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### BELFAST PRISON SEE PAGES 8 and 9

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### USE OF FORCE IN OCCUPIED IRELAND

The Irish Republican Publicity Bureau issued the following statement on June 15, 1959.

The Rev. Robert I. Good (Enniskillen) is reported to have told the Methodist Conference at Portadown on June 13, that some weeks ago (he was then President of the Methodist Church in Ireland) he had visited what some press reports called "the Dublin office of a leader of the revolutionary movement."

Mr. Good was probably referring to a visit he made to the "United Irishman" office after Mr. Good's secretary had telephoned looking for an appointment. There he spoke to the editor. The conversation was informal and friendly but the gist of it was that Mr. Good

Christian Minister, about the use ot force.

The editor pointed out that the "United Irishman," as a Republican newspaper, is dedicated to those ideals for which Irishmen of every creed have striven, suffered and died for many generations: a united Ireland, free from foreign domination or interference, guaranteeing to all its citizens civil and religious liberty, and the right to exploit the resources of their country to obtain a livelihood at home for themselves and their children.

On the question of force in the Six Counties the editor ex-

expressed concern, as a plained that one cannot ignore the fact of British occupation, of British interference in Irish affairs, of British . economic domination of the whole country. One-third of the people in the Six Counties have never accepted-and will never accept -British rule there. This rule is being maintained by force. What is happening today in the North is that force is being resisted by force. Thirty-seven years of partition institutions of government have brought us no mearer the ideals of a united and free Ireland.

It was also pointed out that if the use of force in the North is unpalatable, the fault on

examination will be found to lie in a state of affairs which has produced unpalatable things: imprisonment without charge or trial, torture, unpunished murder, the notorious Special Powers Act, and the denial to our people of their elementary right to freedom.

Finally, it was explained that the solution of this problem rests with Britain. The British Government fabricated the statelet in the North in the first place, divided this nation, and to this day denies us independ-

(Signed)

J. McGarrity, Secty.

# BODENSTOWN: 15,000 PARADE



Part of the long parade on its way to Bodenstown on June 21.



A section of the large gathering which heard the oration at Tone's grave.

THOUSANDS marched to Wolfe Tone's grave on Sunday, June 21, in what was believed to be one of the largest parades to Bodenstown in decades. The oration was delivered by Ruaidhri O Bradaigh, Sinn Fein T.D., Longford-Westmeath. The Chairman was Tomas Mac Giolla (Tipperary). The Chief Marshal was Cathal Goulding (Dublin) who was released some months ago from a British prison after serving an eight-years' sentence.

At least 15,000 attended the great rally to Tone's grave. A message from the prisoners in Belfast Jail was read by the Chairman.

The colour party was provided by Dublin. Contingents marched from all four provinces. Ulster representation was particularly strong. Also represented were the Cumann na mBan, Na Fianna Eireann, Cumainn of Sinn Fein, the National Graves' Association, the National Commemoration Committee and other national organisations.

Wreaths were laid on Wolfe Tone's grave on behalf of all these organisations and Irish national groups from overseas. Special trains and buses brought crowds from every county in Ireland. Ceilithe were held in many centres that night under Republican auspices.

In the course of the oration, the speaker Ruaidhri O Bradaigh referred to the struggle going on today in British-Occupied Ireland for the full freedom of the Irish nation. He called on all those present to support that struggle, to put greater vigour still into their propagation among the Irish people of the ideals of Republicans and the tenets of the Resistance Movement.

"The Irish Republican Movement," he continued, "since it was founded by Tone, has striven in every generation to carry out his programme. The present generation, to their everlasting credit, has not been an exception"

Speakers pointed out that this generation's struggle for liberty could be and should be the culminating point in Ireland's long battle for independence—and survival. The words of Tone were brought home vividly to this great gathering:

"We must break the connection with England, the source of all our political evils."

(Full report of Ruaidhri O Bradaigh speech, Page 12.)

### Letters to the Editor

THE PARTY AND THE PERSON WITH

# Words of an Emigrant

I have come to live in Britain, I look on Ireland and the gross mismanagement of her affairs in an entirely different light than when I lived and worked there. What I see to-day gives me a feeling of greater frustration and anguish than ever before. Many like me feel the same. I know. I have met them. Some — the more intense and patriotic-carry deep feelings of guilt within them—the guilt of thinking they are unable to lift their proud and noble country from the depths of its present degradation.

I want to look at Ireland to-day with an unbiased mind. I am not an economist, a political expert or an extremist patriot. Let me-for the moment at least-call myself a liberal republican (for the first time in my life I have begun to understand what a glorious thing is complete republicanism).

There are many like me here in Britain. Young men in their midtwenties, not all married with the responsibility of family as I, but who are here because of Something -that dreadful and forboding Something-whether it be to earn a living which they are denied at home or to escape an all-powerful and overpowering ignorance.

We-I shall speak for them because I have talked with them all, from professional man to labourer-see our country to-day as the centre of a great racket controlled by many crooked politicians and gangsters - certainly not the people. These politicians, some of whom once showed patriotic fervour fighting their country's oppressors many years ago, have grown more corrupt with the passage of time. They know they are on to a good thing-and they are holding on to it.

There are two sets of these people. One has control over 26 of Ireland's counties, the other the remaining six. What remains of Ireland's population alone has the power to remove these desperate, power-crazed and money-hungry men. Once upon a time I believed that these men who run Ireland's affairs just lacked realism and fundamentalism in their administration; that the appalling waste of money on foppish, ego-boosting enterprises - while men went hungry and without work - was just a phase. But I have concluded that these men have been over-

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I have expressed the opinion that ten years of the present situation will see the utter ruin of Ireland as a nation. Perhaps it is a drastic opinion. Some have agreed with me. And some always see life in a slag heap. In ten years there will be few people left in Ireland-but that few will be prosperous. You may be sure of it. With the steady infiltration of privateers and foreigners-with-cash the rich lands will once again become vast ranches-in many cases controlled from abroad, though now without a "peasantry" to do the dirty work because there won't be any people there to become peasants, and anyway machinery will take care of all that-certain foreign-owned industries in strategic parts will be prosperous and control of the country's administration, which will then be a simple matter, will finally revert completely to Whitehall.

Ten years will see the northwest, west and south of the country beautiful but barren places. There will be fewer people there than in the Scottish high-

lands and islands. Oh but what a godsend for the people from the tourist bureaux! What money to be made!

If the good Lord spares me I hope I shall never see this.

Let me tell you a story about a chap I met one hot summer's day last year. He was stripped to the waist and was tearing up the East India Dock Road in London with a pneumatic drill. A Wexford man, he was being paid by the square foot and making more money in a week than I would hope to in a month. He was bitter when he said to me: "It would do them all good to work out of their own country for a while. It'd sure put some spirit into them and they'd know how to go about putting Ireland on her feet." I knew what he meant and only too clearly who "them" represented.

Apart from the governmental privateers, "them" also includes the remains of our great intelligentsia, the "thinking" men who do not want to think about their own country but are very concerned about Tibet, about Berlin,

#### True Reason

A Chara,-Irish newspapers have been full of statistics about the depopulation of West Cork and other rural areas. None ever state the true reason.

Foreign fish pirates sweep the Cork coast, undisturbed by the bureaucratic jailers of Dublin.

Mines will shortly be re-opened. which could have been working for the past 30/35 years but, of course, Irish authorities were too busy manhunting for the House of Hanover.

Imperialists in Belfast import flax from Soviet Russia for the linen mills while the West Cork flax industry, which with modern machine methods, could be economic, has been forced out of business by John Bull's lackeys. Corkmen in English slums can thank their past votes for the yeomen parties.

London.

D. O'C.

about moral re-armament, about the bomb and about Big Brother.

By "them" this man also meant our hurlers on the ditches at home -there are so many of them to-day in our great Irish public in whose hands is the cure for all this rottenness that gnaws at the soul of Ireland.

Oh that Pearse had died, say the romantics. But he is dead. Let us be realistic. There are always leaders. Let us seek them out.

Let the Irish people wake up. If they don't awake soon there will be nothing there when they open their eyes.

I am returning to Ireland soon, if it pleases the Lord. To leave it again would break my heart. I want to see my family grow up there and stay there. I can try to make that possible. Let us all try.

-J. J.

London.

#### From U.S.A.

Sir,-Because I was born and raised here in the United States, and also because I am not too well informed on matters on your side of the Atlantic, I probably have no right to send such a letter. Be that as it may, I feel compelled to offer these ideas for what they may be worth.

The twentieth century might well be described as the age of nationalism, for oppressed peoples all over the globe have and are rising up against their oppressors. The activities of the Welsh Plaid Cyrmu are beginning to trouble the British. Herein lies another opportunity for the Irish to make a small investment now and be repaid by the gratitude and help of the Welsh people later on: all that need be done is that some help be given to Plaid Cyrmu.

In addition to Wales, Cornwall and Scotland show signs from time to time that sometime in the future that nationalist groups will become active there also. The recent formation of the Society of Old Cornwall and the request to Britain to issue a commemorative stamp for Robert Burns can be taken as evidence.

Here is the same opportunity again on a broader basis. If someone in Ireland were to print a magazine, mostly in English, by necessity, even if only once or twice or three times a year which contained articles of interest to all peoples of Celtic descent (perhaps with some articles in Welsh, Irish and Scotch Gaelic, and maybe even a little Cornish) it could be the spark which would waken a much stronger national awareness among these people, and induce them to look to Ireland for leadership and support. This would be a very desirable situation, for not only could Ireland help them, but they could help Ireland.

I fully realise that there may be many reasons unknown to me why the whole idea is ridiculous, however, it sems to me that the idea of a union of all Celts working for the common good (end of British rule, co-operation towards economic betterment, etc.) has a much better chance of succeeding than individual unco-ordinated

Le meas mór. Jeremiah Desmond. Brooklyn, N.Y.

## 'DO NOT FORGET THE MEN IN BRITISH JAILS'

THIRTY-SEVEN years' rule by professional politicians had proved that they were not honestly concerned with the question of national unity and if the people did not cry out now then in another thirty-seven years the country would be completely over-run by foreign ranchers and industrialists, while the Irish people would be found in every country but their own.

This statement was made by Anthony Nolan of Limerick, in the course of the oration which he delivered at the annual commemoration ceremony held at Gortaglanna, in memory of Patrick Walsh, Jeremiah Lyons and Patrick Dalton, who were killed by Crown Forces in 1921.

Limerick Fianna Eireann Pipe Band led a parade from Knockanure village to the memorial at Gortaglanna, where a decade of the Rosary was recited by Mr. Seamus South, Limerick, and the Last Post sounded by Mr. Jack O'Linehan, Listowel.

Mr. Michael Quill, Listowel, presided at the ceremony, at which there was a large attendance.

#### THE ORATION

Delivering the oration, Mr. Nolan said it was not sufficient to come to Gortaglanna to pay a tribute to their martyred dead or to dwell on their deeds or their

#### Naming Streets

A Chara, - I read with mixed feelings an article in one of our National newspapers recently concerning the proposed changing of two street names in Waterford. The local council had proposals before it for the changing of 'Great George's Street, and 'Gladstone Street' to appropriate patriots' names. It seemed that the local west British stalwarts (shades of John Redmond) campaigned vigorously against the proposed changes and they now have to be shelved.

One of the spokesmen against the changes pointed out that "the new names might disrupt business there." He did not try to explain how. Perhaps he does not quite understand that when Ireland again fights for her freedom, business will be disrupted whether he likes it or not. Business (English) was disrupted, but not for long in 1916-22, for we now see all the old English businesses (established 1836 etc.) flourishing in the midst of unemployment emigration. in England the businessman realises that money was made to go round in the country where the profits are made, but when he is in Ireland he uses a different tape-measure. He shoves his profits over to England to buy good old debenture stock.

I sincerely trust the patriotic people in Waterford who moved the proposal will not be deterred by the clamour raised and will give a lead to the rest of our Irish towns, with their streets called after British civil servants and army officers to rise also and remove this disgrace from off the walls of our streets.

Is mise do chara i gCúis na Poblachta.

Micheal O Cearbhallain.

bravery. These men would never be forgotten, but the same could not be said of their ideals, the ideals for which they died. These men fought and died for a thirtytwo county Irish Republic.

The election of a Twenty-six County President or the abolition of P.R. would not help to end emigration or unemployment, no more than would the passing of resolutions to rid Irish soil of one-British soldier.

Having made the statement quoted at the outset, Mr. Nolar said they should not forget the 250men who are in jail and they should hasten the day when the Union Jack will fall and be replaced by the tri-colour over a Thirty-two County Republic.

"An beoc is rearr"

Michael Lynch THE SPA TRALEE

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# Longford-Westmeath Welcomes T.D.

### RUAIDHRI O BRADAIGH ADDRESSES MEETINGS

SCENES of great enthusiasm greeted Ruaidhri O Bradaigh, Sinn Fein T.D., Longford-Westmeath, when he returned to his constituency on Sunday evening, June 7, to make his first public appearance.

He had been in jail since January, 1957. His six-months sentence under the Offences Against the State Act was completed in Mountjoy Prison in July of that year when he was transferred to the Curragh Concentration Camp. The Camp was opened on July 7 following the arrest of the entire male membership of the Sinn Fein Ard Comhairle.

In September, 1958 with Daithi O'Connell of Cork City he escaped from the Curragh Concentration

Hundreds of people lined the pavement as Ruaidhri O Bradaigh—with a procession of over 40 cars all flying the Tricolour and with hooters blaring—entered his home town.

At the Courthouse hundreds more jammed the street to catch a glimpse of the man they had returned with more than 5,000 first preference votes in the 1957 General Election in the 26-Counties

He told them:

"On this my first public appearance amongst you since my election as your representative to an All-Ireland Parliament, I seize the opportunity to offer my sincere and heartfelt thanks to you all for the wonderful support you gave to Sinn Fein at the last election, for the continuation of that support ever since, for your generous contributions to the Prisoners' Dependents' Fund and for your steadfast and uncompromising stand in the face of the jailings and the Concentration Camps of the 26-Counties politicians of all parties.

When I appealed for support for the Republican Movement from my cell in Mountjoy jail, I said at the time that I did so with confidence. That faith in the National instincts of the people of Longford and Westmeath was not misplaced."

Continuing, Ruaidhrí
O Bradaigh said that he was
sorry that Daithi O Conaill
of Cork who escaped from
the Concentration Camp with him
could not unfortunately be
present to-night, but he wanted to
say on his behalf and on his own,
that no matter where they went
among the people, they met open
doors, outstretched hands and
shut mouths. "Our thanks are due

say on his behalf and on his own, that no matter where they went among the people, they met open doors, outstretched hands and shut mouths. "Our thanks are due very much to every single person who helped us," he said.

"I have honoured my one election pledge of working for the freedom of Ireland and the welfare of our people," he continued. I undertook to sit only in an All-Ireland and Republican Parliament and I do not believe that the battle for freedom of this country can be fought in Leinster House, Stormont or any other assembly set up here by English Act of Parliament, I believe this battle must be fought and won elsewhere."

#### NO APOLOGIES

"I would like to seize every opportunity, while it is still possible for me to do so, to thank you all. I would wish to go to every parish and to every church gate, and indeed to every single person who has helped in any way, but there is a distinct possibility that I may not be able to do so. I was sent to jail and from there to prison-camp because I believed in the principles of Irish Republicanism and because I upheld the Fenian faith. I have not changed and it is highly probable that I shall be sent back to jail

"No mandate was given to any political party in the 1957 election to open a concentration camp; yet this has been done and 200 men men were thrown into it. It was closed because of strong protests from the Irish people and because

the politicians dared not face them on any issue while it remained open. Signs are not lacking that when June 17 has passed, the jails will again be filled with Repubicans; arrests have already taken place in Border Counties but this fact has been hidden away because of the impending elections. Another round of coercion in the 26-Counties at the instigation of the British Government, may well be already planned and ready for implementation some time after the elections.

#### ALL-IRELAND PARLIAMENT

"The Republican Movement is striving to secure our national freedom in the North from British Occupation Forces and in the South from economic denomination through the British financial system. Given a majority at the polls, Sinn Fein will assemble an All-Ireland Republican Parliament. The Sinn Fein Government, like any worth-while government in any country, would then mobolise all the resources of the Irish nation and would use all honourable means at its disposal to achieve the freedom of Ireland. This will not be an easy task but then freedom is not a cheap thing to be handed to us on a plate; it is a treasured possession of any people and must be dearly bought, but when secured will be cherished all the more as a result.

"Sinn Fein and the Republican Movement have a record of consistency and adherence to principle. Your complete and whole-hearted support is required to attain final victory in this generation. Our freedom fighters and our people in the North, our 250 prisoners in Belfast jail, the two life sentenced Republicans in England, and Padraig Dolan in Portlaoise Prison all claim our assistance. We must not fail them. The men in Belfast jail are staging a protest campaign at present to draw world attention to their unjust imprisonment. Padraig Dolan is classed as a criminal by the 26-County Government; he is forced to wear convict garb, to do penal labour and was not allowed to associate with other political prisoners. His crime—he sought to render aid to the Resistance Movement in Occupied Ireland.

"The Curragh Concentration Camp may be closed for the present but the basic facts of Ireland's plight remain unchanged. Emigration and unemployment continue to take their toll. British troops hold six of our counties. There is need for a supreme effort to settle this question now and for all time. United as from 1917 to 1921 under the Sinn Fein banner we can go forward to freedom. Inspiration is given us by the sacrifices of our martyrs of this generation over the past 2½ years.

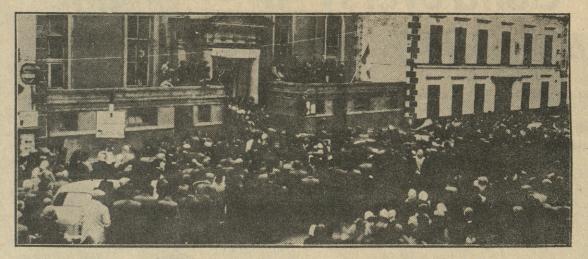
Let us never forget them. Nor shall we ever forget:

"The brave who've gone to linger on

Beneath the tyrant's heel—
We know they pray another day,
With clash of clanging steel.
Now from their cell, their voices
swell, And loudly call on you.
Then ask, men! the task men!
That yet remains to do"

#### ON PLATFORM

On the platform were: J. J. McGirl, T.D. (Sligo-Leitrim), Manus Canning (Derry), Eamon



Ruaidhri O Bradaigh, T.D., speaking at the Longford meeting.

Thomas (Dublin), Paddy Harney (Athlone), Jim Columb (Gowna), and the Chairman, Tomás O hUiginn of Longford.

Manus Canning, who spent eight years in Wormwood Scrubbs Prison, England, said that it came as no surprise to him to find himself in prison. A Nationalist in the Six-Counties is born in the shadow of the jail and reared at the point of the bayonet. In prison he is hardly less free than he is outside.

Although many people think the matter does not concern them directly, he was sorry to say it does. "Poverty, emigration and unemployment concern us all and what are these but the bitter fruits of Partition and partitionist misgovernment"? he went on.

#### THE SOLUTION

Continuing, Manus Canning said that in the Six-Counties their problem is simple and they have adopted a simple and straightforward solution. "We are held in subjection by force and we mean to liberate ourselves by force. We know from hard experience that arguments based on Truth and Justice are of no concern to the British Government. To them the only valid argument is a dead-Englishman," he added.

J. J. McGirl, T.D., said that Sinn Fein had been accused of being afraid of putting their policy to the people. In 1957 in the Twenty-six Counties four members of the Party were returned. They will not sit except in an All-Ireland Parliament.

Eamon Thomas (Dublin) said A man is far better off under Leinster House rule—more secure in his livelihood and surer of his personal freedom—if he gives his allegiance to Her Majesty the Queen of England, rather than to the Republic of Padraig Pearse. The Republican Movement seeks to restore that Republic in all 32 Counties of Ireland.

# S.W. Donegal Collection

meeting of the South-West Donegal Area Committee of An Cumann Cabhrach was held in the Cape Hotel, Killybegs, on May 23. An Cathaoirleach Proinnsias Ó Maoldhomhnaigh presided, and also present were the Joint Treasurers, Caitlin Ní Íogán and Proinnsias Ó Gallchobhair. Uinsian Mac Connail, Secretary of Ardara Sinn Fein Cumann was also present, together with representatives from all over the area.

The Organising Secretary, Seán 6 híghne, Glencolmkille gave a detailed report of the collections throughout the whole area. Stating that he was more than pleased with the response, generosity and the co-operation met.

#### S.F. Statement on Elections

# 'IRELAND STILL SUBJECT TO A FOREIGN POWER'

"Ireland unfree shall never be at peace."

While British troops occupy Irish soil and while Britain exercises an unjust influence in the internal affairs of the Irish people, Ireland remains, and will remain, unfree.

Partition institutions of Government in our country are an index to the simple truth that Ireland remains in subjection to, and under the domination of a foreign invader.

In order to establish the full freedom of Ireland and to enthrone the National Government of the Irish Republic, exercising jurisdiction over all Ireland, these partition institutions of misrule must be brought to an end. No amendment of, nor no amount of tinkering with their Constitutions, will suffice to free our land from the thrall of British domination.

These constitutions are the instruments, backed by the forces and resources of all three Governments ruling Ireland to-day, which maintain the British imposed partition of the Nation. Any claim that one of these instruments is the charter of Ireland's liberty and freedom must be denied. Any pretence that there is in existence to-day such a thing as a National Government for all Ireland must be exposed and rejected. In the Constitution of the Free State provision is made for a Presidential establishment which costs approximately £52,000 annually.

In it are also enshrined sentiments that appeal. But what a contrast exists between the sentiments expressed and implementation of the document. Coercion, imprisonments and concentration camps, enforced emigration, unemployment, failure to implement the constitutional guarantees "to protect the family in its constitution and authority" and blatant disregard of the pious declaration that all citizens have the right to an adequate means of livelihood and the pledge that state policy will be directed to finding the means of making reasonable provision for their domestic needs.

Expenditure of an annual sum of approximately £52,000, extracted from the already overburdened tax payers will not contribute towards securing the full freedom of Ireland. Amendment of the Free State Constitution in a single particular, designed to camouflage the real issues at stake, and to confuse the Irish

people, will contribute in the smallest degree towards securing the evacuation of Britain's occupying forces.

To vote in the election of a Free State President, to vote for amendment of the constitution of a partition institution of Government indicates a recognition of both as instruments of partition rule in Ireland. The only worthwhile amendment of instruments from which partition rule stems is to abolish them and to replace them with a National Government whose Charter will stem from a Constitution enacted by the free choice of the people of all Ireland.

—Issued by Sinn Fein Publicity Committee.

# Trinity News and 1916

THE following is from Trinity News (a Dublin University Weekly) issue of May 28:

"In 1914, Front Square became an armed camp, while two sentries patrolled Botany Bay; this was no reflection on the conduct of the students in Botany Bay, but had something to do with some Sinn Feiner chaps who were trying to get into College the hard way, While little men with guns banged away at our alma mater. set fire to Clery's and blew up shops in O'Connell Street academic life continued as usual, and examinations proceeded placidly, that is as far as examinations are ever placid."

The news-item underneath this thumb-nail sketch of the historic Rising of 1916 carries the head-line question: "The French Revolution — Did It Happen? Whatever about the French Revolution certainly the 1916 Rebellion didn't happen as far as the brash writer of this quoted piece is concerned.

However, 1916 did happen. And there is more to it than "little men with guns" banging away "at our beloved alma mater." The only thing that can destroy his beloved alma mater is little men with little minds and narrow outlooks who refuse to move with the times.

A debate on the matter in Trinity might do him—and those who think like him—a world of good.

#### **OBJECTIONS TO PARADE SLOGANS**

# Controversy in Australian Papers

DURING the 1959 St. Patrick's Day parade in Melbourne, Australia, objection was raised to the carrying of slogans calling on Britain to withdraw her forces of occupation from Ireland. Police forced the withdrawal of the slogans in question.

A controversy started in some Australian Catholic newspapers as to the meaning of St. Patrick's Day. Those who objected to the slogans said the parade was purely religious in character. Others said it should be national. The slogans were:

- (1) British Troops raid Irish homes,
- (2) British Troops must be put out of Ireland by armed Irishmen.
- (3) Hundreds of young Irishmen in British jalls—without charge or trial. Help their dependants.

12,000 marched in a parade and 25,000 watched.

One writer to a Catholic newspaper said: "This type of protest must never again be made in the name of Australian Catholics,"

Other correspondents were quick to point out that it was NOT made in the name of Australian Catholics—but of Irish exiles and their descendants who want to see justice done and who want Australians to know about the inustice of British Occupation.

Below we quote some typical letters on the subject:

Sir,—In your March 19 issue there is raised the question "what does St. Patrick's Day stand for?"

Some years ago this issue was raised at a meeting of the St. Patrick's Day Procession Committee, and Monsignor Fox (as he then was) as chairman upheld my contention that the procession is not, and must not be regarded as, solely a Catholic demonstration.

It should be regarded also as Irish, even if, in fact, it is almost entirely Catholic in outlook and practice. One has only to go back 40 years or so to realise how much in the past St. Patrick's Day was hailed as a demonstration of Irish nationality.

The procession is in general divided into two sections, one Catholic and the other Irish, this latter being at the end. The protest was not made in the name of Australian Catholics, but of Irishmen and descendants of Irishmen.

As regards the banners, details of which have been supplied to me, they state the simple truth—that portion of Ireland is occupied by British armed troops against the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the Irish people; that brutality and murder are being inflicted on the people.

Must truth be suppressed or watered down simply because it hurts someone? If Irishmen are to be prevented from displaying on St. Patrick's Day the deep Irish nationality that is in them, then let those who control St. Patrick's Day procession say it is no longer an Irish demonstration. I wonder what would happen then?

G. P. Fitzgerald.

Galbally (Ireland).

Sir,—On behalf of the League for an Undivided Ireland, I wish to correct the impression that the main purpose of our participating in the St. Patrick's Day March was to cause annoyance to those responsible for its organisation.

When one sees the banner of Robert Emmet and Patrick Pearse proudly unfurled in such a march for the whole world to see, it is difficult for native Irishmen like ourselves to comprehend the apparent paradox of laudation for those dead heroes, who proclaimed and championed Ireland, and condemnation for those of us to-day who are doing the same in this generation.

While part of Ulster is under British occupation of police and soldiery surely it is not wrong to draw attention to oppression as practised among the living Irish in the British Zone.

We deeply regret if any pain were caused the members of the Hierarchy and clergy, but, after all, in Irish affairs we all stand on the same footing, clergy and laity.

Many a patriot in ancient times, or even as late as Roger Casement, has had to bear the burden of calumny and criticism.

> Con Creedon, President.

Sir,—With reference to recent correspondent on the St. Patrick's Day procession in Melbourne, I would like to point out that little mention has been made of the theme of the banners carried by a section of the marchers.

No one has contradicted their message, namely, that part of Ireland is at this very time occupied by the armed troops of a foreign power — Britain. These troops are in Ireland contrary to the expressed wishes of 80 per cent. of the people of all Ireland.

By way of comparison, I would suggest that Australians would not long tolerate the intrusion of forces of any foreign power, to the exclusion of her own "Diggers"

The "Diggers" of Ireland to-day are hounded into the hills and dubbed outlaws; or if captured, imprisoned for long periods, often without trial or charge, when the authorities so decide.

Is it any wonder that their countrymen, wherever they may be, endeavour to bring before the people of the world the nature of the strife obtaining in the Emerald Isle in the name of Democracy? What more appropriate time than during St. Patrick's Day procession, for St. Patrick is the National Apostle of Ireland?

His burial place is in Britishoccupied territory, and I venture to suggest that on each succeeding feast day he is saddened at the continued division of the land of his adoption.

C. O Tuama.

North Melbourne.



British troops on patrol in the occupied part of Ireland during the opening weeks of the Resistance, Dec., 1956. Slogans carried in St. Patrick's Day parade in Melbourne, Australia, made reference to British military occupation and the jailing of young Irishmen and their raiding of Irish homes.

# The Time to Extract a Lesson from History

"The time for extracting a lesson from history is ever at hand for them who are wise." Among the many lessons to be learned from history, particularly Ireland's, is that each generation must be willing to accept the responsibilities which are theirs. They must have the wisdom and the courage to strike boldly for their goals, for if difficult problems are pushed aside the generations that follow

will surely pay the price.

The story of a nation's moral downturn has almost always been chronicled by its refusal to face reality. Time and again, the choice has been made of an apparent easy way out. People have been misled by an innovation of government, by a misguided leader or simply through accepting the belief that critical decisions can be put off to some distant date.

Down through the centuries we see each succeeding generation of Irishmen accept the legacy of responsibilities given them by their forefathers, "They went forth to battle, but they always fell," said Yeats, but their's was the duty to strike for Ireland's cause. To accept this duty was but right: to renege was wrong.

This century has seen the doctrine of Republicanism written in the blood of the 1916 martyrs. More blood was to flow. And on this sea of blood Ireland sailed to within sight of liberty. Yet when the goal was within grasp, the Republic was compromised. Under the threats of Lloyd George, Collins and Griffith took what appeared then to be the easy way out. However earnestly they may have thought that the Treaty gave them the "freedom to achieve freedom," once they veered from

This article was written by a young American EMMET O'CON-NELL, who is interested in the freedom struggle now going on in the land of his forefathers.

the true Republic, they passed on to a future generation the task of defending it. No man has the right to vote, either directly or indirectly, a nother person or another generation into slavery.

Likewise, when de Valera recognised the Free State, he repeated the error of the earlier compromisers. Valiant men to-day, in the land of O'Neill and O'Donnell, the voice of young Ireland once more proclaims to the world her determination to be free. Irish Republicans have chosen to set sail, with or against the wind, rather than rot slowly at anchor.

Every nation has its character determined by the way its people react to critical events. They may rise to greatness—or sink in disgrace. If in the end the Irish want security and a comfortable life more than they want freedom, they will lose it all, security and freedom. When Ireland wants not to aid, but be aided, when the freedom it wants most is the freedom from responsibilities, then Ireland will never be free.

#### DEATH

We regret to announce the death of Mr. Thomas Bateson, Magherafelt, Co. Derry. The family wishes to thank all those who sent Mass cards and sympathised with them on their sad bereavement.

# British G.O.C. Visits Camp

Lt.-General Sir Douglas Packard, G.O.C. British forces in British-Occupied Ireland, visited Bally-kinlar Camp towards the end of May accompanied by Major-General F.H. Davidson, Colonel-Commandant of the Intelligence Corps in the United Kingdom. The two generals saw an exercise in the collection and co-ordination of battle intelligence. The intelligence units were also visited by Brigadier J. M. L. Gavin, Inspector of Intelligence.

### MR. LEMASS IN ERROR

Referring to the withdrawal of Mr. de Valera from political life Mr. Sean Lemass said, referring to the Fianna Fail party: "This great nation-wide organisation of ours will continue to serve the national interest."

He also made the point that, "if Ireland is to achieve the full progress which is essential to the preservation of its freedom, Government policy must always be in accord with majority opinion."

- Fianna Fail is a 26-County political party. It is not nationwide.
- How can one preserve freedom when one hasn't got it to preserve?

#### ONE POLICEMAN FOR 25 PEOPLE

There is an armed full-time policeman for every 25 adults in British-Occupied Ireland.

Population of the area is 1,398,500. There are 13,770 B-Specials and about 4,000 R.U.C.

The spectacle of semi-militarised police is one of the first sights that greets the tourist to British-Occupied Ireland.

#### CEILI MOR

Tionóladh Céilí Mór faoi choimirce Gluaiseacht na Poblachta i Halla na Cathrach, Caiseal Mumhan ar an 26ú lá d'Aibreán agus do bhí isteach is amach le 400 daoine i láthair. An Bhuíon Cheoil Western Star ó Conndae Luimní a bhí ag seint ann agus bhí Tomás Ó Suilleabháin agus Máirtín Ó hAiceid mar fir a' tí.

Ag deire an Cheilí thug Micheál Seósamh Ó Caoimh, as Conndae an Chláir, sár-chaint ar aidhmeanna Gluaiseacht na Poblachta.

# 250 IRISH REPUBLICANS IN BRITISH JAILS

-SUPPORT AN

### A special correspondent discusses Belfast Jail:

### He calls it 'The Hola in our midst.' He asks-

# WHERE ARE THE GOOD **IRISHMEN?**

"WHERE are the good Britons?" is the cri de coeur of a writer in the British periodical "New Statesman" (May 30), in an article in which attention is drawn to the fact that Britain and France, so self-righteous in their condemnations, a few years ago, of German concentration camps, themselves run similar camps now in Algeria and Kenya.

"The existence of British concentration camps in Kenya has been public knowledge for some years," says the article, adding: "The importance of Hola (the camp) is that it establishes publicly, and within the framework of a judicial verdict, the fact that prisoners are beaten to death in British concentration camps."

The article goes on:

"But what action is to be taken? The relatives of the murdered men will receive £200 apiece. Sullivan and Coutts (the camp commanders) are to be disciplined. None of the warders is to be tried. Neither Cowan nor Campbell (Prison Superintendent and Assistant Commissioner of Prisons in Kenya) has been dismissed. Nor has Baring, the Governor. Lennox-Boyd has not taken the honourable course, and resigned; nor has he, or Amery, issued any apology whatsoever. The commission of inquiry has been instructed to confine itself exclusively to the future. THEY ARE ALL GOING TO GET AWAY WITH IT."

I use the above quotations as an introduction — and as an illustration. The article from which they are taken quotes at the outset the words of Lord Jowitt, the British representative, in his introduction to the record of the trial of Germans accused of atrocities in Belsen camp during the 1939-45 war. Lord Jowitt concluded:

"I myself find it quite im-impossible to believe that these events were not widely known throughout the German Reich; and it is to the eternal disgrace of the German people that they should have been, as they must have been, tolerated."

#### Toleration

Yet, ten years later, in a time of peace, with no censorship, or threat to the survival of the British Commonwealth, a well-informed British public not only knows of the existence of Hola concentration camp in Kenya and all that occurred there, but also tolerates

From this let us in Ireland draw a precept. For, here in Ireland, albeit in that part occupied by Britain, we too have a Hola in our midst. In Belfast Jail about 250 Irishmen are held, the majority without ever having been charged, tried or found guilty of any offence. Mere suspicion that they were "about to act" in a certain manner, as the internment order puts it. has been sufficient grounds for the Barings, the Cowans and Campbells of the Six Counties to fling them into jail.

In the dark hours of the night, from their homes and families, these men have been taken away by the armed police of this Britishcontrolled statelet. In many cases not even the policeman's knock,

from the fear of which Mr. Churchill was at one time going to deliver the world (including, presumably, the Six Counties!), has warned the men that their freedom was about to end. Doors have been broken down by raiding police, furniture smashed and personal belongings rifled by searching R.U.C. parties.

On foot of an internment order which tells the men that they are being held on suspicion "of being about to act" in a manner dangerous to the Government of the Six Counties, they are taken to Belfast Jail, Ireland's Hola, and there held without charge or trial. One man now in that prison camp has spent his 17th Christmas in jail. Others have been six or five years incarcerated. Many have served terms of imprisonment for political offences, only to be interned on the expiration of their sentences.

#### Innocent

The fact that many of the men may be, indeed are, innocent does not worry the upholders of "law" and "justice." Nor has the utter absurdity of suspecting that a man held in jail may be "about to act" in a dangerous manner apparently struck the authorities, who conto intern northern tinue Nationalists on the ending of their prison sentences.

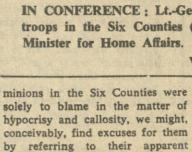
logic of interning an UNFREE man because of a suspicion that he might commit certain acts IF HE WERE FREE belongs to the same school of obtuse thinking from which the Government of the Six Counties —and that of Britain—derives much of its philosophy.

It is built on the same hypothetical basis which permits the British to perceive the mote in their neighbour's eye while overlooking the beam in their own — to condemn German concentration camps, to tolerate Kenyan concentration camps, but to ignore such camps within the Pale of their puppet statelet of the Six Counties.

Justice is a relative matter, as far as the British are concerned, and the same rules of humanity and fair play, so beloved of the British jurists when presiding in a German or even in a Kenyan court, are far too good for mere Irishmen.

Where are the good Britons indeed? Well may the question be re-echoed and well might Lord Jowitt's words be altered to read: "We find it quite impossible to believe that these events are not widely known throughout the British Commonwealth; and it is to the eternal disgrace of the British people that they should be, as they

must be, tolerated." Yet, if the British and their



Unfortunately an Irish Government, claiming to represent the people of the 26-Counties, has been and continues to be guilty of similar hypocrisy and callosity in regard to the sufferings of Irishmen jailed in Belfast - Irishmen whose only "crime" is that they love Ireland and wish to see her free and united.

hereditary hatred and intolerance

Not once has a Government of the 26-Counties protested, as it should have done in all decency and sincerity, against the interning and jailing of Irishmen in that part of Ireland occupied by Britain. Not once has an official voice been raised against the raids on private citizens' homes, the police brutalities, the beatings and torture of helpless prisoners-against the whole pattern of the police state which exists in the north-east corner of this country. Nothing but a silence — a damning silence from the so-called leaders of the

If Britain sins in tolerating the happenings in the Six Counties, or at the most in condoning them, then the administration in Leinster House is guilty of a greater sin in being basely indifferent to the sufferings of fellow-Irishmen in Britain's police statelet on Irish territory.

"Where are the good Britons?"

#### Where?

No, but where are the good Irishmen? Where are they who fought for a Republic guaranteeing civil liberty to all its citizens, a Republic resolved to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts? Where are they who promised, again and again, to free Ireland and reunite the Irish people? They are silent now, and their silence damns them.

They heed not the cry of their northern brothers in captivity. They cover their ears lest they hear the thud of rifle butts on doors, the crash of broken furniture, the roar of police vans, the dismal clang of jail gates.

But others hear and heed the cry for help that comes echoing

(Cont. in next col.)



IN CONFERENCE: Lt.-General Sir Douglas Packard, General Officer commanding British troops in the Six Counties (L.) in conference with Colonel W. W. B. Topping, the area's Minister for Home Affairs. Topping is responsible for the incarceration of the 160 men held without charge or trial in Belfast jail.

### **Emigration**

A Chara,-You spotlighted the terrible calamity of emigration in last month's issus of the United Irishman in a remarkable and significant manner.

Your photographs were vivid. truthful and realistic.

And your heading "A Nation Old is Fading from History's Page -70,000 Emigrants a Year" could come under no other definition unless topical unfortunate informa-

It is an extraordinary fact that Ireland contains the richest and most fertile soil of any country in Europe, and beyond a shadow of doubt it is the only country in Europe where no serious attempt has ever been made to develop the mineral resources and fisheries that would provide employment for innumerable thousands of Irish citizens who now have no other alternative unless to emigrate.

In the smaller towns, villages and all rural areas we have the lowest proportionate rate of population of any country in Europe, and yet our emigration tate is the highest of any country in the world.

And what a most awful calamity when the ironic facts are taken into consideration that Ireland is amongst the very few really genuine practising Christian countries in the world at the present time. Could' any sane person who is fully conversant with all the facts make any comment otherwise unless to remark that there is something radically wrong with the whole situation and that it is a serious disgraceful national scandal.

-JOHN KIERNAN. Drumakill. Castleblaney.

#### Cumann na mBan Craobh Chill Dara

AS this edition of the United Irishman goes to press, Republicans all over the country will be preparing for their annual pilgrimage to one of Ireland's most hallowed spots. People from every walk of life will join together, with one purpose in mind, to pay tribute to the memory of the 'Father of Irish Republicanism' in the place where he lies buried in the little curchyard at Bodenstown, Co. Kildare. Amongst that great gathering will be seen the women of Cumann na mBan, distinctive in their green Berettes and Ties proudly taking their place with their fellow-Republicans and gladly paying their tribute to Theobald Wolfe Tone.

For some of us, it will be our first visit, as Cumann na mBan grows in numbers year by year. For others, it will be but one of many similar visits paid, in spite of adversities, down through the years. For those who are young what pride it will bring to know that they are carrying on this wonderful tradition!

Bodenstown is for us as it were a renewal of vows. Vows of love for our country and a renewal of our determination to do all in our power, whatever the cost, to carry on the fight until the day dawns when the Tricolour will fly in full freedom over Ireland's four green

Those desirous of becoming members of Cumann na mBan should apply to:

> An Runai, Cumann na mBan, c/o United Irishman, 1 Gardiner's Row, Dublin.

(Cont. from preceding col.)

from the hills of the north-and others will set out to assist. Before they do, there remains a question to be answered, a question rephrased from the words used in connection with Kenya's Hola-ARE THEY ALL GOING TO GET AWAY WITH IT?

Are the Six County authorities, the perpetrators of the injustices. going to get away with it? Is Britain, who condones and tolerates the injustices, going to get away with it? And is the Government of the 26-Counties, which is so callously indifferent to the fate of Irishmen in the Six Counties, going to get away with it? The Irish people themselves, united and with one voice, can give the answer to the questions. LET IT NOW BE GIVEN.

### An t-Eireannach Aontuighthe

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Is í An Phoblacht ár gcuspóir

### CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE

A REGULAR black-out on news of a Republican nature seems to be the latest tactic in the 26-County area. It is hardly a new tactic. But somewhere an unknown censor must sit who decides what news the public is fit to read on national affairs.

This has been commented on before. A writer in a recent issue of the Fine Gael periodical "National Observer" noted it as far as northern affairs are concerned. The northern editions of the Dublin newspapers may refer to incidents and happenings in British-Occupied Ireland but will omit these from the southern

Before the 26-County Presidential election on June 17, a number of arrests took place in Border Counties. The men were held 48 hours and then released. The only press-mention was a slanted story dealing with the finding of a dug-out in the Omeath area. The "Irish Independent" press report said two men were found in the dug-out and arrested. The truth was that two men in the same general area were arrested. They were held for 48 hours. Three men were also arrested in the Donegal area and held for 48 hours. Others were held for questioning in Monaghan and Dundalk.

The case of Patick Dolan, who has been in jail for 14 months and was on hunger-strike in Portlaoise Prison from May 4 to June 4, is particularly to the point. This man, an officer in the 26-County Defence Forces at the time of his arrest, appears to have been singled out for special punishment. A statement giving the facts of his hunger-strike, and his treatment as a criminal, was issued by the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau. The "Irish Times" carried a few lines of the release. The Belfast "Irish News" also dealt with it. But the snippet carried by the "Irish Times" merely mentioned that he had not been allowed to take his final law examinations—the least important part of the release.

The Dolan affair raises many questions. Legal experts may argue whether a man tried by a courtmartial, while still a ranking officer of the army which sentenced him, can then be given criminal status and transferred to a penal servitude institution. Our point however is that this man, who did no more than try as best he knew how, to aid men fighting for freedom in British-Occupied Ireland should be denied ALL human rights. Should indeed have not justice but vengeance meted out to him. And the Irish newspapers remain silent.

At the last general election in the 26-County area, Sinn Fein polled 65,000 votes for 19 constituencies. Accordingly what Sinn Fein has to say on any issue affecting the people as a whole surely is news-worthy. In any normal democracy it would be. Yet prior to the recent 26-County Presidential election, Sinn Fein issued a statement which dealt with the issues raised by that election. To our knowledge the only newspaper that noted this statement at all was the "Kerryman" which published the final paragraph.

The Irish Republican Publicity Bureau covered the Belfast Prison protest by way of a statement giving the facts on the incarceration of these men and why they were now protesting. No newspaper carried the statement. Letters sent to newspapers on the subject by individuals were not published. Are the powers that be in the 26-Counties ashamed of what is happening in British-Occupied Ireland and their total inactivity in the face of British aggression? Or are they afraid the people will get to know the facts?

One way or the other the people should demand the facts and put an end NOW to the news black-out.

### 160 Hostages

ONE of Her Majesty's Ministers made an open mockery of Her Majesty's "justice" in British-Occupied Ireland the other day.

The Minister in question was Col. Topping. He was speaking in Stormont about the 160 prisoners interned in Belfast Jail who are protesting against their continued detention. He was reported by one newspaper as saving "that they would not be released until he is satisfied that all danger of attack is over."

Here was an open admission that these men are being held as hostages by the Crown authorities!

### NOTES AND COMMENTS

# On Civil Liberty

T a meeting of the Irish Association of Civil Liberties in Dublin, the secretary, Mr. E. M. Deale, reported that a referendum was held among the members on the question of the Curragh internees. Of the 77 members who took part, 43 instructed the Council not to take any action. It was not stated how the other 34 voted, but Mr. Deale did add that there was heated discussion on the matter in the Council and that most of the 77 considered that there had been an infringement of civil liberty.

It was reported also that the outgoing President, Dr. Roger McHugh, did not seek reelection because of the action taken by the Council, or rather because of their not taking any action.

Dr. McHugh pinpointed the paradox of the whole situation when he said that, while the majority who took part in the referendum were agreed that internment was a breach of civil liberty, they were not willing to do anything about it by way of a public protest.

S self-appointed guardians of our civil liberties, the Association of Civil Liberty could at least have lodged a protest. It would have been consistent with the views of the majority; it would certainly have reflected in a better light on the Association than some of the remarks passed by the new President, Mr. C. Gore-

While the majority of the

#### MICHAEL O'FARRELL

members had decided that no action should be taken one way or the other, Mr. Gore-Grimes took uncivil liberties in attacking the motives and ideals of the internees and "misguided people who were creating trouble across the border." This was none of Mr. Gore-Grimes' business at all. His only function was to report a breach of civil liberty. As he himself admitted, the majority of the Council, who had voted in favour of making a protest did so because they believed that no person should be imprisoned without knowing what his offence was, or without a definite sentence by a court.

Why then did Mr. Gore-Grimes take it on himself to refer to the "actions of misguided people who were creating trouble across the border"? Surely it was not his business to accuse or to apportion blame, but merely to decide whether or not there was a breach of civil liberty in the interning of men in the Curragh Concentration Camp.

The dividing line between liberty and licence is a fine one. Mr. Gore-Grimes should be the first to appreciate that, for he has not yet the licence to set himself up as arbiter of the motives or action of others, however anxious he may be to

+ THE United Nations General Assembly unanimously tion inviting King Olaf of Norway to appoint an internationally prominent person to mediate in the Ethopian-Italian Somaliland frontier dispute. The Assembly also elected Ireland, Guatemala, and the Phillipines to fill vacancies on the U.N. Committee on South-West Africa.

Isn't it reassuring to think of all the grand experience of settling frontier disputes which our statesmen will have by the time they get around to our own border question!

+

GENERAL MacEOIN, speaking before the election, said that if he were elected to the high office of President, he would carry out his duties in accordance with the terms of the Constitution and guard the rights and liberties common to all the people of Ireland without distinction of creed, class or politics.

All the people of Ireland, General? Are you sure you meant what you said, or did you just mean all the people of the politicians' "Ireland"which is apparently comprised of only 26 counties?

.

FIANNA FAIL election notice near Amiens St. station bore the following exhortation prior to the election on June 17: "Vote for De Valera, champion of truth, justice and liberty, here and everywhere."

No comment.

\*

# The Monument at Ballyseedy

in its own way as the tragedy it commemorates.

It has been dreamed and thought about by men - one or two of whom actually heard from a dug-out the explosion which killed off eight Republican prisoners on a night in March, 1923. All down the years since the thought of that ordeal, that last helpless sacrifice . . that wellplotted crime . . . has hung like a dark cloud in the memory of the few near-participants, while for the rest who could read only of that time it underlined the grim despatch with which the 'Government' set out to win what history euphemistically calls the Civil War.

#### MEMORIES FADE **BOOKS GO UNREAD**

But memories fade, and books sometimes go unread. Should we therefore leave to chance, and the short life of the temporary little cross that still commemorates it. the entire story of Ballyseedy? Or should it remain forever commemorated in bronze and stone, a pointing finger as it were, to the enormous and unaccomplished work of the present?

That is the essence of Ballyseedy. When you go there on August 30, you will see a monument that not alone adequately and completely commemorates the

THE story of the monument at scattered dead of the Kerry No. 1 Ballyseedy is as great an epic Brigade of the I.R.A., but manages at the same time to shout almost of their still uncompleted task.

> And this living sermon is preached by a high platformed group of massive bronze figuresthe most splendid group that you are ever likely to see upon any monument—in a setting at once poignant, heroic and defiant. The force of what Ballyseedy has to say is so strong and plain that no inscription or speech will ever say it stronger, or speak it plainer.

#### IN PROGRESS **EIGHT YEARS**

In one way or another work upon this monument has been going on for upwards of eight years. The committee were fortunate in securing a talented and brilliant Breton who created the savagely grand figures in bronze that sit within the stone walled half circle of the design. It seems fitting that here is something made by a Breton, exiled from his homeland, bronze cast in Florence, the home of the Renaissance—and set within stout walls of Kerry red sandstone, to commemorate a time and a night that is still near though it is 36 years

Yann Renard-Goulet has formed an impressive four figure group of statuary more than twice life size. It consists of a symbolical soldier upon the left, dying. In the centre, holding her youngest son

is a mother, while striding away to the right is a fighting youth grimly intent upon wiping out the injustice and oppression that ended the life of the volunteer soldier lying behind him. As the entire group is symbolical, the sculptor has not made the mistake of attempting to recreate the realism of uniform or dress which ruins all feeling of monumentality and results in a display of tame and insipid realism. You need not, therefore. look for the outline of bandolier or epaulet. There is something more real and powerful in this group.

The figures are set roughly eye level in a ranging half circle of stone by the roadside. This stone wall serves as a frame to the group which is set in a wide gap in the centre framed against the Kerry skyline. The high wing wall-it stands over twelve feetencloses a semi circular concrete paltform reached by two high steps which act as a foreground to the grouping. On the higher of these two steps is placed a simple tablet inscription telling the story of the deed; while below that is a wide perspex scroll carrying the names-some 102-members of the Kerry No. 1 Brigade who died in the area or were killed outside. The list includes the last to be 'executed,' that of Charlie Kerins of Tralee, and the collection of names for this impressive roll of Fonour was almost as monumental a task as the work itself.

Full paticulars of arrangements will appear in the August issue.

#### What happened in Cuba has a Lesson

for the People of Ireland

# CASTRO FOUGHT TERROR

UNTIL January 1 of this year, the island of Cuba was ruled dictatorially by President Batista. His regime was one of terror and corruption; the ordinary civil liberties, such as the right to a trial if arrested, had been suspended, and Batista's armed police rode supreme over the common people.

Until January 1—for on that day, Batista fled from Cuba and his imperium toppled before the will of the people in revolt. The story of Cuba's liberation from tyranny makes fascinating reading and holds more than one lesson for the Irish people.

One man, and one man alone, can be said to have freed Cuba—Dr. Fidel Castro. Although yet a young man—he is 32—Castro has become a legend for his daring and determination in his own lifetime. Starting with nothing more than a hatred of tyranny and a love of his country, he led the revolt which ultimately ended in triumph — and freedom for his native land.

#### Leadership

reared on a sugar plantation in Oriente Province in the eastern end of Cuba. He was educated at first by the local Jesuits, later in Havana, and graduated from the university there in 1950 with doctorates in law and social science. Even at that early stage he was noted for his powers of leadership, oratory and physical endurance. He was over six feet in height and weighed over 14 stone, of which hardly an ounce was fat.

Having won a certain popularity as a lawyer in fighting cases for victimised tenants, he was selected as a candidate for parliament by Batista's opposition, the Orthodox Party, in 1952.

But the election was never held. Batista seized complete control and became dictator of Cuba. Castro returned to his own province and gathered a small company of idealists about him to plan revolt.

On July 26, 1953, he led about 120 rebels in an assault on Batista's stronghold in Santiago city but the attack failed. Castro, his brother and many of his companions were captured. A Batista officer was ordered to shoot Fidel who told him: "You can kill me but you can't kill the idea which brought me here." The officer re-

### 100 Emigrants in One Day

Here is a typical news-item for the summer months:

The Cunard liner Britannic embarked 152 passengers of whom over 100 were emigrants, mostly young women from the west and midlands, at Cobh yesterday for New York.

The Greek liner, New York, following a series of cruises to North African ports in the last seven months, re-enters the transatlantic service to-morrow when she will embark 24 passengers, all emigrants, to New York.

Our air services aid potential emigrants in the matter of fares. There is no aid for those who wish to return.



FIDEL CASTRO

fused to carry out his orders and, on the intervention of the Archbishop of Santiago, the rebels were spared and imprisoned.

#### An Amnesty

N 1955, Batista, confident of his own power, declared an amnesty and Fidel and his brother Raul were freed. They immediately formed a new revolutionary group, the "26th of July Movement," which was pledged to the overthrow of the Batista regime. Its slogan was "Liberty or death."

Castro went to America to collect funds, then travelled to Mexico to train a group of Cuban exiles in guerrilla tactics. Their object this time was an amphibian landing in Cuba, the linking up with an underground group in Santiago and the starting of an island-wide revolt.

Early in December, 1956 — a significant date in Irish history too—Castro and 80 men landed in Cuba, only to lose 50 of his men by death at the hands of the Batista forces and 17 by capture within a few days. Only 12 men, including Castro himself, escaped to the jungle-clad hills, there to plan the campaign that was to free Cuba.

The 12 men formed the nucleus of a resistance movement which was sustained by the country people. In twos and threes, young Cubans, students, teachers, clerks, farmers, left their occupation to join Castro.

#### First Attacks

FARLY in 1957, the guerrillas' first attacks were made on public transport, water, light and communications systems. The hopes of Cubans rose. But Batista and his police struck back. In one town, 20 suspected rebels were killed within 48 hours. In another town, two accused men were beheaded, while in Santiago a 15-year-old was tortured for 24 hours and killed by having nails driven into his forehead.

Castro, however, continued his campaign, and gradually his plan went into effect. Arms depots were raided for arms, while the Civil Resistance movement grew from a fund-collecting and propaganda group into a great, nation-wide reserve, making munitions, storing arms, and supplying food and shelter to the guerrillas in the field

In November, 1957, Castro and his men raided a big city for the first time. They held the place,

Manzanillo, for several hours and captured all the arms of the garrison. Following this, Castro forces split into several organised columns and swept down from the hills towards bigger objectives. Batista launched 10,000 men against the rebels but by now almost the entire Cuban population was backing Castro, who ambushed group after group of the dictator's soldiers, took their arms and let them go. Finally Batista ordered his army back into their fortresses.

Now Castro put his final plan into operation. He cut every railway, blocked every road, stopped all' traffic. Normal life ended. Power failed. Refineries and factories ceased operating. But Batista's men still held the military advantage, with their tanks and planes against the rifles and machine guns of the guerrillas.

In action after action Castro's men, however, outshot the Government troops, and drove them back. Finally came the day when Castro took over the capital city of Havana—there to be welcomed as liberator by the people. On January 1, 1959, Batista fled.

#### Mighty Tasks

TO-DAY Castro faces mighty tasks. He has initiated a scheme for land reform and division, his government is wiping out corruption, and he is striving to improve the lot of his poorer countrymen. There is a saying that gunmen make poor politicians. The future may provide proof or otherwise of that in Cuba. Castro has performed what he set out to do—to free Cuba from tyranny and hand back to his fellow-countrymen the means of governing themselves.

His life and work, however, hold several lessons for Irish people. He has shown that no tyranny is powerful enough to withstand the massed strength and will of the people for freedom. He has shown what a few determined men can do when moved by a common ideal and a will to win. And he has shown, in his victorious fight against tremendous odds, that the battle does not go to him who has the most tanks or planes or men, but to him who carries the banner of freedom and of right.

If we in this country are to learn one final lesson from Fidel Castro's war of liberation, it is that victory comes only after years of struggle and sacrifice and bloodshed. The Cubans achieved victory; so can we.

NORMAN

# SANTRY

As a matter of public record—similar incidents in the past have been used by unscrupulous politicians to justify anti-Republican coercive policies—we wish to point out that the Irish Republican Movement, had, of course, no responsibility for explosions which occurred at Santry Stadium, on June 14. No member of the Movement was involved in this affair.

(Signed)
J. McGarrity, Secty.

### Book Reviews



## Tomas Mac Curtain Story

Tomás Mac Curtain by Florence O'Donoghue (The Kerryman Ltd., Tralee, Price 15 shillings).

placed us all in his debt in giving us this very able account (Tomás Mac Curtain, published by The Kerryman, price 15/-) of the life of one of Ireland's great men, and with it the history of the Resistance Movement in Cork from 1900 to the time of the murder of the Lord Mayor. Of Mac Curtain himself it may be said in truth that the hour of his death was the hour of his greatest triumph.

His last moments were but the crowning point in a life animated by two motives: his love for God and his love for Ireland. His death equally exemplifies each motive. He was a true disciple of Pearse and his companions, who only a few years before, went to meet their God in high exaltation because they were giving their lives for Ireland.

In the murder of Tomas, no less than in the murder of Pearse, the British once again showed their stupidity and their lack of understanding of the Irish people. How true were the words of that other Cork martyr, Terence MacSwiney, as he stood over the grave of his murdered friend: "Although the great work which was being done by the Lord Mayor of Cork had been interrupted by his murder, the Volunteer Movement will carry on as heretofore, and another will take our dead leader's place. No matter how many lose their lives in the course of their duty, as did the Lord Mayor, another will always be found to take the lead."-

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This book is so full of lessons for us at the present day, that it is difficult to know what to quote and what not. There is a striking parallel between our age and the age in which Tomás Mac Curtain began, his work in the Republican Movement. The author says: "They were no more than a small section of the population unknown outside their own limited circles, young, untried in matters of high national policy, inexperienced in leadership. They faced the problem of gaining adherents to their own national faith at a time and in a community where the great majority has lost vision, and found adequate expression for a sickly national sentiment in adherence to one or other of the two political parties. Their generation had almost lost the tradition of arms.'

"The public mind had for so long become accustomed to the idea that home rule and freedom were synonymous, and certain 'o be achieved by political action, that any other definition of national independence seemed fantastic and chimerical, any other means of attaining it rash, disastrous and disloyal to the Irish leader."

If we change the words Home Rule in the paragraph just quoted and put in their place the words "Twenty-six County State" what an exact parallel we have between now and then. So far and no farther have we progressed in 40 years; we are back where we started. Unless the sacrifice of men like Patrick McManus and Sean Sabhat, who surely are in the tradition of Mac Curtain and McSwiney, does something to

awaken the people, not only will the object of gaining a 32-County Republic be not achieved, but our land will be lost, both north and south. Emigration will have done in the south what the British Imperial Forces are doing in the north.

Those young men who are to-day trying to help their comrades in the North will be glad to know that they are no better treated than Mac Curtain and his companions whom the three Cork newspapers united to denounce as "these irresponsible young men." It has now been softened to "these misguided young men."

In every chapter we come across things like this which make us wonder sometimes whether the author is talking of 1959 or 1914. "It was a live organism with a spirit and temper to match the task it's best minds visualised." This is the author's description of the Volunteers in 1915.

But as well as these and many more lessons to be found in this book, there is the lesson that no matter how black things look, there is no place for despair. High courage and faith in ourselves and in God can turn the most hopeless-seeming situations into victory. The words of Pearse are still as true today as they were forty years ago: "There is no death, that is not followed by resurrection."

The book is cheap at fifteen shillings and should be in every home. It is very well printed and bound and very well up to the standard we expect from The Kerryman. They and the author are to be congratulated on a very fine piece of work.

SEÁN DE HÓRA.

# From the Earth to a Star

(Published by Seamus Burke at the Sackville Press, Dublin. 15/-). T is a pity that Seamus Burke did not give us more of his early experiences in this very interesting and readable account of what he himself terms his "incredible life." (From the Earth to a Star). He has the gift of telling a story naturally and well. and those qualities, aided by an excellent memory enable him to recapture for us the atmosphere of the last years of the nineteenth century, with fidelity. The Christmas customs of his are most interesting, especially the account of the Wren Boys, and the detailed narration of their rhymes. He is able to be pathetic without being sentimental in his picture of his childhood.

His life in the British army, too, he makes interesting, and we sympathise with him in his efforts to get away from it. His has been a most eventful life, from the open road to the British army, from the army and the horrors of the Dardanelles in the First World War, to the Irish Republican Army; back to the quiet then of the Dublin Mountains for a few vears; then to the Night Shelters of Dublin and street singing for a living: and lastly to end up on the stage as an Enterologist. Such has been the career of this remarkable man.

In the course of such a life as Seamus Burke unfolds for us it is (Continued on Page 10)

# 250 Men in Crumlin Rd. BRITAIN LOOKS FOR



There are 250 Irishmen in Belfast jail. 160 are held without charge or trial. Their crime: believing in the unity and independence of Ireland.

The interned men are now staging a protest against their continued detention.



A typical R.U.C. search party in action in British Occupied Ireland: Help end this state of affairs and bring freedom to our country.

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-- Issued by the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau-June, 1959.

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#### S.F. MEETING

At the annual meeting of the Cumann Tomas Aghas-Muiris MacGearailt (Lispole) the following officers were elected:—Chairman, Michael Cahill; vice-chairman, J. Courtney; secretary, Jack Evans; treasurers, John Cahill and John Devane. Committee—Mrs. Cahill, Patk. Begley, M. Ferriter, Thomas McMahon, Carmel Cahill and Hannah Devans.

#### SALES GO UP

A Chara,—I have much pleasure in informing you that we have increased the sales of "The United Irishman" from 20 dozen to 40 dozen per month since January last.

We feel quite confident that we will make the 50 dozen mark soon. Wishing you every success with "The United Irishman."

William O'Reilly.

Tullamore.

#### Aerioct

In aid of Republican Prisoners'
Dependants

HILL OF TARA Sunday, July 26

LOUGH BAWN Sunday, August 9.

# BRITAIN LOOKS FOR MORE CONCESSIONS FROM 26-CO GOVT.

TWO articles in the "Manchester Guardian" recently on Ireland's position in the free trade area are of particular political interest.

The 26-County Government has taken no decision yet because, as the "Manchester Gurdian" correspondent says, "it depends to some extent on what Britain is going to do." He points out that Britain dominates the pattern of Irish trade.

"In 1956 she took £87 millions of Ireland's total exports of £105 millions and contributed £102 millions of Ireland's total £178 millions worth of imports."

We must take "Ireland" in this context as relating to the 26-County area only. In return, the 26-County's trade with all other potential members of the Free Trade area totalled only £11 millions in exports and £29 millions in imports.

When Britain decided to form an Anglo-Scandinavian free trade area—and the 26-Counties was not one of the seven states involved—the "Manchester Guardian" pointed out that this area could find itself on the outside looking in at the two trade blocks. The British proposal was, of course, an attempt to wreck the Free Trade plan.

The remainder of this article is worth quoting ("Manchester Guardian," May 19):

"A plan is being mooted seriously in Dublin for a more formal recognition of these economic links (with Britain). Eighteen months ago, speaking at the British Association meeting in Dublin, Dr. J. N. Greene, president of the National Farmers' Association, put forward a scheme for a complete integration of British and Irish agriculture. This would involve the direct gearing of Irish farming to the British market, joint plans for production, and, presumably, the payment to the Irish farmer (in one form or another) of subsidies equivalent to those paid in Britain. Some such

plan is now under consideration at Government level. (italics ours).

"Naturally a good many questions remain to be answered. If Britain is to be involved in supporting Irish agriculture, what is she to get out of it? Will she be satisfied to have an annex to her own agricultural production, and assure the maintenance of a useful market. Will political concessions of some unspecified kind, be demanded as well? These questions are now receiving serious study from some members of the Government."

The reader may well ask: What type of political concession is the 26-County Government proposing to grant England? Obviously these articles raise more questions than they answer.

# Letter from A Scotsman

Sir,—Recently I happened to come across a copy of your newspaper.

I was very interested in it as very little of what is going on in Ireland is ever printed in the British press except of course the Republican "outrages."

I have no personal connection with Ireland and have never even visited it, but I am a member of the Scottish National Party and as a nationalist am interested in all similar movements.

Our policy and methods vary considerable from that of Sinn Fein but nevertheless I sympathise deeply with your struggle and would like to know more of the events as they happen and not have to rely on the minute and biased reports given by the British press.

-SCOTSMAN.

An cumann caörac coisce áta cliat, 94 sr. seáin uí treasais, P.O. BOX 135 DUBLIN

### SALE OF WORK

Do you know there are 250 Republican prisoners in Belfast and English jails.

DO YOU KNOW THE DEPENDENTS OF THE PRISONERS ARE MAINTAINED MAINLY BY AN CUMANN CABHRACH

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#### A LETTER THEY WOULDN'T PUBLISH

## CONCENTRATION CAMP TACTICS IN IRELAND

AN article in the 'Irish Times" (June 9) from that newspaper's Belfast correspondent mentioned the protest in Crumlin Road Prison, Belfast, of the 160 internees, against their continued detention. The article sought to justify the actions of the Stormont regime in interning the men.

The following letter was sent to the "Irish Times" by Tomas O Dubhghaill (Dublin) on the matter. The letter was not published.

To the Editor, Irish Times:

Dear Sir,-In your issue of today (June 9), your Special Correspondent from Belfast has some things to say about which I would request the opportunity to com-

Dealing with "the idea of a general amnesty for the internees" in Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast, he goes on to state: "it is an unfortunate fact that the majority of the men in Belfast prison are reluctant to express any disenchantment with the thinking which cost them their freedom."

So there we have it! These men are internees. They have not been charged or tried although many of them are in prison for 21 years now. They are suspected of thinking along certain lines and it is for this reason they are im-

How does this measure up to the Convention of Human Rights? How does it measure up to the alleged democracy we are supposed to have in Ireland? Can it be said to be any different from the concentration camp tactics of the Nazi Regime in Germany, of the Fascist Regime in Italy or of the Stalin Regime in Russia? Is it any different from the "brainwashing" that allied prisoners were said to undergo when they fell into the hands of the Communists in North Korea? Is it any different from the treatment that priests and nuns are submitted to on arrest in Communist China?

I will concede that there is a difference in degree, of the treatment meted out to the men in Belfast Jail and these others I have mentioned. But it is only a matter of degree. The fundamental principle is the same and once you concede the "right" to the Stormont Government to imprison men without charge or trial, to imprison them because they are suspected of "thinking" along certain lines, then by direct implication you concede the rightof all these other dictators to use the same "right" with the people they suspect of thinking along lines of which they do not

We must never forget that the "law" which gives the Stormont Government the "right" to hold these men at present, enables that government to hold them for the rest of their natural lives—if that government so decides.

Your Special correspondent goes on: "what hope have these men of regaining their liberty without first having to lose face by 'signing the form'"? How simple! More than 160 men are imprisoned for 2½ years, just because they are not willing to "lose face." It was mentioned recently, that Jimmy Steele, one of these men, has now been in prison for 17 Christmases. Just because he didn't want to lose face, was it? O'Donavan Rossa, when charged before a British Court with "thinking" contrary to

the wishes of the powers that were, said: "I have been an Irishman since the day I was born." Jimmy Steele, notwithstanding the fact that he was born in Belfast, has also been an Irishman since the day he was born. Is he to be compelled to sign away his birthright? He has never made any secret of the fact that he believes in the right of Ireland to unity and freedom. Is he expected to recant, to renege those beliefs. before he can be set free? To treat these, matters as a mere question of "losing face" is minimising them to a very great degree, and misrepresenting the position of the internees.

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Let's be straight about it. Your Special Correspondent's article is merely an attempt to help the Stormont Government to break the prisoners. It comes back to the old issue in Ireland since first the British came here: either submit to British aggression or be liquidated. That is the issue confronting the Republican prisoners in Belfast Jail to-day: Surrender. or remain in jail for the rest of your natural life. Surely if we are honest, we will make up our minds on that issue. Certainly if we have any grain of national feeling in us, we will not help to try to break the prisoners, but rather encourage and develop the demand for their unconditional

As to the reference to Mr. de Valera's releasing the prisoners from the Curragh, every remark above about Stormont's concentration camp applies equally to the one in the Curragh.

> Le gach beannacht, Tomas O Dubhghaill.

#### LAOIS CEILI

A Ceilidhe was held at Rathdowney, Co. Laois on May 24, under the auspices of An Cumann Cabhrach. There was a very large attendance. Music was supplied by the Glen Tara Ceilidhe, Mountmellick. About 200 people attended £41 18s. 0d.. Since these Ceilidhe's were started 12 months ago, they have been well attended on each

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# PROTEST IN BELFAST JAIL: -Stand by the Prisoners

ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY Irishmen are I detention in Crumlin Road Prison, Belfast. They terms: are refusing letters, parcels, visits. These are grave hardships on the imprisoned men.

All but five come from the Six Counties. Of the latter, three were arrested on the Armagh-Monaghan concession road in February, 1958, and thrown into the internment wing of Belfast Jail. One is Leo McCormack of Dublin who completed a four-year prison sentence and was then interned. The fifth is Ben McHugh of Swanlinbar, Co. And it went on to note that: Cavan, who was with James Crossan of Bawnboy, Cavan, the night the latter was murdered by an R.U.C.-B Special patrol in August, 1958.

These men are held under the notorious Special Powers Act. This is the Act which maintains the Unionist junta in power in British-Occupied Ireland. This is the Act which was described by a British Civil Liberties Commission as being contrary to the fundamental principles of democratic government."

The majority of the men have been in jail for more than two and a half years. One has been there since 1953: his internment order was dated for the day before his sentence expired. Three have been held since 1954: one of these had his internment order dated three weeks before the expiration of his sentence and his subsequent internment. Two are held since early 1956.

The Special Powers Act gives the Stormont Home Affairs Minister dictatorship powers which he may delegate to any policeman. There are close on 20,000 of these (between R.U.C.; B-Specials and R.U.C. Commandoes-all heavily armed and militarised) in British-Occupied Ireland. It is part of the ordinary law in the Six Counties. The internment of any person for any period may be ordered under it and new crimes may be created at will. The arrested person is left defenceless in the hands of the police.

What can happen in such circumstances was graphically documented at the Mallon-Talbot trial one year ago.

The same British Civil Liberties Commission staging a mass protest against their continued described the Special Powers Act in the following

> "The Acts give unlimited powers of search and seizure, and the Home Minister may make new regulations creating new crimes at will. Habeas Corpus is suspended, persons may be arrested on suspicion only, and they may be kept in prison indefinitely without a trial."

"Persons arrested and detained whether under charge or not have been subjected to interrogation, frequently of many hours duration, by large numbers of police. The prisoner having been questioned as to his name, address and movements by one squad of police, is passed on again and again to other squads by whom the process is repeated. During the interrogation the prisoner is surrounded by his questioners and unsatisfactory replies may produce blows. These interrogations are often held late at night and are carried on until the prisoner's strength is well-nigh exhausted."

British rule in Ireland holds these men in jail. Eighty-five others are serving long sentences of penal servitude. The plight of these men is the plight of our country and it is the responsibility of all our people to see that it ends.

This is how British "justice" operates in the six counties of north-east Ulster. You have a duty to our oppressed people in the North. Stand by them.

Fellow Irish men and women! These men are suffering in British jails for YOU. They are suffering for YOUR FREEDOM and for the FREEDOM OF IRELAND.

> SUPPORT THE MEN IN JAIL! SUPPORT THEIR DEPENDANTS!

# Ireland Partitioned Cannot Survive

". RELAND partitioned cannot survive. While condemnation was showered on Sinn Fein we heard very little condemnation of emigration," said Mr. Thomas Lynam, Portlaoise, when he spoke at the Hartley-Mullins commemoration ceremonies at Coolbawn, Castlecomer, Co. Kilkenny.

Sean Hartley, Glenmore, and Nicholas Mullins, Thomastown, were killed in the ambush at Coolbawn when they were members I.R.A. party who clashed with Black and Tans in June,

A parade led by a colour party marched from Castlecomer to the monument where a wreath was laid on the base by Oliver Hartley, a nephew of Sean Hartley. The Last Post was sounded by Nicholas White, Inistioge, and Harry Lynch, Ballyhale, recited a decade of the Rosary in Irish.

In the course of the oration Tom Lynam said:

Sean Hartley and Nicholas Mullins died for a cause that was holy and noble. To-day, 38 years afterwards, that same cause which was being proudly served was every bit as holy and every bit as noble as it was then.

"We have no quarrel with any section of the Irish people. Our quarrel is with British rule in the Six Counties where our own fellow-Irishmen are being tortured and intimidated and cast into prison without charge or trial."

The ideals of the men of to-day were the same as those of Pearse -a 32-County Republic. When that ideal was within their grasp it was betrayed; our birth-right was sold; our country was divided into two states by Britain.

There were now 250 men in Belfast prison, about 170 internees and over 80 men serving long terms of penal servitude. They were in goal for the crime of patriotism, that same kind of patriotism that called Sean Hartley and Nicholas Mulins to this spot 38 years ago.

James Hartley, brother of Sean Hartley, who also spoke, thanked the people for attending and also those who organised the commemoration ceremony.

The men whom they honoured that evening came to Coolbawn to defy Britain in arms and it was only by force of arms that Britain would yield to their demands just as she had to do in Cyprus and elsewhere.

Mr. P. Dollard presided and the attendance included Mr. Micheal Harding, a veteran of the Coolbawn ambush.



GERALD HAUGHIAN of Lurgan, Co. Armagh, who is serving a nine-years' sentence in Crumlin Road Prison, Belfast.

#### FOUR MARTYRS CLUB\_DRAW

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£5. Ticket No. 2860.

Kathleen Martin, 32 Aungier St.,

£3. Ticket No. 1546.

M. Reddin, c/o. CI.E., Tullamore, Offaly.

£1. Ticket No. 1148. CLUB CEATHRAR MAIRTHIREACH

# Irish Republican Appeal

We gratefully acknowledge the following contributions to the cause of Irish Freedom. Due to many factors there may be delay or errors in acknowledgement. If this should happen, ple ase contact us and we will correct in coming issues of the "United Irishman."

#### MAY 1959 APPEAL

Irish Freedom Committee, Elizabeth, N.J.			500.00
Friends of the I.R.M., Newark, N.J.			400.00
Anonymous			50.00
Division 3, A.O.H., Rockaway, N.Y.			10.00
Michael Dowling			10.00
Tony Gallagher	7		5.00
Michael Doherty			1.00
James Supple			10.00
Thomas Dunne			5.00
Tony Deignam			3.00
T. McCarthy			10.00
Liam Kearney			10.00
Martin W. Moscow			5.00
Frank Durkan			4.00
John O'Connor	****		10.00
George Harrison			10.00
Matthew Higgins			10.00
Knights of the Red Branch, San Francisco			500.00
United Irish Alliance, Chicago			200.00
Friends of the I.R.A., New Jersey			400.00
Irish Freedom Committee, New York			1,000.00
Daniel J. Shea, 77 Carver St., Boston	****		10.00
John Sullivan, 55 Chandler St., Boston	****		5.00
John Connolly, 820 Parker St., Dublin			5.00
Miss Monica Foley, Brighton, Mass.	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •		2.00
Member of I.R.B. since 1893, Co. Tyrone			10.00
League for an Undivided Ireland, Melbourn	e, Austra	alia 2	0 0 0

All existing authorisations to individuals to collect - dated to May 1. 1959-are now cancelled. New authorisations to collect for the Irish Republican Movement are now being issued.

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# A Salute to **Tomorrow**

July 4, 1959.

ELLOW exiles and friends of the Irish Republican Movement: To-day we salute the memory of the Soldiers of the American Revolution, whose sacrifices made possible this Independence Day, and ended forever British Colonial rule.

The closing years of the 18th Century witnessed the rising tide of Republicanism in France, and in the then British colonies. Tyranny and oppression, conquest and confiscation were met and challenged by a new force, the people, asserting, on the one hand their inalienable right to decide their form of government, based on just, democratic principles, and on the other, the right to manage their own affairs without interference or dictation from an outside power.

In Ireland, inspired by the success of the American victory of Washington over Cornwallis at Yorktown, despairing of any redress of the people's wrongs-the Penal laws were still in forceand recognising the need of the unity of all Irishmen, without regard to class or creed, to promote their mutual welfare, Wolfe Tone, the father of Irish Republicanism, founded the United Irishmen. Tone's purpose was openly

"To subvert the tyranny of our execrable Government, to break the connection with England, the never ending source of all our political evils, and to assert the Independence of my country these were my objects. To unite the whole of Ireland, to abolish the memory of all past dissensions, these were my means."

The Republican ideal, first envisaged by Tone, endorsed by Emmet, by the men of '48 and '67, reached its climax (but not its fulfilment?) with the Proclamation of the Irish Republic, Easter 1916, and the four glorious years that followed. With victory in sight, the blackest day in modern Irish dawned on December 1921. An unholy alliance of British power and slavish men begot the infamous Treaty of Surrender, creating two puppet governments, both dominated by Britain, and with British troops remaining in occupation of part of the historic province of Ulster, the modern Pale; for the past 35 years, the major political parties, first one and then the other in

COMPLIMENTS OF

EMMET & MICHAEL McGINN

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control of Leinster House, have accepted and collaborated in maintaining the status quo of a dismembered nation.

In their blind fury, they have reckoned without the lessons of Irish history. To-day, the Irish Republican Movement is the most potent force in Irish national affairs. In the six north-eastern counties, British power is once more challenged. Despite jailings and terrorism, our people are maintaining a high degree of solidarity. In the 26-County area, there is a marked new awakening. The people have begun to realise the utter futility of accomplishing an economic advancement, other than palliative, within the framework of a "State" dominated by British financial control.

To-day, we salute the memory of Ireland's heroic dead of every generation. To the men and women of the Resistance Movement, we send greetings and renewed pledges of the support of Ireland's friends in the United States on our Independence Day. We know that Ireland's friends will respond generously to our appeal for financial aid through the medium of our Annual Drawing of Prizes now in progress from coast to coast.

A total of \$2,500.00 will be shared by 15 prize winners at the Drawing in City Center Ballroom, New York City, on November 6.

We earnestly ask the co-operation of all readers of the "United Irishman" to promote the sale of tickets for the Draw. From now to November 6-right through the summer and fall, top priority must be given to this all-out Drive. With a concerted and determined effort, we can raise this activity in support of the Republican Movement for Irish Freedom to the high plane attained by other racial groups in the U.S.A. Wherever you are active in social, cultural or other activities, you should enlist the aid of your friends to raise this appeal to a high level in keeping with its high purpose. May we remind you? - The songs and dances, music and games and language of the Gael take on their true meaning when associated with the struggle for complete freedom.

British rule and Partition government must go, and be replaced by a National Government with complete and effective jurisdiction over the entire national territory.

On this Fourth of July, as we celebrate Independence for the struggling states of 1776, we can see around us the blessings that came of the sacrifice of those who pledged their all for American Freedom. Ireland can do likewise in these crucial months with our support. Remember '76 - and Salute Ireland's To-morrow!

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### Annual Republican Draw in N.Y.C., Nov. 6

GREETINGS to our friends and by rallying behind the forces of supporters of the Irish Republican Movement here in the United States and Canada! As readers of "The United Irishman," you are familiar with the monthly listing of subscribers to the Irish Republican Appeal. The response to this Appeal has, on the whole, been gratifying; we urge your continued support.

To augment this Appeal and to provide an opportunity for the great mass of our people in this continent to participate in the work of Fund-raising in aid of the Irish Republican Movement, an Annual Drawing of Prizes has been organised. The two previous Drawings have been unqualified successes. Reaching out for still greater co-operation and confident that there is a marked increase in the consciousness of our people relative to the objectives of the Irish Republican Movement. and the means to achieve these objectives, our THIRD ANNUAL DRAWING OF PRIZES is now in progress.

We are aiming to make this Drawing a still greater success than that of the two previous Prizes have been greatly increased. They now total TWO THOUSAND, FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS (\$2,500.00). This re-flects our confidence in your enthusiastic support of the Movement at home. The final Draw takes place on November 6, at City Center Ballroom, New York City.

An intensive campaign during the next five months will be maintained on a coast-to-coast basis. A vast potential of hitherto untapped resources exists. Our faithful readers of "The United Irishman" are urged to become publicists for this Annual Draw, contacting your friends and associates, both at work and at summer amusement spots. Members of our organisation will be available for the sale and distribution of tickets. Quantities should be requested from the Irish Freedom Committee at address given below.

Through the columns of "The United Irishman" and other sources, you will be reminded of your obligation and encouraged to press forward in this all-out drive.

Do not under-estimate our strength in effecting the ultimate goal of ending forever British rule\_ in Ireland. In this final drive for Irish freedom we exiles and sons of the Gael can translate our emotions into solid, concrete action and play a vital role in forming public opinion here to insure against the misrepresentation that is the stock-in-trade of the enemies of the Republic.

Frontal attacks have failed to smash the Irish Republican Move-We can expect further ment. attacks in the future, but these too will fail. This could well be acrucial year in Irish affairs. Let us anticipate the coming events

Freedom in Ireland. Our success in this Third Annual Draw can be a determining factor in increasing the effectiveness of the Resistance Movement that is pledged to complete the task - the Unity and Independence of Ireland.

There's work to be done! Let us get off to a flying start and into the spirit of the fight. Try to set for yourself a monthly goal, keeping your tickets available at all times as a reminder that the fight goes on, day in, day out, in the old land. Let us all talk up the Draw and pull together, so that, come November 6, we may proudly salute-you in the name of Republican Ireland-for your-hard work and loyalty.

ISSUED\_BY:

Clann na Gael & I.R.A. Veterans of America, Inc. and

Irish Freedom Committee of N.Y. 326 West 48th Street, New York 36, N.Y.

### Justice in Kenya!

The White Paper on the

deaths of eleven Mau Maudetainees at Hola shows that the Kenya Government had indeed approved the so-called "Cowan Plan" which authorised "manhandling" unco-operative prisoners. It was the implementation of this plan of the Superintendent of Prisons, Mr. J. B. T. Cowan. (who was awarded an M.B.E. in the Birthday Honours' List), that led to the tragedy at Hola.

- The Observer,

#### Annual Picnie

HE first Annual Picnic of the Padraig Pearse Cumann, Sinn Fein, of San Francisco, was held on Sunday, June 7, at Fetters Springs, in Sonoma County, California.

Over seven hundred people arrived by bus and auto in the forenoon at the well appointed picnic grounds, situated in the picturesque Valley of the Moon, where family lunches were enjoyed during the program of entertainment by local talented artists who contributed a repertoire of Irish step-dancing and patriotic songs, interspersed by many stirring martial airs by the Pearse and Connolly Fife and Drum Band.

The popularity of Sinn Fein is growing apace in the hearts of numerous Americans of Irish birth and descent on the Pacific Coast

CLANN NA GAEL & I.R.A. VETERANS OF AMERICA, INC. National Headquarters: 510 Greenwood Avenue,

Jenkintown, Pennsylvania. JUNE, 1959.

Greetings-and good wishes to the men and women of the Irish Republican Movement, to-day assembled at Bodenstown-Pearse called it "The Holiest Place in Ireland"-to pay tribute to Wolfe Tone, the founder of Irish Republicanism. We join with you in this tribute as long as time lasts, the name of Tone will be honoured and revered. The fulfilment of his ideals will be his crowning glory, when Irishmen, without regard to class or creed, can work in harmony and peace to build a nation "worthy of the august destiny to which it is called."

-From the Clann na Gael & Irish Republican Army Veterans of America, Inc. and attached committees in the United States of America and Canada.

#### WHAT OTHER PEOPLE ARE SAYING

Writing in the "Sunday Review" about the soldiers of the 26-Counties army, Aga Muller says: Sometimes they get jobs they do not like, such as capturing Republicans, with whom many of them, I know, are sympathetic."

"I cannot stand here on a Christian platform and say in conscience that in my opinion no one can support the existence of the border and call himself a Christian... I have never wavered and I hope will never waver, in my antagonism to partition and in my belief that the people of Ireland (Six Counties) will never fulfil their true destiny except in a united country."

-Lord Pakenham, former British Minister of Civil Avitation.

In- an article headed "750,000 men and women have left Ireland since 1922," in the "Sunday Inde pendent," Alastair MacCaba

"The cattle and horses we send overseas really get more official attention than the men and-women who leave our shores every year to settle abroad. Ireland is the happy hunting ground of emigration touts. Agents for any foreign organisations, irrespective of its objectives, can recruit here with impunity.

### IRISH STIGMATA

O IRELAND Beloved! I have never seen thy face, Yet longed all my lifetime to feel thy soft embrace; In childhood I wondered what sorrow haunted me Until I discovered it was the absence of thee.

They said this forced severance was Heaven's wise plans, That other lands needed the strong arms of the clans. And yet, since thy bondage God always has blessed The plans of the Wild Geese-to-return to their nest.

Oh! Often I wished to express my love to thee, But such was its ardo url bore it silently: The long years of yearning have wasted my life's breath And left-but the solace to meet thee after death.

I cried at the sorrows that made thee look so mild, And I paled when thou-were sundered, enchained and reviled So-much have I pondered o'er thy unhappy state. I bear on my body the stigmata of thy fate.

Thy life was despaired of when thou wert known to me, And to thy holy bedside my spirit sped to thee, As when the apostles from separate lands afar Returned back to witness the death of their Star.

I drew near thee gently and bitterly I cried, The perfume of lilies made me think thou hadst died; I-found thee but sleeping and far from being dead . . . I saw thee rise as Pearse kissed thy little dark head.

Bonnon Marine Branch Br

DESMOND CONERGAN.

BRITISH ARMY'S

Lieut. General Sir Douglas

Packard, the General Officer Com-

manding British troops in the Six

Counties, addressed the King's

Own Hussars Regiment at Lisa-

nelly Camp, Omagh, Co. Tyrone,

on the importance of the work

they had done in British-Occupied

Ireland. He thanked them for the

job they had done on border

patrols and against the Resistance

BORDER WORK

### i gCUIMHNE

The 11 o'clock Mass in University Church, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, on Sunday, July 12, will be offered for the repose of the souls of

JACKIE GRIFFITH, Dublin, who was shot by "Special" police, July 4, 1943.

PAT MacMANUS, Fermanagh, killed in explosion, July 15, 1958. TERENCE PERRY, Belfast, who died in Parkhurst Prison, July 17,

# MISSING

Sinn Fein, Melbourne, writes as follows-"On St. Patrick's Day in Toomey, 58 Arden Street, North

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IRISH EXILES WHO WISH TO CONTACT THE

#### IRISH REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT IN THE AREA OF TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA PLEASE WRITE

MR. WILLIAM O'CONNOR · 33 EVANSCLIFFE AVENUE, TORONTO

PH. L. E. 4.2915 MINIMAN MARKET TO THE TANK MARKET THE TANK MARK MARKET THE TANK MARK MARK THE TANK MARK THE TANK MARK MARK THE TANK MARK MARK

SINN FEIN Cumann na Dearthaireacha

Piarsaigh Rathfarnham - Dundru

THE ASTOR BALLROOM DUNDRUM on

SUNDAY, JULY 5 At which a Raffle for Valuable

Prizes will take place. Tickets for both available from An Rúnaí

8-12. Taille 2/6 www.www.www.www.www.

Melbourne an Irish-American, a Mr. O'Gorman, subscribed 10/- to have the "United Irishman" posted to him regularly. Unfortunately his address has been lost. If he sees this would he kindly communicate with Mr. K. Melbourne. In the meantime his subscription has been donated to the Prisoners' Aid Fund."

THE B-SPECIAL

the matter lightly.

Movement.

AND THE LAW Special Gonstable James Bond Campbell R.U.C. Barracks, Donemana, was fined fl at Donemana

and £1 for driving while not accompanied by an authorised driver. Head Constable J. Atkinson said Campbell had been warned sa three occasions by the local sergeant, but he persisted in driving the car. He seemed to take

Petty Sessions on Friday for failing .-

to have L-driver plates displayed,

#### **B-SPECIAL SHOT**

On May 17, in the village of Augher, Co. Tyrone, a B-Special patrol got into a drunken melee among themselves. The sergeant in charge fired a burst from a Sten gun, shooting a B-Special Constable in the knee. The wounded man was removed to Omagic District Hospital.

#### BOOK REVIEWS

(from Page 7).

not remarkable that he should acquire some very unorthodox opinions, but to interrupt the current of his storytelling to unfold them is irritating to the reader who finds himself out of sympathy. Nevertheless it is to be hoped that the author will give us the pleasure of meeting him in another book very soon.

S. de H.

# ORATION AT BODENST

Delivered by Ruaidhri O Bradaigh, Sinn Fein T.D., Longford-Westmeath

mhuintir na Poblachta, Táisaid tagaithe aris go dtí an áit eithe seo-an áit is beannaithe in Eirinn adúirt an Piareach-chun onóir agus emós a thabhairt don air-fhear a bhfuil a thaisí leagtha anseo le breis agus céad 's seasca blian-Tiobóid Wolfe Tone. B'é Tone an chéad fhear de Chlanna Gael a d'fhógair go cruinn agus go beacht Soiscéal na Saoirse in Eirinn. Rinne sé beart dá réir chomh maith agus d'imir sé a anam ar son Saoirse Gael.

O shoin i leith tagann Poblachtóirí na hEireann, lucht leanúna Tone, go dtí an láthair seo 'chaon bhliain. Ins an áit bheannaithe seo faigheann siad inspioráid leanúint ar aghaidh leis an troid nó go gcuirtear i gcríoch cuspóirí Tone-Poblacht shoar aontaithe a bheith i réim in Eirinn.

We are assembled at this sacred place to do honour to the man whose remains rest here for over 160 years-Theobald Wolfe Tone. Pearse described Bodenstown Churchyard as the "holiest place in Ireland" because he believed the holiest spot of a nation's soil to be that where the greatest of her dead lies buried. It is, therefore, with great humility that we gather in this place, for we stand by the graveside of the greatest Irishman who ever lived. It was Tone, with his clarity of mind, who first defined Irish Nationhood. He enunciated clearly and precisely the Gospel of Irish Nationalism: he outlined the basis on which would be built a free and upright Irish Nation. He has spoken

But Tone did more than this. He gave worthy expression to his precepts when he armed his generation in defence of them. For seven long years-at home in Ireland and in exile in America and France-he laid the groundwork of the great National Uprising of 1798. At his instigation Republican France sent successive expeditions to assist the Irish Republican Army

Tone sailed with the first and the last of these; his epic part in that glorious six hour naval battle in Lough Swilly was his last great act but one in his assertion of the independence of his country. Before going into exile he had pledged himself on Cave Hill above Belfast never to desist in his efforts" to secure the freedom of Ireland. He honoured that pledge to the hour of his lonely death for Ireland in a ceil in Newgate Prison, Dublin. His mortal remains are laid here and to this spot succeeding generations have come to do him honour and to derive inspiration to complete his unfinished work.

Tone's objects have not yet been achieved. The All Ireland Republic which he visualised was proclaimed in arms by the soldiers of 1916: it was established and set functioning by the

citizens of 1919; but it was overthrown in 1922 and was replaced by two partition statelets, both of which were based on English law and were designed to prevent the Irish people from attaining their full and rightful freedom. For 37 years and to this very day, the Six-Co. and 26-Co. States have fulfilled that purpose . . .

Two and a half years ago, in December, 1956, the fight for Irish Freedom was renewed. The campaign of Resistance then initiated has been maintained ever since thoughout the six British Occupied Counties. The resources of both the Six Co. and the 26-Co. states have been mobilised to protect the British Occupation Forces against the fighting youth of this generation. But the 26-Co. coercionists suffered a reverse in their collaborationist activities three short months ago when the weight of opinion amongst the Irish people at home and in exile forced the eventual closing of the Curragh Concentration Camp.

This does not altar the pasic facts of the situation in Ireland to-day. Two hundred and fifty Republican Prisoners remain in Belfast Jail; two young Irishmen are serving life sentences in England while another is held in Portlaoise. But even their immediate and unconditional release would not change the situation fundamentally. As in Tone's day, British Occupation Forces are in Ireland and present a formidable obstacle on the road to freedom. Economic domination by England is equally the lot of the Irish people to-day.

Tone sought to change all that; he did not succeed, but the sooner his aims are accomplished the better for all Irish people. A recurrence of the situation where men of all ages are imprisoned and are ultimately released will not achieve this. The case of Ireland must be settled now and for all time. A supreme effort by the Irish people in support of the Resistance to British rule in Occupied Ireland will achieve it. Nothing less than that will suffice because freedom is not a worthless thing to be easily gained. It is a treasured possession of any people and must be dearly bought, but having been won at great cost, it will be cherished and guarded all the more as a result.

The fighting men of this generation are worthy of the whole-hearted support of the Irish people; their actions have shown that. They will fight defiantly till the goal is achieved. What is more, they and our people in the Occupied North are prepared to pay the price of freedom-however high it may be. The sacrifices of the past two and a half years have -proved that beyond shadow of doubt.

We look then to the future with hope and -confidence. In conclusion, I shall quote the words of Pearse: "O my brothers, were it not an unspeakable privilege if to our generation it should be granted to accomplish that which Tone's generation, so much worthier than ours, failed to accomplish!"

### An Cumann Cabhrach

An Cumai	n!	n Cabhra
Carlow:	0	Limerick: Cumann na mBan, Cra
Sorris 10 10		Luimnighe (Raffle a
O'Callaghan's Mills 9 12	0	Ceilidhe in Dromkeen
Cumann Fearghail O h-Annluain, Kilfenora:		Longford.
Kilfenora 5 10	0	Longford
Kitoraght 4 7 Kilnaboy 2 19	0	Louth:
Carron 2 17	0	Cumann Cabhrach,
Cork: Cumann Cabhrach, Cathair		Dundealgan: Profit on Sweep on
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Passage West—(Profit		Stabannon (collection 10/5/1959)
from Weekly Draw)15 0	0	Dillonstown (collection 10/5/1959)
Cumann Eamonn Uithear, S.F., Magh Ealla 20 0	0	Kilsarn do
Clonmult Martyrs Cumann,	0	Darver (collection 17/5/1959)
Midleton 14 0 Derry:	0	Dromiskin (collection
Maghera 25 0	0	17/5/1959) G.A.A. Match,
Desertmartin 26 0  Donegal:		Knockbridge
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South West Donegal Area		Toomevara—Ceili
Committee — comprising the parishes of Ardarath,		Waterford:
na Gleanntai, na Cealla		Dungarvan
Beaga, Cillchartha agus Gleann Colmcille 75 1	0	Wexford:
Dublin:		Cumann O Caogain- Pearaill, Guaire
Howth 5 15 Employees, Carlton	0	Cumann na mBan, Wexford
Cinema 1 12	5	Cumann Seoirse Plan
Cumann Sean Ó Treasaigh, Glenageary 6 0	0	Monageer Cumann Sinn Fein,
Dublin City — May	Ů	Enniscorthy
collections John Michell Cumann,		England:
Sinn Fein 27 10	6	"21 Club," Birmingha Bridgewater
Sean Russell Cumann, Sinn Fein 16 10	0	Cumann Cabhrach,
Sean Heuston Cumann,	0	Craobh London
Sinn Fein 6 2 O h-Annluain-Sabhat Cumann,	0	Scotland: Glasgow
Sinn Fein 11 Cumann na mBan 2 14	0	Australia:
Per B. O'Sullivan 5 6	2 3	Per Tone-Pearse Cui
Miscellaneous collections 10 10	0	Sinn Fein, Melbou Collection at Snowy
Galway:		per Gerry
Collection—G.A.A. match— Tuam 9 4	0	Fitzgerald Collection at Snowy
Dunmore, Kilteavna and		per Frank
Cloonfad 20 0	0	McGregor Tone-Pearse Cumann
Kildare: Raffle—Maynooth		Fein, Melbourne Collection at Snown
Ceilidhe 5 0	0	per Jim McCabe
Kilkenny:		U.S.A.:
Kilkenny (collected at League Final) 11 2	6	Chicago "Anon.", San France
Ballyragget 3 14 Hartley and Mullins Cumann,	0	Irish Republican Pris
Mullinavat 4 4	0	Aid, San Francisco (per Dan Griffin,
Laois:		Chairman)
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	Bridgewater 2 8 0
	Cumann Cabhrach, Craobh London 50 0 0
	Scotland: Glasgow 2 0 0
	Australia: Per Tone-Pearse Cumann,
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	per Frank McGregor A42 0 0
)	Tone-Pearse Cumann, Sinn
	Fein, Melbourne A10 0 0
)	Collection at Snown River, per Jim McCabe A65 11 0
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5	Chicago 251.00 "Anon.", San Francisco 20.00
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)	Aid, San Francisco (per Dan Griffin, Chairman) 350.00
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	Com., New York 135.00

#### mmmm The Sinn Fein Ideal mmmmmy

P.P. Brosna, Co. Kerry gave this description of the Sinn Fein ideal back in 1908:

"We have in Sinn Fein at last a movement which is attempting to prevent the people flying from our shores and to find something for them to do. That is self-defence.

"I have seen Irishmen working in the longshores of America, and I have seen them toiling in Australia, and I say to you all that we ought to stay at home. We can make Ireland the most beautiful land to live in if we have confidence in ourselves. There is no land like Ireland.

"We want our farmers to be happy and our workers

THE Rev. Father Murphy, to be comfortable. Where to bring this state about? Let us empower a native Council to draw up the necessary schemes. It took but a few wise men to devise the Brehon laws. Nine men sitting in Dublin, and working out Irish problems would-achieve more for this country than all the Acts ever passed in the British Parliament.

"Let no man be afraid of Sinn Fein. The very name has something sweet about it. It's sweeter than the blackbird's song.

"Sinn Fein is the sound of the hammer on the anvil; Sinn Fein is the hum of the factory wheel; Sinn Fein is the whistle\_of ocean-going liners with Irish trade . . .

#### DEATH

Donohue, one of its members, was passed by the McManus-Crossan Cumann (Liverpool) on the death of his father at Slatta, Scramogue P.O., Co. Roscommon.

> SUPPORT THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT

......

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#### manus Case of Patrick Dolan minimus

Zammannammannammannammannammannammannammanna Zammannammanna Zammannamman

PATRICK DOLAN, sentenced to two years' imprisonment by a courtmartial in May, 1958, was on a hunger-strike in Portlaoise Prison from May 4 to June 4. He was eight days on hunger-strike before being allowed go sick in bed by the authorities.

Patrick Dolan is being treated as a criminal, wears convict garb, is forced to do penal labour. His sentence is being served in a penal servitude institution despite the fact that his term covers imprisonment merely - not penal servitude.

political There were in Mountjoy prisoners Prison at the time of his sentence. In fact, Patrick Dolan is being singled out for special punishment by the 26-County authorities. As well-before his arrest

s of the Irish

.... 200.00

he was in his final law year (B.L. King's Inns)). He has not been allowed to sit for his examinations.

It is worthy to note that the authorities did not inform his people of the hunger-strike. The first intimation they received was the brief notice which appeared in the newspapers about 10 days after the strike had begun. These reports also stated that Patrick Dolan began his protest-strike on May 13: he had, in fart started it on May 4.