

# ALARM GROWS AT PACE OF FOREIGN TAKEOVER

## WEALTH OF IRELAND IS SOLD AS DELIBERATE POLICY

FOR some years past, a quiet takeover campaign, backed by both governments in Ireland, has been under way. Its final objective appears to be to put the lands and industries of Ireland completely into the hands of foreigners. During last year, the tempo of the takeover grew apace and many native farmers and industrialists are becoming increasingly alarmed.

However, this developing situation spells so much danger for all the Irish people that if they do nothing positive to put an end to it in the near future, by the close of this decade the majority of them will be only "hewers of wood and drawers of water" in their own country.

Let us take a quick glance at the land situation. Speaking in Leinster House recently, Mr. O Mórán, 26-County Minister for Lands, said that a total of 18,008 acres of Irish land had been bought by foreigners from August 1961 to May 1963. He said that before that period land sales to foreigners were 5,000 to 6,000 acres annually and that the picture was still somewhat similar.

### STAMP DUTY EVADED

Mr. O Mórán based his estimates on the records of stamp duty paid on the purchase of land. However, an article in the "Farmers' Journal" of December 7 last states that in the vast majority of cases, the stamp duty is evaded and that double the Minister's figure is far short of the annual sale of Irish land to foreigners. The relevant section of the article states:

"I drove down to Cork and back with a German and on the way he bought two farms for a total of £55,000. Another 'visitor' who came this way this year bought 14 farms in seven days. Personally, I have sold £130,000 worth of land to Germans alone in the past 18 months and little or none of it has involved the 25 per cent. duty'. My informant was Daniel Sullivan an Irish property negotiator who has spent the past 18 months working close to an agency which specialises in what he describes as 'selling Ireland to the New Invaders'.

### ONE AGENCY SOLD 20,000 ACRES

He suggests that the figures available to the Minister for Lands—based on duty paid—bear no relation to reality. The agency with which he was associated here has sold 20,000 acres to Germans since the summer of 1962, he claims, and it is only one of three German-operated agencies in the country which is specialising in this

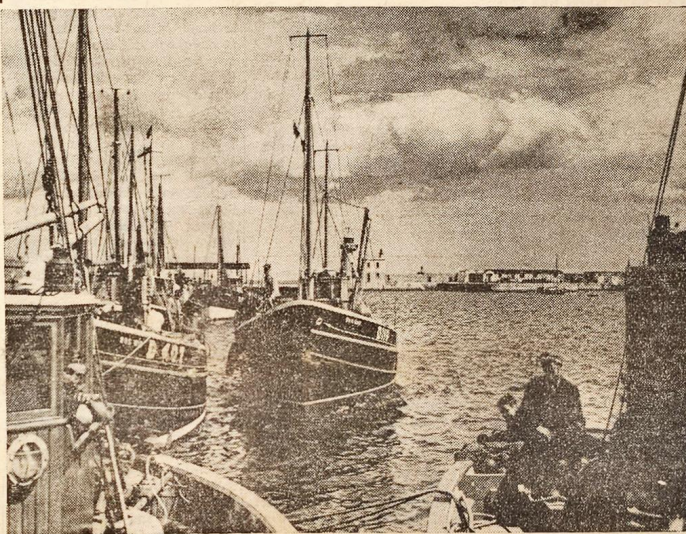
type of business. In addition there is the big scale dealing carried on by several of our own leading auctioneering firms and by Irish groups who have set up as land agencies to sell to Germans, Dutch, Americans and others.

The Minister for Lands said recently that the rate of sales to aliens was between 5,000 and 6,000 acres per year; NFA went a step further by suggesting that it was at least double the Minister's figure and possibly as high as 10,000. My experience suggests that both are wildly short of the real picture".

And now, let us glance at the industries. As Mr. Lemass's plan to push our native underdeveloped industries into the free trade or laissez faire zone pro-

(To Page 12)

## Enterprising Irish Fishermen Show the Way



A quiet scene as Irish fishing vessels lie at anchor in Howth Harbour. Since the National Fishermen's Co-op. took over An Bord Iascaigh Mhara's stand in the Dublin Fish Market early in December, they have made tremendous strides in organising a nationwide fish marketing system. See full story on page 12.

## R.U.C. Will Be Charged With Assault

AS we go to press, we have received a report that Nelson Hyndman, Carnkenny, Ardstraw, Co. Tyrone, has issued summonses against five members of the R.U.C. alleging assault (see story on page three).

The summonses have been issued under Section 42 of the Offences Against the Person Act. The R.U.C. men named as defendants are: Sergeant Roger Holland, Constables F. N. Beacom, Francis A. Boyd, David Rodgers and a "B" Special William J. Scott.

It is understood that among several witnesses to be called on Nelson Hyndman's behalf are his mother and two doctors.

## New British Commander for Six Counties

Brigadier P. W. P. Green has been appointed Chief of Staff of British Occupation Forces in the Six Counties. He will be stationed at their Headquarters at Lisburn, Co. Antrim.

## LAST FOUR PRISONERS RELEASED

THE remaining four Republican prisoners in Belfast Jail were unconditionally released on December 16. Each was serving a sentence of 14 years penal servitude and the last was not due for release until July, 1969.

The four men are Denis Foley, Tralee, Co. Kerry, Kevin Mallon, Coalsland, Co. Tyrone, Patrick Traynor, Tydavnet, Co. Monaghan and Don McPhillips, Ballycairn, Aghalee, Co. Antrim.

It is the first time in almost 10 years that no Republican Prisoners have been in Belfast Jail. These last releases came at a time when public opinion among Irish people at home and abroad was clamouring for their freedom. This widespread demand had been organised and spearheaded in Ireland, England and America by branches of the Republican Movement.

All those who participated in this campaign deserve the highest praise for their efforts.



Séin Sabhat as Luimneach a fuair bás ar son na hÉireann, Eanáir 1, 1957.



## Letters to the Editor

### SOUTH AFRICAN APARTHEID DEFENDED

Dear Sir,

In your issue of October 1963 on page one you mention that the 26-County delegate backed African tyranny when he voted against a motion to expel South Africa from a tourist conference. The inference is that there is tyranny in South Africa but not in the Black States.

I do not expect you to publish this letter but at least some facts will interest you. Firstly, tourism has nothing to do with politics or tyranny. Secondly, the same mania seems to have got you as it has so many others who publish rubbish and nonsense about events in Africa.

In South Africa the opposition parties have greater freedom of expression politically than they have in Ireland or elsewhere. In the Black territories the various ethnic groups, each in his own area, are taught in their own language and their own culture is encouraged even as far as university colleges in the Sotho, Zulu and Zhosas areas. In such territories the Black has a vote to elect his own local government and in the Transkei has recently voted. More is done to encourage the language and culture of each group and develop them as nations than what is done in Ireland, England, France, Sweden or elsewhere. In these, except part of Ireland, as you know, the small nations' cultures are suppressed or discouraged in every way.

In South Africa as a whole Black or Bantu taxation yields £4.4 million. On Bantu education (in mother tongue) £8.5 million are spent. The balance and all the money for other social services comes out of the White man's pocket. Up to 1960, £40 million has been spent on Bantu housing. Bantu factory operatives earn from £25-£40 per month, specialised workers £80-£100, policemen up to £55 and school teachers up to £65. Cray-fish fishermen make from £40 to £80. (Irish fishermen's mouths would water at this).

Ephraim Tshabola who started 12 years ago with £17 in his pocket now owns a big store, a

restaurant, a hairdressing establishment, a chemist shop, three butcher shops, a garage and a cinema. No wonder South Africa has to spend £2 million per year in keeping foreign Blacks from streaming into the country from so-called freedom areas. Compare this with Ghana where Dr. Nkrumah has his opposition political leaders in jail, where his and Mboya's so-called "African personality" is given free reign and where in 1960 Ghana female children were sold as slaves to negroes in Dohomy some to be used for human sacrifice and others for cannibalistic rites. In the Congo human flesh of prisoners was sold in market places and some Irishmen were also eaten up.

Do you really prefer the conditions in these Black states where nothing but an oppressive tyranny exists and the most horrible atrocities have been committed?

Johannesburg,  
S. Africa.

T. B. Flood

#### The Only Architect

THE revolutionary Leveller is your only architect. Therefore take courage, all you that Jacobins be, and stand upon your rights, and do your appointed work with all your strength, let the canting fed classes rave and shriek as they will—where you see a respectable, fair-spoken Lie sitting in high places, feeding itself fat on human sacrifices—down with it, strip it naked and pitch it to the demons: Wherever you see a greedy tyranny (constitutional or other) grinding the faces of the poor, join battle with it on the spot—conspire, confederate, and combine against it, resting never till the huge mischief come down, though the whole "structure of society" come down along with it.

JOHN MITCHEL.

### The Easter Lily. Republican Stand Questioned

A Chara,

I read and enjoy your paper each month and am in sympathy with many of the sentiments expressed in it. However, there is one issue to which you frequently refer and I consider the impression given as basically deceptive, i.e. the selling of Easter Lilies.

I am sure you will grant me that the sale of these Lilies would come under the heading of a "flag-collection" just as—please excuse the deliberate extreme comparison—the British Legion's "Poppies." Because of this a permit is required to sell publicly—not for political motives as implied by you—but to limit the number of flag days at any particular time. Were it not for this permit I do not think you could walk the streets of our cities in peace at weekends.

I wish to emphasise that your agents are arrested for failure to have such permission—not for political reasons. If this permission were sought I have no doubt but it would be readily granted—I know of no case where it was refused without reasonable grounds. Also, and I am bearing in mind the Republican attitude to the 26-County regime, I see no reason why you should not ask for this permission and sell your Lilies in peace.

In your efforts to create "martyrs," the absurd situation has arisen that all decent Irish Republicans are denied a chance to honour our glorious dead as they should each Easter, because the Lilies are not available. I hope that in your truly democratic spirit, you will publish this letter, and I would like to hear other opinions on this matter. To ignore the above view can only result in a loss of face.

Nollaig O Gealbra

Corcaigh.

A reply to above and a clarification of the Republican attitude on the Easter Lily issue appears elsewhere in this issue.—Editor.

### Midleton Welcomes Lily Prisoners

A large crowd attended a public meeting in Midleton, Co. Cork, recently to welcome home two Republicans from the area who had completed sentences in Limerick Jail for selling Easter Lilies.

The released men are J. J. Joyce and Donal Buckley. Ruaidhri O Drisceoil, Corcaigh, officially welcomed them home and the two ex-prisoners also spoke. Denis O'Connor, Midleton, presided and Cathal O Rónáin was also present on the platform.

### The Erne Cafe

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## SOME VIEWS ON THE POLICE STATE

A Chara,

During the past month or so there has appeared in our Sunday papers a series of letters from anonymous persons in the North, bewailing the (supposed) fact that they are forgotten by the people residing in "Free Ireland."

The following is the text of a letter of retort which I sent to the Sunday papers in question, but which was not published—presumably because, to them, the truth is a little too bitter when it happens to deal with the reclamation of the fourth green field."

"It was with a mixture of surprise and irritation that I perused 'Forgotten Northerner's' views. There is certainly no foundation for the supposition that Northern Nationalists are being left out in the cold by the rest of the country and its people. The past few months have witnessed a series of events which amply negate this. Never has there been as many attempts at 'hands across the border' co-operation schemes as in the past decade.

Unless a severe clamp-down on press reports in the North has been put into action, all those forgotten Northerners must have heard some rumours about Mr. Lemass's thought-provoking speeches on Partition. Perhaps this Northerner did not feel so forgotten when groups of his patriotic brethren in the Repub-

lic paid an occasional armed visit to the North to pay their respects to the Royal Ulster Parasites—arch-exponents of ostracism in all its hideous aspects!

True, Orange and Green talks have not borne any fruit—yet. In these occasional get-togethers may lie the embryo of what could yet be a fragrant bloom. To me, if not to 'Forgotten Northerner,' the Nationalist M.P.s in the North are altruists in the real sense of the word. As a party they have not much of a future, and the motto inscribed on their political wagon could well be the combination of 'Hope springs eternal' and 'Northerners, you are not forgotten.'

Any attempt at reunification, whatever form it may take, must be fully supported by all who stand for democracy and liberty as understood by Irish Nationalists, and not that spurious imitation expounded by the British Government. It is an incontrovertible fact that the tide of cross-border dissension is really turning. The day may not be too far distant when Unionist overlords in the only police-state this side of the iron curtain will have every reason to raise supplicating arms to their arch-god 'Gerry Mander.' God speed the day!

Patrick J. Hyland

Cloughjordan,  
Co. Tipperary.

### 'Shell Guide' British Produced

A Chara,

According to recent reports in Irish newspapers our Department of Education has decided to form a reference library of 16 books of reference in each of the 5,000 National Schools throughout the country, and is to start with 'The Shell Guide to Ireland' brought out by the Irish Shell and B.P. Company, Dublin.

It will interest readers to know that the book, as set out in it, was produced completely—paper, printing, binding—outside Ireland. This sounds very strange in view of the very high workmanship and quality of a large number of our Irish printing houses and the oft-repeated advice of our Government and its Ministers to buy Irish and help to stem our greatest problem—emigration.

Let us hope that the same mistake will not be made in respect of the other 15 books, and that some of the quite apparent inaccuracies in the 'Shell Guide' will be set right in the 5,000 copies to be supplied by the Government to our National Schools.

The 'Guide' costs 45/- and even if the Department of Education secures the 5,000 copies at 30/- each, it means that £7,500 will be spent outside the country. This could be kept at home and would give much-needed employment.

Eireannach

Ath Cliath.

### Donegal

#### Sinn Féin A.G.M.

South West Donegal Sinn Féin Comhairle Ceantair held its annual general meeting recently. Delegates from all cumainn in the area were represented. A resolution was passed calling for the immediate release of the remaining Republican prisoners in Belfast Jail.

The officer-board for the coming year is as follows:

Cathaoirleach: S. Mac Ruairi, Co.C. Leas-Cathaoirleach: D. O Siorán. Cisteoiri: Seamus O Baoghill agus Eamon O Muineacháin. Rúnaí: Seán O hEinne.

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# FOREIGN TAKEOVER OF INDUSTRIES

## A Comparison With Other Nations Exposes This Suicidal Policy

THE TIMES REVIEW OF INDUSTRY JANUARY 1963 (The Republic of Ireland)

15

By Earnan Ua Curnain

THE President of Sinn Féin at the last Ard-Fheis made a passing reference to the mild boom at present permitted by our financial overlords in the 26 Counties, as a reward for the Dublin Government's obedience in knocking down the tariff walls that enabled native Irish industries to be built up from scratch.

The permitted boom is also a reward for ending the 26-County law that insisted that at least 51% of the shares of any Irish company must be held by Irish shareholders. That minimum salutary enactment was washed away by the 1958 Industrial Development Act, as the President pointed out in his address.

### CANADA IMPOSES PENAL TAX

What a contrast is provided by two countries in which shareholding in their native industries by foreigners is a very touchy issue. The French Finance Minister, M. Giscard d'Estaing, is determined that the flow of American and other foreign capital investment into French industry will be restricted and controlled, and is pressing the Finance Ministers of France's Common Market partners to take similar action, "to prevent the Common Market being diluted by Anglo-Saxon encroachments."

In Canada, the matter was a general election issue; and a penal tax is imposed on all dividends leaving Canada for American and other foreign shareholders in Canadian companies.

### PROFITS ARE LEAVING IRELAND

The financial columns of the three Dublin dailies in recent weeks have referred, jubilantly, to the big demand on the Dublin Stock Exchange by foreign investors, mostly British, for Irish equities. Take-over bids by foreign companies, or by holding

companies with Irish titles acting for them, have been a feature of 1963.

Looked at in conjunction with the Dublin Government's shameless efforts to induce foreigners to start industries here at the expense of the 26-County taxpayers, it is obvious that it is only a matter of time before the mass of the Irish workers will become a proletariat working for foreign masters.

And because there is no independent Irish currency with a rate of exchange operating with other currencies, the profits their foreign masters make can be taken completely out of Ireland. The American owned companies that make profits in France and wish to transfer them to the U.S. have first to find someone in France who will exchange dollars for the francs, an unavoidable transaction whereby the francs remain in France, to be operative for useful work.

### THE SPENDING SPREE

In the case of the helpless and naked Irish economy the foreign speculators can, by the aid of a lunatic law passed in Leinster House, demand from the Central Bank of Ireland (moryah!) that their Irish profits be changed, at par, into sterling!

Any export profits the foreign speculators may have made out of their Irish workers will of course have been paid in sterling, since the "Irish" pound has literally no existence for foreign buyers of Irish goods. The operative cause of the present mild boom in the 26 Counties is of course the spending of the recent loan of £25 million plus the spending of the £41 million raised by Exchequer Bills at the same time as the floating of the Loan — all got by the creation of Debt. In addition, there is the spending of such of their own

### R.U.C. Brutality Condemned

MR. PATRICK GORMLEY, "Nationalist", in Stormont recently called for a thorough investigation into allegations that a man was badly beaten and suffered a fracture of the jaw at the hands of the R.U.C. while being questioned in Newtown-stewart, Co. Tyrone, police barracks on October 30 last.

Mr. William Craig, Six-County Minister for Home Affairs, said he was aware of allegations that

a person was subjected to physical assault in Newtown-stewart police barracks on the date mentioned, though these allegations did not include one to the effect that his jaw was fractured. Preliminary enquiries, moreover, would indicate that this particular injury was not, in fact, sustained. The Minister added that the circumstances of the occurrence were at present being fully investigated by the Inspector General of the R.U.C.

Mr. Gormley then asked if the Minister did not agree that it was a very alarming situation to find that a person could be so brutally treated in any police barracks. In fact, this man was in the barracks all night. He reminded the Minister that an X-ray photograph existed which showed a fracture of the jaw and the injury was got in the barracks. A doctor visited the man in the barracks and saw his injuries.

### Join

### Cumann na mBan

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These and hundreds of other British firms, big and small, have had many successful years in Ireland.

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For further information on what Ireland can offer your industry, please contact the Industrial Development Authority representative, Mr. Gerard MacCarthy, at the Irish Embassy, 17 Grosvenor Place, London, S.W.1. (BELGRAVIA 2171)

Or write for two informative booklets to:

THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY OF IRELAND

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money in building the new factories, and equipping them, as the foreign speculators cannot avoid. They have to spend some money to qualify for the two-thirds non-repayable cash grants they get from the Ministry of Finance, now busy dishing out the £29½ millions raised by Debt.

### POVERTY AMIDST PLENTY

Much of that money flows out as wages and salaries and thereby helps to take goods out of the Irish shops, without having, for the time being, caused a flow of fresh goods onto the Irish market in competition with those already seeking buyers. The "crunch" will come later when the goods from the new factories pour on to the Irish market. The Dublin Government has long since given up the pretence that the new factories are confined to foreign markets.

Not even the Roy Thompson multi-millionaire organisation

now setting up huge new printing works near Dublin will be confined to export markets, although the native Irish printing firms have long since found the home market too small to use all their potential output.

This deficiency is, of course, a direct outcome of the regime of poverty amidst plenty inflicted on us by the Bank of England's "Sound Finance". Those of us who buy books would buy ten times more if we had the purchasing power!

It is worth remembering that the most of the National Loans are fresh creations of new money by the banks. When an Insurance Corporation buys £1 million of the Loan do not imagine it had that much idle cash in its safes waiting for an opportunity to invest it. Nor did it take £1 million worth of its securities and sell them on the Stock Exchange to get the cash to buy Loan Stock. If all the big corporations who bought Loan Stock did that there would be an almighty crash on the Dublin

Stock Exchange! They just pledged their securities with a bank for the sum they wanted, and got it at an interest rate less than that of the Loan. They gain by the difference between the interest they pay the bank and the interest they get on the Loan; and the bank is happy because it helped a member of the "public" to subscribe. See page 123 of Dr. O'Rahilly's book "Money".

One wonders how many Fianna Fáil supporters are aware of the elementary truths outlined above.

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# STEP BY STEP

## CHAPTER ONE

### From The Republic Back Into The Empire or The Evolution Of Eamonn de Valera

BY Decree No. 5, First Session, 1920, Dáil Éireann enacted that Courts of Law and Equity and Criminal Jurisdiction should be established.

It was the duty of the late Austin Stack, the Minister for Home Affairs of the Republic, to establish the Courts. He appointed four barristers to be judges of the Supreme Court. It was part of the contract that they should give up their practice as barristers, and they gave it up. Their appointment dated from August 15, 1920, and they were appointed for life.

It was further stipulated that they could not be removed from office except by a Decree of An Dáil passed by a two-third majority and for cause assigned. Their salary was £750 a year. They were offered £1,000, but it was not for money they accepted the position—a dangerous position at that time—but to help the cause, and they told Mr. Stack that they preferred the smaller salary until the position of the Republic was made secure.

#### WORKING OF THE COURTS

The Fianna Fáil Government is now paying £4,000 a year to one Free State Judge; £3,000 each to three others, and £2,500 each to five others. There are besides eight Circuit Judges at £1,700 a year each, and twenty-seven District Justices at salaries of £1,000 to £1,200 each.

The four Republican Judges so appointed set to work at once. There were also District Courts and Parish Courts whose Judges were not lawyers and who were not paid. The District Courts and Parish Courts held their sittings only occasionally, and their Judges were able to follow their ordinary occupations as

County Councillors and District Councillors do.

The Judges of the Supreme Court tried all the appeals, and also went on Circuit. Each of the four took a separate Circuit area. He presided at the District Courts of that area, and the local Judges sat with him as his colleagues. They had the same right as he in deciding questions of fact. The questions of law were left to him.

#### THE OPENING ATTACK

During two years, from August, 1920, to August, 1922, nearly the whole judicial business of the country was done in the Republican Courts. Dáil Éireann voted the salaries of the four Judges and the other necessary expenses. The Registrar who accompanied each of the four on Circuit was paid the same salary as the Judge himself, because a competent person could not be got to do the work for less.

The civil war began on June 28, 1922, with the attack on the Four Courts. Mr. de Valera's party decided to test, in the Supreme Court, the legality of that attack. One of the prisoners captured was Mr. George Plunkett; and his father, Count Plunkett, applied for a Writ of Habeas Corpus for his release. On July 19, 1922, Mr. M. Comyn, K.C. (instructed by Mr. Sean O'Huadhghaigh, solicitor), came to my house to make the application which was grounded on an affidavit sworn by Count Plunkett. I fixed the hearing for July 26, 1922, and directed notice to be served on the Minister for Defence of the Republic (R. Mulcahy) and the Governor of Mountjoy Prison (Colum O'Murchadha). I also wrote to the other three Judges asking them to attend the hearing.

Arthur Griffith was, at that time, the President of the Republic. His Cabinet colleagues were Michael Collins, E. J. Duggan, G. Gavan Duffy, W. T. Cosgrave, R. Mulcahy, etc. They spent a week considering what to do in the case of George Plunkett. Finally, they decided to suppress the Court. That decision was taken on the night of July 25, 1922 (the case was to be tried the following morning). Mr. Gavan Duffy protested against their criminal action, and immediately resigned from the Cabinet.

At 10.30 o'clock that night, a letter addressed to "Mr. Justice



AUSTIN STACK  
Minister for Home Affairs in the First Dáil. He established the Republican Courts.

Crowley" was brought to my house. It contained the following document:—

#### DÁIL ÉIREANN

"The Aire Um Gnóthaí Dúitheche (Minister for Home Affairs) with the concurrence of the Cabinet of Dáil Éireann hereby decrees that the decree of the Aire Um Gnóthaí Dúitheche purporting to establish Courts of Law and Equity and Criminal Jurisdiction as part of the Government of the Irish Republic, be, and the same is, hereby rescinded and declared to be of no effect as from this date save to the extent to which the said Decree was or may have been effective to establish Parish Courts and District Courts outside the City of Dublin.

"Dated this 25th day of July, 1922."  
"E. S. DUGGAIN,  
"Aire Um Gnóthaí Dúitheche."

Mr. Duggan, who signed that document, was the successor of Austin Stack as Minister for Home Affairs of the Republic. The following morning I read that document in Court, and de-

clared that it had no validity. The question had been already decided two months previously by the full Court of four Judges, and decided unanimously. On that occasion, Counsel produced a letter written by the Minister for Home Affairs purporting to interfere with the jurisdiction of one of the District Courts. Judge Meredith, who presided, in giving the unanimous decision of the Court, declared that no power on earth except Dáil Éireann had any right to interfere with the jurisdiction of any Republican Court then in existence.

Nine days later, Mr. Comyn, K.C. (who was standing Counsel for Mr. de Valera's party), appeared before me with an affidavit sworn by Mrs. Clarke, T.D. It was an application for a Mandamus, directed to the Speaker of Dáil Éireann, to summon a meeting of the Dáil so that the body (the Republican Legislature) might be in a position to take steps to suppress the rebellion against the Republic.

#### WAYLAIN IN O'CONNELL STREET

I fixed the hearing for August 11, 1922, and notice was served on the Speaker of the Dáil, Eoin MacNeill. He allowed the case to go by default. At the sitting of the Court on August 11, Judge Clery presided. Judge Meredith and Judge Davitt did not attend, but sent me letters in which they denied that the Cabinet had any right to interfere with the Court. There being no defence to Mrs. Clarke's application, the Court granted the Mandamus, and the Order was signed by Judge Clery. At the same sitting, a Habeas Corpus Order was granted for the release of Mr. Sean T. O'Kelly, T.D., from Kilmainham Prison.

For having declared Mr. Duggan's "decree" of July 25, 1922 (suppressing the Courts) invalid, I was waylaid in O'Connell Street on the night of August 31, 1922, by two gunmen, and locked up in Wellington Barracks for ten days. After that, the public were afraid to take any business to the Republican Courts.

#### MEETING OF THE SECOND DAIL

Up to July 31, 1922, the four Judges were paid their salaries by the Finance Minister of Dáil Éireann (M. Collins). Judge Davitt then accepted a position at £1,200 a year under the Provisional Government, and his contract with the Republic came to an end.

When Arthur Griffith and

Michael Collins died in August, 1922, their surviving colleagues treated Mr. Cosgrave as their party leader. The Provisional Parliament met on September 9, 1922. Mr. Cosgrave then declared that the Republican Government no longer existed, and that the Provisional Government alone was entitled to govern the 26 Counties.

The Provisional Parliament also claimed to be the Third Dáil Éireann. It claimed to be entitled to the Funds and other assets of the Republic, and liable to pay the Republican debts. Accordingly, the Provisional Government paid Judge Meredith every month the salary due to him under his contract with the Republic until he was appointed a 'Free State' Judge. Judge Clery and I were paid nothing. We declined to recognise that the Provisional Government had any lawful title to rule.

All this time the civil war was going on. On one side was the Army of His Majesty's Provisional Government. It was a hired army consisting of deserters from the Army of the Republic, ex-soldiers of the British Army, and new recruits. On the other side was the unpaid Army of the Republic, defending with their lives the Republican institution established by Dáil Éireann, and Dáil Éireann itself.

On October 25, 1922, a meeting of members of Dáil Éireann (the second Dáil) was held at Dublin, and Mr. de Valera was appointed President of the Republic. Mr. Rutledge was appointed Minister for Home Affairs. Other Ministers were also appointed.

#### PROCLAMATIONS NEVER WITHDRAWN

Messrs. de Valera and Rutledge published, over their joint names, two Proclamations declaring (1) that the "Treaty" was null and void; (2) that the Provisional "Government" was an illegal body; (3) that the Courts established, or functioning under, that "Government" were illegal bodies and ought to be suppressed by the Republican Army; (4) that the Republican Courts were the only lawful Courts; and (5) that any lawyer who accepted a judgeship in any of His Majesty's Free State Courts, or who practised his profession in them as a barrister or solicitor, would be treated as an "enemy of the Republic." Those Proclamations were never withdrawn while Messrs. de Valera and Rutledge remained members of the Republican (Second) Dáil up to the summer of 1927.

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## U.N. CONDEMNS SOUTH AFRICA'S O.A.S.A.

### 26-County Government Silent

THE United Nations has condemned South Africa for the prosecution in Criminal Courts of political opponents of the Government. The prosecutions have been conducted under laws drawn on the basis of the 26-County Government's "Offences Against the State Act".

The 26-County Constitution. Legal experts in Constitutional Law have severely criticised the Offences Against the State Act and it has been compared to South Africa's Apartheid Laws.

This Act, despite severe criticism, has been continually used by the 26-County Government. As a result, 26-County politicians have been placed in a position where they have been unable to criticise similar laws in the Six Counties where Stormont officials have ruthlessly jailed and executed many Irishmen. Six-County officials have on numerous occasions pointed out that they are doing no more than what is being done in the 26 Counties to the south.

The suppression of civil liberties in both statelets in Ireland in this day and age stands in contrast to the emergence of civil liberties throughout the World in the last thirty years. It would seem that only Ireland and South Africa are out of step with the rest of the Free World. Recent developments in South Africa gave rise to an article in the *New York Times* on October 11 last which pointed out in an item on civil rights in South Africa:

"The defendants were held in solitary confinement for 88 days under a new law that provides that political suspects may be detained 'for interrogation' without warrant. The suspects were beyond the reach of the Courts, their lawyers or their churches until two days ago, when they were told they would be tried".

Such happenings are old news in Ireland.

The suppression of civil liberties is a symptom of disease in any political state. The history of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia clearly discloses that those who are moved by dictatorial philosophy, fear the freedom of expression of their fellow-countrymen and resort, in the final analysis, to legislation such as the Offences Against the

## Kilkenny Speaker Backs Small Farmers

"FOR a number of years the small farmers have been made the scapegoats of people trying to further their own interests. It is good to see that the farmers are prepared to fight against the rate increase and I hope they will continue to fight until they win their case, and that they will not yield to false promises."

This statement was made by Alphonsus Ryan, when he delivered the oration at the Manchester Martyrs commemoration at Hugginstown, Co. Kilkenny, on November 15 last. A torch-light procession was led by two torch-bearers and the Barrack Street, Waterford brass band. The ceremonies opened with a decade of the Rosary, recited in Irish.

Mr. Ryan said there was no use coming to honour the memory of the Manchester Martyrs, unless they were prepared to bring to fruition, the cause for which those young men gave their lives.

Allen, Larkin and O'Brien were members of the Fenian Movement, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and although they did not secure the freedom of

Ireland, they did ensure the continuation of the fight.

"That fight," he said, "was taken up by young men of succeeding generations, and it is a sad thing to say that almost 100 years after, our country does not enjoy the freedom for which the Manchester Martyrs died."

"There has been a great deal of use and abuse of that word, 'freedom' over the past few months, by politicians, diplomats and the heads of foreign states. Looking at the set-up in Ireland to-day the word 'freedom' is merely bluff."

"Apart from six of our counties being under British rule, the British Government still has

From a  
**SPECIAL  
CORRESPONDENT**  
in New York

Under the South African Offences Act, political opponents can be detained and imprisoned indefinitely without charges being laid or a trial held. The same conditions have existed in Ireland for many years.

The resolution of the United Nations Special Political Committee was passed on October 11 last by a vote of 106 to 1. The United Nations Resolution demanded that the South African Government "grant unconditional release to all political prisoners and to all persons imprisoned, interned or subjected to other restrictions for having opposed the policy of Apartheid." A similar resolution was passed by the United Nations Security Council earlier.

The action of the United Nations followed a clear policy of international condemnation of legislation such as the Offences Against the State Act which has plagued Irishmen since 1939 when it was first enacted.

The Act permits the suspension of civil liberties in the 26 Counties and provides for imprisonment without a trial. Hundreds of Irishmen have been imprisoned and their families impoverished as a result of the Government's use of the provisions of the Act.

Many have been executed without the benefit of a trial before a Court and Jury as required by



Alphonsus Ryan speaking at the Manchester Martyrs Commemoration in Hugginstown, Co. Kilkenny. On his left is Liam Murphy who presided.

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Editors,

All Newspapers, Ireland.

Serial No.—

In the event of your being asked to publish a statement signed by various members of the North-East Ward Branch Sinn Féin Club, Cork, in which an attack on the Club premises was made by the Royal Irish Constabulary on November 22nd, you are informed this statement cannot be published.

DECIES,

Press Censor,

Ireland.

Press Censor's Office,  
85 Grafton Street  
Dublin,  
5th December, 1917.

This is a document issued to all newspaper editors in Ireland by the official British censor in 1917. As the reader can see, it is an effort to keep the public in ignorance about a wanton act on the part of the R.I.C. There is no official censorship of newspapers or other communication media in modern Ireland but "unofficial" censorship appears to be just as effective as the more blatant method used by the British.

## Clan na Gael Convention

CLAN na Gael held its national convention in Philadelphia recently, and elected officers to serve for 1964.

It was the largest convention of the organisation in more than twenty years.

Delegates represented San Francisco, Chicago, Toronto, Buffalo, Poughkeepsie, Baltimore, New York, and Philadelphia.

Four emissaries from the Elizabeth-Bayonne area were received following the convention to register their application for a camp of Clan na Gael in the New Jersey area. Correspondence was received from Boston, Los Angeles, Pittsburgh and Cleveland voting approval of the assembly.

A new nine-man Executive was elected which includes National Chairman, National Secretary, and National Treasurer.

### Bailiú Stampal

Is iriseoir Herr Siegfried Muller, Romerstrasse 26A Bregenz, An Ostair, agus tá an-aim aige in Eirinn. Bailiúnn sé stampal agus is mian leis aithne a chur ar bhaillitheoir stampal in Eirinn chun stampal a mhalartú.

economic control over the affairs of the 26 Counties. The leader of the Leinster House Government, Mr. Lemass, admitted a short time ago that we have not yet achieved economic freedom but he did not have the courage to refer to British control.

"The policy of increased taxation now being pursued by Fianna Fáil," he said, "will eventually lead to inflation, and certain sections of the community might enjoy a higher standard of living, but the majority will not."

Concluding, he called for a complete re-examination of the whole political set-up in Ireland. The Republican movement was the only one that was working for the cause for which Allen, Larkin and O'Brien died, the same cause for which Pearse, Connolly, Lynch, Sabhat and O'Hanlon died.

Richard Behal, Kilmacow, also spoke briefly and Liam Murphy, Hugginstown, presided.

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## NFA 'Macra Condemn Land Sales to Foreigners

**S**ALES of "large tracts of Irish land to non-nationals" at a time when there is not enough land to meet requirements of Irish citizens were outrightly condemned by both Macra na Feirme and the National Farmers' Association in a joint report submitted recently to Mr. Lemass and Mr. O'Móráin, 26-County Minister for Lands.

The report constitutes the findings and recommendations of the Joint NFA/Macra na Feirme Small Farms Committee, which was established in the summer of 1961 to investigate the Irish farm structure problem, especially in relation to uneconomic holdings.

The report was first submitted to the National Councils of the

two organisations. Both of these held meetings and separately adopted the report with unanimity.

In outline, it contains five findings and five recommendations as follows:

1 That insufficient land is available in Ireland to meet the requirements of Irish citizens.

2 That in light of the many sales of large tracts of Irish land to non-nationals in recent years, the land of Ireland is not being preserved for the people of Ireland.

3 That the distribution of Irish land between Irish citizens is not sufficiently controlled.

4 That the present rate of transfer of farmers from uneconomic holdings to viable farms cannot solve the problem in the foreseeable future.

5 That insufficient attention is being given to structural improvements in small farm areas.

1 That legislation be enacted immediately to preserve the land of Ireland for the people of Ireland.

2 That all purchases of land be controlled, and that the following be observed: (i) To make the existing uneconomic holdings of Irish farmers into viable units;

(ii) To provide viable holdings for Irish farmers willing to give up their existing holdings in congested areas; (iii) To provide viable holdings for suitably qualified Irishmen who are at present landless.

3 That a comprehensive programme for the improvement of farm structures, particularly in small farm areas, be drawn up and implemented.

4 That the over-all amended Land Commission programme on transfer and structural improvement of holdings be greatly accelerated.

5 That the Government should plan with organised farmers the intensification of production in small farm areas so that the family income of small farmers can be raised as rapidly as possible to a socially acceptable level.

### A GEM

Dublin is one of the few cities in the British Isles with two national evening newspapers. I can think of only London and Glasgow with two. Therefore, we can count ourselves lucky here.

A "gem" from the Dublin Letter in the "Limerick Leader" of December 7.

Comhairle Ceantair Atha Cliath, Sinn Féin

## DINNÉAR BLIANTUIL POBLACHTACH

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## F.F. Spokesman on Recognition of Stormont

**M**R. LIONEL BOOTH, Fianna Fáil member of the 26-County Parliament, travelled to Belfast on December 8 and spoke to an interdenominational meeting at University Road, Belfast, Methodist Church.

He said the view in the 26 Counties was spreading that there could be no change in the political set-up unless by the free consent of the people of the North. Most people in the 26 Counties were full of admiration at the restraint shown during the I.R.A. campaign by the people of the North in the face of great provocation, said Mr. Booth, adding: "It was a very tough time for you".

Deprecating what he called, "such sneering terms" as "Six-County Government" in the 26 Counties and "Free State" by Northerners, Mr. Booth said that some progress was being made in the 26 Counties in regard to the difficult question of the recognition of the North as a political entity, and he pointed out that several Acts passed recently in Leinster House contained the words "Northern Ireland." He also disclosed that his ancestors had come to Ireland with Oliver Cromwell.

Were Mr. Booth's remarks based on official Fianna Fáil policy? If they were not, we have yet to see a public denial. Let us hope that the party that keeps such West Britons within its ranks will not have the hypocritical audacity to call itself the "Republican" party again.

### MORE IRISH WANTED ON T.E.

Cumann na Sagart, the organisation of Irish-speaking priests, has asked Telefís Éireann to increase the number of its programmes in Irish and to aim at a higher standard in future Irish programmes.

They also ask that a series for learners on the lines of the current series for learners of French be included.

## I gCuimhne

The 10.00 o'clock Mass in Adam and Eve's, Franciscan Church, Merchants' Quay, Dublin, on Sunday, January 12, 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.

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

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## Fianna Éireann Notes

### ANNUAL CONCERT

The annual concert in memory of the Four Martyrs, Rory O'Connor, Liam Mellows, Dick Barrett and Joe McKelvey was held in St. Anthony's Hall, Dublin, on Dec. 6 last. An overflow crowd enjoyed this highly successful concert. We take this opportunity to thank our patrons, and also the artistes who made the night so enjoyable.

### DUBLIN ACTIVITY

The colour party at the annual Mass for the Four Martyrs in the Pro-Cathedral on December 8 was made up of Officers from G.H.Q. and Dublin Sluaithe.

At the annual Cumann Cabhrach Sale of Work Scouts from the Dublin Sluaithe organised and ran successfully a stall in aid of the Prisoners' Dependents.

Slua Mac Aoidh-Aghas held their annual Commemoration at the Dick McKee Memorial in Finglas on Sunday Dec. 1. Mr. Jack Butler, representing Dublin Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin, laid a wreath on behalf of Fianna Éireann.

On Saturday Dec. 7 last a party of Dublin Senior Scouts held a midnight hike into the Dublin-Wicklow Mountains. Hiking from Rockbrook to Stepaside they travelled via the Featherbed Mountain, Glencree, Knockree, Ravens Rock Mountain and Glencullen. It is hoped that there will be a full attendance in future midnight hikes which have proven very enjoyable to all who

have already participated in them.

### ORGANISING

In a new move to spread the teachings of Na Fianna a Sinn Féin Cumainn throughout Ireland are being circulated seeking members and help. All provincial and daily newspapers are being circulated too.

Our Organiser has been travelling about Ireland for some months now and in this time he has met with tremendous success. However there are a lot of areas to be covered yet. If you wish to contact him, or if you can help him in any way possible, please write to Fianna Éireann, c/o P.O. Box 187, Dublin.

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Associate membership entitles a member to a badge, membership card and a copy of a quarterly bulletin. The fee for Associate Membership is 10/- per year (\$1.50 in U.S.).

## THE BROKEN WING

It is November 25, 1963, and the night after the funeral of President Kennedy. Caroline and John Jr. are in their bedroom at bed time. Caroline talks across the aisle to her mother who is alone in the sitting room of the White House:

*I've said my prayers to our fond daddy, mommy.*

*Do go and rest dear. I'll put out the light.*

*Poor John John here, has grabbed his teddy from me*

*And says he'll wait for daddy's kiss tonight.*

*But night won't bring his absent father home, dear.*

*He'll not be here to trim our Christmas tree.*

*Oh, how we thought, he'd light one up like last year.*

*But Heaven knew, our Christmas would not be.*

*Who'll romp with us at ev'ning now, my mother?*

*Or take our part if bold, we children are?*

*Who'll piggy-back with me and little brother*

*And take us out tomorrow in the car?*

*Please, let him come to us for just a minute,*

*Oh, Baby Lord. You can and do—because*

*We'd give this world and every thing that's in it*

*To see again my daddy as he was.*

*Since, mommy dear, all peoples loved our daddy;*

*And Kings and Queens so often with him walked,*

*Such love for all the whole, wide world, had he,*

*He went with God to whom he daily talked.*

*Oh, how he'd tell of Dublin, Cork, in Ireland,*

*The Wexford boys, New Ross and Limerick gay.*

*That "Misty Isle," he boasted, was his sireland*

*And loved it, as he said at Gateway Bay.*

*My prayers are said to him in heaven, mommy.*

*Ah, do go rest mom, we'll turn out the light.*

*When John John took his birthday dolly from me*

*He asked me too, why daddy's late tonight.*

*Dear Lord, Whose Mother suffered more than any,*

*Our broken wings, You'll heal them with Your Hand.*

*You'll light us through as daddy did so many,*

*And till we meet with him again and—understand.*

Westport, Mayo.

—By FR. P. F. MALONE.



# THE EASTER LILY ISSUE

## A Clarification of the Republican Stand

AS the repressive measures of the 26-County Government against the sellers of Easter Lilies grew more intensive towards the end of last year, the cry from Fianna Fáil supporters and some members of the general public, that Republicans should apply for a permit to sell the Lilies, was raised on many occasions.

Many of them are sincerely convinced that if a permit is applied for, it will be granted. They are not aware that the new 26-County Act dealing with this issue is but another Fianna Fáil gimmick in a campaign of harassment which has been implemented, at varying degrees—depending on the mood of the general public—for almost 40 years.

The Easter Lily was first introduced in 1925 as an emblem to commemorate the national rising of Easter 1916. It has been sold every Easter since. The Cosgrave government made many efforts to suppress it and clashes between Lily sellers and police became an annual event in the late '20s.

### YEARS OF CHANGE

When Fianna Fáil formed a government in 1932 they decided on a new way to suppress the Lily. They issued an emblem to Fianna Fáil cumainn at Easter. It was called the Torch and was supposed to replace the Lily to commemorate 1916. However, the rank-and-file members of the party refused to sell it, the general public refused to wear it and the Easter Lily remained as the commemorative emblem.

When the "new departure" was unsuccessful the police tactics were resumed and clashes once more become an annual event.

From the general election in 1948 there was a coalition government in the 26 Counties. They did not interfere with sellers and by the time Fianna Fáil went back into office in 1951 the general public was in no mood to tolerate repressive measures against those who sold the Easter Lily. This was even more evident when they were returned again in 1957.

However, when the resistance campaign in the Six Counties began to wane and many sympathetic supporters grew apathetic, the Fianna Fáil government, always sensitive to the mood of the people, saw its opportunity to bring more pressure to bear on Republicans.

### FIRST MOVE ON DEPENDANTS

For about 12 years before 1960 the Republican Prisoners Aid Committee was in existence. It is an independent committee with the one and only purpose of organising the collection and distribution of moneys for the upkeep of the dependants of Republican Prisoners and those who sacrificed their lives in the fight for freedom. During the years the Irish people have been most generous in their support of this organisation and consequently, the wives, parents and children of needy Republican Prisoners have been fairly well looked after.

It is as well to mention at this stage that dependants of Republican Prisoners receive

absolutely no help from the state or from any charitable organisation except the Republican Prisoners Aid Committee. Readers will now understand how important the Committee is. It is a source of consolation to every prisoner to know that those who depend on him outside are being looked after during his absence.

From its foundation until Christmas 1960, there was little, if any, interference from the 26-County government with the collection of moneys for the prisoners' dependants. This, despite the fact that the British Act of 1916 dealing with public collections, was on the Leinster House statute books.

However, from Christmas 1960 onwards collectors were summoned, moneys were seized and during 1961 approximately 150 men and women served sentences for collecting.

### NEW ACT PASSED

The following Easter the sellers of Easter Lilies were summoned and their collections seized. However, it became a constant embarrassment to the Fianna Fáil government that each time somebody was summoned, it was under a British Act of 1916. It was remembered by many of the older generation that this act was introduced to attempt to suppress the Republican Aid Committees set up after the 1916 Rising. It was an effort to stop the assistance to the dependants, thereby bringing pressure to bear on the prisoners, forcing some of them to "sign out" and in the final analysis, damaging the national movement.

To avoid any further mention of this act, Fianna Fáil passed their own act in 1962. This new legislation repeals section five of the 1916 act and cuts out any reference to it in summonses or court cases.

Since last Easter, over 100 men and women were sentenced for selling Easter Lilies. To date, 12 of them have served sentences. This action is being taken under the new 26-County Act.

### PURPOSE OF COLLECTIONS

Moneys collected from the sale of the Lilies are used for two purposes: to finance the county commemorations which are held each Easter Sunday. This includes the purchase of wreaths, the hiring of bands, loudspeaker equipment etc.; also a sum of money, set out by the National

Commemoration Committee, the central committee which organises the distribution of the Easter Lilies, is sent from each area to the committee. This committee pays for the printing of the Lilies, wrappers and posters and any profit is usually given to the Republican Prisoners Aid Committee or, as was done last year, to the fund for the organisation of the Republican election campaign in the next Westminster Elections in the Six Counties.

As stated earlier, many people are of the opinion that Republicans should apply for a permit, that they would receive it and that their present attitude is a political stunt to create "martyrs". The following facts should help to change their opinion:

### NO PERMITS FOR REPUBLICANS

Section nine, paragraph C., of the 1962 Fianna Fáil Act states that a chief superintendent shall not grant a collection permit for any collection in respect of which he is of opinion that "the proceeds of the collection or any portion thereof would be used in such a manner as to encourage, whether directly or indirectly, the commission of an unlawful act". If a permit is refused the applicant may appeal to the District Court. This section stops the possibility of Republicans ever receiving a permit from the police to sell Easter Lilies or to collect funds for the Prisoners Dependants Committee.

As stated, part of the moneys from the sale of Easter Lilies is used to organise commemorations at the graves of those who sacrificed their lives for a free Ireland. Orations are delivered over these graves and appeals are made to those in attendance to follow in the footsteps of those who are being commemorated. In a country which is not free, this is bound to lead "directly or indirectly", to "the commission of an unlawful act".

Also, the fact that the wife and children of a man in jail are kept from starvation by the funds collected by the Prisoners Committee is indirectly encouraging that man to live up to his ideal of a free Ireland and that ideal in itself is liable to lead him to "the commission of an unlawful act", because British Occupation Forces are still in his country.

In case anyone may feel that a District Justice may be more fair-minded or impartial than the police it is as well to point out here that he cannot be impartial on this issue. Section 13, subsection four of the Act ties his hands. It states:

"Without prejudice to the jurisdiction of the District Court to disallow on other grounds an appeal under this section, an appeal under this section shall be disallowed, if, on the hearing thereof, a member of the Garda

Siochána not below the rank of Inspector states on oath that he has reasonable grounds for believing that the proceeds or any portion of the proceeds of the collection to which the collection permit is subject of such appeal relates would be used:-

(a) for the benefit of an object which is unlawful or contrary to public morality or for the benefit of an organisation membership of which is unlawful, or

(b) in such a manner as to encourage either directly or indirectly the commission of any unlawful act".

Subsection 6 of the same section states: "Notwithstanding anything contained in the Courts of Justice Acts, 1924 to 1961, the decision of the District Court on an appeal under this section shall be final and unappealable". It is the opinion of Republicans that this Act is aimed primarily at stopping the sale of Easter Lilies.

For a concrete example, the following should suffice to convince anyone who is still undecided.

Under the British Act of 1916, three men were charged in Gorey, Co. Wexford, in May 1962, for selling Easter Lilies on the previous Easter Sunday. In the District Court, Justice Donagh MacDonagh asked Superintendent S. O. Colvin: "Would they have got a permit if they had applied for one?" The superintendent said they would NOT have been granted a permit for that purpose.

Also, section 15, paragraph one of the act states: "A person who has not attained the age of 14 years shall not act as a collector in a collection". Anyone who walks the streets of our cities or towns during a flag day will see children of under 14 years

collecting. No police action is taken against them.

Section 18, paragraph one, states: "A collector shall not use in and for the purposes of a collection, a collection box or other receptacle for collecting money in the collection unless there is prominently displayed on it in legible form the name of the object for the benefit of which the collection is being held". This is not always done and no police action is taken.

### NEW OFFENCES CREATED

Finally, since Mr. Charles Haughey took office as 26-County Minister for Justice there has been a rash of new legislation. The acts and bills include the Official Secrets Act, 1963; the Street and House to House Collection Act, 1962; the Local Government (Planning and Development) Act, 1963; the Firearms Bill, 1963 and the Criminal Justice Bill, 1963.

Each of these bills and acts has a direct bearing on the Republican Movement. Each creates new offences, widens existing powers or increases the penalties for existing offences. In general, they all attempt to narrow the scope of Republican activity and help Fianna Fáil government to widen the scope of its existing pressurising and gagging activities against the Republican Movement.

Mr. Haughey is one of the young, enthusiastic ministers in Fianna Fáil. He has new energy and new ideas to "deal" with Republicans. Unfortunately for himself, there were many new men before him with new ideas. They were all tried. Their failure to break the Republican Movement is self-evident.

### DREAMS

*Dreams—the very stuff that life is made from,  
Not the phantom ones that come with sleep,  
But the fiery motivating atom  
Born within the soul's unfathomed deep.*

*Dreams are but the overture to action  
And the great accompaniment to living,  
Striving for your dream is satisfaction  
Equal only to the sum of giving.*

*Look to men and women of past ages  
Study all our noble and our great,  
They who never measured dreams with gauges  
Who lived a better Ireland to create.*

*Surely, surely will the people perish  
Of a Nation where there is no vision,  
Ireland in your heart your Dreamers cherish  
'Tis dreams that pave the pathway to decision.*

*Those of you who want to serve your Ireland  
Dream—then start to make your dreams come true,  
Dream—yet know that a United Ireland  
Needs the work of You—and YOU—and You.*

Siobhan de Riscac



## Book Review

# Blessed Oliver Plunkett

TO Papal Nuncio Rinuccini, Ireland was a country where "the north-east wind always blows and the sun seldom shines". Because he sided with the Old Irish at the Confederation of Kilkenny he had to flee for his life. We are not always generous to our friends.

The Irish had "wasted in useless argument and intrigue" the short time given them for action. And as a result they could make their own the complaints of Jeremiahs. "With desolation is all the land made desolate", as the author of "Blessed Oliver Plunkett" (Clonmore and Reynolds, 25/-) so pointedly noted.

Father Emmanuel Curtis, O.C.S.O., has produced not only a well-documented work on the life and times of the martyred Primate of Armagh, but a fascinating book as well. I say this with all due caution.

I approached the book in the same frame of mind, for hagiography is not within my province as a reviewer and I doubt if it is within the province of the "United Irishman" as a newspaper. Blessed Oliver Plunkett was a great Churchman undoubtedly and an extremely courageous man. But did he think in national terms at all? His biographer makes no such claim.

\* \* \*

Herein lies the fascination of Father Curtis's book. It is a slice of Ireland's story from the 1640s to the 1680s. This was the time when as one of the rulers remarked: "Five in six of the Irish are poor, insignificant slaves, fit for nothing but to hew wood and draw water". Famine and death and war and pestilence stalked the land. The great dispersal of the people had begun.

Oliver Plunkett (1625-1681) belonged to one of the leading families of the Pale. He went to Rome in the spring of 1647 with Father Scarampi, the Papal envoy, and entered the Irish College which Father Luke Wadding had founded in 1625 (it seldom had more than eight students on the rolls for lack of endowments) and was ordained on New Year's Day, 1654. In all he spent 22 years in the Eternal City and was at the end a Roman of the Romans.

When he was unexpectedly appointed to the See of Armagh in 1669 at the age of 44, many of the Old Irish in Ulster resented it. Church affairs in Ireland were in turmoil. There were only five Catholic bishops; three were in exile and one was bedridden; the only active prelate being Plunkett of Meath, a cousin of the new Primate.

Simultaneously with Blessed Oliver's appointment the three vacant Metropolitan Sees were filled. From the time of the Restoration of Charles II, a tenuous measure of toleration was granted the Catholic Church. Yet only three years before Blessed Oliver was elevated to Armagh, his predecessor — who

had been in exile for many years before being granted permission to return — had been summarily deported because the National Synod held in Dublin (June 1666) had rejected the Remonstrance: a series of Government proposals for the running of the Catholic Church in Ireland.

\* \* \*

The new Irish Primate was consecrated in Brussels and spent almost three months in London before coming to Ireland. He stayed secretly at the Royal Palace for 10 days! The Queen was a Catholic, of course, and her chaplain, Monsignor Howard (a member of the English nobility) befriended the Irish prelate. By the secret Treaty of Dover, Charles II had promised Louis XIV he would declare publicly his conversion to Catholicism.

A couple of months earlier the arrest of Oliver Plunkett (known to be on his way to Ireland) had been ordered! Charles was on a shaky throne and the Irish were outside the pale of any British law regardless of what dynasty controlled the destinies of England or what English politicians administered her destructive policies in Ireland. Every phase of Irish history underlines this point.

Dr. Plunkett landed in Dublin in March 1679. Although Charles's sympathies may have been with the Catholics the reins of government were still held by the Puritans. Still the new Primate could travel openly and stay with his landed kinsmen and friends. He set to work immediately, held a synod in Dublin in June, dealt with abuses, set up schools.

Dr. Plunkett had no political quarrel with the English. The Dublin synod "concluded by reminding all of their obligation of praying for those in authority". The Litany was to be said before or after Sunday Mass for "our King and Queen, our Viceroy and his good government of England, Ireland and Scotland". A declaration of loyalty was also drawn up. It was to be presented to the Viceroy as the representative of Charles II.

\* \* \*

He wrote to Rome: "God knows that neither by day nor by night have I given thought to anything but the service of souls and my duties towards the Holy See. Never in thought, in word or in writing have I wasted time on political or temporal matters".

He confirmed thousands; ordained priests; preached to the people in both English and Irish. He was sharply criticised for negotiating on behalf of the Viceroy with the Tories — the dispossessed Old Irish of Ulster, many of whom had taken to the hills after Cromwell's conquest. He sought safe conducts for some of them to quit the country; they were supposed to have a choice of destination in Europe but the Government as usual

broke its word and they were transported to North America.

The persecution began again in 1673 and lasted for more than a year. The Primate suffered a great deal for he had to go into hiding.

He found shelter near Mullabawn in South Armagh. He describes his plight:

"The Catholics are so afraid of losing their property that no one with anything to lose will give succour to bishop or regular. The priests give nothing to the bishop, so that sometimes I find it difficult to procure even oaten bread. The hut in which we are is thatched with straw. When we go to bed, we can see the stars through the opening in the roof, whilst every slightest shower refreshes us. For all that, we are determined to die from hunger and cold rather than abandon our flocks".

The priests could give nothing for they depended on the people who had nothing to give; and the landed Catholic gentry was fearful of the Government.

\* \* \*

That particular storm passed but others came. It all depended on the political atmosphere. "Rome", "The Pope", "Catholic prelates" — and so forth — were emotive terms to the English and Irish Parliaments. In the end Viceroy Ormond ordered Dr. Plunkett's arrest and in December 1679 he was taken into custody. The Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Talbot, who had returned from exile to die, was also arrested. Why the sudden arrests? Ormond and the Primate were friends in a manner of speaking. The following is an extract from a letter of the Viceroy's:

"It would be an extraordinary service to the king and of great advantage to me that Oliver Plunkett, the titular Primate . . . might be apprehended".

In effect Ormond and his friends needed political, sacrificial lambs and they threw Oliver Plunkett to the Parliamentary wolves.

His subsequent sufferings are fairly well known. No group of Irish, Protestant or Catholic would condemn him so he was tried in London. He was charged with conspiracy to overthrow the king and government in order to establish the Catholic faith and uproot Protestantism. Perjured witnesses spoke of plans for French aid. The trial was a farce; the evidence a mixture of a few half-truths and many lies. Vicious underlings whom he had disciplined swore his life away.

\* \* \*

Oliver Plunkett was hanged at Tyburn on July 1, 1681. His body was quartered and his heart consigned to the flames. At another disturbed period in Irish history, on May 23, 1920, he was beatified.

The author presents his subject as a whole man. No greater

## DONEGAL REMEMBERS TONE

# Northern Presbyterian Outlines Tone's Ideals

"NATIONAL freedom is indivisible, and we are learning to our cost today that no Irishman can really be free while others remain under imperial shackles," declared Mr. Jack Bennett of Belfast when he spoke at a Wolfe Tone commemoration céilí in St. Mary's ballroom, Dunkineely, Co. Donegal, which was packed to capacity. With the exception of one or two areas, patrons were present from all over Co. Donegal, and from Strabane, Co. Tyrone.

Mr. Bennett, secretary of the Northern Directory of the Wolfe Tone Bi-Centenary, and Mr. Liam Burke, chairman, travelled from Belfast to address a crowd of several hundred at the most largely-attended national function ever in the area.

The visitors were welcomed by P. O. Gallchobhair, President of the South-West Tir Chonaill Branch of the National Graves Association. The visitors were greeted with rounds of loud applause.

Mr. Burke gave a fine rendering of Pearse's oration at the grave of O'Donovan Rossa in Irish.

## PROBLEMS IDENTICAL

Mr. Bennett said that the problems from which the people of South Donegal suffered today were the same problems as those suffered by the people of Ballyclare or Belfast—the blight of emigration, the curse of unemployment and the lack of opportunity for Irish people to work and live in their own land.

The economic problems of all parts of Ireland were largely identical. They could not be tackled separately and they were due to the same cause—the hamstringing of all national progress through the continued British control over the north-eastern area.

## IDEALS NOT OUTDATED

Despite the illusions created by a certain degree of political independence in part of our national territory, the people of the 26 Counties were learning that they were every bit as much the victims of imperial domination as were the people of the Six Counties and that there could never be any hope of real progress until the present partitionist set-up was swept away and replaced by one independent government for all the country.

Mr. Bennett said the ideals of Wolfe Tone were not out of date because his objectives had not been obtained. The plight of Ireland today — in which the poor people got the raw deal while wealthy foreigners picked the plums — was proof that Tone's message of salvation was still the only message for today.

He urged the many young men and women present not to

praise than that can be given him. The presentation is simple, always lucid, sometimes provocative. The period comes alive as he develops the theme. He is a stylist too and the book makes lively reading.—FIACHRA.

waste their time merely commemorating the name of Tone, but to use the occasion to determine anew to pursue Tone's great objective—a sovereign Irish republic, one and indivisible, with equal citizenship and equal opportunity for all.

Tone had two great precepts to offer which were still vital for the cause of national freedom today. The first was that no Irishman could be free while others remained slaves in their own country, that no Protestant could be free while Catholics remained enslaved and no Catholics could be free while Protestants were enslaved.

Today fewer and fewer Protestants in the North were remaining the mental slaves of imperialism. Hundreds were throwing off the chains of Unionist cant and humbug, but while they remained under British overlordship neither they nor the people of Donegal could really be said to be free.

## A NEW BROTHERHOOD

Tone's second great precept was that Ireland could never be free, happy or prosperous while the connection with Britain remained. Today that connection still existed.

It was really a connection between Britain and all Ireland, for the nation could not be divided and thrive, and its result was the hampering and frustration of all normal political, social and economic development in our island.

Mr. Bennett declared that today when there was so much talk of "hands across the border" and co-operation between the two governments to keep the status quo, the only true and healthy co-operation was that between the common people of all parts of the country designed to create a new great brotherhood of Irishmen to claim our country as our own.

Music at the céilí was provided by Richard Fitzgerald's céilí band, and Kathleen Fitzgerald was the singing star of the evening.

The duties of Fear a' Ti were excellently performed by Seosamh O'Neill, Ballyshannon. He was assisted by S. O. Héine who welcomed all patrons.

At the conclusion of the night, Seamus Rodgers, M.C.C., and chairman of the Sinn Féin Comhairle Ceantair, returned thanks, first to Mr. Bennett and Mr. Burke who came from Belfast and who put the seal of perfection on this historic stamoa.

The function was organised jointly by the local National Graves Association and the Sinn Féin Comhairle Ceantair.





Fearghal O hAnnluáin as Muineachán a fuair bás ar son na hEireann, Eanáir 1, 1957.

## Bás Sheáin Sabhat

Dán a scríobh Críostóir O Floinn i mí Eanáir, 1957.

CASFAD murlán an radio go gceisfead nuacht an lae.  
 Adúras, ar nós cuma liom, óir is nós leamh againn é  
 Leathchluasa a thabhairt don ghloir san le linn comhrá an tae  
 Agus dúirt glór an radio  
 Maraíodh Seán Sabhat aréir.

Is mó rud a chuala ó shoin:  
 Caoga míle Gael ag siúl sa tsochraid  
 Oghfhear ag óráidocht ag ceann an tslua  
 Ceol na laoch sa reilig ag na stocairí  
 Do mháthair, a Sheáin, ad chaoineadh  
 Ag béal na huagha.

Ina dhiaidh sin arís chuala  
 "Taoiseach na hEireann"  
 Gan focal Gaeilge aige  
 A rá gurbh amaideach an mhaise duitse  
 Dul ó thuaidh agus gunna agat  
 Ag fógaírt don domhan mór  
 Go bhfuil an cúigiú cuid  
 Den tír seo na hEireann  
 Fá mheirge Shasana  
 Ach go bhfuil fir fhoirtile  
 Fós ar slíocht na laochra  
 Ná fuil sásta sul thart  
 Ag caint is ag tnúth  
 Leis an lá breá gréine buí  
 Nuair a dhéanfaidh  
 Geal den dubh.

Mhuise, a Sheáin, bhí miongháire mealltach agat  
 Agus dhéanfa é ach "Taoiseach na hEireann" a chlois:  
 "Good night!" ar seisean le pobal na tíre.  
 "Ní hionann Éire dúinn," adéarfá go seimh.

Chuala leis go ndúirt daoine  
 Gur peaca marfach é  
 Don té a dhéanann  
 A ndearna tusa.  
 Mhuise, a Sheáin, a naomhchroí,  
 Is mór an trua ná raibh aithne  
 Ag na daoine maíthe sin ortsa.

Cad tá romham le cloisint  
 Le linn comhrá an tae  
 Nuair a chasfad murlán an radio?  
 Beidh an glór ar na seanfhoinn  
 Na polticeoirí ag plé  
 Le seo siúd is sin:  
 An saol mar a bhí  
 Gan ach leathchluasa orainn  
 Do ráiméis úr an lae.  
 Bíodh san mar a bheidht  
 Cuimhníodh cine Gael  
 Go ndúirt an glór san linn  
 Maraíodh Seán Sabhat aréir.  
 lon.  
 The

## MID-ULSTER ORGANISES

AT a Republican Election Workers' meeting in Brackagh Hall, Brackagh, Co. Derry, on November 24, a vote of sympathy was passed on the death of President Kennedy, all delegates standing in silence as a mark of respect.

Proposing the vote, Gerard O'Doherty, chairman, said: "The world has lost a great friend and America a great Statesman. Let us as Irishmen join with all freedom-loving people throughout the world in this their hour of sadness".

Tomás Mistéil, the Mid-Ulster candidate, was given a rousing reception by the 50 delegates who attended from all parts of the constituency.

In the course of his address, he said: "I feel greatly honoured at being selected by the people of Mid-Ulster to contest this historic seat at the next Westminster Election, and I sincerely thank them for the support they have given me in the past".

The people of Mid-Ulster, he said, had given a lead to Republicans not only in the Six Counties but all over Ireland by winning this seat in the General Election of 1955 and also in the by-election that followed. "I feel confident", he said, "that this will be repeated in next year's election".

Tomás Mac Giolla, President of Sinn Féin, presided at the meeting. It was decided to organise election committees in every district throughout the constituency and also to sponsor more Célithe in connection with the Election Fund.

Laurence O'Kane, Strabane, was appointed organising secretary for the North-West Tyrone part of the constituency.

## R.U.C Shootings

Constable John Brown, a member of the Royal Ulster Constabulary accidentally killed himself while cleaning his revolver in Kesh, Co. Fermanagh barracks on December 6.

A member of the R.U.C. detective division in Belfast, Leo McBrien, accidentally shot his wife in the back while cleaning his revolver at his home on December 12.

## No Private Meeting says Mr. de Valera

A report that Mr. de Valera, while in Washington for the funeral of President Kennedy, had a private meeting with the Duke of Edinburgh and the British Prime Minister, Sir Douglas Home, was denied at Mr. de Valera's residence in Dublin.

It was admitted, however, that they had met at a public reception given by President Johnson for foreign representatives then in Washington.

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## OBITUARY

### The Late Michael Dowdall

THE death occurred recently at his home in Rathfarnham, Dublin, of Michael Dowdall. Born in Co. Wicklow in 1895 he moved to Co. Laois in his youth. He joined the Republican Army there and fought in many engagements during the Black and Tan War.

He joined the Free State Army at its foundation but when he realised the true situation, he deserted, taking with him 12 rifles and ammunition. He was appointed Commander of the Republican Forces in the Portlaoise, Abbeylisle, Ballyroan and The Heath areas and his column operated for a long time during the war in defence of the Republic. There was a price on his head and many efforts were made to capture him.

When the cease-fire was called in April, 1923 he escaped to Dublin and lived in the city for the rest of his life. During his youth, his name was Michael Doyle. However, when he escaped to Dublin the search for

him by the Free State government did not cease and he changed his name to Dowdall. He retained that name since.

He was a member of Cumann Seán Mistéil, Sinn Féin, Dublin, for many years prior to his death and was well known for his courage and generosity. He was present at almost every match in Corke Park for many years past where he collected for the Republican Prisoners Dependents.

Shortly before his death he was forced by police to stop collecting and was marched to Fitzgibbon St. Barracks with his arms twisted behind his back. However, he was collecting again on the following Sunday. He was also summoned for selling Easter Lilies in O'Connell St., Dublin in April last.

The sympathy of Republicans goes to his relatives and many friends and associates in the Republican Movement. A friend has written the ballad accompanying this obituary.

## A TRIBUTE

God rest you Michael Dowdall  
 Sleeping now in Ireland's clay  
 A valiant son of Erin  
 Few so true as you to-day.  
 You trod the road—the hard one  
 In the cause—full liberty  
 Yes, Ireland well may mourn  
 One so faithful, true, as thee.

When the flag was raised for freedom  
 In this little isle of green  
 You were there for freedom's dawning  
 Easter Week—1916.  
 And though others sought a new way  
 Thinking your way was in vain  
 You were true—'til death it called you  
 To your banner of Sinn Féin.

No more you'll join your comrades  
 'Round the grave of great Wolfe Tone  
 His ideal—'twas your motto  
 One flag—one flag alone.  
 For its cause you had to suffer  
 But pray it's not in vain  
 From you, grave we have the answer  
 Ireland's cause is with Sinn Féin.

Ne'er again will thousands see you  
 With your banner near Croke Park  
 Seeking help for their dependants  
 Still held in prisons dark.  
 Yes, they charged you at the barrack  
 But the warrant is in vain  
 For the Master now has called you  
 Beloved soldier of Sinn Féin.

With the flag you served so faithful  
 We have borne you to your rest  
 The sad farewell 'tis spoken  
 You have proved and stood the test.  
 Sleep on, great friend and neighbour  
 Worthy son of Ireland's clay  
 For the soul of Michael Dowdall  
 Will you say a small Ave.

The Balladman.

## Death of Sligo Republican

The death occurred recently of John Gallagher, Grange Co. Sligo. The late Mr. Gallagher was a member of the Republican Army from the time of its foundation in Sligo. He was Captain of the Grange Company, Sligo Brigade, during the Black and Tan War and took part in many engagements in North Sligo and Leitrim. He was an

active member of Sinn Féin up to the time of his death.

Aidan McGowan, N.T. delivered an oration at his interment in Ahamlish Cemetery and Rev. A. Conway, C.C., Grange, officiated. Sympathy is tendered to deceased's daughter, his sisters in England, the United States and in Sligo and to his many friends in Grange.



## Gaelic Sports Review

# RECALLING THE FOOTBALL GLORIES OF 1963

BY MAURICE HOGAN

*The yellow bittern, who never broke out  
In a drinking bout, might as well have drunk.  
His bones are thrown on the naked stone  
Where he lived alone like a hermit monk.  
Oh, yellow bittern I pity your lot,  
Though they say that a sot like myself is cursed,  
I was sober awhile, but I'll drink and be wise  
For fear I might die in the end of thirst.*

IN this translation from the Irish one can almost hear the peals of merry laughter that made Thomas McDonagh the most loved of the patriot martyrs of Easter Week. It enshrines the festive spirit of the season that is with us. It exhorts us to be of good heart as we jump aboard for the voyage through '64. May the seas be kind and the harbour of Gaelicdom's hopes be reached.

### GRIT SAW

#### THEM THROUGH

In this January issue we are committed to place the football standards of '63 under the microscope. It is a task of considerable magnitude for unlike the sister game it flourishes in all four Provinces, but even this far flung area of disputed supremacy can in no way lessen the impact which Dublin's grit and speed and skill has left on Leinster and All-Ireland championship memories. Others may prefer to place these vital qualities in altered sequence but not one of the three can in justice be omitted.

They had their lucky breaks, notably against Meath and Kildare and Laois, but how truly it has been said that players of spirit make their own luck. And all who are labouring on the difficult uphill stretch will derive encouragement from the fact that scarcely a glimpse of hope had been carried forward from the preceding National League. I quote from the Dublin secretary's report to the Annual Convention:

"Greatest disappointment possibly, was the inept display of our senior football team in the National League. Defeat was our portion not only at Portlaoise and other provincial venues, but also in Croke Park where Galway annihilated us. It needed a shock to rouse players and selectors and that shock was duly provided."

### OVER TO

#### YOU READERS

When success can be built against such a background no county need have any qualms in aiming at the big objectives. It could truly be termed a success with just this diff-

ing sphere was on a par with that of M. Whelan or L. Foley who were ever ready when called upon to provide the impulse from which victory would flow.

There are those who hold that it would be easier to tune in on the perfectionist standard in years when Kerry's star is in the ascendant or when Ulster send out champions of the Down calibre of '60 and '61. It is a contentious viewpoint, for the greats in football can invariably make the good look commonplace, but one must go part of the way at least with it, firstly, because the New York trip as guest players, while leaving the Mick O'Dwyer standard unimpaired, dulled to a marked extent the football appetites of Mick O'Connell and Tom Long.

Not even the Kingdom can steer a high efficiency keel in such circumstances, and secondly, there only remained the midfield invincibility of Joe Lennon as a yardstick by which the former greatness of the Mourne men could be measured.

The two schools of thought (a) the Dublin standard was such that other contenders had not a chance, (b) it was one of those cycles in which a general lowering of standards had been experienced, are so much in conflict that readers had better be left to sort it out for themselves.

### ELEGANT

#### BUT ERRATIC

And, stringing along with these as the fourth provincial standard bearer were Galway, whose football technique in its brighter phases could perhaps be described as the most elegant of the lot. Had their inspired forward moments not been clearly outnumbered by terms of mental confusion it would be hard to keep the maroon and white from climbing to the masthead.

The series yielded nothing quite the equal of the elusiveness, skill and finish employed by M. McDonagh, P. Donnellan and S. Leydon in the drama crowded closing minutes in which they tore Kerry's resistance to shreds. But though they had opportunities galore, provided mainly by Mick Garrett, their midfield mastery was in-

telling offensive against the Dublin full line of L. Hickey, L. Foley and L. Casey, and even a second chance in the Grounds Tournament final when double scores ruled, did no more than to underline Dublin's clear cut supremacy. It wilted just a little entering the fourth quarter.

They were then but two points ahead but the reappearance of Timmins who had been having an injury attended to wrought an amazing change, and, believe it or not, by those very tactics (delayed action) for which big John has been most frequently criticised.

When he employed them out on the right wing opposite numbers backed away, unconsciously perhaps subscribing to the belief that resistance was no longer what it had been, now that disaster through injury had deprived it of the shrewd positional sense and immaculate fielding of Noel Tierney.

The outstanding success of the latter and John Keenan who has obviously come to stay in attack—his general efficiency completely cancelling out one tactical error when the goal was at his mercy—gives further encouragement to their selectors to pursue their policy of relying on youth.

### NEW BLOOD

#### IN SPATE

The average age of this selection is 22. Should they get into the winning bracket in '64 they could in reason look forward to a longer than one year's reign. But Offaly's recession after all the promise of the early '60s should be a warning signal to all, that opportunity if not grasped promptly and resolutely is prone to seek pastures new.

And, was it force of circumstances or just plain conviction that they have the required material coming from Minor sources which never showed less signs of running dry than in vanquishing a fancied but clearly outclassed Westmeath selection for the '63 title, that prompted Kerry to introduce so much new blood in the National League final against New York? From the visitors' angle this was very moderate fare, but in coasting to a victory that was never in doubt 1-18 to 0-11, Kerry whose attack was led magnetically by Mick O'Dwyer, played football of very attractive design. This was Bernie O'Callaghan's greatest hour. It showed that early season estimates of this winger's worth had been dead on the mark, that M. Fleming can fetch the falling balls at as high an altitude and distribute them as adroitly as the Valencia stylist of a year earlier, but most of all it showed that all that is best in Gaelic football is born into the average Kerry youth.

In Ulster the Lagan Cup competition decides the county that will represent Ulster in Division I of the National League. It rests now between Down and

## Educate : to Emigrate

The following is the text of a circular, on official U.C.D. notepaper, which was circulated to all final year science students in the college recently:

"Mr. C. A. Oxley, Deputy Commissioner of the British Civil Service Commission, will be in Earlsfort Terrace on Wednesday, 30th October, to speak on opportunities in the Experimental Officer and Scientific Officer classes of the British Civil Service."

There will be vacancies in 1964 for physicists, chemists and biologists, and "research-type" engineers. He will speak at 4.30 p.m. in the ARCH-BISHOP WALSH ROOM."

While other countries in the western hemisphere are complaining of a lack of workers in the professions ours are being officially encouraged to emigrate. Our own skilled men are being shipped out and foreigners brought in to do their work.

Derry and Fermanagh and Antrim who meet in this order, and the change of fortunes that has come to Fermanagh is highlighted by the fact that their victories include one of 0-10 to 0-4 over Donegal who in the early half of '63 were widely supported as Ulster champions in the making.

### MEATH ARE

#### SETTING PACE

Meath are pace-makers in Division II. They won out here a year ago and their four convincing wins in a line over Sligo, Westmeath, Leitrim and Longford in which a 1-4 winning margin over the "Midlanders" was the narrowest, suggests that they can repeat this achievement. It must also carry weight that they have a 2-10 to 1-4 victory over Longford who have victories over the other two counties that Meath have yet to meet—Cavan and Mayo.

Apart from Roscommon who have won three and lost one, Division III is in a somewhat backward state, and fittingly enough the All-Ireland finalists Dublin and Galway are the only two who have full points. They are not due to meet until March 1 and it can be taken for granted that they will meantime spare no effort in ensuring that that critical test will be faced on level terms. Galway who are already past the Roscommon and Louth dangers are at present the better placed of the two.

### DIVISION IV A

#### POSITION

A form recession that can be likened to that of Offaly, Laois and Donegal has also gripped Kildare whose forward standard has of late been at rock bottom. Tradition, and it is high between the counties, will have taken much of the sting out of their 2-13 to 2-5 defeat by Kerry.

They can be less happy about their 1-8 to 1-5 downfall to Carlow and the bitterness of this blow is intensified by the fact that it was the latter on whom Wexford picked, to signal with a 1-9 to 2-3 success, a possible return to the invincibility that was theirs when the Kennedys, Fr. Wheeler, J. Byrne, P. Mackey, T. Mernagh, M. Howlett, J. Crowley contingent blazed the long-reign trail that reached from 1915 to 1918 inclusive. It is heartening to see a heritage like this re-asserting itself, and good to know that the same blood is playing a leading part in this revival.

As we here speak of the IRA,

## Tone Symposium in Galway

A public symposium commemorating the bi-centenary of the birth of Wolfe Tone was held in the Odeon Hotel, Galway, on December 7.

The speakers included Seán Cronin, Deasún Breatnach and Colm O'Carra, Síle Ní Chinnéide, Lecturer in History at University College, Galway, was in the chair.

The function was well attended.

## Four Martyrs Memorial Mass

The annual Commemoration Mass for Liam Mellowes, Rory O'Connor, Joseph McKelvey and Richard Barrett was said at the Pro-Cathedral, Dublin on Sunday, December 8.

The attendance included members of all branches of the Republican Movement and members of the general public. Colour parties were provided by Flanna Éireann, Cumann na mBan, and Cumann na gCathracha.

Cumann Liam Mellowes, Sinn Féin, Dublin, wish to thank all those who attended.

Kildare obstacle and had a clear eight points to spare over Cork who appear to be as deeply in the doldrums as are their hurdlers as they alone failed to Kildare to the disturbing tune of a six points margin.

It is hard to look on Division IV B as other than the Cinderella of National League activities. It includes Waterford, Limerick, Tipperary and Clare, and the Decies men who have already accounted for Tipperary and Clare have most reason to feel secure, as their closing engagement for Division honours is against Clare's conquerors Limerick at Dungarvan on February 9.

### TENACITY

#### REWARDED

And what more fitting way to draw down the curtain on the old football year than by saluting the tenacity that has given Louth O'Byrne Cup final honours at the fourth attempt. This record is eloquent of their unstinted contribution to a competition that should attract much greater attention throughout Leinster, as easing the financial strain on seriously injured players is its laudable objective. Hard luck Longford in having to field short of so incisive a forward as Seán Murray.







## Fishermen Organise Nationwide Marketing

THE National Fishermen's Marketing Co-operative Society Ltd., took over An Bord Iascaigh Mhara's stand in the Dublin Fish Market on December 2. Heretofore, the Board had sold fishermen's catches for all boats which are being bought on the hire-purchase system from them.

Their withdrawal from marketing gave the fishermen an opportunity of forming a marketing organisation of their own which has been selling successfully since the opening date. J. Corrigan of the motor fishing boat "Dún Riabhach", had the honour of being the first to have his fish sold by the new body.

An Bord Iascaigh Mhara's withdrawal from marketing also gave Irish fishermen an opportunity of forming port co-operatives which are now functioning at Dingle, Killybegs, Kilmore, Arklow, Howth, Skerries and Loughshinney.

### ON A REGIONAL BASIS

Those elected to manage the society are as follows: Sales Manager: P. O'Connor, Dingle, Co. Kerry; Chairman: L. Lett, Wexford; Vice-Chairman: W. Hegarty, Killybegs; Secretary: S. Rickard, Howth, Co. Dublin; Joint Treasurers: Capt. R. S. Daly and L. Lett.

The following men represent the different centres or ports: J. Conneely, Galway and the Aran Islands; Martin Moore, Killybegs; R. McLoughlin, Howth; W. Cleary, Arklow; G. Richardson, Balbriggan; C. Plunkett, Loughshinney and Skerries; J. Doyle, Wexford; W. Kelly, Rosslare; Joseph Seall, Kilmore Quay; J. Corrigan, Achill and F. Downey, able magnitude.

The South-East Coast Fishermen's Co-operative, which caters for the South-East coast, mainly

concerns itself with herring sales at Dunmore East. All the other societies are mainly occupied with white fish except Killybegs, which handles all kinds. These co-ops hope to sell as much fish as possible in their own areas, thereby supplying a much-wanted food in a fresh state to consumers. The Dingle, Co. Kerry, co-op sell most of their landings in Munster. The Killybegs co-op, which went into business during December, hope to supply the northwestern and Six-County areas.

### LOYALTY NECESSARY

Heretofore, all fish was dispatched from country centres to Dublin for auction and then resold back to the country. This was obviously a senseless and wasteful procedure which fishermen and consumers paid for in transport charges.

The National Fishermen's Co-operative Society hopes to co-ordinate the work of all the other societies who, it is hoped, will unite to support the Dublin body. The success of the Dublin effort depends no doubt on the loyalty of the country co-ops.



## Meeting in Antrim Glens

UPWARDS of 200 people attended a demonstration and public meeting in Cushendall Co. Antrim, calling for the release of the Republican Prisoners in Belfast Jail, recently.

Three speakers from Belfast addressed the crowd and the following resolution was passed: "That we wish to be associated with our fellow countrymen and women throughout Ireland who have called for the release of the remaining political prisoners in Belfast Jail."

Mr. T. Lavery, Waterfoot, presided. Extra police were drafted into the village from Larne for the meeting.

This photograph was taken during the Liam Lynch Commemoration on the slopes of the Knockmealdown mountains in September last.

The memorial is situated in a remote, barren part of the mountain range and is inaccessible except on foot. Consequently only those who are deeply interested in the proceedings climb to the memorial. However, not all of them are Republicans.

Some, believe it or not, are actually paid out of taxpayers' money to make the climb and interest themselves in the event!

### U.I. and Turnover Tax

Despite the Turnover Tax, the retail price of the UNITED IRISHMAN is still fourpence.

We wish to bring this to the attention of our readers because some newsagents have been under the impression that the tax should be added to the retail price.

For the present, the price of this newspaper remains at fourpence and the tax should not be passed on to the retail customer.

### CONDOLANCES

SPEAKING at a recent Donegal County Council meeting on a Fine Gael sponsored motion asking that clothing, foodstuffs and other essentials be exempted from the scope of the turnover tax, Councillor Séamus Rodgers, Sinn Féin, said:

"I wish to protest against the imposition of the turnover tax as it will hit the poorer sections of the community. I have given figures at a previous meeting of this Council to prove that persons in receipt of various social assistances have not been adequately compensated to cushion them against the impact of rising prices."

"It is ironical that this tax has been brought about with the aid of two former members of the Fine Gael party. It is becoming crystal clear that there is really no difference between Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael and therefore I am not giving a vote on this motion."

Continuing, Séamus Rodgers said that increasing taxation was falling heavily on a decreasing population.

At this stage, the Chairman, Mr. Liam Cunningham, Fianna Fáil, intervened and stated that there had been an increase in the population recently. Councillor Rodgers replied and said that he disagreed with the Chairman's remark: "I believe in calling a spade a spade. If the Chairman wishes to visit parts of Donegal he will see for himself that he is wrong. Three schools in the area I represent were closed during the past three months."

### London Draw Result

The London draw in aid of the Republican Election Fund was held at a cèil held in St. Michael's Hall, Elizabeth St., in October.

The results were as follows: First Prize — T. McEllistrim, 27 Swanage Rd., London, S.W.18. Second Prize — Mr. P. Kane, 13 Oakfield Place, Clifton, Bristol. Third Prize — Mr. Gerald May, c/o Denny, Tralee, Co. Kerry.

## PROGRESS REPORTED AT DUNGANNON

THREE of the four Republican candidates who are contesting the forthcoming Westminster Election were present at a meeting of the forthcoming Westminster Election Directorate, held in Dungannon, Co. Tyrone, recently. It was announced that conventions will be held in the eight other constituencies in the near future to select Republican candidates.

Mr. Hugh Mallon, a South Down delegate from Newry, said that the fact that Republican candidates would be contesting all 12 seats in the election would give all electors an opportunity to cast their votes for the right of the Irish people to determine their own internal affairs without foreign interference.

Mr. McGeown, candidate for West Belfast, said that their first task was to sever the political connection with Britain, so that the people of Ireland could freely elect a National Irish Parliament.

Mr. McGlade, candidate for North Belfast, appealed to all Republicans to work "so that British imperialism will get the answer it richly deserves in the coming general election."

It was agreed that the next meeting of the election directorate would be held in Armagh on Sunday, January 12.

### Did Not Pay Fines

Thomas Murphy and Frank Kenny, Gorey, Co. Wexford, wish to affirm that following charges being brought against them for distributing Easter Lilies, they did not attend the court hearing and have not paid the fines imposed.

## Alarm Grows at Pace of Foreign Takeover

(From Page 1)

ceeds, more and more of them are folding up because of unfair competition with which they cannot cope. While this process is advancing, large foreign-controlled companies are moving in, aided by government grants which, in the final analysis, are provided from taxes imposed on the Irish people in the 28 Counties.

The Stormont government is pushing the same policy and Mr. O'Neill has recently visited the United States and Canada with the express purpose of enticing foreign industrialists into the Six Counties.

The 28-County government states that these foreign-owned factories may only produce for export, thereby insinuating that native industries are being protected. Even if this was the case, in practice the fact that our industries are being pushed into the free trade area will be enough to close down many of them.

The recent reports of the Committee on Industrial Organisation on the bacon, shoe and pottery

industries prove this. However, even if the government is sincere in its "produce for export" policy with foreign industrialists, it cannot control them indefinitely. There is no legislation to limit the number of industrialists or land-grabbers who can move into Ireland.

Our financial system is now controlled by the Bank of England. Our land and our industries are fast falling into the hands of foreigners. Whoever controls our finance, our land and our industry, controls our nation.

The reconquest of Ireland by political economy is making remarkable headway. The concerted effort of the Irish people is required now if it is to be stopped.

There was a revolution in Ireland from 1918 to 1921. It was halted and betrayed before its social and economic objectives were achieved. The only way to save our nation from complete serfdom now is for every responsible Irishman and woman to pick up the threads of our abandoned revolution and work to bring it to a successful conclusion.

## MANCHESTER MARTYRS HONOURED IN POMEROY

TOMAS MISTÉIL, Republican candidate for Mid-Ulster, was given a very warm welcome when he attended the annual Manchester Martyrs Commemoration Parade in Pomeroy, Co. Tyrone, on December 4.

Four bands took part: Cloughfin and Tullydraw Pipe, and Loughmacrory and Pomeroy Accordeon.

The streets were lined with on-lookers as the parade passed by. It was particularly well organised.

Afterwards, a Cèil was held which was attended by visitors from all over the Six Counties as well as from Louth and Dublin. Joseph Begley acted as fear a' ti and music was by the Seamus McNeice Cèil Band, Lurgan.

Tomás Mistéil gave an address on the Manchester Martyrs, Allen, Larkin and O'Brien. He complimented the organisers of the Cèil and said it was pleasing to see Irish dancing so well supported in this age of pop music and other forms of entertainment.

He also appealed to everyone to do all they could to foster the dances, language and games of Ireland. He thanked the people

of Mid-Ulster for selecting him as their representative and appealed for their continued support.

Rev. Kieran McKeone, C.C., proposed a vote of thanks to Tomás Mistéil for his inspiring lecture and hoped the people would pay attention to what he had said.

It was not enough to come to a cèil on one night in the year, said Father McKeone. He hoped all future cèilthe would be equally well attended.

Two minutes silence was observed in memory of President Kennedy.

A resolution was passed calling for the release of the political prisoners still held in Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast.