

STORMONT THREATENS DEATH PENALTY

FOR RESISTING BRITISH RULE

BRITISH rule in Ireland stood revealed at Stormont on November 28 when Home Affairs Minister Faulkner threatened to impose the death penalty on Irish people for possession of arms, ammunition or explosives.

The puppet government in Belfast will not hesitate "to take the most drastic action" against anyone in British-Occupied Ireland who "participates in or aids or succours in any way" the men who are resisting in arms England's unjust claim to rule any part of Ireland.

J. J. MCGILL ON MILITARY COURT

"I wish first of all to challenge the right of competency of this court to try me—unless it be assumed that as a Republican prisoner I have no rights at all. A Fundamental Democratic Principle is being by-passed here, for this is a military court and I am not subject to Martial Law.

"Those who have spoken loud and clear about 'law and order' and 'democracy' are the first themselves to discard every human and democratic right when it suits their purposes to do so—or when it suits the purposes of an outside power for them to do so.

"I challenge that before the Irish people—and I insist that the Irish people are not represented at these proceedings—because otherwise I would be joining in a mockery of every right and principle Irish men and women have fought for through the centuries. And I shall not join in such a mockery of my people or their cause which has yet to triumph.

"There is nothing I can do about your sentence—except serve it. I was one of the last to be tried by a military court 15 years ago. And now I am one of the first to be again tried by one.

"From my experience I can only say that those who use such arbitrary powers to enforce their will on us are bringing the Irish nation into disrepute and are actively hindering the cause of this country's freedom.

"What you do to me is unimportant. But what you do in the name of my people—the Irish people—is of tremendous importance. I hope others besides Republicans see that.

"And I hope they will do something about it—before it is too late."

Faulkner had been asked by a Tory-Unionist M.P. to make a statement on the ambush of Crown Forces at Cullinville on November 24 and other recent Resistance activities.

Two days before the Cullinville ambush, which was the second such attack in South Armagh in a fortnight, he had threatened to re-introduce imprisonment without trial in the Six Counties. The last internees there had been released seven months previously.

He said that if there was "any indication to the authorities of men getting involved in 'illegal' activities" they would be interned and interned forthwith.

These Imperialist threats against the life and liberty of Irish people in Occupied Ireland followed within a matter of days the re-introduction by the 26-County Government of Military Courts to try those who oppose British occupation of Irish soil. The Border was being cemented on both sides.

These are Faulkner's words:

It would be well if it were understood clearly that anyone convicted of unlawfully and maliciously causing an explosion likely to endanger life or cause serious injury to property, or of attempting to do so, or of having in his possession or under his control any explosive substance with intent to endanger life or cause serious injury to property, is liable to the death penalty and that a firearm is an "explosive substance" for the purpose of the execution of this penalty.

He then went on to welcome "the action being taken at long last" by the 26-County Government and hoped it would be imbued with "the same vigour and thoroughness as that shown by the Northern Ireland Government . . ."

And just over two weeks later—on December 15—the Occupation regime in Belfast went a step further. The names of nineteen Irishmen were published by them as "wanted by the Crown" for Resistance activities in the occupied area.

This action by the Crown Forces is nothing new in Ireland or in any other occupied country,

but it is calculated to cause distress and anxiety to the relatives of the men in question.

Ten of them are being sought in connection with the ambush at Jonesboro, Co. Armagh, in which one member of the Crown Forces was shot dead and three others wounded. Four of these are now in Mountjoy Jail serving sentences imposed by the 26-County Military Court.

The other nine men listed by the Crown authorities are stated to be wanted in connection with "the commission of outrages", meaning of course acts of Resistance to British rule.

Men from Armagh, Down, Tyrone and Derry, as well as men from eight counties in the Free State area, are included on the wanted list. In each case a detailed description and even personal characteristics follow the name and address.

Many people will be tempted to inquire where the R.U.C. got such information about the men who are residents of the 26 Counties. Has the Crown got agents operating south of the Border? Or did the Gardaí—on the instructions of Leinster House—supply them with it?

But even though the 26-County Government renders aid and comfort to the British enemy, all patriotic Irish men

and women should aid and succour these "wanted" men and thus prevent their falling into the hands of that enemy.

In doing so they will be helping to ensure the continuity and eventual success of the struggle for Irish freedom—in spite of the Military Courts of the collaborators and the threats of internment and death by the enemy.

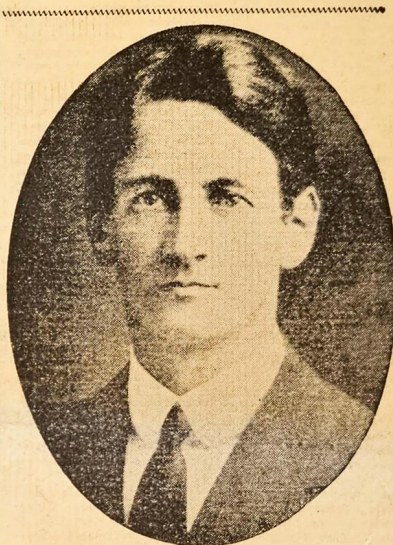
On Fifth Anniversary

British Post Office services were hit at two widely separated points on the morning of Dec. 12. At Corragant in the Roslea area of Co. Fermanagh, a post office delivery van was held up by guerrillas. The mail-bags were removed and the vehicle was demolished by explosives.

About the same time another post office van was taken over at Killea, just outside Derry city. It was destroyed by incendiary charges.

The Evening Press of Dec. 13 stated that "A man in battledress with a Thompson sub-machinegun and ammunition was arrested early this morning by Gardaí on the Derry-Doonegal border."

This report was entirely without foundation.



"We have not survived the centuries to be conquered now."

Terence MacSwiney's Principles of Freedom is continued on page 5. A review by Seán de h-Óra of Moirín Chavasse's recently published biography of the great patriot will be carried next month.

Resistance Attacks In Five Counties

A WIDESPREAD series of Resistance attacks took place during the last days of November and early December. This was followed up by further attacks on December 12, the fifth anniversary of the opening of the Resistance campaign in 1956.

Five counties—Fermanagh, Derry, Tyrone, Armagh and Down—were embraced in these fresh strikes against Crown Forces, transport, communications and British civil administration.

The freedom-fighters who ambushed an armoured Crown Forces patrol near Cullinville in South Armagh at 12 noon on November 26 completed a successful withdrawal. When the second of the two vehicles was wrecked by a land-mine explosion injuring three R.U.C. Commandos, concentrated Bren-gun fire was opened on the guerrillas from the first vehicle in an attempt to pin them down and encircle them.

The Resistance fighters disengaged and withdrew without suffering any casualties or loss of equipment.

On November 27 a U.T.A. bus was taken over and badly damaged by incendiary bombs at Clontarvin in the Newtownbutler area of Co. Fermanagh. The attack took place at the main road bridge which was demolished by the Resistance on July 2 last.

DETERMINATION

The conductor was permitted to retrieve personal belongings from the bus and all four passengers were removed from the danger area. When the driver hesitated about leaving the cab, one of the party of armed and uniformed guerrillas broke an interior window behind his back with a revolver.

The fire engine from Clones, Co. Monaghan was rushed to

the scene and helped fire-fighters from Lisnakea in the occupied area to save the British Exchequer the full £2,500 cost of the bus.

The following night at 10.45 p.m. Ballywholon bridge on the main road from Clogher in South Tyrone to the Border was demolished by explosives. It was a reinforced concrete structure.

PROTECTED

Next evening, November 29, another U.T.A. bus was commandeered by armed and uniformed Resistance fighters at Tullyrosmeary in West Fermanagh. The conductor was allowed to unload passengers' luggage from the vehicle.

Then driver, conductor and passengers were escorted down a lane to the safety of two dwellings. Explosive charges were laid and the bus was demolished, the wreckage completely blocking the road.

Two armoured vehicles had escorted it, but these stopped outside Belcoo to examine a

bridge. Meanwhile the guerrillas struck and the Crown Forces arrived just in time to see the explosion.

They immediately opened fire with machine-guns but could not pass the debris on the road. No one was injured.

At Killeel in South Down in the early hours of December 3 one U.T.A. bus was destroyed by fire and another damaged. They were parked in a row of twelve and the remaining ten buses were saved by the alarm being raised.

Half an hour later, a young Killeel man was taken from his bed by R.U.C. armed with sub-machine guns and removed to the local barracks for questioning. A Newtownbutler man was arrested by Crown Forces earlier in the week and brought to Lisnakea. He too was released.

Despite widespread and intense activity by Crown Forces no other arrests were made and no arms, ammunition or explosives were captured.

In Border areas of the 26 Counties Gardaí were active raiding houses and searching but nothing was found.

Letters to the Editor

Remove British Troops

A Chara,

Mr. Lemass in his statement to the Dail on the setting-up of military courts, said: "We are determined to do everything in our power to bring this campaign (meaning resistance to British rule in Ireland) to an end."

Mr. Lemass must have a very poor knowledge of Irish history, and of the Irish people, if he really believes that Internment Camps, Military Courts, coercion and persecution can break resistance to British rule in Ireland. The Republican Movement has had all this before, at intervals for the past thirty-nine years from the partition governments at Leinster House.

Despite all this coercion, resistance to British rule in Ireland is as strong to-day as it has ever been, since the signing of the Treaty. If Mr. Lemass really wants to see peace in Ireland, then he must take whatever steps are necessary to secure the removal of the British Army of Occupation from Irish soil.

In undertaking this he would have the unanimous support of the Irish people at home, and the Irish exiles abroad. He would also have support and sympathy from nearly every country in the world. In the absence of British interference, the Irish people North and South would settle their own differences peacefully.

Like his predecessors, Mr. Lemass apparently has no intention of taking any such steps. He is more interested in the unification of the Congo than in the unification of his own country.

While the situation in Ireland remains as it is to-day, there will always be resistance. It will have large support from the Irish people at home, and unanimous support from the Irish people in exile. No form of coercion whatsoever will be able to bring it to an end.

Mr. Lemass in his statement

FORMER
F.F.I. MAN

Dear friends,

I found a copy of your paper on the stairs leading to a New York subway station. I never knew your paper existed. For many years I have been — very actively — your friend.

You see I was born in Jerusalem, Israel, and was three years in the British detention camp in Africa as a member of the Fighters for the Freedom of Israel organisation, which the British called the "Stern Gang."

I am a writer now, studying on a scholarship granted to me after winning a literary prize. I salute you fighting friends. Take care of those in prison. They need every letter, every word of encouragement. I know what it is — I have been in it!

I send you a subscription. Good luck and hammer at treacherous England as hard as you can.

Very truly,

Y.R.

P.S.—Please publish just initials. They still give us trouble when visiting England, Gibraltar, etc.

Brooklyn 24,
New York,
29-11-61.

also said that the Campaign of Resistance "was a fundamental denial of the democratic rights of the Irish people." He did not mention that a foreign army of occupation on Irish soil is a fundamental denial of the democratic rights of the Irish people, especially when it is maintained there by force, against the wishes of the entire population of Ireland.

James Connolly at his trial said: "Believing that the British Government has no right in Ireland, never had any right in Ireland, the presence in any one generation of Irishmen of even a respectable minority ready to die to affirm that truth, makes that government forever a usurpation and a crime against human progress."

The Resistance Movement inherits their credentials from many men of the calibre of this great patriot, men who like him gave their lives for the freedom of Ireland. They inherit nothing from the politicians of Leinster House who bartered the cause.

S. Mac M.

London S.E.5,
7/12/61.

COLLABORATION IS SINISTER

A Chara,

I will be glad of space in your column to show up the hollowness of recent statements by Mr. Lemass and the Press. When a member of the Crown forces was recently shot, Mr. Lemass stated that "some sinister influence was at work."

Quite true, Mr. Lemass, there are indeed a good many "sinister influences", and your collaboration with the occupying forces forms part of it. We didn't have anything about "sinister influences" when poor James Crossan, R.I.P., was shot in the back by the hirelings. You didn't send any Garda to the border to investigate, and your Government didn't hand a note of protest to Whitehall.

The Irish Independent screams about "shooting British Irishmen" and "Ireland is not at war with the North". Now this eye-wash shouldn't deceive any true lover of freedom. When members of any nation take sides with the enemy of their country, they are in the same category as the enemy, and the R.U.C. were warned in 1956 to either stand aside or help the Resistance.

And of course we are "not at war with the North". We are struggling against the occupying British Troops in the North, and quite justified in doing so. How nice to put over a case in favour of their masters. We didn't see any big headlines in the Press when civilians were killed and wounded by these hirelings.

No, Mr. Lemass, you cannot cover up your collaboration by attempts to justify yourself like the proverbial ostrich with head buried in the sand. Resurgent Ireland is on the march, Military Tribunals and Concentration Camps won't avail you anything. They have all failed in the past.

Thank God for our brave freedom-fighters; aided by exiles abroad, they will bring freedom

PLEDGE SUPPORT

The following letter was received by the Ard-Rúnal of Sinn Féin:

A Chara,

Please convey to the delegates assembled for the Sinn Féin Ard-Fheis our sincere greetings, to the outgoing Ard-Chomhairle our thanks for valiant service rendered to the Republican Movement, to the incoming Ard-Chomhairle our pledge of co-operation and moral and financial support for the coming year.

Is mise le gach deagh-ghuidhe,

D. J. McCarthy,

Chairman.

Sean O'Reilly,

Vice-Chairman.

Sinn Féin,
Padraig Pearse Cumann,
1133 Mission Street,
San Francisco 31,
California, U.S.A.

WAS BROTHER OF SEAN MAC DIARMADA

With regret we record the death of Patrick McDermott of Corramore, Killybegh, Co. Leitrim at the great age of 92. He was the last surviving brother of Sean Mac Diarmada, 1916 leader and signatory to the Proclamation of the Republic.

Patrick lived all his life in a little thatched cottage in the Leitrim hills where his executed brother was also born and reared. The McDermott home is close to the Six-County Border and has been subjected to many raids and searches by 26-County police in recent years.

The shame of such collaborationist activities did not stop Mr. De Valera and Mr. Lemass from being represented at Patrick's funeral. Such performances are characteristic of their hypocritical attitude over the years.

Patrick McDermott was 17 years older than Sean. There were three other brothers, and he was mainly to Patrick that Sean addressed his remarks in his last letter dated May 11, 1916, from Kilmansham Jail.

This letter is still preserved and framed in the little cottage on the slopes of Thomore.

To Patrick, Sean wrote: "I had hoped Pat to be able to help you in placing the children in positions to earn their livelihood, but God will help you to provide for them. Tell them how I struck out for myself, and counsel them always to practise truth, honesty, straightforwardness in all things, and sobriety. If they do this they will be all right."

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to our enslaved nation. They are the true followers of Tone, Emmet, and Pearse to our own day of Sabhat, O'Hanlon to the Edentubber Martyrs, God speed the day to a United Ireland and a truly National Government.

Is mise le meas mor,

Eamonn O Murchadha,
16 Shrubbery Road,
Weston-Super-Mare,
Somerset, England,
Dec. 6, 1961.

EIGHTY-FIVE NOW IN JAIL FOR IRELAND

Leitrim Councillors Not Interested

A DEPUTATION from the local Sinn Féin organisation was present at a meeting of Leitrim Co. Council in early December to speak in support of a motion demanding the unconditional release of all Republican prisoners.

Mr. P. L. Coyle, chairman, ruled the motion "out of order" saying that every member of the Council deplored the continuation of the Border and had protested against it at every opportunity. They were as nationally-minded as anyone.

Yet the "Longford Leader" of December 9 noted:

"This was just before the luncheon adjournment and only a few of the members had remained to hear the deputation."

John Mulvihill, Ballinamore, a member of the deputation, said he was speaking on something of great national importance. There were large numbers of Irishmen in jail for periods from six months to fifteen years. In England two men were serving life imprisonment.

"Will it be said of us, as in other times, that these men were forgotten," he asked. "As a matter of fact a member of the council, J. J. McGil, is in prison to-day for the very same old cause. That man is not a criminal."

He called on the council to protest in the strongest manner against the continued imprisonment of these men. Coercion was not the cure. It had failed before and would fail again. Seamus Connolly, Kinlough, said that Ireland was no more free to-day than it was in 1916. He called on the Council to register their strong protest.

John Gallagher, Co.C. (Sinn Féin), proposing the motion, said that the attitude of the Council in the past had not been very sympathetic, but he asked them to pass the resolution and not be afraid.

Shane Nangle, Co.C. (Sinn Féin), seconded.

The Chairman said that he

BANDON CEREMONY

The annual Manchester Martyrs Commemoration was held in Bandon, Co. Cork, on November 23, the anniversary of the deaths for Ireland on an English scaffold of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien.

Headed by the Cork Volunteer Pipe Band, after which came the members of Bandon Sinn Féin Cumann and the general public, the parade marched to the Maid of Erin where a wreath was laid by A. Hurley. At the Technical School, on which site stood the home of William Philip Allen in his boyhood days, the Last Post was sounded and a wreath laid by Sean Hales.

The oration was delivered by Ruidhrí O Driscoll, Corcaigh, Patrick Harrington, chairman of the local Sinn Féin Cumann, presided. A feature of the commemoration was the large attendance of young men and women which had been lacking in other years. Plain clothes policemen were also in attendance.

Later the Sinn Féin members accompanied by the buglers proceeded to Kilgarban Cemetery where the Last Post was sounded, a decade of the Rosary recited in Irish and a wreath laid on the monument.

the hearts of Irish men and women. Irishmen are not in jail because of party politics. The Fenians were not politicians. The men of 1916 were not politicians and the men of to-day are not either.

John Mulvihill: I never mentioned politics . . .

Mr. Coyle (Chairman) said that for years the chair had ruled that against these motions. He did not make the Standing Orders.

Shane Nangle: A similar motion was passed here some years ago.

Mr. Coyle refused the demands of the two councillors and supporters outside the barriers, to relent, and he ruled the matter out of order.

COMMENT: At the October meeting all the members of the council, with one abstention, combined against the three Sinn Féin councillors to defeat a motion seeking to amend Standing Orders so that the prisoners motion could be introduced.

Now Standing Orders are used as the excuse. The inference is obvious: The council members will not call for the release of the prisoners. In this way they tacitly support coercion and British rule—including the Military Court.

Sinn Féin Councillor Dies

We regret to record the death of Owen Harold, Sinn Féin member of Mallow Urban Council. He was also chairman of the local Cumann Eamonn Uaitear and vice-chairman of the North Cork Comhairle Ceantair of Sinn Féin.

Owen Harold was a staunch Republican who never left any doubt as to his national ideals. He served several terms of imprisonment for his activities with the Irish Republican Army and was sentenced to death following an attack on British soldiers in Fermoy during the Black-and-Tan War.

He was relieved after the signing of the Anglo-Irish Truce and never wavered in his adherence to the Republican Cause down through the years until his death last month.

At the funeral the coffin was draped in the Tricolour and borne to the cemetery by members of the local Sinn Féin Cumann, flanked by a Guard of Honour of members of the Republican Movement. At the graveside the Last Post was sounded by two Fianna Eireann buglers and an oration was delivered by Michael Mac Carthaigh of Cork.

To his wife and daughter goes the deep and sincere sympathy of all Republicans.

Go ndanaindh Dia trócaire ar an am.

Both Jailed

The motion appeared on the agenda in the name of Councillor J. J. McGil (Sinn Féin) who was himself arrested and imprisoned since the previous meeting of the council. He had raised the question of the prisoners persistently over the past twelve months.

The deputation to the December meeting was led by John Mulvihill of Ballinamore who was in turn arrested by 26-County police who raided his home at 1 a.m. on Dec. 18. He has since been jailed by the Military Court for refusing to give information.

have no choice in the matter. Standing Orders are there and it must abide by them. My predecessors refused to accept political resolutions and it is impossible for me to accept them," he said.

John Gallagher: Our resolution is not political. It is national, in

On Way From Edentubber

Michael O Treasaigh is a Sinn Féin member of Enniscorthy Urban Council. The *Enniscorthy Echo* of November 17 tells what happened to him while returning home from the Edentubber Commemoration:

"A young Enniscorthyman, his wife, their son and a friend were detained for two hours in Bray Civic Guard Station on Sunday night last. They were Mr. and Mrs. Michael Treacy, and their son, 5-year-old Sean, of Cathedral Street, and Mr. Kevin Sheehan, St. Senan's."

"The party were returning from the commemoration ceremonies at Edentubber, Co. Louth, held on Sunday afternoon. Three times before they reached Bray they were stopped by Civic Guards and their car searched. Outside Bray they were stopped by a party of Guards and detectives and taken to the local station, where they were detained for about two hours."

Did you read the FORTY YEARS AFTER series in this paper?

It is now being published with Introduction and Epilogue in booklet form entitled "Ireland Since the Treaty."

This review of the state of Ireland to-day is essential reading for every thinking Irishman.

U.I. Office, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin.
Price 1/- post free 1/2

Sinn Féin Address

The following is the full text of the address delivered to the annual Ard-Fheis of Sinn Féin, on December 3, by Pádraig Mac Lógáin, President.

THIS Ard-Fheis brings our organisation to the 57th year of its existence.

During this period Sinn Féin has passed through many vicissitudes. Down through the years it has weathered many a storm. At times its strength and influence in the affairs of the nation grew to large proportions, whilst at other times it dwindled to a state where its existence was almost forgotten.

The number of persons who reached public prominence in later years through their former association with Sinn Féin, comprises quite a formidable roll of names.

Task Still To Be Completed

Desertions from the organisation have been many, and often these desertions were described as 'splits' within the organisation when in reality they were simply defections from its ranks; defections by those who owning allegiance for a time to the principles for which it stands reneged those principles, and turning aside from the struggle for Irish freedom strayed into the murky by-ways of political party manoeuvring, leaving an unfinished task to be completed by others.

Every single defection served to retard the progress of the Irish nation towards the goal of its complete liberation from British rule. They achieved this result in many ways, but in no respect have they been more disastrous than in the promotion of disunity and discord within the nation.

To Serve The Nation And Its Interests

Each breakaway germinated an alien spirit, and an outlook that is anti-national. The whole concept of political party doctrine has led its adherents into the selfish frame of mind which causes them to think in terms of just how much they can get out of the nation, not in terms of how best they can serve the nation and the interests of its people.

From time to time professional politicians and others seek to indict Sinn Féin as an obstacle to peace. They further charge that it does maximum damage to the nation's interest. Sinn Féin is not an obstacle to peace. Its members labour unselfishly for the establishment of the full freedom of the country.

British Rule Obstacle To Peace

It is only full freedom which will create the opportunities for a comprehensive and lasting peace within the nation. Sinn Féin is, and I trust it will remain, an obstacle to the peaceful and slavish acceptance of Britain's unjust claim to a right of interference in the affairs of the Irish nation. It is an obstacle to the peaceful and slavish acceptance of partition rule in Ireland, and it will continue, I hope, to combat the hypocrisy of those who represent any partition institution as the sovereign Parliament of Ireland.

The real obstacle to peace in Ireland, the real barriers to happiness and prosperity within the nation are readily discernible. They are the British forces of occupation, the forcible exercise of British rule over Irish territory, and British interference in the affairs of the Irish people.

These are the factors which are actively hostile to achievement of unity among Irishmen. These are the factors which compel the subordination of Irish affairs to the will and to the interests of the foreign power which enforced the partition of Ireland. These are the factors which serve no national purpose.

They are a sinister influence that, without ceasing, create trouble and unrest for our people, and those who wish to be honest about the national position will not deny that these are the factors which do maximum damage to the nation's interest. These factors are a major

cause of the retarded state of Ireland's economy; a state of economy which leaves the country with virtually no alternative to following Britain whither she leads. These are evil factors which Ireland must get rid of before any honest person will speak about freedom having been achieved, or give voice to the political propaganda that the Irish people have repudiated Sinn Féin.

Attitude To Common Market

To condone the existence of these factors, to promote their continuation through maintaining partition institutions, or in any other way, is a wanton betrayal of the ideals of Tone, and Davis, and Pearse, a betrayal which surely merits the condemnation of all who seek full freedom for Ireland and the welfare of her people.

In relation to the Common Market, the views expressed on behalf of Sinn Féin are not actuated by narrow nationalist prejudices. In this as in other matters, Sinn Féin is concerned with the promotion of the interests of the Irish nation.

Political Implications Are Hidden

If those interests are served through co-operation with other peoples then in the interests of the nation let co-operation be fostered. But to date from the meagre details given as to the full implications involved, and from the numerous qualifications that surround what particulars are given, it would appear that the full political and economic ramifications are being camouflaged.

Is the purpose behind this camouflage to mislead the people and rush them into acceptance of political and economic commitments that may well be both dangerous and inimical to the sovereignty of the nation and the economic interests of our people? There are many indications that the E.E.C. may be the foundation for the erection of a 'Power Bloc'; the basis for the establishment of 'Spheres of Influence', having no concern in either case for the economic welfare of a nation, or nations, within the Community. 'Power Blocs' lend themselves to domination by the stronger powers of the weaker nations within the Community.

Colonial Powers Are Members

In the economic sphere itself the concept of the Rome Treaty provides ample opportunities for the stronger powers to deprive the weaker members of a just share in the common market. Some of the powers adhering to the Community are linked together by common interests in colonialism. Belgium and France, for example, are so linked and if Britain joins she will provide an addition to this link.

Promotion of their common interests in colonialism, with which the Irish people have no concern, and from which Ireland has nothing to gain, can quite conceivably necessitate a common foreign policy calling for a common military defence. Hence there is every reason to believe that Ireland's entry into the E.E.C. will entail military commitments and involvements.

Rights Of Small Nations Contravened

Ireland can thus become involved in, and committed to the policies of colonial and imperialist powers, policies that in the past and in the present, have rightly been condemned by Irish people because they contravened the rights of the peoples of small and weak nations.

Within both the partition areas there have been vague surveys by numerous commissions and committees of economic conditions in Ireland. These surveys have been inevitably

followed up with platitudes of prosperity in the country, or of its being just around the corner.

But there has been no national effort to offset the harm done to the Irish economy by the financial credit squeeze and let-go policy of Britain, or by the financial manipulations of the Bank of England. Apart from the Republican Movement there has been no effort to end partition rule in Ireland which in itself precludes the organisation and development of a worthwhile national economy.

Figures have been published recently which purport to show that there has been an increase in the national income. These figures refer only to the 26 Counties and hence are not figures applying to the Nation at all.

Emigration At Rate Of 1,000 Per Week

If there is an increase in the national income, what exactly does it mean and who benefits by it are questions that spring to mind. According to the figures there has been an increase in the emigrants' remittances. It may be assumed that their relatives and dependants have benefited. Yes; some people may have benefited, but Ireland is the poorer as the result of economic conditions that have compelled an increase in the number of emigrants.

In the last ten years more than 91,000 people have emigrated from the Six Counties, whilst in the years 1956-61 the net emigration from the 26 Counties has been over 215,000.

According to statistics published for the 26 Counties the number of persons at work in Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing dropped by almost 83,000 in the years 1951 to 1960. In the same period the estimated number of persons at work in the main branches of non-agricultural economic activity fell by over 24,000. Figures can be very boring but let us for a moment consider just a few more.

No Prosperity For The Weaker Sections

At the close of 1959 beneficiaries of Widows' and Orphans' Pensions numbered over 63,000. The number in receipt of Home Assistance was over 40,000. The number of those in receipt of Old Age and Blind Pensions was over 161,000, whilst those in receipt of other allowances to help them to exist numbered over 20,000. We may take it that these figures have not materially altered since, and to them we may add the current figures (over 47,000) for the unemployed, who with their dependants, exist on Unemployment Benefit and Unemployment Assistance.

Just what meaning has the boosted increase in the national income for those compelled to emigrate, for their dependants and for the recipients of miserable pittance necessary to keep soul and body together? Are these people concerned with the level of what is termed the national income, or does an increase of five per cent. in it alter materially, or to any appreciable extent their lot in life?

The Cost Of Government North And South

What does affect them is the ever rising cost of living and the mammoth proportions to which the cost of partition and Local Government Administration has soared. Approximately six million pounds per week are extracted from the people of Ireland, in Central and Local Government taxation. The Stormont and Local Government indebtedness in the Six Counties is in excess of 186 million pounds.

These are the factors that very materially affect the thousands of Irish people in the country who are compelled to live at starvation, or near starvation level. Seen through their eyes and in their circumstances the much boosted increase in the level of the national

income, and in the level of the national production means for them no worthwhile improvement in their conditions in this life. There are sections of the people whose lot in life is improved by the increase in the national income and in the national production. But their numbers continue to contract, as they must inevitably do whilst the present trends in economic development are allowed to continue.

These trends are apparent enough from unmistakable evidence of the contracting population on the one hand, and on the other the increasing wealth of the already rich and the comparatively well off. Within the framework of partition rule such trends are inevitable, and within the economic scope of the Common Market they will be accelerated considerably.

Industries that currently survive because they operate under a mantle of protection will be either forced out of existence, or alternatively compelled to amalgamate, in either event with a consequence of additional unemployment.

Future For Small Farmers In E.E.C.?

What are the prospects of land holders with holdings of 30 acres, or under, surviving in the intensively competitive conditions that will obtain in the Common Market area? And it must be borne in mind that there are over 277,000 such holdings in Ireland. What does the future hold for those workers, both industrial and agricultural, who will become redundant because of the closing down or amalgamation of industries and the forced amalgamation of the smaller land holdings?

Cultural And Economic Matters Important

Will they and their dependants be compelled to join the emigration trek into exile, or in the alternative to exist on the miserable pittance doled out to them by the political rulers who live in luxury and affluence, which they garner for themselves out of the exorbitant rates and taxes which are imposed to maintain a top-heavy partition administration?

We in Sinn Féin must give increasing consideration to these, and to all other matters, which in the national, cultural and economic spheres affect the present and the future of our native land. We must persevere in our purpose and determination to serve the interests of the Irish people irrespective of creed or class. We must maintain and strengthen our organisation as a bulwark against surrender by the party politicians of Ireland's just claim to full freedom—against the forfeiture by one single iota of the right of the Irish people to Sovereign Independence.

Vested Interests Will Attack And Malign

The path that lies ahead is a rough and rugged one. The task to be performed is going to be difficult of accomplishment. Our purpose and the cause we serve will be further misrepresented by those who once proclaimed themselves as revolutionary Republicans and who have in later years reneged those very principles upon which the Irish Republic was founded. They, and all others who gain something from maintaining the status quo, will continue to malign and to attack Sinn Féin and to place all possible obstacles in the path of its advance.

Assured Of Support Of Unbought People

But we must not be discouraged, because we stand assured of the support and the sympathy of the unbought and unpurchasable of the Irish People. With us they will stand shoulder to shoulder in service to the cause of Ireland's complete liberation.

To the men in jail, to our friends in exile and to all who continue steadfast in their support for our Movement, we send greetings and an expression of our gratitude for the service and help they render.

MEMORIAL TO THE LOUGHNANE BROTHERS

IN a small wood by the roadside at Carrowgarr, midway between Ardahan and Kinvara in Co. Galway, the mutilated bodies of Pat and Harry Loughnane were discovered forty-one years ago. They had been murdered in most revolting circumstances by the British Crown Forces.

On Sunday, November 26, a memorial to their memory was unveiled at Carrowgarr in the presence of several thousand people.

A large parade of Republican organisations including Cumann na mBan and Cumann na gCaillíní formed up at Fogarty's Cross under parade marshal Brian Murphy of Dublin. Led by a colour-party bearing the Tricolour the parade marched to the site of the memorial in front of which a guard of honour was drawn up.

Patrick Geraghty presided and introduced Padraig Fox of Carnmore, Oranmore, who led the attendance in reciting a decade of the Rosary in Irish.

Padraig Ó Ceallaigh, Sinn Féin member of Galway Co. Council, performed the unveiling ceremony. Speaking in Irish and English he described the occasion as unique. "The Loughnane brothers," he said, "were deeply religious and, like Pearse, loved children."

ORATION

Tom Mitchell, Dublin, recently released from Belfast Jail, spoke as follows:

"Ever since the British first set foot on Irish soil so many long years ago, the history of Ireland has been a sad story of persecution, coercion, imprisonment and even death. Many men, women and children have made the ultimate sacrifice, directly and indirectly, in order that Ireland might rid itself of the evil, foreign influence of British domination.

"As a result of the deaths of those men and women we see in Ireland everywhere we go memorials, wayside crosses and plaques erected in memory of their sacrifice. It has been asked why these have been erected? Why do we gather together from time to time about the roadsides and graveyards of Ireland?

"Why for instance are we gathered together here at Carrowgarr today? The answer is best given to us by Pearse when referring to the Fenian dead—while Ireland remained unfree she would never be at peace in remembering her dead.

BARBARISM

"The deaths of the Fenians, of the men of 1916, of '22, and all the others who have offered their lives before and since, have served and will continue to serve, to inspire succeeding generations to work for the total elimination of British rule in Ireland."

"We are assembled today to honour and pay tribute to the memory of two men, the Loughnane brothers, who died at the hands of the enemy. In the whole sordid history of British imperialism, not only in Ireland, but throughout the world, it is unlikely that anything can be found to match the diabolically inspired barbarism which was inflicted upon Padraig and Anraoi O Lochlainn.

"The people of Galway have cause to remember the reign of terror under which the Irish people were forced to live in

1920 when the Black-and-Tan War was at its height. They will never forget the murder of Fr. Griffin. They will not forget the killing of Joe Howley nor the shooting down of Mrs. Quinn with her child in her arms by the roadside.

"But most of all they will forever remember the cruel deaths inflicted upon the two men whom we honour here today.

TORTURED

"Forty-one years ago to-day the Loughnane brothers were at work in their haggard when they were surrounded and arrested by a party of Auxiliaries. They were dragged from their home never to see it again. What exactly happened to them after that will perhaps never be fully known.

"But some account is known to us. We know that they were taken to the R.I.C. barracks in Gort, and that the R.I.C. handed them back to the Auxiliaries. They were taken away by their murderers, and amongst other vicious privations, were made to run along the road in front of the lorries carrying heavy stones.

"When this failed to make informers of them they were bound hand and foot and tied by ropes to the backs of the lorries. In this manner they were dragged for miles along the roads.

"Finally they were shot, and not content with this, their murderers poured petrol on their mutilated bodies and burned them almost beyond recognition. Their bodies were found nine days later lying in a pond near where we stand today.

"Why were the brothers Loughnane given such a terrible death? Why were they subjected to such barbarous treatment? The answer lay in the need for large-scale repression if the English were to retain their hold on this nation. They knew that the common people must be crushed because it was from the people that resistance came.

"Padraig and Anraoi were of the people. But more than that they were respected men in their community and leaders in their own right. Padraig was President of the local Sinn Féin Cumann. He also played a leading part in local activities of a national and cultural nature. And all his national activity manifested itself in his work with the Irish Republican Army.

"Like his elder brother Anraoi played a leading part in local Irish-Ireland affairs. Together they were obvious targets for the wrath of the British Empire. The English knew that they must destroy such men if they hoped to break the spirit of the people of South-Galway.

"In this they failed, for the spirit of the Loughnanes and the manner of their deaths served only to inspire their comrades to greater efforts.

"In honouring them here today we must remember that the ideals which motivated their actions have not as yet been realised. In our own day men are risking their lives and liberty to

Where They Fell

THE memorial at the spot where the bodies of the Loughnane brothers were found takes the form of a Celtic cross, eight feet high, surrounded by a decorative wall and ornamented iron railings. It replaces a smaller cross which has marked the spot for almost twenty-five years. The inscription on the memorial reads:

"I ndíl-chuimhne ar an mbéirt d'riotháir Pádraig agus Anraoi Ó Lochlainn a d'ímharbhúighthead le Gallaibh annsó, Samhain 1920.

As ucht do pháis, agus do bháis,

A losa déan trócaire ortha.

Do-chum Glóire Dé agus Oónra na h-Eireann.

bring about the conditions for which the Loughnanes died. In our own day men have gone down at the hands of the same age-old enemy.

"Today there are Galway men in British and Irish jails because they dared to follow the example of the Loughnanes. David Egan of Castlegar is in Belfast Prison; Al Ryan, Willis Folan and Peadar Burke are in Mountjoy Jail. They are the true comrades of Padraig and Anraoi Loughnane and of Tony D'Arcy.

"The task must be completed.

"And when it is, it can be truly said that the deaths of the Brothers Loughnane and of their comrades in every generation have not been in vain."

NATIONAL SELL-OUT SAYS CARA CHAIRMAN

WE are being sold out not only economically but also nationally and territorially. We are maintaining the Border by force on our side; it is ludicrous and a crime against our patriot past," said Mr. P. A. O. Siochain, S.C., Cathaoirleach of Cara during December.

He was addressing the annual general meeting of the Cork Comhairle of the organisation in the Hotel Metropole, Cork.

"As we are going," he stated, "Irish will never be revived. In 30 years I have seen the spirit of our race finally die out; the vast emigration is the consequence of lack of spirit more than of economic necessity.

"Our youth is running away from Ireland because it has nothing to offer them. By remaining English-speaking, we have made England our parent country.

"The spiritual force of this nation was spent in the War of Independence, and what was left was wasted in the Civil War. In the political enmities that followed, all national idealism was lost.

"The spiritual force of those glorious years has been lost by the men who have turned their backs on their colleagues who lie in lonely graves.

"The Government was now completely English, and were acting as the executioners of British policy in Ireland.

"It has no longer any interest in restoring our language. Politically the revival of Irish was out of favour. It would be an inconvenience in a Common Market in

26-Co. T.V. is British—Not Irish

Says Gael-Linn

THE following is the text of a statement issued by Gael-Linn last month:

"Since it was decided in the Summer of 1959 not to give the operation of the Irish Television service to Gael-Linn we have not uttered one word of criticism about any of the many television developments since announced. We wanted to give the new Authority a fair chance—and in spite of our accumulating disquiet, we held our peace, especially in case our criticism would be interpreted as 'sour grapes'.

"Our stand has been consistent and clear: We entered the competition for the right to operate the Irish Television service when it was apparent that there was no other Irish applicant and when consequently there existed the grave danger that the service would fall into the hands of outside commercial interests with no appreciation of Irish national values. We succeeded at least in ensuring that this did not happen and we had no ill-feeling, then or since, towards the State Authority which was given the job—and in this spite of the fact that every announcement about the impending television service made us far more and more that the approach of the Authority was basically wrong and that the resulting service would be even worse than one provided by British or American commercial operators.

"Our duty to the Nation now again demands however that we be silent no longer. We are forced to speak now

that the television programme schedules have been published because these schedules show that the coming so-called Irish Television service will be, to quote a daily newspaper, 'merely a poor carbon copy of the BBC and UTV services.'

"About £2,000,000 of public money is going into the capital costs of this service, and from January 1st the viewing public is being charged £4 per household per annum principally to see cowboy films which they can already see earlier from British services, at no cost!

"A great national principle arises when the public are being taxed to provide a television service which is, apparently, deliberately, going to debase the cultural and other values of our community. If you doubt that this is the policy, look at the first week's programmes where, instead of something worthwhile being offered, we find featured, at the peak viewing periods, such worthless imported material as Buckskin, Dr. Christian, Bachelor Father, Checkmate, McKenzie's Raiders, Science-Fiction Theatre, Our Miss Brooks, Love That Bod, Panic, Have Gun Will Travel, Annie Oakley, Harbour Command, The Donna Reed Show, Hollywood Star Playhouse, Father Knows Best, District Attorney, The Red Skelton Show, Thriller, Restless Gun, Twilight Zone, The Honeymonsters, Medic, Yes, Yes, Nanette, etc.

"Not one programme entirely in Irish is on the published schedule; not one programme of Irish music. But we are not

concerned with Irish language or Irish music alone in this matter—we are concerned with the fact that the Authority is proposing with your money, to subject the Nation to worthless programmes which seek the most uneducated and unenlightened section of the community as their audiences. No nation's culture could survive in such an atmosphere: every intelligent person in America and Britain for instance is already up in arms against commercial television's vulgarising influence on public taste.

"These proposed television programmes are something which the Cinema would not show, over-commercialised and all as it is. These are programmes provided with State money to debase the aesthetic and cultural values of our people. These are programmes which those interested can already get for nothing from ITV; and it is an amazing situation to find that while UTV and the BBC have got top audience-ratings for programmes of Irish traditional music and song, not one such programme has been scheduled by the Irish Authority!

"Now is the time to act—agus tá dualgas ar leith ar Ghaeilgeoirí sa chás: Tell the Authority, tell the Government, tell the Opposition, tell everyone that you will not stand for it. You are prepared to pay for something distinctly Irish and worthwhile; you are not prepared to help pay for a service which ITV can give you for nothing.

LEABHAR EILE LE F.A.S.

MOLADH NA MAIGHDINE le Máirtín de Bhaillís, S.J., F.A.S., Baile Átha Cliath. 4/-.

Seo é an cúigiú leabhar déag a tháinig chuiginn ó F.A.S., an dream atá i mbun leabhair spioradálta a fhoilsíú.

Scribhinní diaga ina bhfuil cur síos ar an Maighdeán Muire, Máthair Dé, atá sa gcannó se, Iosinach de bhunadh na Ceathrún Rua a rinne an tiomsú.

Tá an leabhar roinnte i ndá chuid, an chuid ina bhfuil bliúis as scribhinní na nAthar, agus an chuid a nGadh as litreach na nGaeilge, idir phrés agus filíocht.

An té gur mhaith leis a aigne a thiontú é nithe ábhartha an tsaoil seo, chuig rúndiamhara an Chreidimh agus fealsúnacht na Críostolachta, chun tamall beag maicnalmh a dhéanamh ar shláid na chine daonna, cuirfidh sé fáilte mhór rannmh an euaasach beag seo do sheoldá sílle.

Dá n-larráil arís eadard é an rí-shéad, d'fhreagróirín ar an bpóint: an píosa le Aibhistín naofa a léann an sagart sa Breviarium ar lá breithe na Maighdine, Meán Fómhair 8.

Sliocht iontach é ina gcuirtear Muire agus Eabha i bhfrith-shuíomh lena chéile, agus a chriochnaíonn leis an abairt ghearr thrombhríoch seo: '... chuir gneirín Muire goitri Eabha ar ceal.'

Tá an clúdach, an leagan-amach agus na pictiúirí ar fheasbhas, is trua gur fágadh dúpla botún eíd.

S. O. B.

No Military Courts Here

HAVING stated that six members of the British Crown Forces had been killed since the Resistance Campaign began in 1956, the "Belfast Telegraph" of November 14 continued:

"Eighteen members of the R.U.C., two part-time members of the Special Constabulary and nine military have been injured. Since December 1956, there have been 598 incidents—327 of them classified as major."

In addition, six more British soldiers were wounded—five in the raid on Omagh Barracks in 1954 and one at Blandford Camp, England in 1958.

Military courts do not operate in the Six Counties.

13 Cuimhne

The 10.30 Mass in Adam and Eve's Franciscan Church, Merchants' Quay, Dublin, on Sunday, January 14, will be offered for the repose of the souls of:

Joseph Malone, Belfast, who died in Parkhurst Prison, England, January 21, 1942.

Seán Sabhat, Limerick, killed in action at Brookeborough, Co. Fermanagh, January 1, 1957.

Fenghal O hAnluain, Monaghan, killed in action at Brookeborough, Co. Fermanagh, January 1, 1957.

WHY WE SHOULD SEPARATE FROM ENGLAND

WHEN we plead for separation from the British Empire as the only basis on which our country can have full development, and on which we can have final peace with England, we find in opponents a variety of attitudes, but one attitude invariably absent—a readiness to discuss the question fairly and refute it, if this can be done.

One man will take it superficially and heatedly, assuming it to be, according to his party, a censure on Mr. Redmond or Mr. O'Brien. Another will take it superficially, but, as he thinks, philosophically, and will dismiss it with a smile. With the followers of Mr. Redmond or Mr. O'Brien we can hardly argue at present, but we should not lose heart on their account, for these men move en masse.

One day the consciousness of the country will be electrified with a great deed or a great sacrifice and the multitude will break from lethargy or prejudice and march with a shout for freedom in a true, a brave, and a beautiful sense. We must work and prepare for that hour.

Then there is our philosophical friend. I expect him to hear my arguments. When I am done, he may not agree with me on all points; he may not agree with me on any point; but if he comes with me, I promise him one thing: this question can no longer be dismissed with a smile.

THE CASE FOR SEPARATISM

Our friend's attitude is explained in part by our never having attempted to show that a separatist policy is great and wise. We have held it as a right, have fought for it, have made sacrifices for it, and vowed to have it at any cost; but we have not found for it a definite place in a philosophy of life.

Superficial though he be, our friend has indicated a need: we must take the question philosophically—but in the great and true sense. It is a truism of philosophy and science that the world is a harmonious whole, and that with the increase of knowledge laws can be discovered to explain the order and the unity of the universe.

Accordingly, if we are to justify our own position as separatists, we must show that it will harmonise, unify and develop our national life, that it will restore us to a place among the nations, enable us to fulfil a national destiny, a destiny which, through all our struggles, we ever believe is great, and waiting for us. That must be accepted if we are to get at the truth of the matter.

A great doctrine that dominates our lives, that lays down a rigid course of action, that involves self-denial, hard struggles, endurance for years, and possibly death before the goal is reached—any such doctrine must be capable of having its truth demonstrated by the discovery of principles that govern and justify it. Otherwise we cannot yield it our allegiance. Let us to the examination, then; we shall find it soul-

stirring and inspiring. We must be prepared, however, to abandon many deep-rooted prejudices; if we are unwilling, we must abandon the truth. But we will find courage in moving forward, and will triumph in the end, by keeping in mind at all times that the end of freedom is to realise the salvation and happiness of all peoples, to make the world, and not any selfish corner of it, a more beautiful dwelling-place for men.

Treated in this light the question becomes for all earnest

But some will never survive to celebrate the great victory that will establish our independence; yet they shall not go without reward; for to them will come a vision of soul of the future triumph, an exaltation of soul in the knowledge that once its purpose is grasped, no tyranny can destroy it, that the destiny of our country is assured, and her dominion will endure for ever.

Let any argument be raised against one such pioneer — he

Principles Of Freedom

by

Terence MacSwiney

men great and arresting. Our friend, who may have smiled, will discuss it readily now. Yet he may not be convinced: he may point his finger over the wasted land and contrast its weakness with its opponents' strength, and conclude: "Your philosophy is beautiful, but only a dream." He is at least impressed; that is a point gained; and we may induce him to come further and further till he adopts the great principle we defend.

His difficulty now is the common error that a man's work for his country should be based on the assumption that it should bear full effect in his own time.

This is most certainly false; for a man's life is counted by years, a nation's by centuries, and as work for the nation should be directed to bringing her to full maturity in the coming time, a man must be prepared to labour for an end that may be realised only in another generation.

Consider how he disposes his plans for his individual life. His boyhood and youth are directed that his manhood and prime may be the golden age of life, full-blooded and strong-minded, with clear vision and great purpose, and high hope, all justified by some definite achievement. A man's prime is great as his earlier years have been well directed and concentrated. In the early years the ground is prepared and the seed sown for the splendid period of full development.

FOR FUTURE

GENERATIONS

So it is with the nation: we must prepare the ground and sow the seed for the rich ripeness of maturity; and bearing in mind that the maturity of the nation will come, not in one generation but after many generations, we must be prepared to work in the knowledge that we prepare for a future that only other generations will enjoy.

It does not mean that we shall work in loneliness, cheered by no vision of the Promised Land; we may even reach the Promised Land in our time, though we cannot explore all its great wonders: that will be the delight of ages.

Our friend knows this in his heart, and it makes him indomitable, and it is he who is proven to be wise in the end. He judges the past clearly, and through the crust of things he discerns the truth in his own time, and puts his work in true relation to the great experience of life, and he is justified; for ultimately his work opens out, matures, and bears fruit a hundredfold.

It may not be in a day, but when his hand falls dead, his glory becomes quickly manifest. He has lived a beautiful life; he has sacrificed the hour to give service for all time; he has entered the company of the great, and with them he will be remembered for ever.

WASTED EFFORTS OF OPPORTUNIST

But there is the other self-styled practical man, who thinks all this proceeding foolish, and cries out for the expedient of the hour. Has he ever realised the promise of his proposals? No, he is the most inefficient person who has ever walked the earth. But for a saving consideration let him go contemplate the wasted efforts of the opportunist in every generation, and the broken projects scattered through the desert-places of history.

Still one will look out on the grim things of the hour, and hypnotised by the hour will cry: "See the strength of the British Empire, see our wasted state; your hope is vain."

Let him consider this clear truth: peoples endure; empires perish. Where are now the empires of antiquity? And the empires of to-day have the seed of dissolution in them. But the peoples that saw the old empires rise and hold sway are represented now in their posterity; the tyrannies they knew are dead and done with.

The peoples endure; the empires perish; and the nations of the earth of this day will survive in posterity when the empires that now contend for mastery are gathered into the dust, with all dead, bad things. We shall endure; and the measure of our faith will be the measure of our achievement and of the greatness of our future place.

Is it not the dream of earnest men of all parties to have an end to our long war, a peace final and honourable, wherein the soul of the country can rest, revive and express itself; wherein poetry, music and art will pour out in uninterrupted joy, the joy of deliverance, flashing in splendour and superabundant in volume, evidence of long suppression?

This is the dream of us all. But who can hope for this final peace while any part of our independence is denied?

For, while we are connected in any shape with the British Empire the connection implies some dependence this cannot be gainsaid; and who is so foolish as to expect that there will be no collision with the British Parliament, while there is this connection implying dependence on the British Empire? If such a one exists he goes against all experience and all history.

On either side of the connection will be two interests—the English interest and the Irish interest, and they will be always at variance. Consider how parties within a single state are at variance, Conservatives and Radicals, in any country in Europe. The proposals of one are always insidious, dangerous or reactionary, as the case may be, in the eyes of the other; and in no case will the parties agree; they will at times even charge each other with treachery; there is never peace. It is the rule of party war.

SEPARATE

ELEMENTS

Who, then, can hope for peace where into the strife is imported a race difference, where the division is not of party but of people? That is in truth the vain hope. And be it borne in mind the race difference is not due to our predominating Gaelic stock, but to the separate countries and to distinct households in the human race.

If we were all of English extraction the difference would still exist. There is the historic case of the American States; it is easy to understand. When a man's children come of age, they set up establishments for themselves, and live independently; they are always bound by affection to the parent-home; but if the father try to interfere in the house of a son, and govern it in any detail, there will be strife. It is hardly necessary to labour the point.

FINAL PEACE

WOULD COME

If all the people in this country were of English extraction and England were to claim on that account that there should be a connection with her, and that it should dominate the people here, there would be strife; and it could have but one end—separation. We would, of whatever extraction, have lived in natural neighbourliness with England, but she chose to trap and harass us, and it will take long generations of goodwill to wipe out some memories.

Again, and yet again, let there be no confusion of thought as to this final peace; it will never come while there is any formal link of dependence. The spirit of our man-

hood will always flame up to resent and break that link.

Separation and equality may restore ties of friendship; nothing else can; for individual development and general goodwill is the lesson of human life.

We can be good neighbours, but most dangerous enemies, and in the coming time our hereditary foe cannot afford to have us on her flank. The present is promising; the future is developing for us; we shall reach the goal. Let us see to it that we shall be found worthy.

That we be found worthy; let this be borne in mind. For it is true that here only is our great danger. If with our freedom to win, our country to open up, our future to develop, we learn no lesson from the mistakes of nations and live no better life than the great Powers, we shall have missed a golden opportunity, and shall be one of the failures of history.

CONTINUITY

A TRIUMPH

So far, on superficial judgment, we have been accounted a failure; though the simple maintenance of our fight for centuries has been in itself a splendid triumph. But then only would we have failed in the great sense, when we had got our field and wasted it, as the nations around us waste theirs to-day.

We led Europe once; let us lead again with a beautiful realisation of freedom; and let us beware of the delusion that is abroad, that we seek nothing more than to be free of restraint, as England, France and Germany are to-day; let us beware of the delusion that if we can scramble through anyhow to freedom we can then begin to live worthily, but that in the interval we cannot be too particular.

That is the grim shadow that darkens our path, that falls between us and a beautiful human life, and may drive us to that tiger-like existence that makes havoc through the world to-day. Let us beware.

I do not say we must settle now all disputes, such as capital, labour, and others, but that everyone should realise a duty to be high-minded and honourable in action; to regard his fellow not as a man to be circumvented, but as a brother to be sympathised with and uplifted.

Neither kingdom, republic, nor commune can regenerate us; it is in the beautiful mind and a great ideal we shall find the charter of

our freedom; and this is the philosophy that is most essential to preach. We must not ignore it now, for how we work to-day will decide how we shall live to-morrow; and if we are not scrupulous in our struggle, we shall not be pure in our future state. I know there are many who are not indifferent to high-minded action, but who live in dread of an exacting code of life, fearing it will harass our movements and make success impossible.

Let us correct this mistake with the reflection that the time is shaping for us. The power of our country is strengthening; the grip of the enemy is slackening; every extension of local government is a step nearer to independent government; the people are not satisfied with an instantaneous capacity for further power is developed, and they are equipped with weapons to win it. Even in our time have we made great advance. Let one fact alone make this evident.

Less than twenty years ago the Irish language was despised; to-day the movement to restore it is strong enough to have it made compulsory in the National University. Can anyone doubt from this sign of the times alone that the hour points to freedom, and we are on the road to victory?

That we shall win our freedom I have no doubt; that we shall use it well I am not so certain. For see how sadly misused it is abroad through the world to-day.

WILL ENDURE FOREVER

That should be our first consideration, and we should make this a resolution—our future history shall be more glorious than that of any contemporary state. We shall look for prosperity, no doubt, but let our enthusiasm be for beautiful living; we shall build up our strength, yet not for conquest, but as a pledge of brotherhood and a defence for the weaker ones of the earth; we shall take pride in our institutions, not only as guaranteeing the stability of the state, but as securing the happiness of the citizens, and we shall lead Europe again as we led it of old. We shall rouse the world from a wicked dream of material greed, of tyrannical power, of corrupt and callous politics to the wonder of a regenerated spirit, a new and beautiful dream; and we shall establish our state in a true freedom that will endure for ever. (To be continued.)

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

CO. ARMAGH

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

CO. DERRY

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

CO. DOWN

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

CO. TYRONE

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

CORK CITY

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

DUBLIN

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

DUNDALK

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

CO. MONAGHAN

Patrick Traynor (27), Drumdart, Tydavnet 14 years

LIMERICK CITY

Tony Meade (23), 24 Emmet Place 14 years

CO. GALWAY

David Egan (22), Castlegar 14 years

CO. KERRY

Denis Foley (21), Blennerville, Tralee 14 years

Serving Life Sentences In England

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

Strangeways Prison, Manchester

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

Mountjoy Jail Dublin

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

ONE YEAR

Malachy McGurran, Brownlow Terrace, Lurgan, Co. Armagh.
Peter Pringle, Almeida Terrace, Kilmainham, Dublin.
Seamus McCann, 12 Ballymacool Terrace, Letterkenny, Co. Donegal.
Tony Hayde, Carrow Road, Drimnagh, Dublin.
William Folan, Shantalla, Galway City.
James Roche, Mooncoin, Co. Kilkenny.
Sean Treacy, The Heath, Portlaoise.

NINE MONTHS

Alphonsus O'Riain, "Golford", Renmore Road, Galway.

SIX MONTHS

Joseph Sherlock, Kildorrery, Mitchelstown, Co. Cork.
Peadar Burke, Newcastle, Galway City.
Patrick O'Regan, Mourne Road, Drimnagh, Dublin.
Lorcan O h-Aimheirgin, 6 James Street, Kilkenny.
Michael Murtagh, Main St., Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim.

Sentenced by the 26-County Military Court

EIGHT YEARS PENAL SERVITUDE

Michael McEldowney, Slaughtneil, Maghera, Co. Derry.

SEVEN YEARS PENAL SERVITUDE

Richard Nagle, Middleton, Co. Cork.

Alphonsus Larkin, Farranshore, Limerick.

FOUR YEARS PENAL SERVITUDE

Walter Dunphy, Mooncoin, Co. Kilkenny.

THREE YEARS PENAL SERVITUDE

Denis O'Riordan, Middleton, Co. Cork.

TWO YEARS

John Joe McGil, Main St., Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim.

Matt Murray, Gortacullen, Clogheen, Co. Tipperary.

Tomas O Suilleabhain, 18 George's Quay, Limerick.

ONE YEAR

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

SIX MONTHS

Patrick Tierney, Woaghternarry, Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh.

Thomas Smith, Church Road, Bessbrook, Co. Armagh.

Patrick Ryan, Hospital, Knocklong, Co. Limerick.

Tomas Mac Giolla, Madison Road, Kilmainham, Dublin.

Cathal Goulding, 27 St. Enda's Drive, Rathfarnham, Dublin.

Sean Cronin, 64 Upper Rathmines Road, Dublin.

Liam Mac Aodhagáin, 3 Islington Ave., Sandycove, Dublin.

Seamus O Dorain, Sullivan St., North Circular Road, Dublin.

Seamus MacCollum, Liverpool.

Thomas Nixon, Tower Road, Clondalkin, Dublin.

FOUR MONTHS

John Mulvihill, Convent Road, Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim.

Nicholas Swanton, 34 Marian Park, Cork.

Eamonn Mac Thomais, Mourne Road, Drimnagh, Dublin.

Hugh Hutchinson, Walkinstown Park, Dublin.

Eamonn McNulty, Edenvale Road, Ranelagh, Dublin.

Liam Boylan, 78 Clancarthy Road, Donnycarny, Dublin.

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Diary of Raids, Searches and Arrests

DUBLIN

IN a swoop on Republican homes in Dublin early on Monday morning, November 27, nine men were arrested by 26-County Special Branch detectives. They were taken to the Bridewell Prison and held under the Offences Against the State Act. All, with one exception, were ex-Curragh prisoners.

The following afternoon all nine were brought to Collins Barracks. There the Military Court remanded them to Mountjoy Jail for 10 days. The only charges against them were that while held in the Bridewell they refused to give information to the police about themselves and others.

The men included Tomás Mac Giolla, a native of Nenagh, now arrested for the fifth time since 1957; Thomas Nixon of Clondalkin, arrested for the third time; Seán Cronin, whose fourth arrest it was, and Eamon Thomas, Hugh Hutchinson, Liam Egan, Séamus Ó Dóráin, Eamon McNulty and Liam Boylan.

The raids were carried out by large numbers of detectives who searched the men's homes most minutely. All nine men were living at home and working. Tomás Mac Giolla and Eamon Thomas were just recently married.

At 4.30 p.m. on the previous Saturday, November 25, Cathal Goulding of Rathfarnham was arrested while cycling home from work. He was taken in a squad car to his home which was then searched for over two hours. Nothing was found and he was conveyed to the Bridewell.

On November 27 he was brought before the first sitting of the re-constituted Military Court and remanded to Mountjoy Prison for 10 days. The charge was refusing to answer questions while in the Bridewell. He too had been living at home and working.

Cathal Goulding was sentenced to terms of imprisonment by the Military Court in 1941 and in 1946. He was held in the Curragh Concentration Camp from 1942 to 1945.

In 1953 he was imprisoned in England for raising a British army depot and taking arms; the sentence was eight years' penal servitude. Released in 1959 he was jailed last May for three months for refusing to become a police informer.

MONAGHAN

RESIDENTS of the Knockatallon area of Co. Monaghan which is close to the Fermanagh Border were wakened by raiding parties of Gardaí and detectives before dawn on December 1. Over 100 policemen took part in the search.

Homes were surrounded and in one case when the occupants did not answer promptly—like others they were in bed—the door was burst in. The man of the house met the intruders in the kitchen.

They started to use bad language, saying that they had waited long enough. In other houses they said that the raiding of homes would continue and called the Resistance-fighters in the nearby occupied area "rats", "blackguards" and "murderers". They did not refer to the Crown Forces in this way—but

then the British are their friends.

Road-blacks were set up, motorists were questioned and mobile patrols reinforced. The "Irish Press" of December 2 described Knockatallon as "a rugged mountainous area, which is believed to be the stronghold of an illegal organisation" (sic).

Nothing was found and no arrests were made.

On the following day, December 2, another huge search party combed the Clontibret area of Co. Monaghan, near the Armagh Border. Homes were again raided, occupants questioned and fields and ditches searched.

All roads were patrolled by squad-cars of Gardaí and detectives and traffic was stopped. Meanwhile a Crown Forces spotter plane scouted the adjoining area of Co. Armagh. No arrests were made and nothing was found.

LOUTH

CORINSHIGAGH, Inniskeen and Hackballscross—an area of 10-15 miles radius covering parts of counties Monaghan and Louth—was the scene of the next big collaborationist drive by the 26-County police.

The "Irish Times" of December 5 stated that "about 20 farm-houses" were raided in the course of the search. The area adjoins South Armagh.

Nothing was found, but one local man was arrested in Corinshigagh and held for the greater part of the day before being released.

From the tactics employed and the attitude of those taking part it would appear that these searches are in the nature of punitive expeditions against the local people whom the 26-County authorities suspect of helping the Resistance fighters from the nearby occupied zone.

LIMERICK

ON the same day as the Louth-Monaghan searches (December 4), homes were also raided many miles away in Limerick and Tipperary. In Limerick City five men were arrested in their homes and taken to a police barracks.

Three were later released unconditionally. These included Seamus Sabhat, brother of Volunteer Seán Sabhat who was killed in action at Brookeborough, Co. Fermanagh, on New Year's Day, 1957.

Two others, Patrick Mulcahy of Dublin Road and Tomás Ó Súilleabháin of George's Quay (a native of Cashel, Co. Tipperary), were removed to Collins Barracks, Dublin, next day and charged before the Military Court.

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An intensive and widespread campaign of raids, searches and arrests throughout the 26 Counties was carried out during the last week of November and throughout the entire month of December. Some of these coercive activities are described here. It would take much more space to detail them all.

The Limerick representative of the "Irish Times" was told on inquiry at the barracks that no names would be released. The "Irish Times" also noted that "strict security measures were taken to ensure that no information concerning the morning's action would leak out."

DUBLIN AGAIN

IN Dublin on the evening of December 4, Special Branch men arrested Seamus MacCollum of Liverpool at St. Stephen's Green. He was taken to the Bridewell and interrogated.

At the Military Court next day he was charged with refusing to give information and remanded to Mountjoy Jail for 10 days.

Seamus MacCollum was sentenced to six years' penal servitude in Liverpool in 1954 for possession of ammunition. Shortly after his release in 1958 he was arrested in Dublin and imprisoned in the Curragh Concentration Camp. In 1960 he served a further six months for refusing to answer questions under O.A.S.A.

TIPPERARY

TWO car-loads of 26-County police raided the home of Leonard O'Meicill at Cashel, Co. Tipperary, on the morning of December 4 also. When asked for their authority to enter the house they produced a search-warrant.

Outfittings, yard and garden were searched in addition to the dwellinghouse. Private correspondence of family interest only was read despite protests from a young girl of the house.

All papers and letters relating to South Tipperary Comhairle Ceantair of Sinn Féin were seized.

The police also searched the Co. Council office at the Court-house, Cashel, where Leonard O'Meicill was at work. They did not allow him to be present during the raid but the Engineer in charge was permitted to remain.

The house of Patrick Keating was also raided. The Co. Council offices at Clonmel, where he was employed as an engineer, were also searched, and he was present when the entire building was gone through.

At Gurtacullen, Clogheen, the home of Matt Murray was raided. He was arrested and taken to Collins Barracks, Dublin, where he was charged before the Military Court and remanded to Mountjoy Jail for 10 days.

Also seized in the course of the raid on Leonard O'Meicill's house were Fianna Éireann documents and correspondence of the property of his son, Peadar. Later that morning, detectives went to the local Christian Brothers' school where the boy is preparing for his Leaving Certificate.

They approached the Superior and Peadar was taken from his class by a Special Branch man who questioned him about the

Fianna documents. Peadar accepted responsibility for them but refused to make any statement. The detective threatened him and said they were "letting him go for the moment but would call back again for himself and his father."

Other houses were raided in Co. Tipperary that morning, notably in the Nenagh area.

CORK

WEDNESDAY, December 6, was a day of police raids on homes in Cork City. About nine houses were very closely searched by Special Branch men and four young men were arrested.

They were taken to the Cork Bridewell and questioned about their movements. They refused to give any information and all were unconditionally released at 6 p.m.

MAYO

SINN FEIN member of Ballina Urban Council Seán Ó Cleirigh was arrested by Special Branch men on December 8 and taken to the local barracks. He was held there from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. during which time he was interrogated by Superintendent Kelly.

Twenty questions in all were put to him including "What is your connection with the 'United Irishman'?" and "What connection had you with the funeral of the late Peadar Mac Aindriú and what authority had you over the Guard of Honour at the funeral?"

Seán Ó Cleirigh refused to give the police any information and was unconditionally released. His home at O'Rahilly Street was raided during the day.

LEITRIM

NEXT morning, December 9, a huge wave of raids and searches was carried out by 26-County police in South Donegal and North Leitrim. From Ballyshannon to Glenfarne in West Cavan homes were raided and searched and occupants questioned.

At Glendene a young man was arrested and held for some hours. Nothing was found in the scores of homes raided and no report of this activity appeared in any newspaper.

Even the mountain slopes were combed by large parties of Gardaí.

DONEGAL

DECEMBER 11 was D-day for collaboration in Co. Donegal from Glenties to the Derry Border and from Bundoran to Gweedore. The "Donegal Democrat" of December 15 in a front page headline report, described it as "the biggest Gardaí operation of its kind carried out on the Twenty-Six County side of the Border since . . . 1955."

The report continues: Men were taken into detention in a number of centres in

County Donegal, including Bundoran, Ballyshannon, Letternenny, Rosnowlough and Dungloe. Some prominent figures of the Sinn Féin Party, including Donegal Co. Councillor, Mr. Seamus Rodgers, Kincaassagh, were interrogated, but as far as can be ascertained all were released after some hours.

Radio contact was maintained between the officers directing the operation and the men on duty.

At least ten houses were searched in the Ballyshannon-Bundoran area by plain-clothes and uniformed Gardaí, who had been issued with search warrants. Following the detention of three people there was an air of speculation in the area.

The same applied in Dungloe where the arrest of three people and Gardaí searches was a big topic of conversation when a "Democrat" reporter visited the area on Monday night.

The Gardaí operation started shortly after 6 a.m., and many of the people interrogated were in bed when their houses were visited. By 9 a.m. the greater part of the operation had been completed in a wide area of Donegal and other north-western counties.

It is understood that the Gardaí force in all Border areas is to be considerably strengthened following a recent, top-level conference in Dublin, when the Military Court was re-constituted.

In Letternenny Patrick Dawson was arrested at 8.30 a.m. His home was searched by uniformed and plain-clothes police.

Arrested at his work at 8.30 a.m. also was Pádraig Ó Cuiráin. His home at Ard O'Donnell, Letternenny, was raided by 11 policemen. His mother was sick in bed and she was kept sitting on a chair while the search went on.

A case of correspondence was taken from the house. It contained letters the property of members of the household and also some belonging to An Rang Dámh sa. Litriccannainn, the Pioneer T.A.A. and the Legion of Mary.

Brendan McCrossan of Corky, Manorcunningham, was arrested at work at 9.30 a.m. His home was searched and the back garden dug up by Gardaí.

All five men were taken to Letternenny barracks and held in filthy cells. At 4.30 p.m. they were released. An inspector told one of them: "We can detain or arrest you at any time with no excuse or apology."

John Doherty's home at Pluck, Manorcunningham, was raided. Letters which had arrived by post for members of the household were opened and read by the police. Mr. Doherty and two of his sons are active with the local Sinn Féin Cumann.

Neil Devenny of Rusky, Manorcunningham, was arrested at work in Corky while his sister's house where he resides was raided. He was held at Raphoe barracks for two hours. Neil is 65 years and chairman of the local Sinn Féin Cumann.

The home of Paddy Bonnar at Leglands, Drumkeen, was searched. Letters and personal belongings were gone through. No one was arrested. John Hunter's house at Castellan was also raided but no one was held.

Houses in Lifford, Ballindrait, Glenties, Kincaassagh, Bunbeg, Ardara, Buncrana, Ballyshannon, Bundoran, Rosnowlough and Laghey were also raided. Miss Máire Ní Bhaoighill, (See report on page 11).

National Teacher, as taken from in front of the class she was teaching at Grotty N.S. and taken to Glenties barracks. She was held there until that evening.

(See report on page 10)

The home of Seán O'Íghne, secretary of the Donaghadee Mac Niallghus Cumann of Sinn Féin, at Glencolmille was surrounded by Gardaí under Superintendent Martin. The house was searched minutely.

Having packed a considerable amount of private correspondence and old pamphlets into a suitcase, they told Seán O'Íghne that they were "taking him in" under Section 30 of O.A.S.A.

He was held in the local barracks until 6 p.m. Meanwhile all the seized papers were examined.

Notes: An account of the raid on the home of Seamus Rodgers, Sinn Féin member of Donegal Co. Council, on December 11 also has been held over due to pressure on space. Both he and his brother-in-law, Pádraig McCafferty, were arrested and held for some hours.

LOUTH AGAIN

IN a further comb-out of the North Louth area on December 14 three men were arrested at Hackballscross. Two were from Occupied Ireland and one from Co. Limerick. Houses from Edentubber to Inniskeen were raided.

Also arrested was the man of the house where they were found. He was later released. Nothing was found and the three men were taken under heavy escort to Collins Barracks, Dublin, where the Military Court remanded them in custody for seven days.

MONAGHAN AGAIN

AT Clontibret, Co. Monaghan, on the same day two other men were arrested in a farmhouse. One was from Co. Cork and the other from Monaghan. Co. Kilkenny. Two members of the household were taken to Monaghan barracks with them but they were subsequently released.

Next day the men who were held were brought before the Military Court at Collins Barracks in Dublin, and remanded to Mountjoy Jail for seven days. Many other homes in the Clontibret-Castleblayney area were raided on December 14.

... AND AGAIN

ON December 16, 26-County police claimed to have found an arms dump in a ditch at Inniskeen, Co. Monaghan. It was reported to have contained four rifles, three revolvers, one sub-machine gun and ammunition.

A local man was arrested, questioned, and later released.

MEATH

TWO days before Christmas large forces of Gardaí and detectives were back in Inniskeen, raiding homes, searching outfiles and fields.

Christmas Day was barely over when they descended on Co. Meath in the early hours of December 26 and raided homes. (See report on page 11).

B'aít an cás ina raibh Tomás Ruiseál faid a bhí sé ar seirbhís mhíleata ins an Ind. Nuair a throich sé an tír sin, bhí an 100ú Risimint geall le bheith fíithe. Cuireadh an méidin den risimint ar bhí ann go fóill isteach i risimintí eile agus afor bailíodh an 100ú Risimint le chéile athuair ar an aonad míleata ar leith. Is Tomás aon tseirbhís leis an

An Immortal Cause

ADVERSITY and opposition when they arise are often blessings in disguise, for they reveal the true worth of a movement and its principles. The cause that survives defeats and setbacks must surely be based on right and justice, otherwise the eroding attacks of time, enemies and circumstances would inevitably have destroyed any false facade of righteousness and revealed the sham beneath.

The follower who remains true to the right and just cause in adversity and defeat is a man worth having. His is no fine weather enthusiasm that fades before the first blasts of opposition. Not his, either, the allegiance that can be bought by reward or position. He is the idealist who will remain steadfast because he knows that the cause he supports is right and will inevitably win.

An American President, Woodrow Wilson, valued such principle. "I would rather lose in a cause that will one day win," he once said, "than win a cause that will some day lose." Such an ideal should today motivate the ranks of Irish Republicanism.

Rarely have the enemies of the Republican cause been more favoured by time and circumstance. Rarely have the forces

of coercion, slander and vituperation been marshalled in such strength against Republicans. Yet from these very factors the cause of Irish Republicanism can draw new life and enthusiasm.

For it has ever been thus in the history of the fight for the freedom of Ireland. Adversities have been overcome with renewed vigour; grim defeats have always been followed by glorious victories; the struggle has continued — as it will continue — until Ireland is free.

The black "Famine" was followed by the victories of the Land War, the defeat of the Fenians led to the fostering of the Republican ideal and was followed by the Gaelic revival; the glorious defeat of 1916 was but two years past when the national resurgence of 1918 took place; the apparent eclipse of Republicanism in the '30s was but the forerunner to the renews of the fight for freedom in the '40s and again in 1956.

The lesson to be derived from this is that the Republican cause does not die; it cannot die because it is immortal. And because it is right and just it will one day win. Republicans today should learn from the past so as to gird themselves anew

for the future. What matters is a temporary setback in an election. We may have lost a battle—we certainly have not lost the war.

At the start of another year our resolution should be strengthened, our determination renewed. We are many—there are Republicans in every street, village, parish, town, city and county in Ireland—let us spread the gospel of Republicanism even further. We are young and strong—let us use that youth and strength in the service of Republicanism.

Above all else, we are right—let us remain adamant in our defence of that rightfulness. Thus, encouraged by our numbers, aided by our followers abroad, confident in our youth and strength, and reassured of the justice of our cause, we shall march forward to the final and inevitable victory.

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ann go bhfaic an Ruiseilalach gníomhartha barbartha á ndéanamh ag cuid acu. Bhí ceantar Mhadras go mór trínaicéil sin am sin. Bhí an rialtas féin go fioreoil agus bhí domán iarrfheic meannach de chaghas John Macpherson agus Paul Benfield, ariach sheandáil ar bith bheith dá n-éagais. Ní raibh oifigigh arm an Rí ag réiteach go maith leis an rialtas aitiúil, ná leis na hoifigigh in arm an East India Company ach chomh beag. Cé gur fear macánta an Gobharnóir féin—Macartney—ní raibh sé ag réiteach leis an Gobharnóir—Ghinearáil, ná fós le hoifigigh an airm. Ba mhínic páigh na n-oifigeach agus na saighdiúirí singil go mór chun deiridh toisc go raibh eospa airgid ar an rialtas.

Is dócha gur chuir na nite sin, nó na drochthorfaí a lean deáib, déiteán ar an Ruiseilalach, ach maraigh gur saighdiúirí an-choilínasach ar fad é is ar éigean a rachaisid chomh mór sin i bhfeidhm air. Dá mbéadh sé chomh bréan sin de shaoil an saighdiúirí ní móide go mbéadh sé ástá d'isteach leis an arm arís tar éis dá fíleáil ar Éirinn, rud a rinne sé chomh luath agus fuair sé caoi air.

I mbéal Feirste

Nuair a chionn sé ar an Ind d'fhágáin, ní raibh, is dócha, an dara rogha aige. Rinneadh dochtáin idir Sasana agus an Fhrainc i 1783 agus tosaíodh lídreach ar roinnt ríomtín in arm chesada a dhíscoileáil. Níor chuiradh isteach ar an arm san Ind go dtí 1784 nuair a rinneadh an Conradh le Tipu Sahib. Díscoileáil fuilíon an 1000 ríomtín sa bhliain 1785 agus fágadh Tomás gan phost láimsearach airm aige.

Ní shéadfadh sé coimisiún d'fháil a dhéanadh a dheartháir (an 526), ná i ríomtín ar bith eile d'arm an Rí mar bhíothas ag díscoileáil na "gompach breise" iontu san fhrainc. Ní raibh teacht aige ar choimisiún in arm an East India Company ach

chomh beag, mar bhí an Comhlucht ag fíleáil lón a chuid fear timpeall an ama chéanna. Má theastaigh uaidh léandáin den ghairm mhíleata ba chionna an heart dó fíleáil ar Éirinn agus iarracht a dhéanamh ar a choimisiún leathpháighe a mhálairt ar lánchoimisiún ann. D'éirigh leis é sin a dhéanamh i 1790 nuair a ceapadh ina mbeirgier ar lánpháighe é san 64ú Ríomtín de Choisithe i mbéal Feirste.

Cumas Troda

Ag cur síos dó ar shaoil an Ruiseilalach ins an Ind, deir R. J. O. Maidin gur aithin Sir John Burgoyne, an Tiarna Cornwallis agus an Cornal Seán Knox a ghaice mar oifigeach airm. Tá macalla na bhfoail sin le fáil i gcuantas Uí Mhuireagáin mar a n-abraon sé: "Tar éis chúig mblán de chruatan agus de bhaol, do thuill an Ruiseilalach meas an Tiarna Cornwallis de bharr a mhínsigh agus a éirime míleata."

Ní dócha gur ceart glacadh le ceachtar den dá ráiteas sin. Ar an chéad d'áit, tá sé rídhóichíil nach ndearna an Ruiseilalach ach chogachocht san Ind lasmhuigh den chéad ionasf úd ar Chananore. Sa dara háit, níor ceapadh an Tiarna Cornwallis ina Gobharnóir—Ghinearáil agus ina ardcheannas airm go dtí 1786. Ní raibh shroic sé an Ind go dtí deireadh na bliana sin. Níor bhain sé Mhadras amach go dtí 1789. Féin am san bhí Tomás Ruiseil linnthe as an Ind. Tá seans ann go raibh Burgoyne i Mhadras le linn den Ruiseilalach bheith ann ach, toisc raic a bheith ar siól idir é agus an Gobharnóir, bhí sé ar fionraí ar feadh tamaill agus ba ar éigean a bheadh caoi ar bith aige ar ghaice an Ruiseilalach a thabhairt fé ndeara.

Is cosúil go bhféadfaí an Cornal Knox, an duine deirceannach den tríú áit luaithe ag an Mhaidneach, cumas an Ruiseilalach a mhéas, ó tharla go raibh sé i láthair ag an chath úd ar Chananore. Bhí aithne acu ar a chéile agus ba chairde iad, rud

a chruatháinn an Journal ina mbreacadh an Ruiseilalach síos cumas ar a imeachtaí agus ar a smaoine idir 1790 agus 1791. B'éidid go raibh an Maidneach ag déanamh meascáin idir Sir John Burgoyne—a d'éag 1783—agus a choleachair siúd, John Burgoyne K.C.B., a bhí i gceannas arm Shasana ag Saratoga. Bheadh aithne mhaith aige ar Ambrós Ruiseil a bhí ag troid i gCogadh na Saoirse i Meiricea. B'éidid gur chabhairigh seiceán chun coimisiún d'fháil de Thomás sa bhliain 1783.

Maidin leis an Tiarna Cornwallis, tá sé geall le bheith cinnte nach raibh aithne dá laghad aige ar Thomás Ruiseil ná aigeas air. Tá an méid sin soiléir ó lítr a scríobh cara anaithech chug Tomás tráth bhí sé ina phríosúnach i Newgate le linn den Tiarna Cornwallis bheith ina Fhear Ionaid in Éirinn.

Má tídáid ar bheagán eolais i dtaobh saol an Ruiseilalach ins an Ind thinn bheith measartha cinnte fé phóinte amháin—is é sin níor chruinnigh sé aon rochán airgid de bharr a sheirbhíse aige. Ó lítr dar serfóba a dheartháir Seán chug, bílanta i ndiaidh an ama atá i gceist anois, dearláonn gur thuill Tomás suim éigin airgid ann nach bhfuair sé ariamh.

Gan Airgead

Tá cuma ar an sócal gur thug sé an t-airgead sin d'Albanach éigin (oifigeach airm is dócha) eile dhóchtóir dó. Rinne oifighe eile dá lucht aitheantais, go háirithe an Cornal De Barra agus an Ginearál McLeod an beart céanna. Nuair a rinne siad iarracht ar an airgead a fháil tar éis dóibh fíleáil ar an Eorpa ní fheadfaidís tásá ná tuairisc an Albanach a fháil. Chomh déanach le 1796, bhí an tríd acu go fóill ar lorg an airgid sin ach ní móide go bhfuair siad ariamh.

LEANFAR DE

Fianna

Eireann

Notes

TO ALL OFFICERS:

The intensified effort to stamp out Republicanism is directed at all branches of the Movement. We in Fianna are easy to hit. For this reason we must stand fast by our Statute and become more active in our great work. It is an accepted fact that Fianna is the hardest branch of the Republican Movement to organise. There are many reasons for this, the chief one being that we are dealing with boys of a young age, who are easily frightened by ill-founded rumours, and coercive activity.

What are the rumours that frighten young boys and cause parents to take them out of school? One such rumour is that Fianna is a junior branch of another organisation in the Movement. This is a lie, but it is the weapon which police are using in an effort to smash us. Another rumour being used by the police is: "When they reach sixteen years, they dress them up in black and send them up to the Border." We are constantly losing boys owing to these rumours. It is the duty of each officer to get to the parents of these boys, and counteract these malicious lies. You yourself may come in for attention. You may be followed about and possibly be approached by one of these political detectives. Avoid conversation with them and guard against provocation.

Is mísle.

Uisinné O Catháin.

Ard-Aidiúnach.

1-1-62.

G.H.Q.

In recent weeks officers of Na Fianna have been hindered and harassed as they go about their duties. Several homes have been raided and documents taken. In Co. Tipperary a member of Na Fianna was in school when Special Branch detectives raided his home. Every room was ransacked until they found what they had come for—a quantity of letters dealing with Fianna activity, and a report and agenda on the Fianna Ard-Fheis. They then left the home and went to the father of the young boy worked. They warned him about his son's activity.

That evening as the Fianna boy was still in school a detective called, and as far as it can be ascertained he had an interview with the Superior of the school. The detective then took the Fianna boy out to a car where several detectives questioned him for over half an hour.

They were very annoyed with his "no reply" attitude to most of their questions and accused him of being a member of an "illegal organisation", meaning Fianna as they used military abbreviations. He pointed out to them that the Red Cross used similar ranks and abbreviations. They refused to give back the documents and letters.

WATERFORD SLUAH

In an effort to raise funds for the organisation, Sluaigh Thomas Francis Meagher, Waterford, are calling from door to door, collecting white paper. They will also hold a Ceilí on the 7th of Feb. in the Olympia Ballroom, Waterford. Watch out for their publicity posters, and endeavour to attend this fundraising function.

DUBLIN BATT.

On behalf of the officers from the Dublin area, we extend our thanks to the hospitable people of Galway who acted as our hosts on the weekend of the Loughmoro Brothers Commemoration. It was a weekend that will long be remembered by all. We hope that we can show the same traditional hospitality whenever the republicans of Galway visit Dublin.

The house of a junior officer

NOTES AND COMMENTS

NEWSPAPER EDITORS WARNED BY HAUGHEY

FOLLOWING further actions by the Resistance in Occupied Ireland towards the end of the year, the British Ambassador in Dublin delivered a protest note to the Lemass Government calling for sterner measures against Republicans or else.

Acting on the instructions of his master's voice, Mr. Haughey, the Minister for Justice, invited the editors of all Dublin morning, evening and Sunday newspapers to his office and laid down certain rules of behaviour in regard to the Republican Movement and Resistance actions.

The editors were told that publicity of Resistance actions in the Six Counties was to be played down, that few (if any) statements issued by the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau were to be published and that anything said by Republicans in the courts of the 26 Counties was to be severely censored.

No Moral Courage

REGRETTABLY, it is understood that not one of the newspapermen present had the moral courage to stand up and refuse to comply with this outrageous infringement of the rules of free speech and expression. Yet they call themselves editors of so-called "national", "independent" and "free" newspapers.

Even the vilest murderer has his every word chronicled in these papers, which do not hesitate to pander to the lowest tastes with their moronic cartoons, title-tattle about empty-headed film actresses and vain women and the gossip of cocktail parties and dress dances.

But what's good enough for the worst murderer is not by any means good enough for a young Irish Republican whose only crime is love of country and the courage to fight for her freedom.

Nothing New

SOME of these newspapers had the gall to comment on Mr. Lemass's ridiculous reference to "sinister influences" behind the Resistance campaign. We do not know what Mr. Lemass meant—neither, we feel, sure—do the newspapers which picked up his words and repeated them so

definitely. But if Mr. Lemass is seeking "sinister influences" he would do well to look into the sources of advertising revenue of some of our so-called Catholic Irish newspapers.

Some of them are by no means averse to accepting money from such "sinister" sources as East Germany and Czechoslovakia, two Communist countries, and they do not hesitate to advertise goods manufactured (probably by slave labour) in these places, thus helping to bolster up the Communist economy.

The inference about "sinister influences" has been made many times before about Irish Republicanism—and just as often has it been repeated by the Irish people. Some of our "national" newspapers have not yet quite repudiated sinister statements made by them in the much more recent past. It would behoove them to put their own houses in order first.

Congo Black-out

HOW long more will the Irish people put up with the outrageous conduct and bare-faced hypocrisy of Leinster House politicians? Consider the recent debate on Conor Cruise O'Brien and the sending of more Irish troops to the Congo. Three deputies were suspended because they sought a discussion on this latter vital question. Mr. Lemass refused to make a statement and the House adjourned for several weeks without an iota of information being given to the Irish people.

Yet barely 24 hours later Mr. Lemass addressed a meeting of head-nodding Fianna Fail Cumann men in Dublin and made a lengthy statement on the Congo and the sending out of Irish troops. Why could he not have made the same statement in Leinster House and cleared the air there?

Was he afraid of the reaction of Opposition deputies and a few sit-on-the-fence Independents? Or does he consider a meeting of party yes-men a fitter audience to receive important news than the elected representatives in Leinster House? Many would like to have the answer to these questions.

—Mac Dara.

in Dublin was raided by Special Branch detectives last month. We are not in receipt of full details yet.

JOIN FIANNA

At the turn of the century, almost all traces of Nationalism had vanished. Then in 1899 Countess Markievicz organised Na Fianna Eireann, Irish National Boy Scouts. These young boys of Na Fianna kindled the dying fire of Republicanism until it blazed forth in 1916. Again in the Black and Tan War, Fianna was to the fore. In the Free State War we lost some of our bravest and best but Na Fianna arose once again like the Phoenix from the ashes. It seems that from its foundation Fianna has

always been the rallying force of Republicanism.

In the 1940's it was Fianna who kept the flag flying, though torture and imprisonment were the order of the day. Again in 1957 and 1958 when the Curragh Concentration Camp was in operation it was Fianna who led the many protest marches through the streets of Dublin. Though scouting is more in our line, it is also our duty to uphold Irish Republicanism.

If you are a boy and over 9 years of age, then your place is in the ranks of Na Fianna Eireann. Apply for membership to:

NA FIANNA EIREANN,
c/o P.O. Box 137,
Dublin.

2 Years for J. J. McGirl PUBLIC PROTEST MEETINGS

THE courthouse at Carrick-on-Shannon, Co. Leitrim, was crowded on November 29 when John Joe McGirl of Ballinamore and an employee of his, Gerard Crossan, appeared before a special sitting of the District Court. They had been a week on remand in Mountjoy Jail.

Charges against the two men of having ammunition with intent to endanger life were withdrawn on the application of Mr. George Lynch, State solicitor. The charges of possessing 62 rounds and of carrying it, without a firearms certificate, were proceeded with, as was another charge against J. J. McGirl of refusing to answer questions under O.A.S.A.

Police evidence was that Gerard Crossan replied to the ammunition charges: "All I can say is the truth. I did not know the ammunition was there." J. J. McGirl replied: "Nothing to say."

Gardai then gave evidence of stopping J. J. McGirl's hearse on November 20. A man was seen to run away with what appeared to be a gun in a sack. Gerard Crossan was driving and J. J. McGirl was sitting in the cab alongside him. The ammunition was found in a tin box on the floor of the vehicle.

J. J. McGirl cross-examined Superintendent Gillespie.

J. J. McGirl—On the last day of this hearing you said you wanted this case left over saying that you had some inquiries to make.

Supt.—You said the last time that you had no interest in these proceedings whatsoever.

J. J. McGirl—I reserve my right.

Justice Loftus—Superintendent, he has asked you a question. That is not an answer to it.

Supt.—I am still proceeding with my inquiries.

J. J. McGirl—Has it come to your notice that another man has been arrested and sent to jail in connection with this case?

Supt.—I have read about it.

J. J. McGirl—Would it surprise you to know that he was in my house in Ballinamore that night?

Supt.—I am not concerned with what happens outside my district.

J. J. McGirl—Do you not co-operate with the police in other districts?

Supt.—Yes, we do.

J. J. McGirl—This man is now serving six months in Mountjoy.

The State solicitor said the Attorney General asked to have the two prisoners sent forward to the Military Court on the charges which were before the court.

Justice Loftus said he would have to accede to the request of the Attorney General and he made an order returning them in custody to a sitting of the Military Court.

John Joe McGirl then objected to the right and competency of a military court to try him.

(See text of statement on page 1.)

There was loud and prolonged applause and cheering in the packed courtroom when he concluded. In the afternoon one section of the room was filled with schoolboys from day-schools in Carrick-on-Shannon.

They listened very attentively

to everything. One wonders if they realised that they were getting a practical demonstration in what will one day be Irish history.

At the Military Court on December 14 the charges against Gerard Crossan of Ballinamore were not proceeded with. It was stated that he had signed an undertaking to accept the 26-County Constitution and the Offences Against the State Act.

He was then released. Sentence of two years imprisonment was imposed on John Joe McGirl at the Military Court in Collins Barracks, Dublin, on December 22.

ARREST TO COURT

Asked if he wished to call witnesses, J. J. McGirl delivered a spirited address. He said:

"I was arrested before this court was set up almost five weeks ago. I was dragged from place to place with the intention all the time of bringing me before this Military Court.

"When certain questions were put to me after my arrest under the Offences Against the State Act, I replied that Offences Against the State Acts were used to make slaves and informers out of us and to kill Republicanism.

"I see no reason to change this opinion. This vicious Act was designed to give coercion full power and to strip the victims—Irish Republicans—of the most elementary human rights.

"You, sir, have that power to

use as you will on Irish Republicans and I am only one of the victims. But while we have life in us, you won't make slaves of us or informers, and you won't kill Irish Republicanism.

"You can send us to jail until we rot, but Irish Republicanism and the spirit of freedom will be living forces in this country when the Offences Against the State Act is dead."

CURRAGH CAMP FIRE

Evidence was given that he was sentenced in 1941 to two years imprisonment on a charge of being connected with others in burning huts at the Curragh Concentration Camp, and to nine months in 1946 under O.A.S.A.

J. J. McGirl then said: "The internment camp was burned because of the inhuman treatment we got when we were interned there."

Raid In Roscommon

ON the morning after the arrest of J. J. McGirl at Cloonavary, Co. Roscommon, the home of Sylvester Fitzsimons at Corlara—about a mile distant—was raided by 26-County police.

Members of the raiding party searched everywhere, even going so far as to lift the lid off a septic tank in a field some distance from the house. Nothing was found.

Extra Gardai are reported to have been drafted into this area which is over 30 miles from the Border.

LADY TEACHER ARRESTED IN DONEGAL SCHOOL

A Chara,

I was arrested this morning at 9.45 a.m. and held for eight hours under section 30 of the Offences Against the State Act. I was arrested in Groffy national school where I teach.

My car which was parked outside the school was searched. My home at Stranglough was searched at 9.30 a.m. Two old copies of the U.I. were seized and a three year old copy of *Rosc* (Gaelic League paper).

I understand that there was a wave of raids and arrests all over the county. Paddy McGallig, of Mayo, has just called here. He was also arrested and held all day in Carrick. As far as I know no other houses were searched in the Glenties area and no one was arrested.

On the way from Groffy school to the Glenties police station I asked the sergeant why he had

arrested me and he said "You are prominent in this business. These murders must stop. It is not good enough."

I was not formally questioned or asked to make any statement. I was allowed to leave the barracks at 5.45 p.m. A local press reporter who called at the barracks was told "no comment" and asked to leave.

On the way to the Sinn Féin Ard-Fheis the previous week-end the agenda and other private property were taken from my bag by police at Ballyshannon but I was not arrested or questioned.

Is mise,
Máire Ní Bhaolgháil, O.S.
(Runaf Cumann Phádraig
Uí Dhomhnaill, Na
Gleannta).

Stranglough,
Glenties,
Co. Donegal,
December 11, 1961.

90-YEAR-OLD RIFLE

We have been asked to state that the 90-year-old rifle and ammunition seized by 26-County police in the Newtownnunningham area of Co. Donegal on December 12 were not the property of the Resistance Movement in Occupied Ireland.

Signed:

J. McGarerty,
Secretary,
Irish Republican Publicity
Bureau,
December 31, 1961.

RELIGION IN R.U.C.

All ranks of the R.U.C. numbered 2,917 on November 1, of whom 343 were Roman Catholics. Of other denominations, members of the Church of Ireland totalled 1,098; Presbyterians 1,153, and Methodists 190.

Among officers of the force two county inspectors and three district inspectors are Roman Catholics, together with 16 constables and 79 sergeants.

These figures were given by Home Affairs Minister Faulkner in reply to a question at Stormont.

STEN GUNS IN BEDROOM Five Seconds To Get Up!

A KILKEEL, Co. Down, man was given five seconds to get out of bed by R.U.C. men armed with Sten guns who raided his home at 2.45 a.m. This happened after U.T.A. transport in Killeel had been burned on December 3.

In a statement read out in Stormont, the man—Seamus O'Hare of Magheracagh, Killeel—said that he had previously been arrested in October, 1957, after two British Army camps had been damaged. As a result of his interrogation on that occasion he was unconscious for 24 hours in Mourne Hospital.

On the advice of a brain specialist he was removed from the Mater Hospital where he had been detained for three weeks. Since then he had suffered black-outs and spent a further period in hospital.

Following the burning of a bus on December 3, the statement continued, his house was invaded by police who levelled Sten guns at his mother and ordered him to get up, one of the policemen saying, "I will give

you 5 seconds to get out or I will blow you out of bed."

He was brought to the barracks and accused of burning the bus.

The "Nationalist" M.P. who raised the matter said he had every reason to believe the statement to be true.

Home Affairs Minister Faulkner said that he was absolutely satisfied that the detention and questioning of Mr. O'Hare was completely justified. If it was thought necessary to put further questions to Mr. O'Hare, neither questions to Mr. O'Hare, neither questions to the police would be deterred by political criticism of this kind.

COMMENT: Many people would maintain that neither Stormont nor the Crown Forces are deterred by any type of political action when it comes to maintaining British rule. "Nationalist" M.P.s please note.

NO SYMPATHY

Two of the Nationalist members on Magherafelt Rural Council, Mr. John Mallon and Mr. James Harkin, remained seated at last week's meeting of the Council when the other members stood to observe a few minutes' silence for Constable Hunter, a Co. Derry man, who was killed in the Republican ambush at Jonesboro recently.

Three other Nationalist members joined with the Unionists in passing a resolution of sympathy with Constable Hunter's relatives.

The Chairman, Mr. A. R. Brown, described the incident as "a foul murder."

—The Mid-Ulster Observer, 7/12/61.

£60,000 CLAIMED

The three R.U.C. Commandos who it was reported were "slightly injured" in the Culloville ambush on November 26 have lodged compensation claims of £20,000 each.

The British Government recoups to local government bodies all compensation awards arising out of Resistance activities in Occupied Ireland.

Raid In Ballinamore

A Chara,

The police came to our house about 1 a.m. on Monday, the 18th December, and arrested John (my husband) and Nicholas Swanton. They took them away after about 10 minutes; a few stayed here and then the others came back.

There were about 15 altogether. They then raided the house from top to bottom, taking away all my Sinn Féin minute books, photos, letters, etc. Even a letter John Joe McGirl had written to us from jail and one John had just written to him were taken.

They stayed until after 3 a.m. and then left me on my own. They had a policeman watching me all the time during the search. He followed me around from one room to another.

I went upstairs and into my bedroom and closed the door, but he opened it and stood in the doorway. I closed it again and he opened it. This happened three or four times. He followed me downstairs again.

John and Nicholas were held in the barracks cell until 5 p.m. next evening when four squadrons conveyed them to Dublin. I was not allowed to see my husband and the police refused to accept cigarettes for them. A lot of people called to the barracks but all were refused admission.

I thought you might be interested to have this information.

Mary Mulvihill.

Convent Road,
Ballinamore,
Co. Leitrim,
12/12/61.

The Voice Of Pearse

"The generation that is now growing old in Ireland had almost forgotten our heroes. We have learned the great art of parleying with our enemy and of achieving nationhood by negotiation.

"The heroes had trodden hard and bloody ways; we should tread soft and flowery ways. The heroes had given up all things; we had learned a way of gaining all things, land and good living and the friendship of our foe.

"But the soil of Ireland, yea, the very stones of our cities have cried out against our infidelity that would barter an old tradition of nationhood even for a thing so precious as peace.

"This the heroes have done for us; for their spirits dwell in the places where they lived, and the hills of Ireland must be rent, and the cities levelled to the ground, and all her children driven out upon the seas of the world, before those voices are silenced that bid us be faithful still and to make no peace with England until Ireland is ours."

—P. H. PEARSE.

B-SPECIAL CHIEF

A former British Army officer, Major R. A. Crawford has been appointed County Adjutant of the B-Specials in Co. Tyrone.

He served with the Royal Irish Fusiliers in World War II. A native of Clough, Ballymena, he was previously in Omagh as a personnel selection officer for the British War Office.

ON DEC. 12

In the townland of Drumkeenagh at Tullyrosmeary, Co. Fermanagh on the morning of December 12 a burst of machine-gun and rifle fire was directed at a dwelling-house, narrowly missing the owner.

A group of the Crown Forces was seen in the area some time earlier.

DRAW POSTPONED

Owing to the fact that some counterforts are still outstanding, the North Louth G.A.A. Draw for Matchstick Cross has been postponed until March 17, 1962.

Support
Dependants
of
Republican
Prisoners

SWOOP ON CO. MEATH

St. Stephen's Day Raids

SHORTLY before 8 a.m. on St. Stephen's Day large parties of uniformed Gardaí and detectives surrounded and searched at least six homes in Co. Meath. Special Branch men from Dublin Castle took part under Supt. McMahon, head of the Special Branch.

All the raids took place simultaneously. The home of John L. McCormack near Navan was surrounded at 7.40 a.m. by about a dozen policemen. Mrs. McCormack was in bed—she was not feeling too well—and her husband asked that her bedroom be exempted from the search.

At this the raiding party pushed their way into her room and gave it the most minute search of all—even going so far as flashing their lights under the bed where Mrs. McCormack lay.

All the outhouses as well as the dwellinghouse were closely searched. The local Superintendent accompanied Supt. McMahon on this raid.

About the same time the home of Leo Collins at Whitegate, Navan, was surrounded by nine uniformed and plainclothes police. Squad-cars from Dundalk and Navan brought the raiding party.

Mrs. Collins answered the door, baby in arms, and the intruders attempted to push past her into the house. She refused to admit them, however, until they produced a search warrant and read it to her.

The house was thoroughly searched. The home of Leo Collins's parents—about a mile

distant—was raided in similar fashion about the same time.

About a fortnight previous to this, Mr. Collins, senior, was motoring towards Athboy (Co. Meath) when he noticed that he was being followed by another car. He signalled it to overtake him and on doing so it immediately blocked his way. Gardaí and detectives jumped out, ordered him from the car, and searched it.

The home of Arthur McCormack at Garlow Cross was also raided at 8 a.m. on St. Stephen's morning. Here the raiding party demanded an account of the beds in the house.

Brendan Lynch's home at Tullaghanogue, Trim, was

raided in similar fashion, as was that of Patrick Farrell at Athboy. It was the second time that the Farrell home was raided in recent weeks.

Nothing was found in any of these raids. No word of their having taken place appeared in any newspaper. It was so early that in most cases neighbours did not notice.

COMMENT :

Fianna Fail is not putting its collaboration policy before the people. It is cloaking it from them.

Support the Dependents of Republican Prisoners

Treatment Of Prisoner

While held prisoner in Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim, barracks for two days from November 21 Michael Murrugh was not allowed to wash, shave or smoke.

He was arrested while serving behind the counter in J. J. McGin's licensed premises where he has been employed for over a year. Later he was jailed for six months for refusing to answer questions.

No one was allowed to see him while in the barracks. The cell where he was confined was damp and cold—so cold he had to wear his overcoat and wrap the cell blankets around himself.

There were no toilet facilities—other than a hole in the wall which led out to a stream.

DEATH

We regret to announce the death of Peadar MacAndrew of Ballina, Co. Mayo, who lived and worked in Dublin for many years.

A life-long Republican, Peadar was formerly attached to the 4th Battalion, Dublin Brigade, Irish Republican Army. He suffered imprisonment on many occasions, particularly during the 1940s when he was held at the Curragh Concentration Camp.

His funeral was attended by many Republicans and a Guard of Honour escorted the remains. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam.

Ard-Chomhairle Sinn Féin

Togadh na baili seo leanas ar Ard-Chomhairle Sinn Féin ag an Ard-Fheis a tionóladh i mBaile Átha Cliath, Nollaig 2 agus 3, 1961:

Uachtarán: Pádraig Mac Lógáin.
Leas-Uachtarán: Tomás Ó Dubhghaill, Ruairí Ó Drisceoil.
Réinaithe: Mícheál Treinfhíor, Tomás Mistéil.
Cisteoir: Eamonn Mac Thomáis, Seosamh Mac Gráinne.
Baill: Antoin Mag Cana, Áth Cliath; Seán S. Mac Fhearghail, Liathdrom; Tomás Mac Giolla, Tíobraid Árann; Séamas Sabhat, Luimneach; Seán Ó Guin, An Mhí; Seán Ó Mathúna, Áth Cliath; Máire Bean Ruiseil, Áth Cliath; Seán Ó Brádaigh, Longfort.

An Cumann Cabhrach

	f	s	d.
CLARE			
T. O. hUallachain, Errisbul	10	0	0
CORK			
P. O. Suilleabhain, Cillerochan	10	0	0
D. O. Dalaigh, Cillerochan	1	0	0
Coisde Follseachain, Naitsiunta	3	3	0
North-East Cork Election Committee	10	0	0
John Regan	5	0	0
DUBLIN			
Cumann na mBan, Carraig Dubh	7	6	
Bosca san Oifig	7	3	6
M. Rodgers	1	10	0
Mrs. P. Daly	2	0	0
"I Gcúmhne Shéidin Mhic Eoidáidh"	25	0	0
Miscellaneous	2	5	0
Cumann Tomas Aghas Coisde Átha Cliath	100	0	0
Wm. Daly	6	0	0
KERRY			
Listowel Sinn Féin (Card Drive)	23	0	0
LAOIS			
Portlaoise Collection	20	0	0
LIMERICK			
Geary's Sweet Factory	5	1	0
Charlie Nolan's Bar	3	0	0
G.A.A. Match, 29/10/61	11	17	0
Private Subscription Cumann Sinn Féin	3	2	0
Cathal Brugha	3	0	0
Cumann Pádraig Mac Piarais, Castleconnell	6	10	0
MEATH			
Cumann Kevin Barry, Moynalvey/Summerhill	10	0	0
MAYO			
M. Walsh	10	0	0
ROSCOMMON			
Cloonloo Cumann, Boyle	1	10	0

SPEARHEADING COLLABORATION

Lemass's Son-in-law

A MAN who is attaining some prominence in the present round of coercion of Republicans and collaboration with the British Forces is Mr. Charles Haughey, the newly-appointed Minister for Justice in the 26 Counties.

In a front page article in the "Belfast Telegraph" of November 28, the Dublin correspondent of that paper describes him as "the man who is spear-heading the present all-out drive". In the heading to the article he is introduced to readers of the "Telegraph" as "Lemass's son-in-law".

He is stated to have "galvanised the police force into action" and to be "personally directing the present campaign". Later on the article mentions his meeting with the editors of the daily newspapers.

The "Telegraph" article continues:

When he called Chief Superintendents and other high-ranking police officers to Dublin yesterday, he made it clear what he expected from the Eire police in dealing with what he himself described as "the seriousness of the border situation".

He told the police officers

that the Government "will use every means in its power, including the Army, if necessary, to bring this futile, evil campaign of violence to an end."

The communique containing these words is believed to have been drafted by Mr. Haughey himself.

Apart from the legal necessity of charging men within a specified time, it was due to

Mr. Haughey's insistence that the Special Criminal Court was hastily summoned yesterday and directed to hold a sitting.

Referring to Mr. Haughey's summons to the newspaper editors, the article concludes:

As a further step in his campaign Mr. Haughey has invited the editors of the daily newspapers published in Eire to meet him at the Department of Justice later to-day.

It is understood he will inform them on Government policy and invite the support and co-operation of their newspapers in his drive . . .

Edentubber Oration

For not "accounting for his movements" on the day he gave this address at the Edentubber Commemoration, the Military Court sent Tomás Mac Giolla to jail for six months.

A Cháirde na Poblachta,

Na fir a tugann muid onór dhoibh inniu is ag ullmhú chun catha leis na Sasanaigh, le sean-namhaid ár dtíre, a bhíodar nuair a rug an bás ortha. Bhí a n-aghaidh dírithe amach ar chnoicibh an Dúin agus Árd-Mhacha, atá fós i seilbh an namhaid, bíde a n-anam ullmhú chun seasamh éis cóir Dé. Níorbh fhéidir le Dia bás níos fearr a bhronnadh ar Ghaedhil—go ndéanadh Sé trocaire ar a n-anam.

Once again we are gathered here to honour and pay tribute to the five heroes who died on this spot and have since become known as the Edentubber Martyrs—George Keegan and Patrick Parle from Wexford, Paul Smith from Armagh, Oliver Craven from Down and Michael Watters whose house stood upon this very spot.

Their loss was indeed a grievous one, not only to the Republican Movement, but also to the Irish nation and it is but natural that we are filled with sadness as we stand upon this sod which has been soaked with their blood.

But when we consider the manner of their deaths and the cause for which they died our spirits are strengthened with pride. At the moment of their death they were facing the hills of Down and Armagh and were preparing themselves for battle with the British Forces who are still to-day occupying those Irish hills.

These young soldiers of the Republic had forsaken their homes and families and friends and had sacrificed their careers and all they held dear, to take up arms in defence of their homeland. They now had nothing left to give but their lives and these they sacrificed most willingly.

We can indeed be proud to be associated even in a small way with such heroic men. We should at all times be eager to defend their name and honour when they are being slandered and vilified by either British or Free State politicians.

Their comrades are at this very moment out in those same hills carrying on the same fight against the same enemy. They are branded as "terrorists", "murderers" and

"misguided youths" by politicians who have treacherously made common cause with the enemy, who have accepted the British domination of the ancient Irish nation in exchange for their own personal power and glory.

The gross hypocrisy of these power-greedy politicians was never more obviously demonstrated than in the past year, when they sent young Irishmen of the Free State Army out to the heart of Africa to ensure that the province of Katanga would not be allowed to secede from the Congo. They sent young Irishmen into danger and death to achieve the unity of the Congo, while they slander and vilify the heroic young soldiers of the Irish Republic who fight against tremendous odds to achieve the unity and freedom of their own Irish nation.

Who is misguided? The young men who died in Africa or the young men who died facing British guns here on their own soil? Any Irishman given the choice would surely choose to die for Ireland as these five young men did at Edentubber just four years ago.

In commemorating the Edentubber Martyrs, let us pledge ourselves never to forget their comrades who are still to-day carrying on the fight. And let us also pledge ourselves never to forget the Republican prisoners in British and Irish jails. Some men in Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast are now beginning their eighth year in prison, shut away from home, friends and all they love—what a tremendous sacrifice this is.

Let us remember in particular the two young men serving life sentences alone in English prisons—Donal Murphy and Joe Doyle—who haven't even got the consolation of association with fellow-Republicans. These men are sacrificing the very best years of their lives—let us speak of them with honour and respect.

We leave this hallowed spot, then, strengthened in our determination to assist the cause which they held dear, to continue the struggle against all odds and to defend the honour and integrity of the Sovereign Republic at all times.

—Daily Express, 4/12/61.

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SEVERE SENTENCES BY MILITARY COURT

Eight Years for Co. Derry Man

A TOTAL of 35 years imprisonment was imposed on eight Irish Republicans by the 26-County Military Court during its first month in operation. Seventeen other men were sentenced to terms of from four to twelve months imprisonment.

A Co. Derry man was given eight years penal servitude. Two comrades of his got seven years each, while a Kilkenny man received four and a Cork man three years penal servitude.

At the Military Court in Collins Barracks, Dublin, on December 22 Michael McEldowney of Slaughtneil, Maghera, Co. Derry; Richard Nagle of Middleton, Co. Cork, and Alphonsus Larkin, Farranshore, Limerick, were jointly and separately charged with being in possession of two Thompson sub-machine guns, one rifle and ammunition at Derry, naheco, Newtown, Co. Monaghan, on December 12 with intent to endanger life and property.

They were also charged under the Offences Against the State Act with refusing to answer questions and give information when interrogated. On their first appearance before the Military Court on December 14 they wore green battledress with Tricolour flashes.

A Garda gave evidence of being in an outhouse at Derry, naheco on December 12. He saw three men approach and heard them ask the woman of the nearby house "Are we in the Six Counties or the Twenty-Six?"

When he caught Richard Nagle, Michael McEldowney pointed his gun (a Thompson) at him and said "Let him go." He

held on to Nagle and Michael McEldowney and Alphonsus Larkin left and ran towards the Border.

Other Gardai gave evidence of pursuing the two men who threw away their weapons before they were caught. They were almost at the Border and Alphonsus Larkin said when arrested "I'm in the Six Counties."

The Garda who caught hold of him denied this and took him to a squad-car. The arms and ammunition were produced in the courtroom.

All three prisoners refused to recognise the court but reserved the right to make statements.

Michael McEldowney denied that he pointed a gun at a Garda. He said: "This is not true. The fact is that our policy does not include armed action in the 26 Counties. That gun was unloaded and could not harm him. The Guard must have known that."

"We thought we were in that part of Ireland occupied by Crown forces. It is these we are fighting and we apologise to no one. I say this as an Irishman and as a resident of Occupied Ireland."

Richard Nagle said: "I make no apologies for fighting Ireland's enemies. It is no crime to fight for Ireland's freedom, but it is a crime to collaborate with Ireland's enemies."

The Guard said I resisted arrest and that he had to take the gun from me. This is not true. I did not resist arrest at any time. I handed over the gun."

Alphonsus Larkin said: "We have always opposed the British Army in Occupied Ireland. It is for this we are here on trial today."

"There is nothing more I can say except that I have committed no crime against the nation, but those who have set up these so-called trials have. I know a future generation will judge us right."

The three 26-County Army officers who constituted the court then retired. They resumed after a short period. Evidence was given that Michael McEldowney was jailed twice before—for six months on each occasion—under O.A.S.A.

Sentence of eight years penal

A TECHNICALITY

Patrick Mulcahy of "Lisheen," Dublin Road, Limerick, was sentenced to one year in jail by the Military Court on December 15.

He was charged with refusing to answer questions, having an incriminating document in his house when police raided it on December 4, and being a member of an unlawful organisation.

A police witness stated that when asked why he would not answer questions, Patrick Mulcahy replied: "I have not committed an offence. It is being created for me."

Patrick Mulcahy said one of the charges against him was being a member of an unlawful organisation, and the only proof of that was his possession of a receipt book. He had been asked to account for his movements over a period of three weeks and three days, and he held that it was humanly impossible for anybody to account for his movements over such a long period.

He did not think that the liberty of anyone should be denied purely on a technicality. He did not recognise the proceedings.

Servitude was then imposed on him, Alphonsus Larkin and Richard Nagle were sentenced to seven years each. All three received 12 months for refusing to give information to the police, to run concurrent with the penal servitude sentences.

TWO YEARS EACH

Two Tipperary men were sentenced to two years imprisonment each by the Military Court on December 15. They were Matthew Murray of Gortacullen, Clonohet, and Tomás Ó Súilleabháin of Cashel who was working in Limerick City and residing at 18 George's Quay.

Police evidence against Matthew Murray was that a .45 revolver, a .22 rifle, ammunition and training notes were found in his home when it was raided on December 4. In reply to some of the charges he said: "When I was young, and I am not so young now, the same fight was going on in this part of the country." (Matt Murray is 57 years of age.)

He also said the arms and ammunition belonged to the Resistance Movement and refused to answer any other questions. He was found not guilty on charges of possessing the arms and ammunition with intent to endanger life or property or enable others to do so. He did not recognise the court and was sentenced on the other charges.

Evidence against Tomás Ó Súilleabháin was that a Sten gun, a Thompson magazine and ammunition were found in his place of residence when police raided it on December 4. A two-year-old document was also found. He took responsibility for the Sten gun and said it was to be used solely against the British Forces in Ireland.

He refused to recognise the court.

Four Years For One Bullet!

FOUR years penal servitude was imposed on WALTER DUNPHY of Ballincor, Mooncoin, Co. Kilkenny, by the Military Court on December 21 for possession of one round of ammunition.

DENIS O'RIORDAN of Tullaghine, Carrigtwohill, Co. Cork, was sentenced to three years penal servitude on the same day for possession of four rounds of .45 ammunition.

They were charged with being in possession of ammunition with intent to endanger life and property and with refusing to give information to the police. Both men refused to recognise the court.

Garda witnesses gave evidence of arresting the men in a house at Clontarf, Co. Monaghan, on December 14. Walter Dunphy took responsibility for the bullet found on him and said the owner of the house knew nothing about it. A map of the Six Counties was also found on him for which he accepted responsibility too. He refused to answer further questions.

Police evidence against Denis O'RIORDAN was that when arrested in the same house as the other prisoner, he had four rounds of .45 ammunition in his pocket. When asked why he came to Monaghan he replied: "To fight against the British occupying the Six Counties." He refused to answer any other questions.

Neither prisoner made a statement in court and the penal servitude sentences were then imposed. Both men were in battledress uniform with Tricolour flashes.

NO INFORMERS

The Military Court sent three other Republicans to jail for six months each on December 21. They were Thomas Smith of Church Road, Bessbrook, Co. Armagh; Patrick Tierney of Woaghternary, Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh, and Patrick Ryan of Ballinamona, Hospital, Co. Limerick.

They were charged with refusing to give information about each other and about the intended commission of offences; they were also charged with refusing to answer questions about their movements.

Evidence was given by policemen that all three were arrested in a house at Hackballscross, Co. Louth, on December 14; they refused to answer questions. Thomas Smith was wearing battledress trousers and Patrick Ryan had a list of firearms, ammunition and expenses in a notebook found on him.

Thomas Smith said he did not recognise the court. He would have to be either an informer or a prophet to answer the questions the Gardai had put to him.

"There will always be men fighting British rule in Ireland so long as the British remain here," he said. "I don't need to be an informer or a prophet to tell you that."

Patrick Tierney said: "I don't wish to recognise the court."

Patrick Ryan said he was charged with refusing to become an informer, which was a sad state of affairs in Ireland in 1961. Forty years ago Kevin Barry gave his life because he would not become an informer. He had

been asked to "turn informer and we will free you".

"They are offering the same choice to-day in defence of the same interest," he said. "They did not get informers then and they are not going to get them now."

Patrick Tierney first crossed the Border into the 26 Counties after the attack on Brookeborough

TRIBUNAL JUDGES

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

The new members are Col. James H. Byrne, Lt.-Col. Joseph Adams and Lt.-Col. William Rea, with Col. J. V. Joyce and Col. Frank Bennett as continuing members.

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 in the dock.

Barracks in his native Co. Fermanagh. Seán Sabbat and Fearghal Ó h-Annluain were killed in that encounter and with four wounded comrades Patrick Tierney was arrested.

He was jailed then for not answering questions and was later removed to the Curragh Concentration Camp. He has spent almost four of the five years intervening since Brookeborough in jail in the 26 Counties because he remained faithful to his people in Occupied Ireland.

SIX MONTHS

On December 15 Seamus Mac Collum of Liverpool was jailed for six months by the Military Court for refusing to answer questions while held prisoner in the Bridewell, Dublin.

He said he could not recognise the validity of the proceedings. "No Irishman should be invited to become an informer," he added.

DUBLIN MEN

On December 7 and 8 sentences of four months and six months imprisonment were imposed on ten men arrested in their homes in Dublin. All refused to recognise the Military Court.

The only charges against them were refusing to give information when interrogated in the Bridewell. All were asked to account for their movements over the week-ends November 11-12 and November 25-26. Three of them—Thomas Mac Giolla, Hugh Hutchinson and one other—were in Galway at the Loughane memorial unveiling on that day, and the police knew that.

Two of them—both married men—have since lost their jobs, which was probably one reason for their arrest anyhow.

Armoured Vehicle After Ambush



Photo shows the British Crown Forces vehicle wrecked by a land mine at Culloville in South Armagh on November 26.

FOREIGN

DICTATION

John Mulvihill of Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim, and Nicholas Swanton of Marian Park, Blackrock, Cork, were jailed for four months each by the Military Court on December 29.

They were arrested when Gardai raided John Mulvihill's home at 1 a.m. on December 18. Charges against them were refusing to answer questions and give information while prisoners in Ballinamore barracks. Both men refused to recognise the court.

John Mulvihill was stated to have told his interrogators: "The police keep me and my house under observation day and night. They will answer that question." He told the court that the whole case was a police trick to drag him away from his home and business and to get him away from the Border area.

"It is worse that a group of Irishmen at the dictation of a foreign Queen should send us to prison in the interests of her Crown Forces in occupation of our country," he said.

"I shall be proud to serve any sentence imposed on me because I know I shall be doing it on my conscience in the cause of Irish Freedom."

Nicholas Swanton said he owed no allegiance to any Free State or Stormont Government.

A native of Athes, West Limerick, John Mulvihill was imprisoned in the Curragh Concentration Camp in the 1940s.