

AN t-ÉIREANNAC AONTUISTE The UNITED IRISHMAN

Lemass
Backs
British
—Page 11

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NEUTRAL IN E.E.C.?

Prisoner Honoured

Elected President of Slaughter Emmets G.A.A. Club at its annual convention recently was Michael McDowd, a native of Slaughter, Maghera, Co. Derry, who is serving eight years penal servitude in Mountjoy Jail.

He was arrested near the Border on December 12 and sentenced by the 26-County Military Court.

Over 100,000 Unemployed

During January 101,849 Irish people were without work in their own country. Of these, 59,705 were residents of the 26 Counties. Official 26-County Government sources put the number of unemployed at that figure on January 20.

In the Six Occupied Counties the number of people without work on January 15 was given as 42,144. This represented 8.7% of the insured working population—or that almost one in every ten is unemployed.

By way of contrast Britain's percentage unemployed is given as 2%. What price the British connection?



MILITARY ALLIANCE MAY EMERGE

THE step which Mr. Lemass took at Brussels on January 18, when he applied for full membership of the European Economic Community (the Common Market) and all that that implied, may have been the most fateful movement ever made in the name of the Irish people.

Not only is Mr. Lemass committing 26-County industry and agriculture to the buffering of tariff-free trade, but far more drastic, he also is flinging that part of the nation under his control on to the troubled waters of the European political sea without lifebelt or other means of salvation.

His statement at the E.E.C. meeting in Brussels came as a distinct shock to most Irish people. "I desire to emphasise," he said, "that the political aims of the E.E.C. are aims to which the 'Irish' Government and people are ready to subscribe and in the realisation of which they wish to play a part."

It does not need stressing that the political aims of the E.E.C. are, at the moment, extremely vague and generalised and have not, by any means, been agreed upon even by the founder-members of the Common Market. What, then, is being subscribed to?

LEMASS ACCEPTS N.A.T.O. AIMS

Mr. Lemass himself gave a hint in his Brussels speech. "While Ireland did not accede to the North Atlantic Treaty," he said, "we have always agreed with the general aim of the Treaty. The fact that we did not accede to it was due to special circumstances and does not qualify in any way our acceptance of the ideal of European unity and of the conception, embodied in the Treaty of Rome and the Bonn Declaration of July 18 last, of the duties, obligations and responsibilities which European unity would impose."

It is now becoming quite clear to students of European politics that N.A.T.O. is slowly but decidedly evolving as the military arm of the E.E.C. The founding fathers of the Common Market, General de Gaulle and Dr. Adenauer, are in favour of a united Europe armed with atomic weapons as a third force in world politics. With this in mind they are supporting the arming of N.A.T.O. and its evolution as the military shield of the E.E.C.

RECOGNISES BRITISH OCCUPATION

Up to this there was at least one good reason why joining N.A.T.O. could not be considered—a reason which all Irishmen understood and on which all were agreed. The North Atlantic Treaty imposes an obligation on its signatory states to respect the existing boundaries of each member-country.

No self-respecting Irishman could subscribe to a treaty which recognised British occupation and partition of this country as lawful, and imposed an obligation on us to respect the Border as a national boundary between Ireland and the "United Kingdom". Such a status quo is anathema to all true Irish people.

If, however, we subscribe to the political aims of the E.E.C., as Mr. Lemass is committing us to do, then we may also be heading for eventual adhesion to N.A.T.O. and all that it implies. This, then, is the fateful inference in Mr. Lemass's Brussels speech; it cannot be anything else.

Further in his statement Mr. Lemass gave added cause for reflection of this nature. He said the 26-County State would apply for entry to the European Coal and Steel Community and to Euratom. It is well known that these

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BRITISH RULE RESTS ON FORCE

A HUGE comb-out centred on the Forkhill area of South Armagh was carried out by Crown Forces on January 26. Ground forces were supported by British Air Force helicopters from A'dergrove, Co. Antrim.

Object of the search was stated to be arms, ammunition and explosives. A spokesman for the Crown Forces stated later that the comb-out "was rewarded with a find".

He would not, however, give details of the "find". Accordingly, all claims to have found anything can be written off. No arrests were made.

On January 10 a concerted sweep was made by Gardaí and Crown Forces on the West Fermanagh Border. From before dawn heavy Crown Forces patrols operating from bases at Belcoo and Garrison were carrying out systematic searches over a wide area. Nothing was found.

On the 26-County side of the Border Gardaí from Blacklion, Glenfarne, Killyclogher, Kinelough and Manohamilton, reinforced by Special Branch men from Sligo and Ballyshannon carried out a simultaneous search.

While raiding homes near Killyclogher well before dawn they arrested three young men in battledress. One was a native of

the nearby Garrison area of Occupied Ireland. All three were unarmed.

They were taken under escort to Collins Barracks, Dublin, where the Military Court remanded them to Mountjoy Jail until January 19. The charge in all three cases was refusing to give information to the police while held prisoner.

The owners of the farmhouses were also arrested and taken to Manohamilton barracks. They were later released. The search continued throughout the day over a widespread area. Nothing further was found.

Throughout the following week-end there was intensive activity by Gardaí and Crown Forces along a 50-mile stretch of the Armagh Border. Armoured patrols were out in strength in Co. Armagh searching fields, ditches and lanes.

At the same time 26-County police were similarly engaged in Co. Monaghan. On Sunday, January 14, a large force of Gardaí from Castleblaney and

Corinshigagh took part in a widespread comb-out of farms in the Donaghmoynne and Broomfield districts which adjoin Co. Armagh.

The operation lasted five hours and many homes were raided and occupants questioned. Nothing was found.

On the same day 26-County police from Carrickmacross, Co. Monaghan, raided a farm at Coolderry, about a mile outside the town, which is some distance from the Border. It was the second such raid in six weeks.

In one of the outbuildings attached to the farm an arms dump was unearthed. It contained three rifles, three sub-machine guns, a Sten gun and ammunition. A small quantity of gelignite was also seized.

The son of the owner of the farm was arrested and removed to Collins Barracks, Dublin, where the Military Court remanded him to Mountjoy Jail for 10 days. Charges against him were in connection with the dump.

Intensified searches of the Broomfield and Donaghmoynne areas continued for several days. The Gardaí were stated to be still seeking arms dumps, but nothing further was found.

MILITARY TRIBUNAL PROTESTS

A public meeting was held at the Town Hall, Carrick-on-Shannon, Co. Leitrim, on Saturday night, January 6, to protest against the recent jailing for two years by the Military Court of John Joe McGirl, a member of Leitrim Co. Council.

A large crowd heard speakers condemn British rule in Ireland and the collaboration and coercion employed in the 26 Counties to bolster up British occupation. The meeting was held under the auspices of the National Rights Committee.

Similar meetings were held in Limerick and in other provincial centres during January.

The question of Military Courts was raised at Cavan Co. Council meeting on January 13. Patrick Duffy, Sinn Féin member, said that he wanted to propose that the Council protest against the fact that normal law was not being applied to all sections of the people.

When the Chairman (Mr. D. J. McDonald, F.F.) sought to rule the motion out of order, Patrick Duffy said: "You sit behind the

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Second Prize Winner:
G. CONLON,
Richardstown.

DELEGATES ARRESTED | An Airport For Donegal S.F. Councillor's Views

En Route To Ard-Fheis

THREE Donegal delegates to the Sinn Féin Ard-Fheis in Dublin were arrested and held at Ballyshannon for over two hours. They were: Seamus Rodgers, Sinn Féin member of Donegal Co. Council; Seán O h-Ighne, Glencolmille, and Francis Moloney, Ardara.

The incident took place at 1 p.m. on Saturday, December 2, while the delegates were travelling to Dublin. A fourth delegate who was with them, Miss Máire Ní Bhaiochill, O.S., of Glenties, was not arrested. (Her turn came nine days later while teaching school—see January "U.I." p. 10).

The party intended stopping at Ballyshannon to await the arrival of a Rosnawagh delegate, Philip McGroarty. While they were parking their car a uniformed Garda and a Special Branch man stepped forward.

The detective asked the car occupants their names and ordered the Garda to search the boot. He himself opened and searched a travelling bag belonging to Máire Ní Bhaiochill. The young lady protested, but to no avail.

He seized some Sinn Féin literature which was in the bag and these papers were not returned to the owner. The "S" Branch man then asked the delegates to prove their identity and took a copy of the Ard-Fheis agenda from Seamus Rodgers. He read through the document.

When further questions were asked the delegates refused to answer and demanded that the business be done through Irish. The detective did not know Irish and it was pointed out to him that he was flouting the de Valera Constitution of 1937 which he was supposed to uphold.

At this stage he arrested Seamus Rodgers and Seán O h-Ighne. Another Special Branch man went to a local restaurant and arrested Francis Moloney. All three were taken to the barracks where they were searched personally.

All private correspondence was read through and a prayer-book with In Memoriam cards and religious leaflets was examined minutely. The delegates were then interrogated by Inspector Murphy who claimed this right under Section 52 of O.A.S.A.

Each delegate was asked to account for his movements over the week-end. Seán O h-Ighne said he could not travel as New York was the nearest land-mark west of Glencolmille. Francis Moloney said the question was stupid as no one could remember how and where he spent every minute over a period of days.

Seamus Rodgers pointed to the Ard-Fheis agenda on the inter-

rogator's desk and said the police knew quite well where they were going. He regarded their arrest as a delaying tactic to upset the Ard-Fheis programme, he said.

When the Inspector was asked if he would arrest them on their way to a Fianna Fail or Fine Gael meeting he replied that he was not going into political questions at that stage. In reply to a question about arms "illegally held," one of the delegates said that the British Occupation Forces held arms illegally in Ireland.

All refused to sign the questionnaire and after some time were released. They continued on their way to the Ard-Fheis.

Sinn Féin Co.C's. Home Raided

The home of Seamus Rodgers, Sinn Féin member of Donegal Co. Council, at Annagry West was surrounded by 26-County police at 8 a.m. on December 11. A force of 12 police drawn from Annagry, Bunbeg, Burtonport and Dungloe barracks took part.

The raiding party did not knock but opened the unlocked door of the house and walked in. Superintendent T. B. Foley was the first to enter; he said he had a search warrant under O.A.S.A. and was going to search the house.

The local sergeant inquired for Seamus Rodgers and his brother-in-law, Colm (Pádraig) McCafferty. The men were told to get out of bed—that they were being arrested. "One sergeant of the party was in a very aggressive mood and attempted to enter a room in which girl members of the family were sleeping."

He was prevented from doing so by Mr. Rodgers, senior, who told him he could not enter until the occupants of the room had dressed. Another sergeant entered Seamus Rodgers' bedroom and opened Co. Council correspondence.

While the arrested men were being taken to Annagry barracks the search of the house was intensified. Blankets were pulled from beds and mattresses toppled over. Private correspondence, including letters from personal friends in England, was seized. Pádraig McCafferty's car was searched.

Pictures were taken from the walls of the rooms; overhead pockets were searched and religious statues were tumbled; family photographs were examined and some items were knocked on the floor and walked on.

Wedding telegrams received some time previously were read and photographs of football and hurling teams were scrutinised. One policeman attempted to seize a photograph of the Rosses Mary, Nell "Plunkett" O'Boyle, while among the items actually seized was the jubilee issue of "Liberty," the official organ of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. This publica-

INTERFERENCE BY BRITAIN THE CAUSE

The build-up to the huge sweep of all Co. Donegal on December 11 when scores of homes were raided and over 30 men and one woman arrested by 26-County police began on November 27. On that day Mr. Haughey saw all the Chief Superintendents—including presumably the officer in charge of Donegal division.

Mr. Haughey had got his instructions from Mr. Lemass, and he in turn had been visited by the British Ambassador who was instructed "to inquire what means Mr. Lemass had in view for strengthening his control of the Border areas."

On December 1 a large number of walkie-talkie sets arrived in Letterkenny accompanied by reinforcements from the Special Branch at Dublin Castle. A few days previously a special short-wave radio mast had been erected at Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim, to assist in collaboration along the Border.

On December 2 three Donegal delegates travelling to the Sinn Féin Ard-Fheis were arrested at Ballyshannon and held for over two hours. The Ard-Fheis agenda and other Sinn Féin papers were read through by police.

Next day, Sunday, saw very heavy activity in Donegal by 26-County police. All roads leading from Letterkenny were sealed off and all vehicles were stopped and searched.

tion carried a photograph of James Connolly on its cover.

All the raiding party seemed very disappointed when they found nothing. In general—with one exception—they behaved very roughly and aggressively, even towards the women of the house.

The two arrested men were not allowed to take breakfast before being removed. They protested about the cold of the cell in Annagry barracks and after some time they were permitted to sit at the day-room fire.

Two hours later they were moved to Dungloe barracks where they were offered tea. About mid-day they were released without being questioned.

'NOT POLITICAL'

At the December meeting of Donegal Co. Council, Councillor Rodgers (Sinn Féin) objected to the calling of a special meeting of the Council to present an address of welcome to Mr. Neil Blaney, T.D., on his appointment as 26-County Minister for Local Government.

"I was not present at this meeting," the Sinn Féin member said, "and I object to this Council being used to celebrate a party political victory."

YOUR MOVEMENTS

On December 11 also while driving his tractor to work on road repairs at Thorr, Crolly, Aengus Sharkey of Bruade was stopped near Annagry barracks by two Gardaí who have recently come to the locality.

They wanted him to account for his movements.

One man travelling through part of the town was stopped and questioned twice within minutes.

The main Letterkenny-Lifford road had four road blocks in all—each one at a cross-roads. Apparently an attempt was being made to cut off most of East Donegal from the rest of the county and at the same time check all traffic to and from Derry and part of Tyrone.

Road blocks were also set up on the Buncrana-Derry City road via Bridgend. At the bridge just outside Buncrana buses were stopped and some passengers were asked for proof of identity. Rumours were circulating of men being arrested in this area but these were without foundation.

Police were also out in Cresslough, Dunfanaghy, Carrigart and Milford and the road-blocks in general lasted from 12 noon to about 7.30 p.m.

Rumours were also circulating in Letterkenny to the effect that an arms dump was found. These were, of course, untrue, but it is thought that such an atmosphere was deliberately created as an excuse for raiding homes and questioning people. No one was arrested but prominent Republicans were followed openly.

Tension was mounting in Donegal. The British Ambassador's visit was having effect.

POLICE SEIZE CORRESPONDENCE

The home of Francis Moloney at Aighe, Ardara, was surrounded by Gardaí from Ardara and Killybegs at 10 a.m. on December 11. Members of the raiding party searched the house, including the beds and bedclothes, and seized a number of letters from personal friends.

Out-offices were also searched. The Moloney home was raided during the Black-and-Tan War and the raid on this occasion followed a similar pattern. Francis Moloney was arrested and taken to Ardara barracks. He was held until 5 p.m. but was not questioned.

A member of the raiding party remarked to him following his arrest: "I did not know you were a member of an unlawful organisation." What reply was expected to that question? Apparently a person is guilty until he proves himself innocent under O.A.S.A.

BALLYSHANNON

Also held for several hours on December 11 was Joe O'Neill of Ballyshannon. The restaurant and licensed premises of the O'Neill family at East Port, Ballyshannon, was raided, as was their licensed premises at Bundoran three miles away.

Some weeks previous to this Joe O'Neill's car in which he and his father were travelling to Ballyshannon from Ballybofey was stopped by 26-County police. A thorough search of the car took place, the occupants being told to get out on the road.

WHILE an airport would be a great asset in that part of the country, he believed first things must come first. It was ridiculous to talk about an airport in Donegal while they had not got a helicopter rescue service along their coasts, said Sinn Féin member Seamus Rodgers at a recent meeting of Donegal Co. Council.

At this stage he was told to sit down by the Chairman, Mr. Liam Cunningham, T.D. (Fianna Fail).

"I will not," replied Councillor Rodgers. "You will not deny me the right of free speech; you are not going to muzzle me. I know you would try it for you are out to suppress freedom of speech, as witness the setting up of Lemass's 'People's Courts'."

The Council was debating a motion sponsored by Fianna Fail members Cunningham and Deery calling for an airport in the North-West.

Continuing, Seamus Rodgers said: "Three men lost their lives off the Wexford coast several weeks ago. More lives would have been lost but for a British helicopter which came to the rescue. It is a shame that we cannot provide a helicopter rescue service of our own."

"A young man died not so long ago on an island off the west coast. That man's life could have been saved if a helicopter were available."

"We have an airport in Cork competing with another semi-state body, C.I.E., and the Irish taxpayers have to pay for this competition. The same position might arise here."

Here Mr. Cunningham (F.F.) intervened to say that he only wanted to bring tourists to the county.

The Sinn Féin member replied that while they all wanted to see tourists coming they owed travelling facilities to their own people first.

"What about the shipping services," he asked. "Young

boys and girls are herded like cattle on to the boat at the quays in Derry, and not one of you will open your mouth. Many of our so-called tourists are emigrants home on holidays to visit relatives."

Mr. A. Diver (F.F.): "You are wrong."

Seamus Rodgers: "I am not. The Bishop of Cork said the same thing some time ago and he was right."

Dwindling Gaeltacht

Speaking on a motion asking compensation for small farmers in the Gaeltacht to offset the recent storm damage, Seamus Rodgers, who spoke in Irish and English, said there was a lot of humbug talked about saving the Gaeltacht, but nothing was being done about it.

"The population is declining rapidly, the youth is practically gone from many villages, football teams have vanished overnight. It is a sad state of affairs. People in high places close their eyes to these facts; they will not or do not want to do anything about it."

"If we had lost all these people in a war, a National emergency would be declared, but nobody seems to care about the youth who have to take to the emigrant ship to be thrown on the streets of foreign cities."

"Evidently the only right these people have is the right to emigrate."

Children's Beds Searched

Others arrested in West Donegal on December 11 included John Gillespie, Bunbeg, a Republican ex-prisoner, and Hugh Ferry, Gweedore.

John Gillespie was stopped on his way home from the E.S.B. station in Gweedore. He was taken to Bunbeg barracks and later removed to Dungloe.

His home at Bunbeg was raided, the front door being forced in, and his young sisters and brothers were made get up and dress. John Gillespie was released that afternoon.

While Pádraig McCafferty was under arrest at Annagry, his parents' home at Dunlewey was raided. Outoffices were included in the search. Two policemen tried to enter a room (through a window) where a young girl was sleeping.

Hugh Ferry was taken from his work at the Gaeltarra Eireann factory in Crolly. Earlier his home at Gweedore was thoroughly searched, young children being put out of bed.

He was taken to Dungloe barracks. When he complained of the cold in the cell he was thrown two old blankets to wrap around himself. He too was released that day.

The home of Donal O'Donnell, another employee of Gaeltarra Eireann, at Currick, Derrybeg, was also raided but he was not arrested.

NOTE: In June, 1960, the Gaeltarra Eireann factories at Annagry and Crolly were searched but nothing other than the famous "Crolly Dollies" was found. The home of the factory manager at Falcarragh was also raided on that occasion.

AN CUMANN CABHRACH COISTE ATHA CLIAITH P.O. BOX 135, DUBLIN, 1.

Owing to circumstances outside our control, the Non-Stop Draw which was due to commence in January, has been postponed. All promoters will be contacted individually.

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Aine Ní Dhoibhlin, Runai.

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Support the Dependents of Irish Republican Prisoners

THE JUSTIFICATION OF PHYSICAL FORCE

CHAPTER THREE

ONE of the great difficulties in discussing any question of importance in Ireland is that words have been twisted from their original and true significance, and if we are to have any effective discussion, we must first make clear the meaning of our terms.

Love of country is quoted to tolerate every insidious error of weakness, but if it has any meaning it should make men strong-souled and resolute in every crisis. Men working for the extension of Local Government to "Ireland a Nation," and extol Home Rule as independence; but while there is any restraint on us by a neighbouring Power, acknowledged superior, there is dependence to that extent. Straightway, those who fight for independence shift their ground and plead for absolute independence, but there is no such thing as qualified independence; and when we abandon the simple name to men of half-measures, we prejudice our cause and confuse the issue.

Then there is the irreconcilable—how is he regarded in the common cry? Always an impossible, wild, foolish person, and we frequently resent the name and try to explain his reasonableness instead of exulting his strength, for the true irreconcilable is the simple lover of the truth.

Among men fighting for freedom some start up in their plea for liberty, pointing to the prosperity of England, France and Germany, and when we debate the means by which they won their power, we find our friends draw no distinction between true freedom and licentious living; but it would be better to be crushed under the wheels of great Powers than to prosper by their example.

THE MEANING OF MORAL FORCE

And so, through every discussion we must make clear the meaning of our terms. There is one I would trust particularly now. Of all the terms flung about in every debate not one has been so confused as Moral Force.

Since the time of O'Connell the cry Moral Force has been used persistently to cover up the weakness of every politician who was afraid or unwilling to fight for the whole rights of his country, and confusion has been the consequence.

I am not going here to raise old debates over O'Connell's memory, who, when all is said, was a great man and a patriot. Let those of us who read with burning eyes of the shameless fiasco of Clontarf recall for full judgment the O'Connell of earlier years, when his unwearied heart was fighting the uphill fight of the pioneer.

But a great need now is to challenge his later influence, which is overshadowing us to our undoing. For we find men of this time who lack moral courage fighting in the name of moral force, while those who are pre-eminent as men of moral fibre are dismissed with a smile—physical-force men.

To make clear the confusion

we need only to distinguish moral force from moral weakness. There is the distinction. Call it what we will, moral courage, moral strength, moral force; we all recognise that great virtue of mind and heart that keeps a man unconquerable above every power of brute strength.

I call it moral force, which is a good name, and I make the definition: a man of moral force is he who, seeing a thing to be right and essential and claiming his allegiance, stands for it as for the truth, unheeding any consequence. It is not that he is a wild person, utterly reckless of all mad possibilities, filled with a madder hope, and indifferent to any havoc that may ensue.

'... RIGHTLY PURSUED'

No, but it is a first principle of his, that a true thing is a good thing, and from a good thing rightly pursued can follow no bad consequence.

And he faces every possible development with conscience at rest—it may be with trepidation for his own courage in some great ordeal, but for the nobility of the cause and the beauty of the result that must ensue, always with serene faith.

And soon the trepidation for himself passes, for a great cause always makes great men, and many who set out in hesitation die heroes. This it is that explains the strange and wonderful buoyancy of men, standing for great ideals, so little understood of others of weaker mould.

The soldier of freedom knows he is forward in the battle of Truth, he knows his victory will make for a world beauteous, that if he must inflict or endure pain, it is for the regeneration of those who suffer, the emancipation of those in chains, the exaltation of those who die, and the security and happiness of generations yet unborn.

For the strength that will support a man through every phase of this struggle a strong and courageous mind is the primary need—in a word, Moral Force.

A man who will be brave only if tramping with a legion will fail in courage if called to stand in the breach alone.

And it must be clear to all that till Ireland can again summon her banded armies there will be abundant need for men who will stand the single test, 'Tis the bravest test, the noblest test, and 'tis the test that offers the surest and greatest victory.

ONE TRUE MAN

For one armed man cannot resist a multitude, nor one army conquer countless legions; but not all the armies of all the Empires of earth can crush the spirit of one true man, and that one man will prevail.

But so much have we felt the need of resisting every slavish tendency that found refuge under the name of Moral Force, that those of us who would vindicate our manhood cried wildly out again for the physical test; and we cried it long and repeatedly the more we smarted under the

meanness of retrograde times.

But the time is again inspiring, and the air must now be cleared. We have set up for the final test of the man of unconquerable spirit that test which is the first and last argument of tyranny—recourse to brute strength.

We have surrounded with

ing of the flag once bravely flourished; then the increased numbers of the apathetic and the general gloom, depression, and despair—everywhere a land decaying.

Violence, meanness, cowardice, intolerance, every bad thing arises like a weed in the night

Principles Of Freedom

by

Terence MacSwiney

fictitious glory the carnage of the battlefields; we have shouted of wading through our enemies' blood, as if bloody fields were beautiful; we have been contemptuous of peace, as if every war were exhilarating; but, "War is hell," said a famous general in the field. This, of course, is exaggeration, but there is a grim element of truth in the warning that must be kept in mind at all times.

One among us still would resent being asked to forego what he thinks a rightful need of vengeance, let him look unto himself. Let him consider his feelings on the death of some notorious traitor or criminal; not satisfaction, but awe, is the upmost in feeling in his heart. Death sobers us all.

A TERRIBLE NECESSITY

But away from death this may be unconvincing; and one may still shout of the glory of floating the ship of freedom in the blood of the enemy. I give him pause. He may still correct his philosophy in view of the horror of a street accident or the brutality of a prize-fight.

But war must be faced and blood must be shed, not gleefully, but as a terrible necessity, because there are moral horrors worse than any physical horror, because freedom is indispensable for a soul erect, and freedom must be had at any cost of suffering; the soul is greater than the body.

This is the justification of war. If hesitating to undertake it means the overthrow of liberty possessed, or the lying passive in slavery already accomplished, then it is the duty of every man to fight if he is standing, or revolt if he is down.

And he must make no peace till freedom is assured, for the moral plague that eats up a people whose independence is lost is more calamitous than any physical rending of limb from limb. The body is a passing phase; the spirit is immortal; and the degradation of that immortal part of man is the great tragedy of life. Consider all the mean things and debasing tendencies that wither up a people in a state of slavery.

There are the bribes of those in power to maintain their ascendancy, the barrier of every principle by time-servers; the corruption of public life and the apathy of private life; the hard struggle of those of high ideals, the conflict with all ignoble practices, the wearing down of patience, and in the end, the quiet abandon-

ing of the flag once bravely flourished; then the increased numbers of the apathetic and the general gloom, depression, and despair—everywhere a land decaying.

It would be less terrible if an earthquake split the land in two, and sank it into the ocean. To avert the moral plague of slavery men fly to arms, notwithstanding the physical consequence, and those who set more count by the physical consequences cannot by that avert them, for the moral disease is followed by physical wreck—if delayed still inevitable.

So, physical force is justified, not per se, but as an expression of moral force; where it is unsupported by the higher principle it is evil incarnate. The true antithesis is not between moral force and moral weakness.

That is the fundamental distinction being ignored on all sides. When the time demands and the occasion offers, it is imperative to have recourse to arms, but in that terrible crisis we must preserve our balance.

If we leap forward for our enemies' blood, glorifying brute force, we set up the standard of the tyrant and heap up infamy for ourselves; on the other hand, if we hesitate to take the stern action demanded, we fall in strength of soul, and let slip the dogs of war to every extreme of weakness and wildness, to create depravity and horror that will ultimately destroy us.

WILL NOT HESITATE

A true soldier of freedom will not hesitate to strike vigorously and strike home, knowing that on his resolution will depend the restoration and defence of liberty.

But he will always remember that restraint is the great attribute that separates man from beast, that retaliation is the vicious resource of the tyrant and the slave; that magnanimity is the splendour of manhood; and he will remember that he strikes not at his enemy's life, but at his misdeed, that in destroying the misdeed, he makes not only for his own freedom, but even for his enemy's regeneration.

This may be for most of us perhaps too great a dream. But for him who reads into the heart of the question and for the true shaping of his course it will stand; he will never forget, even in the thickest light, that the enemy of to-day and yesterday

may be the genuine comrade of to-morrow.

If it is imperative that we should fix unalterably our guiding principles before we are plunged unprepared into the fight, it is even more urgent we should clear the mind to the truth now, for we have fallen into the dangerous habit of deferring important questions on the plea that the time is not ripe.

In a word, we lack moral strength; and so, that virtue that is to safeguard us in time of war is the great virtue that will redeem us in time of servility. It need not be further laboured that in a state enslaved every mean thing flourishes. The admission of it makes clear that in such a state it is more important that every evil be resisted.

In a normal condition of liberty many temporary evils may arise; yet they are not dangerous—in the glow of a people's freedom they waste and die as disease dies in the sunlight. But where independence is suppressed and a people degenerate, a little evil is in an atmosphere to grow, and it grows and expands; and evils multiply and destroy.

NOTHING BUT THE TRUTH

That is why men of high spirit working to regenerate a fallen people must be more insistent to watch every little defect and weak tendency that in a braver time would leave the soul unruffled. That is why every difficulty, once it becomes evident, is ripe for settlement. To evade the issue is to invite disaster.

Resolution alone will save us in our many dangers. But a plea for policy will be raised to evade a particular and urgent question: "People won't unite on it"; that's one cry. "Ignorant people will be led astray"; that's another cry. There is always some excuse ready for evasion.

The difficulty is, that every party likes some part of the truth; no party likes it all; but we must have it all, every line of it. We want no popular editions and no philosophic selections—the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

This must be the rule for everything concerning which a man has a public duty and ought to have a public opinion. There is a dangerous tendency gaining ground of slurring over vital things because the settlement of them involves great difficulty, and may involve great danger; but whatever the issue is we must face it.

It is a step forward to bring men together on points of agreement, but men come thus together not without a certain amount of suspicion. In a fight for freedom that latent suspicion would become a mastering fear to seize and destroy us. We must allay it now. We must lead men to discuss points of difference with rectitude, forbearance, and courage, to find a consistent way of life for all that will inspire confidence in all.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED

At present we inspire confidence in no one; it would be fatal to hide the fact. This is a necessary step to bringing matters to a head. We cannot hope to

succeed all at once, but we must keep the great aim in view.

There will be objections on all sides; from the biased man of the world, concerned only for his comfort, the mean man of business concerned only for his profits, the man of policy always looking for a middle way, a certain type of religious pessimist who always spies danger in every proposal, and many others.

We need not consider the comfort of the first nor the selfishness of the second; but the third and fourth require a word. The man of policy offers me his judgment instead of a clear consideration of the truth.

'Tis he who says: "You and I can discuss certain things privately. We are educated; we understand. Ignorant people can't understand, and you only make mischief in supposing it. It's not wise."

To him I reply: "You are afraid to speak the whole truth; I am afraid to hide it. You are filled with the danger to ignorant people of having out everything; I am filled with the danger to you of suppressing anything. I do not propose to you that you can with the whole truth make ignorant people profound, but I say you must have the whole truth out for your own salvation."

Here is the danger: we see life within certain limitations, and cannot see the possibly infinite significance of something we would put by. It is of grave importance that we see it rightly, and in the difficulties of the case our only safe course is to take the evidence life offers without prejudice and without fear, and write it down.

When the matter is grave, let be taken with all the mature deliberation and care its gravity demands; but once the evidence is clearly seen, let us for our own salvation write it down. For any man to set his petty judgment above the need for setting down the truth is madness; and I refuse to do it.

STRONG MIND NEEDED

There is our religious pessimist to consider. To him I say take religion more seriously. I take it not to evade the problems of life, but to solve them. When I tell him to have no fear, this is not my indifference to the issue, but a tribute to the faith that is in me.

Let us be careful to do the right thing; then fear is inconsistent with faith. Nor can I understand the other attitude. Two thousand years after the preaching of the Sermon on the Mount we are to go about whispering to one another what is wise.

To conclude: Now, and in every phase of the coming struggle, the strong mind is a greater need than the strong hand. We must be passionate, but the mind must guide and govern our passion. In the aberrations of the weak mind degrading resistance, let us not lose our balance and defy brute strength.

At a later stage we must consider the ethics of resistance to the Civil Power; the significance of what is now written will be more apparent then.

Let the cultivation of a brave, high spirit be our great task; it will make of each man's (Continued on next page)

Biography of Patriot Lord Mayor

TERENCE MacSWINEY, by Moirín Chavasse (Dublin: Clonmore & Reynolds Ltd.). Price 25/-.

MUCH patient research and hard work has gone into the writing of this biography of Terence MacSwiney, probably the most widely known of all the leaders of the 1919-21 period because of the publicity which his hunger strike got in the world press.

He, by his passive resistance unto death, did more than anyone else to bring world opinion around to condemnation of England's murderous attack on a small defenceless country. Mrs. Chavasse has used her material to give us the background picture of the time and to put her subject in the proper perspective.

The best part of the book is that which comes after the 1916 period in Cork, in which she gives us an account of MacSwiney in greater detail. In my opinion there was too much time taken up in vindicating men who need no vindication.

Their lives after that period, and especially their deaths, are sufficient to show the least discerning that the fact of their not rising in Easter Week in Cork was due, not to any intrinsic fault in themselves, but rather to the divided councils of the leaders in Dublin.

WORK FOR LANGUAGE

But when Mrs. Chavasse deals with MacSwiney's work for the Irish language and his literary work, his association with his murdered colleague, Tomás Mac Curtain, and his own work as administrator when he succeeded to the Lord Mayoralty, then we get the best picture in the whole book of her subject.

We see the gradual develop-

ment of MacSwiney until he reached his full stature at his trial by British courtmartial. Here the age-old pattern repeats itself, the innocent accused by the guilty, the oppressor using a military court, dispensing with all the forms of freedom and democracy, in an attempt to suppress all desire for freedom in the people that so stubbornly resisted them for over seven hundred years.

FIRE OF FREEDOM

Generation after generation has thrown up leaders like MacSwiney and Pearse to keep alive the fire of freedom. In some generations the fire has died to a mere spark; in others, as in the 1919-21 period it has blazed from every hilltop; but now in our own generation an attempt is being made—at the behest of the British Government—to give that dimly burning fire its final quenching through the medium of the 26-County State.

The Military Court is again the order of the day and the evidence brought against the accused is as always, allegiance to an Irish Republic for the whole of Ireland. The lessons of history seem to have no meaning for the 26-County rulers.

The last chapters in the book are particularly moving, and here we see again England at her old game of trying to rule Ireland through Rome; trying to get the Pope to condemn the hunger strike as immoral. It is the same old England ruled by Tories, the same England that was up to her old tactics in Cyprus and Suz and now again in the Congo; the same die-hard Tory administration, with the same old imperialist intentions.

Much nonsense is talked nowadays of a different approach to history. What other way is there

to teach history than to tell the truth? If the truth is too bitter for modern ears then better not teach it at all rather than teach a lie.

The authorities in the Six Counties are more clear thinking. They do not allow Irish history to be taught at all. Such an attitude has at least the merit of honesty. There is no dishonesty nor woolly-headed thinking about it. If history is to be re-written, then by all means let someone re-write MacSwiney's biography and leave out his hunger strike and the events leading up to it.

MacSwiney was shaped in a heroic mould. All this is brought out admirably by Mrs. Chavasse in her sympathetic handling of her subject. He was a man of deep spirituality, a mystic, who put God always in the first place; a man for whom the life of the spirit was all-important. He was of the stuff of martyrs.

SELF-DISCIPLINE

But as Mrs. Chavasse points out, he realised that one does not become a martyr overnight. "You cannot take up such a character like a garment. It must be developed," he says himself, in regard to self-discipline and the necessity of self-mastery, if Irishmen were to prepare themselves for the struggle that he saw was not far away.

So he lived a life of most rigorous asceticism, not an asceticism for its own sake; for such is barren and empty and dries up the spirit. His asceticism was folded. In the first place it was

truly Christian because it had God for its object; it was truly Irish because it had love of country for its second object.

I quote from Mrs. Chavasse: "He believed that the end of human action was God; he held almost as strongly that for every man there was a secondary end, the good of his country. . . . Both these ends, in his view, required not only a dedicated life, but could demand the sacrifice of life itself. He did not overlook duties to family and kindred, but they could not annul those greater obligations. To fulfil them freedom was necessary, not as an end in itself, but as the necessary means that gives the power to create the first state and to train the upright man."

A MORAL PLAGUE

"Subjection to another nation suppresses freedom, first in its economic basis, since a subject nation is a prey for plunder, its interests are always subordinate to those of the occupying power; secondly, in a more direct way, by causing a moral weakening. The real evil of subjection lies in the corrupting influence that a conqueror brings to bear on the mind and spirit of the conquered in order to establish and maintain its ascendancy. A moral plague eats up a people whose independence is lost. . . . Every nation and every individual is stifled if he has no right to self-development, a thing that is always denied to a subject race, because no aggressor understands that freedom does not bring strife

but harmony and brotherhood."

Those were the ideals for which MacSwiney lived and died, cheerfully and gladly, in the hope that his sacrifice might not be in vain, but might be a means of bringing about that freedom which he considered so essential for the well-being of the nation and of every individual in it.

It is fitting that after 42 years a book, ably and sincerely written, should appear to remind an older generation how far they have strayed from the faith they once held, and to bring before a younger generation a period they never knew.

Mrs. Chavasse is to be congratulated on a work well done. It is evident that she has spared no pains in her researches, and the book has all the qualities of patience, industry and sincerity, that will make it a standard work for any student of the period. The publishers have produced a book that is pleasant to handle and the printing and general layout leave nothing to be desired. It is modestly priced at 25/-.

—Seán de hÓra.

New Editions Of Song Books

The "Kevin Barry Soldiers' Song Book" which has been out of print for some time has now been reprinted. It contains 32 songs of Ireland's heroes including Kevin Barry, Sean Treacy, Maurice O'Neill, The Boy from Trillick, England's Gallows Tree, The Soldiers of '22, Sean Sabhat of Garraowen and Feargal Ó h-Anluinn. The well-known recitation "The Man from God Knows Where", by Florence Wilson, is also included.

The "1916 Song Book" contains 29 songs and ballads including *The Soldier's Song* in Irish and English, and P. H. Pearse's Oration at the grave of O'Donovan Rossa in Glasnevin Cemetery, 1915. *The Foggy Dew, Who Feels to Speak of Easter Week, Will My Soul Pass Through Old Ireland, Sixteen Dead Men, Let Me Carry Your Cross for Ireland, Lord! The Women of 1916, My Old Houth Gun and Ireland Over All* are also included.

The two books can be had in the shops for 9d. or by post for 11d. each from:

JOSEPH CLARKE,
Irish Book Bureau,
68 Upper O'Connell St., Dublin.

HAVE YOU READ?

RESISTANCE is the story of the struggle for freedom in British-Occupied Ireland. First published in December 1957, 17,200 copies have since been sold in Ireland, Britain, U.S.A., Canada, Africa, Australia. This must surely constitute a record for any book published in Ireland.

Printed on art paper it runs to 120 pages and is available still from the *United Irishman* office. See advertisement on page 10.

Also available from this office are the booklet, *British Troops Must Go* and the pamphlet, *The Murder of James Crossan*. Both cost 6d. each (by post 8d.). A limited stock is still on hands.

An chlann do dhíol a máthair . . .

IRELAND

SINCE THE

TREATY

40 YEARS AFTER

By Hugh Maguire

Published by Republican Publications 1s.

Reduced facsimile of cover.

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This booklet, which is already in big demand, is essential reading for every Irish person who has at heart the cause of his country's welfare. Well written and thoroughly documented, it examines the fortunes of the Irish people over the past 40 years, and traces the failure of the partition system of government as shown by the supreme test of results.

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SPECIAL RATES

Single copies 1/2 each, post free, from Republican Publications, P.O. Box 187, Dublin. Larger quantities 8/- per dozen (9/- post free). Cash with orders please.

LAST BULWARK AGAINST FOREIGN INFLUENCE

Why Ban Must Be Retained

Inside Occupied Ireland

"WE hear a lot of talk these days about the ban and the foreign games rule, and whether it should be removed or not, and I think that we in this part of our Province that is governed by a foreign Power can answer that question best," said Mr. H. A. McGurk, chairman, in his address to delegates at the annual convention of the South Derry G.A.A. District Committee at Newbridge recently.

"We who are fed daily through the Press, radio and television that we are British and part of Britain know what would happen to our games if the rule was changed. We have seen what has happened to our dances and other phases of our Irish way of life amidst all the foreign 'blitz' in this area."

"Remove the ban," said Mr. McGurk, "and our games would then play second fiddle, not because foreign games are better, but because the 'shoneens' thought them more fashionable. Let us follow the teachings of Padraig Pearse who once said: 'Don't criticise foreign games; don't play them; don't criticise foreign dances, don't dance them. Our own games and dances are better than foreign ones.'"

SAVAGED BY DOG

A 20-year-old girl clerk, Miss Iris Black, employed at Omagh R.U.C. Barracks was attacked on January 18 by an Alsatian dog used for tracking Resistance fighters. She was taken to Tyrone Co. Hospital where several stitches were inserted in her lip. She also received other facial injuries.

It is understood that she was petting the dog when it lashed at her with its paws. In Cookstown some years ago a dog broke loose from its R.U.C. handler and attacked a woman on the street.

Tracker dogs were introduced to Occupied Ireland originally by British Army units and are used extensively on security patrols.

TYRONE G.A.A.

At the annual general meeting of Moortown St. Malachy's Gaelic Football Club in East Tyrone on Sunday, December 31, Thomas J. Mitchell was again re-elected president.

He was first elected to this honorary position when he became Sinn Féin T.D. for Mid-Ulster in 1955.

and dancing classes in the coming year.

There was a very urgent need for these classes at the moment as the younger generation didn't know the first thing about Irish dancing. It was a disgrace to go to a ceilidhe and watch the dancing being done in the name of Irish dancing.

This position would remain so long as club members and officials went to the door of their own ceilidhe, pay their admission money, and then motor off to some of the big commercial dance halls which they thought was fashionable.

Derry Supports Irish Dancing

Gaelic football clubs which sponsor and encourage Irish dancing were praised by Mr. Joseph McIntyre, outgoing secretary, in his report to the North Derry Board G.A.A. convention in St. Patrick's Hall, Ballerina, on Sunday, January 7.

Calling for support from other clubs, Mr. McIntyre expressed the hope that clubs which had been lacking in this respect would see their way to fulfilling their duty in 1962.

ATHRU POLASAI AG U.N.O. ?

"FEAR maith a déarfadh céard atá romhainn i gcúrsaí idirnáisiúnta. Má scaitear na prionsabail a leag Tone, Emmet, O'Conaigh, an Piarasach agus muintir na Cead Dála síos, beidh an ghluin sin againe náirthe ós comhair gach Éireannach dá dtiocfaidh ar an saol go bráth," aúitir Proinsias Mac Aonghusa nuair a thug sé léacht do Ghnasa an Piarasáigh i mBaile Átha Cliath ar 22ú Eanáir.

"Ach má leanfar le prionsabail na Cead Dála, prionsabail comhráthreachais idir lucht oibre agus tíortha beaga agus móra an domhain, beidh linn agus beidh muid faoi mheas san am atá romhainn," ar sé.

Labhair sé freisin faoin ráiteas a rinne Seán Lemass le gairid ag rá go mb'fheidir go n-athróidh ballraíocht Chomhghaigh na hEorpa an phairt a bhí ag Rialtas na Sé cCondae Fiched sna Náisiúin Aontaithe a bheag nó a mhór.

D'fhiafraigh sé arbh ionann sin is a rá go bhfuil rún ag an Rialtas sin a ndroim a thabhairt leis an bpolasáí a bhí acu ag na Náisiúin Aontaithe go dtí seo.

Thagair Mac Aonghusa do na ráiteasaí ar fad a bhí á ndéanamh taobh amuigh de Theach Laighne faoin bpolasáí a bhíontaí a dhul

MONAGHAN

"Coming from a small farming stock, I would not be doing my duty to the people who sent me here if I did not oppose this order," said Sinn Féin member James McElwaine at a meeting of Monaghan County Council on January 6.

The Council was discussing a Co. Manager's order dealing with salary increases for the engineering staff.

Where was the small man to get the money for these increases, he asked. He himself had nothing personally against the engineers but he thought they could get along well with the salaries they had. Where was the man at the bottom of the scale to get the money to pay them? He was being pushed out yearly by increases in rates and taxation of all descriptions.

Following a discussion, Councillor McElwaine's motion that no increases be granted was defeated by 13 votes to 3.

ONE MONTH

Geairid O Broin of Toomevara, Co. Tipperary served one month in Mountjoy Jail recently. His "crime" was collecting for the Republican Prisoners Dependents' Fund at a G.A.A. match in Nenagh last September.

BUTLER AGAIN

British Home Secretary Mr. R. A. Butler—the man responsible to the British Parliament for Occupied Ireland—is coming to Belfast again in March.

He has accepted an invitation to be guest speaker at the annual luncheon of the Unionist Council on March 23. The annual conference of the Council is being held in the Ulster Hall the previous day.

Butler has been to the Six Counties on many occasions in his official capacity. In 1958, 1959 and 1960 he toured the Border and inspected sand-bagged barracks and other security precautions.

At Nutt's Corner Airport in December, 1960, in the course of a press conference he made his famous threat of trade sanctions against the 26-County Government unless it took stronger action against Irish Republicans.

Butler also intervened in a debate on Occupied Ireland at Westminster in March, 1960, to say to the Six-County Unionists: "Your Border is our Border; your soil is our soil."

One wonders what he will have to say in Belfast on March 23?

56 ATTACKS IN 1961

Two members of the Crown Forces had lost their lives in the past year and in addition there had been 56 major incidents, Stormont Home Affairs Minister Faulkner told Central Armagh Unionist Association at Portadown on January 6.

He paid compliments to the R.U.C. and B-Specials and said that if it were necessary security arrangements in the occupied area would be strengthened still further.

At Downpatrick on January 18 he described Resistance attacks throughout 1961 as "a resurgence of Republican activity."

45 NOW IN MOUNTJOY

The number of Republican prisoners in Mountjoy Jail exceeded the number in Crumlin Road, Belfast for the first time in many years during January.

A total of 43 are serving sentences of from four to fifteen years penal servitude in Belfast Jail. In Mountjoy there are 45; of these 30 have been jailed by the Military Court and 15 by District Courts.

In England two are serving life imprisonment and one woman is doing 21 months.

ARMS DUMP

Three men were arrested in Dublin on January 17 following the seizure of an arms dump at Rialto by Special Branch detectives from Dublin Castle. One was arrested on the street, the others in their homes. Two of them were later released.

The third man was held at the Bridewell Prison for 48 hours and was then taken to Collins Barracks. He was charged before the Military Court in connection with the Rialto dump and was remanded to Mountjoy Jail until January 25.

Kiltyclogher Arrests

Three men arrested at Kiltyclogher, Co. Leitrim, earlier in the month were jailed by the Military Court at Collins Barracks, Dublin, on January 19.

They were James McCabe of Garrison, Co. Fermanagh; Richard Walsh of Luffany, Mooncoin, Co. Kilkenny; and Michael F. Hennessy of Knockanevin, Kildorrery, Co. Cork.

Charges against all three were that while held prisoner at Kiltyclogher barracks under the Offences Against the State Act they refused to answer questions and give information to the police.

James McCabe and Richard Walsh both said they were not interested in the proceedings. Michael Hennessy said: "I don't recognise these proceedings at all."

A police witness said that on January 10 he was a member of a party of police which went to a house at Kiltyclogher and he saw a man who had jumped from a window struggling with one of the police. He ran to the policeman's assistance but the man escaped and after a chase and another struggle he caught him and took him to Kiltyclogher station. The man was dressed in dark green khaki battledress.

When interrogated he gave his name and address but refused to answer any other questions. He took responsibility for a haver-sack found in the house. He was James McCabe.

Police evidence was given that Richard Walsh and Michael Hennessy were in a downstairs bedroom of another house at Kiltyclogher. Both men wore green battledress. Richard Walsh took responsibility for two haver-sacks found in the house.

At Kiltyclogher barracks they

refused to answer questions other than giving their names and addresses.

In a statement from the dock Michael Hennessy said: "It is obvious that no offence was committed by me before my arrest. The only offence I am charged with was committed in Kiltyclogher barracks when I refused to become an informer."

"The only option before me when I was questioned was to become an informer—and I am not an informer."

Richard Walsh and James McCabe were each sentenced to four months imprisonment, and Michael Hennessy was sentenced to six months. He had been jailed for two months on the same charge last July.

Republican Prisoners

Omitted inadvertently from last month's listing of Republican Prisoners in Mountjoy Jail, Dublin, were: Joseph Maguire of Ballinaghy, Co. Cavan, and Patrick Murphy of Inistioge, Co. Kilkenny.

Both men were sentenced to six months imprisonment last September by a 26-County District Court.

JOINT PATROL URGED

A proposal to have an area of approximately five miles on either side of the Border patrolled jointly by the R.U.C. and the Civic Guards was contained in a question which Miss Murnaghan, the newly-elected Liberal member for Queen's University, put to Lord Brookeborough in Stormont on Thursday last.

Miss Murnaghan, who was asking her first question in the House, wanted Lord Brookeborough to request Mr. Lemass to consider a temporary scheme on these lines.

She said it would ensure complete freedom of movement for patrols in the area, to demonstrate beyond question that both Governments are agreed in the determination to put an end to

Republican activities, and that they are prepared to co-operate to the full for this purpose.

—Dungannon Observer, 16/12/61.

COMMENT: Miss Murnaghan certainly got off to a bad start. She wants to bring the Crown Forces back into the 26 Counties. No one could then enter Co. Donegal by land without the possibility of encountering the Crown Forces for they would hold the four-mile-wide bottleneck at Ballyshannon.

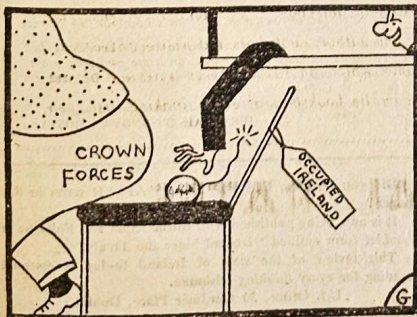
Apparently Miss Murnaghan wants to demonstrate her loyalty to the British Crown from the very outset of her political career. More Tory than the Tories themselves. Brookeborough rejected her proposals, incidentally.

35 YEARS OF COERCION

(AND COLLABORATION)

1927—1962

- * COSGRAVE and FITZGERALD-KENNEY
- * DE VALERA and BOLAND
- * LEMASS and HAUGHEY



"Crown Forces Cannot Relax"—Faulkner.

Tory-Unionist Newspaper Lectures Lemass

'Govern or Get Out....'

THERE is no better example of the recent pressure from pro-British elements in this country on the 26-County Government than a strongly-worded article which appeared in the "Belfast Telegraph" of December 13.

It urges Mr. Lemass to take very extreme steps against Republicans and Republicanism. The heading to this article by a Special Correspondent in the 26 Counties sets the tone. It reads: "Govern or get out is the choice for Lemass."

Nothing could be plainer. Mr. Lemass is told crudely, even brutally, to coerce Irish Republicans to the fullest, or else— "Govern or get out."

SOLOHEADBEG

The article commences by saying that any examination of the latest Republican activities and the reaction of the 26-County Government must begin with a reference to their origin. It continues:

The young criminals who murdered Constable Hunter at Jonesborough are the direct political descendants of the "heroes" who on January 21, 1919, murdered two policemen at Soloheadbeg, Tipperary. On the same day in 1919, the newly-elected Sinn Féin members of Parliament, meeting in Dublin, adopted a Declaration of Independence and ratified the establishment of the Irish Republic.

"At the same gathering Mr. Cathal Brugha (Charles Burgess, an Englishman), as Republican Minister for Defence, declared that the I.R.A. had now become the army of a lawfully constituted government, and was entitled, morally and legally, when on duty, to slay the officials and agents of the foreign invaders.

(Cathal Brugha was, of course, an Irishman).

THE DIFFICULTIES

The "Special Correspondent" then refers to the difficulties facing Mr. Lemass in dealing with the Republican Movement: the fact that he professes to have the same aims as that movement and differs only as to means; the claim made in the 1937 Constitution of Mr. de Valera which

asserts that "the national territory consists of the whole island of Ireland...."

He goes on to say that Mr. Costello's repeal of the External Relations Act in 1948 "had merely turned the guns which killed for a republic against Northern Ireland." He then accuses both major 26-County political parties of being "equally and consistently supine and cowardly" in proceeding against Republicans "because they lack courage and conviction in this grave matter."

DURING THE WAR

Mr. Lemass is accused of failing to grasp the "Republican nettle" and this is partly dictated, we are told, "by the fear that if stern punishment were meted out to these miscreants they might become heroes overnight."

But the "Special Correspondent" re-assures Mr. Lemass that "this did not happen when they were executed during the war. And such a reaction is now very unlikely...."

"Take courage, Seán Lemass" seems to be the keynote here. The time has come to act and this is the line indicated:

Sentences of six months imprisonment are not the answer to a murderous conspiracy, as is proved by the fact that several of those so sentenced have reappeared after their release in a similar role.

It remains to be seen whether this new policy, indicated by the revival of the Military Tribunal with wider powers of punishment, is going to be firmly carried out.

Is, for instance, the Republican propaganda journal, the "United Irishman", with its incitements to violence, to be allowed to continue in unrestricted circulation and is the border patrol to be made effective?

Next the Fianna Fáil leader is told that "public opinion in Eire is at least 90% behind a firm policy" and the general election has put Sinn Féin safely out of the way.

The only fly in the ointment is the British Ambassador. The 26-County Government took no strong action until he made his protest to Mr. Lemass, the public

complain—or so the "Special Correspondent" likes to think.

The fact of the matter is, of course, that the British Ambassador's action on the instructions of his government put the whole affair in proper perspective and the Irish people resented such outside interference.

Next it was suggested that greater firmness and efficiency is needed in stopping assistance in the form of funds and munitions from America to the Resistance Movement.

And after that the teaching of history in the schools could be seen to. The youth are being perverted! What would Edmund Ignatius Rice say to this:

In this field, the Christian Brothers are among the worst offenders. The popular pictorial history of Ireland which they have published and of which thousands of copies have been circulated in our schools is nothing more nor less than a glorification of violence, murder and racial and religious hatred. With lurid illustrations it provides, in Irish, a perverted and provocative version of Irish history.

And he complains: Although the attention of the Roman Catholic hierarchy has been drawn to this noxious publication, no action seems to have been taken....

'TIME IS RPE'

Now the time is ripe for "firm action" against the Republican Movement. The "Special Correspondent" has all the inside information:

Its numbers are now relatively small, a few hundred at the most, and its activities are now confined to Dublin and the border districts. In Cork and most of the South it has virtually ceased to function.

What say you men of the South to this?

Going on this assessment Mr. Lemass is told that he has a "golden opportunity" to end "criminal activities" once and for all. But a note of warning is sounded: "He must make up his mind that this entails a policy of friendly and unambiguous co-operation with Northern Ireland."

In other words abandonment

of all idea of a free and united Ireland—and most important—collaboration to the hilt!

Finally, a word of praise is added judiciously. Mr. Lemass is "a man of integrity, intelligence and courage" but "he will have to use all these attributes in the near future." Republicanism must be stamped out—if British rule in Ireland is to survive (and with it the politicians who have pinned their political future to it).

SINCE THEN

But all that was on December 13. The heaviest sentence imposed by the 26-County Military Court up to then was still six months. On December 15 it rose to two years, on December 21 to four years, and on December 22 a Co. Derry man got eight years.

"Wider powers of punishment" was one of the things wanted. If the "Special Correspondent" of the "Belfast Telegraph" were writing now, he would doubtless have something different to say. The Imperialists have got what they wanted.

Sympathy
Voted

At a recent meeting of South Leitrim Comhairle Ceantair of Sinn Féin a vote of sympathy was passed with Paddy McLoughlin and family, Drumrane, Ballinacorney, on the death of his father.

Two minutes silence was observed at a meeting of Comhairle Ceantair Chorcaígh Thaidh of Sinn Féin in memory of Owen Harold, late Vice-Chairman of the Comhairle Ceantair. Eamon Mac Gabhann, Cathaoirleach, spoke in glowing terms of the deceased and the meeting then adjourned as a mark of respect. Deepest sympathy with his wife, daughter and other relatives was expressed.

A vote of sympathy was also passed with the O'Sullivan family, Glanworth, on their recent bereavement.

SENTENCED BY MILITARY COURT

THE CASE OF
C. J. CAROLAN

The case of Charles Joseph Carolan, a Donegal man sentenced by the Military Court on December 22 is worthy of note. He lived at Leitrim, Bogay, Newtowncunningham, not far from the Derry Border.

In the huge sweep of Co. Donegal on December 11, C. J. Carolan's home was not raided. He was not an active Republican but he was a Republican sympathiser. In 1943 he was imprisoned in the Curragh Concentration Camp.

On December 12, the day after the raids and arrests in Donegal, a British Post Office van was seized at Killea, outside Derry City, by Irish freedom-fighters. It was destroyed by incendiary bombs.

90 YEARS OLD

Killea is not far from where C. J. Carolan lived. Later that day (Dec. 12) his home was raided by 26-County police. They found a 90-year-old Martin Henry rifle in an attic. A quantity of ammunition—some of it rusty—was also found.

The "capture" was hailed with delight and the impression was freely given that it was connected with the destruction of the British Post Office van. C. J. Carolan was arrested and charged with possession of arms and ammunition.

Questioned as to his movements under O.A.S.A. he replied: "Where I was on Monday and Tuesday is my own private business." He was taken to Dublin and on December 22 was jailed for eighteen months by the Military Court. He did not recognise the court.

I.R.P.B.

On December 31 the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau issued a statement saying that the 1871 model rifle and ammunition seized by police near Newtowncunningham, Co. Donegal, were not the property of the Resistance Movement in Occupied Ireland.

Then things began to happen. On January 16 C. J. Carolan was unconditionally released from Mountjoy Jail. It was six weeks since his arrest. The prison

governor had called him up a few days previously and told him he would be released the following Monday. He could have added: "quietly."

Evidently someone had made a mistake. Or was it that the 26-County Government had something to show after the burning of the mail van by arresting and jailing C. J. Carolan—and seizing a rifle of the type used in the Franco-Prussian War?

But where does JUSTICE enter into it? The Military Court is supposed to see to that. It must not have done so in this case.

SECURITY
SURROUNDS
TRIBUNAL

Pressmen were not present at the first sitting of the revived 26-County Military Court in Collins Barracks, Dublin, on November 27.

That evening a statement was issued to the press from the office of the Commissioner of the Civic Guards saying that Cathal Goulding of 27 St. Enda's Drive, Rathfarnham, Dublin, had been charged before the Military Court with failing to give an account of his movements and was remanded in custody to December 7.

This is how the "Evening Mail" of November 28 described the second sitting:

Strict security precautions were in operation an hour before the court sat. Camera men had their cameras taken from them before being allowed to enter the barracks.

The Registrar of the Court, Lt.-Col. Art Cullen, asked reporters before the court sat to refrain from giving the names of the officers engaged in the hearing.

"I make this request for what must appear to you to be obvious reasons."

To-day's court consisted of three military officers in uniform. Around the block of buildings in which the headquarters of the Eastern Command is situated, Special Branch detectives were on duty.

Another 12 Special Branch officers were in the small court room.

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Maud Gonne MacBride

Gerard McKeown's Recollections of a Famous Irishwoman

I MAKE no apology for including the name of Maud Gonne MacBride in this series of articles. One did not always agree with her attitude on political matters, and at times she supported policies which the Republican Movement could not sanction. Nevertheless, she is entitled to be included, because of the way she fought during the Land League days against evictions, and to maintain the Irish people on the land of their fathers.

She also fought for the release of political prisoners and their just treatment whilst in prison. Nor did she forget the unfortunate criminals, who were condemned and forgotten. All her life she struggled for a reform in the Prison Code, so as to make it more humane and just.

For these reasons, Madame Gonne MacBride can be considered a fighter for social and political justice, and in that respect she is as worthy to have her name included in this record of Famous Irishwomen, as any of the revolutionary women fighters with whom we have already dealt.

WIDOW OF JOHN MacBRIDE

I knew, and was associated with this great Irishwoman. She was the widow of the executed 1916 leader and veteran fighter for: Boer independence, Major John MacBride, and mother of Sean MacBride.

When I first met Maud Gonne she was well over 70 years of age, but was still fighting for the Republican Cause, and the cause of the Republican prisoners, just as she had fought for the Fenian prisoners half a century previously, when she was known as "the most beautiful woman in Europe", a description given to her by W. B. Yeats.

My first recollection of Maud Gonne was during the month of October, 1931. It was Sunday morning, and the infamous Free State Coercion Act known as Amendment No. 17 to the first Free State Constitution had been passed through the 26-County Parliament the night before, and had been rushed to the Vice-regal Lodge for the signature of Mr. James MacNeill, then Governor-General of the Irish Free State.

AGITATING FOR PRISONERS

Under that Act, the organisation of which Maud Gonne was President had been declared an "illegal organisation". The organisation's name was "The Women Prisoners' Defence League", and its activities consisted in agitating for the release of Republican prisoners in Irish and English jails, and collecting money for the maintenance of the wives, mothers, and other dependents of the men in prison.

Madame MacBride held a weekly meeting in Dublin every Sunday at 12 noon, at the corner of Cathal Brugha Street, and O'Connell Street. Under the new Act these meetings were proclaimed, and on this particular Sunday morning a large force of police were present to enforce the ban.

Promptly at noon Madame MacBride and her team of

speakers appeared on the corner. I remember the team well. They included the late Madame Despard, the late Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington, Helena Maloney, Sean Brady, Fianna Fail T.D. for Co. Dublin, and Mr. Tom Mullins, T.D. for Cork (now Secretary of Fianna Fail).

How times have changed. Fianna Fail is now doing the same dirty work that the Cosgrave Party was doing in 1931. I doubt if you would find Mr. Mullins or Mr. Brady on a public platform protesting against the detention of Republican prisoners nowadays. How could they, when the party to which they belong has made it a major part of its policy to send Republicans to jail for doing the very same work (trying to free Ireland) as they were doing in 1931, just 30 years ago.

COERCION ACT DENOUNCED

The police closed in on the group of speakers, but Mr. Mullins broke loose and succeeded in mounting the platform, off which he was pulled, but not before he had succeeded in announcing that the meeting would be held despite the ban. He roundly denounced the new Act.

It was then that I saw the most extraordinary public meeting of my life. The speakers, including the two men, broke into sections, and kept moving up and down O'Connell Street, speaking as they walked along. Instead of Cathal Brugha Street being the venue of the meeting, all O'Connell Street became the venue.

The police moved behind the speakers, the crowds followed the police, and Madame MacBride scored a singular success by keeping the demonstration going for two hours. She repeated the same tactics the following Sunday, and announced, "For every meeting the Government bans, I will hold three."

RELEASES BY F.F. IN 1932

The result was that no more meetings were banned, and Madame MacBride carried on her prisoners' agitation until Fianna Fail was elected to office in March 1932, and the Republican prisoners released.

My personal association with Madame MacBride came at a much later date, though I knew her to speak to as early as 1932. I first met her at a Prisoners' Reception held in the Mansion House after the 1932 releases from Arbour Hill. I was on that occasion one of the delegates representing the Standing Committee of Sinn Féin.

Madame MacBride and her Women Prisoners' Defence League were off the streets of Dublin for the remainder of 1932, but when Republicans began to be arrested again in 1933, by the Fianna Fail Government, she

opened her campaign for the release anew. She restarted her weekly Sunday meetings in O'Connell Street, but now the personnel of her platform was very different.

No longer did Fianna Fail Deputies speak on it. They were replaced by younger men, mostly members of the Republican Movement.

'INHUMANITY TO IRISHMEN'

At first Madame was only mildly critical of the Fianna Fail administration, and kept suggesting that the officials in the Department of Justice were mainly responsible for the continuation of the police war against Republicans. As the years went on she became more and more critical, and when Sean Glynn of Limerick was found hanged in his cell in Arbour Hill Military Prison after a long spell of solitary confinement, she became outraged, and openly attacked the 26-County Government for what she called "its inhumanity to fellow-countrymen".

Then, in 1936, came the intensification of the coercion against the Republican Movement when Michael Conway of Tipperary was sentenced to death by a Military Court. The evidence against Conway was so slight—a fingerprint on a motor car taken from a garage where he worked—that the whole country was shocked at the verdict.

VERDICT FORECAST BY MINISTER

No jury would have convicted him, and to make matters worse, a Minister of State had forecast the verdict in a speech delivered at Lucan on Bodentown Sunday, 1936. Madame MacBride set to work immediately to have the verdict reversed.

She gathered around her a committee representative of all sections of Republican and progressive thought in Dublin. I was a member of that committee. The Labour Party was represented as was also the Republican Movement and kindred organisations. Miss Rosamund Jacob, the Irish historical writer who died recently, was also a member of the committee.

That committee produced a pamphlet, which as far as I can recollect now, was entitled "The Conway Case". The main burden of the work of preparing the pamphlet fell upon Miss Jacob. Over 50,000 copies of that pamphlet were circulated throughout England and Ireland.

MADAME THE DRIVING FORCE

It was reviewed in the British and Irish press. The British Civil Liberties Association became interested. Conway became front page news not alone in England and Ireland, but in the European press as well.

Madame MacBride through her knowledge of French and of Paris, was altogether responsible for this. It was she who got the committee together. It was she who collected the money to make the publication of the pamphlet possible, and it was she, through

her Women Prisoners' Defence League, who undertook the most important task of securing adequate circulation.

The net result of the whole campaign was that Michael Conway was reprieved. I am convinced that the reprieve was secured through that pamphlet, which was the last supreme effort of this valiant woman. Today Michael Conway is a monk in an enclosed Order of the Catholic Church.

My other close association with Madame MacBride was in connection with the Anti-Occupation Drive, which became operative in 1938, just before the Republican Bombing Campaign in Britain. On the first Sunday of August in that year, I addressed from the same platform as Madame MacBride an Anti-Occupation demonstration at Bundoran, Co. Donegal, four miles from the Border of Co. Fermanagh.

EXPELLED FROM SIX COUNTIES

I had travelled to Bundoran by train. Madame MacBride wanted to travel the same way, but the committee decided against it because there was an Expulsion Order against her in the Six Counties, and she was certain to be arrested at Enniskillen. Instead she went by car to Sligo, and from there on into Bundoran. The meeting was very successful.

I travelled back with her in the car that night, and we did not reach Dublin until well after five in the morning. We had a meal in Boyle, Co. Roscommon, and all the time Madame talked of the old days of the Land League, of the Fenian prisoners, of her friends Tom Clarke, and James Connolly, of the evictions in Donegal when she was a girl, and finally of her two dear friends Harry Boland and Michael Collins, who lost their lives on opposing sides in the Free State War. It was that night that I first heard some of the stories which I later read in her autobiography, *A Servant of the Queen*.

LETTERS SUPPRESSED

The last occasion on which I met Madame MacBride was when she asked me to tea at her home in Roebuck House some few years before her death. At this period she was beginning to be confined to the house and was not able to be active any more on political platforms.

Nevertheless, she was concerned over the fact that 500 Republicans were interned without trial, and what annoyed her most was that any letters she wrote on the subject were refused publication in the newspapers because of the Press Censorship then operating.

That evening she talked of many things, including the second volume of her autobiography on which she was working. She died before she could finish it.

She also spoke much that evening of the beautiful artificial flowers which she made at Roebuck, and told me the story of how she started a small factory for their production towards the

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end of the Free State War. Her main object in doing this was of course, to create employment for Republican men and women who had been interned, and who had lost their jobs, or for women whose bread-winners were still in prison and who were finding the times grim and hard.

Her little factory was a success, and of all her achievements Madame MacBride was proudest of this, because it brought happiness and economic security to many of her old comrades who worked and suffered for Ireland.

Madame Gonne MacBride was the daughter of an officer in the British Army. She had been brought up in an atmosphere of hostility to Ireland. She had been presented at the British Court during the reign of Edward VII, and her whole outlook was tainted as she says herself "by ignorance of the history of my own country". Her girlhood ears were mostly spent in Howth, Co. Dublin, or in England or France, where she went to school.

FOUGHT AGAINST LANDLORDISM

During a visit to Donegal, when she was only 18, she discovered the poverty and misery in which the people lived. She saw the battering-ramp knock down the cottages of the poor, and the people driven off the land because they could not pay exorbitant rents to foreign and absentee landlords.

Then, and then only, did she realise that there was something wrong in Ireland. Instinctively, she took the side of the people against their oppressors, and from then on her whole life was a struggle to secure Irish freedom and social emancipation for the whole people of Ireland.

Madame MacBride was born and reared a Protestant, but after her marriage to Major John MacBride, she became a convert to the Catholic Church, and in her old age was a frequent contributor to *The Father Mathew Record*, published by the Franciscan Fathers at Church Street, Dublin.

'CONTROL OF CREDIT BY THE NATION'

Most of her articles in this publication, and indeed many of her latter-day contributions to the daily press, dealt with the economic situation in Ireland. She always and ever advocated "complete control of banking by the nation".

Even when she was bed-ridden, she continued to write to the papers on this subject, and to point out that the Poles over and over again made it quite

clear that the control of money and credit was not to be used by private institutions or individuals for the purpose of controlling the lives of the people, and fixing the prices of commodities which mankind needed.

Madame MacBride was obsessed with the idea that control of credit would eventually solve all the problems of the nation. In this case I think she was quite wrong, because control of credit is only one step towards the final emancipation of the whole people from economic slavery. Only when the people control the Government of this nation can a just Christian Social Order be built.

OBJECT YET TO BE ACHIEVED

But this much can be said for Madame MacBride: she recognised the necessity for a new Social Order, and did all she could by personal effort and agitation to bring such an order of society into existence. In that respect, we must remember her with Mrs. Skeffington, and Madame Markievicz as one of a trio of famous Irishwomen, who struggled for the twin-objects of national and economic freedom.

The Ireland for which these three great women struggled has not yet been achieved. It remains for the younger generation to follow along the lines which these great figures pointed out, so that in our time the Republic of Ireland, proclaimed in arms in Easter Week 1916, can become a living reality and an example to the world.

D. Mac Giolla Phadraig

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Lemass Supports British Occupation

DESPICABLE ATTACK ON RESISTANCE

Mr. James C. Heaney of New York has forwarded us this exchange of correspondence between himself and Mr. Lemass.

THE EDITOR,
United Irishman.

Dear Sir,
I am enclosing copies of certain correspondence between myself and Premier Sean Lemass, which may be of interest to your readers.

Following the November 12 raid on English Occupation Forces in County Armagh, I wrote Mr. Lemass, expressing amazement at his violent attacks on the Irish Patriots who participated in the raid. Shortly thereafter I received Mr. Lemass's letter of November 25th last.

It is indeed regrettable to read of the Premier's attitude on Partition. He proposes that Ireland wait and in time Stormont will see the error of its ways. How glib can one be?

Mr. Lemass, in his letter, alleges that Irish Republicans shot Occupation Forces "in the back" in the November 12th raid. It is sad indeed to see the Premier of Ireland repeat Stormont's version of which direction Her Majesty's Forces were faced in this engagement.

It is noteworthy that Mr. Lemass opposes the use of force to re-unite Ireland but favors the use of force (and Irish troops) to re-unite the Congo and Katanga Province. I have learned to suspect men who employ double standards. I can not agree with Mr. Lemass that it is right for Irishmen to die in order to re-unite the Congo—but wrong for Irishmen to die in order to re-unite Ireland. Such a policy is immoral and it is a sad commentary that it appears to be Ireland's official policy.

Speaking solely as an American observer, if Ireland's future lies in the hands of men obsessed with such ideas, I can only say "God Save Ireland". Obviously her leaders will not.

Respectfully yours,
James C. Heaney,
(Attorney at Law),
538 Ellicott Square Bldgs.,
Buffalo 3, New York,
December 27, 1961.

Premier Sean Lemass,
Dublin, Ireland.

Dear Sir,

I noted with interest press reports quoting you on a November 12th Irish Republican Movement attack on English forces in County Armagh. Your violent condemnation of Irish patriots does not serve Ireland and the Irish. Irish-Americans have long wondered why you have consistently failed to condemn English attacks on the Irish in Ulster and at the same time strongly condemn Irishmen whose only "mistake", as you call it, is to believe in the principles of Pearse and Connolly.

I am wondering why Irish policy in the United Nations has been to speak up for freedom for the Algerians and Hungarians but never a word for the poor Irish of Ulster. You have advised the world that the partition of Germany is an evil thing, but what have you done to eradicate the English partition of Ireland?

As a fourth generation Irish-American, I, like many others, am mystified at your utter failure to use the United Nations as a sounding board for Irish complaints. Ireland waited so long for admission to the United Nations but Irish spokesmen thus far have failed to represent the Irish since being admitted.

Irish history shows that tyranny in Ireland has always been maintained by the sword. It can be eliminated only by the sword.

I feel certain that the brave men participating in the November 12 raid in County Armagh will be remembered by the Irish people long after persons such as you and I. I have never heard your Government's position in this matter and would therefore appreciate hearing from you since I assume you feel that you have some basis for your present policy.

Trusting you will advise me further, I remain

Respectfully yours,

James C. Heaney,

November 20, 1961.

Mr. James C. Heaney,
Attorney at Law,
538 Ellicott Square Bldgs.,
Buffalo 3, New York,
U.S.A.

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of November 20th. The essence of democratic freedom is the right of a people to determine all questions of national policy by their free votes. In the matter of the reunification of Ireland, the Irish people have repeatedly expressed their rejection of a policy of seeking this national objective by methods of violence. At the most recent General Election, the Party which supported a policy of violence did not succeed in securing the election of a single one of its candidates.

The continuation of the campaign of violence is, therefore, a challenge to the democratic right of our people to determine national policy, as well as to constitutional government and to the moral law. A Government which failed to take action to protect their people's democratic rights would not be worthy of the name.

As to the affair of November 12th when a young Irishman was shot in the back by men who immediately ran away across the Border in the knowledge that those whom they had ambushed could not pursue them, to describe those who perpetrated it as "brave men" is debasement of the words. Indeed, those features of the affair added the feeling of shame to that of horror with which the Irish people heard of the occurrence.

As regards the attitude of the Irish Government, I enclose the text of an address which I made to the Oxford Union in October, 1959, on the subject of the Partition of Ireland.

Yours truly,

Sean Lemass.

Roinn an Taoisigh,
(Dept. of the Taoiseach),
Baile Atha Cliath,
(Dublin)

25th November, 1961.

REPUBLICAN ANSWER —USUALLY SUPPRESSED

IN his reply to Irish-American attorney James C. Heaney, Mr. Lemass poses once again as the champion of the democratic process. The Republican Movement suffered a reverse in the recent 26-County General Election, he says, therefore Irishmen have no right to fight in British-Occupied Ireland for freedom.

Many points in Mr. Lemass's letter require comment. He mentions "the party which supported a policy of violence". Presumably this reference is to Sinn Féin.

Now Sinn Féin does not advocate physical force. It does pledge that given the support necessary to assemble an All-Ireland Republican Parliament it will form a government. That government will then use all honourable means to make its rule effective over every inch of Irish soil. To quote Mr. Lemass: "A government which failed to take action to protect their people's democratic rights would not be worthy of the name."

NO FREE VOTE

The issue Mr. Lemass speaks of was not put to the Irish people. British laws enforced by British arms prevent a free vote of all the people of Ireland being taken. The 26-County state is not Ireland; its government is not the Irish Government—it rules over part of Ireland only.

Mr. Lemass states that the Resistance Campaign is a challenge to the democratic rights of the Irish people. But why does such a campaign exist at all? Is it not because of the continued presence of British troops on Irish soil. Does their occupation of six Irish Counties not constitute a most flagrant violation of the national and democratic rights of our people? Is this not a challenge to constitutional government and to the moral law?

Why does Mr. Lemass's government not "take action to protect their people's democratic rights" in this regard if it wishes to vindicate its claim to be "the Irish Government"?

RIGHTS DENIED

On the contrary Mr. Lemass—in order to bolster up British occupation—has revived military courts in the 26 Counties. That decision of his government was put into effect just two days before he wrote to Mr. Heaney. Citizens have been denied the right to trial by jury; no legal training is necessary to be a member of Mr. Lemass's Military Tribunal. Is this not a denial of the fundamental rights of Irish people?

And from 1957 to 1959 the government to which Mr. Lemass belonged had a Concentration Camp at the Curragh. Over two hundred Irishmen were held there without charge or trial "for an indefinite period." Far from protecting

democratic rights Mr. Lemass has violated them and denied them under pressure from a foreign power.

Mr. Lemass is quick to join the pro-British elements in this country in condemnation of the Irish freedom-fighters of to-day. He has no words of denunciation for the armed invaders of Britain; he does not deplore the action of quiescent Irishmen in making common cause with those invaders and bearing arms against the Irish people.

BRIDGEHEAD

He speaks of the Resistance fighters at Jonesboro' on November 12 as "running away across the Border." Was any evidence found on the 26-County side to indicate they did so? Who saw them cross into the 26 Counties? No one. Who said they did so? The British Crown Forces only—but their word is good enough for Mr. Lemass. After all he is doing his utmost to protect them and help them consolidate their bridgehead in Ireland.

The young men who attacked the British forces at Jonesboro' did not create the Border. Men—both English and Irish—of Mr. Lemass's generation did that. It was put there by brute force. It had been maintained for forty years by force—against the will of the Irish people. Young Republicans of this generation seek to remove it and with it all British Occupation Forces. They do so in the only way that force can be overcome—by force.

CROWN FORCES

And on November 12 they did not attack an Irishman as such. They ambushed an armoured Crown Forces patrol—"a security patrol", as the R.U.C. described it.

Some of the crew of the armoured car dismounted at Jonesboro'. They were armed. The machine gunner covering them from the vehicle was careless. A few Resistance fighters open fire from behind a wall, inflicted casualties, and withdrew successfully. They were not concerned with the way the Crown Forces were facing. It was a typical guerrilla operation.

There is no cause for shame—or horror—in that. Rather is there cause for pride: Irishmen in arms have hit back effectively at their armed oppressors—at the enemies of their country.

Mr. Lemass questions the bravery of those freedom-fighters of to-day. He disregards the terrible odds facing them. One observer estimated this at 200 to 1 five years ago. To-day a thousand to one would be nearer the mark.

He ignores—conveniently—the armoured patrol vehicles of the British. He forgets (or pre-

tends to do so) the heavily fortified barracks, the huge reserve of reinforcements, the guarantee of the support of British Imperial might, the denial of belligerent status if captured . . .

Against all this a few unselfish, unpaid guerrillas—in the best fighting traditions of our race—have pitted all they have: their lives, their liberty, their ingenuity and their armament, such as it is: nothing heavier than a Bren gun—or a gelignite bomb. Their actions over the past number of years have demonstrated physical courage of a very high order.

But the guerrillas have moral courage too. They know that even their most successful operations will be misrepresented to the world and, even worse, to the very people for whom they are fighting—the Irish people. The whole weight of the British propaganda machine is thrown against them.

MASS MEDIA

Add to this the yelping of collaborationist politicians of Irish birth and the misuse of all the mass media of communication these collaborators control, not to mention the suppression of almost every voice which seeks to give the Resistance point of view.

Yet these young men fight on tenaciously, relentlessly, strong in their faith in the Irish people, confident that their cause will ultimately prevail. They are the salt of their generation and history will record it so.

The Border was put there by Britain with the help of Irish renegades. If to-day the British and their Irish allies feel some of the disadvantages of that Border, then that is their lookout. They created it in the first place.

And as to horror, Mr. Lemass has surely given reason for that by the savagery and brutality of the sentences he has imposed on young men fighting for their country. There is no bravery in that, Mr. Lemass.

REAL SHAME

Rather is there reason for shame. Real shame that Irishmen professing national principles can be found to inflict such punishments on their fellow-countrymen at the behest of England.

But then Mr. Lemass and his henchmen are politicians in the worst sense of the term. They have staked their political future on collaboration and they will use every means, however despicable, to denigrate those whose courageous actions threaten their downfall.

Mr. Lemass's letter to Mr. James C. Heaney is a classic example of this.

And Mr. Heaney is to be congratulated on his able and timely defence of the young Irishmen fighting for their country to-day.

—ULTACH.



Armed Crown Forces raid a farmhouse in Co. Fermanagh.

Editorial

The Pressure On Lemass

The changing pattern of the events which affected the Republican Movement over the past few months makes an interesting study.

No sooner was the 26-County General Election over than the pro-British Imperialists of the North-East were telling the 26-County Government that the time was ripe to crush Irish Republicans once and for all. These voices became almost hysterical following the Jonesboro ambush of November 12. Mr. Lemass spoke of "murderous activities"—but took no action. The British Ambassador called on him two days later.

On November 22 the Military Tribunal was revived. Three days later one man was arrested in Dublin while cycling home from work. Meanwhile the clamour for more vigorous coercion of Republicans by the 26-County Government reached a crescendo. Even Orange Lodges in the 26 Counties were pressing for action.

Then on November 26 another armoured patrol of the Crown Forces was ambushed at Cullinagh. That evening Stormont Home Affairs Minister Faulkner told the 26-County Government that it must act to maintain British rule.

He said: "There must be action on two fronts—firstly, preventive action to ensure that there are no more attacks, and, at the same time, a determined drive to bring the miscreants before a court which has power to impose sentences which will be a real deterrent."

Mr. Lemass did not wait for the British Ambassador to call on him again. Early next morning nine Dublin Republicans were arrested in their homes. Minister for Justice Haughey addressed a conference of all Chief Superintendents of police in the 26 Counties. They were told what to do: full-scale action against Republicans. Next day Haughey saw all newspaper editors in Dublin. They got their instructions: muzzle the Republican Movement; its point of view must not be heard. And the "Evening Mail" of that date said that 1,000 Gardaí would be patrolling the Border by the weekend.

Then the raiding of homes near the Border—and far removed from the Border—began in earnest. Arrests were occurring daily. No privacy was respected in the latest 26-County drive in support of British rule. Private correspondence was read by policemen; women's bedrooms were burst into in the early hours; children were forced to get up and dress.

On December 1 Lord Brookeborough was cautious in welcoming the re-introduction of military courts in the 26 Counties. He said at Brookeborough, Co. Fermanagh, that this step indicated that more vigorous action was to be taken.

And he added: "The effectiveness of this measure will, of course, depend on the use made of it, but events during the last few days certainly

seem to show that the Eire authorities really mean to do something to stamp out these murderous gangs."

But while the raiding, searching, arresting and attempted intimidation of Republican people went on apace in the 26 Counties, the first sentences imposed by the revived Military Court (four months and six months) on December 7 did not appease the Imperialists.

Speaking in Belfast that night, Mr. Faulkner did not mince words: "If the sentences handed out in Dublin to-day are the measure of the Eire Government's determination in connection with the Republican Movement, then I can only say that it shows an appalling lack of realisation of the seriousness of the Republican threat."

He continued: "There was nothing effective in the sentences given. . . . I suggest to Mr. Lemass that justice must not only be done, it must be seen to be done."

Faulkner had not long to wait. One week later sentences of two years imprisonment were imposed in Collins Barracks, Dublin. By Christmas the Military Tribunal was handing out anything up to eight years penal servitude.

All this was duly noted in Occupied Ireland. The pressure on Lemass eased. The tumult and the shouting died down. And the "Belfast Telegraph" on January 1 noted editorially: ". . . the heavier sentences now emerging from Eire's special court are a welcome portent for the new year."

January passed very quietly. Five more Republicans were jailed by the Military Tribunal, two of them for five years each. Collaboration continued along the Border. Two arms dumps were found.

By the third week of the month Faulkner was congratulating the 26-County Government. On January 20 he said at Downpatrick: "In recent weeks there has been much more activity on the part of the Southern authorities than we have seen before. I welcome these developments quite unreservedly, and I hope that the Dublin Government will take security measures as strong as we have taken and will not let up until the Republican Movement is a thing of the past."

And he concluded: "We will not be satisfied about the security of this state until measures of a strength equal to our own have been taken against illegal bodies by the Dublin authorities."

Apparently the 26-County Government was toying the line at last. Those savage sentences were what was wanted—for the moment at any rate. Mr. Lemass had submitted to the pressure. Hence the great silence throughout January.

But it is important that someone should keep the record straight. That is why we have recalled these things. And it is more important still that we should trace the evil of these outrageous sentences to its root cause—British Imperialism.

HEAVY SENTENCES BY MILITARY COURT

FURTHER heavy sentences were imposed on Irish Republicans by the 26-County Military Court during its second month in operation. A Dublin man and a Monaghan man were sentenced to five years' penal servitude each.

They were Thomas O'Neill of Mary Aikenhead House, James's Street, Dublin, and Peadar Doyle of Coolderry, Carrickmacross, Co. Monaghan. Both were found guilty of being in possession of arms and ammunition with intent although they denied that there was any intention of using them in the 26 Counties.

At the Military Court in Collins Barracks, Dublin, on January 25 Peadar Doyle was charged with having in his possession three .303 rifles, three Thompson sub-machine guns, one Sten gun and a quantity of ammunition with intent to endanger life and property.

He was also charged with not having a firearms certificate and with having 65 lbs. of open-cast

sentenced Peadar Doyle to five years penal servitude on the first charge, 18 months imprisonment on the second and five years penal servitude on the third, all to run concurrently.

Thomas O'Neill was charged with being in possession of two Sten guns, one Thompson sub-machine gun, three Lee-Enfield rifles, five revolvers, a bayonet and a quantity of ammunition with intent to endanger life and property.

He was also charged with refusing to answer questions and give information to the police while a prisoner at the Bridewell.

Asked if he wished to have time to prepare his defence, Thomas O'Neill said: "I don't think it makes any difference to me."

Police evidence against him was that in a raid on a flat at Fatima Mansions, Rialto, Dublin, the arms and ammunition mentioned in the charges were seized. Other weapons and ammunition and some grenade cases also found were suitable only for training.

The prisoner was arrested at Anglesea Road, Ballsbridge, and he accepted responsibility for the material. He refused to answer further questions.

FOR TRAINING

Cross-examining the witness Thomas O'Neill asked: "Am I being charged with intent to endanger life simply because I took responsibility for the arms and ammunition?"

Witness: "Yes."

In his statement the prisoner said: "The weapons were for use in training only."

The military personnel constituting the court retired. Later they sentenced Thomas O'Neill to five years penal servitude on the first charge and four months on the second, the sentences to run concurrently.

Thomas O'Neill was held in the Curragh Concentration Camp for 18 months (1957-9). He is a married man with a family.

(See Killybegh Arrests, p. 7)

Tribunal Protests

(Continued from Page 1.)

1916 Proclamation where equal rights are guaranteed to citizens, not kangaroo courts. . . .

The Chairman then adjourned the meeting.

At Donegal Co. Council, Seamus Rodgers (Sinn Féin) proposed the suspension of standing orders so that a resolution of protest against the imprisonment of J. McGill could be passed. There was no seconder and no action was taken. (See Leitrim Co. Council, page 5).

Tribunal Officers

The Military Court was re-constituted by the 26-County Government on November 22 last, just one week subsequent to the British Ambassador's call on Mr. Lemass.

The new members are Col. James H. Byrne, Lt.-Col. Joseph Adams and Lt.-Col. William Rea, with Col. John V. Joyce and Col. Frank Bennett as continuing members. The registrar of the court is Lt. Col. Art Cullen.

The names of the three officers selected to sit in each case are not given. Neither are the names of the police witnesses. The press may be excluded and two military policemen escort each prisoner to the dock.

The "Military Tribunal", as it was popularly known in the 1930s, sits in Collins Barracks, Dublin, guarded by the guns of the 26-County Army.

POLICE TACTICS IN DONEGAL

The death occurred on January 24 of the mother of Peadra O. Curaoín, Ard O'Donnell, Letterkenny, Co. Donegal. When her son was arrested on December 11 last and held in the local barracks for some hours, her home was raided by 26-County police.

Mrs. O Curaoín had been sick in bed and she was kept sitting in a chair throughout the search. It is felt that this raid on her home hastened her death. It was well known locally that she had been unwell for some time. The police must have been aware of the fact.

She suffered from a heart complaint and excitement was bad for her. Peadra is a member of the local Sinn Féin Cumann which arranged to have Mass offered for the repose of her soul.

Later on January 24, when Peadra O Curaoín went to Bundoran for his married sister, Mrs. Dawson, and her husband, he was kept under observation by police in a patrol car.

They followed the mourners to Ballyshannon where they were halted and questioned. The car was searched and a suitcase of personal belongings of Mr. and Mrs. Dawson, both of whom objected, was also searched.

NEUTRAL IN E.E.C.?

(From Page 1.)

two bodies represent the first tentative steps taken by West Germany, France and the Benelux countries towards a unified Europe.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, sponsored by the U.S. as a first bastion against the westward march of Communism, was at the same time being set up but met with internal and external difficulties which slowed down its development. Gradually the main European nations saw in N.A.T.O. not merely the bulwark-force originally envisaged by the U.S., but principally as a European Army which could hold the balance of power between West and East.

The gradual evolution of N.A.T.O. towards that end has gone on since then, until now, practically speaking, all that remains to be done is the superimposing of the N.A.T.O. armour on the E.E.C. frame. Thus, in being committed to the political aims of the Common Market, for the furtherance and defence of which the N.A.T.O. armies will undoubtedly be destined, we are at the same time signing a blank cheque which could have far-reaching and unforeseen results.

INIMICAL TO IRISH INTERESTS

As yet the political aims of the E.E.C. are a chimera, a vague conglomeration of policies based more on negatives than on positive foundations. We have a certain amount in common with some of those negative attitudes—we too are anti-Communist and anti-colonialist. But when the positive aspects of those political aims come to be worked out they could contain much that would be inimical to Irish interests.

If, as suspected, they conform with the terms of the N.A.T.O. constitution, then we shall have taken a step which could hardly ever be retracted. We shall have betrayed the destiny of the Irish nation and the trust imposed on us to fulfil it—the restoration of national unity and the setting up of a 32-County Republic.

Well might the "Irish Independent" (with which we do not often agree) query in an editorial: "How many people in the country have any inkling of what the political aims of E.E.C. are? How much has the Government done to enlighten us in any detail?"

The leader-writer has a good point in his last question. For, if Mr. Lemass and his henchmen have any knowledge of the political implications of the Common Market, then it is their duty to tell the people what they are. If, on the other hand, they do not know, then their application to join the E.E.C. is a deliberately-conceived piece of political manoeuvring designed to mislead the people and distract their attention from the primary national aim—the unity and freedom of Ireland.