

AN t-ÉIREANNAC AONTUIZTE THE UNITED IRISHMAN

IML. XI. UIMHIR 1.

EANAIR (JAN.), 1959.

4d. (10 CENTS)

RESISTANCE STATEMENT

To the People of British-Occupied Ireland

ON this the second anniversary of the December 12, 1956 Revolt against British Imperial aggression in Ireland and British military occupation of six Irish counties, the Irish Resistance Movement sends you greetings on behalf of our Volunteer Freedom Fighters and the men and women of the Resistance.

For two years now you have heroically borne the brunt of the struggle for freedom. By courageously carrying the fight to the enemy you have shown the world that the ancient Irish Nation still lives and has the strength, the vitality and the manhood to strike telling blows in the Cause of National Liberation. You have endured much at the hands of the British Crown Forces. You have experienced midnight raids on your homes and curfew in your towns, incessant terrorisation and brutality on your roads and streets, horrible torture of your sons and wanton shooting of civilians culminating in cold-blooded murder. All this you have suffered because of your unswerving loyalty to the Cause of Irish Freedom.

Be assured that your sacrifices for Ireland do not go unheeded. As the issue in this Campaign of Irish Resistance to British aggression becomes clearer for all to see, so does the respect, admiration and support of the people of the 26-Counties and of Irish exiles everywhere continue to grow apace. By your increasing support for the Resistance Fighters you are ensuring that victory will finally come.

Two more precious lives—symbolising all that is best in Irish manhood — have been

given for Irish unity and independence during the past year. The memory of their sacrifices together with that of our seven comrades in 1957 and of all who died in the same cause down through the centuries, will steel us to bear the shock of the fight and give us the inspiration to carry on the struggle for the survival of the Irish Nation.

Many of our comrades have undergone unspeakable torture at the hands of the forces of the Crown; many more have gone without flinching to serve long and savage sentences; hundreds of our kith and kin have been imprisoned indefinitely without any pretence of any charge or trial. Their suffering and their stand in the face of the enemy will strengthen our determination to complete the task they set themselves in this latest phase of Ireland's fight for honour and independence.

We reiterate our call to Irishmen serving in the British Crown Forces, whether military or so-called police, to cease bearing arms against the Motherland. We warn them once more of the consequences should they persist, and in this connection we repeat that the B-Special Constabulary as such is no longer exempt from attack by Resistance Fighters.

All efforts by the enemy to stir up bigotry and sectarian strife have been set at naught. Let us continue to guard against such attempts to divide us and turn us aside from our declared objectives: the ownership of all Ireland by the Irish people and their unfettered control over their own future.

It is profoundly regrettable that at the

behest of the British Government successive 26-County administrations have taken on the role of collaborationist with the Occupation Forces. Not alone have they abandoned you our people in Occupied Ireland, and condemned your efforts to win freedom, but they have rendered material aid and comfort to the enemy by their concentration policies and their maintenance of England's border.

To them we would point the fate of previous Free State administrations who have in the past attempted to deal a deathblow to the Independence Movement. They cannot kill the Resistance since it is founded on you, the immediate and direct victims of British Imperialism, but they are determined to make your lot more difficult and to prolong the struggle. We believe history will deal harshly with all who assist the enemy at this vital juncture.

To our immortal dead, to our imprisoned comrades in British and 26-County jails and prison-camps, and to our people under the iron heel of British military might, and to the entire Irish race, the Irish Resistance Movement pledges itself to intensify the Campaign, to press home the fight, and never to desist in its efforts until British Occupation Forces are withdrawn from Ireland, British rule ended for all-time and the goal of all past generations of Ireland's dead achieved—an Irish Republic free and unfettered, representative of the whole people of Ireland.

—Issued by the Resistance Movement in Occupied Ireland and distributed on its behalf by the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau.

Two Popes

THE late Pope Pius XII had the following to say on Concentration Camps. "To send someone into a Concentration Camp and keep him there, without any regular trial, is a mockery of the law . . ."

He was addressing the International Congress of Jurists on Penal Laws (Oct. 3, 1953). In the same address the late Pope mentioned something that has relevance to the torture-mill confessions in British Occupied Ireland:

"The judicial investigation must exclude physical and psychic torture and narco-analysis; first of all because these methods violate a natural right, even if the accused is really guilty, and secondly, because they too often give erroneous results. It is not unusual for them to end in the precise confession desired by the court and in the ruin of the accused not because the latter is guilty in fact, but because his

physical and psychic energy is exhausted and he is ready to make all the declarations required."

In his first important address the present Pontiff, Pope John XXIII has said:

"Why must the resources of human ingenuity and the wrath of nations be turned more and more to the preparation of arms — pernicious instruments of death and destruction—instead of improving the welfare of all classes, particularly the poorer classes? We know, it is true, that to bring about so laudable, so praiseworthy a proposition and to level the differences there are grave and intricate difficulties in the way, but they must be victoriously overcome, even if by force: that is, in fact the most important undertaking, connected with the prosperity of all mankind."

Here are important messages from two Popes on matters that are very much to the point in the Ireland of to-day.



Lieut.-General Sir Douglas Packard, G.O.C., N.I.D., inspecting a parade of the Royal Army Pay Corps at Thiepval Barracks, Lisburn, Co. Antrim, on December 8 last.

Letter to the Editor

Australian Visitor's Impressions

A Chara,

It is customary for tourists, after a visit to a country, to pass judgment on that country, to give infallible pronouncements on the political, economic and cultural status of that country. The fact that the visit may have been only for a couple of days does not affect their claims to express such opinions. Their methods are easy. They see a leading member of the political party in power or the Government Information Bureau. Naturally the country has recovered from the chaos left by their predecessors in office and is now on the road to prosperity. All it needs is another term of office to consolidate that gain. Or they might interview an opposition member. Then the country is heading for disaster and a change is urgently needed. The pattern is always the same.

I have been here in Ireland now for seven months and I still don't feel qualified to pass too definite a judgment, for I am not one of those intellectual giants, capable of giving a sound opinion in a short period. I did not interview the political leaders, though I had a chance to do so. I preferred to talk with the plain Miceals and Seans up and down the country as I travelled around. I visited nearly every county in Ireland, including the Six-County area. At Omagh I slept in a room overlooking the barricaded Police Station. At Magherafelt I was stopped in the street and questioned by an R.U.C. man, being asked practically the same questions as were later asked me in Dublin by the 'Special Branch. In this respect there is no difference on either side of the Border.

How do the people of Ireland feel about the Border? My stay in the Six-County area was too short and restricted to justify my expressing too definite an opinion, but obviously it is a live issue, as seen by barricaded police barracks and night searches of travellers. I saw evidence of both.

INDIFFERENCE

I doubt if Partition is a really live issue with the majority in the 26-County area. They are mainly indifferent, at least as far as action is concerned. What can we do? they say. Speaking to a Parish Priest in Co. Limerick (to avoid causing him embarrassment I will not specify exact locality) he told me that he despaired of any of the existing political parties doing anything about it. Nothing had been done since the country got its freedom (his words, not mine) and nothing seemed likely to be done. Another priest (not a supporter of Sinn Féin) said that he saw no hope except perhaps through Sinn Féin. This failure to get anything done begets an indifference that can only grow in time. I will say this, that there has been some increase in interest since I was here in 1952. Events of the last two years account for this. But this increase of interest, spasmodic as certain activities occur, is not sufficient to justify over-confidence for the future.

"Not merely Free, but Gaelic as well." That was Pearse's ideal. I have often wondered if the future Republic of Ireland will be

Gaelic as well as free. I have visited many countries in Europe and all speak their own language. I expected that. In Ireland it is different, for English is the everyday language of the people in practically all circles of life. Almost all of the younger generation can speak Irish reasonably fluently, but as a rule they do not.

Go to Croke Park on a big G.A.A. day and most of the conversation, cheers and jeers are in English. The children take their lessons in Irish and then go home to read the "comics," all captions being in English. For the young this is one of the greatest Anglicising influences at work. These same "comics" are on the bookstalls all over Europe but the captions are in the native language. Why not in Ireland?

In the churches the prayers after Mass are usually said in English. Why not in Irish? "Speak English and be dacent" was the command of an earlier generation, as my mother used to tell me of her own childhood. Why not to-day reverse the process? "Speak Irish and be proud of it," should be the command to-day as a counter to this Anglicisation. For Ireland to be Irish in outlook the people must be able to think in Irish naturally and how can they do this unless they continually speak Irish. Candidly, do those who speak fairly regularly in Irish do all their thinking in Irish?

A hideous example of how English is in practice the first language and Irish the second appeared in the newspaper report recently that the text of the Bill on the Referendum on P.R. had been completed in English and it now remained to translate it into Irish. And this from a "government" whose Constitution prescribes Irish as the first official language.

The daily papers devote considerable space to reports and comments on sports. The space devoted to foreign games is out of proportion to their importance in Irish life. As an Australian I was naturally pleased to see such detailed reports of the Test Cricket played in Brisbane and to learn that Australia was victorious. But what had this to do with Ireland? No newspaper outside Ireland would give even a mention of a great hurling or football game at Croke Park, except perhaps the scores. This is but another illustration of how Ireland is not Irish minded.

I believe that the people are ripe for a change. There is a hint of this also in the discussions in the Free State Dail on P.R. "The harvest is ripe but the labourers are few." It is my personal fear that unless this harvest is reaped at an early date it will be lost for ever. The best of the prospective labourers are being forced to emigrate, and once they go the overwhelming majority are gone for ever, never to return, a complete loss to Ireland. Who then will reap the harvest? After nearly eight centuries Ireland is not going to get many more chances, particularly under modern conditions, so it behoves her to move as quickly as possible.

I came to Ireland with great expectations. Some have been

(Continued on Col. 3)

Pancakes and P.R.

IF a visitor from a distant land, who knew little about our country, were to come to Ireland to-day and if he were to indulge in a little research and investigation into our problems what would his reaction be?

The visitor might well ask if we were a free, independent nation. What answer could we give? We boast of nationhood yet seem ashamed to practise the fundamentals of national culture. We say we are a free, independent state, yet part of our territory is occupied by a foreign power and we are tied, economically and financially, to the same foreign power.

We profess an interest in the survival of the Irish people and in their welfare, yet two out of every three children born within the State are destined to emigrate because there is no future for them at home. We talk of grandiose schemes to end unemployment and insecurity, yet there are more workless in the 32 counties than ever before and the crippling cost of living is forcing more and more families to give up the unequal struggle and leave for other shores.

We call ourselves Irish and Christian, yet our amusements, our reading, our very philosophy of life are taken from non-Irish, non-Christian sources. Well might a foreign visitor be puzzled and confused — especially if, after finding out these facts for himself, he should hear a speech by one of our mis-representatives in Leinster House or read a report of it in one of the kept newspapers.

To hear a member of the Government party, especially, give forth one would think that this country was passing through a Golden Era. In the kept press, the stress is on the pleasant and reassuring things, while the ugly and unpleasant truth is ignored and hidden from the people. Fabulous visions of wealth and prosperity are conjured up in connection with some new mining project or oil refinery. We are not told how long our mineral resources will stand up to the cleaning out by foreigners, or what will be done with an expensive oil refinery in time of war or when there is no more oil.

Certain subjects are taboo in our ruling circles. No one mentions the disunity of the nation any more — no one except a few so-called die-hards in the Curragh Concentration Camp. The idea now is that partition and disunity must be accepted and forgotten.

No one talks about Republicanism or what it portends. This is no longer a time for nationalism and love of country. One must now think in international terms and talk about Red China and the Algerians and Free Trade and "What do you think about integration, old chap?"

No one discusses emigration, unemployment, native culture,

(Continued from Col. 2)
partly realised but I confess generally to a heavy disappointment. And so one more visitor expresses his opinions of some aspects of Ireland, without making any claim to being an infallible interpreter of what he has seen for himself.

Yours, etc.,

G. P. FitzGerald.

any more. Those things no longer matter. Our heads are in the clouds and we have magnificent visions of world brotherhood and round-table conferences in the United Nations and Geneva, with other countries hanging on our every word, for we, the unfree Irish, have plans to free every other unfree nation in the world.

Well might our visitor be confused — if he were to circulate only among the ruling cliques. But let him meet the people and he would hear a far different story.

He would then discover the sincere aspirations of the Irish people — their longing for full freedom and unity, their desire for a prosperous and contented country in which all her sons and daughters would find work and happiness, their wish for a Christian Republic which would at once be an example and an inspiration to other small nations gazing towards the same goal.

But the ruling cliques have long ago lost touch with the real aspirations of the people. They have lost contact with the people themselves. Once in power it has become fashionable for ruling parties to forget the people and the promises made to them. Power goes to the politicians' heads and they lose all sense of proportion.

Thus we find them devoting more time and eloquence to solving other nations' problems than to remedying our own national ills. No concrete solutions are even hinted at — not to mention planned — for the settling of such critical questions as the uniting of the nation, the stemming of emigration, the provision of work for our young people.

In fact, not only are these things continually helved or completely ignored but comparatively unimportant and trivial matters are introduced and take up our legislators' time. One might almost suspect that this is done deliberately to distract or divert the

attention of the people from the more important matters.

Thus the Government seems more occupied with the completely irrelevant subject of Proportional Representation and how the people cast their votes than it is with the much more serious matter of ensuring the perpetuation of the electorate — in other words, keeping the people at home.

Our statesmen apparently believe, if one is to judge from their lengthy pronouncements in the assemblies of the world, that freedom and self-determination are worthy ideals for which to strive — in all other countries except their own. The latest farcical development of this theme is the pre-occupation of our representatives at the U.N. with the question of the control of space! Their heads are certainly in the clouds — indeed far above them. So far that they forget their own feet of clay.

Of course, there is a precedent for such diversionary tactics on the part of rulers. The dictatorial oligarchs of ancient Rome provided diversions for the discontented mobs who hungered for freedom, in the form of ostentatious public spectacles like parades, gladiatorial shows in the arena — and free corn to satisfy the more bodily pangs of physical hunger. Rulers learned quickly that men with full bellies and something to amuse them are less prone to revolt than those without food or hope for the future.

Bread and circuses was the Roman solution. After recent ludicrous spectacles of free pancakes being flung to Dubliners, one is tempted to suggest that the Irish solution seems to be "Pancakes and P.R." Anything to take the minds of the people off the more pressing problems of Irish life — divert them with P.R. and its intricacies; fling the mob free pancakes to stop their mouths. "Pancakes and P.R." — "On to the 20th-century Irish Utopia."

—NORMAN.

The Shamrock Round the Cross

Years follow years down the path of time
With quick unsteady course,
Some bring their thrills of joy and mirth,
Some bring their cruel remorse,
And kingdoms rise and fall to dust,
Though built on golden dross,
There's one that stands the storm of time,
The shamrock round the Cross.

St. Patrick's sons, St. Brigid's maids,
We yearly see them go,
The Irish blush and smile they wear,
They dread not Arctic snow,
Nor desert sands, or torrid zone,
They never mourn their loss
Of friends or home, they barter them,
For the shamrock round the Cross.

The "corrig-an-affron" a story tells
Within the mountain pass,
There knelt the sagart and his flock,
When outlawed was the Mass
They braved the scaffold, dungeon, sword
They beat the Saxon boss
God rest the souls of those who died,
For the shamrock and the Cross.

M. McWALTER.

Dunmore, Co. Galway.

National and Trinity

THE back-to-the-Empire school of thought is alive, active and highly vocal. They consider it beside the point to explain when we left the Empire. They consider the Six Occupied Counties of North-East Ulster a separate State—they do not emphasise nor mention if they can get away with it the Imperial connection and the fact that Occupied Ireland is part of the United Kingdom. By virtue of a British Act of Parliament.

Appropriate enough the latest blast from this school of thought was loosened at a Redmond memorial meeting in Dublin. Speaker was Professor Mary Donovan O'Sullivan of University College, Galway. She went one step further than her colleague, Donal Barrington of U.C.D. She said:

"The British Commonwealth to-day offers a model for that larger union of peoples and countries which the world so much desires. It is not merely an important group of nations; in its character and problems it also illustrates the conflict in the contemporary world between the forces of nationalism and internationalism."

She went on:

"We have got potential liberty. But we have not got, nor can we ever hope to get, economic independence or military security. Some 96 per cent of our exports still go to Britain, despite our search for alternative markets, and we could not defend ourselves in this day of guided missiles and atomic bombs for one hour."

"Cardinal D'Alton is right. In the best interests of Ireland in every way, both internal and external, we should go back to the Commonwealth, which, anyhow, was built up by Irishmen..."

NATIONAL FEELING

If this is an example of the type of lecturing which goes on in the National University—financed to a great extent by the Irish people—

it is no wonder that national feeling is so low among our professional classes. No wonder indeed that the majority of them emigrate, following graduation, to British Imperial colonies and possessions. Her statement hasn't even the benefit of logic or understanding or documentation to substantiate it. It is pure hot air — 100 per cent.

What is potential liberty? How can we have economic independence when we do not have political independence, when part of our country is directly controlled by British Imperialism and all of it economically controlled by the same system?

The fact that — as Professor O'Sullivan says—96 per cent of our exports are to Britain prove this if nothing else did. The will of our people to resist foreign imperial aggression is our greatest form of national defence—not the existence of British bases on our soil.

Professor O'Sullivan made Donal Barrington's point when she said that the 26-County State should now accept the permanent partition of our country and "recognise the North of Ireland Government as such."

She — and Mr. Barrington and their backers and followers — may rest assured that whatever the 26-County State does or leaves undone in this regard, the Irish people will never accept the partition of their country nor will they ever recognise Britain's right to create a statelet in our midst; a Pale whereby Imperial rule may continue in our land.

PROFESSOR MOODY

Contrast the above and other statements (from the "Castle Cawtholics" National University school) with one by Professor T. W. Moody, Professor of Modern History at Trinity College. Dr. Moody speaking at Wesley College, Dublin, told the students that "one of the things important for us to learn was to appreciate our own country and to be prepared, if necessary, to make some sac-

rifices in order to be able to serve it."

Dr. Moody said he thought Irish people should strive to find a niche for themselves in Ireland if they could, and, in that way, influence its life.

Irishmen in the past, said Dr. Moody, had again and again shown a determination to follow ideals and to fight for ideals regardless of the cost in material terms. He went on:

"And yet I say, we should all, from time to time, think of ourselves not as part of a religious minority but as Irishmen and citizens. And if we see things wrong with the country — and certainly there are many things wrong with it—we should seek to put them right as Irishmen and not imagine that our responsibilities are different from our fellow-countrymen who are Roman Catholic."

To juniors, he said, it was one part of patriotism to know all the fine treasury of things Irish to be seen in the National Museum and Gallery, the Civic Museum and in Trinity Library. Those in the senior classes who were preparing to leave would be thinking about what they were going to do to earn a living.

"If you can possibly find a livelihood in Ireland you should do so," he said.

THE CONTRAST

What a contrast there is in this hopeful anti-defeatist talk by the Trinity College Professor to a gathering of young Protestant students in Dublin with the Imperialistic nonsense trotted out by the National University Professor (and her fellow lecturers)?

There is plenty of food for thought in Professor Moody's words. Plenty of hope and goodwill for a united and free Irish Republic where Irishmen of all creeds will work and live together for their nation's good. There is no hope of any kind offered by Professor O'Sullivan — except the penal settlement of continued national subjugation.

—FERDIA.

An Cumann Cabhrach

For the relief of dependents of Republican prisoners.

CARLOW:

Cumann Sinn Fein, Borris 2 10 0

CAVAN:

Ballyconnell 2 0 0

Robert Emmet Cumann S.F., Belturbet 18 5 0

CORK:

Cumann Donall O Sion-naigh S.F., Castle-townroche 1 0 0

Cumann Cabhrach, Cathair Chorcai 50 0 0

DONEGAL:

Letterkenny—Ceili 11 4 6

Cumann Sinn Fein, Rosneamhlach 5 0 0

DUBLIN:

Dublin Committee—Sale of Work, Collections, etc. 455 10 0

GALWAY:

Raffle—Newbridge Ceili 5 0 0

Church View, Tuam 4 0

Collection at G.A.A. match, Tuam 9 2 6

KERRY:

Cumann Muiris O'Neill, Cathair Saidhbhin—collection at G.A.A. match 14 0 0

Listowel Comhairle Ceann-tair, Sinn Fein 70 12 6

Lixnaw 5 0 0

Clifford-O'Sullivan Sinn Fein Cumann 1 0 0

Correction: Due to an error, an amount of £50 was listed under "Killarney" in November list—this should have read "South Kerry."

KILDARE:

Cumann Sinn Fein, Nas na Riogh 1 0 0

Longtown 2 2 6

Athy 5 0 0

Cumann Sinn Fein, Magh Nuadhad 4 0 0

Cumann Sinn Fein, Kilcullen 7 0 0

Cumann Sinn Fein, Leim an Bhradain 5 15 0

LAOIS:

From Cumann Cabhrach, Portlaoise:

Proceeds from Ceili, 30/11/'58 65 1 0

Proceeds from Raffle, 30/11/'58 164 10 9

Portlaoise (G.A.A. matches) 39 5 6

Mountrath 5 2 9

LEITRIM:

Cumann Sinn Fein, Aughacashel 2 10 0

Cumann na mBan—collection at G.A.A. match 10 1 5

Cumann Fearghal O hAnn-luain, Drumcaorthainn; Ceili 6 0 0

Cumann Sinn Fein, Drumsna 1 0 0

Keshcarrigan 6 18 0

LIMERICK:

Cumann Sinn Fein, Gallbhaile 15 0 0

Cumann Sinn Fein, Cilldioma—(collections in Kildimo, Palliskerry, Kilmoran) 28 6 0

Cumann Cathal Brugha, Luimneach 1 0 0

LONGFORD:

Longford (weekly collections, etc.) 6 0 0

Achadh na Cloiche 5 1 3

LOUTH:

An Cumann Cabhrach, Dundelgan: G.A.A. match collection 8 2 6

Collection 3 2 0

An Cumann Cabhrach, Droichead Atha 6 10 0

MAYO:

B.B.C., Ballinrobe 2 6

Cumann Padraig Feeney, S.F., Ballinrobe (Collection at Castlebar) 3 13 0

MEATH:

Kevin Barry Cumann, Trim 30 0 0

Cumann Sinn Fein, Tara 2 0 0

ROSCOMMON:

Cumann Sinn Fein, Clonloo, Boyle 8 0 0

Cumann Sinn Fein, Keadue, Boyle 7 10 0

TYRONE:

Cumann T. Clarke, S.F., Co. Tyrone 17 0 0

WATERFORD:

An Cumann Cabhrach, Portlaoise: Collections, C.I.E., Goods Dept. 11 3 9

Collections, C.I.E., Bus Section 3 11 0

G.A.A. match collections, etc. 13 5 3

WESTMEATH:

An Cumann Cabhrach, Ath Luain 26 0 0

WEXFORD:

Cumann Cathal Brugha, S.F., Gallbhaile 1 0 0

WICKLOW:

Cumann Sheain Mhic Eochaidh, Bri Cualann 1 0 0

Cumann Cabhrach, Bri Cualann 1 0 0

ENGLAND:

Cumann Ruaidhri Mac Easmuinn, S.F., London 11 12 0

Cumann Kevin Barry, S.F., London 3 0 0

"The Twenty-one Club," Birmingham 1 5 0

CANADA:

Collection at Thompson, Manitoba 27 0 0

An Cumann Cabhrach, Elliot Lake 20.00

AUSTRALIA:

Irish Republican Movement, Melbourne 25 0 0

U.S.A.:

San Francisco Branch (per Dan Griffin, Chairman) 300.00

Full Freedom for All Ireland Committee of the United Irish Counties Assoc. of New York 459.35

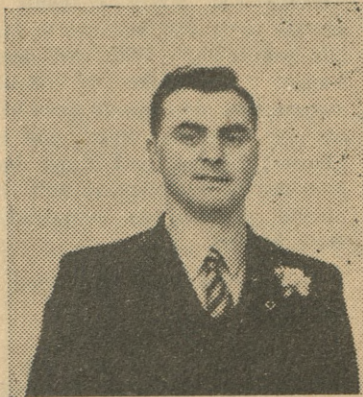
United Ireland Committee, Philadelphia (per Owen B. Hunt) 100 0 0

STORMONT SOUGHT AND GOT REVENGE

The following editorial appeared in the "Irish Echo," New York, November 8:

BITTERLY disappointed when after two trials in Belfast the two young men, Mallon and Talbot, got a jury verdict of acquittal on the charge of killing Police Sergeant Owens by a booby trap explosion, the Stormont Government detained them in prison so it could seek some revenge. It held them in prison since July while formulating its revenge scheme. And last week it got what it wanted when both prisoners were sentenced—Mallon to fourteen years and Talbot to eight years on charges of causing explosions and having explosives illegally in their possession. It made no difference to their prosecutors that the same police evidence which had been brought against the accused in their previous and more serious trials had been found to be fabricated by the constabulary; the same evidence at their latest trial was considered good enough to convict them.

Although Mallon repeated at the trial a statement he had made at the former court sessions that for three days he was brutally treated in jail and forced to make a confession or risk his life, the statement had no effect. Both he and Talbot were doomed before the court convened. Such is justice in Britain's Orange statelet in Ireland.



JAMES DRUMM of 12 Glassmullin Gardens, Belfast, who is at present held without charge or trial in Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast. He is 38 years of age, married, with five children. For his Republican activities he served a sentence of hard labour in 1937-38, and was interned from 1939 to 1945. He has just spent his tenth Christmas in prison for Ireland.

THE DREAMERS

"Robert Emmet's dream came down to him through—how many generations?"—Lennox Robinson, vd. "Irish Press" Oct. 16, 1958.

Dreams that span the bridge of time, unchanging down the years.

Dreams of youth with trust sublime, in right, that know few fears.

Dreams that heed no poltroon frown, that reckon not qualm or doubt

Dreams of the brave all ages down, from 'Neill, through Tone, to Sabhat.

Dreams no gallows tree can quell, no despot quench their fire
Dreams not dimmed in felon's cell, not curbed by compound wire

Dreams of faith unshaken, how e'er sage statesman chide
Dreams that doth awaken, in men a new found pride,
Dreams that have one single goal, that know one single truth
Dreams that save a nation's soul, the gallant dreams of youth.

Teo. Ó S.

Behind the Free Trade Debate

THE European free trade area is again in the news. Perhaps for the last time. After two years debating it now appears that it will not go into operation at all. This concerns the people of the 26 Counties since Mr. Norton and Mr. Lemass have waxed eloquent about European free trade, have built grandiose plans on it, and have spent an amount of taxpayers' money in trips to England and the Continent to discuss it and in trips to America to induce U.S. businessmen to open factories here so as to be able to take advantage of the Free Trade Area when it came into operation. After all that, the whole scheme is to come to nought. The Irish people are surely entitled to be told why.

To understand the background it is necessary first to learn something about the European Common Market. This arose following the recent war, and the desire of some European countries to work out a scheme by which they could co-operate for their mutual economic benefit. First Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg set up a customs union in 1948, now known as Benelux. Then the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (O.E.E.C.) was set up comprising all the non-Communist countries in Europe except Spain and Finland (17 in all). The purpose of O.E.E.C. was to halt the building of tariff walls and generally to encourage freer trade between the member countries. Progress was slow.

Next significant step was taken in 1951 when the Benelux countries, together with Western Germany, France and Italy adopted the Schumann Plan which abolished all restrictions on the movement of coal and steel across their common frontiers. Some figures will show the importance of the adoption of this plan. These six countries together produced nearly as much coal (279 million tons) and more steel (53 million tons) than Russia. Between 1952 and 1956 their industrial production increased by 32% as compared with 15% for the U.S.A., and their exports increased by 35% as compared with 22% for the U.S.A. during the same period. As a result of a number of conferences held between representatives of the Six Schumann Plan countries, the Spaak Report published in May, 1956, recommended the formation of a European Common Market.

ALTERNATIVES

This confronted the remaining members of the O.E.E.C. with the choice of joining the Common Market or of staying outside and losing most of their trade with the Six and having to face their combined competition in the world market. Mr. Macmillan, now British Premier and then Chancellor of the Exchequer, was Chairman of O.E.E.C. at that time. He met the situation in the typical British manner, by putting forward a compromise proposal of a Free Trade area, "outside of, but in association with the Common Market."

It is now generally accepted that this proposal was not put forward in good faith, but was intended as a delaying action, with

the final objective of wrecking the Common Market Scheme.

The European Common Market has become a nightmare to the British. It demands of its members that free and unrestricted trade exist between them and that a common tariff wall be erected against outsiders. Were Britain to join she would immediately be faced with abandoning Empire preference between herself and the Commonwealth countries. If she remained aloof she would lose her trade (18% of her total) with the Common Market Countries, and have to face their combined competition. Hence her efforts to hold her Imperial preferences, to hold her European trade and in fact to give way on nothing.

BOGGED DOWN

The discussion on the Free Trade area bogged down in a welter of suggestions, objections, proposals and counter-proposals. A multiplicity of "working parties" were set up to deal with particular aspects of the scheme. The 26-Counties Ambassador in Paris very obligingly co-operated with the British in putting forward their Free Trade proposals (witness also Mr. Maudling's visit to Dublin for discussion with Mr. Lemass before they proceeded to Paris).

In the Working Committees one would imagine that Committee No. 22, dealing with agriculture would be of particular concern to any Irish delegation. In fact Mr. Fay allowed himself to be shunted into the chairmanship of Committee of No. 23 (dealing with underdeveloped countries).

After all the delays the French brought the matter to a head in October, 1958 by proposing that all 17 countries in O.E.E.C. become members of the Common Market, accepting a common tariff wall. This the British refuse to accept but the situation is now that the Common Market Plan comes into operation on January 1, 1959 for the original six countries definitely and for any other members of O.E.E.C., with or without the British. In other words France and her partners have seen through the British manoeuvre and are determined not to allow it to hinder them.

A QUESTION

The logical question for an Irishman to ask is "where does Ireland stand?" Would it be to our advantage to join the Common Market? If we did so, export possibilities for Irish dairy produce and meat would definitely improve. For instance butter and bacon fetch much higher prices on the Continent than in Britain. The price of butter in France and Belgium is around 7/- per lb. (Compare with the payment by the Irish taxpayer of a subsidy of 2/- per lb. to induce the British customer to eat Irish butter). We would have to scrap our existing suicidal policy of exporting live cattle.

Before protection was introduced many industries in Ireland carried on a substantial export trade in spite of existing tariff walls. Irish manufactured goods in substantial quantities finding markets in Europe, at present include paper, cardboard,

cigarettes, fertilisers, boots and shoes, textiles, biscuits and sweets, electrical machinery.

A most important question is, could the 26-County State join the Common Market? From what we know of the tie-up with Britain the answer is a definite NO! Britain controls our finances, the very lifeblood of our trade and Britain would be unwilling to lose her source of cheap food, as well as the rich pool of Irish (unemployed) labour who can be called upon to man her industries or to fight her battles. There is also the 26-Counties anomalous position in regard to the British Commonwealth since to quote Mr. de Valera "we are in the (British) Commonwealth but not of it" (How close this is to Mr. Macmillan's statement about Britain and the Common Market).

GAME OF BLUFF

But who was being bluffed? Surely the 26-County Dept. of Industry and Commerce were not so naive as to have been deceived by the British Free Trade manoeuvre? What exactly were Mr. Norton and Mr. Lemass doing if they weren't just collaborating with the British in trying to frustrate the efforts of six European countries to reach a mutually beneficial arrangement. Were they deliberately deceiving the Irish people when they made their American tours, returning with glowing accounts of the legions of American businessmen who were coming to open up factories here as a bridgehead into the European Free Trade area?

The same businessmen were not quite so naive, and obviously checked with the U.S. State Department who realised the underlying purpose of the British Free Trade manoeuvre and told them not to move.

The point is that the Free Trade Scheme has definitely come to nought as it was intended to from the beginning. With our dearly bought experience of British manoeuvres this should have been obvious from the start. But our Leinster House politicians have deliberately hoodwinked their own people as well as squandering their money.

Should they not be called to account?

CUMANN CABHRACH

The raffle held by the Sligo Cumann for a Lady's Wristlet Watch was won by Miss H. Burns, Corcoran Mall, Sligo.

1 3Cuimne

The 11 o'clock Mass in University Church, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, on Sunday, January 11, will be offered for the repose of the souls of

JOSEPH MALONE, Belfast, who died in Parkhurst Prison, England, January 21, 1942.

SEAN SABHAT, Limerick, killed in action at Brookeborough, January 1, 1957.

FEARGHAL O HANNUAIN, Monaghan, killed in action at Brookeborough, January 1, 1957.

Pat Mac Manus

Air:—The Dying Rebel.

Near Derryrealt, one summer's evening
As the clouds of night gathered in the sky,
The valley lay in peaceful slumber,
Not a leaf was stirring in the tree-tops high.
But the calm and silence was quickly broken,
There was first a flash, then a deaf'ning roar.
The earth seemed to open, the sound re-echoed
From Swanlinbar to Ballinamore.

Before that deaf'ning explosion,
An Irish soldier stood by my side.
He was Pat MacManus both brave and daring,
I shall ne'er forget the night he died.
I heard the last words he had spoken
As we stood beside the shady lane.
'Twas then the Angel came to take him,
I will never hear his voice again.

He has left us now and gone to Heaven,
He is seated near the Golden Throne.
He has joined MacSweeney, Pearse and Connolly,
Sean Sabhat, O'Hanlon and brave Wolfe Tone
He now looks down upon his comrades,
The lads he led o'er hill and plain.
He prays to God to help their struggle,
To set Old Ireland free again.

In Killaduff in a lonely grave,
Poor Paddy's body is resting there.
And people passing stop by the wayside,
And in silence offer a simple prayer.
That the young men of Ireland will not forget him
Nor desert that just and holy cause.
But take up arms and fight as he died
To free our land from the Saxon's claws.

P. A. McG.

The Shadow Behind P.R.

SOMETHING much worse than an attempt to perpetuate the hegemony of the rich families of the Fianna Fail core is hidden behind the decision to abolish Proportional Representation.

First of all why is the measure introduced at the present time? Because in fact it was found convenient to couple it with a Bill which would reduce the number of representatives in the assembly that faces down Molesworth Street from 147 to 128. About the reduction they have no option. Parliamentary representation must keep pace with the population, and as the population falls so the representation falls proportionately.

Twenty to thirty thousand voters is the number per T.D. and you cannot have more T.D.'s than the law allows. When Fianna Fail first came to power some twenty-six and three-quarter years ago there were 153 members in Leinster House. Twice already Mr. de Valera has had to reduce them, and on each occasion he carried out a neat piece of gerrymander inside the limits allowed by the P.R. system. Now he proposed to abolish it completely, but the real tragedy is shown by the enforced reduction in the number of public representatives from 153 to 128.

Personally they are of no account except insofar as they indicate the steady and drastic fall in population under the regime that was elected not alone to end emigration, but to reverse it.

And remember when you have worked out the percentage fall between 153 and 128 in a population bordering upon three million, to make allowance for the natural increase through births of 26,000 per year. Would anyone quarrel if we say that roughly a million people have left the shores of the dismembered three-quarter since that bright February morning in 1932 when a cartoon Queen of Erin announced from the front page of the "Irish Press." Eire, I Thank You.

OISIN.

Ex-Internee Victimised

A LETTER from the Department of Education was read at a meeting of County Longford Vocational Education Committee, confirming the appointment of Mr. Padraig O Ceallaigh, Manual Instructor, from October 1, 1958, and awarding him the first increment, but declining to sanction the payment of remuneration for the whole of the period during which he was suspended.

Mr. J. J. Browne proposed that they refer the letter back to the Department. He said:

"Mr. O Ceallaigh was appointed in 1955. He was deprived of his freedom through no fault of his own and they are not paying him. I think that once they made him any payment that he should get the whole amount or nothing."

Mr. Browne then proposed that the Minister be again requested to sanction payment of all moneys due to Mr. O Ceallaigh. Mr. J. Farrell seconded.

Mr. O Ceallaigh who was unconditionally released from the Curragh Concentration Camp last March, was in September unconditionally re-instated in his teaching post with Co. Longford Vocational Education Committee. Before his arrest he was Principal Teacher at Ballinamuck Technical School, but since his re-instatement he has been on itinerant work at various centres throughout the county.

CUMANN NA mBAN

A vote of sympathy with the relatives of the men who gave their lives for Ireland in the present fight for freedom, was passed at the Cumann na mBan Annual Convention, 1958.

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SEÁN AGUS FEARGHAL

Smaointe TAR ÉIS DÁ bliain

Tá Seán Sabat maró le dá bliain anois. Ní gá domsa a lua anseo conus a fuair sé bás. Is leor a rá gur maraíod é agus é ag troit ar son an Éirí—an rú ceannann céanna agus a fuair Tone agus an Piaras agus Caat Bruga bás ar a son. Níl fúm, ac oiread, a éirí a molaó. Ní féadainnse é sin a déanam i slí a beaó leat com h-éiríocht leis an molaó atá fácta aise ó muintir na hÉireann.

Deirtear linn gur saothar in aise é bás o'páil ar son na hÉireann anois. Deirtear linn com maí gur éirí Seán Sabat a saol amú nuair o'fúlaing sé bás ar altóir na Saoirse an oíche úd i mBrookeborough. Ac ní h-eol domsa gur píor san ar cor ar bit. Creidim go bfuil rian saothar Seán Sabat le feiceáil go soiléar in Éirinn inniu. Ní dóig tiomsa go mbeaó an méid céanna dul eun cinn ann anois maidir leis an teanga nó leis an troit in aise ná n'gall muna mbeaó

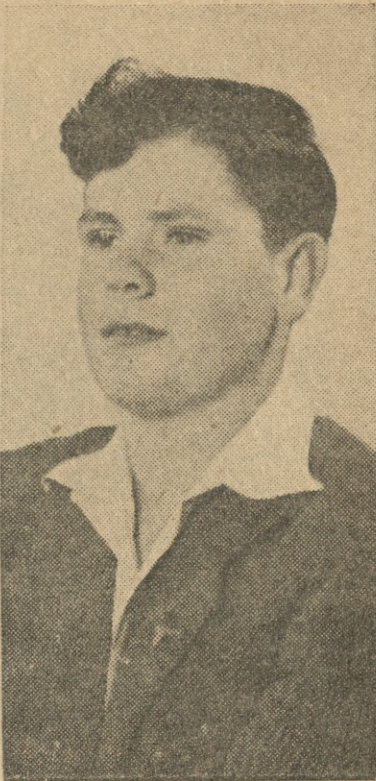
Seán Sabat agus Fearghal Ó hAnnlúain

Conas ar éirí siad siúd nó na laocra a lean iad ar bótar na Saoirse a saol amú? Nár túsadar suas gac a bí acu ar son na hÉireann? Ní féidir le h-éirí níos mó ná sin a déanam. Agus an raib an deiread le gac rú nuair a maraíod iad? Deirimse na raib, ac a málairt. Uíre an Piaras na mbíonn don bás ann na mbíonn aiséirí ina óiaí, agus ar ndóig níorb eisceadta iad bás Seán agus Fearghal.

Is maí is cuimhin linn go léir an lá sin a éalamar gur maraíod Seán. Da brónac an lá é oo gac gael, go h-éiríe oo na daoine sin go raib aithe acu air. Ac céad faoi na daoine na raib aithe acu ar Seán? Tógfaid mé uine amáin oíob-siúd mar sompla; uine isea é seo nár tuis an scéal in don cor. Níor tuis sé conas a bí ar daoine bás o'páil ar son na hÉireann i 1956. Dúratas leis go raib saoirse ag Éirinn le níos mó ná tríocá bliain roimis sin. Dúratas leis, com maí, go raib an ceangal le Saesair briste ar fao, agus go raib an ceart i réim in Éirinn arís. Creio mo cara na níe sin go léir, mar is beag a ndúratas leis i saoth fórsaí na Breataine ins na Sé Contae. Ansan nuair a éala sé gur maraíod beirt ag troit i scoime na b'fórsaí céanna bí amas air, ní naé ionaó.

"Ceapas," ar seisean leis féin, "go raib saoirse agaim sa tír seo, ac dar ndóig sin beirt atá tar éis bás o'páil ar son na hÉireann. Nílme eun a ligint oo daoine mar iad siúd gac rú a déanam agus gan paic a déanam agam féin. As seo amac déanfaid mise mo oídeall eun na fórsaí bradaó sin a oíre gac amac as an oíre ar fao."

Tá Seán imite uainn ar slí amáin agus ar slí eile tá sé



FEARGHAL Ó hANNLÚAIN

pós in ár mease. Tá an obair lenar éirí sé a saol agus a beaó ag out eun cinn go mór gac lá ón uair a éalí Seán féin ag triall ar íosa, Muire agus íosaf. Tá sé anois ar oíreor agus ar spreagad an bótar aérannac na Saoirse. Tá sé anois imease naon agus laoc na hÉireann mar eadarganai comadac ar ár son agus ar son ár oíre.

Slas go deo dá cuimne,
Pá bíte, duille is bláit,
Is móra Duitse, a íosa
Faoi na beaó, 's faoi na bás.

An Siolla Deacair.

Dublin North-West

The Annual General Meeting of Cumann Sean Heuston was held on November 26. This Cumann caters for the Dublin North-West Constituency.

An Runai reported steady progress during the past year and referred in particular to the work of the members in helping to bring the "United Irishman" to the people by selling it from door to door in their area.

The following officers were elected for 1958/59:

Cathaoirleach: Sean O'Neill.
Leas-Chathaoirleach: Micheal Benables.
Runai: Siobhan Ni Ghogartaigh.
Cisteoiri: Tomas Mac an tSaoir, Eamonn Mac Diarmada.

An Cumann Cabhrach

Sweepstake on Irish Cesarewitch Prizewinners:

1. Micheal O Fiannaidhe, Ospaideal Meabhair-Ghalair, Sligeach.
2. Nancy Murphy, 92 Park Street, Dundalk.
3. T. O Ceallaigh, Sraid an Mhuilinn, Muineachan.

TUAM RECEPTION

PARTHALON O GORMGHAILE
Tuam, Co. Galway, released unconditionally from the Curragh Concentration Camp was given a public welcome home on Monday, December 1.

A very large crowd waited at Dublin Road, on the outskirts of the town, and led by Tuam Brass Band and a guard of honour of over sixty members of the Republican Movement, he was escorted to the Square, where round after round of prolonged applause greeted his arrival.

A public meeting presided over by Sean O Ceallachain, O.S., paid tributes to him and his comrades who have stood steadfastly to their Republican principles despite prisons, internments and intimidation.

Messrs. Padraig Mac Cailiag, Claremorris; Matt Finnucane, Lott O'Halloran, F. Lyons, of Co. Clare, all ex-internees were given a tremendous reception when introduced from the platform.

Mr. P. Ruane, Galway Co. Council stressed the need for unity within our own country and said that the only way to achieve that unity was through the Republican Movement and by standing four square behind the banner of Republicanism and if needs be by suffering as did those men on the platform who sacrificed their time, work and liberty for 18 months in the Cause.

Parthalon O Gormghaile thanked the people for the reception they had given him. Through him they showed that they were behind the

Sinn Fein Notes

At the Annual Meeting of Cumann Sheain Mhic Eochaidh, Bri Cualann, the following officers were elected:

Cathaoirleach: Brian Mac Mathuna.
Runaithe: Mairin de Burca, Aingeal Ni Uagain.
Leas-Chathaoirleach: Peter Waters.
Cisteoiri: Peter Bennett, Mick Fortune.

DROGHEDA

Drogheda Cumann of Sinn Fein have elected the following officers:

Cathaoirleach: P. Nulty, Leas-Chathaoirleach: M. Hodgins.
Runai: K. Hoey, Cisteoir: B. Brogan, Coiste: Mrs. Eileen Hoey, Miss A. Gregarey, D. Buckley, T. Donnelly.

(Continued from Col. 4)

movement for a free and united Ireland. He thanked them for parcels, letters, cards, etc., sent during their 17 months' internment and appealed to the people to continue that good work while a Republican remained in jail North or South of the Border or across the channel in England.

Sean O Gormghaile, Cathaoirleach Comhairle Ceantair Gaillimh Thuaidh, the father of Parthalon, thanked the people, the Band and all concerned for the reception and made a strong appeal to continue their support for An Cumann Cabhrach.

SEÁN SABAT

D O toib sé nód na Saoirse
Seán Sabat ar ngile laoc
hóiríoníod in ón máirtín é
Is ar nolla órda gael.

Trádnóna lá Cinn-Bliana
Nuair o'fúling creidil is creáct
Ar altóir mór na Saoirse
Ag cosaint tríocá gael.

Cóirítear fearc an laoió dó
Cois Siannainne na oíreán
Is pós ar leact fearclaoi dó
Na ceangaim uicais féin.

"Seán Sabat féin b'pós so sínead
I mbláit a saol 'sa néim
Iar n-éaga in ioráil máoitead
Ar múnra Brookeborough anéin.

Óglac de póir na Saoirfean
Lean lorga na laoc
Ag díocur ainas coirénice
As seith gabáltas gael."

Codail pé bród id' éria lios
Íc tuib don sló do éar.
Éireoir óo b'fósa an siol cúgaimn
Fógróir lá Saoirse gael.

Combrón anóct dá muintir
Is don baintirí o'iompar é
Is díse pós traoslaitear
Do éalannais gile-laoc.

O'oidirí agus o'ibir
A beaó is a saol
Ionas arís go scaoilpí
An gail-éiríeac so don gael.

Slas go deo dá cuimne
Pé bíte duille is bláit
Is móra Duitse a íosa
Faoi na beaó, 's faoi na bás.

An Suibneac Meann, Cúil Aoda,
Eanáir 2, 1957.



SEÁN SABAT

Fearghal Ó h-Annlúain

(Air: Teddy O'Neal)

Oh! hark to the tale of young Fearghal Ó h-Annlúain
Who died in Brookeboro' to make Ireland free
For his heart he had pledged to the cause of his country
And he took to the hills like a bold rapparee.
And he feared not to walk to the walls of the barracks
A volley of death poured from window and door
Alas for young Fearghal, his life-blood for freedom
On Brookeboro's pavements profusely did pour.

When the smoke and the din of battle were over
And Feargal was borne by his comrades away
He asked them to fly from that place and take cover
But he died in the hands of the foe on that day
God strike from your hands, all you hirelings and traitors
The weapons that murdered our brave Volunteer
God grant us our freedom, the dream of Ó h-Annlúain
And lift from our valleys all sorrow and fear.

M. O. C.

Editorial

The New Year

THIS is the time when we all look back and survey the work of the year that is gone, and at the same time plan and promise and resolve for the future.

For the Republican Movement the year 1958 has been an eventful and fruitful one. It has been the second year during which a steady and intensive campaign has been carried out by the Resistance against British occupation forces and administration. This has been achieved not without losses. Two more brave and splendid men have made the supreme sacrifice for Irish freedom, while hundreds languish in jails and concentration camps.

In spite of hostile propaganda, deliberately misleading press reporting and attempts to put this paper out of circulation, more and more people are becoming convinced of the justice of our cause. People everywhere are now asking questions about the occupied North, realising that the truth of conditions there is withheld from them.

The Sinn Féin organisation has spread and expanded, and very significant indeed was the 80% increase in the Republican vote in the South Galway by-election last May.

And what of the year that lies ahead? It has gone on record (Vd. Dublin Evening Mail, December 8, 1958) that the principal objectives of Fianna Fáil for 1959 are victory in the referendum on P.R. and in the election for President of the 26-County State. At last, they have come out openly and admitted that political party manoeuvring is their main interest. They can now be judged by the Irish people on their record and on their plans for the future. Two matters which are of trivial importance in the position in which we find ourselves to-day are their "principal objectives." And in case they might be found out at their game, they have control of the Radio and a good section of the press, plus the Offences Against the State Acts and a Concentration Camp.

And the Republicans? What of them? During the months to come they shall redouble their efforts in the carrying out of their programme for the independence and welfare of our people. Encouraged by the sacrifices of our martyred dead and the men in prisons, as well as by the continuing increase in public support for the Republican Movement they shall forge ahead, placing their aim and ideal above all else—to serve the interests of Ireland and her people.

EPITAPH

(Padraig MacManus)

In him it seems the ancient clans combined
In pagan strength and Holy Rood;
The unsheathed swords of proud and bitter kings,
Marched and mingled in his blood.
Brave Spirit, when of you Freedom sings
At the exultant gates of God,
Your passing serves to illumine the Cause;
You are not dead, but lack a mortal robe.

P. J. Madigan.

AVAILABLE THIS MONTH

BRITISH TROOPS MUST GO

A new pamphlet dealing with happenings in the British-occupied North. It gives a true picture of conditions there, the historical background of the Six-County State, Britain's stake in the military bridgehead, the Campaign of Resistance to foreign rule and Sinn Féin's programme for an All-Ireland Parliament.

Published by the United Irishman, P.O. Box 187, Dublin.
Price 6d. (8d. post free). Sinn Féin Cumainn and U.I. agents,
4/6 per dozen.



Fianna Éireann and Clann na nGael Scouts leading the parade to Edentubber for the unveiling of the memorial there.

THE KILLALOE CASE

MR. ERNEST WOOD, S.C., said at a University College debate in Dublin that about a year ago "a very dangerous thing happened in this country." A then District Justice by his conduct showed himself to be an opponent of Government policy.

Mr. Wood said he did not propose to discuss whether what that District Justice then said was right or wrong.

"What he did," said Mr. Wood, "was to criticise, in conscience, the Government, and he no longer sits on the Bench."

Mr. Wood said it was vitally important to the people of this country that its judiciary should be courageous. It was deplorable, he said, that party political hacks should be appointed to the Bench.

He continued: "It is far worse when a judicial official can be removed because he is opposed, in part, to Government policy at the time."

26-County Supreme Court Justice, Mr. W. B. Black declared:

"It would be high time for the Minister to direct an inquiry to be conducted into the conduct of the district justice, as had been done into the conduct of another district justice recently."

THE LENNON CASE

The case Mr. Black had in mind was that of district justice Michael J. Lennon who was removed from office after the advent to power of Fianna Fáil in the Spring of 1957 for his handling of some Offences Against the State Act cases that had come before him. At that time Mr. Traynor made no reference to the "independence of the judiciary." Or as Mr. Black put it:

"We did not know whether the district justice (Mr. Lennon) committed any offence at all; he had never studied the case, but he did know that, whatever he did, a judge was directed to inquire into his conduct. Mr. Black said that he did not know what the result of the inquiry was, but he did know that within a few days the district justice retired from office, and at that time there was not one single word said by anybody about the independence of the judiciary."

(These quotations are taken from the Irish Times of Nov. 5).

WHEN REPUBLICANS ARE INVOLVED

As Mr. Black himself admits he did not study the Lennon case. Nor for that matter did the Irish Council of Civil Liberties. It is quite true to say that no one said one single word about the independence of the judiciary at the time. The reason is obvious: only the civil liberties of Irish Republicans were involved by this interference (for that is the only word to use) with the judiciary.

The number of words used against the Curragh Concentration Camp are slight enough to merit attention also. The civil liberties involved concern not just two men—but over 200. The notorious

Offences Against the State Act has produced many violations of civil liberty. The thing itself is a total denial of all liberties. But again the outcry against it has been extremely slight; its provisions only effect Irish Republicans.

MR. TRAYNOR'S JUSTIFICATION FOR INTERNMENT

One might recall as well the time when Mr. Traynor—then attempting to justify his internment without trial decision—made play with the phrase "intimidation of the courts." He cited in what can only be called a dishonest fashion a case that had nothing to do with the Republican Movement at all. And the most dishonest part of the whole proceedings was that the individuals involved in Mr. Traynor's "test-case" were not interned at all although Mr. Traynor gave the definite impression that this was one of the main reasons why he had set up the Concentration Camp.

GUARANTEES OF 1916 PROCLAMATION

Indeed the only intimidation of courts that has occurred came from members of the 26-County Government themselves and the Lennon case stands out as a clear indication of this: unless the sentences wanted could be produced then the district justice in question would be removed. This was the obvious inference.

As far as the Killaloe case itself is concerned the Republican position on this and similar cases is based strictly on the tenets of the 1916 Proclamation which guarantees the fundamental human rights to freedom of speech, assembly and religion. In a free Ireland Republican thinking on such matters will be both respected and enforced.

—OBSERVER.

SUPPORT THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT

Book Reviews

BELLOC AND CHESTERTON

MANY people, especially those already acquainted with the writings of Chesterton and Belloc, will be grateful to the publishers of the Penguin Books, for these excellent editions from the pens of those two noted Catholic Apologists. Irish readers especially should be grateful to see in cheap editions, these essays, poems and stories from the two greatest champions our country has had in the English press for many a long day.

Such a great book as the *Path To Rome*, written in English, by a French Catholic, brings us at once into the European stream of Catholic Culture, away from the insularity and narrowness of the generality of English writings. It is a reminder to us in Ireland that we too belong to the Catholic and European Tradition and that we have nothing in common with Englishmen except a similarity of language. Purposely, I say, a similarity, because the English as we speak it in Ireland has nuances and capacities of expression never dreamt of by an Englishman.

This *Path To Rome* should be on every bookshelf, where good books are valued. In it there is a richness and profundity of thought, well worth meditation. The language, of course, is always clear, precise and strong, without the least ambiguity. Belloc himself has said some place that of all great prose writers in English, Jonathan Swift was the greatest, because of the strength and clearness of his language. Perhaps there has never been any prose more akin to Swift's than Belloc's own. It is a joy to read. For his style alone Belloc can be studied with profit.

FOR SEAMEN

For those who like the sea, mixed with philosophising, the *Voyage of the Nona* will come as welcome reading. To sailors, amateur and professional, all long-shoremen and all those who have the remotest connection with things nautical I recommend this book, with the warning, that they must also have a taste for literature and philosophy, and no prejudices against the Church of Rome.

His verse, as he called it himself, is well represented in the *Selected Cautionary Verses* and *Collected Verse*. The Introduction to *Collected Verse* by the late Monsignor Ronald Knox discusses Belloc's poetry far more ably than I could.

Every mood is catered for in the *Selected Essays*, and J. B. Morton did his work well, both in his selection and fine introduction. I should like to recommend especially however to Irish readers, the essays, "St. Patrick" and "On the Method of History." "St. Patrick" is an old essay that has again become topical, with the controversy about the three St. Patricks or the two. One can always rely on both Belloc and Chesterton to give the common-sense view, and to blow away from any subject the dust and cobwebs of scholarly pedants, who are often blinded by the dust they

themselves accumulate through inactivity.

Belloc and Chesterton are so closely allied, that the mention of one immediately brings the other to mind. Both fought vigorously against corruption, cant and hypocrisy, all their lives; against loose and foolish thinking the Lord delivered them. But Chesterton purposely put on the motley to drive home his arguments. Belloc fought, like the soldier he was, with broadsword or rapier, which ever served him best.

Chesterton in his criticism of "Great Expectations" by Charles Dickens, says that he noted that a title of one particular book very often summed up the spirit of all the books written by that particular writer. For example, (he continued) all Dickens' novels could be summed up in the title of the novel "Great Expectations," all Thackeray's could be entitled "Vanity Fair." George Bernard Shaw's works could be summed up under the title "You Never Can Tell" and he went on to elaborate.

ORTHODOXY

I myself think that all Chesterton's works, their whole spirit, can be summed up under the title of that great book of Catholic Apologetics—*Orthodoxy*. He was Orthodox many years before he became a Catholic and he boasts that after twenty years writing, when eventually he received the grace to become a Catholic, he had not to change one single line of all he had written. From his earliest youth, his chivalrous spirit brought him to the feet of Our Lady. His essay *Mary and the Convert* is worth reading. He was a great upholder of all Christian concepts, the family, human liberty, the sanctity of the marriage bond, in fact of the whole Christian way of life. And everywhere he was the Champion of the Common Man, and the enemy of all who dared to attack him. He was a democrat in the true sense of that much abused word.

The Man Who Was Thursday is a fantasy in which he depicts the pessimism of his youth. All the anarchists save one turn out to be detectives in disguise. In the *Flying Inn* you find G. K.'s defence of beer and wine against a puritanism which fails to distinguish between the use of something good and its abuse.

I am inclined to imitate Macaulay in referring to the Father Brown books, and say that every schoolboy has read and enjoyed them, though perhaps he may not always have understood the philosophy behind them. Most people know at any rate that Chesterton based his Father Brown on Father O'Connor, an Irish priest-friend of his. One of his reasons for choosing a priest for detective was because no other human being has the opportunities for gaining insight into human frailty as the Catholic priest in the Confessional.

His *Essays and Poems* has a very good introduction by Wilfrid Sheed, and is as representative as

it could be in so small a compass. Speaking for myself I missed his essay 'On Defence of Detective Stories', but then I happen to like detective stories and the choice is a purely personal one.

DICKENS

No one can think of Chesterton without also thinking of Dickens: for no one wrote so well of Dickens or interpreted him so clearly. We have an example of his Dickens' criticisms in the essay 'David Copperfield'. This essay will be read with deep interest by all lovers of Dickens who have not already read it and will induce them to read G. K.'s criticisms of the other Dickens' books, as well as his biography entitled "Dickens"; while it will be read again nostalgically by those already acquainted with it and give them a longing to go back again to David Copperfield and old delights.

His essay *The Mad Official* reminds us of what can happen in such a mad bureaucratic world as the world we live in. It will show readers the madness of officialdom and its awful stupidities.

One thing both Chesterton and Belloc will do for us all. They will teach us how to think and that is what is so badly needed in Ireland to-day.

The last book of the group of eleven is Maisie Ward's very comprehensive biography of G.K.C. This book serves to sum up, as it were, the other ten and gives the background against which they were written. It will help to a better appreciation of both Chesterton and Belloc and to a deeper understanding of the aims and ideals which informed their writings. There the reader will learn of G.K.'s life long struggle against corruption and cant, and will see in the story of the Marconi Scandal, the rottenness of politics against which both Chesterton and Belloc fought. He will learn also something of the Distributist movement, which G.K. started, a movement badly needed in this country in the light of recent events in Carlow, where big estates, instead of being broken up, are being passed into the hands of Capitalists.

Sean de hOra.

New Penguin Editions

G. K. Chesterton :
The Flying Inn
The Man Who Was Thursday
The Incredulity of Father Brown
Essays and Poems
The Innocence of Father Brown

Belloc :
The Cruise of the 'Nona'
Selected Cautionary Verses
Selected Essays
Collected Verse
The Path to Rome

Maisie Ward :
G. K. Chesterton

DHÁ LEABHAR Ó F.Á.S.

IÓSAF, CÉILE NA MAIGHDINE
le Seán de hÍde, S.J., F.Á.S.,
Baile Átha Cliath. 2/6.
AN UNGÁIR le Joseph Szoverffy,
F.Á.S. 4/-.

Iarracht é seo ar léargas a thabhairt ar shaol Iosaif Naofa. Iarracht, adeirim, mar ar an gcéad dul síos, is beag eolas cinnte atá againn ar a shaol, agus rud eile, ní go ró-mhaith d'éirigh leis an údar na bearnaí a líonadh.

An chaibidil is fearr agus is spéisiúla, dar liom, an ceann ina dtugtar éirim na cainte a thug an Pápa Pius XII do ACLI, cumann oibrí críostaí na hÍodáile, Lá Bealtaine, 1955, nuair a thion-snaigh sé Féile Iosaif Oibrí. Seo cúpla sliocht as:

Nach minic do dhearbhas agus do mhínós grá na hEaglaise ar lucht oibre! Dá ainneoin sin tá an bhréag dá craobhscaoileadh: sin í an Eaglais i gceangal le lucht airgid i gcoinne lucht oibre! An Eaglais is máthair agus is máistreás orthu go léir, cuireann sí suim ar leith ins an gcuid dá clainn gur crua a mbeatha, is ea, agus is fíor go dtug sí cúnamh mór ins an gcéim ar ghaidh a thug dreama áirithe oibrithe. . . .

Ní leor dlí ná reacht nua chun gach duine ins an tír do shaoradh agus do chaomhnadh ó ansnacht. Ní cabhair í an dlí nua más baol leis an ngnáthdhuine fós rialtas gan riail .i. feidhmeannaigh an dlí agus lucht dírithe comhaltas agus cumann do bheith leis nó ina choinne do réir a dtola féin, cibé rud adeir an dlí. Má fheiceann an gnáthdhuine nach n-éireoidh rud ar bith leis gan cara i gcuirt, más eagal leis gur comhaltas chumhachtacha atá ag díriú a bheatha in áit an rialtais, is díomhaoin í an dlí nua. . . .

Chun go mbí Spiorad Chríost ag rialú na tíre, dá bhrí sin, is gá dlí cóir agus córas feiliúnach tráthúil: ach ní leor sin. Is gá fós lucht ceannas d'éirí as nathanna bréige feille agus caint gan brí. Is gá taca cirt agus córa do thabhairt gan teip don ghnáth-

dhuine ag lorg an rud is dual dó. Is gá aigne na ndaoine do bheith go daingean i gcoinne lucht ceilte na fírinne, agus ullamh chun gach duine nó beart nach bhfuil do réir dlí agus cirt do thaispeáint agus d'aoradh, gan sirtheoireacht scannal ná cúlchaint.

Ceacht do lucht oibre na hÍodáile. Sea, agus do na Gaeil freisin.

AN UNGÁIR

Cuntas gearr ar stair na hUngáire atá sa dara leabhar. Bhí an t-údar ag obair sa tír seo nuair a d'éirigh na hUngáirigh amach i bhFómhar na bliana 1956.

Ró-ghearr agus ró-ghonta atá an leabhar seo agus is deacair tuiscint cheart ar an Ungáir d'fháil uaidh. Ach tá an mhéid seo soiléar—gur náisiún iad a bhfuil sé de chinniúint acu seasamh sa bhearna baoil agus an Eoraip a chosaint ar ionradh anoir. Chuir-eadar cosc leis na Turcaigh, 1444, agus gan acu ach óglaigh glasa ón tuaith faoi cheannas Hunyadi. I gcuimhne ar an mbua sin a chuir an Pápa Aingeal an Tiarna um mheán-lae á rá.

D'éirigh siad amach i gcoinne na hOstaire, 1848. Ghlaoigh an Ostair ar Tsár na Rúise agus ba ghearr go raibh 200,000 fear istigh san Ungáir aige. Cuireadh an réabhlóid faoi chois gan trua gan taise.

Lenár linn féin is iomaí feall a rinneadh ar an tír. Deir an t-údar, ag cur síos dó ar an dara cogadh mór: "An 4ú lá d'Aibreán, 1944, buamáladh Budapest go trom, agus cathracha móra eile na laethanta ina dhiaidh sin. Eiteall-láin Bhreataineacha agus Mheiriceánacha a bhí páirteach sna ruathair sin. Ní dhearnadh aon iarracht, ar spric mhíleata a bhaint amach, ach himreadh ar dearg ar cheantair tiubhdhaonra."

Feictear cosúlachtaí idir stair na hUngáire agus stair na hÉireann ar iomaí dhóigh, agus lenár linn féin freisin—Éirí-amach 1956.

—CÓILÍN.

HALF A PLAN FOR IRELAND

OF political theorists and would-be architects of a new Ireland this country has had a superfluity in recent years. Like meteors they flash across the scene for a short time and like meteors they fade into oblivion. Their plans, like their names, are soon forgotten.

Well-meaning though some may be, and sincere perhaps their programmes, these plans are more often a facade behind which a group or an individual seeks power for power's sake or for some other ulterior motive. Soon, the people see behind the facade and shun the upstarts, and the grand theories and blueprints lie dust-gathering in forgotten pigeon-holes.

Now and then, however, there arises someone whose ideas are worthy of more than a casual examination. But, because of their revolutionary intent, such ideas and plans rarely get the attention they deserve. If, for example such plans envisage the changing of the structure of government and the dissolution of the party system, the political machines of the existing parties will denounce the plans, using epithets like "Fascist" or "Nazi" or "Communist," in order to frighten away would-be followers. Party organs, whether daily, weekly or fortnightly, will refuse to give publicity to the new ideas—thereby, incidentally, failing in their duty as newspapers.

Sometimes such ignoring and shunning leads ultimately to the

death of the plans and the embittering of their authors. At most, the ideas are taken up by a coterie who, after that, strive unsuccessfully to emerge from the obscurity to which the vested interests and power-groups have consigned them. Their ultimate fate may be to continue as small, mutual admiration societies.

PARTYISM

A BOOK which will, undoubtedly, get little attention—if it will not be completely ignored—by the organs of the political parties in this country is the recently published *Ireland Calling* by Joseph Hanly. Subtitled "A plan for the recovery of Ireland," the book puts forward an alternative to partyism which, it says, has been the cause of this country's failure in the economic, cultural and national spheres.

Few will quarrel with Mr. Hanly's indictment of partyism or deny that partyism has retarded national progress, with its frittering away of national energy and ambition and its petty bickering over "old, unhappy, far-off things and battles long ago."

There is a certain naivete about Mr. Hanly's arguments—one might term it wishful thinking—which is based on the fact that he sincerely believes that the Irish people will ultimately accept his plan and that

(Continued on Page 9)

"An guth is tuisce . . ."

PRÉAMHACHA NA GAEILGE

Táimid chun sreath d'altanna d'fhoilsiú ar stair na Gaeilge agus litríocht na Gaeilge. Ráiteas de chuid an scoláire chliúitigh, Kuno Meyer, atá mar theideal againn ar an tsreath seo. Dúirt seisean gurbh í litríocht mheán-aoiseach na Gaeilge, "the earliest voice from the dawn of West European civilisation."

Ní thig le duine grá a thabhairt do rud, mura bhfuil eolas aige ar an rud sin agus tuiscint aige dó. Silimid gur ceann de na cúiseanna leis an easpa tír-ghrá in Éirinn inniu, nach bhfuil eolas ag mórán ar an oidhreacht éachtach, ghlórmhar agus spésiúil de chreideamh, cultúr agus nósanna atá againn. Is chun an scéal sin do leigheas a chuirfimid na h-aistí seo i gcló.

Déanfar cur-síos gach mí ar ghné amháin faoi leith den teangean nó den litríocht. I gcaibidil na míosa seo innsítear faoin gcaoi inar fhás an Ghaeilge mar theanga inti féin, agus an tionchar a bhí ag an gCríostaíocht uirthi.

Timpeall's dhá chéad bliain ó shoin thosaigh scoláirí áirithe ar staidéar a dhéanamh ar na teangacha Ceilteacha. Níor tugadh mórán airde orthu ach in ainneoin sin lean siad orthu ag obair go dícheallach chun a dhéanamh amach carbh as a dtáinig na teangacha seo agus cén gaol a bhí acu dá chéile.

Edward Lhuyd, Breatnach a bhí ina leabharlannaf in Ollscoil Oxford, an chéad duine, d'fhéadfaí a rá a rinne obair fhiúntach sa taighde seo. Chuaigh sé go dtí na foinsí ins na tíortha Ceilteacha agus bhailigh lámhscríbhinní. Eisean a scríobh an "Archaeologia Britannica" i mBéarla. Fuair sé bás sa mbliain 1709, ach níor tuigeadh i gceart céard a bhí déanta aige go ceann céad bliain eile.

De bharr na bréag-laoithe a d'fhoilsigh **James MacPherson**, 1760-63, (beimid ag tagairt dóibh-siúd in aiste eile amach anseo), chrom na scoláirí ar fhiosrúcháin a dhéanamh ar theangacha uilig na h-Eorpa. Ina measc bhí Grimm, Bopp, Pictet agus Johann Zeuss, údar an "Grammatica Celtica."

Ón taighde go léir ar na fíricí thángthas ar an eolas seo:

Thart faoin mbliain 3,000 roimh Chríost bhí teanga á labhairt in oirthear na hÍnde ar a dtugtar anois **Indo-Eorpais**. Síolraíonn 90% de theangacha na hEorpa agus cuid mhaith de theangacha na hÍnde uathisín. Is iad seo leanas na príomh aicmí teangacha a raibh an Indo-Eorpais mar mháthair orthu — Ceilteach, Iodálach, Gearmánach, Bailteach, Slavónach, Gréagach, Airmeánach, Indo-Iránach, Hittite agus Tokharian.

Sé an chaoi a rinneadh an staidéar seo, gur cuireadh na teangacha go léir i gcomh-mheas maidir le foghraíocht (fuaimeanna), deilbhíocht (déanamh na bhfocal) agus comhréir (déanamh na n-abairtí). Tógfaimid cúpla somplaí.

Ins na h-uimhreacha feictear ar an bpointe go bhfuil gaol idir na teangacha éagsúla.

In go leor focla feictear gur tharla na h-athraithe seo—ait a raibh P tosaigh sa Laidin, níl aon chonsan tosaigh sa nGaeilge agus tá F tosaigh ag na teangacha Gearmánacha—e.g. **piscis** sa Laidin; iasc sa nGaeilge agus **fisks** sa nGearmánis; **pater**, **athair**, **father**.

AN CHEILTIS.

SCOILT an Cheiltis i ndá chuid. Ar thaobh amháin tá Briotáinis, Breatnais agus Cornais, agus ar an taobh eile tá trí cineálacha Gaeilge, Gaeilge na hAlban, na hÉireann agus Oileán Mhanainn. Sa gcúigiú aois rinne na Gaeil ionradh ar Albain agus bhunaigh cóilín-teacht an **Dál Riada** ann. Is mar sin a tugadh an Ghaeilge go hAlbain, agus go dtí an tríú aois déag bhí an teanga chéanna á labhairt in Éirinn, Albain agus Oileán Mhanainn. Ó shoin is cosúil go ngabhann an Ghaidhlig agus an Mhanainnis le chéile. Cé gur tháinig deighilt idir an dá chineál Gaeilge, mhair an teanga iiteartha chéanna acu go dtí 1650.

FOINSÍ EOLAIS.

SIAD seo na príomh-foinsí do staidéar ar theanga na Gaeilge:

- 300-500 scríbhinní oigim
- 700-1100 scríbhinní ar chrosanna, miotal, etc.
- 1100-1600 lámhscríbhinní ar pháir
- 1600-1900 lámhscríbhinní agus leabhra clóbhuailte

Dá bhrí sin is féidir an Ghaeilge do roinnt mar seo:—

- 300-600 Gaeilge Oigim
- 600-900 Sean-Ghaeilge
- 900-1200 Meán-Ghaeilge
- 1200-1650 Gaeilge chlasaiceach
- 1650- Nua-Ghaeilge.

(Tuigfear ar ndóigh, nach bhfuil ins na dátaí thuas ach gar-mheastacháin).

"Séard atá san Ogam ná saghas scríbhneoireachta atá bunaithe ar aibítir na Laidne. Déantar é tré línte a ghearradh ar chlocha do réir plean áirithe. Tá 25 litreacha san aibítir, ach níl siad san ord céanna ina bhfuil siad againn. Tá eochair don scríbhneoireacht Oigim i Leabhar Bhaile an Mhóta, ach mar sin féin is deacair cuid de na scríbhinní a dhéanamh amach de bhrí go bhfuil síon na h-aimsire taréis oibriú orthu leis na céadta bliain. An chuid is mó de na clocha seo in Éirinn tá siad i ndeisceart na tíre—121 i gCiarraí, 81 i gCorcaí, 47 i bPortlárige, 12 i gCill Choinnigh etc. Tá 50 ceann i gCumru (An Bhreatain Bheag) agus 5 cinn in Oileán Mhanainn. Go h-iondual is ainm taoisigh eicint atá orthu.

Tá dúth-bhaint ag scríobhadh na Gaeilge le teacht na Críostaíochta. Breathaigh na focla, litir, leabhar, peann, léigh, scríobh, etc., is ón Laidin a tháinig siad chugainn. Scríobhadh an Ghaeilge síos don chéad uair in aibítir na Laidne. Diaidh ar ndiaidh d'fhorbair na scríobhaithe Éireannacha an scríbhneoireacht álainn atá againn ins na sean-lámh-

scríbhinní. As an scríbhneoireacht sin a cumadh an cló ar a dtugtar "an cló Gaelach."

AN EAGLAIS MHANACHÚIL

EAGLAIS mhanachúil a bhí i réim sa tír seo san séú aois taréis teacht na Críostaíochta le Palladius agus Pádraic. Bhí mainistir ag Finghin ag Cluain Ioraird, ceann eile ag Ciarán (mac an t-saoir) ag Cluain Mac Nois, áit ar scríobhadh Lebor na hUidre (Book of the Dun Cow). I gCluain Fearth bhí Brénainn, an taistealaí. Ní móide gur shrois sé Mericá ariamh. Ach bhí daoine ann a chuaigh siar thar na farraigí taréis dóibh Navigatio Brendani do léamh. Ó mhainistir Bheannchoir i gcontae an Dúin a chuaigh Columbán chun na mór-roinne. Colum Cille as Gartán i nDún na nGall a bhunaigh mainistreacha i nDoire agus i Bhunaigh Caoimhín (Caoimhgheinn) mainistir ag Gleann Dá Loch.

Bhí ar na manaigh eolas a chur ar an Laidin chun an liotúirge agus an Bíobla a thuiscint. Faoin seachtú aois bhí iomrá orthu, mar d'fhéadaidis Laidin a scríobh agus dánta a chumadh a bhí níos fearr na mórán dár cumadh ar an mór-roinn. Scríobh Colum Cille "Albus Prosator" ina ndéanann sé cur-síos ar an dóigh ina dtabharfar breithiúnas ar an gcine daonna.

Bhíodh mic-léinn ag teacht agus ag imeacht agus bhí cáil ar léann na nGael. Aldhelm, abb Malmesbury, deir sé i litir chuig Eahfrid go dtéann an-chuid mac-léinn go hÉirinn ag déanamh staidéir. Tá cuid mhaith fianaise a chruthaíonn gur mar sin a bhí an scéal. cf. Franco's Henry i Studies (1948): "This mention of studies reappears whenever Bede (675-735) refers to the Irish; in fact he seems to think of the Irish missionaries as having practically always a book in their hand."

Chuir na Gaeil eolas ar véarsaíocht na Laidne agus do réir a chéile meascadh an dá thraidisiún agus chuaigh litríocht agus meadarachtaí na Laidne i bhfeidhm ar an nGaeilge. Ní h-íad an chlér amháin a bhí saite san obair seo, ach filí tuata comh maith. Feictear sa litríocht nua seo mothúcháin láidre pearsanta, grá don nádúir agus aire do mhion-phointí pearsanta. Sa tseachtú aois freisin, bhí na tráchtasí dlí a scríobhadh i nGaeilge, agus na scéalta eipiciúla a bhí á n-insint leis na céadta bliain roimhe sin.

Na scéalta seo, ba scéalta págánacha eachtraíochta iad a bhí ag seanchaithe na hÉireann sul má tugadh briathar Dé anall ar chor ar bith. Is ó na lámhscríbhinní atá na scéalta seo againn anois, mar chuaigh siad as faisiún taréis ionradh na Normannach agus thosaigh an pobal ar speis a chur sa bhFiannaíocht. Cuid mhaith de na scéalta seo atá againn ó shean-lámhscríbhinní níl siad sách iomlán iontu féin. Tosaíonn an scéal go maith ach éiríonn sé lag. Is cosúil gur mar seo a tharla. Bhíodh scéal á scríobh síos ó bhéai-athris, agus bhíodh an scríobhaí a cur an t-seanchaí siar ar ghíofaí de agus á cheistiú i dtreo a's go n-éiríodh an seanchaí tuirseach, agus gur cuireadh amú é scaití. Níor sáraíodh an deacracht sin go dtí le gairid, leis an ngléas taifeadta.

Bhí scéalta ann faoin aes síde, ach 'siad na Tuatha Dé Danann a bhí i gceist iontu. Navigatio Brendani a luamar cheana bunaíodh é sin ar sheanscéal. Immram Maíle Dúin. Bhain cuid mhór scéalta laochais leis na hUlaid-Fled Bricrenn, Scéla Mucce Maic Dá Thó, agus ar ndóigh an ceann is mó cáil díobh go léir. Táin Bó Cuailnge.

Chonaiceamar sa chaibidil seo faoin chaoi in ar fhás an Ghaeilge; an litríocht pháganach a bhí inti; agus an tionchar a bhí ag an gCríostaíocht agus an scríobh uirthi.

Sa chéad alt eile beimid ag trácht ar fhilíocht a d'fhás as an bhfilíocht a luamar thuas, filíocht chlasaiceach na Gaeilge.

Leabhra a bhaineann leis an ábhar thuas agus gur fiú a léamh:—

- Kenneth Jackson, Common Gaelic.
- Gerard Murphy, Saga and Myth in Ancient Ireland.
- Kuno Meyer, Selections from Ancient Irish Poetry.
- Robin Flower, The Irish Tradition.

MICHEÁL Ó LONGÁIN

Sinn Féin Protest Meeting

THERE was a huge attendance at a Sinn Féin protest meeting held at Main Street, Gorey, on Saturday night, November 8. Amongst those who spoke was Mr. Sean Dunne, Wexford, who was on his way home after his release from the Curragh Concentration Camp on Saturday morning.

Mr. Thomas Murphy, Cathaoir-leach, Parle-Keegan Cumann, Guaire, presided.

Mr. Michael Conroy, Gorey, said that for almost forty years this small island had been ruled by three governments, such a 'luxury' being unknown in any other part of the civilised world. In one of these statelets a foreign power had an army and military bases and installations to terrorise its inhabitants to accept the mutilation of their country, and to keep a stranglehold on its people.

Other speakers included Niall Fagan, Co. Meath; Morgan Dunne, Enniscorthy, and Brendan Lynch, Co. Meath.

Who said it?

"I HERE and now declare that the Oireachtas is not the lawful legislature of Saorstát Éireann or of the Republic of Ireland or of any part of Ireland."

Believe it or not . . .

Mr. de Valera at Carrick-on-Shannon, February, 1929.

"Coercion Linked With Communism"

REPORT from "The Irish News" (November 5): "Mr. Krushchev to-day agreed that 'the dictatorship of the Proletariat' as practised in Communist countries, was 'linked with a certain coercion.' By substituting 'Party' for 'Proletariat,' Mr. Frank Aiken and Mr. Topping could with just as much truth, apply the same observation to their own respective regimes. It might be added that this coercion, naked and vicious in all its aspects, is the stock-in-trade of all tyrants and their collaborators everywhere."

THE 1937 CONSTITUTION

A Chara,

I notice that Dev is about to issue a stamp at the end of the year to celebrate the coming into force of the 26-County Constitution. This stamp I understand depicts Erin as a free nation.

There was a time when we complained of false British propaganda, but now this is outdone by the falsehoods proclaimed to the world by the issue of such stamp. The 1937 Constitution upholds the partition of this country by recognising the Boundary Act, which Dev's Government is afraid to repudiate, and furthermore only the 26-Counties were allowed to vote on it. And you cannot impose a Constitution on any country without giving them a chance to vote for it. The whole Constitution is a farce so far as all Ireland is concerned.

A TRUE PICTURE

If Dev gave a true picture of the situation he would depict Erin with her right hand tied behind her back with barbed wire, and a B-Special on one side and Dev's Civic Guards on the other preventing her from freeing herself. The "Sunday Press" of December 14 gave a vivid picture of the Border, with only 14 roads open in 180 miles. This is even worse than the Iron Curtain.

'ENGLAND WON'T LET US'

A few days ago I had an argument with two personal friends of mine. One was Fine Gael, the other Fianna Fail. At the end I asked both of them a simple question. If Ireland was allowed a free vote whether she'd remain as she is or declare an all Irish Republic as declared in 1916 which would you vote for and both of them answered without hesitation that they'd vote for the all Irish Republic. And each of them added, but England won't let us. To which I replied, how therefore can you claim to have freedom even in the 26-Counties?

I believe the rank and file of Fine Gael and Fianna Fail outside of the job hunters are honest but false propaganda has driven fear into their minds and made moral cowards of them.

James Haverty.

Springlawn, Mountbellew, Co. Galway.

Commemoration

A Commemoration of the Manchester Martyrs was held in Mullinavat, Co. Kilkenny, on November 14. It was preceded by a parade through the town. Éamon Ó Ceallaigh presided and the Last Post was sounded by Nioclás de Faolte. The oration was delivered by Morgán Ó Duinn, Enniscorthy.

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CURRAGH FIRE HAZARD

THE following letter, sent by the O.C. Republican prisoners at the Curragh Concentration Camp to the Governor of the Camp on November 19, 1958, has been released by the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau.

The Publicity Bureau in a statement signed by J. McGarrity, Secretary, says:

We feel that in the light of events which have taken place recently at the Curragh Concentration Camp (several weeks after the receipt of the enclosed letter by the Governor), the public are entitled to know its full contents. Your particular attention is drawn to the last paragraph of the letter. Also of interest is the fact that the military allocation of prisoners to each hut is 44.

The letter follows :

To : Governor.
Sir,

I wish to put in writing the verbal protest I made to the duty officer yesterday in connection with the fitting of steel grilles to the windows of the huts in which we are confined.

Shortly after we were imprisoned in this camp nearly a year and a half ago, the Governor, (Commdt. O'Sullivan) had a conversation with me about the fire hazards in a structure of the kind in which we are housed. These, as you know are old wooden huts roofed with tarred felt and lined with match-boardings.

In working out the fire-drill at the time, I agreed with the Governor that in the event of fire the only method of escape which would give any degree of safety would be for each man to use the window nearest him. Following on this, when there were many complaints of cross-draughts from the windows, only four hopper-heads would be permitted in each hut as more than this would cause delay in opening the windows, which would be dangerous in case of fire.

To this we had to agree as in all the huts, except one, only one door is in use and it would be impossible to get all the men up, dressed and out that one door within the minutes it would take a fire to convert the hut into a furnace.

WINDOWS ONLY CHANCE OF SAFETY

In the intervening months the delay occasioned by fumbling with bunches of keys when the P.A.s have had to unlock doors unexpectedly, added to the fact that on more than one occasion sets of hut keys have been found in the compound, has confirmed all the prisoners here in the belief that the windows furnished them the **only** chance of safety in the event of fire. (It might be added here that in accordance with our policy of avoiding trouble for **anybody**, on the occasion when the keys were found, they were returned to those who lost them without the matter being reported officially).

During our time here we have asked over and over again for the amelioration of certain conditions (lights, visiting accommodation, clothing, etc.) and we have found only refusals, evasions and denial of responsibility. At the same time we have seen hundreds of pounds—if not thousands—being poured out in security measures. More barbed wire fences, sentry boxes, elevated posts, trip-wires, and flares, checks and counter-checks, lights, etc., etc., have been growing around us until the position would be laughable if it were not so exasperating for men to be taken from their homes and families and thrown in here.

There have been times, however, when the prisoners have been genuinely entertained as on the occasion when a sheep got into the lower field and an enthusiastic, security-conscious young junior officer spent one hour and seventeen minutes (clocked by a highly amused gallery of

prisoners) chasing the unfortunate animal around the field in the hope she would escape by the same route as she would thus reveal where the gap was in the wire. This incident ended with an exhausted and still baffled young officer facing a still fresh and calmly ruminant sheep. The ovine victory was contemplated by the gallery with enjoyment—not to say elation.

CYNICAL DISREGARD FOR LIVES

However, there is no feeling of elation at the prospect of being locked into huts with steel grilles on the windows which up to this have been accepted as the only escape from fire. The fitting of these grilles is viewed by the prisoners as going further than the usual precedence of "security" over the comfort and welfare of the prisoners and in our view amounts to a cynical disregard for the lives of the men imprisoned here. To fit them on the windows of the "theatre" where all the prisoners are gathered for meetings, concerts and picture shows and where there is only one small door, is nothing but criminal. It means in effect, that as O.C. I will be forced to recommend strongly to the men that they do not use this room at all in the interest of their own safety.

Finally, I wish to make it clear that if the prisoners here make a more vigorous protest against their possible presentation—literally—as a burnt offering on the altar of "security-consciousness" of our jailors, the responsibility must be accepted by those who are erecting the conditions, and not by those on whom these conditions are being imposed.

Yours,

O.C. Republican Prisoners.

November 19, 1958.

BOOK REVIEWS

(Continued from Page 7)

Ireland will recover. But it is not as simple as that.

For example—and it is with this point that I am mainly concerned here—he concludes that the unity of the nation will, almost automatically, follow on the putting of our 26-County house in order. This is certainly wishful thinking as anyone with a knowledge of Occupied Ireland knows.

He writes: "I believe . . . that the bringing of this twenty-six county State into social order will be the prelude to political and religious harmony and the ending of British occupation and influence in Ireland." He does not say how or why British occupation will be ended, and in this, his plan for the recovery of Ireland, like so many others, is lacking in its principal essential.

Mr. Hanly is, perhaps unwittingly, working on the assumption that a semi-nation like the 26-Counties can organise itself as fully and as efficiently as a true, integral nation. And he seems to hold the view that once the 26-County state is in perfect social order, the British occupiers of the Six Counties will, like the Arabs, fold their tents overnight and softly steal away!

A DIVIDED NATION

It is, of course, impossible for any nation to organise itself fully and efficiently while its people and territory are forcibly divided. And anyone with a knowledge of British

Imperialistic power-politics should know that Britain has no intention of quietly leaving the Six Counties overnight or at any other time. British governments have constantly re-iterated their pledges to the puppets in the Six Counties that they will not desert the minority which holds sway in that corner of Ireland.

On another point Mr. Hanly is on rather unsure footing also. He concedes the right of a nation to resist unlawful encroachments and occupation by another nation, but insists that we have not tried all the legitimate weapons to deal with such unjust occupation, adding that, until peaceful action has been tried and found to have failed, physical force is not justified in the resisting of unjust occupation.

Mr. Hanly apparently forgets that every peaceful action possible has been tried in Occupied Ireland to gain justice for the Nationalists there—to no avail, because even the constitutional means of gaining representation have been denied to them. In such circumstances their armed revolt has been justified. And surely it is no crime for Irishmen from the 26-Counties to go to the aid of their fellow-countrymen in Occupied Ireland.

No plan for the recovery of Ireland can be complete without incorporating also a plan for the recovery of the six occupied counties. This the Irish people have long ago recognised.

NORMAN

RELEASED

The following prisoners have been released unconditionally from the Curragh Concentration Camp: Christopher Kelly, Rathangan, Co. Kildare; Dick Burke, Drumcondra, Dublin; Michael O Murchu, Casement Avenue, Limerick; Parthalon O Gormghaile, Tuaim, Co. na Gaillimhe; Bert Murphy, Leinster Avenue, Dublin.

Joseph Conway of Newry was arrested in Co. Louth and has been sent to the Concentration Camp.

Portlaoise Draw

The result of the draw held by Portlaoise Branch of An Cumann Cabhrach was as follows :

1st Prize — Michael Sherry, Cavanmoutry, Killybrone P.O., Co. Monaghan.

2nd Prize — Miss Kathleen Cullen, Kilsob, Bawnboy, Co. Cavan.

3rd Prize — Miss E. McGlynn, Logstown, Valkeymount, Co. Wicklow.

4th Prize — Lorcan O Riain, Martlehill, Golden, Co. Tipperary.

5th Prize—Ticket No. 10241.
The Committee wish to thank all who made the Draw a success. Tickets which arrived late will be included in the next Draw.

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Ireland For The Foreigner

(Extract from "Irish Industry," Nov., 1958)

THE people of this country have become so accustomed to Government Ministers talking in millions of pounds that the statement of Mr. Lemass on the intention to spend £220 million odd during the next five years created little stir except among those who have to contribute by taxation to the provision of the capital sums or of the interest on borrowed money. From past and current experience we would say that the announcement would be hailed as wonderful progress in the foreign countries from which our new industrialists of the free-grants type are flocking to Ireland.

"Taxation policy," said the Minister "would be guided primarily by the need to encourage production and saving." Production at a handsome profit should be comparatively easy to attain if the factories and instruments for production are provided free—the loans to do so being provided by the benighted Irish taxpayer. It is certain that the Free-Granters will be in a position to save quite a lot. In the case quoted at Nenagh recently the foreign firm was said to be entitled to a grant of £186,000; the people of Scariff would provide another £35,000 (by investment we presume) and the foreign firm would provide the rest. (From the discussion at the Nenagh meeting this would appear to be in the region of £25,000). That would surely encourage production and saving even if the Irish taxpayer provided the £186,000).

No wonder Mr. Lemass added to his statement quoted above : "The Government aimed to create conditions permitting as soon as possible a reduction of direct taxation."

The italics are ours.

THERE ARE NOW OVER 400 MEN IN JAILS AND
CONCENTRATION CAMPS FOR IRELAND.
HELP THEIR DEPENDENTS BY SUBSCRIBING
GENEROUSLY TO AN CUMANN CABHRACH.

Let Us Listen To Mac Piarais

'WAR is a terrible thing, but war is not an evil thing. It is the things that make war necessary that are evil. The tyrannies that wars break, the lying formulae that wars overthrow, the hypocrisies that wars strip naked, are evil . . . The nation which regards it (bloodshed) as a final horror has lost its manhood. There are many things more horrible than bloodshed; and slavery is one of them.'

It is necessary to state at once that the words quoted were written by the man whose grave is the holiest place in Ireland. They are the words of a man of peace who preferred violence and death to a serene and apparently comfortable life. But did he feel comfortable? — happy? A rough translation of one stanza of his poetry supplies the answer:

'I long for your coming,
Old messenger from God:
The friend of friends,
To take me from this pain.'

It was not physical pain that tortured him to the point of longing for death. It was the mental pain of having been born into slavery and of having to live in slavery. It was the mental anguish of seeing his fellow-countrymen so accustomed to their abject condition that many of them were incapable of realising its reality. It was clear to him that his fellow-slaves must be roused from their lethargy, and he proceeded to do so by his teaching, by his oratory and by his writings. And he saw that, eventually, for him, the day of the Lord would come—the day on which he and his comrades-in-arms would make their glorious protest. The opportunity came in the first World War, and key-positions in the capital city were captured and defended by our heroic headmaster of Scoil Eanna and his small, but resolute, groups of armed men. The spirit of Irish patriotism, which had called him for years, he answered at last. That spirit 'called to a dreamer and he awoke a man of action: it called to a student and a recluse and he stood forth a leader of men: it called to one who loved the ways of peace and he became a revolutionary.'

THE RISING

The newly-born Republic of Ireland was defended for five days by the superhuman efforts of its very tiny army. On the fifth day the forces of the age-old enemy had succeeded in penetrating the outer defences and in making the centre of the city an unbearable inferno. Mac Piarais, as President of the Republic and Commander-in-Chief of the Republican Army, ordered a general surrender. He, although a prisoner of war, was court-martialled and sentenced to be shot, together with fourteen others who were leading officers. In his last letter to his mother from Kilmainham Prison, he had stated that if God had given him the choice he would certainly have chosen the death he was about to suffer—death for the liberation of his fellow-countrymen and women. And when he stood erect before the firing squad he did not falter. Like Tone and countless others, he had years before that, renounced the sweetness of life and had dedicated himself to a cause that was almost certain to demand the supreme sacrifice. In his poem, 'Fornocht do Chonac Thú,' he alludes sadly to the beauty, the sweetness and the pleasure that life holds for a poetic soul such as his was; but, in the same poem, he states with the simplicity of calm resolution, that he had re-

ounced all of this beauty and sweetness and pleasure. Let me give a rough translation of a few of the stanzas:



'Naked I saw you,
Thou Beauty of Beauties;
And I blinded my eyes
In fear, lest I'd stare.

I kissed her lips,
Thou Sweetness of Sweetness:
And I hardened my heart
In fear of my ruin.

I turned my back
To the vision I had shaped;
And to this road before me
I turned my face.

To this road before me
I turned my face;
To the deed that I see
And the death I shall die.'

FORTY-TWO YEARS AFTER

Two and forty years have gone by since the body of Mac Piarais and those of his comrades-in-arms were buried in their uniforms in that hallowed plot on Arbour Hill. And, meditating at that plot, it is but a natural thing for any national being to admire the unhesitant self-sacrifice of the heroes whose mouldered bodies are so close to him. The genuine Irish Republican faces an indescribable influence there, and he walks forth from a silent churchyard with pride, and with determination to do his utmost in the struggle to complete the work of Mac Piarais.

Yes, it is necessary to remind a number of people that the work of Mac Piarais is not completed, after a lapse of almost half a century. Five years after he fell, our island home was partitioned by Britain. There are, therefore, two statelets, each having its own parliament. They are separated from each other by a minor replica of the Iron Curtain. The Six-County statelet has three armies, one of which is the British Army of Occupation. The Twenty-Six County statelet has an army of its own, wearing the same type of uniform as that worn by the men of Easter Week. All of these armies are ceaselessly prowling along either side of the Border, as the Iron Curtain is commonly called. Acting on instructions from the British Government,

these armies co-operate with each other and with the Twenty-Six County police force in trying to prevent Ireland's Liberation Forces from waging war on the British Forces of Occupation wherever they may find them in this island whose only boundary is the sea.

THE FIGHT GOES ON

The Liberation Forces of Ireland are in existence, then, yes; and their purpose is no more nor less

than that of the Liberation Forces of Ireland commanded by Mac Piarais during the five glorious days. But it is a proclaimed army and hundreds of its members are in Belfast Prison, in British prisons and in the Curragh Concentration Camp. Most of them are interned without trial. Our history proves, however, that this treatment of our unselfish lovers of liberty is totally ineffective. Inside or outside barbed wire or iron bars, the Spirit of Ireland calls—calls as a very old lady who is forever young and beautiful. Her face is tear-stained; her voice is sweet and sad; and her name is Éire. Listen to her as Mac Piarais heard her:

'I am Éire:
I am older than the Cailleach Bheara.

Great is my glory:
Brave Cu Chulainn was my son.

Great is my shame:
My own children sold their mother.

I am Éire:
I am lonelier than the Cailleach Bheara.'

DEFINITION OF FREEDOM

And, finally, to those who condemn the war being waged against the British Forces in the territory of Éire; to those who fear civil war; to those Irishmen who say they are not Irish but British; to all of those, and to many others, I shall let Mac Piarais speak from his grave:

'To the Irish mind for more than a thousand years freedom has had but one definition. It has meant not a limited freedom conditioned by the interests of another nation, a freedom compatible with the suzerain authority of a foreign parliament, but absolute freedom, the sovereign control of Irish destinies. It has meant not the freedom of a class, but the freedom of a people. It has meant not the freedom of a geographical fragment of Ireland, but the freedom of all Ireland, of every sod of Ireland.'

ULTACH.

The Murder of James Crossan

(August 24, 1958)

It rings from Fermanagh to Cavan
Through Antrim to Derry and Down
It has shocked all the people of Ireland,
This blood-thirsty deed of the Crown.
And over the green hills of Ulster,
There speeds with an anguish so sad,
A cry full of vengeance and anger,
They've shot down an unarmed lad.

But a cry rises up from his comrades,
Who fight on, the cause to maintain,
"We'll follow you, Seamus Mac Crossan
Till victory shines forth on Sinn Féin."

He sprang to the cause of his country,
Unflinching and brave in the fight.
To break down the cursed British Border,
And shatter a dying Empire's might.
But the tools of John Bull gave no quarter
In cold blood, they just shot him down
But history will record this murder
As a dastardly deed of the Crown.

Let John Bull and his hirelings remember
There are still men to carry the gun,
And the spirit of Seamus Mac Crossan
Will inspire them till Victory's won.

May his soul rest to-night up in heaven,
With Sean Sabhat and Feargal so true,
The five at Dundalk and MacManus
Who died for beloved Roisin Dubh.
And a prayer rises up from the people
We'll march 'neath the flag once again
And follow the lead of our martyr
Mac Crossan, who died for Sinn Féin.

When the dawn light of freedom
Shines over the hills of the occupied zone,
The name of young Seamus Mac Crossan
Will ring from Belfast to Tyrone

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WHAT OTHER PEOPLE ARE SAYING

SIX-COUNTY ALERT

THE *Anglo-Celt* (Cavan) of December 13 reported:

Since the 14 internees escaped from the Curragh Internment camp there has been a round-the-clock watch on the Six-County side of the Border by R.U.C. and British military.

All Fermanagh Border roads are being patrolled by heavily armed R.U.C. and military in jeeps and lorries. All traffic from the Twenty-Six Counties, particularly motor traffic, is being minutely examined and checked.

Some travellers were obliged to remove their boots and socks, so closely were they examined. Others had to remove their coats so that the police could search the collars and cuffs.

Cyclists had to hand over their bicycles to the police who removed the handlebars and searched the inside of the handlebars with a piece of wire.

£250,000 A YEAR PAID TO BRITISH GOVERNMENT

SINCE 1926 this country has been paying a debt—£250,000 a year to the British Government in settlement of a claim for damage to property during the War of Independence—which will not be fully paid off until 1986.

These payments (made under an Act of 1926) were referred to by Mr. Michael O'Reilly in a lecture to a meeting of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland on the State debt.

The annuities represent a capital sum of about £5,000,000 calculated on an interest rate of 4½%. They formed part of the 1925 Agreement, Clause 3 of which stated:

"The Irish Free State hereby assumes all liability undertaken by the British Government in respect of malicious damage done since the 21st day of January, 1919, to property in the area now under the jurisdiction of the Parliament and Government of the Irish Free State, and the Government of the Irish Free State shall repay to the British Government at such time, or times, and in such manner as may be agreed upon, moneys already paid by the British Government in respect of such damage, or liable to be so paid, under obligations already incurred."

From the *Irish Times*, December 2.

39,000 UNEMPLOYED

FIGURES issued in Belfast on November 28 gave the number of unemployed in the Six Counties as 39,472, an increase of 5,727 on the same month in 1957. This figure represents 8.3 per cent of the insured population of the area.

MILITARY ESCORT FOR COWS

FROM "The Evening Press" (November 6): "British armoured cars and jeeps, with R.U.C. men and walkie-talkies accompanied nine cattle to Derrylin barracks near the Cavan border early this morning. After the seizure by R.U.C. from Derrylin of 15 canning cows, valued at about £550, last night, a general alert was sent out and a large force of R.U.C. and military in jeeps and armoured cars, rushed to Gortneddard, Co. Fermanagh.

The frightened animals were compounded in a field surrounded by armed R.U.C. and (British) military. Some of the animals were seen to make a wild dash to a hedge and up a boren leading to the Border, and escaped in the dark of the night."

REPORTER ARRESTED

NOEL McGRATH, a reporter attached to the *Sunday Review* was arrested by Special Branch detectives in Dublin on December 12. He was brought to the Bridewell, where he was searched and questioned for over an hour. His private letters, notebook and diary were scrutinised.

NEED IS MORE PEOPLE

THE Most Rev. Dr. Lucey, Bishop of Cork, told Cork County Federation of Muintir na Tire:

"What Ireland needs is thinking in terms of persons, not in terms of products and payments. What Ireland needs is a more favourable balance of population figures, or, more simply, more Irish men, women and children, and that is what Ireland is not getting."

Dr. Lucey reminded his listeners that year after year some 40,000 persons left Ireland. They were squeezed out of Ireland, and yet not a voice was raised by a public representative and not a hand held out to help them when they went, or to help to keep them at home.

"In England," he added, "the Government has just announced details of a grand scheme to help small holders, but in Ireland the accent has been on increased production and more cattle, even if that means less producers and favoured holdings."

GARBLED NEWS REPORTING

DUBLIN Letter in "The Fermanagh Herald" (November 1): "They are still releasing internees from the Curragh. At least 20 young men have been released within the past three weeks. Possibly more than that number have been interned from Mountjoy. For some unexplained reason all the political prisoners including the sentenced men, were taken from the prison and interned. There must have been some reason for this sudden action but it has never been explained or suggested at any time that the men being released from the Curragh are going before the Tribunal set up by the Government and giving reasons why they should be released. Some of the men are in custody for over three years.

They have little, if any, hope of securing freedom unless they are prepared to abide by the regulations laid down." (Note—This is an example of the hopelessly garbled tales usually with an anti-Republican bias which are furnished as "news" in the "Dublin Letters" of several Six Counties newspapers).

FOOTBALL FANS HELD UP

FOOTBALL enthusiasts from Donegal travelling to Dunganon on December 7 for the Lagan Cup Final between Derry and Donegal, were held up and questioned by the R.U.C. Some were stopped again on the way home.

Fianna Fail's 1959 Objectives

BRITISH OCCUPATION?
UNEMPLOYMENT?
EMIGRATION?
POVERTY AND INSECURITY?

No, these are petty matters when compared with P.R. and the post of "Uachtaran."

The "Evening Mail" of December 8, 1958, reports Sean Brady, T.D. for Dun Laoire and Rathdown as telling the annual meeting of his local Cumann of Fianna Fail:

"Victory in the Referendum on P.R. and in the Present election are the principal objectives of Fianna Fail for 1959."

Now you know.

"LEANING TOWARDS THE RULING POWERS"

"AGAIN our appalling leaning towards the ruling powers in every country irrespective of justice has been shown throughout the week. The authorities at Shannon Airport did not admit they had slipped up in allowing the port to be used to tranship arms to General Batista, the Strong Man of Cuba. They admitted: 'Some material may have got through as military supplies.' How the heck did they know what went through if they didn't look?

"The assignment order was seen by a reporter: '400 cases of arms and 500 cases of ammunition consigned to QMG, Army of the Republic of Cuba, by Sigfried Wallner, Cuban representative in Rome. . .'" (Dublin Special Correspondent in the "Longford Leader," October 25.)

TOPPING SPEAKS

FROM the "Belfast Telegraph" (October 24): "So-called freedom fighters, terrorists are, in fact, wicked cowardly men who pretend they are fighting a war, said the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. Topping, when he spoke at the annual concert of the Listoder Ulster Special Constabulary in Crossgar. They called themselves freedom fighters, he said, but how could this be so when their fighting consisted of stealing through the darkness to transformers, telegraph poles, and telephone kiosks, blowing them up and escaping across the Border. To suggest that this was a military campaign was absolutely ridiculous."

"TWO MAJOR ISSUES"

FROM the "Belfast Telegraph" (October 18): "Unemployment and the full security of Northern Ireland are probably our two major issues. As regards the latter we still confidently and calmly depend upon our noble defenders in the Royal Ulster Constabulary with its B-special branch in particular, assisted by the armed forces of the Crown," said Mr. Alex Hunter, M.P., addressing Whiteabbey branch of the Carrick Unionist Association."

Sligo Protest

A PROTEST at the action of the responsible authorities in having steel or strong mesh erected over the windows of the huts in the Curragh Concentration Camp—which he referred to as a "security" restriction—was voiced at Sligo Corporation on Monday, December 1, by Councillor J. Dolan.

Having read a statement issued by the Sinn Fein Publicity Committee in connection with the matter, Mr. Dolan said he had personal experience of the Curragh Concentration Camp.

The huts, each of which had only a single door, were constructed of timber and felt, and to add to the danger to the lives of the internees in the event of an outbreak of fire a further "security" restriction was being implemented in the form of the erection of steel or strong mesh over the windows in the huts.

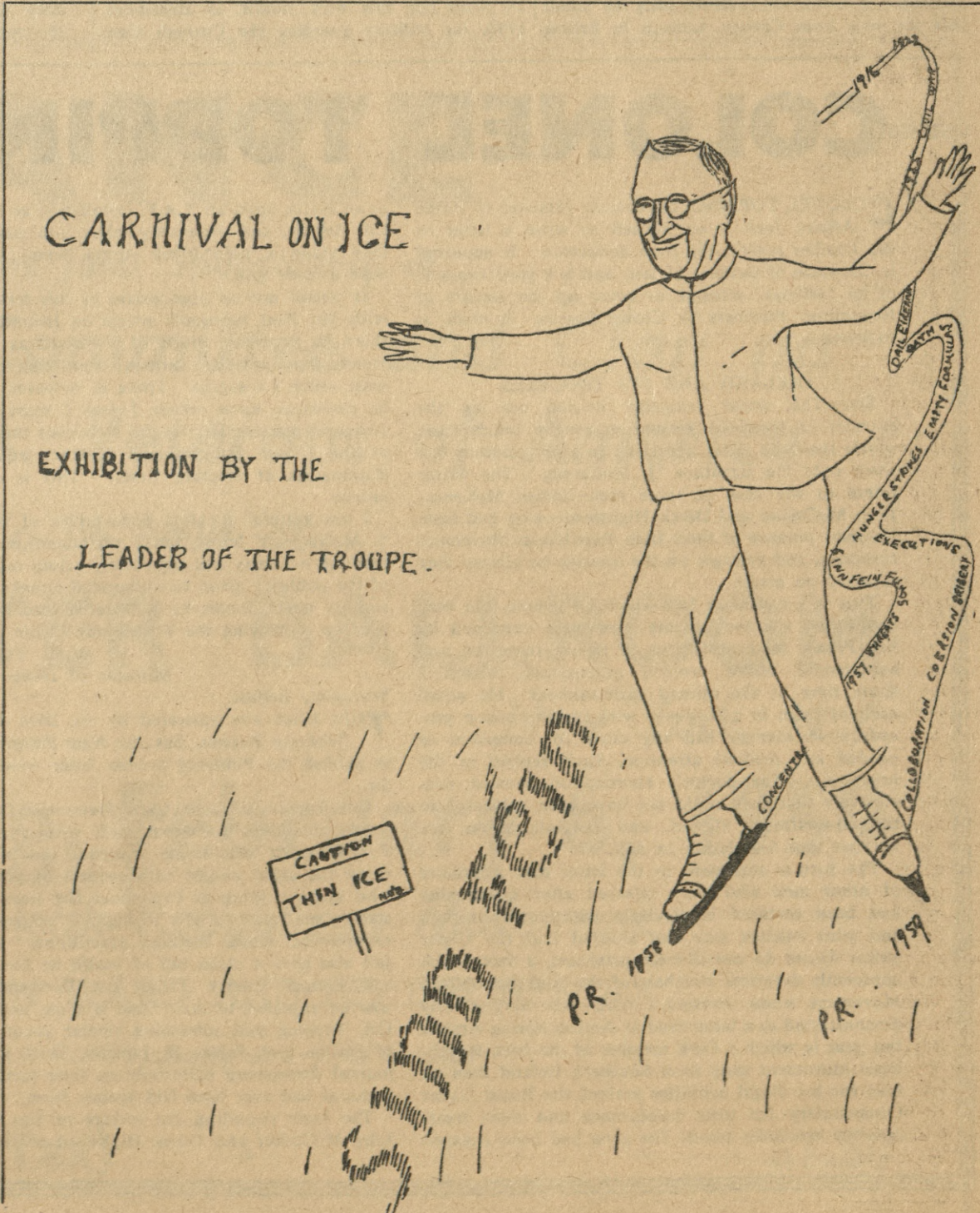
If fire broke out in the huts it would be almost impossible for the internees to get out of the huts, as the single door, the only means of escape from each, now that the windows were being sealed up, was padlocked on the outside.

Councillor Dolan having stated that he would like that a protest should be sent to whoever was responsible for the custody of the internees—and he thought the Minister for Justice was the authority concerned—it was decided that a letter should be sent to the Minister drawing his attention to the matter complained of.

CARNIVAL ON ICE

EXHIBITION BY THE

LEADER OF THE TROUPE.



The Curragh Escape: I.R.P.B. Statement

WE have been requested to release the following statement:

On December 2, 1958, sixteen Republican prisoners escaped from the Concentration Camp at the Curragh. Two were recaptured and the remainder reported safe, having eluded a most intensive search by 26-County forces using tracker dogs, armoured vehicles, radio equipment, etc.

The following facts concern the issue and should be brought to the notice of the Irish people;

1. NO smoke bombs (nor indeed any offensive weapons) were used by the Republican prisoners in effecting their getaway.

2. The officer parading the field was NOT assaulted, molested or otherwise interfered with by the escapees.

3. No assault was committed on the guards at the Camp.

4. Notwithstanding this, 26-County military opened fire on the unarmed men. Detonator type gas grenades, NOT ordinary tear gas bombs, were thrown as well. The casing of these grenades fragmentates in similar manner to that of high explosive hand grenades and it is certain that at least one man had a chunk of metal deeply embedded in his body. It is not possible to ascertain further, other than that he suffered much loss of blood.

5. No effort was made to contact the relatives of the injured men nor to relieve the natural anxiety of the other Republican prisoners. In fact, it appeared as though a deliberate attempt was being made by the 26-County State to hide the facts, and all efforts by relatives were frustrated by a policy of official silence. Up to date the relatives have received no official communication in the matter. All visits to prisoners were cancelled "indefinitely," and when, after six days had elapsed (on the 8/12/58) the names were eventually wrung from an official source the addresses were omitted. It would be embarrassing to admit that six men from County Armagh in British

Occupied Ireland were among the fourteen who succeeded in making good their escape. This is in keeping with the policy of deleting the addresses of the 25 Six-County residents who are prisoners at the Curragh from the official lists published from time to time.

6. We are unable either to confirm or deny the newspaper report that the gorse was set alight inside the cordon in order to burn out any escapees who might have been hiding there. We can only hope for the good name of our country as a Christian nation that the report is unfounded.

7. We refute the suggestion in a Sunday newspaper that an armed raid on the camp was planned. It is of course contrary to Republican policy to clash with the forces of the 26-County State.

8. There was a very close parallel between the manner the public were treated at the road-blocks and elsewhere during the searches which followed the escape, and the daily plight of our people in the six occupied counties at the hands of British Crown Forces. The 26-County Minister for Defence did not apologise for the firing on an E.S.B. lorry by 26-County military and in fact said "he could not guarantee it would not happen again." When Mr. Hanna, Six-County Minister for Home Affairs, was questioned about the killing of 18 year old Arthur Leonard of Armagh by B-Specials in a similar road-block incident three years ago, he used the exact same expression as did Mr. Boland in Leinster House on the 10th inst. It HAS "happened again," and over and over again in Occupied Ireland. Will such shootings recur in the 26-Counties and can anyone foretell the outcome?

There is one lesson in all this for the Irish people. It is that the Concentration Camps opened and maintained in their name, and all the outrageous consequences that follow from them, must be ended NOW and for all time. 18 years ago this very month, in December, 1940, the military guarding the Curragh Con-

Republican Publications

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the story of the Brookeborough attack in January, 1957.

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Concentration Camp opened fire on the defenceless prisoners, killing one man and wounding several others. The inquest on the dead man was adjourned at a critical stage in the evidence and NEVER reopened. There had been no attempt to escape or to attack the guards at the time of the shooting.

In 1958, however, it appears that with official sanction the lives of the general public as well as of Republican prisoners, are endangered by 26-County forces. This is a direct result of the Concentration Camp of the 26-County Government. The Irish people have their responsibilities in this regard. They must demand the release of all Republican prisoners now and the closing of Concentration Camps. For their own protection and to prevent a repetition of the outrages committed on Republican prisoners in the 1940s, they must act immediately in this most grave matter.

When a tragedy does occur it will be too late.

—Issued by the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau.

December 15, 1958.

NOTE: This statement was sent to all Dublin daily papers, all Provincial papers and all 26-County T.D.s and Senators.

Irish Freedom Radio

Irish Freedom Radio was heard clearly in British-Occupied Ireland on December 12, at 11.05 p.m. The station was broadcasting at 209 metres, medium wave.

The programme included the Statement to the people of the Occupied Area issued by the Irish Resistance Movement to mark the second anniversary of the 1956 Revolt.

SUPPORT

AN CUMANN CABHRACH

COLONEL TOPPING'S LETTER

COLONEL TOPPING, Six-County Minister of Home Affairs, took it on himself to write a letter to the London review, the *New Statesman*. It appeared in the issue of October 11 last, and is a good example of an 'official' attempt to cover up the torture of Republican Prisoners by Crown Forces. It reads as follows:

IRELAND AND ITS TROUBLES

SIR.—The smear campaign carried out by the enemies of Northern Ireland is usually much more subtle than the letter appearing in your columns last week over the signature 'J. McGarrity'. The writer refers to the case of three men—James McKenna, John McCusker and Derek Highstead—who had been interned because of their Irish Republican Movement activities, and enlarges on the injuries he alleges they received on arrest.

This is a matter of fact which, of course, can very readily be checked, as the men were examined by the Prison Medical Officer, a highly respected and experienced senior medical practitioner, within a short time of the alleged maltreatment. He asked each of them in accordance with routine prison procedure whether he had any cause for complaint or needed any medical attention. Each replied in the negative. The doctor's examination showed conclusively that they could not have been subjected to the ill-treatment alleged, and the allegations are without any foundation in fact.

The further statement in the letter that a number of other men who were released after questioning had been tortured is similarly without foundation, and your readers may rest assured that the Ulster police forces do not ill-treat prisoners, a fact which apparently surprises members of the Irish Republican Movement when arrested. This was very clearly demonstrated in a letter read at Antrim Spring Assizes last year in which a Cork member of the Irish Republican Movement gang from Southern Ireland then on trial for his illegal activities praised the Royal Ulster Constabulary for their forbearance and their treatment of him after arrest. The gang had been engaged

in an attack upon an R.A.F. installation at Torr Head, Co. Antrim, and were only taken into custody after they made a point-blank attack upon the police with a Bren gun.

It would not be appropriate in this letter to deal with Mr. Paul Johnson's article on Ireland, although there is, naturally, much of it—based as it was on views expressed by various conflicting interests—with which I disagree. There is, however, one point in particular upon which I feel I must enter the strongest protest. That is the statement that members of the Ulster Constabulary obstruct and threaten Nationalists at election times. This is completely untrue.

I am grateful for this opportunity of replying to 'J. McGarrity's' letter, but I am bound to point out that the necessity has regrettably arisen only because of the publicity given to unfounded attacks on Ulster and its police forces by a terrorist leader obviously bent on destroying the British way of life.

W. S. TOPPING,
Minister of Home Affairs.

Stormont, Belfast.

THIS letter was answered by the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau, but the *New Statesman* failed to publish the Publicity Bureau letter which follows:

Col. Topping's 'facts' (*New Statesman*, October 11) would doubtless go down well with an uncritical Tory-Unionist backwoods audience but will hardly carry the same weight with readers of your journal who know a thing or two about the ways of police state apologists. His 'highly respected and experienced senior medical practitioner' in Belfast Jail also gave a clean bill of health to Kevin Mallon and Francis Patrick Talbot last December. What was he expected to do? And if I am not mistaken Col. Topping said something similar about the cases of Mallon and Talbot in January, 1958, when your journal commented editorially on their torture before a charge had ever been laid against them.

The facts regarding the torture of Jim McKenna, John McCusker and Derek Highstead are as I stated

in my letter of October 4. Col. Topping's letter proves nothing except that police torture in British-Occupied Ireland will be covered up by the appropriate Minister of the Crown who currently happens to be Col. W. B. Topping.

His letter refers to the case of Anthony Cooney of Cork City, captured near Murlough Bay on December 12, 1956, and sentenced to 12 years' penal servitude at the Antrim Spring Assizes of 1957. Tony Cooney wrote a letter to his distraught mother from his prison cell and reassured her as to his treatment and Col. Topping's secret police used this letter in evidence against him at his trial. It was never suggested that Tony Cooney was tortured. Indeed the torture-mill confessions were not a feature of R.U.C. interrogation methods for some time after December 12, 1956.

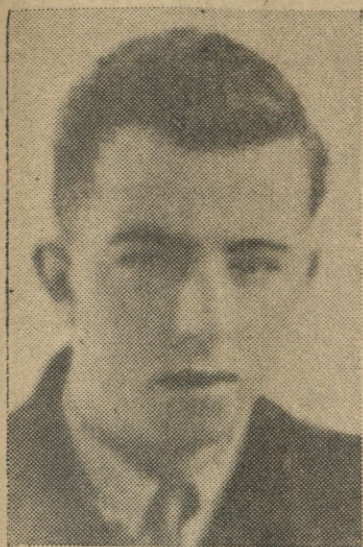
Tony Cooney had *not* been engaged in an attack upon an R.A.F. installation at Torr Head, Co. Antrim, as Col. Topping states. He was arrested on the road-way some distance from the station. The police who arrested him and his two companions were *not* the objects of 'a point blank attack' with a Bren or any other type of gun. The Bren gun found on the road-side later had not been fired. Tony Cooney mistook the police car for another and walked towards it and got into it without offering any resistance. He called on his companions to surrender and they did *after* the R.U.C. had opened fire. The Irish Republican Resistance order naming the R.U.C. as legitimate resistance targets and part of the armed forces of the Crown in Ireland came into force *after* the arrest of Tony Cooney and his comrades.

As to intimidation and obstruction of Nationalists at election time, at least one-third of the population of British-Occupied Ireland can give you the facts on this and they are unlikely to back up Col. Topping's tongue-in-cheek statement. Suffice to say here that the *only* time when this intimidation and obstruction did not occur was during the 1955 British Imperial election when Sinn Féin polled 152,000 votes.

Yours faithfully,

J. MCGARRITY, Secretary.

Irish Republican Publicity Bureau.



JOE CAHILL, of Belfast, who was sentenced to death in 1942. He was reprieved and sentenced to life imprisonment in August of that year, and was not released until October, 1949. Again arrested in January, 1957, he is still held without charge or trial in Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast. He has spent his ninth Christmas in jail for Ireland.



JAMES STEELE, of Belfast, who has spent his seventeenth Christmas in jail for Ireland.

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Curragh Escape

THE following statement was made by Mr. J. J. McGirl, T.D. at a Press Conference in Dublin on December 21:

I was approached by the relatives of Pat McGirl, one of the internees believed to have been injured in a recent escape from the Curragh Concentration Camp. They informed me that they had had no official notification and were extremely worried about Pat's condition.

Myles P. Shevlin, Solicitor, Carlow was instructed to act on behalf of the injured man.

On Sunday, December 21, 1958, I attended at the Concentration Camp accompanied by Mr. Leo McGirl, brother of the wounded man, and his solicitor. The duty officer informed us that it would be a waste of time making any application for a visit to discuss the legal implications of the escape and of the injuries suffered by the men.

I have made inquiries from other sources and am in a position to state that the statements issued by the Government Information Bureau are inaccurate and misleading in many material aspects.

1. The men were fired upon and it is not true to say that the P.A. responsible for this callous action has been removed from duty. Two of the escapees, Brian Boylan and Jim Columb, were injured by gun shots.
2. Smoke bombs or other offensive weapons were not used by the escapees.
3. The officer on duty was not assaulted or molested.
4. It is now definitely established that while men were hiding in the gorse, some of them

wounded, the gorse was set alight in an effort to burn them out.

5. No effort was made to inform the relatives of the injured men of their condition nor to relieve the natural anxiety of the relatives of other internees.
6. During resumed visits, efforts by wounded men to inform relatives of their condition were frustrated by the supervising P.A. with the result that these visits were little more than a farce.
7. The internees have now been officially informed by the new Camp Commandant that Guards have been issued with live ammunition and have been instructed to use it in any further attempt at escape by the unarmed internees. Eighteen years ago this very month in December, 1940, military guarding the Curragh Concentration Camp opened fire on the defenceless prisoners killing one man and wounding several others. The inquest on the dead man was adjourned at a critical stage in the evidence and never reopened.

I feel that the Irish people should now act to prevent a recurrence of this tragedy and demand on their behalf that this Concentration Camp be now closed. It is deplorable that in this year of 1958 men are still incarcerated because of their loyalty to the ideal of Irish freedom.

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An Cumann Cabhrach

An Cumann Cabhrach is the Irish Republican Dependents Fund which helps to relieve distress among the families of men in jail for their country. At this moment there are upwards of 400 men in the jails of England and Ireland.

In the Curragh Concentration Camp alone there are now more than 100 prisoners.

Every day more and more prisoners are added to the rolls of Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast.

The prison is now filled to overflowing and the Stormont authorities say it is presenting them with a serious problem.

JAMES STEELE of Belfast, who has been 40 years in the Republican Movement, has just spent his 17th Christmas in Crumlin Road Prison. Others have spent years and years within its grim walls.

An Cumann Cabhrach's weekly expenditure on the relief of distress among Republican families is over \$2,100.00. Its weekly income is much less than this. The deficit is made up by calling on a reserve built up over the years. Now that reserve is in danger of running out.

More money must be raised for An Cumann Cabhrach or else the families of the prisoners will suffer. Give generously for the prisoners either through your local committee or direct to :

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