

The United Irishman



is í An poblacht ár gcuspóir

IML. VI. UIMHIR 3.

MARTA, 1954

TRI PINGIN

Sinn Fein Speakers Under Fire

**"YOU HAVE NO RIGHT HERE"
SAYS F.F.**

The venom which the Fianna Fail politicians have against the Republican movement was clearly shown by incidents which occurred at after-Mass meetings in Co. Louth on Sunday, 21st February. The most disgraceful example took place at Fieldstown some miles north of Drogheda. Here after the 9.30 a.m. Mass, Sinn Fein speakers, who had been present for at least a quarter-hour before Mass finished, allowed the Labour Party speakers to address the meeting first. As soon as they were finished the first Sinn Fein speaker started, only to be violently interrupted by one of the Fianna Fail parliamentary secretaries, who rushed down the road towards the speaker, and dancing with rage, proceeded to hurl abuse at him, punctuated at frequent intervals by the statement, "You have no right here."

When the speaker insisted that he had at least as much right as the Fianna Fail speakers and continued with his meeting, the opposition started to attempt to shout him down. Needless to remark he did not succeed and the local people had the amusing experience of seeing one of those to whom they are expected to look for example, etc., make a complete show of himself and eventually retire in defeat.

The significant thing about it however was the attitude of mind of a man who would shout "You have no right here" at a political opponent. Obviously if he

had his way there would be no Sinn Fein candidates or no Sinn Fein speakers, but the internment camps and jails would be full and the execution squads fully occupied. These Sinn Fein people would expose the sham of the politicians, hence "they have no right here."

In Dunleer on the same day the last Mass was at 11 a.m., finishing about 11.40 a.m. Sinn Fein speakers arranged to have a short meeting directly after Mass and before the Fianna Fail meeting was to start at 12 noon. The Sinn Fein meeting was in progress when Mr. De Valera arrived escorted by a band and some marchers. The speaker waited till they passed and then resumed. However, as soon as the F.F. contingent reached their platform they proceeded to put on gramophone records and blare them over the loud-speakers, drowning out the Sinn Fein speaker. When one of the Sinn Fein members approached the platform to protest about this, he was spurned and the Guards called to remove him. Serious trouble would have arisen but for the restraint shown by the Sinn Fein members. Their attitude won the approval and support of most of the people present as was shown by the applause which greeted them when they resumed their meeting at the conclusion of the F.F. one. The crude bullying tactics of the latter only did them harm in the eyes of all present.

Again at Knockbridge, on the same morning, Sinn Fein were in position waiting to commence their meeting as soon as the people started coming out of the church, when a lorry belonging to Fianna Fail members drove up, who demanded they be priority. Mr. Boland was to speak there and the Fianna Fail members insisted "The Minister must speak first." The Sinn Fein speakers determined to stand for their rights and in face of their decision the F.F. people eventually gave way and a scene was avoided.

DERRY MEETING INCIDENT

British sailors walking through Ross-ville St., Derry, on Saturday night passed close to a Tricolour on the platform at a Sinn Fein meeting paying little attention to it, but one Petty Officer interrupted a speech by Mr. T. Doyle, Dublin, president of Sinn Fein. The sailor was approached by a few people and there was danger of trouble, but the detectives removed the man and the meeting continued.

The meeting was in connection with the next election for Westminster. Mr. Doyle, recalling that Sinn Fein had decided to contest all twelve Six-County seats in the election.

—*Irish Independent*, 15/2/54.



The Men In Jail For Ireland

Come, shrink not back with coward fears,

Nor brag as cowards do,
Nor make lament in words and tears
For these, our patriots true.
But treasure deep within your breast
The oath, through good or ill,
To stand to them while life shall last—
The men in Pentonville!

Yes! vengeance is the hero's grief,
And that be ours alone;
Our vow should be but stern and brief,
Yet knit with blood and bone,
We'll caoine them best when through
the land
Our war-cry echoes shrill,
With gun on shoulder, pike in hand—
The men in Pentonville!

Cold dastards we—could aught to-day
Our footsteps turn aside,
A moment, from the sacred way
Which they have trod with pride?
All rough and blood-stained though it be
Yet we will follow still
Upon their track, right fearlessly—
The men in Pentonville!

Full well they showed their hardihood.
Ay! in the felon's dock;
Erect!—unanswering—there they stood
As firm as Cashel's rock.
They laughed to scorn the tyrant's
might,
In words that burn and thrill
Through every heart that loves the
right—
The men in Pentonville!

Then keep the watch, my brothers all,
Let not your courage fail;
Within the gloomy prison wall
They do not flinch or quail!
If power there be in love or hate,
'Twill not be long until
The time will come for which they
wait—
The men in Pentonville!

A cruel grasp is on their throats,
Our gallant Spartan band;
A tiger vengeance o'er them gloats,
As o'er their suffering land.
God keep them in their hour of need!
God guard them—and he will!—
To reap the crop, who sowed the seed—
The men in Pentonville!

—"Eva" of "The Nation."



JOE CAMPBELL

the Sinn Fein Candidate for Co. Louth. Native of Newry, he was interned by the Stormont Government, 1939-45, and is now prisoner in Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast, serving five years' penal servitude.



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U.S.A.—ONE DOLLAR

Sinn Fein Election Address

The purpose which the Sinn Fein Organisation has before it in entering the Co. Louth By-Election can be stated under two main headings:

- (a) National, and
- (b) Economic.

With regard to the first, we wish to bring before the public the urgent need to build up a co-ordinated movement among the Irish people, North and South, to secure the unity and freedom of our country. To this end, Sinn Fein proposes—

- (1) To convene the elected representatives of all Ireland as the National Assembly of the Independent Irish Republic.
- (2) To proceed to legislate for all Ireland.
- (3) To use every means within the power of the Irish people to overcome opposition to the Republic.
- (4) To repudiate all treaties, pacts and laws that in any way curtail the Nation's Independence.

All the parties in the South and the "Nationalists" of the North maintain that they wish to secure the unity and freedom of all Ireland, but, apart from making verbal protests, or pleading to other countries for assistance, they have done nothing. Sinn Fein is convinced that this programme is the logical method of securing the National objective. Its elected representatives will not take part in either of the Partition parliaments—Stormont or Leinster House. Our demand is "A National Parliament for all 32 Counties." This is an issue of national urgency clearly above party politics or sectional strife—it is a national demand and hence we are putting forward a candidate who has given service not to party but to the Nation, and who is at present suffering because of his loyalty to the Irish Nation.

With regard to the Economic issue, all Irishmen are agreed that the twin evils of unemployment and emigration must be overcome. Sinn Fein insists that this can only be done by reorganising the economic system of the country; by breaking the link with sterling through which our economic life is controlled from London; and by controlling our currency and credit and directing their supply so as to ensure full employment for all our people. Economic independence is, we maintain, as important as political independence. Unfortunately, most of the political leaders have lost courage since 1922, and have surrendered on the National issue. In addition, they have abandoned the National claim for economic freedom. A primary purpose of Sinn Fein is to reawaken the national courage of our people, to restore their confidence in themselves and to strengthen their will to work out our national destiny according to our own traditions, in our own way. British politicians say: "The unification of Ireland is a matter for the Irish people themselves." Sinn Fein proposes to take them at their word and seek a satisfactory solution of the National problems by our own efforts.

This By-Election in Co. Louth can be the signal for a great national revival, a revival which can lift the nation out of the disillusion and apathy which has plagued us since 1922. Just as Roscommon was the signal in 1917 which led to the wonderful victory in 1918 and the establishment of the First Republican Government, so Louth can be the start of a new revival to-day.

People of Louth, you have a wonderful opportunity of giving a lead to the Nation. You have the privilege and the responsibility. Raise your vision above the fog of party bickerings and consider the interests of the Nation.

PUT THE NATION FIRST

FOR NATIONAL UNITY AND INDEPENDENCE VOTE SINN FEIN

Vote No. 1 — JOE CAMPBELL

Meanwhile Sinn Fein organisers are working throughout the Six Counties and especially in the two Border constituencies. A series of meetings is being held and speakers, mainly from Dublin, have been putting the Sinn Fein programme before the people.

Though the meetings have not been largely attended, it is only fair to state that the moderate attendances have been due to the wretched weather of the past few weeks and that the attentive hearing accorded the speakers is an indication that their views will be seriously examined.

It is being widely commented that the Sinn Fein organisers are confining themselves to the exposition of principles and are refusing to attack any section or group in the Six Counties. They are prepared to admit that others may be as sincere in their outlook as Sinn Fein, though trying to reach the common goal by another road, and consequently personalities or abuse are strictly banned from the Sinn Fein platforms.

Sinn Fein asks the friendship and co-operation of all workers in the cause of re-unity. Whatever views may be held in some areas as to the propriety of Sinn Fein intervention in the next elections, there is unanimity on the manner in which the Party is conducting its organising campaign.

—Irish Catholic, 7/2/54.

FORWARD FOR IRELAND!

Manhood of Ireland, the foe is not routed,

Strike ye with courage like those of the past,

Rally again round the banner of Freedom—

Forward for Ireland! the die is now cast.

See in your valleys the Saxon has gathered—

Ireland is bleeding thro' Ulaidh to-day;

Clansmen of Antrim and sons of Ard Macha,

Harken! King Connor calls now to the fray.

Forward for Ireland! To death or to glory!

Chains are not severed save by blades of steel;

Charge for your country, by God and Naomh Padraig—

Battles are cleansing, come woe or come weal.

M. O CINNEIDE.



Another Secret Agreement ?

Sir John Woodall, Lieut.-General, who commands the British occupation forces in the Six County area, paid a visit to the Curragh Camp on Tuesday, 16th February, in full British Army regalia, in a British Army Staff car. He was received by the G.O.C. of the 26 County army, with a full company guard of honour, spent three hours inspecting the various barracks, military schools, etc., and was entertained in the officers' mess with Mr. Traynor, 26 County

Minister for Defence. "No attempt was made to keep the visit secret" we are told, but all leave at the Curragh was stopped for the visit. Sir John said it was a visit to a "friendly neighbouring country."

All Ireland is asking—"What does it mean?" Is there another secret agreement being worked out? Will there be a deal in airfields, military bases, etc., for the next war? The suggestion is being made that the 26 Counties is to join the North Atlantic Pact and that some arrangements for joint all-Ireland Defence, with co-operation (open) between the 26 County forces and the British occupation forces in the North.

The reference to a "friendly neighbouring country" should interest the people in the Six Counties—again the implication is that there are two separate countries in Ireland and this is being accepted by the 26 County politicians. If not, how in God's name can they wine and dine with the Commander of the enemy forces still occupying our country? Was it not very appropriate that in the marching song of the 26 County army during the "emergency" the refrain should be "On the one road ... the road to God knows where"? Were it in truth an Irish army it would be on the road to the North to clear out the invaders from our country, but since it is controlled by people who have sold themselves to the invader there is nothing but confusion and bewilderment. Is it now to become merely a territorial unit of the British Army?

March breezes seldom gently blow.

They whirl, and shriek, and moan;

And daffodil blown to and fro,

Dance blithe as to a tune.

It is the storm before the calm!

It's nature's ritual;

The stress of birth is not a balm,

If 'tis worthwhile, withal!

When stress came to this land of ours,

New life flowed in its wake—

And brought to it the priceless flow'rs

Adverse winds, could not shake.

And down the years, more stress, and strain

Awoke the best in men.

Ah! it is but by stress, and strain,

The best will come again!

ENVOI

When winds of March blew loud and shrill,

George Plant went forth to die.

And lives for aye!—Gold Daffodil!—

Highlighting Ireland's sky!

Cold death will come to each, and all,

The friend, and foeman too.

Oh! grand 'twill be, if at its call,

Your land shall deem you, true!

ALICE FRENCH

JOIN

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120,000 UNEMPLOYED

In the whole of Ireland there were 120,741 unemployed persons during the week ending January 16, according to figures issued in Dublin and Belfast. What a terrible commentary these figures are on the futility of the present financial system and the stranglehold it has upon our leaders and statesmen! That so many should be doomed to chronic idleness in a country where so much remains to be done! Does it ever occur to those on whom the responsibility of government rests, both in Dublin and Belfast, that it would be a very good thing if money were made to serve men rather than that men should be put on the waste heap of idleness to serve money? Can our finances not be so directed as to ensure above all full and regular employment for everyone who is willing to do work, particularly productive work? In their own interests it behoves legislators to think along these lines, for the safety valve of emigration on which they have so long relied cannot be thought to remain indefinitely available.

—*Irish Catholic*, 28-1-54.

SINN FEIN PROPOSES—

As a means of providing an opportunity for achievement of a national economy and a reorganisation of the present monetary system Sinn Fein proposes:

(a) Adoption of a monetary system the essential aim of which shall be equation of the volume of money, not to external and foreign interests but to the economic needs of the nation as a whole. Such an equation of the volume of money (currency and credit) to the national needs, rather than to external foreign exchange (and to sectional financial interests, such as those of Commercial Bankers) will constitute the difference between a national monetary system and the present international system based upon the Sterling link.

(b) A complete break of the link with Sterling. The security that a national government can provide and the productive capacity of the nation would secure the backing for Irish currency in substitution for that now provided by Sterling. Within the existing situation the fact is concealed that any change in external conditions affecting the export trade reflects itself at once in the volume of money available for internal commerce. In other words the people of Ireland are dependent on Britain to a great extent to provide or withhold at will, the supply of money necessary to enable Irish manufactured goods and services to be exchanged within the nation. (Changing the political personnel in charge of the present financial and economic system inherited from Britain and designed to subordinate Ireland's interests to those of an outsider will not produce any better results for the Irish nation.)

(c) The reorganisation of the monetary system to embrace a vesting in the national government of full control over and direction of the issue of credit in the interests of the national economy the main aim in the control of credit to be provision of the minimum necessary to ensure a steady volume of full employment. The direction to be towards basic national development, i.e., production of raw materials. A proper development of basic industries will provide an economic base for secondary industries, will tend towards making the latter independent of outside sources for the supply of raw materials and through both supplying a steady volume of employment there will ensue a maximum internal market for the products of manufacturers and farmers alike.

(d) Revision of the present system of Commercial Banking in Ireland with a view to (1) restricting or eliminating the powers of the Commercial Banks to expand and contract credit; (2) reducing the number of Commercial Banks operating in Ireland, particularly those having their headquarters outside the country; (3) curtailment of investments by the Commercial Banks in British and other foreign enterprises thus diverting savings of the Irish people from what should be their proper function — native capital development.

(e) Repatriation of accumulated Sterling assets and the application of a general policy aimed at ensuring that the savings of the Irish people and profits accruing from their labours will not go to Britain or elsewhere, to bolster up and sustain the economies of foreign countries whilst capital development in Ireland suffers from under-investment. In this regard particular attention shall be given to Insurance and Assurance Corporations and all other concerns, particularly those having their headquarters outside Ireland, who follow the practice of investing in foreign enterprises.

(f) Strict curtailment (or, if necessary, abolition) of foreign investments in Ireland. Through the practice of allowing foreign speculators to invest capital in Irish undertakings profits accruing from the labour and enterprise of Irish workers pass into the hands of foreigners whilst at the same time outside speculators with money to invest are free to purchase land and house property in Ireland and to spend or invest the profits accruing in Britain or elsewhere.

(g) The setting up of a committee comprised of financial experts whose function it shall be to examine the entire field of national currency and credit, and in close conformity with the foregoing proposals to formulate a monetary system based upon sound Christian and national principles suited to the economic needs of the nation.

"GAEL WARNING"

Look at the windcock and notice what way the wind is blowing. Can it be said from the blowing of the Gael—which we still have with us, thank God, even if there are only a few millions of us left—that this generation of Irishmen will use armed force to combat the powers of England's Imperial Troops in Ireland?

Most people never look at a windcock but noticing the attitude of people it is easily seen that there is wind blowing which will cause the downfall of much more than leaves. Dissatisfaction is voiced with the politicians of all parties. What a set up! They pretend to have different policies yet when they get into power they all do the same thing.

That they are all sailing along in the one boat is made most obvious by the fact that they all agree to condemn the means necessary to expel the English troops which hold our land in subjection to British law.

Petty jealousies and jobbery are the lot of the politicians while the country and its people go to ruin. Unemployment, emigration, high prices, economic insecurity, lack of national morale, the foreign press, no progress in social democracy, no progress at all if everything is taken together—battling language, subjection under England's military, social,

economic and financial powers—oh hell! Such is the attitude of people speaking honestly.

Tradition has sown the seeds of Irish nationalism in each succeeding generation of Irishmen and Irishwomen. So it is written, irrevocable, in the blood of '16. Tradition never yet has failed to fan the flame, the ever-present spark of insurrection in unfree Ireland; and because of its many irresistible channels of influence the present generation is already born to uphold Irish nationality and to crusade for sovereign nationhood. What will the youth of the country do? They shall war! Whatever else may occur, war is inevitable. "Beware of the risen people." The day is coming when the citizens of Ireland will again use the means necessary to right their native wrongs by declaring for Sinn Fein and the I.R.A. and forsaking the present puppet parliamentarians as they did time servers before.

The wind that shakes the barley is still there; and the Gael who rises in every generation to free his native land cannot change. Nature will standstill ere Irishmen cease to question in military terms the right of foreigners to invade our shores. So look at the windcock and prepare to weather the storm.

J.C.

Terence MacSwiney Said:

We fight for freedom . . . We stifle for self-development individually and as a nation. If we don't go forward we must go down. It is a matter of life and death; it is our soul's salvation. If the whole nation stand for it, we are happy; we shall be grandly victorious. If only a few are faithful found they must be the more steadfast for being but a few. They stand for an individual right that is inalienable.

You cannot elect to do nothing; the concurrence of circumstances would take you to some side; to do nothing is

still to take a side. Priest, poet, professor, public man, professional man, business man, tradesman—everyone will be called to answer; in every walk of life the true idea will find the false in conflict and the battle must be fought out there—the battle is lost when we satisfy ourselves with an academic debate in our spare moments.

AND TERENCE'S SISTER, AINE, in the course of a letter last month said:

"I hope the paper ('An t-Eireannac Aontuighthe') will keep up the slogan, 'Elect the Third Dail.' I know you are a new generation but the continuity of the Republican Government is the one thing that Free Staters want to kill—they, one and all, of whatever party, are striving to get the Free State accepted as the continuation of the First and Second Dails.

"Unless you keep reiterating that the Third Dail never met because Collins took Churchill's orders and guns to prevent it meeting and that the Third Dail of the Republic is to meet—that Stormont is to be razed to the ground and Basil Brooke and Warnock and their crew ejected with the British Army — unless that is your tone, you will not rouse the people—you should take that cry to the streets and make it resound and by doing so you will rouse the people.

NEW POGRAMS COMING

Mr. Brian Maginess, Stormont Minister for Finance, speaking at the Portadown Junior Chamber of Commerce on the 9th February, said that it would be idle to pretend that the future would be easy. They would have to tighten their belts and individuals must become realists and appreciate the position. Sir Graham Larmon said he believed they would have the present terrible load of male unemployment on their backs indefinitely, perhaps an even heavier one, if he read the signs of worsening world conditions afloat.

The shadow of the Hungry 'Thirties is again hanging over the Six County area and the probability of its becoming the No. 1 Distress Area in the so-called United Kingdom is looming ever nearer. The signs are being read very apprehensively by the Orange leaders and they are making the same preparations as they made in the 'Thirties; that is they are preparing for new pogroms, allegedly on a religious basis, but really in an effort to hold on to the ever lessening number of jobs available. This is the real significance of the recent Protestant and Orange row and all the vindictive abuse being hurled at the Brooke Government, who are being accused of being too lenient or tolerant to the Catholics. The harder the economic position becomes the greater the danger of a new burst of bigotry and persecution. If, as is being forecast, the load of male unemployment becomes steadily heavier, then the sooner we may expect to hear the dreadful war-cry of the Orange bigots against the Catholics — "Burn them out." Will we remain quiet this time? Will we remain inactive while the Orange Quislings wreak their vengeance on our fellow countrymen? Will we?

NORTH KERRY HELPS

The third branch of the Republican Aid Society in Kerry is now actively engaged in Listowel, under the capable chairmanship of Mr. Paddy O'Callaghan. Other officers are—Vice-Chairman: Mr. Jerry Buckley; Joint Secretaries: W. de Bartishell and Pat Kelly; Treasurers: Messrs. P. Eade and Jack Finucane; Committee: Michael O'Sullivan, W. O'Sullivan, Danny Broderick, Shemus Twomey, Thos. O'Shea, Thos. Walsh, Sean Ryan, P. McGrath, Moss Doyle, Thos. McAuliffe, Moss Purtill, Pat Corridan, Martin Murphy, Pat Dillon, Paul Kennelly, Jacko Lenihan.

The Committee have prepared a long list of activities and at the moment a "41" card drive is in progress throughout the whole area. The finals will be played on March 31st in St. Patrick's Hall, Listowel, by kind permission. The prizes are: 1st—£5; 2nd—£3; 3rd—£2, and already the drive seems assured of success.

Who's Who In Wales

Dr. Cadwgan Pengr Griffith, D.D., Ph.D.

Flourishing a cardboard battle-axe, valiantly pointing his finger at the enemy, saying "Bang" and hoping they'll take fright, tittering into his cocoa whenever the Welsh Republicans are mentioned, our good Doctor nevertheless thinks he's in the van of the fight for Welsh freedom. See the courageous way he will pen a pamphlet, observe the fire in his eye as he seconds a motion of protest, or his noble bearing as he takes part in yet another placarded procession.

He is doing his best and we don't want to be too hard on him. But his ideas and his tactics are more of a hindrance than a help. For they do not commend themselves to any facet of national experience.

—From "The Welsh Republican," February, 1954

How aptly the above description could be applied to so many Irish politicians who hope by passing resolutions, appealing to the Englishman's "sense of fair play" and all the rest of it, that they will eventually achieve something. What a vain hope!

CUMANN SEAN MIC EOCADH

"We the members of the Cumann Sean MicEocadh (Sean MacCaughey) Sinn Fein reaffirm our allegiance to the 2nd Dail Eireann — the legitimate Government of the Irish Republic and ratified by the votes of the people of all-Ireland, and we pledge our loyalty to the Declaration of Independence as issued by the 1st Dail Eireann, 21st January, 1919—pledging ourselves further to work for the achievement of all contained in that Declaration."

Above is a copy of declaration of Mac Eocaidh Cumann Sinn Fein and their friends at a commemoration meeting held in St. Mary's Hall, Tuesday, 26th January. At this meeting it was announced that the Cumann would hold fortnightly lectures commencing on Friday, 12th February. It was also announced that in connection with the Westminster elections (at which Sinn Fein will contest all 12 seats) the four Belfast Constituency meetings would be held in the near future. The first of these for North Belfast was held on Thursday, 10th February, 1954.

Sinn Féin

SOCIAL WELFARE

The first thing that springs to mind in regard to the supply of Social Welfare Services is that their cost must be met out of revenue collected through taxation in one form or another from the tax paying public. Generally speaking the tax paying public embraces all members of the population, because all are caught within the network of taxation, either in its direct or indirect form, or in both. Granted that the burden is generally lightened by a "spreadout" of taxation it remains, nevertheless, a fact that those who benefit from the provision of social welfare services contribute some share of their cost. Unemployment and the maintenance of remuneration for work at a level below that required by wage earners to support themselves and their dependents are two of the main factors contributing to the need for providing social services at a high over all cost to the community. The need for the 'Dole,' home assistance, free milk schemes, children's allowances, health services administered through dispensaries, etc., is mostly due to unemployment and low wages. It goes without saying that adequate provision must always be made for the mentally defective, the physically deformed, the aged, in a word for all who through the visitation of God, in one form or another, are unable to provide for themselves. Having made adequate provision for such surely a sane approach to providing a solution for the problem of social welfare would be to make those capable of providing for themselves and their dependents independent of any need for State assistance, through full employment at the necessary standard of remuneration for work accomplished. Periods of temporary unemployment either through illness or slackness of work will always have to be provided for. The former can be covered through a contributory scheme designed to meet claims for sickness benefits. The latter can be met in part, or in whole, through capital development schemes of a productive character.

In the sphere of social welfare the aim of Sinn Féin is:

(a) To correct the national outlook that has grown up among the people of which it may be said that its chief characteristic is to rob them of a spirit of independence and self-reliance and prompt them to seek State and other aids for many things which their own

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRAMME (continued)

industry and enterprise could provide. (b) To make adequate provision from State Funds for the care of the mentally defective, the physically deformed, the aged, widows and orphans, and for others incapacitated and unable to support themselves.

(c) To reduce to a minimum the need to provide unemployment benefits by directing development of the national economy towards achievement of full employment at a family wage for all. Periods of unemployment may be unavoidable but every effort shall be made to ensure that these will be as short as possible in duration and as limited as possible in extent. To meet whatever requirements that may arise through unavoidable unemployment provision will be made for adequate cash payments to those out of work from a fund to be established on the basis of a contributory scheme or from State finances or from a combination of both.

(d) To provide a comprehensive scheme of National Health Insurance on a contributory basis—contributions to be graded in accordance with the scale of family income. The scheme to be administered through a Health Council acting under the direction of a Health Ministry and to embrace, on an agreed basis, all health services (such as Dental, Ophthalmic and Optical, Specialist and Consultative, Midwifery, Pharmaceutical, etc.), including all hospitals—public, voluntary and private. Through the scheme provision will be made for payment of unemployment (through sickness) benefit, for marriage, maternity, disablement and mortality benefits, on scales commensurate with maintaining the solvency of the scheme. In addition provision could be made to the cost, in part or in whole, of specialised Medical advice and care in cases where the family income is not equal to bearing the extra cost of specialised services. The aim shall be to draft a good scheme suitable to the national economy, based on an expert actuarial estimate of the costs involved and financed by contributions from the State, employers and employees.

(e) In the provision of Social Welfare Services, to be guided by the paramount interest of the nation in preserving the Family Ideal, the sanctity of the home and as a general guiding principle that only those incapacitated and unable to provide for themselves and their dependents shall require assistance from the State.

surely an incentive and spur to those of us in the organisation who could do more with a little effort to promote a greater sale of the paper which is, after all, a vital factor in propagating the Republican message, aims and ideals amongst the exiles.

Joseph Mary Plunkett Cumann (Clydebank)

The Cumann continues to meet every second Sunday in the Hall, Graham St., at 8 p.m. Final arrangements have been made for the Rally and Ceilidhe to be held on St. Patrick's night in the Clydebank Burgh Hall. Tickets can be had from any of the secretaries of Sinn Féin Cumann. An excellent night's traditional Irish entertainment is guaranteed to all who are present on that occasion. The Cumann's monthly Ceilidhe may have to be discontinued for a short while owing to the fact that the Cumann have lost the use of the premises they have been using to date. However, the Executive will make a special effort to find alternative accommodation in the near future.

The Anti-Irish Irishman

I once knew a man who was Irish in name,
But duped by the pride and the strength and the fame
Of the British whose ways he professed to admire,
While scorning the force of his country's desire.
I met him one evening whilst walking alone,
And says he: "Are you still at that harping on Tone
And the rest of those fellows who tell us that we
Should be striving like blazes to set ourselves free.
What nonsense! This striving and fighting should cease.
And our people be glad to exist here in peace
With a nation whose ways are the Light of Mankind.
Now where in creation could anyone find
A civilisation more worthy of praise
Than the British; the Irish can only amaze
With their humbug of nationhood—making a stand
For a cause best forgotten at gump-tions command."

So says I to this man who was Irish in name:
"For what you have said you are hardly to blame;
Your arrogance springs from your ignorance deep
Of the teachings of Tone and the others who keep
A vigil through time on a cause that is just,
So holler the praise of John Bull if you must.
But answer me this ere I go on my way—
For the evening is cold and I'm wanting my taw—
If the British had done what the Irish should do
When the Germans were making a hullabuloo;
And their leader was asking the rest of mankind
Now, where in creation could anyone find—
A civilisation more worthy of praise
Than the Germans—and Britain had stood in a daze
While her foemen enslaved her, her Judases sold
The cause of their land—would your logic still hold."

And says I to this man who was Irish in name:
"Our striving is not just a jousting for fame;
A nation's first right is to live her own life
Free from foreign intrusion or internal strife,
Carefully fostered by those whose bleak interests it serves
And if for a moment your reasoning swerves
From this principle then its swerving must be
Away from the truth that a rustic could see.
There's a lesson that springs from the still recent past.
Nationality's force is a power to last—
And form for its people an ideal to guard
For the Russians admit that their struggle so hard
Would have been harder still had high pride in their land
Failed to find a response in the brave heart and hand,
And if Marxists can raise in its honour a shrine
I'm proud that my country's cause always was mine."

I doubt if this man who was Irish in name
Was greatly impressed by the big words that came
From my lips, so in sorrow I went on my way
For the evening was cold and I wanted my taw.
But I strongly suspect that the ideals that he
Glorified in his worship of Britain might be
The two or three pounds that his labour had wrung
From employment in England and thence to be sung
In a pean of praise which confused in his mind
The ideals in which his good nature could find—
A true goal by seeing the land of his birth
The kindest, the finest, the greatest on earth.
And I pitied that man who was Irish in name
And I hoped in my heart that the error to blame
Would vanish in him like the night at the morn
And the foes of his land be the butt of his scorn.

Glasgow G.A.A. Notes

On the 28th March Glasgow gael come to Antrim to play Antrim juniors in the first round of the Ulster Junior Championship (football). In previous years Glasgow has played the winners of the Provincial Championship in England, and the game was regarded as an all-Ireland semi-final, but despite the fact that their chances of reaching the semi-final this year must be considerably smaller the Glasgow gael are happy at the change as they believe it will strengthen the ties with home. The League Championship is now well under way, and the possession of their own ground has given the exiles a new incentive to practise their native games and it is hoped that the games will be well attended by the Irish people in Glasgow. Unfortunately, economic circumstances force many of the young exiles to work on Sundays, and what is proving to be to their spiritual detriment is also proving to be to their national detriment, many of the young lads being lost to the nation entirely after going to Scotland, and a dearth of national organisations places a strain upon the few legitimate Irish clubs and associations trying to assist the young exiles to retain their national characteristics.

SIOLIR

For this attitude queer of the Irish in name
Is only too common of late and they shame
A People who strove for long ages to end
The conquest and proudly declining to bend
To the will of the conqueror, still dare to own
To the epic of Pearse and the teachings of Tone
And the rest of the fellows that tell us that we
Should be striving like blazes to set ourselves free.
So if gump-tion's in season give gump-tion its head
Our thoughts, you will see, can only be led
To this—that the rifle's our best friend when lined
On the people whose ways are the Light of Mankind.
If your rifle is good and steady your aim
You have bullets in plenty and courage the same
Press often the trigger and soon you will find
That your standing's enhanced with the rest of mankind.

LOUIS DUFFIN

BUY IRISH GOODS

Report From Glasgow

SINN FEIN

Barnes and McCormack Cumann

The Cumann Executive wish to thank all who contributed in any way or helped make the recent Dail Eireann Commemoration a success financially and otherwise. A special vote of thanks goes to the speakers and artistes for helping to make the Commemoration a worthy one. A branch of the Prisoners' Aid has been formed by the Cumann and the names of the people to whom donations and monies connected with same should be sent will be published in next month's edition of the "United Irishman."

All Cumann members are asked to note that re-affiliation fees can now be taken by the Executive for the year 1954-55. Any Republican-minded exile who would like to join the Cumann should contact the Secretary in the Hall any Tuesday evening 7-10.30 p.m. (55 Well Street, S.E.).

The Executive are pleased to state that an all-time high record for sale and distribution of the newspaper "United Irishman" was reached by the Cumann members for the month of January. The group responsible for the newspaper sold or distributed nearly 900 copies during that month,

Flach O Caoimh this month summarises and adds his final article to his series:

WEXFORD IN 1798

Without doubt, the most amazing feature of the Insurrection of 1798 was the fact that it took place at all. That any Irish Catholic whose forefathers had for generations endured the emasculating influences of the Penal Code, whose horizon of life was bound, body and soul, to the sheer economic outlook of getting enough produce from his holding to sustain himself and his demanding fat landlord, whose hopes of aid from France had already twice been cruelly dashed and whose leaders all had been prematurely arrested or murdered before they could strike a blow, that this man should rise up in savage resentment against his oppressor testifies to the degree of provocation to which he was subjected and to the innate fighting spirit of his race.

Boulavogue, in the County of Wexford was the sacred spot where the explosive undercurrent first caught its spark. After his chapel had been fired by the Yeomen, in one of their frequent acts of depredation, Father John Murphy realised that it would be a better and holier thing to die fighting this evil, than endure it in the name of the Almighty. His downtrodden parishioners had only been waiting for a leader. Father Murphy supplied this long-felt want, and soon the conflagration of insurrection had not only overshot the boundaries of the parish, but also of the County itself. Camolin, Enniscorthy and Wexford quickly fell before the relentless arms of the outraged peasantry and the shocked British soldiery fled in terror from their bloody path.

TUBBERNEERING

After their uncontested capture of Wexford Town, the insurgents divided their forces into two main bodies, both of which set up camp in the neighbourhood of Vinegar Hill, the spot marked down as their provisional Headquarters. From here a disorganised band of insurgents advanced on Gorey Town and though the garrison was small, its concentrated fire proved too much for the undisciplined pikemen, who after a fierce tussle were forced to retreat. Newtownbarry was at the same time overwhelmed by another force of insurgents, but a sudden counter-attack by the garrison caught the initial victors unawares and they were forced to cede their hard-won gains. These two partial reverses gave new confidence to the English camp, and when General Loftus arrived with 1,500 reinforcements, they began to assume something of their old arrogance.

On the 4th June, General Loftus directed a two-pronged attack against the croppies, which was to be the coup-de-grace of their hopes and achievements. The insurrectionary forces had in the meantime split their numbers into two main groups, the first under Bagenal Harvey advanced towards the south-west, the second under Fathers John and Michael Murphy thrust their

way northwards and succeeded in surprising the first division of Loftus' troops at a place called Tubberneering. So fierce was their attack that they completely routed, in a short time, the seasoned troops and history records that the survivors were pursued as far as the walls of Gorey. When General Loftus heard of the fate of the flower of his army, though he was still at the head of 1,000 well-equipped troops, he immediately struck camp and retreated as far as Tullow in the adjoining Co. Carlow.

The victory-flushed insurgents swiftly advanced northwards and were soon within grape-shot of Arklow Town. They were opposed by a well-arranged and determined garrison, comprising reinforcements of militia from as far north as Cavan and Armagh. Thrice the Wexfordmen with grim determination attacked the enemy entrenchments, but the garrison with cannon and ball held their ground. Thrice the pikemen came within yards of storming the "dug-outs" but thrice the withering fire of soldiery proved fatal. When Father Michael Murphy was killed by a cannon within yards of the enemy lines, leading his countrymen in a final assault, the insurgents lost heart, and being confused, withdrew.

NEW ROSS AND AFTER

Meanwhile in the south, the second contingent of insurgents, 10,000 strong under Bagenal Harvey, advanced on New Ross. Harvey had been elected Commander-in-Chief after his release from Wexford Jail, and though he was outstanding in many ways, the gift of leadership of a large undisciplined force was not one of his accomplishments. He decided on a four-pronged attack on New Ross, which if properly executed might have succeeded. As events turned out a too strong attack in the centre proved successful but the less strong flank attacks failed to drive home the victory, and after a bloody 10 hour battle the rebels were forced to yield. After this engagement Bagenal Harvey resigned from his position as C.-in-C., and Father Philip Roche was elected in his place.

The Crown forces, now heavily reinforced by the troops from the "quiet" parts of the country began moving from the defensive to the offensive and the insurgents began retreating towards Wexford and Vinegar Hill. Refugees from all over the county fled before the oncoming English columns, who showed no mercy to those whom they even thought were unloyal. Wexford became the mecca of the refugees and Vinegar Hill the Thermopylae of the fighting men of Wexford.

VINEGAR HILL

Under the command of Lieut.-Gen. Lake, no less than four armies began converging on Vinegar Hill, from south,

north, east and west. The insurgents knew they could expect no mercy and they prepared to make their last desperate stand. Determinedly they set about building a rude fortification at the base of the natural rise in ground adjacent to the town of Enniscorthy. On the 21st June, just three short weeks after Father John's rising, the last major engagement in Co. Wexford took place.

It has been variously estimated that a minimum of 13,000 English troops were deployed in this last struggle. Men and wives are recorded as having fought back to back, blow for blow, against the remorseless enemy, before the insurgents found a breach in the English lines and succeeded in retreating to Wexford Town. Within a few days even this last outpost was forced to capitulate.

THE BEGINNING

Some yet continued the struggle, many individually died upholding their own honour or that of their women-folk against the excesses of the licentious militia. Others retreated to the north and the west, some to hold out in the fastness of the Wicklow Mountains, others to be run down and be annihilated piecemeal. Father John Murphy after Vinegar Hill thrust his way at the head of a small band through Kilkenny and attacked the town of Castlecomer. As in many of the engagements in the Insurrection, the odds were in favour of the militia who were entrenched behind their fortifications and being well armed and supplied, held the poorly armed insurgents at a great disadvantage. In this instance the pikemen were repulsed and a few days later were almost wiped out at Kilconnery. Father John was taken to Tullow, and after being cruelly scourged, was executed.

So ended one of the most glorious and bloody chapters of Irish history. The people were physically crushed and defeated, but the spirit which imbued their stand and the achievements they won, lived on to inspire future generations to do and dare, as they had dared and done. Tone would soon land in the North and although too late and too numerically weak to assist his countrymen would by his actions personalise the struggle, and by his words give an immortal significance to the stand of the Pikemen of '98 for the benefit of generations yet unborn.

THOUGH many of them were not aware of it at the time, what seemed to be the end for them was but the beginning of a new struggle for Irish nationhood, and though the Act of Union would two years later come to mock their endeavours, the spiritual victory of the Wexfordmen of '98 would in time far outlive their physical defeat. Full well did P. J. McCall, the ballad writer, touch on their true significance when he wrote:

"The cause that called you may call to-morrow
In another fight for the Green again."

Kerry G.A.A. Convention

THE BAN EXPLAINED

In the course of his address to the Co. Kerry G.A.A. Convention, the Chairman, F. J. Sheehy, said:

"It must clearly appear to anyone looking through the District Board reports that the G.A.A. is yearly waxing stronger in Kerry. During the year, however, we ran up against the question of foreign games within the county. It seems to me that many of the younger people in this Association, who are too young to have seen the latest of the armed efforts to achieve Irish freedom, are not aware of the reasons for which the ban was brought into existence and are being led away by the false slogans of enemies of this country abroad and at home. I refer to such slogans as: 'One game is as good as another!' 'There should be no politics in sport!' etc., etc.

'One game may be as good as another, but why should an Irishman, with four fine National games to choose from, pick a game which is as spurious and false in the Irish countryside as the red colour on six Irish counties?'

"With regard to the slogan that there should be no politics in sport, we feel that that depends on what one means by politics. If one means inter-party politics within the State, then we agree and we say proudly that there are no politics of such a nature in the G.A.A. This convention here to-day, I am sure, has many men who are members of the various political parties in this country, and the difference in their political opinions does not prevent them from working for the common good by helping the G.A.A. If, however, by politics we mean the broader principles of nationality, then I say, with pride, that the G.A.A. is founded on such principles, and God grant that it will never depart from them. The day it does it will cease to have a right to claim allegiance from Irishmen. Some of the advocates of foreign games would have us play all games. Nobody can play all games. Few people play more than two and most people play only one. In making a choice then we naturally expect that an Irishman will give preference to an Irish game just as an Englishman gives preference to one of England's national games—rugby, soccer or cricket—or an American chooses American football or baseball.

"I would urge our young men to take on the torch which is being handed to them and to pass on that torch of Irish nationalism and the undying aspirations of the Irish people to complete freedom which are enshrined in our games, to those who will in a short few years be ready to take over that torch. Many of the organisations that sought to keep alive the flame of Irish nationalism and to accentuate the characteristics that made us a distinct people and nation have been killed by our own indifference. The G.A.A. alone remains to show us the way, and as a virile national cultural organisation, the main purpose of our Association is to shade the dim flame of Irish nationalism, which now burns so low, as the flame was shaded by the I.R.B. during the dark years between '67 and 1916 until other men, possibly yet unborn, will rise up and in their righteous anger blast the infamous border that defiles the face of our fair island back into the hell where it was conceived by men of evil intent, and so bring to fruition the dreams of complete Irish freedom which have sustained our people in their many hours of misery, dejection and darkness. Nara fada uainn an la."

SUPPORT SINN FEIN ELECTION FUND ::

JOIN TO-DAY

Bring Your Ideas and Energies into
Action Now

READ—

"RESURGENT ULSTER"
PLEDGED TO THE IDEAL OF
REPUBLICAN IRELAND

WE CANNOT FAIL

Let those who are in sorrow rejoice, let those who stand in fear have courage, let those who are indifferent take heed, for truth is greater than the greatest politician's trick, is more successful than the profoundest plan of those whom the world call "statesmen." Our Leinster House politicians and the quasi-Nationalist politicians in Stormont use every artifice, every deception, every form of strategy and manoeuvre to win the nation to their side.

They may appear to be successful for a while, but ultimately they cannot succeed, they can only pretend to succeed, just as they pretend to be still Republicans. The mark of failure is upon them. It is the true Republican, the follower of Tone, Mitchel and McSwiney, who, in spite of all that seems and is said, has the promise of victory bright about him.

He cannot fail because no man who

TIPPERARY HITS OUT

A really alert national-minded people would make it imperative that Irish games would get pride of place in every school in Ireland and damn the consequences, said Mr. Sean O'Dwyer, after his election as Chairman of the West Tipperary Board G.A.A. Referring to the Ban, he said, that a stock argument used against it was that the British Army had gone out of the country. "In my geography," said Mr. O'Dwyer, "I thought that Armagh, Antrim, Down, Derry, Tyrone and Fermanagh were in Ireland. In the words of the U.S.A. Presidential candidate, Stevenson, 'let our enemies stop telling lies about us and we will stop telling the truth about them.'"

is true to himself has in the history of the whole world ever failed. The Republic cannot fail because no nation which has even a handful of faithful sons has ever failed.

IN MEMORIAM



GENERAL GEORGE PLANT,
I.R.A.

Executed in Portlaoighise Jail, 5th
March, 1942.

SPORTS TALK

THE GREATEST RACE EVER

Last month the N.C.A.I. released the biggest news in its history with the announcement that the National cyclists will have an 8-days race this year. The event will be the second Rás Tailteann, event will be the second Rás Tailteann, following the outstanding success of last year's two-day race under the same name. Readers will remember how in the 1953 event, which commenced from the G.P.O. in Dublin, a young competitor received a "Remembrance Wreath" from the organiser at the start and next day before the commencement of the second stage, laid that wreath on the Croppy Boy memorial in Wexford, as a token of homage from the youth of the N.C.A.I. to the United Irishmen and to all who fought and are fighting for the freedom of our nation. Last year's Ras Tailteann was indeed a wonderful spectacle, but this year's race has the appearance of being the mightiest sports drama ever to be held in Ireland.

An Ras Tailteann will cover over 800 miles in eight days of racing from Aug. 1st-8th and will link the Gaels of the four provinces. In the event the N.C.A. will demonstrate its truly national character and I understand that the riders will cross the border, whereas the C.R.E. Partitionist body, when announcing a 7-days race recently, pointed out that their event will not go into the Six Counties. A reliable source has also indicated that the C.R.E. race will not likely touch Kerry, following the hostile reception which these anti-national cyclists received there last year. Over £3,000 of mainly British controlled money has been subscribed to the C.R.E. for their race which will have British Army and Royal Air Force teams competing, while to date An Ras Tailteann has had no business support. This really shows how British business (which dominates the cycle trade here) is all the time opposed to the national interests of Ireland.

The National cyclists are pressing ahead undeterred, because behind the Ras Tailteann 8-days event is every Gael. The G.A.A. and N.A.C.A. are giving unprecedented backing to the race and a recently launched National Draw is meeting with great response throughout the 32 Counties.

The 1953 Ras Tailteann was a

triumph for youth, both as regards competitors and the organisers, Sean O'Reilly and Seosamh Mac Criostail, while this year's event is taking a similar pattern and joining the two above-mentioned are Kerry Sloan and Bernard O'Brien to form a four-man Road Council responsible for organising. More news of "The Greatest Race Ever" will appear in this paper in the months ahead.

N.C.A. 1954 RACES

The complete calendar of races for this year has not yet been issued, but some of the major events already fixed are listed below.

March

- 17 50 kilos C/P., Dublin.
- 21 Inter-County T.T., Dublin.

April

- 4 Beggan Memorial, Kentstown.
- 11 Dublin to Drogheda (O'Dowd Cup).
- 18 50 kilos Team M.S., Dublin.
- 50 miles M.S., Galway.
- 1st stage of Cork 2-Day event.
- 19 2nd stage of Cork 2-Day event.
- 50 kilos M.S., Tullamore.
- 25 116 miles M.S., "Ring of Kerry."
- 100 kilos M.S., Kilkenny.
- 50 kilos M.S., Wexford.

May

- 2 100 kilos M.S., Limerick.
- 8/9 2-Days event, Dublin.
- 16 100 miles "Kildare Grand Prix."
- 25 T.T. Dr. O'Mahony Cup, Cork.
- 23 50 miles M.S., All-Ireland Championship, Kildare.
- 30 50 kilos M.S., National Junior Championship, Kentstown.

June

- 5/6/7 "Ras Laighin," 3-Days event.
- 13 Cooper Cup, Dublin.
- 20 90 miles M.S., Navan.
- 27 50 miles T.T., All-Ireland Championship.

July

- 11 100 kilos "Tour of Meath."
- 18 "Guinness 100," Dublin.
- 25 100 miles T.T., All-Ireland Championship.

August

- 1/8 An Ras Tailteann.
- 15 100 miles M.S., All-Ireland Championship, Dublin.
- 22 50 miles M.S., Cullen Cup, Dublin.
- 29 95 miles M.S., "Ras Cill Dara."

anyway, when many of us hope to make the trip over.

The proceeds of our next concert will be forwarded to the Louth by-election fund, about which cumainn will have received a circular from Headquarters. In order to make this, our first political endeavour for some years now, a vital occasion, cumainn should put in an extra-special effort to help the fund.

Plans are taking shape for our Easter Week celebrations. A political rally, concert and bus-run are anticipated. Friends of Phil Jordan, our secretary, will be sorry to hear that his mother died recently. The inaugural meeting of our Discussion Group will take place this month. The Cumann is also hoping to revive the Roger Casement branch of the Gaelic League which has been lying dark and dormant for some time now.

SINN FEIN NOTES

CUMANN TOMAS MAC CURTAIN I gCORCAIGH

The 14th anniversary of the deaths of Peter Barnes and James MacCormick was commemorated in Cork on Monday, 8th February, at the Thomas Ashe Memorial Hall, under the auspices of Cumann Tomás Mac Curtáin, Sinn Féin. Liam O Mochóir delivered the commemorative address, in which he appealed for recruits for Oglagh h-Eireann and Sinn Féin, and explained that Republicans served no one man but an ideal. D. Mac Cionnaith presided.

Pipers of the Cork Volunteers' Band played the *Dead March* and Fianna Eireann buglers sounded the *Last Post* and *Reveille*. Cumann na gCailini Choir and Scouts of Fianna Eireann contributed to the short concert which followed.

PARTITION presents

"Legal and Constitutional Difficulties," say the Politicians

When the politicians in the Six Counties came down south to beg admittance to Leinster House, they received a blunt "NO," but in the polite and political terms that there were "legal and constitutional difficulties." Apart from this short reply the people of Ireland were not given any other details and apparently the Northern politicians docilely took this admonishment from their southern fellow-travellers. When they returned to their constituents, they didn't give any explanation but politely and politically told them—well, we have done our best, now vote us in at the next election and we'll try again.

"Legal and constitutional difficulties"—what law and what Constitution, you may ask? The answer is England's law and the 1937 Constitution.

The Free State inherited English law on its formation. The 26 Counties as a statelet had its origin in the "Government of Ireland Act, 1920"—an Act of the British Parliament—and it became active after the 1921 Treaty. The "Constitution of the Irish Free State, 1922" was the outline of the manner in which the 26 Counties would function. That Constitution was brought into existence by "The Irish Free State Act, 1922" and note Section 2 of this Act; it reads:

"If any provision of the said Constitution or of any amendment thereof or of any law made thereunder is in any respect repugnant to any of the provisions of the Treaty, it shall to the extent only of such repugnancy be absolutely void and inoperative."

The Free State took England's law and the mere fact that for party political propaganda, the name of the "Free State" was substituted by "Eire" in 1937 and by "Republic of Ireland" in 1949, did not alter the deep fact that fundamentally the 26 Counties' law is British and must comply with the Treaty.

THE 1937 CONSTITUTION

The 1937 Constitution is nothing more than another shrewd piece of party political propaganda. It effected nothing and is in fact the 1922 Constitution—which was drafted in London by British politicians—re-written. The terms remain basically unaltered.

There is, let us say, no reference to an Oath of Allegiance. This was, anyway, only an "empty formula" as far back as 1928, according to Mr. de Valera himself, and what man could be more conversant with it. He took that Oath and did not regard it as binding, therefore the fact that nine years afterwards

he rewrote the 26 Counties Constitution and simply omitted it, did not make and could not possibly make one atom of difference to the real position of our nation.

We all know that although there is no reference to the King of England in the 1937 Constitution, he was actually the Head of Eire for the purpose of external relations.

It is a fact that when diplomatic representatives were accredited to Eire, they were accredited to the King of England and this included the Papal Nuncio. The Free State leader told us that we could do that and yet be a Republic. Well, readers, judge for yourselves.

THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND ACT, 1949

Look 12 years later to 1949 and there is another great flourish of trumpets, when the Free State Government guided by Mr. Costello removed the King of England from his position as head of the 26 Counties and gave this complete but doubtful honour to a man whom they chose to call the President of Ireland. The history of what happened then, should be familiar. Mr. De Valera refused to celebrate the occasion on the grounds that the removal of the King had cemented the Border. The real reason was manifest—he would not associate himself with political propaganda that might be favourable to Fine Gael; just as they had refused in 1937 to associate themselves with political propaganda that might have been favourable to Fianna Fail.

THE CONCLUSION

To the Nation this means—they are all politicians, and let national interests be damned unless they serve the party interests. What national sins have been committed for party political propaganda, only future generations will rightly see.

"The Fianna Ideal Can Save The Future"

(Foreword of the Fianna Handbook by the Chief Scout)

Since writing the Foreword to this little book in 1914, the map of the world has been re-drawn. Empires have gone down, and free nations and peoples have emerged from their ruins. Ireland again seized her opportunity and sprang to arms. The dream of Freedom rose in beauty out of the thoughts and hopes of our young people. We know how the goal was nearly won, when treachery and ignorance again played their part, and riveted the chains around the neck of Caitlin ni Houlihan yet once more at the bidding of England.

The voice of Ireland's youth again spoke fearlessly through the G.H.Q. of the Fianna, proclaiming their allegiance to the Republic.

In the terrible war made by traitors on the Republic, the boys fought as bravely as the old Fianna of Fionn. Two of our Headquarter's Staff, Liam Mellows and Joe McKelvey, were treacherously shot five months after they had been made prisoners-of-war by fellow-Irishmen, at the bidding of the English Cabinet.

We realise that freedom is Ireland's inalienable right, that not one or two or

even countless generations could ever barter or give away; and that it is our duty to wait and watch and guard the honour of the Republic.

We have come together again to think and take counsel and to devise new methods against the new tactics and and new treacheries that we are faced with.

The example and teachings of our heroic dead are ever with us, and I would tell all our boys how Liam Mellows always urged on the Fianna the importance of educating and training their minds, in the principles and ideals that governed Gaelic Ireland. In a letter sent out shortly before his execution he sent us the following message:

"The Fianna ideal can save the future. The reason for so many young soldiers going wrong is that they never had a proper grasp of fundamentals. They were absorbed into the movement and fight—not educated into it. Hence no real convictions."

It is our duty as the Headquarter's Staff and the duty of the officers of the various units to see that the boys of the rising generation understand what freedom is, and that it is only great and good and wise men that can attain it for themselves and for their country; and that the only freedom worth striving for, is the freedom that Pearse visioned for Ireland when he said that he would have her "not free merely but Gaelic as well."