

An t-Éireannaic Aontuisteach The UNITED IRISHMAN

Common
Market
and the
Border
—Page 3

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AIBREAN (APRIL), 1962

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DEMAND UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE OF PRISONERS

Editorial

How The Press Was Muzzled

THE 26-County Minister for Justice has written to the editors of the national newspapers. He has thanked them for censoring the news of Republican activities and presenting the Campaign of Resistance in the Six Counties to their readers in an unfavourable light.

One wonders if he also thanked the powers that be in Radio Éireann for their unflinching presentation of the British Crown version of happenings in Occupied Ireland over the past five or six years.

In almost all cases statements issued by R.U.C. Headquarters in Belfast were unquestioningly made the basis for news reports by both press and radio. Resistance activities were thus deliberately and consistently misrepresented.

This was done very cleverly in order to strip them of all meaning and make them appear futile. Many instances of this distortion of the news have been pinpointed by this newspaper over the years.

In addition press and radio emphasised and gave precedence to events of lesser news value. The Resistance to British rule in Cyprus and to French rule in Algeria was played up while Irish Resistance to British aggression was belittled and even mocked.

The people's minds were purposely distracted from the national issue because those in power had no solution to it and they feared that national leadership might pass into the hands of the young men who were applying a solution which has proved efficacious in many countries. Algeria is the latest example.

Furthermore, successive 26-County Governments have been under continual pressure from the British Ambassador. News distortion was but one result of the British pressure. The Republican point of view was seldom—if ever—heard by the Irish people.

At every critical juncture British pressure—and the consequent pressure on organs of opinion in the 26 Counties—was renewed.

On November 12 last the Resistance ambushed a Crown Forces patrol in South Armagh. Two days later the British Ambassador called on Mr. Lemass. On November 22 the Military Tribunal was re-constituted in the 26 Counties.

An I.R.P.B. statement calling on the Irish people to oppose this appeasement of British Imperialism was suppressed by newspapers and radio. The Republican view-point was not heard.

On November 28 Mr. Haughey summoned the newspaper editors to his Department of Justice. He called for their co-operation in muzzling the press in the interests of British rule. And he got that co-operation.

But on February 26, the night the termination of the Resistance Campaign was announced, Mr. Haughey said blandly that the use of physical force against British rule was "a policy which Irish public opinion had rejected decisively." He did not mention his Government's £400,000 a year collaboration policy.

Since then others have echoed Mr. Haughey's sentiments. The "Sunday Press" of March 4 twisted the I.R.P.B. announcement—which they did not dare to publish in full—to mean that the Irish people had refused to support the Campaign.

The Irish people did support the Campaign—otherwise it could not have continued for over five years despite all the British terror and native collaboration that were brought against it. But public interest was skillfully diverted into other channels by press and radio.

PUBLIC NOTICE. ARMS & AMMUNITION.

I, GENERAL SIR JOHN GRENFELL MAXWELL, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., C.V.O., D.S.O., Commanding in Chief His Majesty's Forces in Ireland, hereby Order that all members of the Irish Volunteer Sinn Féin Organization, or of the Citizen Army, shall forthwith surrender all arms, ammunition and explosives, in their possession to the nearest Military Authority or the nearest Police Barracks.

Any member of either of these organizations found in possession of any arms, ammunition, or explosives, after 6th May, 1916, will be severely dealt with.

J. G. MAXWELL,

GENERAL,
COMMANDING-IN-CHIEF,
THE FORCES IN IRELAND

HEADQUARTERS, IRISH COMMAND,
2nd May, 1916.

Powell Press, Printers, 22 Parliament Street, Dublin.

The poster re-produced above was posted on Dublin walls in 1916 following the Easter Week Rising. Within the past year Stormont Home Affairs Minister Faulkner and more recently 26-County Justice Minister Haughey have followed "Butcher" Maxwell's example in offering a similar arms "amnesty."

And the Campaign was not an issue in the 26-County General Election of October last. Sinn Féin does not advocate physical force. Its opponents did not present an alternative. But in passing let it be noted that Sinn Féin with four elected representatives received hardly any press publicity and was actually denied time on the radio to present its case. The 26-County electorate did not vote anti-Resistance Campaign.

In his recent letter of thanks to the newspaper editors Mr. Haughey complimented them on their distortion and suppression of the news. He also said that, undoubtedly, this had had certain effects on the situation that had emerged.

He was merely stating the obvious. A better way of putting it would be that with native collaboration British and pro-British propaganda had scored another victory.

That is why Mr. Haughey's letter of thanks is an important pointer to the situation which has emerged.

It reveals a position of which the Irish people should be made aware.

SEVENTY-FIVE Irish Republicans are in prison for their country. Of these 43 are in Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast, three are in English prisons, and 29 are in Mountjoy Jail, Dublin. (See full listing on page 10).

The men in Belfast Jail are serving terms of penal servitude ranging from four to 15 years because they have actively resisted British rule in Ireland. The great majority of them are, of course, natives of the Six Occupied Counties.

But Counties Dublin, Cork, Galway, Monaghan, Louth and Kerry are also represented among the Republican Prisoners in Belfast. Conditions in "A" wing of the prison where they are held have been described by an ex-prisoner as "grim".

In England Joseph Doyle and Donal Murphy are serving sentences of life imprisonment—and 14 years penal servitude. Captured following an arms raid on Arborfield British Army camp in August 1955, they are now close on seven years in jail.

An Irishwoman—married and the mother of a family—is also in prison in England because she helped the Resistance. She is serving a sentence of 21 months.

PROOF OF COLLABORATION

"D" Wing of Mountjoy Jail, Dublin, holds the victims of the 26-County Government's shameful collaborationist policy. These include men named by the R.U.C. in December last as "wanted" in connection with Resistance activities in Occupied Ireland and since jailed by the Military Tribunal.

Four of the Mountjoy prisoners are serving sentences of one year imposed by District Courts in the 26 Counties. The other 25 are men imprisoned for terms ranging from four months to eight years by the Military Courts.

Even with maximum remission of sentence the last of the Republican Prisoners in Belfast is not due for release until November 1969. The sentences imposed on the men in Mountjoy by the Military Courts will not expire until December 1969.

The life sentences of the Republicans in English jails will not be up until it suits the British Government to release them. Mr. Butler, the British Home Secretary, had nothing to say on this point when he visited Occupied Ireland on March 23-24.

'NO QUESTION OF RELEASE'

On the night the termination of the Resistance Campaign in the Six Counties was announced, Mr. Haughey, 26-County Minister for Justice, said that "there was no question" of releasing the prisoners held under the Offences Against the State Act. That was how Radio Éireann reported him at 10.15 p.m. on February 26.

In Belfast next day Home Affairs Minister Faulkner also refused to release the prisoners. "Under no circumstances," he stated, "will there be an amnesty for the men serving sentences in Belfast Prison for Republican activities."

THE PEOPLE MUST SPEAK

But the mass of the Irish people remain inarticulate. They must speak on this great question. Regardless of what the jailers say they must demand the immediate and unconditional release of all 75 Republican Prisoners.

**LET THE IRISH PEOPLE DEMAND THAT THE
JAIL GATES BE THROWN OPEN NOW SO THAT
THE PRISONERS CAN RETURN TO THEIR HOMES
AND THEIR FAMILIES.**

Letters to the Editor

Coercion in Donegal

A Chara,

Reading the reports of the raiding of homes here in Donegal and elsewhere in the laundry and February issues of the *U.I.* I must say as an Irishman that I feel disgusted and ashamed of these 26-County police — the Gardai.

Is it any wonder that the politicians are trying to give an artificial look to the unemployment figures? The unemployed here who are in receipt of the "dole", many of whom have returned from Britain around the Christmas, have the Social Welfare Officer in their homes pretty often these days.

A ruthless investigation of the unemployed man's means is carried out; the few old hens are counted and, believe it or not, that wonderful little animal the donkey gets its name in the Social Welfare files these days.

Then we can hear Lemass and company tell the world, at some "Dinner" no doubt, that the unemployment figures have reached rock bottom. But, Mr. Lemass, you will not be honest with the people—you and the so-called national newspapers hide the truth.

The people here in Donegal in common with others throughout the country (and they are many) are welcome work. You have stooped so low as to deprive them of the few miserable shillings of dole they were receiving. Will you investigate the means of the £1,000 a year clique in Leinster House? Oh, no.

All who are not in receipt of the dole here you and your shadow-boxers, Fine Gael, have driven into exile. Of course the unemployed have to forfeit their shillings to keep patrol cars and Gardai running about breaking into homes in the early hours of the morning and going as far as pushing around women and girls. It is about time you introduced a course on faith and morals in the Depot in the Phoenix Park.

On Sunday evening, December 17, 1961, a near neighbour of mine—God rest his soul—was fatally injured while walking home by a hit and run driver. When an effort was made to report the accident at the local barracks here, it was found that no Garda was on duty.

Yet reading the *U.I.* I see that they could muster 12 members of the force exactly one week earlier to raid and ransack the home of Sinn Féin Councillor Seamus Rodgers. Scores of other homes throughout Co. Donegal received the same treatment.

Then we had a young lady teacher being dragged from her classroom in Glenties by the police. (I.N.T.O., please note. Have you protested yet? You were very vocal some time ago).

It is a shame and a scandal to find these employees of Mr. Haughey forcing their way into ladies' bedrooms in a number of places in the county. If it happened in the Congo, Aiken would shout his head off at U.N.O.

Why is there nobody in high places to condemn these atrocities? If I were a member of the 26-County police I would be a man and refuse to be a party to such work, letting John Bull's orders—via Haughey and Lemass—go to blazes.

A Letterkenny woman's death

was hastened by these activities, and I learn that a policeman attempted to seize a photo of that great patriot from near my own doorstep, "Plunkett" O'Boyle. We here in Burtonport and the Rosses will remember "Plunkett" with pride long after the peeler is gone.

Did we hear or read of Fianna Fáil T.D. Cormac Breslin or Fine Gael Deputy "Pa" O'Donnell raising the question of these raids and arrests in Leinster House? Ah, no—after all those arrested were only Irish Republicans. Many things have happened around these parts more serious than membership of Sinn Féin, yet no great noise was made about them.

We're still being made the dupes of John Bull and the modern "Bodach" rules supreme. I will soon have to face the emigration ship and become another of the figures of emigrant statistics. Of course I am not alone in that respect, driven from my home by the modern Cromwells who deny me a living in the land of my birth.

However, I will be back again, please God, and I appeal to you ordinary people to stand by Sinn Féin; yes, to men and women, boys and girls who put their country before big names and fat salaries.

Don't forget that some gain at the expense of your children who are being exported daily. Perhaps that child you cared for so well you may never see again when you bid him or her goodbye at the bus stop.

I wish you and your paper all success. At least you are not afraid to publish the truth and you do not need to use the slogan "The Truth in the News" to do it either. Thank God for your paper—I am always looking forward to it—and God bless the brave young lads in the prison cells.

Their cause will yet triumph.

SINN FÉINER.

Burtonport,
Co. Donegal,
27/2/62.

British Commandos

A Chara,

Just a note to inform you that on the 30th day of January, 1962, in Clogher, Co. Tyrone, a large number of British Commandos stationed in Ballygawley were charged with criminal assault on a 13-year-old girl.

The girl concerned was an orphan. She kept a diary which led to the arrest of these Commandos, some of them married men.

The court was held in camera. No one was allowed in or out—only those concerned. It was kept a very close secret.

I can assure you this is the truth and I sincerely hope you give it publicity. It has not been published in any paper in the North.

Seventeen men were charged in all.

Yours sincerely,

J. S.

Tydavnet,
Co. Monaghan,
14/2/62.

ENDING OF CAMPAIGN

THE leadership of the Resistance Movement has ordered the termination of the Campaign of Resistance to British Occupation launched on December 12, 1956. Instructions issued to Volunteers of the Active Service Units and of local Units in the occupied area have now been carried out. All arms and other material have been dumped and all full-time active service Volunteers have been withdrawn.

The decision to end the Resistance Campaign has been taken in view of the general situation. Foremost among the factors motivating this course of action has been the attitude of the general public whose minds have been deliberately distracted from the supreme issue facing the Irish people—the unity and freedom of Ireland. Other and lesser issues have been urged successfully upon them, and the sacrifices which could win freedom in the political, cultural, social and economic spheres are now stated to be necessary to bolster up the partition system of government forced on the Irish people by Britain forty years ago.

SECONDARY ISSUES

This calculated emphasis on secondary issues by those whose political future is bound up in the status quo and who control all the mass media of propaganda is now leading towards possible commitment of the people of the 26 Counties in future wars. The Resistance Movement stands firmly against any such course of action while Ireland is unfree and will use all its resources towards restoring in full to the Irish people their sense of national values.

For over five years Irish freedom-fighters have fought against foreign occupation, native collaboration and the overwhelming weight of hostile propaganda. Supported loyally by the Republican people of the Six Occupied Counties they have faced fantastic odds. 5,000 British regular troops, 3,000 territorials, 12,500 B-Specials, 5,000 R.U.C., 1,500 specially trained Commandos and sundry security guard forces totalling close on 30,000 armed men bar the road to freedom. Their considerable resources have included armoured vehicles liberally supplied by the British Government, heavily fortified strong-points and the most modern war equipment.

TORTURE AND TERROR

Terroristic tactics against the civilian population, draconian laws, imprisonment without charge or trial, torture—mills to force "confessions" from

We have received several letters concerning the recent termination of the Resistance Campaign in Occupied Ireland which seem to indicate that the writers had not read in full the I.R.P.B. statement of February 26. We would direct the attention of readers who did not receive our March issue to the full text of this most important press release which we re-publish here.

prisoners, long and savage penal servitude sentences, the shooting down of unarmed people at road-blocks and threats of even sterner measures including flogging and hanging have all been employed to maintain British rule in the Six Counties.

The collaborationist role of successive 26-County Governments—acting under British pressure—from December 1956 has contributed material aid and comfort to the enemy. Border patrols by 26-County military and police working in collaboration with the British Occupation Forces were instituted 48 hours after the opening of the Campaign. The press was muzzled and the radio controlled in the interests of British rule.

The methods and eventually the aims and objectives of the Resistance Movement were misrepresented to the Irish people and to the world by the professional politicians of the 26-County state. Top-level conferences with the Crown Forces and the continuous supplying of information to the enemy—secretly at first, but later quite openly—were other and lesser known features of collaboration.

26-COUNTY COLLABORATION

Unarmed freedom-fighters found within the 26 Counties were arrested and jailed while armed patrols of the British Forces could cross the Border at will. Jailing of Resistance supporters and even moral sympathisers throughout the 26 Counties followed while quiescent Irishmen from the same area were permitted to join the enemy forces. Homes were raided and people followed about by the Special political police. The Curragh Concentration Camp was opened and maintained for close on two years with 200 uncharged and untried prisoners. When public opinion forced its closing down, the Prisoners' Dependents Fund was attacked and hundreds of collectors jailed.

When this tactic too was defeated proceedings against Resistance fighters and their supporters at 26-County District Courts were suspended by the introduction of a Military Tribunal in November last. The savage sentences since imposed for technical offences culminated in the imprisonment of a young freedom-fighter from

Campaign of 1956-62 will ultimately triumph.

The Resistance Movement remains intact and is in a position to continue its Campaign in the occupied area indefinitely. It realises, however, that the situation obtaining in the earlier stages of the Campaign has altered radically and is convinced that the time has come to conserve its resources, to augment them, and to prepare a more favourable situation. The policy of not taking aggressive military action within the 26-County area remains unaltered and the Resistance takes its stand against any attempt to foment sectarian strife which is alien to the spirit of Irish Republicanism.

ETERNAL HOSTILITY

The Irish Resistance Movement renews its pledge of eternal hostility to the British Forces of Occupation in Ireland. It calls on the Irish people for increased support and looks forward with confidence—in co-operation with the other branches of the Republican Movement—to a period of consolidation, expansion and preparation for the final and victorious phase of the struggle for the full freedom of Ireland.

Signed:

J. MCGARRITY,
Secretary.

Irish Republican Publicity

Bureau,
February 26, 1962.

STOP! LOOK! READ!

A REMINDER . . .

. . . that there are still 75 Republican Prisoners held in British and Irish Jails.

In Belfast Jail there are 43 men sentenced to long terms of penal servitude, most of whom are already four or five years in prison (some almost eight years).

In Mountjoy Jail there are 29 men serving sentences ranging from four months to eight years.

In England two men are serving life imprisonment, while an Irish mother is serving 21 months.

The majority of these prisoners have dependents who are supported mainly by An Cumann Cabhrach.

Will YOU please help this charitable work by sending your donation to-day to:

AN CUMANN CABHRACH,
P.O. BOX 187, DUBLIN 1.

You can also help by supporting the various functions—cellite, concerts, raffles, etc.—which are held from time to time.

PLEASE HELP US
TO
HELP THE PRISONERS

Support
An Cumann Cabhrach

The Case Against THE COMMON MARKET

Have you read "Sinn Féin Opposes E.E.C. Tie" and "The Border and the Common Market", the first two in a series of pamphlets on the E.E.C.? Others are being prepared. For one and the same subscription you will receive 2 copies of each post free, according as published. Post this form to-day.

Please send me copies of all statements on E.E.C. I enclose 1/6.

Name.....

Address.....

.....

.....

To Sinn Féin, 30 Gardiner

Place, Dublin 1.

Common Market and the Border

STATEMENT BY SINN FEIN PUBLICITY COMMITTEE

ON July 15, 1961, the Sinn Féin Publicity Committee issued a statement in reference to the Common Market. In the course of the statement it was noted that Mr. Lemass had been reported in the press as stating: "In the context of European Economic Unity the partition of Ireland, which never made much sense at any stage, would become even more than ever now a patent and obvious absurdity."

In its statement the Sinn Féin Publicity Committee commented as follows: "Yes, the tariff border dividing the Six from the 26 Counties would possibly come to an end. But the disappearance of the Customs Posts on the border will not mean a closing down of the partition institutions of Government in Ireland and their replacement by a National Government, nor will it end British occupation of Irish territory."

Mr. Lynch's Speech at Queen's University

Since July of last year Mr. Lemass has repeated this particular theme and some of his professional political colleagues have echoed his statements in relation to it. One of the more recent echoes of Mr. Lemass, on this particular aspect of Irish entry into the Common Market, has been his Minister for Industry and Commerce.

Speaking at a function in Queen's University, Belfast, on February 19, 1962, Mr. Lynch was reported in the following day's issue of the "Irish Press" as stating: "... by the end of the transitional period, all tariffs will have effectively disappeared. By then," he said, "there would be free movement of goods between all member countries. The border between Ireland's North and South would have no reality in that situation."

A Useful Plank In Election Platforms

In Mr. Lemass's opinion the border never made much sense at any stage. For the professional politicians in "Ireland's North and South" who, like Mr. Lemass, have accepted the forcible partition of the national territory by Britain, the border never made much sense at any stage, except during election campaigns when it became a useful plank in their respective party platforms.

At such times the border question was aired in public because it was valuable as a means of garnering support for party politicians ambitious for power and financial gain, or for any other purpose that would serve their selfish interests. In one sense it is certainly true that, except for taking the border question out of cold storage at election times, the professional politicians in "Ireland's South" have not considered it of sufficient importance to do anything about its removal.

By then partition has not been rated for what it is, a blatant infringement of the nation's sovereignty, a barrier to the political and economic freedom of the Irish people. As against this Mr. Lemass and all the rest of the professional politicians consider that the border has made enough sense at all stages to justify their use of the forces at their disposal, allied with coercive legislation, to maintain the border in defiance of the wishes of the vast majority of the Irish race and to the detriment of the interests, prosperity and happiness of the citizens of Ireland.

Partition Has Prevented National Development

For the well paid professional politicians, parasites on many who are poor and in need, the border may not have made much sense at any stage, except to maintain it at all costs lest their professional political careers be placed in jeopardy. But for the taxpayers, for the unemployed and underemployed, for the emigrants, for the poor and undernourished the partition of Ireland has a significant meaning, because for over forty years it has

precluded development of a properly organised economy within which the evils they have suffered and still suffer would have been eliminated.

The border has meant a lot for those Irish men and women within the Six Counties who have been sold by the professional politicians into slavery and subjection to British rule and British domination. It had a particular meaning for the Irishmen who since 1922 sacrificed their lives in protest against the partition of their native land and in an effort to liberate the people of the Six Occupied Counties. And finally the border is of such importance to the future welfare and prosperity of the Irish People that its continuing existence and forcible maintenance justifies the Republican prisoners for their sacrifices to terminate it.

To state that, under Common Market conditions, the border will become "even more than ever now a patent and obvious absurdity" is a deliberate and calculated attempt to mislead people into the completely erroneous belief that with Ireland's membership of the Community the border and partition rule in Ireland will come to an end. To allege that under such conditions the border between "Ireland's North and South would have no reality" is likewise intended to deceive the Irish people and to induce them to "buy" the Common Market on "terms of sale" concocted by professional politicians with certain of their leaders acting in the role of auctioneers.

Powers Shared Between Stormont and Westminster

To understand just how little effect Ireland's entry into the Common Market will have on the border or partition of the national territory it becomes necessary to examine briefly how Central Government of the Six Counties is arranged and how it operates. Central Government of the area is vested in the Westminster and Stormont Parliaments. What are known as the "Reserved Services" are directly controlled and administered by Westminster. In either the control or administration of these services the Stormont Government, or the people of the area have no more say or influence than the residents of Hong Kong.

These "Reserved Services" include the Post Office, Profits Taxes etc., Income Tax and Surtax, Purchase Tax and Customs and Excise. Total "Reserved Revenue" accruing to the Stormont Exchequer from the "Reserved Services" approximates to 86.5% of the total cost of Central Government taxation paid by the people of the Six Counties. The services under Stormont control and administration are known as the "Transferred Services" and the revenue accruing to the Stormont Exchequer from these services is known as the "Transferred Revenue".

British Controlled and Occupied Territory

To further illustrate and for purposes of comparison the respective (estimated) figures for the year ended March 31, 1958, are as follows:—"Reserved Revenue" £84,159,000, "Transferred Revenue" £9,082,667. From "Reserved Revenue" the British Government deducts (a) the administration costs of the "Reserved Services" and (b) the "Imperial Contribution". For the year ended March 31, 1958, the respective (estimated) figures are: "Reserved Services" £7,716,000, "Imperial Contribution" £9,500,000. The sum of these combined figures subtracted from the sum of the "Reserved Revenue" gives what is known as the "Residual Cash Balance". After some minor adjustments this cash balance is returned, mainly through bi-monthly instalments, to the Stormont Exchequer.

From this brief thumb-nail sketch it will be seen that, for administration purposes, the border between Ireland's North and South is the land boundary, not simply between the partition states, but for all practical purposes between British occupied and controlled territory and the 26 Counties. Customs Posts on the Northern side of the border are manned by British Customs Officials just the same as

the Customs Posts at Holyhead, Liverpool, Glasgow or any other British ports of entry. With the meaning of the Customs posts on the border, or with the general administration of the Customs barriers between the partitioned states, the Stormont Government has no more say than a group of "Twist Dancers".

Occupation Forces Will Remain in Six Counties

A declared aim of the Common Market is to establish free trade between the member states of the community. In other words to do away with customs and quota restrictions between member states and thus open up free movement of goods, capital and labour forces within the Community area. With Ireland and Britain admitted to membership of the Community the existing Customs Posts on the border will go, in the same way and only to the same extent as those at say Dublin, Cork, Holyhead and Liverpool. To that extent, and only to that extent, will the border "become even more than now a patent and obvious absurdity." Any claim that in such circumstances the border "between Ireland's North and South would have no reality" is a deliberate misrepresentation, a piece of political chicanery intended to mislead public opinion in general and the Irish people in particular.

The British Government will remain in control of the "Reserved Services" and will continue to administer them and to extract the annual "Imperial Contribution" from the residents of the Six Counties, a contribution that over the years since 1921 has averaged ten and a half million pounds per year. The British Forces of Occupation will remain on Irish territory to enforce Britain's domination of Irish affairs and to make certain that Ireland's right to full freedom will continue to be withheld to the end that British colonial and imperial interests may be better served.

Stormont Will Continue As Heretofore

The Stormont Government will remain in existence to control and administer the "Transferred Services", to maintain "Law and Order", and enjoying exactly the same freedom it exercises to-day to employ at will those methods, that since its inception, it has used to maintain a bigoted, sectarian and anti-national administration. Ireland will remain partitioned under the rule of two native partition Governments with Britain exercising identically the same powers over Irish affairs that she exercises to-day.

For this crazy and unjust administration the people of Ireland are paying a rapidly increasing annual sum currently in excess of 250 million pounds, and this exorbitant and largely unnecessary drain on their resources will not cease on, will remain unaffected by, Ireland's entry into the Common Market. Ireland's economy will remain in all essential respects based on the existence of two separate states, because the full freedom of the nation and the unity of the country, the two things that are indispensable to the organisation of a national economy, will continue to be withheld by an alien power occupying by force a part of the nation's territory.

Partition and British Rule —Not the Border

At the function in Belfast which he attended Mr. Lynch is further reported as stating: "It could be argued with justification that the economic progress of Ireland as a whole has been and was being hindered by the existence of the Border." It will be noted how he avoided saying partition. He then went on to state "to the extent that reactionary politicians had contributed to the setting up and maintenance of this Border, it was difficult to absolve them from a goodly share of the responsibility for having put a brake on the country's economic progress." Those who seek and strive for Ireland's freedom and the welfare of her people

can fully agree and endorse both of these statements.

They will, however, extend his reasoning and his summarisation to its true and logical end. They will point out that when Mr. Lynch castigated "reactionary politicians" for their part in the setting up and maintenance of the border he failed to recognise, or to realise, that he was castigating himself and his professional political colleagues who govern the 26 Counties statelet. The members of the present 26-County partition Government may not have contributed to the setting up of the border. But since they and their political party predecessors in office achieved control of Government no "reactionary politicians"

'SINN FEIN OPPOSES E.E.C. TIE'

ARD-CHOMHAIRLE STATEMENT ON VITAL ISSUE URGES IRISH PEOPLE TO FIGHT NEW SELL-OUT NOW AVAILABLE IN AN EIGHT-PAGE FOLDER

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have been more assiduous in maintaining partition and no bunch of politicians in Ireland's North and South are more reactionary in this respect than they have shown themselves to be.

Using all the forces and resources at their disposal they have co-operated with Britain and her occupation forces in Ireland in maintaining the unjust partition of the nation's territory. Ireland's entry into the Common Market will make no change in this respect. It will not call for the repeal of the Offences Against the State Act in Ireland's South or for the repeal of the Special Powers Act in Ireland's North. Acts allowing for the deprivation of the civil rights and liberties of the people, for victimisation, for persecution and for police rule on a scale not exceeded by undemocratic laws in any other part of the world.

Confident Assessment By Stormont Minister

Compared with the prevarication of Messrs. Lemass, Lynch and company the forthright statement of Captain O'Neill, Six County Minister of Finance, as reported in the "Irish Press" 24/2/62, has much to commend it as a factual assessment of the border situation after Ireland's entry into the Common Market. "The Six Counties would no more become a part of the Irish Republic if Eire joins the Common Market, than Yorkshire will become a German Province . . . it has been assumed by some people in London that the border between Eire and the United Kingdom will vanish. We wish Eire well if she joins the Common Market. But she should not try to sell this idea to an unwilling electorate, by stating that Ulster will then fall into her lap like a ripe plum."

Only when the people of Ireland embrace the cause of full freedom and support a genuine and determined effort to break free from the foreign political and economic bonds that bind them in subjection to foreign interests and domination, and only then will the partition of Ireland be terminated. This much to be desired end will be realised when those who adhere to political and sectarian leadership extend their thoughts and their visions beyond the horizon of party interests, chicanery and make-believe by which reactionary politicians in Ireland's North and South have enshrouded them.

—Issued by Sinn Féin Publicity Committee: March 6, 1962.

THE SECRET OF STRENGTH

CHAPTER FIVE

TO win our freedom we must be strong. But what is the secret of strength? It is fundamental to the whole question to understand this rightly, and, once grasped, make it the mainstay of individual existence, which is the foundation of national life. So much has the bodily power of over-riding minorities been made the criterion of absolute power, that to make clear the truth requires patience, insight, and a little mental study.

But the end is a great end. It is to reconnoitre the most important battlefield, to discover the dispositions of the enemy, to measure our own resources and forge our strength link by link till we put on the armour of invincibility.

We have to grasp a distinction, knowledge of which is essential to discerning true strength. It can be clearly seen in the contrast between two certain fighting forces: first, a well-organised army, capable led, marching forward full of hope and buoyancy; second, a remnant of that army after disaster, a mere handful, not swept like their comrades in panic, but with souls set to fight a forlorn hope.

Let us study the two: in the contrast we shall learn the secret. The courage of the well-organised army is not of so fine a quality that serving the few to fight the last gasp.

THE STRENGTH OF AN ARMY

Consider first the army. What is its value as a force? Its discipline, its consolidation, the absolute obedience of its units to its officers, with the resulting unity of the whole: added to this is the sense of security in numbers, buoyancy of marching in a compact body, confidence in capable chiefs—all these factors go to the making of the courage and strength of the army.

It is because their combination makes for the reliability of the force that discipline is so much valued and enforced, even to the point of death. Let us keep this in our mind, that their strength lies in their numbers, concentration, unity, reliance on one another and on their chiefs.

A sudden disaster overtakes that army—the death of a great general, the miscarriage of some plan, a surprise attack, any of the chances of war, and the strength of the army is pierced, the discipline shaken, the sense of security gone.

INDIVIDUAL RESOLUTION

There is an instinctive movement to retreat: the habit of discipline keeps it orderly at first; the fear grows; all precaution and restraint are thrown aside—the retreat is a rout, the army a rabble, the end debacle. External discipline in giving them its strength left them without individual resource; internal discipline is ignored.

When their combined strength was gone there was individual helplessness and panic. Consider,

now, a remnant of that army, the members of which have the courage of the finer quality, individually resolute and set on resistance, clearly seeing at once all the possible consequences of their action, yet with that higher quality of soul accepting them without hesitation, pledging all human hopes for one last great hope of snatching victory from defeat, or, if not to save a lost battle, to check an advancing host, rally flying forces, and redeem a campaign.

THE HEROIC QUALITY

This is the heroic quality. In a crisis, the mind possessed of it does not wait for instructions or to reason a conclusion. It sees definite things, and swift as thought decides.

There are flying legions, a flag down, a conquering army, and flight or death—to all eyes these are apparent; but to a brave company between that flight and death there is a gleam of hope, victory, and for that forlorn hope flight is put by with the acceptance of death in the alternative if they fail.

That is the quality to redeem us. Because it is witnessed so often in our history we are going to win; not for our prowess in more fortunate war on an even field or with the flowing tide, not for many victories in many lands, but for the sacred places in this our brave land that are memorable for fights that registered the land unconquerable.

Why a last stand and a sacrifice are more inspiring than a great victory is one of the hidden things; but the truth stands: for thinking of them our spirits rekindle, our courage re-awakens, and we stiffen our backs for another battle.

THE FATAL ERROR

We have, then, to develop individual patience, courage and resolution. Once this is borne in mind our work begins. In places there is a dangerous idea that sometime in the future we may be called on to strike a blow for freedom, but in the meantime there is little to do but watch and wait. This is a fatal error: we have to forge our strength in the interval. There is a further mistake that our national work is something apart, that social, business, religious and other concerns have no relation to it, and consequently we set apart a few hours of our leisure for national work, and go about our day as if no nation existed.

But the middle of the day has a natural connection with the beginning of the day and the end of the day, and in whatever sphere a man finds himself, his acts must be in relation to and consistent with every other sphere.

He will be the best patriot and the best soldier who is the best friend and the best citizen. One cannot be an honest man in one sphere and a rascal in another; and since a citizen to fulfil his duty to his country must be honourable and zealous,

he must develop the underlying virtues in private life.

He must strengthen the individual character, and to do this he must deal with many things seemingly remote and inconsequential from a national point of view.

Everything that crosses a man's path in his day's round of little or great moment requires of him an attitude towards it, and the conscious or unconscious shaping of his attitude is determining how he will proceed in other spheres not now in view.

Suppose the case of a man in business or social life. He has to work with others in a day's routine or fill up with them hours of leisure they enjoy together. Consider to what

Principles Of Freedom

by

Terence MacSwiney

accompaniment the work is often done and with what manner of conversation the leisure is often filled.

In a day's routine, where men work together, harmonious relations are necessary; yet what bickerings, contentions, animosities fill many a day over points never worth a thought. You will see two men squabble like cats for the veriest trifle, and then go through days like children, without a word.

ABSENCE OF MANLINESS

You will see something similar in social life among men and women equally—petty jealousies, personalities, slanderings, mean little stories of no great consequence in themselves, except in the converse sense of showing how small and contemptible everything and everyone concerned is.

A keen eye notes with some depression the absence from both spheres of a fine manliness, a generous conception of things, a large outlook, that prevents a squabble with a smile, and because of a consciousness of the need for determination in a great fight for a principle, holds in true contempt the trivialities of an hour.

For in all the mean little bickerings of life there is involved not a principle, but a petty pride. One has to note these things and decide a line of action. In the abstract the right course seems quite natural and easy, but in fact it is not so.

NO PURPOSES SERVED

A man finds another act towards him with unconscious impudence or arrogance, and at once flies into a rage; there is a fierce wrangle, and at the end he finds no purpose served, for nothing was at stake.

He has lost his temper for nothing. In his heat he may tell you "he wouldn't let so-and-so do so-and-so," but on the same principle he should hold a street argument with every fish-wife who might call him a name. He

may tell you "he will make so-and-so respect him," but he offends his own self-respect if he cannot consider some things beneath him.

One must have a sense of proportion and not elevate every little act of impudence into a challenge of life to be fought over as for life and death. It may be corrected with a little humour or a little disdain, but always with sympathy for the narrow mind whose view of life cannot reach beyond these petty things.

Yet, to repeat, it is not easy. An irritable temper will be on fire before reason can check it; the process of correction will prove uncomfortable—the reasons will be there, but the feelings in revolt.

Still, little by little, it is brought under, and in the end the nasty little irritability is killed just like a troublesome nerve; and, by and by, what once provoked a fierce rage becomes a subject for humorous reflection.

No one fear we will kill the nerve for the great Battle of Life; this we but strengthen and make constant. Every act of personal discipline is contributing to a subconscious reservoir whence our nobler energies are supplied for ever. And so, little things lead to great; and in an office wrangle or a social squabble there is need for developing those very qualities of judgment, courage, and patience which equip a man for the trials of the battle field or the ruling of the state.

We have considered the individual in business and social life. Let us now follow him into a political assembly. We find the same conditions prevail. Again, men fight bitterly but most frequently for nothing worth a fight; and again those rightly judging the situation must resolve not to be tempted into a wrangle even if their restraint be called by another name.

ON 'PRACTICAL' GROUNDS

What is a political assembly if often the first thing to note? We begin by the assumption, "this is a practical body of men," the words invariably used to cover the putting by of some great principle that we ought all endorse and uphold.

But, first, by one of the many specious reasons now approved, we put the principle by, and before long we are at one another's throats about things involving no principle.

It is not necessary to particularise. Note any meeting for the same general conditions: a chairman, indecisive, explaining rules of order which he lacks the grit to apply; members ignoring the chair and talking at one another; others calling to order or talking out of time or away from the point; one unconsciously showing the futility of the whole business by asking occasionally what is

before the chair, or what the purpose of the meeting.

This picture is familiar to us all, and curiously we seem to take it always as the particular freak of a particular time or locality; but it is nothing of the kind. It is the natural and logical result of putting by principle and trying to live away from it.

HONOURABLE STANDARDS

Yet, that is what we are doing every day. It means we lack collectively the courage to pursue a thing to its logical conclusion and fight for the truth realised. If we are to be otherwise as a body, it will only be by personal discipline training for the wider and greater field.

We must get a proper conception of the great cause we stand for, its magnitude and majesty, and that to be worthy of its service we must have a standard above reproach, have an end of petty proposals and underhand doings, be of brave front, resolute heart, and honourable intent.

We must all understand this each in his own mind and shape his actions, each to be found faithful in the test. In fine, if in private life there is need for developing the great virtues requisite for public service, even more is it necessary in public life to develop the courage, patience and wisdom of the soldier and the statesman.

A concrete case will give a clearer grasp of the issue than any abstract reasoning. Our history, recent and remote, affords many examples of the abandonment by our public men of a principle, to defend which they entered public life; and our action on such an occasion is invariably the same—to regard the delinquent as simply a traitor, to load him with invective and scorn and brand him for ever.

WEAKNESS THE CAUSE

We never see it is not innate wickedness in the man, but a weakness against which he has been untrained and undisciplined, and which leaves him helpless in the first crisis.

Ireland has recently been increased by the action of some of her mayors and lord mayors in connection with the English Coronation festival; the feeling, the labourer and the Lord. Surely, we are all against the microbes. There is a great demonstration, their Excellencies attend—and the mayor presides.

Under the banner of the microbe he is caught. It is a great occasion, which their Excellencies grace and improve. His Excellency is affable with the mayor; her Excellency is confidential and gracious with the mayoress—we might have been school-children in the same townland we are so cordial. Everything proceeds amid plaudits, and winds up in acclamation. Their Excellencies depart.

Great is the no-politics era—you can so quietly spike the guns of many an old politician—and keep him safe. The social amenities do this. Their Excellencies have gone, but they do not forget.

Around a public man in place circulates a swarm of interested people, needy friends, meddling politicians, "supporters" generally. The chief magistrate will

have influence on the bench which they all wish to invoke now and then, and they all wish to see him there. They don't approve of any principle that stands in the way. They group themselves together as his "supporters," and claiming to have put him into public life, they act as if he had acquired a lease of his soul. Not what he knows to be right, but what they believe to be useful, must be done; and before the first day is done the first fight must be made.

However, the old Fenian has enough of the spirit of old times to come safe through the first round. But the second is close on his heels: Dublin Castle has been attentive.

The mayor, as chief magistrate, has privileges on the Castle now silently closes. There are private and veiled remonstrances by secret officials: "The Mayor is acting illegally; he must not do so-and-so; such is the function of a magistrate; he has not taken the oath," etc.

All this renewing the fight of the first day, for the Castle, too, wants the mayor on the bench, to brand him as its own and alienate him from the old flag. It puts on the pressure by suppressing his privileges, weakening his influence, and disappointing his "supporters." All this is silently done.

BEWILDERING FLATTERY

Still, the mayor holds fast, but he has not counted on this, and is beginning to be baffled and worried. Meanwhile a sort of guerrilla attack is being maintained: invitations arrive to garden parties at Windsor, lesser functions nearer home, free passages to all the gay festivals, free admissions everywhere, the route indicated, and a gracious request for the presence of the mayor and mayoress.

Genuine business engagements now save the situation, and the invitations are put by, but our chief citizen is now bewildered. These social missiles are flying in all directions, always gracious and flattering, never challenging and rude—who can withstand them? Still he is bewildered, but not yet caught.

A new assault is made: the great Health Crusade Battery is called up. Here we must all unite, God's English and the wild Irish, the Fenian and the Cassleman, the labourer and the Lord. Surely, we are all against the microbes. There is a great demonstration, their Excellencies attend—and the mayor presides.

Under the banner of the microbe he is caught. It is a great occasion, which their Excellencies grace and improve. His Excellency is affable with the mayor; her Excellency is confidential and gracious with the mayoress—we might have been school-children in the same townland we are so cordial. Everything proceeds amid plaudits, and winds up in acclamation. Their Excellencies depart.

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(Continued on page 5.)

WHAT THE WORLD THINKS OF US

A SPANISH VIEW

IN "MADRID, DIARIO DE LA NOCHE", the Spanish capital's evening newspaper, for March 8, Ireland appeared in a series called "The Nineteen Europes". The heading of the article was "Ireland—a divided island which continues to be depopulated—with its heroic fight it achieved more the external signs of sovereignty than independence itself."

The article noted that "the keys of the credit and banking system of insurance and of marine transport are in London. The Irish pound is dependent on sterling. If England wished, she could ruin and pauperise Ireland. . . . Reunification would improve the situation in the Republic, giving it a stronger economy and a more stable economic equilibrium; but reunification depends also on England."

"Ireland, with its heroic fight, has gained more the external signs of independence than true independence itself. From certain points of view she is more vulnerable to-day before England than

when she had 104 representatives in the British House of Commons."

The article also said that "The business ability of the Irish is proven by the many fortunes made by Irishmen overseas; but this is little evident in the land of their birth, as if the long centuries of servitude were still an obstacle to the nation's progress."

The Irish Resistance Movement was not overlooked by the writer who mentioned among other activities the Arbourfield Raid of 1955 and the fact that the three Irish Republicans sentenced to penal servitude for life for their part in the raid "allowed themselves to be sentenced to life

imprisonment without ever revealing the least detail of those whose orders they obeyed."

The writer expressed surprise that an island with one of the most indented coastlines in Europe "has no fishing industry worth speaking of" and "the land of cattle pastures par excellence has only a ridiculously small number of slaughter-houses."

However much these opinions may surprise Irish people they will scarcely surprise Spaniards who, while they respect Ireland and the Irish, continue to this day for the major part to believe that Ireland and England are one.

—Gael sa Spáinn

MOUNTJOY RELEASES

RELEASED unconditionally from Mountjoy Jail, Dublin, before their sentences had expired were:

Liam Boylan, 78 Clancarrig Rd., Donnycarny, Dublin (on March 2);

Michael Murtagh, Main Street, Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim; Seamus McCann, 12 Ballymacool Terrace, Letterkenney, Co. Donegal;

John Mulvihill, Convent Road, Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim (all on March 7);

Loran O h-Aimheirgin, 6 James Street, Kilkenny (on March 22). Both Liam Boylan and John Mulvihill were arrested in their homes and were sentenced to four months imprisonment by the Military Court in December last for refusing to answer questions.

Seamus McCann was serving twelve months for possession of ammunition, and Michael Murtagh six months for not answering questions, sentences having been imposed by 26-County District Courts. Loran O h-Aimheirgin was serving six months for refusing to answer questions and having a 22 sporting rifle without a certificate.

Released on expiration of sentence during March were the following:

Malachy McGurran, Brownlow Terrace, Lurgan, Co. Armagh; Peter Pringle, Almeida Terrace, Kilmahinham, Dublin;

Alphonsus O Riain, "Golford," Renmore Road, Galway; Joseph Maguire, Ballinagh, Co. Cavan;

Patrick Murphy, Brownshof, Inistioige, Co. Kilkenny; Eamonn Mac Thomais, Mourne Road, Drimnagh, Dublin; Eamonn McNulty, Edenvale Rd., Ranelagh, Dublin;

Hugh Hutchinson, Walkinstown Park, Dublin.

The last three named were arrested in their homes in Dublin by Special Branch police early on the morning of November 27 last. All were sentenced to four months imprisonment by the 26-County Military Court for refusing to give information.

The other five men were jailed by District Courts for refusing to answer questions. In addition Malachy McGurran and Peter Pringle were sentenced for possession of arms and ammunition (one year each) and Patrick Murphy for possession of a document relating to weapon training (six months).

There are still 29 Republican Prisoners in Mountjoy.

(Continued)

PRINCIPLES OF FREEDOM—continued

There is a warm word of thanks for recent hospitality. Perhaps the mayor has a daughter about to be married, or a son has died; it is remembered, and the cordial congratulation or gracious sympathy comes duly under the great seal. What surly man would resent sympathy?

And so, the strength of the old warrior is sapped: the web is woven finely in its secret net; the Castle has its man. You who have exercised yourselves in Dublin recently over mayoral doings, note all this—not the making light of any man's surly temper, but to the true judging of the event, its deeper significance and danger. Whoever fails must be called to account.

When a man takes a position of trust, influence, and honour, and, whatever the difficulty, abandons a principle he should hold sacred, he must be held responsible.

A battle is an ordeal, and we must be stern with friend and foe. But there is something more sinister than the weakness of the man; remember the net.

The concrete case makes clear the principle in question. The man whom we have seen go down would have been safe if he had to fight no battle but one he could face with all his true friends and in the open light of day.

INDIRECT ATTACKS

Having to fight a secret battle was never even considered: threats direct or vague or subtle, blandishments, cajolery, graciousness, patronage, flattery, plausible generalities, attacks indirect and insidious—all coming without pause, secret, silent, tireless.

He who is to be proof against this, and above threat or flattery, must have been disciplined with the discipline of a life that trains him for every emergency.

You cannot take up such a character like a garment to suit the occasion: it must be developed in private and public by all those daily acts that declare a man's attitude, register his convictions, and form his mind. It gives its own reward at

once, even in the day where there is apparently at stake: where men scramble furiously over petty things of life; for he who sees these things at their proper value is unruffled.

His composure in all the fury has its own value. But the mind that held him so, by the very act of dismissing something petty, gets a clearer conception of the great things of life; by intuition is at once awake to a hovering and fatal menace to individual or national existence, unseen of the common eye; and in that hour proves, to the confusion of the enemy, clear, vigorous and swift.

A FINER COURAGE

Let us, then, for this great net note what is the secret of strength. Not alone to be ready to stand in with a host and march bravely to battle—the discipline that provides for this is great and valuable and must be always observed and practised.

This gives, however, only the common courage of the crowd, and can only be trusted on an even field where the chances of war are equal. But when there is a struggle to restore freedom, where from the nature of the case the chances are uneven and the soldiers of liberty are at every disadvantage, then must we seek to adjust the balance by a finer courage and a more enduring strength.

The mustering of legions will not suffice. The general reviewing this fine array who would rightly estimate the power he may command, must silently examine the units, to judge of this brave host how large a company can be formed to fight a forlorn hope. If this spirit is in reserve, he is armed against every emergency.

If the chances are equal, he will have a splendid victory; if by any of the turns of war his legions are shaken and disaster threatened, there is always a certain rallying-ground where the host can re-form and the field be re-won, and the flag that has seen so many vicissitudes be set at last high and proudly in the light of Freedom.

Agoid In Aghaidh Telefise Gallda

Ar aithe Shathairn, Trábhra 17, chuig Gaeltéisirí Bhéal Feirsde tús le feachtas bolcaireachta in-aghaidh Udarais Telefise Éireann. Bhí cruinniú poiblí aca i Sráid Uí Chonail, Ach Chathach aca a bhí fúil leis na páipéirí máis-anta oircead agus líne a tháirgí dhóibh.

Seo thíos cóip de chearcallán a fuair amaraí uatha:

CONNRADH NA GAEDHILGE
COISDE CEANNTAIR BHÉAL
FEIRSE

CUSPÓIR:

An teangaigh Gaedhíge a chur le ath-réim ar fúad na h-Éireann uile ionann go mba tair shaor Ghaedhígeach i ath-uair.

Guthán: Béal Feirsde 2221.

An Ard Scoll,

25 Sráid Dubhais,

Béal Feirsde 12.

Lá Fhéil' Bríghde, 1962.

A Charaid

Is cáis le Gaedhí Bhéal Feirsde an sampla is deidheannaigh de'n chúl le cinídh atá tugtha ag Riaghaltas na sé gConndae is fiche. Feall ar an Ghaedhígeacht agus ar aca 'n tuismightheoir sa Ghalltach atá ag tógáil cloinne le Gaedhíge agus ar fhorshamhail iomlán na Náisiún Ghaedhígeach, is eadh bunghadh agus feidhmighadh an ughdarais atá freagartha do'n phobal as cúrsaí telefíse agus radio.

Cuireann Gaedhí Bhéal Feirsde fá n-á goinne féin an éagóir seo a chur ar ceal. Chuirge sin tá rún againa Gaedhí uile na tíre a ghriosaigh agus a eagrúghadh leis an chás a throid go deiradh.

Tuigmid nach bhfuil i gcoir cheart Telefíse agus Radio a chur ar fagháil do phobal na hÉireann aca aon chuid amháin de'n dún-gaiois iomlán a chaitheas Riaghaltas Gaedhígeach a shaothruighadh leis an Náisiún Ghaedhígeach a chur i n-ath-réim—dungaiois a gcaithfidh slánuighadh agus leathnughadh na Gaedhígeachta bheith mar phríomh-tháir.

Tá rún againa cruinnighadh poiblíche faoi 'n spéir a reachtáil i Sráid Uachtarach na Mainistreach, Baile Átha Cliath, Día Sathairn an 17ad lá Mí Feabhra, 1962 ar a 8 p.m. mar bhuíche teacht de feachtas bolcaireachta ar a chuspóir an t-ughdarais láithreigh telefíse agus radio a bhriseadh agus ughdarais ceart náisiunta a chur i n-áit.

Is léir ar mhéon an ughdarais láithreigh go dtí seo mar a nochtuighthead sin go poiblíche agus ar an dóigh ar tógadh agus ar ceapadh a fhuairann nach bhféadfaid an t-ughdarais sin a ceart a thabhairt do'n teangaigh dhá náisiunta fídh amháin dá mba mhin leo. Ughdarais nuaidh atá 'e dháth. Ní dheanfaidh dadaidh eile chos.

Ach oircead a's rinneadh mólughadh ar bith leis na scéithaí bliadhna ar Chuspóir na Saoirse iomláine gan acht de'n tfr uilig ní cuibhio do Gluaiseacht na Gaedhíge nó do chuid ar bith dhíthe, rud ar bith níos lugha ná cuspóir iomlán náisiunta a chur i láthair phobla na tíre. Ní 2 percent nó 92 percent cuid do Éireann ná Radio Éireann nó Telefís Éireann ach céad percent a theastuighuas o'na Ghaedhíge má tá sí le buanghadh sa Ghaedhígeacht agus le daingnighadh sa Ghalltach agus le cur i réim ar fud na tíre uilig.

Tá Coisde Ceantair Bhéal Feirsde de Chonnradh na Gaedhíge ag larradh ar aca 'n eagraidheacht Ghaedhígeach sa tír agus ar eagraidheacht mar dheirean aca, cinnteoir amháin a chur ar an chruinnighadh phob-

Fianna Éireann Notes

G.H.Q.

Easter Sunday, the day which is recognised by the Irish Republican Movement as a day of remembrance dedicated to all those who fell in the various phases of the fight for freedom, is with us again.

Fianna Éireann members have participated in the struggle since 1916. The following is a list of Fianna members who gave their all for the Irish Republic:

- Sean Houston, 1916 (executed).
- Con Colbert, 1916 (executed).
- Sean Healy, 1916 (killed in action).
- Sean Howard, 1916 (killed in action).
- Gerard Keogh, 1916 (killed in action).
- Fred Ryan, 1916 (killed in action).
- Brendan Donelan, 1916 (killed in action).
- Liam Mellowes, 1922 (executed).
- Joe McKelvey, 1922 (executed).
- Bertie Murphy, 1922 (murdered).
- Sean Cole, '922 (murdered).
- Alf Colley, 1922 (murdered).
- Hughes, 1922 (murdered).
- Houlihan, 1922 (murdered).
- Rodgers, 1922 (murdered).

These are but a few of the many Fianna members who died. The above list was compiled from old Fianna notes. There are a lot more names to add to it. We are therefore appealing to anyone with this information to write to us.

DUBLIN BATT.

Several members of the Con Colbert Slough spent the weekend of the 17th and 18th of March camping in the Wicklow mountains. This Slough is an example to others to get out camping early in the year.

All enquiries to:
FIANNA ÉIREANN,
c/o P.O. Box 187,
Dublin.

Coiste Cuimhneachain Náisiunta EASTER SUNDAY, APRIL 22, 1962

Dublin Easter Commemoration

Mass at Adam and Eve's Church, Merchants' Quay, at 11 a.m. Parade will assemble at the Custom House at 2.30 p.m. and will leave at 3 p.m. for Glasnevin Cemetery where an oration will be delivered.

COUNTY DUBLIN COMMEMORATION

Mass at St. John the Baptist Church, Blackrock, at 10 a.m. Parade to Dean's Grange Cemetery after Mass.

EASTER COMMEMORATION CONCERT

AT
OLYMPIA THEATRE, DUBLIN
ON

EASTER SUNDAY, APRIL 22, 1962
AT 7.30 P.M.

Artists: Eamonn Ceann Céili Band, John Molloy, Brendan Caldwell, Michael O'Dwyer, Margaret O'Reilly, Romy Aurlthur, Seán Ó Siobhán, Eddie Gleave, Maev Mulvaney, Troupe of Irish Dancers.

FEAR A' TÍ — Seoirse Dearle.

ACCOMPANIST — Eamonn Ó Gallchoibhair.

ADMISSION

Parcours 5/- and 3/-; Circle 3/6; Gallery 2/4. Seats bookable at Olympia Theatre and at 31 Wicklow St., Dublin.

Victimisation of Prisoners

We re-produce below a letter received by a Republican Prisoner in Mountjoy Jail. He was serving a sentence imposed by the Military Tribunal and for that reason has been dismissed from his job.

According to the Offences Against the State Act, Section 34, he is also condemned to 7 years unemployment—so far as the 26-County State can ensure.

Since February 13 another

Republican in Mountjoy, Séamus Ó Dóráin, has received a similar letter from his employers—C.I.E. Before his arrest and imprisonment by the Military Court for not answering questions he was a bus conductor.

Now he too is sentenced to 7 years unemployment.

We happen to know that C.I.E., Aer Lingus, the E.S.B.—in fact all the semi-state bodies—as well as

government departments and local Councils have been circularised.

They have been supplied with a list of over 30 men sentenced by the Military Tribunal since December last—and forbidden under the Offences Against the State Act to employ any of them for 7 years.

The Trade Unions and all worthwhile bodies must take a stand against this mean political victimisation.



TELEGRAMS: AERLINGUS, 4TH CLASH (DUBLIN)

TELEX: 4TH CLASH (DUBLIN) 1012

TELEPHONE: 4TH CLASH (DUBLIN) 46851

AERPORT 4TH CLASH, 4TH DUBLIN AIRPORT, IRELAND P.O. Box No. 180

REF:

Mr. William K. Boylan,
Political Prisoner,
Mountjoy Prison,
North Circular Road,
DUBLIN.

13th February, 1962.

Dear Sir,

We enclose your Insurance Card together with a receipt which you should sign and return to us.

Our attention has been drawn to Section 34 of the Offences against the State Act 1939 which states that any Aer Rianta employee convicted by special Criminal Court set up under this Act automatically incurs dismissal from the date of the conviction and cannot be re-employed within 7 years of that date.

We are sorry to tell you therefore that we will not be in a position to re-consider you for employment with us.

Yours faithfully

[Signature]
Murray,
PERSONNEL MANAGER.

Es is.

SYMPATHY

The Ard-Chomhairle of Sinn Féin at a recent meeting voted sympathy with the relatives of the late Owen Harold, veteran freedom-fighter and Sinn Féin member of Mallow Urban Council.

D. Mac Giolla Phadraig

Bookseller and Stationer
12 CATHEDRAL ST.
DUBLIN

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RESCUE

The rescue in 1876 of six Fenian prisoners from the penal settlement of Western Australia, to which they had been condemned for life for their part in the '67 Rising is graphically told in THE STORY OF THE CATALPA.

One of the prisoners, John Boyle O'Reilly, escaped from the settlement in Fremantle in February 1869, and his subsequent endeavours, with the help of others, to bring off one of the most dramatic rescues ever attempted provides engrossing reading.

The Catalpa was the name of the whaler purchased in America and used in the rescue, and the experiences of the heroic crew in their battle against winds and seas and their evasion of the watchful British warships reads more like fiction than truth.

THE STORY OF THE CATALPA and the rescue of the Fenian prisoners can be had in the shops for 6d. or by post 8d., from:

Joseph Clarke,
Irish Book Bureau,
68 Upr. O'Connell St., Dublin.

NEW CUMANN

A new cumann of Sinn Féin has been formed at Baile An Atha, Cill Da Lua, North Tipperary. This cumann promises to be a very active one.

The officers are: Uachtaran: Michael Ó Ceallaigh, Baile An Atha; Rúnai: Seán Ó Lionard, Baile An Atha; Cisteoirí: Padraig Carey, Baile An Atha agus Eamonn Ó Cearbhaill, Portlaura.

Now Is The Time To Prepare

ARE YOU READY? If not, NOW is the time to prepare for the coming campaign. NOW is the time for us to educate our people in the ideals of Republicanism.

Our people are asleep and it is our job to awaken them and revive the spirit of nationalism and freedom that lies dormant in the minds and hearts of the Irish people.

How can we do this? By propaganda, mainly. Our main organ of propaganda at present is the "United Irishman" and it is essential that we increase the number of its readers. Every man or woman who reads this paper must stop and think.

Think of Ireland, of Ireland's youth leaving in their hundreds every week to earn their living in England, America and any place other than their own

One Third Of Rates To Pay Debt Charges

AT the estimates meeting of Donegal Co. Council on February 19, Sinn Féin member Seamus Rodgers said that the Finance Committee cut the Co. Manager's estimate at the expense of the lower paid workers.

"Speaking as an ordinary worker," he said, "and representing an area consisting in the main of small farmers and workers, I would not be doing my duty to the people who gave me a voice on this Council if I did not object."

"While the top officials of this Council have got substantial increases during the year, the lower paid workers, the road workers and the nursing staffs of the various public institutions, have to take the rap now."

"Some of these workers are ratemakers themselves, while many of the nursing staff are the sons and daughters of farmers. I do not consider it right that the ratemakers of this county should have to foot the bill for the health service and maintenance of main roads."

Councillor Rodgers went on to state that he did not consider £6 a week a living wage in present-day circumstances. He was also bearing in mind the fact that there were many in County Donegal at present who had not

£6 a week, but were just existing from day to day.

He remarked that those protesting outside the Council Chamber that day (members of the N.F.A.) would not begrudge the lower class worker an increase.

The indebtedness of County Councils was staggering and about one-third of the rates collected went to pay the annual interest with no return to the ratepayers.

The people of this country had no control over the credit of the country. It was controlled by the commercial banks and a few people in Threadneedle Street, London, could tell them how to run their lives.

It was ridiculous they should have to pay such a high interest rate. Money for housing should be available at a low interest rate.

£800 MILLION

When they heard a pound note described as an Irish pound that was untrue. It no more belonged to them than Mount Everest. There were £800 million of their money in the Bank of England, and that money could be better employed developing Irish industry and giving work to Irish people.

They were the only country in Europe exporting capital and people. Until the people in this country had control over credit they would get nowhere.

Houses had been built in the country with the aid of State and County Council grants and, through no fault of the people, many of them were now closed.

They had to face the fact that no employment was available and these people had to emigrate because they were denied a living in their own land. They had been pressed out of existence by high taxation and rates, and that position would continue until something was done.

He also felt that some of the colossal sums being spent on main roads should be transferred to county and dirt roads.

MANAGER'S FIGURES QUERIED

Seamus Rodgers (Sinn Féin) at the estimates meeting of Donegal County Council queried the County Manager on the figure of £5,280 for travelling expenses and said he wanted to know who received these expenses.

The Co. Manager replied that the engineering staff got the expenses mentioned.

Councillor Rodgers drew the Manager's attention to the fact that when he asked for officials' salaries at a Council meeting last May he was informed that the engineers received no other allowance outside of their salaries and he had in his possession the minutes of that meeting to prove it.

The Manager, replying, stated that this was not an allowance. Councillor Rodgers remarked that it was definitely an allowance. He also said that the Manager's reply at the May meeting of the Council was misleading.

MILITARY TRIBUNAL PROTEST

A POSTER parade, organised by the National Rights Committee in protest against the Military Courts, was held in Dublin on Saturday afternoon, March 3.

About forty people marched through the principal streets of the city for an hour and a half. Various posters were carried, among them "My Husband is a Prisoner of the Military Courts" and "My Daddy is a Prisoner of the Military Tribunal."

The parade was followed by a squad-car carrying four uniformed Gardaí, and behind it travelled another car with four members of the Special Branch. A lot of attention was paid by the general public to the parade and the posters were read with great interest.

A number of Gardaí were stationed outside the Gresham Hotel and one policeman made notes of each poster carried in the parade passed by.

That night at 8.30 a public meeting was held in Abbey Street and despite the extremely cold weather a large number of people attended.

Speakers were Frank Graham, Seoirse Dearnle and Seamus Graham. They were greeted enthusiastically by the crowd and the meeting lasted a little more than an hour.

Well done, Dublin!

15 Cuimhne

The 10.30 a.m. Mass in Adam and Eve's Franciscan Church, Merchants' Quay, Dublin, on Sunday, April 8, will be offered for the repose of the souls of

TONY D'ARCY, Headford, Co. Galway, who died on 56th day of hunger strike in Arbour Hill Prison, Dublin, April 16, 1940;

SEAN MCNEELA, Ballycorry, Co. Mayo, who died on 39th day of hunger strike in Arbour Hill Prison, Dublin, April 19, 1940.

SEAN MARTIN, Belfast, who was killed in an accidental explosion, April 25, 1940.

Irishmen and Irishwomen

Six of our Counties are occupied by British Forces.

Twenty-six of our Counties are being sold piecemeal to foreign investors

The young men and women of Ireland are forced to emigrate in order to earn a livelihood.

Do you want to help to save our country from extinction?

Join Sinn Féin and Save the Nation.

I wish to become a member of Sinn Féin.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

.....

.....

SINN FEIN H.Q., 30 GARDINER PLACE, DUBLIN

—CAILIN OG

100

Sean Mac Diarmada

HERO OF EASTER WEEK

This account of the life and work of Sean Mac Diarmada was given as a lecture to members of Sinn Féin in London.

SEAN MAC DIARMADA is one of the least known of all the members of the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic who signed the proclamation of 1916. We have no writings of Mac Diarmada, as we have of the others. It is very easy, therefore, for members of Sinn Féin today to understand why Sean has not attracted as much attention as his fellow leaders.

Sean was essentially the organiser, the worker behind the scenes, the indispensable man in any revolutionary movement. He was always playing the part that ensured the results, the part that earns very little of the glory.

He was no intellectual. When he addressed meetings, he always spoke in the simple language of the poor peasantry of his native Leitrim.

BORN IN CO. LEITRIM

Sean Mac Diarmada was born in the village of Killyclogher, in the county of Leitrim, on February 28, in the year 1884. He was the eighth child in a family of ten.

He fancied teaching as a profession. As a pupil teacher he had a row with a school manager, and he emigrated to Glasgow where he worked as a tram driver. Soon he was back in Ireland working as a barman in Belfast.

In this city he joined the A.O.H. After a short period a friend took him to a meeting of the Duggan Club. This club was a nationalist organisation, which was founded by Denis Mac Cullough and Bulmer Hobson.

Both men were members of the I.R.B. The Duggan Club were the forerunners of Sinn Féin. Sean found himself in an atmosphere of robust Republicanism which was to be his for the rest of his life.

The I.R.B. quickly realised that Mac Diarmada had a cool calculating planning mind. He was soon sworn into the Brotherhood. Later he was appointed treasurer of the Supreme Council in this organisation, and he was closely associated with Tom Clarke in the re-organisation of the Brotherhood.

METHODS OF INFILTRATION

The methods of the I.R.B. at this time were the old methods of quietly infusing many members of the Brotherhood into all other extreme nationalist organisations, especially into their executive committees. Hobson was president of the Duggan Club, Denis Mac Cullough was secretary. On Arthur Griffith's National Council of Sinn Féin, they had Hobson, P. S. O'Hegarty and others, enough to outvote him if they could not persuade him.

In 1907 Sean Mac Diarmada

was appointed Sinn Féin organiser at a salary of thirty shillings a week, his salary to be made up by a shilling a week subscription from thirty members of the Duggan Club.

As full time organiser, from 1907 to 1912 he travelled tirelessly all over the country, holding meetings and building up Sinn Féin. On many occasions he addressed as many as six meetings in one day.

Sean was the most striking figure in any gathering. He always worked with a fierce intensity of purpose inside him. He used his charm and dominance towards the real interest in his life, which was to have all the people of Ireland united when the fight would start for freedom.

LAST OUNCE OF EFFORT

With this aim always in mind, he ruthlessly used his power of exhorting from his followers. The last ounce of effort when further effort seemed impossible. In 1908, Sinn Féin had one hundred and fifteen Cumann affiliated.

In 1910, Mac Diarmada and Tom Clarke established a newspaper called *Irish Freedom*. The guidance of this paper was placed solely in the hands of Sean Mac Diarmada. It was printed and published at 12 D'Olier Street, Dublin.

Irish Freedom was the official organ of the Wolfe Tone Clubs. The Wolfe Tone Clubs were a militant offshoot of Sinn Féin, and they were a logical extension of its scope. The Clubs and paper were established after disagreement with Arthur Griffith on Sinn Féin policy.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE

Griffith preached a policy of passive resistance while not denying the efficacy of physical force; he would not, as they were, be committed to the use of it. Griffith believed in open organisations and open propaganda. Mac Diarmada and Clarke believed in propaganda open and secret. But they placed all their faith and trust in their own secret organisation, the I.R.B. Griffith believed in his own works and his own pen, against any other form of persuasion.

Sean Mac Diarmada disliked Griffith's anti-Labour policy and his firm dependence on middle class opinion. So the swing was towards Connolly and the left when the Wolfe Tone Clubs and the paper were established. The members of the Wolfe Tone Clubs who broke away from Sinn Féin always acknowledged that the Sinn Féin philosophy should be the basis of Irish Nationality. Sean Mac Diarmada retained his Sinn Féin connection.

In 1912 he had an attack of polio which left him badly lame in one leg. From then on he could only walk with the aid of a stick. Despite this handicap he still travelled up and down the country holding meeting after meeting.

In 1915 as a result of his successful anti-recruiting campaign he received four months

hard labour under the "Defence of the Realm Act". At a meeting of the National Council of Sinn Féin held in Dublin on January 20, 1913 a resolution was passed, proposed by Eamonn Ceannt, seconded by The O'Rahilly, "That this Council of Sinn Féin is of the opinion that it is the duty of Irishmen to possess a knowledge of arms." Some months later it was decided to organise a Volunteer Force.

SINN FEIN PHILOSOPHY

On his release from prison Sean Mac Diarmada devoted all his time and energy to organising this force. By the end of 1914 Sinn Féin was barely in existence. The men who were taught the Sinn Féin philosophy were to be found in the ranks of the Volunteers.

Sean Mac Diarmada always knew that the influence of Sinn Féin was an absolute necessity in shaping the course of revolution, and that its teaching was such as to lead to no other outcome. It was with this end in view that he worked so hard for nine years.

Griffith, always the acknowledged spokesman of Sinn Féin, welcomed the Volunteer Movement and joined its ranks. When the Volunteers were split by Redmond's interference Sinn Féin's sympathy and support was refused to the section which refused to accept Redmond's control. This section continued to be known as the Irish Volunteers.

ARMS—NOT MONEY

Redmond's appeal to the Irish in America for money, was met in the Sinn Féin weekly by advice that help should not come in terms of money, but in terms of rifles, machine guns and ammunition. On the provisional committee of the Irish Volunteers were Sean Mac Diarmada, Eamonn Ceannt, The O'Rahilly and Sean Fitzgibbon, all members of Sinn Féin.

When the fighting started on April 24, 1916 Sean Mac Diarmada was with Pearse and the Headquarters Staff in the G.P.O. Sean Mac Diarmada took all messages received from the other positions to Pearse. Sean was as happy as a schoolboy all through the week of fighting. He saw the realisation of his dream, all he had planned and worked for come true.

20,000 BRITISH TROOPS

The messages came in, messages which during the first five days of fighting showed that the Irish Volunteers and Connolly's Citizen Army—less than 1,000 men—were holding at bay 20,000 British troops equipped with artillery, petrol shells, machine guns and armoured cars. By Friday the British, unable to overcome the resistance or bring the fighting to a speedy end, started to burn and destroy the city. O'Connell Street was laid in ruins.

On Saturday morning Sean Mac Diarmada read Pearse's letter of surrender calmly and solemnly to

the men who had fought all that desperate week: "In order to prevent the further slaughter of Dublin citizens, and in the hope of saving our followers, the members of the Provisional Government have agreed to unconditional surrender. Signed: P. H. Pearse."

Addressing them himself, Sean Mac Diarmada said: "We surrender not to save you, but to save this city and the people of this city from destruction. You would have fought on, I am proud of you. This week of Easter will be remembered and your work will tell some day."

He then ordered food to be served to everyone, saying they should take a good meal as they might not be too well fed where they were going. Sean, with his comrades, was taken to a green plot in front of the Rotunda Maternity Hospital, where Dublin Castle G-men went amongst them and pointed out any leaders they recognised to the British officers.

NATION'S SPIRIT FREE AGAIN

One officer seeing Sean Mac Diarmada's walking stick confiscated it. "I cannot walk without that stick," he said. The officer turned to the soldiers and police and sneered: "The Sinn Féiners take crutches into their army." The stick was not returned, and Sean, already lame, and by this time weak from hunger had to walk two miles to Richmond Barracks.

When at last he stood in Kilmainham with only a few hours to live, he spoke to his friends with no sadness, but with joy and confidence. He knew that all he and Clarke and the other leaders had worked for had come to pass: that the bonds which bound the nation's spirit were burned away, and Ireland's soul was free again.

LETTER FROM KILMAINHAM

In a letter to his brothers and sisters he wrote his last words: "Make no lament for me. Pray for my soul, and feel a lasting pride at my death. I die that the Irish Nation may live. God bless and guard you all, and may He have mercy on my soul. The cause for which I die has been re-baptised during the past week by the blood of as good men as ever trod God's earth, and should not I feel justly proud to be numbered amongst them. Before God, let me again assure you how proud and happy I feel. It is not alone for myself I feel happy, but for the fact that Ireland has produced such men."

At 3.45 a.m. on the 12th of May, 1916 the last two of the protracted executions took place. James Connolly and Sean Mac Diarmada were shot to death in Kilmainham Prison, Dublin.

YOUTH SHOULD KNOW OF HIM

A very close friend of Sean Mac Diarmada was Commandant Ned Daly, of Limerick, who was also executed in 1916. Years later when a patriotic Leitrim man erected a memorial to Sean in his native Killyclogher, it was Ned

NOTES AND COMMENTS

HAUGHEY THANKS NEWSPAPER EDITORS

THOSE who have been following the disclosures in this column as to how the editors of the principal 26-County morning, evening and Sunday newspapers crawled to obey the edicts of Mr. Haughey in regard to the censorship of news about the Republican Resistance Movement will be interested to know that Mr. Haughey has thanked his press hirelings for their co-operation.

In letters to all the editors Haughey expressed his appreciation of the manner in which the newspapers had co-operated, and said that, undoubtedly, this had had certain effects on the situation that had emerged.

In other words, the press of the 26 Counties, with a few honourable exceptions in the provinces, has proved itself a willing accomplice in the stifling of public opinion, in the unjust censorship of news and, in effect, in the playing of England's game in this country. (See Editorial, page one)

ALGERIAN CEASEFIRE

THE ceasefire agreed upon between the Algerians and the French brings to an end seven years of fierce warfare in which the Algerians fought for independence. It is to be hoped that they will achieve their objective—for they will have fully deserved all that freedom implies.

The French, too, are to be congratulated on recognising, belatedly even though it is, that the Algerians have a right to self-determination. But one wonders if France would have bowed so soon if she had not been forced to by the united expression of Algerian opinion in the resistance put up by the F.L.N., the Algerian Resistance Movement.

There is still a fly in the salve—a powerful force known as the O.A.S., the Secret Army Organisation which fights to keep Algeria French and which controls some of the principal cities and towns of Algeria.

TWO LESSONS

IS there a lesson in all this for Ireland? There are at least two. In the above paragraphs substitute the word Britain for France, Ireland for Algeria and Six County Unionists for O.A.S., and you have in a nutshell the unfortunate

situation as exists in this country.

We have been fighting for complete independence from England, but have not yet been successful. Between us and full freedom stand the forces of Britain in the Six Counties.

Lesson number two is this: if ever there was an example of the efficacy of armed resistance to unjust occupation, it surely can be found in the struggle of the Algerians against the French. May all Irishmen take this lesson to heart.

DENIED TO IRISH

THE Algerians are about to be given an opportunity to express their national aspirations and unity in a manner that has been denied to the people of Ireland since 1918—and this is one respect in which we must envy the Algerians.

They are to be given the opportunity of voting, as an entity, to determine the future course of Algerian affairs. Not since the General Election of 1918 have the people of this country as a whole had such an opportunity.

Their verdict then was incisive and clear-cut: we have no doubt that it would be as incisive and clear-cut to-day if the Partition governments of Leinster House and Stormont permitted. But there are vested interests to be guarded and no such vote will be taken while the present powers control the destiny of the Irish people.

NO PARTITION

AGAIN, France must be congratulated on giving the Algerians their great opportunity and also for not imposing partition as a solution to the problem of Algeria. Would that Britain were as wise and magnanimous.

But it would be hoping for too much from Britain to expect such a gesture. One has only to scan her record, even since the so-called "solution" of the Irish problem, to realise this: partition in India, partition in Palestine, partition in Cyprus—always the devil's division. And again the record shows that Britain never conceded anything unless she was forced to do so by armed resistance. Thus it has been, thus it will always be.

—MAC DARA.

Daly's sister Madge Daly who performed the unveiling ceremony.

It is right: and fitting that the rising generation should be fully conversant with this noble son of Bredin who swore more men into the I.R.B. than any man of his generation.

—Sean Mac Mhaonaigh.

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DUBLIN

IN JAIL FOR IRELAND

THE following are serving sentences of penal servitude in Belfast Jail :

BELFAST AND CO. ANTRIM

Don McPhillips (21), Ballycairn, Aghalee 14 years
Robert Gerald Murray (18), St. James' Gardens 10 years
Anthony Cosgrave (17), Tyrone Street 10 years
John Kelly (25), 12 Adela Street, Belfast 8 years
Thomas O'Kane, Ton Street 6 years

CO. ARMAGH

Eddie Mulholland (22), Mary Street, Lurgan 15 years
William Reilly (22), Armagh City 14 years
Seamus Hueston (28), Keady 10 years
Gerald Haughian (22), Silverwood Drive, Lurgan 9 years
David Lewsley (24), Shore Road, Lurgan 8 years
J. B. O'Hagan (37), 81 North Street, Lurgan 8 years
James Oliver Smith (25), Bessbrook 8 years
Michael Daly (27), Crossmaglen 5 years
Owen Carragher (25), Crossmaglen 5 years

CO. DERRY

Eamon Timony (32), Derry City 10 years
Liam Flanagan (22), Maghera 10 years
Patrick Fox, Derry City 10 years
Patrick Joseph O'Kane, Dungiven 10 years

CO. DOWN

Gabriel Loy (22), 66 Linenhall Square, Newry 8 years
Anthony Loy (28), 66 Linenhall Square, Newry 8 years
Frank McArdle, Newry 5 years

CO. TYRONE

Kevin Mallon (23), Coalisland 14 years
James O'Donnell (27), Coalisland 10 years
Bernard O'Neill (36), Coalisland 10 years
Francis Patrick Talbot (23), Coalisland 8 years
John McHugh (27), Beragh, Omagh 8 years
John Robinson (27), Mountjoy, Stewartstown 8 years

CORK CITY

Tony Cooney (24), 7 Upr. Friar's Rd.,
Turner's Cross 12 years
James Linehan (25), Mt. Carmel Rd., Greenmount 10 years
William Gough (25), 75 Mt. Eden Rd.,
Gurranabraher 10 years
John Madden (25), 49 Friars Road 8 years
David O'Connell (22), 26 Lough Road 8 years

DUBLIN

Eamon Murphy (24), 1 Leinster Ave., Nth. Strand 15 years
Eamon Boyce (34), 77 Galtymore Rd., Drimnagh 12 years
Patrick Constantine (31), 44 Church Rd., East Wall 8 years
Sean Garland (26), 7 Belvedere Place 4 years

DUNDALK

Patrick Shaw (24), 26 Culhane Street 8 years
Seamus Hand (39), Castletown 8 years
Peter Duffy (44), Mill Street 8 years

CO. MONAGHAN

Patrick Traynor (27), Drumdart, Tydavnet 14 years

LIMERICK CITY

Tony Meade (23), 24 Emmet Place 14 years

CO. GALWAY

David Egan (22), Castlegar 14 years

CO. KERRY

Denis Foley (21), Blennerville, Tralee 14 years

Serving Life Sentences In England

Joseph Doyle (34), "Tara," Strand Road, Bray, Co. Wicklow.
Walton Prison, Liverpool.
Donal Murphy (28), 116 Emmet Road, Inchicore, Dublin.
Winson Green Prison, Birmingham.

Strangeways Prison, Manchester

Mrs. Mai Nolan, 65 Sheil Road, Liverpool. 21 months.

Mountjoy Jail Dublin

The following are serving sentences of imprisonment imposed by 26-County District Courts :

ONE YEAR

Tony Hayde, Carrow Road, Drimnagh, Dublin.
William Folan, Shantalla, Galway City.
James Roche, Mooncoin, Co. Kilkenny.
Sean Treacy, The Heath, Portlaoise.

Sentenced by the 26-County Military Court

EIGHT YEARS PENAL SERVITUDE

Michael McEldowney, Slaughtneil, Maghera, Co. Derry.

SEVEN YEARS PENAL SERVITUDE

Richard Nagle, Middleton, Co. Cork.
Alphonsus Larkin, Farranshore, Limerick.

FIVE YEARS PENAL SERVITUDE

Peadar Doyle, Coolderry, Carrickmacross, Co. Monaghan.
Thomas O'Neill, Mary Aikenhead House, James's St., Dublin.

FOUR YEARS PENAL SERVITUDE

Walter Dunphy, Mooncoin, Co. Kilkenny.

THREE YEARS PENAL SERVITUDE

Denis O'Riordan, Tullaghreine, Carricktohill, Co. Cork.

TWO YEARS

John Joe McGill, Main St., Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim.
Matt Murray, Gortacullen, Clogheen, Co. Tipperary.
Tomas Ó Suilleabhain, 18 George's Quay, Limerick.

ONE YEAR

Patrick Mulcahy, "Lisheen", Dublin Road, Limerick.

NINE MONTHS

Patrick Ryan, Hospital, Knocklong, Co. Limerick.
Cathal Goulding, 27 St. Enda's Drive, Rathfarnham, Dublin.

SIX MONTHS

Patrick Tierney, Woughternarry, Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh.
Thomas Smith, Church Road, Bessbrook, Co. Armagh.
Tomas Mac Giolla, Madison Road, Kilmainham, Dublin.
Sean Cronin, 64 Upper Rathmines Road, Dublin.
Liam Mac Aodhagain, 3 Islington Ave., Sandycove, Dublin.
Seamus Ó Dorain, Sullivan St., North Circular Road, Dublin.
Seamus MacCollum, Liverpool.
Thomas Nixon, Tower Road, Clondalkin, Dublin.
Michael F. Hennessy, Knockanevin, Kildorrery, Co. Cork.

FOUR MONTHS

James McCabe, Garrison, Co. Fermanagh.
Richard Walsh, Luffany, Mooncoin, Co. Kilkenny.
Nicholas Swanton, 34 Marian Park, Cork.

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The Materialist Concept of Patriotism

We are affording space to this article which was submitted to us by DEASUN BREATHNACH. In it he examines the consequences for Ireland of jettisoning spiritual values in the national sphere. His viewpoint is Catholic and National.

AN account of the termination of the campaign in the Six Counties appeared in a Continental newspaper and was translated and published in an Irish daily newspaper. It included the words "Last Revolt" (their capitals).

It is unrealistic and unprofitable to attempt to forecast the shape of future history; I am not going to enter into any competition with foreigners or Irishmen in this respect. But it is of some importance to refer to the popular times to say at the present time.

Perhaps the most tired saying among the respectable clichés of the day is that "Patriotism in Ireland to-day consists in working hard and making a success of the country's economy."

Gombeenism is always with us. Like the poor who suffer from it, God help them, and the poet Yeats had something to say of the greasy tilt and the mentality that goes with its service.

MONEY AND SUCCESS

There are other connotations. One is reminded of the kind of patriotism that is respected among the shopkeepers of England, the financiers of America, and the commissars of Russia. It is a dangerous doctrine for the top men in the 26-County Establishment to put before the people, that money and success, after all, are the only measuring rods that the Beaverbrook press was right.

True, the excesses and vices of sex are played down at present, except in some of the press and television advertising. There is plenty of time. Judging by the talk of the men at the helm, we are steering towards the right kind of association for that sort of thing.

It is not that it is wrong to make a success of one's job or of the country's budgeting; it is the emphasis and the slogan that tend to cause misunderstandings and misgivings.

PROSPERITY AT A PRICE

Patriotism, as one man said—and many echoed him—can be the last refuge of a scoundrel ("no names, no pack drill"). Surely it can be something more, and something more than prosperity? Some of us might have achieved this kind of prosperity under direct British rule in the past, by relinquishing religion; by becoming as English as the English themselves; by accepting alien occupation as final and morally just.

If that materialistic conception of patriotism is valid, the Irish people have acted stupidly, unpatriotically and immorally for over 700 years. Maybe patriotism—as it has been understood by generations of Irishmen up to this—is stupid, narrow-minded, bigoted, and

clashes with the international concept.

But many good men, past and present, including Pope John XXIII, have other ideas of the composition of patriotism and proclaim it necessary. Could it be that some of these latter day Christians of ours have Christianity without Christ?

A man who is prominent in Irish life as a Catholic, a publisher and an editor of a monthly magazine had an interesting comment to make to me the other day.

CONTROLLED DEMOCRACY

A leaflet was circulated announcing a march in Dublin to Croke Park on March 17. It began with the assertion that those who issued the leaflet believed that the Six Counties are an integral part of the Irish Republic.

The Christian publisher disagreed, thinking in terms of the Ireland Act of the British Parliament. It was pointed out to him that the Republic was declared in 1916 and enthroned in 1918 by the Irish people during the general election, the last opportunity the Irish people have had to take a democratic decision on anything. After that we have had "controlled" democracy.

"By a minority of murderers the Republic was declared," said this Christian gentleman of the men of 1916. Afterwards he denied he had used the word "murderers". What had he said? "Butchers." There followed an excuse for a political theory, that the men of 1916 had performed a "caesarean" on Kathleen Ni Houlihan. Hence they were butchers.

1916 RISING 'A MISTAKE'

This is not the eccentric viewpoint of one man. There are many people in the 26-County Establishment who are finding the courage now to say openly that 1916 was a mistake and maybe a sin; that the proper course was to have followed the O'Connell-Parnell programme of constitutionalism. Had we done so, we would have achieved freedom for all Ireland in 1945.

One could waste valuable time discussing the "ifs" of history. We are concerned with the facts. It was from the founding of the Gaelic League towards the end of the last century that the spirit of national revival suddenly surged forth again. Pearse and Connolly knew Fenians; Fenians knew survivors of '98. The unbroken tradition of resistance goes back to the Normans and before them, to the Danes.

That is history; those are facts. Another fact, unpalatable perhaps, is that Britain has never relinquished a possession in her heyday without a fight or a fight.

Compromise was tried by many,

some of them sincere. The compromise that resulted in the founding of Mayothon was followed by the "national" school system, the bata scóir, the excommunication of Father Murphy and other revolutionary clerical leaders of the '98 Rising, the "Famine", the pulpit pointing of the Fenians, the resolute policy of a large section of the Catholic clergy to consolidate the union with Britain.

DANGERS OF COMPROMISE

To order an Irishman to give loyalty to the British Crown is nothing new in Ireland. The walls of Mayothon were once decorated with the racing colours of a British monarch only because it would not have been possible to have used the Union Jack or the red-white-and-blue bunting.

This does not state a case against the Catholic religion in Ireland, which we have had before English was a language and which, please God, we will have to the end of time. It points, merely, to priests and bishops who "could not be Irishmen, too"; it points the dangers of compromise.

The history of the Church in Ireland has not been written in full because who would dare to write it or to publish it?

There is always a healthy rivalry in a healthy country between Church and State, always a dispute as to what are the things of Caesar and what are those of God.

DOCTRINE INVIOLENT

Before the Normans came there were clashes which, usually, were resolved sensibly; after the Normans, not always sensibly. There were the monasteries where the Irish language was forbidden; there were the Irish bishops who were expelled to make way for Frenchmen or Englishmen. At the time of the so-called Reformation, how many members of the Hierarchy here remained faithful to Rome? Only three? Or two?

Men, including priests and bishops, are fallible. The doctrine is inviolable. Only the Pope, or a Council of the Church, and then only in special circumstances, is infallible.

The Irish patriot who appeals to Rome for justice, after having been mauled and harassed by clergy in Ireland, will get justice eventually, if he lives long enough, is patient enough and has the means. According to Shaw, one can get all the justice one wants in the courts so long as one can pay for it. Poor Dr. Hickey, perhaps, didn't live long enough. Poor Father O'Leary, who had to while away half a lifetime before the penalty was lifted and he was at liberty again to celebrate Mass.

The excommunicated Republicans of the 'twenties made their appeal to Rome and got swifter justice (there was the *de jure* cause, according to Rome), but the smear campaign had weakened their cause and forced them to mark the end of another "last revolt".

What was it the Papal representative is reported to have said to the Pope on that occasion? That all the Irish bishops, are

popes in their own right? Something to that effect. . . .

Rome must be tired, very tired, of the timid Irish layman who is ignorant of his rights and, too frequently, of the essential points of his religion. As one writer—in Irish—pointed out recently, if even a big proportion of our emigrants had retained their Faith, Britain to-day would be staunchly Catholic, as would many other English-speaking areas.

Whose fault is it that so many Irishmen emigrate and stop practising their religion later? Whose fault is it that the Connolly Clubs are active in Britain? It is not, certainly, the fault of the Republican Movement, the members of which know their rights and their religion. Witness the martyr Sabbath.

A FAR HIGHER PRICE

The price of compromise with Britain, with Stormont, with Leinster House is being paid in souls. This is a price far higher than that of the lives of men killed in a struggle for freedom.

There is the frightening possibility of a still higher price that may yet be paid with the souls of men, if prosperity, materialistic well-being, is made the beginning and the end of Irish endeavour. Sweden, a century ago, was a Christian country. To-day it is largely pagan.

If all the spiritual elements that made up the Irish ideals are thrown out, is the danger so very remote that what is too often the externals of Catholicism, backed with no great knowledge of conviction, will be thrown out with them?

Christianity without Christ; the external practice without charity; much of what we boast of as Irish Catholicism is arid and alien to our people. The old customs of honouring our own Irish saints are being forgotten, allowed to die. Their names no longer are so plentiful on our children. The old prayers are being allowed to die, too. There was a time when every sentence, virtually, was a prayer, thanks to Pádraig, and Bríd and Colmille.

Very belatedly a few of the priests and fewer of the prelates have realised the danger there is to the Catholic Faith of losing the Irish language. But most of them are blind. The children who learn their prayers in Irish in the schools hear them recited in most churches—frequently even in the Gaeltacht—in English.

YOUTH AND IDEALISM

Irish-speaking priests, whose people have not had the money to keep them in Ireland, are away on the missions. English-speaking priests are forced on the Gaeltacht. And in some convents Gaeltacht girls are reported to be punished for speaking Irish.

Whatever sustained effort is being made to keep alive the Catholic Faith and the ideals of Ireland is being made, broadly speaking, by some of the Orders, often by individuals. But for the Orders, I would hesitate to give Catholic Ireland three more generations.

Look around you, examine the new slogans, the soft living, the alien habits. Youth naturally

Cuimne Cásca

Tháit bí tú brúice, brúice, cráocha, cráiche,
Fá dian-omáicé Gall, fá dí-meas scóinín' cleamhain,
Is 'cuile comhacha bain leo' áno-scéal ársa,
A Róisin, laseca as an luic úd call.

Ad d'éirís óglais na bPáistí maidin Cásca
Cun báis nó beatha ar do son, a scón;
Níon éirís leó; a' naib ár muintin cráice;
A málainc pós—do preab saé croí le bráo.

Dia lib, a Pádraig na mbeant 'sua a déamús bílis,
Is Dia leac-sa, leóga, a déain tític dharmada gaoi,
Sníosaís saé sael nár féilt is naé ngeitpró coice
Do'n saoinse bréige, céad-úinéagán Seamin bui.
Seán A' c-Sléibhe.

gravitates towards idealism. Here, known to be worth more than a reference here.

Youth hears from its elders cynicism, materialism, sneering at those qualities which made survival possible. Youth looks to see a lead given on even one basis of idealism. It looks in vain.

Stormont, Leinster House, many of our public buildings are projections of the old 'big house'. Is it purely accidental that the values, too, are those of the big house, that its traditions are enthroned, that even to the extent of accent, the British way is becoming more and more the official Irish way?

26-CO. STATE NOT JUSTIFIED

Listen to Radio Éireann, watch Telefís Éireann. Hear the younger men in the Church, politics, the professions, commerce. Even the Irish "a" is going to be replaced by the British "ae".

For very many Irishmen the essence of the Ireland they think they respect and love is sham-rocks in profusion; coats of green paint; "Irish" songs reeking in sentimentality, which originate usually in Britain or the U.S.A., and which, of course, are in the English language. Sentimentality was never an Irish vice until now, Mother England.

There might have been some justification eventually for a partitioned Ireland if, in the 26 Counties, the men in power had restored Irish, expanded the Gaeltacht, educated our people, stopped emigration, built the small area in the nucleus of a nation against the day of unity, and campaigned in the United Nations and elsewhere for unity.

Alas. We know that their efficiency has been confined to persecution of Republicans. Having compromised once, it was always easier to compromise again and again, to distract the attention of the people from the real issues, to promise and break promises and promise again.

Before the last general election, Fianna Fáil took a stand on the Irish language question. But what reality had that promise? Children still learn Irish in the schools but civil servants again have another year in which to learn the language, as they have had every year for ages; the Gardai no longer need Irish for promotion; Aer Lingus offers extra pay for extra languages but not for Irish.

Telefís Éireann's respect for our language and music is too well known for comment. Its forceful projection of the Anglo-American way of life is too well

In U.N.O., admittedly, a policy was developed favouring the oppressed peoples of the world. But if we join E.E.C., we are told now, our foreign policy must change. If we join E.E.C. we must be prepared to join N.A.T.O. If we join E.E.C. unity must come. If we join E.E.C. we will become prosperous again.

Behind the loud, lying talk they are whispering: "If we can't get into the Common Market we will have to become part of Britain again."

This is the next step, whether we join E.E.C. or whether we are refused admittance. The last chapter of treason and compromise is about to be written. Does it matter any longer? That depends on you.

—Deasún Breathnach

MASS

The 11 a.m. Mass as Merchants' Quay Church, Dublin, on Palm Sunday, April 15, will be offered for the repose of the soul of the late Tomas O Dubhghaill, Vice-President of Sinn Féin, at the request of An Ard-Chomhairle.

Easter

Commemoration Birmingham

SUNDAY, APRIL 22

PARADE ASSEMBLES

WEST END CAR PARK

AT 3 P.M.

MARCH-OFF 3.30 P.M.

RETURNING TO WEST END

CAR PARK WHERE A

COMMEMORATION MEETING

WILL BE ADDRESSED BY A

PROMINENT REPUBLICAN

FROM IRELAND

