than they.  
In prisons and internment camps  
They lie, outlawed and banned  
By traitorous Set, unconquered yet  
These rebels of our land.

From Antrim's glens and Shannonside,  
From Cork to Donegal;  
Some on the cursed Border died  
At Mother Ireland's call.  
Those gallant men from town and glen,  
Our inspiration stand  
And traitors' shame shall ne'er defame  
Those martyrs of our land.

From Wexford, Armagh, Limerick, Down;  
From Monaghan and Louth.  
Smith, Craven, Watters, Keegan, Parle,  
O'Hanlon and Sabhat;  
Tho' cold in death, in memory yet  
United still we stand.  
God grant them rest, their names are blest  
Those martyrs of our land.

Let hirelings sneer and traitors frown;  
And still the truth is clear,  
“A felon's cap is the noblest crown  
An Irish head can wear.”  
And Irish blood cries out once more  
To scorn the servile brand,  
They know no laws but Ireland's Cause  
These rebels of our land.

—N. O'D.

1867

All our best ye have branded  
When the people were choosing them,  
When 'twas Death they demanded  
Ye laughed! Ye were losing them.  
But the blood that ye spilt in the night.  
Crieth loudly to God,  
And their name hath the strength and the might  
Of a sword for the sod.

In the days of our doom and our dread  
Ye were cruel and callous,  
Grim Death with our fighters ye fed  
Through the jaws of the gallows;  
But a blasting and blight was the fee  
For which ye had bartered them,  
And we smite with the sword that from ye  
We had gained when ye martyred them!

—JOSEPH MARY PLUNKETT

## Marching to Wolfe Tone's Grave



One contingent on the march from Sallins to Tone's grave  
at Bodenstown, Co. Kildare.



"These tools you ordered will never fix that  
leak now, Daddy..."

## The Matchstick Cross

"Value in merchandise: two and six."  
O, priceless symbol of matchless devotion!  
White cross of love and sacrifice,  
That came to me across the ocean.

"A matchstick cross: no commercial value"  
So said the customs declaration;  
But the names of seven men were there  
Who died for a free, united nation.

"Value as merchandise: two and six."  
O, hands that laboured with patient care  
To fashion this beautiful emblem of love  
While serving in a prison there.

"A matchstick cross: no commercial worth."  
And the U.S. Customs passed it free!  
'Twould have taken the treasures of heaven and earth  
I have paid the value it is to me.

E.L.R.

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SUPPORT THE  
REPUBLICAN  
MOVEMENT

## Storming of Belfast Jail

**M**AY God bless the Soldiers of Ireland  
In battle for freedom to-day;  
May God bless the mothers who bore them  
Their prayers give them strength in the fray.

But blessings I pray in abundance  
On Ulster's proud women and true  
For Crumlin Road Jail fell before them  
It's strong gates they bravely swept through

Their children were there beside them  
Their mothers to help and to cheer  
The R.U.C. cried for assistance —  
Ye gods! how they trembled with fear!

The women and children retreated —  
Against them the odds were too great;  
The 'chivalric' minions of England  
Were glad when they bolted the gate.

Then over the Crumlin jail railings  
A Tricolour proudly was hung  
And while its folds flashed in the breezes  
The Songs of the Rebels were sung.

May God bless the women of Ulster —  
They're bravest where thickest the fray.  
We'll never forget how you captured  
That jail on St. Patrick's own Day.

M. O. C.

## AT U.N.O.

THE 26-County representative at  
the United Nations in New  
York, speaking on the Cyprus  
question had this to say:

"I cannot help recalling, however, in my own country, at a time when a peaceful settlement with our great neighbour seemed near, certain politicians deliberately set themselves to work upon arousing the fears, and inflaming the passions, of a minority — in this case the Protestant minority in the northern part of Ireland many of whose members belong to a political institution known as the Orange Order. The 'Orange card is the one to play', declared a well-known Tory politician of the day. 'Please God it will turn up trumps'.

"Unfortunately, it did: a cynical exercise in political tactics was allowed, for the time being, to defeat the advance of freedom. Whether the same kind of calculation has been at work in Cyprus I cannot say."

## Dungiven Incident

"Steel-helmeted constables on guard outside the grounds drew their batons and dashed to aid the officer.

"That brought a shower of stones from the crowd. Outside, about 30 police with Sten guns and Bren guns were showered with missiles. Some policemen were slightly hurt, but they stood fast."

(DAILY MAIL report of  
Dungiven Union Jack incident, July 7).

"Forty police were on the road nearby and a truncheon charge was made on the crowd, who were packed against the churchyard wall. Three or four policemen were injured by stone-throwing. Some of the crowd said afterwards that they had burned the flag."

—(Manchester Guardian report).

# One Nation—One Country—One People



A section of the estimated 12,000-strong crowd at Wolfe Tone's grave on Sun., June 15.

## WORLD AFFAIRS:

### The Cyprus Question

THE Cyprus struggle is basically a fight for self-determination. The British colonial rulers have now so twisted the issues that it is next to impossible for the casual observer to understand what is going on.

We have the word of Field Marshal Lord Harding for it that the only way to achieve a settlement is by shooting a path to it. We have the word of a British Cabinet Minister who said that because Cyprus was indispensable for Imperial defence it can never achieve self-determination. And we have Dr. Fisher, the Archbishop of Canterbury, calling Dr. Makarios a "bad character."

Dr. Fisher didn't call Sir Anthony Eden, Mr. Macmillan or Harding bad characters although they were responsible for the deaths of innocent Cypriots including that of an 18-year-old boy hanged for the "crime" of having in his possession a revolver that experts said couldn't fire.

Now we have a new British plan for Cyprus based on the ideas of British Premier Macmillan whose "sincerity of purpose" the Unionist "Belfast Telegraph" finds so praiseworthy. Only a Tory-Unionist could find such a plan "praiseworthy."

This new British plan denies the principle of self-determination and admits the terrible injustice of Partition. This is hardly new. It was applied to Ireland 37 years ago.

The Macmillan plan harps on the danger of Turkish ill-will—non-existent until the British colonial rulers set about nourish-

ing it. They made the Turkish agitation for their own ends. Three years ago there was no Turkish demand for Partition. Now British propaganda has it that their troops must stay in Cyprus to keep the Turks and Greeks apart:

Good relations existed between the two communities until the British fomented strife. These were in the days before mass detentions, curfews, executions and murders "while trying to escape." How familiar the pattern!

The British Labour Party also had a plan for Cyprus: while in opposition the British Labour Party always has plans but none when it gets to power. This plan called for self-determination. It seems to have been quietly scuttled for Gaitskill doesn't want to embarrass Macmillan.

Lord Attlee, former Labour Premier, has words of wisdom for the Cypriots. Look at Ireland, he says. Ireland is an example of what British terrorism could do. Despite a one-time Labour plan for Irish unity and self-determination, what My Lord Attlee gave us was his infamous Ireland Act of 1949.

The Cypriots undoubtedly have gained by the lessons of history. They will not accept partition even under threat of "immediate and terrible war." Britain will eventually be forced to evacuate Cyprus and any goodwill she might ever have earned from these islanders in the past will be packed with her luggage.

There is a lesson here for her "Irish policy" too.

—OBSERVER

## CAILTE SAN TAIRBE

(EAGARFOCAL A POILSIÓD 1  
"Rose," Iúil, 1958.)

Tá na mílte uiníne díomhaoin in Éirinn. Tá daoine in Éirinn, naé beag a líon, nár dein don obair rialtas le blianta fada anuas. Conas a solátraíonn siad bia, agus éadaí, agus na rialtanaí eile, uóib féin is uona daoine atá mar chúram ortha? Zeibéann siad an "vóte."

An "vóte!" Ó éadé na nór-mánad i leit, níor veinead in Éirinn don gníomh ba measa ná cruicé an "vóte" céanna. Istíonn sé na húdaráis a scaipeann é; mílteann sé na daoine go bfuil ortha glacadó leis. Droic-rúo 'sea an vóte ann féin; agus tá sé ina ádair is ina mádair ar iolomao aicfo sóisealac.

Istíonn an "vóte" pé rialtas a scaipeann é. Cotáíonn sé leisce sna Teactaí Dála. Claonann sé a noearca; tachtann sé gúe a gcoimsiasa. . . . Níl don uiníne naé féidir leis ruo éigin o'páit le n-ite, agus ball éadais o'páit le cur ar a éndíma! Naé bfuil an rialtas rial? Naé bfuil a buailgas á comhlíonad aige?

Is cuma má tá airgead á caiteamh san tairbe? Is cuma má tá daoine bocta á mbrisead, roir córp is anam!

Ó éadé an uiníne go dtugtar uó an "vóte," zeibéann sé ruo naé bfuil as teastáil uair—airgead san obair. Ad ní fágann sé uóéam airgíó lena rialtanaí a cur ar páit. Tá sé mí-sásta leis féin, leis an rialtas, leis an saol.

Spreagtar é pán oll a sárú. Más fear é a bfuil mianac máit ann, spreagtar é pán "vóte" a lorg, agus obair a véanam i ngán fíor. An mó uiníne atá

as tarrainge an "vóte," agus as obair as an ám céanna? Ní maí le luic na bótaí a lorg a rá!

Agus an uiníne atá lag céana féin, an uiníne atá leiscíúil, cuireann an "vóte" an cairp báis air.

Tá an "vóte" as ite a slí istead go dtí croí an náisiúin. Caitfead é a stopad. Conas? Obair a cur ar páit—ar páis máit. Má adhaíonn don rialtas anois naé féidir leis obair uó cur ar páit uó fad éinne, ba éadé uó éirí as an bpost.

Cun a páit amad cá bfuil an obair le páit, ní gá ac uol trío an uóir ar éraen nó ar bus, nó síul tré bailte móra is sráio bailte, cun an obair a feiscint—agus i a élos, mar is minic í as glaoé amad in ard a cinn is a gúe.

Agus ní féidir a rá go fírinnead naé bfuil an tairgead le páit. Má's féidir a rá go bfuilimí boct, an ceart uóinn airgead a caiteamh cun an saibreas is mó uó bfuil agam—fearúlaé is macántaé an náisiúin—a míltead!

### 58,000

The British House of Commons at Westminster was told last month that emigration to that country from the 26 Counties is now at the rate of more than 58,000 a year.

Mr. de Valera said in Dublin that he had no figures for emigration but he believed it is still high.

## Yes and No

"I want to make it quite clear that I am not a Tory. I am a Unionist and I speak as a Unionist in this Unionist House of Commons."

—Mr. N. Minford, Tory-Unionist M.P. at Stormont.

"You have just heard the voice of one of the greatest men who has ever lived in our history in Ireland."

—Brian Faulkner, Tory-Unionist Chief Whip, speaking about Lord Brookeborough.

A Carrickfergus Unionist Councillor, Mr. P. M. Armstrong, referring to the preservation of historical structures said the Council had been lax on these matters and referred to the demolition of Slate House where the body of William Orr (the first Republican martyr) had been taken after his execution at Gallows Green.

"Remember Orr" was once an Ulster battlecry.