

AN t-eireannaic aontuiste

The UNITED IRISHMAN

THE
COMMON
MARKET

—Page 5

IML. XIV. UIMHIR 7.

JUL (JULY), 1962

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NEW COERCION BILL

'Official Secrets' at Leinster House

NEW penal legislation, directed primarily against Irish Republicans, has been prepared by the 26-County Government and is at present being discussed in Leinster House.

Name of the proposed measure is "The Official Secrets Bill, 1962."

Combined with the existing Offences Against the State Act it gives almost unlimited powers to the 26-County Government when dealing with militant Republicanism and has the added advantage of being able—legally—to classify its upholders as "foreign agents."

It is a blanket proposal covering what is called "official information" on the one hand and the "communication of information" to the prejudice of the safety or preservation of the State" on the other.

"Official information" can mean almost any type of information. "The safety or preservation of the State" is an old authoritarian standby.

For example, it is a proposed offence under the latter count to give information on any matter whatsoever that "would or might be prejudicial to the safety or preservation of the State." So the phrase is quite a handy one and it covers a multitude of—as yet—unknown offences.

How does this involve Irish Republicans?

Throughout the new Bill, it is understood, the phrase "foreign agents or members of unlawful organisations" is liberally scattered. Indeed the Bill has been

brought in to "guard" the State against "foreign agents or members of unlawful organisations."

Since British Imperial agents, one may be quite sure, are not covered by the definition "foreign agents" it may be taken that the whole point of the legislation is the further coercion of Republicans either during normal times or "during an emergency."

Now note this definition of "a member of an unlawful organisation."

"... any person who is or has been or is reasonably suspected of being or having been a member of an unlawful organisation within the meaning and for the purpose of the Offences Against the State Act, 1939."

Note further: a person who knowingly harbours a foreign agent and/or a member of an unlawful organisation engaged in activities "to the prejudice of the safety or preservation of the

State" will have committed an offence under the Official Secrets Law. If such a person fails to report information in his possession to police or military "that there has been or is about to be a contravention" of this law, he is also guilty of an offence.

Under the terms of this Bill legal proceedings may be held in camera (that is secret trials).

Another Section declares:

"Where an officer of the Garda Síochána not below the rank of chief superintendent has reasonable grounds for suspecting that an offence under section 9 (relating to information and the preservation of the State) has been committed and for believing that any person is able to furnish information as to the offence, he may apply to the Minister, Ireland, should the powers conferred by this

section and, if such permission is granted, he may authorise a member of the Garda Síochána not below the rank of inspector to require the person believed to be able to furnish information to furnish information in his possession relating to the offence or to the offence and if a person is required in pursuance of this

authorisation to give information, he is to comply with the request, and if he fails to do so, he is guilty of an offence."

The next paragraph gives power to the police to proceed without the permission of a Minister for Justice to that the legal language in the paragraph above gives power to do,

of 1956-62. It is often stated that the Offences Against the State Act was pushed through as us. Yet we legislation at the start does to perform Second World War and U Can we ask normal circumstances it: "Have we never have been passed, sacrifices be and answer

Leinster House.

Actually there is no triple in

such a statement. But public opinion in the 26-Counties can no longer cite a plea of ignorance as regards these coercive measures. Most vicious legislation is about to be enacted. We know the purpose behind it. It won't do to say we "didn't know."

This legislation, doubtless, is being prepared by the 26-County Government for whatever military pacts they propose to make in connection with their Common Market application.

They wish to demonstrate that whatever elements refuse to accept the idea of a permanently divided and unfree Ireland will be completely ignored, and the very least of the honours, illustrious name mentioned once in the of this paper. Why?

Is it because he was earlier in connection with the annual commemoration of the late Tomás O Dubhghalláin, as by right he long Republican and Vice-President of Sinn Féin, who died of this year.

Other completely ignored. Brian O h... Editorial Note—Looking through our files for 1962, we find that our March carried a (two-column) photograph of Sean Mac... four-column feature article "Sean Mac Diarmada—He Easter Week" appeared on 9 of our April number.

Sean Mac Diarmada has been ignored by this newspaper since he and James Connelley, I.R.A., in his native Glen, perhaps it would be better.

Brian O h...

Release the Prisoners

The following resolution was passed unanimously by Bray Urban District Council:—

"That we the members of Bray U.D.C. call on the British Home Secretary, Mr. R. A. Butler, M.P., to release Joseph Doyle of Bray, and Donal Murphy, Dublin."

The proposer was Councillor H. McAuliffe who said: "These young men have already served seven years imprisonment."

In seconding, Councillor M. O'Toole said: "These young men should be released and not left to rot in English jails."

The chairman, Mr. J. Temple, in accepting the resolution, said that sentence was rather severe and he hoped they would soon be released.

The Town Clerk, Mr. D. F. McCarthy, was directed to forward the resolution through the proper channels.

AT WOLFE TONE'S GRAVE

THOUSANDS of Republicans from all over Ireland and some from Britain took part in the annual pilgrimage to Wolfe Tone's grave in Bodestown Churchyard, Co. Kildare, on Sunday, June 17.

The parade from Sallins was very well organised and was led by a colour party of former active service Volunteers bearing the National Flag, Tomas Mistell, Ath Cliath, was Chief Marshal.

Organisations taking part included Cumann na mBan, Sinn Féin, Fianna Éireann, Clann na nGaedheal, Cumann na nGall, National Graves Association and the National Commemoration Committee under whose auspices the ceremonies were held. Several bands also participated including the Volunteer Pipe Band, Cork.

Sean Keenan of Derry City, a former Republican internecine in the Belfast Jail, presided at the grave ceremonies. One minute's silence was observed in memory of the late Tomás O Dubhghalláin, as by right he long Republican and Vice-President of Sinn Féin, who died of this year.

Prayers were laid on behalf of the Republic of Ireland and the National Commemoration Committee. The Last of the Ulster, Munster, Leinster and Connacht contingents.

An innovation this year which excited much favourable comment was the introduction of placards bearing the professional standards at the head of the Ulster, Munster, Leinster and Connacht contingents.

COMING EVENTS

Sunday, August 5: The unbearably hot weather of the memorial to Countess of Donaghadee Mac Niall, in his native Glen, perhaps it would be better.

Sunday, September 9: The memorial cross over the grave of Staff-Captain Thomas Hart, I.R.A., who was executed by firing squad in Mountjoy Jail on September 6, 1940, will be unveiled at a ceremony in St. Colman's Cemetery, Lurgan, Co. Armagh.

Sunday, September 9 also: The annual Liam Lynch commemoration will be held at the memorial which marks the spot where the I.R.A. Chief of Staff was killed in action in the Knockmealdown Mountains in 1923. The parade will form up at Goatenbridge, Ardaraun, Co. Tipperary, at 2.30 p.m. The oration will be delivered by a prominent Republican.

CEILI FAILTE

Wednesday, July 18: Ceili Failte for the Republican Prisoners recently released from Mountjoy Jail will be held in Carrickmacross, Co. Monaghan. All the released prisoners have been invited to attend and contingents will travel from many parts. J. J. McGil will speak.



PATRICK CURRAN
New Sinn Féin
Councillor

A MEMBER of the Sinn Féin organisation, Patrick Curran, Urban Terrace, Boherbee, Tralee, a former member of the John Mitchell's County football team, has been unanimously co-opted on Tralee, Co. Kerry, Urban Council to fill the vacancy created by the death of Sinn Féin Councillor Dan Joe Conway.

Patrick Curran's co-optation was proposed by Kevin Barry (Sinn Féin) and seconded by Michael O'Regan (Lab.).

Proposing the co-optation, Kevin Barry said he did so in the belief that it was only just that their representation should be restored and he doubted if there could be any objection to his proposal.

At the local elections the people of Tralee elected two Republicans, and, with a little luck, they could have had three members there.

He asked the Council to endorse the verdict of the Republicans of Tralee by co-opting the unanimous choice of the Sinn Féin organisation, Patrick Curran, who came of an old and respected Tralee family. He was known to all of them as a Republican since he was a youth; perhaps he was also well-known as a staunch and reliable Boherbee footballer.

"In proposing Paddy Curran," said Kevin Barry, "I do so confident that he will uphold with dignity and honour the best interests of Tralee and its citizens."

SHORTS MAY CLOSE DOWN

UNLESS more orders are received for the "Belfast" freighter the employment situation in Short Bros. and Harland's aircraft firm will become critical by the end of the year.

The firm stands or falls by the "Belfast" and without further orders it will have to close down. About 7,500 are employed at Shorts. Peak employment during the war years was 20,000.

At present it is building ten of the 240-seat aircraft for R.A.F. Transport Command. Disaster threatens in the absence of a vital follow-up contract.

The British Government has a 69% holding in Shorts. What price the British connection now?

A NEW ACT OF UNION?

AN editorial in the "Sunday Independent" (July 1) said of Ireland's position in regard to the Common Market: "It would appear that she must integrate with her neighbour, Great Britain."

Since the Six Counties is an official and integral part of the United Kingdom already it should not be difficult to integrate the remainder of Ireland with Great Britain,...

On the same day this leader appeared the 26-County Government introduced colour-law legislation here in line with the British "Commonwealth Immigrants Act" (London Observer, July 15).

The 26-County Government limited two orders whereby which come into force, designed to tie in with the Commonwealth Immigrants Act" (Italics ours—U.I.)

This latter is a form of legislative collaboration which has characterised the relations between Britain and the 26-County State since the Treaty. We saw it in operation during the Campaign of Resistance in

British-occupied Ireland (1956-62) and we have seen it in operation in all matters political before and since. But apparently that form of collaboration is not enough. Full integration is required. The way is being prepared for a second "Act of Union."

If Britain is accepted and the 26 Counties is not, full integration with Britain may be advocated as the solution. Even if both applications are accepted—considered very unlikely—full integration of the 26 Counties with Britain may be proposed as vitally necessary to the economic future of Ireland.

The carrot of unification of all Ireland may well be held out to a too, too gullible people—unification under the British Crown that is, Events are shaping that way and an informed public opinion is necessary to counteract the pro-British propaganda of the "economic integrationists."

J. J. McGil Welcomed

A crowd of five to six hundred people packed the Hall in Balinamore, Co. Leitrim, when a Welcome Home Ceili was held for Councillor John Joe McGil and other released Republican prisoners during May.

Scenes of great enthusiasm greeted J. J. McGil's address of thanks for the reception while each of the released prisoners was called up on the stage in turn to receive an ovation. Men sentenced by the Military Tribunal last winter were present from Limerick, Monaghan and Dublin.

Natives of the Six Counties among the ex-prisoners got a special welcome. Music was by Richard Fitzgerald's Ceili Band, Bundoran, and Republican ballads were rendered by Miss Kathleen Fitzgerald.

No Link With Communism

The following joint-statement was released for publication by the two main branches of the Republican Movement twelve years ago and was carried in our issue of January-February, 1951. It is as applicable to-day as it was then.

In view of the fact that in England and in Ireland, advocates of Communism are endeavouring to identify themselves with the Republican Movement, and since there may be a danger that some genuine Republicans may erroneously believe that service to the Cause of Irish Freedom can be rendered through membership of Organisations or Associations under the control or influence of such persons, the leadership of the Republican Movement deems it necessary to make the following statement:

There is no connection whatsoever between the Republican Movement and organisations known to be under the control or influence of the Communist Party or its agents.

The leadership of the Republican Movement has no desire, and certainly no intention, to form any links of association with such organisations, and it will resist all efforts on the part of Communist agents and persons known to have Communist sympathies to identify themselves with the Movement for the purpose of using it for their own ulterior motives.

If it is feasible to win the freedom of Ireland with the backing of small groups of Irishmen allied to the cause of Atheistic Communism, it is equally feasible without their dubious assistance.

It is the aim of the Republican Movement to free Ireland from the grasp and influence of British Imperialism, and to substitute for the system of government under which the exploitation of creeds and classes is possible, a system within which equal rights and equal opportunities will be guaranteed and afforded to all.

While this may be described as the primary and immediate aim of the Republican Movement, it must be clearly understood that it is no part of the Republican programme to free Ireland from the British or other Western form of Imperialism, to the end that our country and people become subject to, or brought within the sphere of influence of, the brand of Imperialism operated through

out Russia and other countries whose rulers are adherents of Communist ideology.

The freedom of their country, and the opportunity for the Irish people to live in peace, prosperity and happiness, is what Republicans seek and struggle for. They realise that a people can be exploited by a ruling party or clique, irrespective of the class or creed from which the rulers spring.

It is precisely because of this realisation that Republicans have nothing in common with those of their countrymen who strive to keep Ireland in subjection to British Imperialism, nor with those others who, while professing a desire to have Ireland independent of Britain, would have her used as a pawn, to promote the interests of an ideology repugnant to the overwhelming majority of her people.

Leaders of Communist or quasi-Communist organisations in England and in Ireland endeavour to tint such groups with a Republican hue by identifying them with ex-members and expelled members of Republican organisations.

Such technique is quite familiar to Republicans. While it suits their purpose, members of all political parties in Ireland boast of their past records of service to the Republican Movement.

Yet all alike have ceased to serve in the ranks of this movement and without exception now render service to interests that are alien to the Cause of the Republicans alone upheld.

The charge may be anticipated that Republicans are Fascist and reactionaries and in reply it can be stated: Republicans are just as indifferent to such charges emanating from Communist sources as they are to other of their traducers who seek to brand them as Communists.

Both accusations may be treated with the measure of contempt they deserve. Republicans will not be diverted from the fulfilment of their task because such charges are bandied about by

individuals with a particular axe to grind.

The motto displayed outside Liberty Hall in 1916, "WE SERVE NEITHER KING NOR KAISER", revealed the attitude of the Republican leadership of the day towards the world situation confronting it. Brought up to date to meet the present global situation it remains the motto of the Republican Movement.

Lest anything in this statement may be construed as an incitement to interfere in any way with meetings or functions sponsored by Organisations referred to as Communist, or under Communist influence, let it be clearly understood that the leadership of the Republican Movement disapproves of any interference with such gatherings and will take disciplinary action against any attacks made upon them.

Alternatively a direction is herewith issued to all members of the Republican Movement to steer clear of all such organisations and to avoid lending countenance or support to cleverly veiled calls for "unity" and Irish Race Conventions emanating from their leadership.

Fr. Wickham (a tower of strength to us in every way) and gave them every help we could, until between 2 and 3 a.m. we decided they should rest and sleep.

ALL-NIGHT VIGIL

We crossed the town to the anse, my motor-coat weighing nothing like forty or fifty tons. Consumption had already, as I saw now, got a definite hold of me, though I wrangled on for months lest in the circumstances of my case I might seem to be begging for quarter).

I sat in a chair in Fr. Wickham's sittingroom (the spare room was taken up by nuns attending ill Adm.) until 5 a.m., when W. arose and we crossed the street again.

At 6 a.m., one of the boys, one, aged 18-19, had to be used from the sleep of an instant. Fr. W. was wonderful; he kept upright for what seemed hours on bare flags reciting rosaries, etc., etc.

JOYFUL

at on the plank bed listening my head between my arms and marvelling at the in which the responses were uttered; joy, hopefulness, abounding love and thankfulness; something like the tone of the responses of a first Communion class answering prayers recited for them after Mass by their priest.

I went downstairs at 7 a.m. to rest awhile before the end. I sat in a large hall at a sort of desk, my head resting on my hands thereon. I was aroused by a noise of people tramping: it was soldiers passing, carrying three coffins.

I went up again then. It was a lovely morning. Earlier, one of the boys, Parle, had remarked to me in a pleased happy voice, "Do you hear the birds, Father?" We chatted all together about 7.30 for a few minutes (they had received Holy Communion and all, of course, now).

Parle sat beside me and asked me to break the news to his parents. Creane made the same request. Both were from Taghmon: the other was Wexford, a grand poor fellow whose only regret was the loss he would be

Wexford Executions

Three soldiers of the Irish Republican Army, James Parle, Patrick Hogan and John Creane were executed by Free State firing squad in Wexford on March 13, 1923. The following account of their last hours and the actual execution was written by a priest who attended them.

IT WAS 10.30 p.m. some day in March '23 when about to retire for the night and feeling anything but well, Free State soldiers brought me the message. I first had to go to Caro to ask the C.C. to take my place as celebrant of a Requiem Mass for somebody in Taghmon next day. After trouble with lights of my car I started thither and thence to Wexford.

A cheery welcome awaited me from the three. It was about midnight. They had written their last letters, and their demeanour was boyish and glad-some, with something of the exaltation of those who have received some great spiritual uplifting.

Fr. Wickham (a tower of strength to us in every way) and gave them every help we could, until between 2 and 3 a.m. we decided they should rest and sleep.

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Parle sat beside me and asked me to break the news to his parents. Creane made the same request. Both were from Taghmon: the other was Wexford, a grand poor fellow whose only regret was the loss he would be

to his father in his work or business.

Parle also asked me to advise Bob Lambert and his boys to do nothing rash (in the way of reprisal, etc.), to give them all his love, and that he died perfectly satisfied and happy.

We were awaiting the officer now, all five standing together, when Parle asked me, with a smile, "What time is it now, Father?" I said, "It is twenty minutes to eight now, Jim," as calmly and cheerfully as I was able.

"Well, Father," he continued, "I never felt as happy in all my life." Quite truly, I am certain, but quite as evidently for the purpose of helping me—just think of it—not to be sad.

EYES BANDAGED

The officer came: the boys bade him a cheery good morning. We all descended to the ground floor. Two poor tired soldiers who had stood on guard, above, most of the night, and with whom I had chatted a while, stood behind with rifles, tears in their eyes.

The boys were taken in to separate open cells to have their eyes bandaged. They seemed to offer their heads for the process in an eager sort of way. A little procession was formed. Fr. Wm. recited the prayers. I walked between the two Taghmon boys, holding an arm of each. They answered just as they had answered the other prayers. We had a fairly long walk.

Eventually we came to the side of a huge grave, beside which were the three coffins. The wall behind was well sandbagged.

AN ETERNITY

Twelve (or fifteen) young soldiers with rifles were on one knee opposite the sandbags. When near the wall and beside the grave we turned the three blindfolded around to face the soldiers, the Wexford boy in the middle.

No sound could be heard for minutes while the officer made some arrangement. I stood out at an angle to the left of the boys and in line with the soldiers. Fr. Wm. and Dr. O'Connor, Westgate, stood similarly on their right.

The boys wore an expression of listening to some sound in the distance. The officer made two motions with a handkerchief to the soldiers; these made two corresponding movements, and as he, quickly, by a third movement, lowered the handkerchief, I was utterly stunned by the report of

TO ALL IRISH PEOPLE
IN ENGLAND
JOIN SINN FEIN AND
SAVE THE NATION

Strong branches of Sinn Fein are active in London, Birmingham, Manchester, Bristol, Coventry, Huddersfield and many more are about to be formed in other centres.

People seeking membership can apply to the following:—

T. Powderly,
47 Farnham Road,
Handsworth,
Birmingham 21.
T. McEllistrim,
27 Swanage Road,
London, S.W. 18.
Gearoid Mac Aodha,
58 Westown Road,
Avonmouth,
Bristol.

Join to-day—to-morrow may be too late.

the rifles, and although I saw Fr. Wm. actually anointing the Wexford boy (who had dropped like a stone, having apparently got most of the bullets, being in the centre).

DYING SLOWLY

I stood rooted to the spot where I stood for several seconds. I then realised the situation: the other two poor fellows were dying slowly. I went forward and anointed Parle while Fr. Wm. anointed Creane.

A diminutive young officer then came forward and slowly drew a revolver from his pocket or somewhere, calmly fired twice into the ear of Parle, then turned and looked at Creane, stepped slowly across and did exactly the same for him. All was over.

I drove home and took "breakfast". I then went over to the office. As the soldiers and lorries had accompanied me to Caro at my request (I did not know where the jail was and feared being fired on) I then drove to each of the two houses, Parle's and Creane's, and did what I could in the hardest task of all. I had dinner at 4 and went to bed.

PATRICK WALSH.

"Rathdrum,"
17/1/27.

D. Mac Giolla Phadraig

Bookseller and Stationer

12 CATHEDRAL ST.
DUBLIN

Belfast Appeal

The National Monument erected at the Republican Plot, Milltown Cemetery, Belfast, to the memory of our Martyred Dead, is at present very badly in need of repair and renovation.

Long years of internment and imprisonment of those who have cared for it down through the years, with the subsequent general public apathy resulting therefrom, has caused the stone to become shabby and outworn and the lettering almost indecipherable.

To restore it to its original, and to make it a worthy memorial not only to those who lie buried therein, but also to all who sacrificed their lives in the Cause of Ireland Free and Indivisible is the aim of the above Branch.

Therefore, to all who believe in the Noble Ideals for which these men suffered and died, and as a tribute to their service and sacrifice in the Cause of Ireland Free and Gaelic, we, the undersigned, make an urgent appeal for a generous donation towards the cost of the completion of this necessary work.

Go raibh mile maith agat.
Signed:

James Steele, 20 Clondara Street, Belfast.

Mrs. E. Kelly, 3 Anderson Street, Belfast.

Joseph Cahill, Jr., 60 Divis Street, Belfast.

W. McKee, 89 McDonnell Street, Belfast.

are already four or five years in prison (some almost eight years).

In England two men are serving life imprisonment.

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

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

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

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

PLEASE HELP US
TO
HELP THE PRISONERS

Support

An Cumann Cabhrach

PAT McCORMACK MEMORIAL UNVEILED

Glens of Antrim Gathering

SEVERAL hundred people from the Glens of Antrim and contingents from Belfast and Dublin attended the unveiling of a fine Celtic cross over the grave of Pat McCormack, life-long Republican and Irish-Irelander, in St. Patrick's Cemetery, Cushendun, Co. Antrim, on Sunday, May 27.

Armed and uniformed members of the British Crown Forces were present on the roadway outside the cemetery while plain clothes men from Belfast and other centres mingled with the crowd during the ceremony.

The memorial, erected by the Antrim branch of the National Graves Association, bore the following inscription in Gaelic:

"Erected by the Antrim Branch of the National Graves Association to the memory of Patrick McCormack, born December, 1880; died January, 1960, member of the Supreme Council of the Irish Republican Brotherhood and an active member of the Irish Republican Army.

"He sought neither glory, distinction, nor state, but that he remain true to Ireland. May he rest in peace."

An t-Athair D. Mag Eochagáin, Sagart Paróiste, Cushendun, presided and joined in the tribute to the dead Republican. Joseph McGurk, Belfast, performed the unveiling and delivered the oration.

Speaking in Irish and in English he said that they could not but mourn the passing of a staunch friend and a splendid Gael—big-hearted, generous and hospitable, with a Fearadh na Failte for each and every traveller who came to his door.

Pat McCormack was a man with a dedicated purpose in life—dedicated to the service of Ireland and Irish people.

He cherished in his heart each and every aspect of Irish nationhood—their culture, their language, their customs, games and pastimes were all near and dear to his heart.

The enslavement of Irish people to a foreign invader was to him a living tragedy and a truly abhorrent thing, and he resolved to awaken in the hearts of Irish people a sense of national consciousness and dignity.

ON PRISON SHIP

The speaker then traced the Antrim Republican's career in the National Movement for over 60 years: his service with the I.R.B. at home and in Scotland, how he went to Dungannon in 1916 in answer to the mobilisation order, his internment and part in the re-organisation following his release; and his part in the Black-and-Tan War in which he was severely wounded but evaded capture up to the Truce. He was finally arrested in 1922 and interned on the prison ship, *Argenta*, for three years. Released unconditionally, he returned to the Glens and again became active in the Republican Movement.

ment while he also continued the study of the Irish language.

He became a founder of Feis na nGleann, which has contributed so much to the fostering of the language, history, dancing and native games amongst the younger generation.

He was not to forget the sacrifices of his comrades who were killed in action. To mark and record those graves, he formed a branch of the National Graves Association, and the part which the Antrim Glens played in the fight for Irish freedom could be found in the cemeteries of Glenravel, Red Bay and Moneyglass, inscribed on monuments over the graves of the men of '20, '21 and '22.

JAILED IN 1940s

Another project dear to his heart was the erection of a monument to the memory of the outstanding Glens of Antrim patriot, Roger Casement and he encouraged in erecting a fine Celtic Cross on Shane's Cairn overlooking Cushendun Bay.

In his purpose he never faltered and many people can recall when he was re-arrested in the 1940's he elected to go to prison for two months—although well over 60 years at the time—rather than pay a fine for being in possession of a copy of "An Phoblacht."

Pat McCormack had now passed away, but his memory would linger in the hearts of his own folk of the Antrim Glens. His life should serve as an inspiration to the youth of Ireland.

"To us he has left his fighting heart, his courage, his hope and belief in the ultimate realisation of his dreams—an Ireland free and Gaelic.

"Let us not depart from this grave without paying tribute to his beloved wife, who predeceased him 22 years ago.

"That same ideal and courage was enshrined in her heart. As principal of Glendun National School, and a fluent Irish

speaker, she rendered outstanding service to the spread of the language."

Father McGuckian then recited prayers in Irish for those who worked for the restoration of Ireland in a fitting place amongst the nations of the world and the congregation joined.

Amongst those present were: Rev. B. Brady and Rev. T. Bartley, St. MacNissi's College, officials of Feis na nGleann and Father McGuigan, P.P., Dunloy.

Sean Og Fitzpatrick, Dublin, laid a wreath at the foot of the memorial on behalf of the National Graves Association.

REFLECTIONS ON BODENSTOWN

HOW many of us have come away from Bodinstown resolved to do our utmost in the job of re-organising and building up the Movement, and within a couple of days have forgotten our pledge? A pledge made at the grave of Wolfe Tone, a man who lived and died for Ireland, should surely be sacred and not so conveniently ignored.

The annual trip to Bodinstown should not be merely a day of reunion with old friends and acquaintances, but a renewal of our belief in Irish Republicanism and in the unity and freedom of our country. Surely the Ireland of Tone, Emmett and Pearse is worth making sacrifices for?

Throughout the year we are not called upon to do that much. For many of us the extent of our activities consists mostly of selling papers, collecting for the Prisoners' Dependents, and organising functions to raise much-needed funds. Is this too much to ask of us? Obviously, it is. We are all neglecting our duty, and duty it is, in not doing these things.

In the Campaign of 1956-62, young men left their homes and jobs to fight for our freedom—ten gave their lives for us. Yet we cannot bring ourselves to perform the simplest tasks. Can we ask ourselves the question: "Have we deserved that these sacrifices be made for us?" and answer "yes"? Unfortunately very few of us can.

Even to-day there are forty-three men in Crumlin Road Jail serving sentences up to fifteen years, and two men in England serving life imprisonment. We may say on the few occasions we think of these men that it is a shame, yet what do we do about it? We are willing to let them suffer while we sit at home doing nothing.

This year 13 men will be released from Crumlin Road Jail, having finished their time. Are we going to let them come home to a Movement that is apathetic, tired and weak? Or are we going to get down to work and create a vital, growing Movement, a Movement of which these men and the prisoners they left behind can be proud?

Now is the time for us to make up our minds. What road are we taking? The hard one to unity, freedom and eventual prosperity, or the easy one of ignoring our duty and abandoning our principles? Decide now, and be straight with yourself and with the Movement.

—Caitlin Og.

Sean Mac Diarmada

Every year since the James Connolly Commemoration first came to be organised, the man who died along with him and was his true comrade, has been ignored by those in charge of it.

The name of Sean Mac Diarmada, one of the finest and most faithful of our dead, has never been mentioned in the publicity releases of the organisers of Connolly Day or Connolly Week.

And yet not one of all those who have died to set us free and to assert our rights to freedom had a greater love in his heart for the common people of Ireland and her poor, than had the worker, Sean Mac Diarmada, who died beside James Connolly on May 12, 1916, and whose humble, heroic comment on his approaching sacrifice was: "It is all in the day's work."

That such a man should be passed over in silence by Labour in Ireland is bad enough, but that in the organ and mouthpiece of Irish Republicanism, the UNITED IRISHMAN, his name, should be completely ignored, is amazing, to say the very least of it. His honoured, illustrious name is not mentioned once in the May issue of this paper. Why?

It is because he was mentioned earlier in connection with the annual commemoration of Easter Week, 1916? So was James Connolly, as by right he should. But they died on the same day, for the same cause, and should always be mentioned and honoured together by faithful lovers of the Republic of Ireland, of all Ireland. Why, then, is one of them honoured by the UNITED IRISHMAN and the other completely ignored?

Brian O hUiginn.

Editorial Note—Looking back through our files for 1962 alone we find that our March issue carried a (two-column width) photograph of Sean Mac Diarmada on the front page while a four-column feature article on "Sean Mac Diarmada—Hero of Easter Week" appeared on page 9 of our April number.

Sean Mac Diarmada has not been ignored by this newspaper but since he and James Connolly were executed on the same day perhaps it would be better, as Brian O hUiginn suggests, to couple their names.

In Memoriam Cards

CATHAL BRUGHIA

Commemorating the fortieth anniversary of his heroic death in defence of the Republic. Verse by Brian O'Higgins.

PATRICK MAC MANUS

Commemorating the fourth anniversary of his death for Ireland on July 15, 1958.

Obtainable in Ireland from: SEAN O DUINN, 45 Abbey Street, Wexford. 4d. each; 2/6 per doz. post free. Obtainable in U.S. and Canada from:

M. J. WALSH, 157 Kohler St., Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, Canada. 8 cents each, post free; 10 for 50 cents.

New Six-County Republican Paper

The first issue of a new Republican paper was published in the Six Counties during June. Named "Pro Patria," it is published at 126 Ardilea Street, Belfast 14. The tone of the new paper was set by a leading article entitled "Out of the North" which we quote in full:

"The old saying has it: 'Out of the North comes hope.' And with the recent ending of another phase in the struggle for the unity and freedom of Ireland the eyes of nationally-minded Irish people will not turn away from British-occupied North-East Ulster.

"Rather will they look more searching to the Six Counties under direct British rule for some glimmer of hope for Irish Nationalism, some earnest of future endeavour.

"This journal has been launched to give such an indication to the people of Ireland, and, more particularly, to rouse the people of the North to a full understanding and grasp of their rights and duties as Irishmen and women.

"It was to Cave Hill over Belfast that Wolfe Tone and his comrades came 170 years ago when they swore 'never to desist in their efforts' for the freedom of Ireland. We must not desist in our efforts now. The times may be more propitious than many think.

"Moves are afoot at present on the part of the British Government and the 26-County Government to bring all Ireland into the European Common Market and into all the economic, political and military entanglements which that involves.

"This will solve all our problems, the 26-County politicians and their Six-County allies urge plausibly. It will also bring about Irish unity, they say.

"But territorial unity without Irish freedom is useless. The E.E.C. could as easily restore the unity of the 'British Isles' as end the partition of Ireland, a leading pro-Britisher has told them. And national problems will not be resolved by unloading them on to a supra-national body.

"The Common Market will also provide the necessary dynamic to galvanise our people into action, it is claimed. But Irish Republicans answer that patriotism is not outdated.

"They say that true Nationalism—and not the exaggerated kind which some European countries espoused—has still the necessary impetus to stir up in the people the spirit, the enthusiasm and the energy to face our problems, and

take the steps necessary to solve them.

"And what must you, the man in the street, do just now to assist the effort which this journal would set in motion. You must do everything in your power to extend the national consciousness of the Irish people: their language, games, customs, singing, dancing and drama must have your support.

"Be a good Irishman, honour your country's dead—including your recent dead—and strive to learn the story of our people's heroic fight for their place upon this earth.

"Disregard the sophistry of time-serving professional politicians who would grasp at any straw and stoop to any delusion to extend their lease on a political career. Above all do not allow them use Republicans—or Republican prisoners—as a footstool to office.

"Do everything in your power to make effective the demand for the immediate and unconditional release of the Irish Republicans in Belfast Jail and in England. They put their lives and liberty in danger for your sake. And pending their release, support their dependants.

"You will be making a major contribution towards awakening the spirit of disinterested, self-sacrificing patriotism among our people by assisting in the preparations now under way for the contest of all twelve seats by the Republican candidates in the coming Westminster elections. You can contact your local Republican Election Committee or help form one if there is none in your area.

"Above all read this journal regularly, pass it to a friend, promote it in every way you can—and even sell it.

"And now read on this page the words spoken by a fearless man at a time when national spirit was low in Ireland. He said what we are trying to say now—only he put it so much better. His words are worthy of note in Occupied Ireland today."

(A quotation from Most Rev. Dr. O'Dwyer's defence of the men of 1916 then follows.—Ed., "U.I.")

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BODENSTOWN SUNDAY: (Top) Provincial Colour-Party leads the Connacht Contingent. (Lower) Tomas Mac Giolla, who gave the oration.

Wolfe Tone The Man

Tomas Mac Giolla opened his oration in Irish as follows:—

"A mhuintir na Poblachta—
Tagann na slóighte Poblacht-
ánach chuig an láthair seo gach
uile bhliain chun onóir agus
omós a thuitir do Thobhoid Wolfe
Tone atá leagtha féin géré anso
in aice linn.

"Ag seasamh anso dúinn
thar timpeall a uaigne smaoin-
simid ar an bhféar agus ar an
éacht a rinne sé breis agus céad
go leith bliain ó shin. Seo an
fear a bhunaigh Gluaiseacht na
Poblachta agus a chait a shaíl
agus a chaill a bheatha ag troid
go díograsach thar cheann a thre
dúchais.

"Ag smaoinimh dúinn ar an
bhféar seo líonann ár gcroíthe le
bród, nó le náire, do réir mar a
leannam nó mar a tháinigamar
an bóthar dian díreach a shíol
féin.

"Táimid-ne ag síol an bhó-
thair cheannain chéanna mar
nóir shroisemarr ceann scríbe gá
foill. Níl na h-aithmeanna a
chuir Wolfe Tone roimhe coimhlinta
—tá fíre fós fé amach Shasana
agus tá deighilt go fóill idir
Caitlicigh agus Protastúnaigh.

"Cúig bliain go leith ó
shoin tonsaíodh Feachtas Mí-
eata i gcoinneibh Fórsaí Shas-
ana sa Tuaisceart agus bhí
mórán daoine ag súil gurab é
seo an troid deiridh agus go
mbainimís saoirse na tíre
amach an uair seo.

"Níor bhain, ar ndóighe. Le
lín na bliana seo caite chuir
Arm na Poblachta deire leis an
bhFeachtas agus tá daoine ann a
deireann go bhfuil muid claoite.
Aoinne atá ag scalpádh scéil
mar sin tá sé ag déanamh obair
Shasana agus obair an t-Saorstáit.

"Cuireadh deire leis an
bhFeachtas Míleata sin agus i rith
na tréimhe seo caite fíndim
an pobal a mhealladh agus a mhú-
nadh agus a stiúradh i dtreo is
go mbeidh siad linn ó Chiasraí
go h-Aontrúim agus go mbeidh
go léir dírithe ar bhóthar na
saoirse.

"Ní feidir a rá an mbeidh an
tréimhe idir seo agus an chéad
fheachtas eile fada nó gairid ach
is feidir a rá go mbrathann sé
orainn-ne agus ar gach bhall de'n
ghluaiseacht. An mbeidh ag
obair nó ag caint? An gcuirimid
maithne na tíre roimh ár maith-
eas féin? An ndéanfaimid mar a
dheint Wolfe?

"Bí cinnte de seo: tá an
ghluaiseacht a chuir Wolfe ar
bun go breá láidir fós agus ní
stadfaidh nó ní staonfaidh an
ghluaiseacht sin go dtí go
mbeidh saoirse lomán na tíre
bainte amach agus Stóicháin na
nGael i réim arís!"

"Here in Bodentown Church
yard it has become traditional
not alone to pay honour to the
greatness of the man around
whose grave we stand, but also
to review the year which has
passed and to see how we have
adhered to, or abandoned the
principles enunciated by Wolfe
170 years ago

"It is a good thing also to
have a look at the qualities
which made Wolfe great and
which brought him to the
brink of success in the task he
set before him.

"Wolfe was a man of tremen-
dous determination, courage and
devotion to his country. Although
extremely devoted to his
wife and children he left them
in 1796 and gave himself
utterly and completely to the
service of his country.

"He landed in France with no
resources and no friends and yet
in two short years he succeeded
in assembling a force which, but
for a series of mishaps, would
undoubtedly have extricated
Ireland for ever from the clutches
of the British Empire.

"He had a keen mind, a flair
for organisation and a knowl-
edge of men. He was a born
leader and a born statesman but
the secret of his strength and
power lay in his honesty, self-
lessness and determination."

Move Forward With Enthusiasm

Bodentown Speaker On Next Phase Of Struggle

"It is in these attributes—honesty, selflessness and determination—that the strength of the Republican Movement lies to this day. Without this we would disintegrate and collapse; with them we are unconquerable and shall survive all onslaughts."

This point was made by Tomas Mac Giolla of Tipperary when he addressed many thousands of Republicans assembled at the grave of Wolfe Tone in Bodentown, Co. Kildare, on Sunday, June 17.

Continuing his oration he said: "To preserve and strengthen the whole Movement it is necessary for each member to preserve and strengthen within himself these qualities of honesty, selflessness and determination.

EVEN A FEW MEN

"A man without honesty and selflessness will pursue his own selfish ends instead of subjecting himself and his own good to the good of the movement and of the nation. A man without determination will become apathetic and disheartened and will spread a feeling of defeat and despair throughout the Movement.

"With these qualities of honesty, selflessness and determination even a few men can build the Republican Movement into a tremendous force and rally the nation behind it.

"We have need of these qualities to-day when we are passing through a difficult period. In February last the Military Cam-

paign against the British Forces of Occupation was terminated by the Resistance Movement. The reasons for doing so were clearly set out in a statement issued by the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau on February 26th last.

RESISTANCE CAMPAIGN

"The decision to terminate the Campaign was one which required great moral courage to make but no honest or reasonable individual who assesses all the facts objectively can deny that it was in the best interests of the Republican Movement and of the Cause of Irish Freedom.

"We must never allow ourselves to confuse the means with the end. The Resistance Campaign against the British Forces

of Occupation in Ireland which was commenced on December 12, 1956, was the means adopted in the circumstances of that time to achieve the ultimate objective of Freedom and Independence for the whole Irish Nation.

"Some people may have come to regard the Campaign as an end in itself and may thus have felt that it should have been kept going at all costs—but this was not so.

"It could in fact have been kept going indefinitely, but the leadership of the Resistance Movement, keeping in mind the ultimate objective and realising that circumstances had radically altered both in the Six and the 26 Counties decided to terminate the Campaign and to inform the Irish people.

"There should be no disappointment or defeatism about this decision. This was not a step backward but a step forward. It is an opportunity to conserve our resources, consolidate our position and gird ourselves to move forward with enthusiasm and optimism to the next phase in the struggle for freedom."

CATHAL BRUGHU

The National Graves Association in co-operation with the Catholic Brughu Club, Ontario, Canada, will commemorate the 40th anniversary of the death of Cathal Brughu at his grave in Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin, at 12 noon on Sunday, July 8.

The ceremonies will consist of the laying of a wreath on the grave, recital of the Rosary, the sounding of Last Post and a short oration.

The Association invites the general public to join them in this tribute to the memory of one of the bravest to lay down his life for his country's Independence.

Attitude To Leinster House

"There may be some people in the Movement to-day who are lacking those qualities I mentioned at the outset—the qualities of honesty, selflessness and determination. They may feel that we should now compromise with the enemy—they may feel we should now accept the infamous Treaty of '21 and work with the British instituted Parliaments of Stormont and Leinster House.

"Each generation has produced such men and we probably have some with us now. If there are such let them go their way but let them not call themselves Republicans.

"They may very well advance their own cause but they certainly will not advance the Cause of Irish Freedom. They may establish themselves in the Free State hierarchy but they certainly will not establish the sovereign Irish Republic.

"Both Partition Parliaments were born in treachery and deceit and reared on lies and

hypocrisy, and anyone who takes part in them and still calls himself a Republican is a traitor, a liar and a hypocrite.

"Any man who is satisfied with a 26-county State or a six-county State, and says so clearly, can indeed honestly take part in either of these assemblies. But so far only the Unionists can claim to be honest men.

"No man can claim to be a Republican and Separatist while he accepts and works with the very institutions of government which were designed by Britain to keep Ireland divided and sundered and under her domination.

"Let us then re-affirm our determination never to accept the Treaty of Surrender or the assemblies arising from it, but to work constantly and determinedly to re-establish the sovereign Irish Republic with one Parliament elected by the universal suffrage of all the Irish people."

Tributes to Prisoners, People, Freedom-Fighters

Other points made in the 1962 Bodentown oration were:—

"Before leaving this Bodentown Commemoration of 1962 it is right that we pay due honour and tribute to the young soldiers of the Republic who devoted themselves so completely and unselfishly to their country during the past 5½ years. They sacrificed their careers, their families, their friends and their freedom and some of them sacrificed their lives.

"Against colossal odds both in front and rear these young men performed wonderful deeds of heroism, bravery and daring and extraordinary feats of endurance which are unknown and probably will remain unknown except to a few.

"They sought nothing for themselves, not even gratitude, which surely is their due, but were in fact reviled and denigrated by cowardly and renegade Irishmen whose one desire is to serve and please their British masters.

"I can safely be said that at no period in our history did we produce more heroic, more disciplined, or more selfless soldiers than in the past six years.

"Let us also pay tribute to all those who helped and encouraged

them at much risk to themselves and let us remember our people in Occupied Ireland on whom the brunt of the struggle fell. They were subjected to armed police terror throughout the whole period of the Campaign.

"Every effort was made to terrorise and intimidate all who might oppose British rule and to ensure that they would never again support an armed uprising.

"In this they failed as British terror tactics always fail.

"Let our last thought be for the young men yet in jail some of whom are now serving their eighth year. There are 43 in Belfast serving sentences of up to 15 years and two serving life sentences alone in English jails.

"This is the price they are paying for loving their country above themselves.

"Let us resolve to make it our immediate task to work night and main to secure their release.

"These are the soldiers—sons of the Republic—Prisoners of War who are treated as criminals in enemy jails. Let us at all times be ready to defend their honour when they are reviled and attacked and agas na d'anaimis d'earmháid ortha go brath.

Fianna Eireann Notes

G.H.Q.

All Sluagh adjutants are requested to forward reports of their Whit camps and intended annual camps to G.H.Q. immediately.

LONDON

Our London branch of the Associate Membership Dept. is doing trojan work for the organisation. Already they have held a successful Concert and Ceili, and a further Concert is due to be held on July 27. Watch out for their advertising posters.

AUSTRALIA

As far off as Australia you will find members of "Na Fianna". Kevin, Gerard and Brendan O'Donnell, sons of Mr. and Mrs. Matt O'Donnell of Melbourne are very enthusiastic members indeed. Between the family they sold over 10 dozen copies of the "United Irishman" at the St. Patrick's Day parade in Melbourne. Although born in Australia, Kevin, the eldest of the boys, can correspond with a pen-pal in Ireland through the medium of Gaelic.

SLUAGH CON O COILBEARD

Reports from this Sluagh indicate that their Whit Weekend camp was very successful. The Q.M., Gearóid O'Connaithe, proved that the way to a scout's heart depends on the way he is fed. The officers of this Sluagh held a midnight hike during June from Bohernabreena to Bray, via Glencree and Kilmacanogue.

McKEE-ASHE SLUAGH

The officers of the Finglas Sluagh report that the Whit camp held by them in Devil's Glen, Co. Wicklow, was a great success. There was an attendance of 30 scouts and officers, and the standard of Campcraft and Scouting was very high indeed. Congratulations to S/L P. O. Raghaillie and S/L P. Mac An Ulaigh who handled their squads admirably

and proved their ability as Fianna Squad Leaders.

SLUAGH LIAM O MAOL IOSA

Reports from the Drimnagh Sluagh show that they held a Whit Camp to Knockree, Co. Wicklow. The scouts enjoyed some very interesting night training which the officers arranged in the form of games.

DEPARTMENT OF ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP, G.H.Q.

The above Dept. has been reorganised and persons wishing to become Associate Members of Na Fianna should fill in the form below and send it to:—

NA FIANNA EIREANN,
Dept. of Associate Membership,
c/o P.O. Box 187,
Dublin 1.

Name

Address

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Amount Enclosed

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Associate membership entitles

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card and a copy of a quarterly

bulletin. The fee for Associate

Membership is 10/- per year

(\$1.50 in U.S.).

DRAW RESULT

An Cumann Cabhrach
Dublin Committee
IRISH DERBY, 1962

MEMBERS' PRIVATE DRAW

1st Prize (£25) Ticket No.
28993, Tambourine II; won by
Baby Murray, Main St., Passage
West, Co. Cork.

2nd Prize (£10) No. 36797,
Arctic Storm; Maureen Delaney,
63 Beech Hill Drive, Donny-
brook, Dublin.

3rd Prize (£5) No. 24966,
Sebring; W. Carroll, 476 Man-
chester Road, Hudds., c/o T.
Cashin (Seller), 43 Harpe Imge,
Dalton, Hudds., England.

Common Market Considerations

By
Deasun Breatnach

WHEN first I heard of the European Economic Community, otherwise known as the Common Market, I was enthusiastic about it and wished that circumstances were such in Ireland that we could become a member. Our links with the Continental nations were strong until British meddling in our affairs resulted in our becoming one of the most insular peoples in the world.

Archaeologists have proved that Ireland had an important position on the European trade route many hundreds of years before Padraig was brought to our shores as a slave. Now, exactly, we avoided becoming part of the Roman Empire doesn't really matter.

Broad and Civilising

The important thing is that when Padraig brought us the Faith the Irish state was intact. It became possible to marry the best Roman culture, through the Faith, with the best of an unconquered Irish culture.

Later, it was assumed for a few hundred years that any educated man on the Continent of Europe was an Irishman, because the Irish were repaying their debt to Europe, bringing light back into the ravaged, darkened places.

It was an Irishman at the court of Charlemagne who first declared that the world was round. The preaching of the Faith in places where it had been stamped out was the *raison d'être* of this fantastic missionary wave, but it was not all. The arts and sciences were also on the curriculum. It was broad and civilising this stream from Ireland.

The Irish state of those days had a system far more generous than that of the British welfare system, to come so many centuries later. Students from all over Europe were taught free in the Irish universities—not only that, but fed and clothed, where necessary.

Irish, the oldest classical tongue in Europe, was the medium through which many of them were proud to be taught and we read of foreign princes boasting of being able to produce poems in Irish, in the complicated metrical style.

Aid from Europe

The Irish paid another debt to Europe by breaking the power of the Vikings at Cluain Tairbh, reckoned as one of the decisive battles of Europe. Then our sun began to set. But during the long setting, before British darkness covered our land, our Continental friends came frequently to our aid, in war and in trade.

Over the centuries many of our educated men and women had a fluent knowledge of French and Spanish, as well as Irish, Latin and English. What remains of our great literature in poetry, spanning 1,000 years, proves conclusively that the Irish mind was part of the great European mind.

The mingling of Irish culture with that of the Continent continued as long as the Irish

language was dominant in Ireland. But after Kinalva our horizon was narrowed to the "English-speaking world."

It was not until the degradation of the Penal Laws, and the attempt at genocide involved in plantation and unchecked famine, that some of our people came to believe that "wars begin at Calais," and to adopt the British *herrenvolk* idea.

Spiritual Values Denied

Remembering these things and hoping that we might escape from the Anglo-Saxon atmosphere which is poisoning this country and suffocating all spiritual and cultural values, I longed for and welcomed this idea of a European community of souls.

However, it is becoming more and more obvious with every day that passes that this is no idealistic union but a political entity. It appears to me that the French concept, as expressed by General de Gaulle, of a confederation of European peoples creating a third force in world politics, is more desirable than the German idea of a closely knit European state.

But even in this confederation—if it ever comes into being—there are probabilities and possibilities to give us pause. France no longer is even the shadow of a democratic country, and the forces of extreme right and extreme left, snarling and snapping at each other, are held apart by one man, France is the mother of the O.A.S. France is the oppressor of the Bretons and is killing three languages, Breton, Basque and Catalan.

Britain is a likely member, and Britain is killing Welsh and Gaidhlig, strangling and poisoning Ireland.

Materialistic Attractions

Fianna Fail has promised us the moon and the stars if we join the Common Market. Materialistic attractions have been glitter-dangled before childish eyes. Yet even here, little by little, the truth is emerging. The six have an ever increasing problem in milk and cattle; the surplus goes up every year.

The real spirit of the Rome Treaty appears to be that of efficiency at all costs; the survival of the fittest; and the devil take the hindmost.

Crops will be permitted where best they grow—that knocks out virtually everything we can produce, except barley, potatoes, possibly beet, and, of course, cabbage. Would we be content with being Europe's cabbage patch?

The same spirit inspires the industrial programme. The really big projects might survive, later to become absorbed, local plants of giant enterprises directed from Berlin, Brussels, London, or Paris. The hundreds of smaller enterprises will collapse like a house of cards.

Doubtless, the workers will not die of starvation. The Rome Treaty provides for

"free movement of workers." Huge numbers of the Irish people will be scattered over France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, Switzerland.

I believe that we are being faced with what happened to Scotland, though on a more terrible scale. Is this, then, the last chapter of the history of Ireland? Are they right who say that, if Britain joins E.E.C., we must follow or be snuffed out?

There is one further unpleasant aspect of this cultural, political and economic threat. The economy will be directed for the overall benefit of the members—mainly, of course, of the major powers and eventually, probably, of the most dominant of these—against all outsiders.

We know that in a similar giant state—the United States of America—farmers are being paid not to produce food. Already the Six are troubled with the food surplus problem. There is a famine in China. Half the world does not have enough to eat. It appears to me that it is an exceedingly evil thing to discourage food production when millions of people are starving elsewhere.

European Octopus

De we wish to be associated with such a policy? Charity may be at a low ebb in Ireland to-day—there were no great protests at the State depriving ex-political prisoners of work for seven years, nor did any trade union strike to get justice for even one of the men affected—but, despite that, surely the tide of Irish charity has not gone out that far?

There are still other considerations. The Union Minière is represented in the Common Market, as is Krupp and every other huge capitalist organisation. On the other side of the fence are those who are our brothers and natural allies, against whom, politically and economically, this E.E.C. octopus will be directed, the emerging free nations of Africa; the Jews and the Arabs and the Indians.

Finally, the mushroom; the symbol of childhood stories—fairies and leprechauns—has become for us of the 20th century, and especially for those who form part of the great alliances in the cold war that may become nuclear-hot at any moment, a symbol of liquidation, at its worst; at its least, the maiming and warping of the human seed.

Do we have the moral right to place ourselves in such a position that we, our facilities, our land, may be used in a war which the Church has stated cannot be a just one?

Christianising Europe

It is much easier to demolish than to build. There is another argument, that in favour of our joining E.E.C. (if we were a free, united nation under a lawful, independent government). It is that we would have an opportunity to bring Christian values to bear on what is, largely, a pagan society.

I would welcome an approach along these lines. It would be more in line with our history and traditions. I have not heard a syllable of such an argument. The basest, materialistic instincts

are being played upon—fear, and material gain.

But what else could one expect from the gommeen men in control? What evidence is there to-day in Ireland that this was once a nation with high artistic standards in stone, metal, literature and music?

In Britain's Interest

Dishonesty is the dominant trait of the gommeen man; never was he interested in patriotism or culture, learning or moral values. Dishonesty is all about us. Cheating and lying are practiced widely in business; why expect otherwise in politics? Confessors say that perjury is one of the commonest sins in Ireland. Why expect that it be confined to the witness box in a courthouse?

I believe it to be a lie that we must follow where Britain leads. True, Britain is our biggest market, but only because Ireland has been organised and administered in her interest. Irish politics has been warped out of reality by British domination.

The Irishman has been frustrated by the mental strait-jacket imposed by Britain. Because of division and government by puppet administrations, frustration and confusion have resulted.

Administration of both statelets has been extremely poor, even taking into consideration the political strait-jacket. But, perhaps, the greatest harm that the connection with Britain has done us apart from the cultural one is the blunting of Irish initiative and ambition.

Because it has been made so easy for Irish workers to enter Britain, due to the connection, it is virtually a reflex action of millions of Irishmen over the last 50 years to emigrate there unless they are lifted by the scruff of their necks and placed in jobs at home.

An Expanding Population

A growing nation quickens a nation's pulse. A young, dynamic population, entering a progressively more competitive society, introduces new methods, adopts new techniques, multiplies industries, enterprises and opportunities.

It would be a good thing for Ireland if its lifeblood—its young—were not eternally tapped by Britain. The slamming of the English door in our faces could be the greatest favour Britain has done us in a thousand years.

Could we meet the challenge of standing on our own feet? The small measure of industrial and agricultural progress which has been possible within the present set-up in the 26 Counties would indicate that we could if the terrible blot on our consciences that is Partition could be removed.

We have friends in America, in Africa and in the Middle East, and surely we could become sufficiently efficient in certain respects to make deals with the Common Market, with America, and with the Soviet bloc, without becoming less neutral, less independent or more committed?

IN the midst of dishonesty of a huge scale in public life here to-day, the men and women who contributed to the recent armed action against the Crown Forces in the Six Counties stand proved, and it must be from these that the Irish people will find its leaders.

The basis on which they can act is something I do not know.

These people, without reward, have risked their lives because of love for their country . . .

Their characters are unswayed; they stand out as even greater figures against the background of deceit, lying, perjury, coercion, quislingism, treachery, torture and murder of that period.

I believe that the people will follow them . . .

A nation does not die because economic forces are ranged against it, or because there are big problems before it. A nation dies only when it ceases to resist.

In many respects, 1962 is the equivalent of 1800. In 1800, the Irish people were not consulted when, pretences cast aside, Britain tried, on a legalistic pretence, to swallow Ireland.

In 1962, the people are not being consulted. The last time the Irish people were consulted was in 1918. We gave our answer.

In both parts of Ireland to-day the politicians are preparing the great betrayal.

In the Six Counties it has been so arranged that even with a Nationalist majority, the Unionists must always rule (according to Catholic teaching, a justification for rebellion), the Six Counties will be dragged always behind Britain until they are liberated. If they are not liberated before Britain joins the Common Market (if she does), they may be confirmed forever as British territory.

Realities of Membership

In the Twenty-Six Counties, it is beginning to look as if the pro-E.E.C. politicians will not have it all their own way. There is a growing awareness of the unpleasant realities of membership. People's consciences are troubled on the subject of neutrality, N.A.T.O.; they fear, especially, the consequences of joining one of the nuclear clubs.

Trade union leaders, also troubled by the political and military aspects, are becoming more and more worried about the economic consequences.

At least one bishop has hit hard at the politicians and pointed to what is already taking place in his diocese—the shadow of things to come, if the 26 Counties were to join E.E.C. The situation, therefore, is not without hope. The ordinary people of Ireland, who have remained faithful to their country in all ages, the great unbroken Irish mass has not been fooled.

They are confused. They are frustrated. They are leaderless. It could happen that they could be bludgeoned by skilful psychological warfare into rushing, terrified, into the E.E.C. pen.

Without Leaders

Thus, there is a tremendous national problem in Ireland to-day; the difficulty is that it is impossible to solve it on a political basis. There is the unbroken mass of the people, its confidence in the politicians weakening, but without leaders.

At least it appears to be impossible to solve it politically for those of us who believe that it is a matter for the entire Irish people to decide in what way and to what extent they will enter into agreements with other states and peoples.

This logic has its roots in the 1918 general election . . . in the Treaty of 1921 which was not authorised by the entire Irish

people . . . and everything since, which has not had their approval.

I have not had this belief since childhood; I was not born into it. I arrived at the beliefs I hold to-day by a search for the truth. Even to-day, I am not a member of the Republican movement though by the force of logic I am compelled to sympathise with it.

Six-County Campaign

That personal expiation is necessary because of this: I believe that, in the midst of dishonesty on a huge scale in public life here to-day, the men and women who contributed to the recent armed action against the Crown Forces in the Six Counties stand proved, and it must be from these that the Irish people will find its leaders.

The basis on which they can act is something I do not know. These people, without reward, have risked their lives because of love for their country. They have been persecuted by the authorities on both sides of the Border—that will be a black, a shameful chapter to be read by future generations, if the nation is not broken and scattered to the far corners of Europe.

Their characters are unswayed; they stand out as even greater figures against the background of deceit, lying, perjury, coercion, quislingism, treachery, torture and murder of that period.

I believe that the people will follow them. I believe, too, that honest people in the administration, already troubled by feared disaster in one way or another (most people in the language movement, for example, are convinced now that the 26-County state will shrink from making the effort needed to save the language) will welcome their leadership.

Political Strait-jacket

But leadership of what? I am not convinced that what has to be achieved can be achieved by any political party, or even by the Sinn Féin organisation on its own, because of the political strait-jacket forced on Ireland by the Treaty. No self-declared Republican, for example, in honesty can take the Six Counties' loyalty pledge, which is necessary before he can stand for election.

No honest Republican can allow himself to be made a tool of the fauceurs of Leinster House.

Can evolution succeed, or must it be revolution? All that I can see before me is the need for a resistance movement; I would like it to be a positive one; I fear that it may become a negative force.

This flirting with E.E.C. could be a vital moment in the life of the Irish nation. It should be discussed by the Republican Movement, I have tried here, this month, to examine the position

(To Page Six.)

Wolfe Tone Week In Dublin City

THE annual Wolfe Tone Week for 1962 organised by Dublin Comhairle Ceantair de Sinn Féin was one of the most successful held for a number of years.

The weeks celebrations began with a most interesting lecture on "Republicanism in Ireland" by Sean Og O Tuama in Moran's Hotel, Sean Treacy Street, on Wednesday, June 13.

Next evening Eamonn Mac Thomais led a group of Republicans and the general public on a historical tour of old Dublin. Places visited included those with direct associations with Robert Emmet. The tour ended in front of the Mendicity Institute where a graphic account was given of the great fight put up by Sean Heuston and his small garrison in 1916.

On Friday, June 15, a public meeting conducted entirely in Irish was held at Abbey Street corner. Speakers included Seoirse Dearth, Tomas Mac Giolla and Seamus Mac Ciarnáin.

This was followed by an Aeriocht. Music was by the Keating Band while Cumann na Gaeil and Clann na nGaedheal provided dancing. Songs were contributed by Seosamh McEvoy and Seoirse Dearth.

On Saturday, June 16, a large Parade representative of all branches of the Republican Movement formed up in Parnell Square and led by the Emerald Girls Pipe Band marched through O'Connell Street and Henry Street to Wolfe Tone Street. There a wreath was placed at the birthplace of Wolfe Tone by Frank Ross on behalf of Sinn Féin.

The parade then marched to Abbey Street where a public meeting under the auspices of Sinn Féin was held. Frank Graham, Tomas Mac Giolla and

Seamus Graham spoke. Seamus O Dorain presided.

This meeting attracted a large and attentive audience and a number of people were impressed by the views put forward by the speakers regarding the Common Market.

SYMPATHY

Republicans learned with regret of the recent deaths of—

Very Rev. Denis Berchmans Devlin, O.Carm., former Provincial, who was a good friend of the Republican Movement and especially of Republican Prisoners in Mountjoy. He was attached to the Carmelite Church, Whitefriar St., Dublin.

Patrick O'Mahony, Fermoy, Co. Cork, who was active in the Republican Movement all his life. He was a founder member of the Thomas Kent Republican Pipe Band and a committee member of the re-organised Thomas Kent Girls' Pipe Band, Fermoy. He sold 14 dozen copies of the "United Irishman" on his own every month for years past, Liam Leddy, Araglin, gave the oration at the graveside.

Bernard Keenan, Carabane, Ravensdale, Dundalk, Co. Louth, who was a good friend of the active service men from Occupied Ireland during the recent Resistance Campaign. Sincere sympathy is extended to his family and brothers and sister in America.

Hugh McLoughlin, Soran, Ballinaline, Co. Longford, who was active with the I.R.B., I.R.A. and Republican Courts. He was imprisoned under the Free State and took part in the 1923 hunger strike. In recent years of failing health his sympathies were with the Freedom-fighters in Occupied Ireland.

Ar dheis De go raibh a n-anam.

Activities In Australia

"UNDER blue Australian skies" a soft winter breeze fanned the Tricolour flag of Ireland as it fluttered from the mast in the flower-shrubbed lawn at the bush home of Frank and Doreen Hegarty where under the auspices of the Tone-Pearse Cumann of Sinn Féin, Melbourne, an Irish-Ireland social was enjoyed recently by those working for the Cause.

Traditional Irish music in jigs, reels, hornpipes and marches, recitations and songs of the Gael were the programme of this pleasant evening. "Emmet's Speech from the Dock" and Pearce's oration over the grave of O'Donovan Rossa were ably given by Frank Mohan of Armagh.

Songs by Harry and Maire Burns (late of Tomas Ashe, Cork), Misses Meade and Mrs. Thompson of Belfast, the O'Donnell family and Ken Toomey included "The Marseillaise", "Scots Wha Hae" and Australian bush ballads.

Paddy Cassidy and family flew the 600-mile journey from Sydney to the party.

Pat donated £5 to the Prisoners' Aid "in memory of Nurse Finn, Cumann na mBan, 1916, of Blackrock, Dublin".

Many flashlights photos were taken and as one looked round this little gathering from one face to another something in the occasion, in the scene, touched one deeply for those people were a bit of revolutionary Ireland in the outback of the Australian bush.

The National Anthem in Gaelic closed the proceedings.

SHIP VISITED

In May the "Irish Alder" berthed at the South Wharf on her first visit to Melbourne. Members of Sinn Féin were welcomed on board by the crew, the "United Irishman" was distributed and a collection for the Prisoners Aid taken up. Organisation was by Mrs. McKeown, Joe O'Gorman and Jack Hartnett.

The press here in Australia stated that "Great Britain and Northern Ireland" will now be known as "Britain" as the first term exposes the partition of Ireland. Press reports also say that subtle political reasons are behind the change.

COMMON MARKET CONSIDERATIONS

(from page five)

sincerely and honestly; to point its importance; to seek some way forward that is in line with Irish history and traditions.

I may be the voice of one crying in the wilderness; I may be wrong in many of the things I have said; there may be faults in my arguments. Could we discuss this impasse and try to seek daylight?

No one man, least of all a journalist such as I am, can hope to find a solution. But many of us, perhaps, can map the road ahead an ród seo romhainn, ród an Philarsaigh, ród na saoirse.

SYMPATHY

We regret to record the death of John Moran, Kildare Garage, 100 Emmet Road, Inchicore, Dublin. To his wife, Mrs. Babs Moran, and his sons Larry, John and Tony, the Republican Movement extends sincere sympathy and shares their great sense of loss.

Book Reviews

Imeachtaí na Treimhse 1938-1949

AG SCAOILEADH SCHOIL le Seosamh O Duibhainn. An Clóchomhar Tta. 12/6.

Tá cur síos sa leabhar seo ar shaol agus ar imeachtaí an údair idir na blianta 1938 agus 1949. Is leabhar spriúil é ar mhórán síl. Cuirfidh a lán daoine spéis ann i ngeall ar na guntas atá ann ar chúrsaí a tharla le linn na blianta sin agus a folafóidí taobh thiar de chúirtín na cin-sreatha. B'fhíú don ghluin óg de Phoblachtaithe é a léamh ar an ábhar sin.

Bhí an t-údar gníomhach ina na hOglaigh in Éirinn agus i Sasana. Ní dhreanann sé éard idir na tuairimí atá aige féin anois faoi throid na saoirse, ach ní bhaineann sin ó chuntais mar seo.

"Oíche Shathairn, Feabhra 17, 1940, fuair mé cuireadh chuig cruinniú sa Meath Hotel i gCeannóg Parnell agus chuaigh mé ann. Ní raibh mé ach deich nóiméad san áit nuair a mhaidhí bléachtairí isteach agus gabhadh a raibh ag an cruinniú, cúig óghear déag. . . Ní fhaca mé an oiread saighdiúirí agus gardaí agus bléachtairí agus gunnaí. . . céad go leith saighdiúirí ann agus raidhifí agus innealghunnaí acu. Bhí cuig Breghnunnaití dírithe ar an ostarlann fein.

"Ní mhéasaim gur sheas mé i gCeannóg Pharnell riamh. roimhe sin, agus ba mhillteach an t-athrú a bhí i ndán do shaol an domhain sua seafainn arís ann. Ní fhaca cuid de na cairde bhí liom an oíche sin riamh ó shin é. Fúair beirt acu, Antoine Dausaigh agus Seán Mac Conghaill, bás ar stailc ocras i bpríosún. . .

Ní cuntais é, dialann lom, atá scríofa ag an bhfar seo áfach. Tá cuid mhaith den tuairimíocht agus den mbachnamh ann. Is fearann é ar a bhealach féin, machnamh déanta aige agus cuid de breachtaí sin anseo, tuairimí ar shaol an phríosúin, treithe an duine, an bhochtinaacht, an spriúlaíocht, etc.

Ní gach duine a aontós len a bhfuil le rá aige, ar ndóigh, ach spreagfaidh sé tuilleadh machnamh ins na léitheoirí. Tá stíl soiléir scríbhneoireachta aige, stíl chomráiteach d'fhéadfaí a rá b'fhéidir. Éiríonn duine tuirseach mar sin féin de chuid dá nathanna—"déanta na firinne", "ba ionann é agus fóraíocht uisce choisricthe i Lóiste Oraisteach". Sin cúpla ceann atá ró-mhínic aige, sílim.

Is locht ar na foilsitheoirí an oiread bóttín é atá sa leabhar. Tá dearmad amháin ar a lughad nach bhféadfaí a rá cé air

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ba chóir an milleán a chur, ar an dárad nó ar an gceoldóir. I 1951 a tógadh dealbh de Sheán Ruiseid i mBaile Átha Cliath, ní i 1957 mar atá faoi ar leathnach 27.

An té a cheannós an leabhar seo gheobhaidh sé ann aiste dhaoimha, shuimíil, shléachtmhar, sho-leite. Níl sé élan ó chuid éigin d'an searbhais, ach 'chúile sheans gurb amhlaidh is fearr é.

S. O. B.

MODERN ART

THE NEW ARCHITECTURE OF EUROPE, G. L. Kiddier Smith. A Pelican Book. 10/6.

In the introduction the author gives promise of an unbiased approach and it is refreshing to find an American who admits that some things can be better in Europe. The unbiased observer is, however, rare and it would seem that G. E. Kiddier Smith is an Anglo-Saxon as his name.

His short reference to Ireland has a caustic slighting note, suggestive of an anti-Irish introduction and while he gives Búras a bouquet, he does it with surprise. The depth of his research in general comes in question when a map shows Co. Donegal in Occupied Ireland.

The book generally is worthwhile. It is in the nature of a dictionary—a very selective dictionary of Contemporary Architecture in Europe.

Selected works from sixteen countries are dealt with briefly and illustrated by one photograph to each piece. The appreciation of what has been done in each country, which introduces the examples, makes the best reading.

This is not a book for the specialist, but its wide circulation among the general public in Ireland would do much to improve understanding of Contemporary Art.

—Ailic.

CRITICISM

THE LITERARY CRITICS. By George Watson. A Pelican Book. 4/6.

This is a history, or as the author himself calls it, a study of English descriptive criticism. It begins naturally with first principles and deals comprehensively with Dryden, Johnson, Wordsworth, Coleridge and Matthew Arnold; in other words it begins with fixed and rigid principles and ends with our modern critics, who seem to have no principles at all.

Mr. Watson says: "Criticism, of course, cannot proceed lies from being told. But it does make it its business to see that lies do not establish themselves as truth." One is inclined to ask

"What is truth?" and find that Mr. Watson has nothing to offer us but his Liberal agnosticism.

And this leads me to mention that Cardinal Newman, that great antagonist of Liberalism, is mentioned in this book and dismissed in a few words. Nothing at all is said of his aesthetic theories, because they would not accord with the spirit of Liberalism.

Chesterton is not mentioned at all. Yet I do not think that any study of English Criticism could afford, in fairness, not to mention him, if only for his studies of Dickens, which are unequalled.

To find truth in any sphere one must "not sin against the light", as Newman says. It demands high seriousness, and above all self-abnegation and discipline, none of which virtues are liberal virtues. Liberalism usually means nothing more than a licence to criticise the man next door for his intransigence, because he dares to hold ideas and different views from ourselves.

In politics English Liberalism will call on Franco to release political prisoners in Spain, while a discreet silence is maintained about the Irish political prisoners in English and Belfast jails. In religion it usually means that every religion is equally right, except the Church of Rome which continues to hold men's spirit in thrall, and is the sworn enemy of truth and, of course, the Liberal spirit.

If Liberalism is such in politics and religion, is it any wonder that we should suspect its approach to literature?

Yet to speak thus of Liberalism is not in any sense a reflection on the author, who takes no sides but states his case exactly as he finds it, without any bias. But it is interesting to trace the evolution of literary criticism from Elizabethan times to our own day and to see how from a mere set of rules of rhetoric in those times it has become the complicated thing it is today, involving not only history and semantics, but a complicated kind of exegesis based on the latest theories of psycho-analysis; this, as the rules of morality become less defined, and as society moves farther and farther from its inheritance of faith and morals.

The rule now is absence of rule and every man is his own law maker and the one Supreme Law-Giver is ignored.

The book is worth reading and it is certainly stimulating. Mr. Watson has done a very good piece of work and he deserves our gratitude, as do the Penguin Publishers for making available to students such a fine book, at so very reasonable a price. No one interested in literary criticism should miss getting it.

Sean de hÓra.

Sinn Féin Leaflets on the Common Market

1. Sinn Féin Opposes E.E.C. Tie (Now out of print)
 2. The Border and the Common Market.
 3. The Alternative to the Common Market.
- Nos. 2 and 3 are still available from Sinn Féin Head Office, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1, at a cost of 1/3 per dozen, post free.

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SAOIRSE

National Unity and Independence Programme

FOREWORD

The objectives of Sinn Féin are: to break the connection with England; to end the entire British Imperial system in Ireland; to end poverty and insecurity; to abolish the existing partition institutions of Government in Ireland and to replace them by a National Government having complete and effective jurisdiction over the entire territory of the Nation. The administration by such government of the affairs of the nation to be completely free of all foreign influence and unhampered or circumscribed by agreements conditioning its establishment.

Within the framework of the Republican movement which Sinn Féin, co-operating with kindred organisations, proposes to restore as the most effective means of achieving its objectives, the Irish people can again become invincible, as they were from 1918 to 1921. The unity of purpose and the determination to win freedom at all costs, which made them invincible during these years, has since been disrupted, and confidence in their own ability to secure their rights as a free people has been undermined through the compromise, opportunism and expediency practised by political party leaders.

Generally speaking, the aims and objects of the Republican Movement are but imperfectly understood by a large part of the generation grown to manhood within the past forty years. Part of the task, and a first duty of the leadership of the movement, is to rectify this deficiency of understanding and knowledge by endeavouring to attract the youth of Ireland and availing of the means at its disposal to enlighten them on the fundamentals forming the base on which the Republican cause rests.

ANALYSIS OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN IRELAND

Success in achieving the aims and objects of the Republican Movement depends on the co-operation and support of a majority of the Irish people. To obtain such assistance, it is necessary to indicate clearly to the people the line or lines of approach towards fulfilment of the task undertaken by the movement. In determining the line of approach and the means to be employed, cognisance must be taken of the relative situations, as regards their connection with Britain, that exist in the Six and Twenty-Six Counties.

Indubitably, both areas are ruled by partition governments, whose functions in maintaining a sundered and divided nation are identical. But whereas Britain maintains direct control over a major part of the affairs of the Six Counties and exercises a compelling influence over the remainder, a somewhat different situation exists in the Twenty-Six Counties.

The difference in the existing situations referred to makes the problem with which Republicans are confronted more complicated and in many respects more difficult to solve. It presents them with the immediate problem of deciding whether a single line of policy can be formulated suitable to a general application over all Ireland, or whether a different line will be necessary in respect of the two areas of existing government, with both lines complementary to one another, and dovetailing into a comprehensive policy for the whole of Ireland.

NATIONAL MOVEMENT NECESSARY

It should be borne in mind that any predetermined policy will require, as a first essential, to be of such a nature as to appeal to, and secure, a large measure of backing from the people as a whole. Minus the support of a considerable section of the people, North and South, any policy, no matter how well conceived and directed, contains few of the elements essential for success.

It will, therefore, be necessary, within the limits imposed by avoidance of expediency and sacrifice of principle, to frame a policy making a broad appeal to the reason, national instincts and popular imagination of the people, thus paving the way for a united effort to restore the Republic.

THE TWO PARTITION PARLIAMENTS

Britain directly controls and administers the major functions of Government in the Six Counties and maintains military establishments and an occupying force of varying strength, at present approximating to ten thousand personnel. The functions of government exercised by the Stormont regime are, in the main, confined to such matters as the maintenance of law and order, and local government administration. The regime maintains an armed police force of approximately 15,000, divided into 3,000 R.U.C. and 12,000 B-Specials. In addition, a percentage of the adult population may be reckoned as hostile to any attempt to unify the country under a National Parliament.

For purposes of parliamentary representation the area is divided into twelve constituencies, each returning one member to Westminster; and into 52 constituencies, each returning one member to Stormont. The respective distribution of pro-Irish and pro-British electors throughout the area allows a maximum of only three pro-Irish representatives being elected to Westminster, and usually only twelve being elected to Stormont.

Apart from the customary statutory regulations, no barriers exist to nomination of candidates entering the contest of elections to Westminster. Candidates seeking election to local government bodies must, prior to their nominations being accepted, sign a declaration to take their seats if elected. In the case of elections to Stormont, candidates must testify on oath that they will take their seats if elected. In all cases, parliamentary representatives and those elected to local government bodies, must take an oath of allegiance to the King (or Queen) of England before permission is given them to participate in the proceedings of the administration to which they have been elected. The restrictions imposed

Sinn Féin Proposes

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

preclude Republicans from entering the contest of elections to Stormont and local government bodies. This narrows, for Republicans, the field of normal constitutional effort within the Six Counties, to the contesting of elections to Westminster on an abstentionist policy.

In the circumstances, it appears that means other than constitutional ones will have to be adopted. Whatever means it may be found necessary to employ, to drive the British forces from the area, and to overcome opposition to its inclusion within the jurisdiction of a National Government, will prove ineffective unless substantial and active support is forthcoming from the rest of Ireland.

To concentrate on the Six Counties alone and to neglect to take the necessary steps to organise and direct such support, would be fatal. Again, if means other than constitutional ones be employed, it is practically certain that the Free State Government, constituted on present or similar lines, will use the forces at its disposal in co-operation with the British and Stormont forces, to squelch the attempt to drive British forces from the Six Counties, and those making the attempt will be caught as in a pincer between the three forces.

Despite any constitutional changes effected during its existence, the Parliament of the Twenty-Six Counties remains in fact and substance, what it was originally designed to be: an institution of government established to administer the affairs of a part of the Irish Nation partitioned in the interests, and by the superior force of, a foreign enemy. This fact remains completely unaltered and unaffected, notwithstanding the measure of political and economic freedom achieved within the area of the Parliament's jurisdiction.

To accept it or regard it as otherwise is tantamount to acknowledging England's claim to exercise domination over the affairs of the Irish Nation. It is futile to hope that through sharing in its functions of government, or otherwise contributing to its maintenance, the partition of Ireland can be abolished and the restoration of the Irish Republic secured.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

In the circumstances, therefore, it becomes necessary to formulate a policy designed to meet the variation in the situations that exist north and south of the border. In formulating such a policy, the main factor to keep in mind is, that although general in purpose, the difference between the two situations will call for different means to deal with them. Because of this, the policy will require to be of a twofold character; at least, in so far as circumstances determine the need for employment of separate or additional means.

For example, a general policy can be applicable to the contest of elections in the Twenty-Six Counties and to Westminster; while elections to Stormont will require a different attitude. Likewise, the attitude towards Local Government in the Twenty-Six Counties will differ from that adopted towards Local Administrative Bodies in the Six Counties. Again, while it would be feasible through election machinery to obtain control over the Twenty-Six Counties, there is not, while the status quo remains, the remotest possibility of achieving control over the Six Counties by similar means.

PLAN OF CAMPAIGN

To formulate a policy of this nature presents many difficulties. Nevertheless, as the objective is an Irish Republic governed by a National Parliament, and since it will be necessary to supplant the partition governments by which the country is at present governed before the objective will have been reached, such a policy appears to be the most suitable, and in the circumstances, the one that should be adopted. Sinn Féin, therefore, recommends to the Irish people acceptance of the plan of campaign outlined below, as the only feasible one to translate into effect the age-long desire for liberty and the right of the Irish Nation to freedom.

1. Extend and intensify the effort to enlighten the people on the aims and objects of the Republican Movement. This can be done through an intensive propaganda campaign designed to rouse them out of the apathy and disillusionment created by the political parties, and to make clear to them that Republicans aim at uniting the people and ending the rancour and bitterness which those parties foster.
2. Coincident with 1, build up the strength and increase the resources of the Republican Movement. This can be accomplished in the normal way, by each of the organisations comprising the Movement giving attention to matters within their own sphere and at the same time co-operating with each other in matters of general concern to all, bearing

in mind the absolute necessity for thorough co-ordination of effort at every stage of the forward drive.

3. As a corollary to, and a means of implementing 1 and 2, make preparations to enter the contest of Local Government elections in the Twenty-Six Counties; elected representatives to participate in the duties of the Local Government Bodies to which they have been elected. (Note: Of a total of seventy-six Local Government Bodies in the Six Counties, the pro-Irish control not more than ten).
4. Make preparations to contest parliamentary elections in the Twenty-Six Counties. Republicans will not enter Leinster House as a minority group; given a majority, they are prepared to assume governmental control over the area, not through the present partition machinery, but through the Republican Government, constituted of elected or selected representatives as set out in paragraph 6 below.
5. As a means of bringing the policy of the Republican Movement to the knowledge of the nationally-minded people of the Six Counties, of demonstrating to them that Republicans share with them the task of liberating the Six Counties and that they may with confidence rely upon the support of the entire Republican Movement in the accomplishment of that task, and of clearly indicating the national nature of the Movement, prepare to contest, on an abstentionist policy, all twelve constituencies returning representatives to Westminster.
6. Having secured a majority of the elected representatives in the Twenty-Six Counties, issue an invitation to all members of Stormont to take their seats in the Parliament of the Republic and transfer their allegiance and powers to the National Government. It is most unlikely that the invitation will be accepted by more than twelve out of the fifty-two representatives. To cover such a contingency, and to make the national parliament representative of the entire country, members to represent those Stormont constituencies whose elected members refuse to sit in the National Parliament can be selected through constituency conventions or other agreed machinery.

Candidates selected by Sinn Féin for election as Parliamentary representatives shall, on selection, and before nomination, publicly and solemnly pledge themselves as follows:—

I, _____, freely and solemnly declare:

- (a) That, if elected, I will not sit in, nor take part in the proceedings of, any Parliament legislating, or purporting to legislate, for the people of Ireland other than the Parliament of the Irish Republic representative of the entire 32 Counties of Ireland.
- (b) That, pending the establishment of the Parliament of the Irish Republic, in all matters pertaining to the duties and functions of a Parliamentary representative I will be guided by and hold myself amenable to all directions and instructions issued to me by the Ard-Chomhairle of Sinn Féin.
- (c) That, pending the establishment of the Parliament of the Irish Republic, I will, at any time, if called upon to do so by a majority of the members of the Ard-Chomhairle of Sinn Féin, resign my seat as a Parliamentary representative for the Constituency of _____.
- (d) That I take this pledge voluntarily, of my own free will and in the full knowledge that any breach of (a) thereof will be regarded as an act of treachery, to be dealt with as such.

(Candidates for election to Local Government Bodies in the Twenty-Six Counties must make a similar declaration).

It should be noted that the policy, as outlined from Nos. 1 to 6 above, can and will be broadened in scope to meet varying circumstances as and when they arise.

Irishmen and Irishwomen

Six of our Counties are occupied by British Forces.

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

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

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

Join Sinn Féin and Save the Nation.

I wish to become a member of Sinn Féin.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

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

Editorial

GET RID OF THAT BLACK LIST

DURING June four of the men who were sentenced by the Military Tribunal last winter received official notices from the 26-County Department of Justice.

They were worded as follows: "I am directed by the Minister for Justice to inform you that the Government have remitted the forfeiture and disqualification incurred by you in consequence of your conviction by the Special Criminal Court."

In other words for the four men who received them these notices indicated that the ban on their employment by state or semi-state companies or by local councils had been lifted and that any pension fund to which they might have contributed would be restored.

The four were: Tomas Mac Giolla, Seamus O Dorain, Liam Boylan and Thomas O'Neill—all of Dublin.

Liam Boylan and Thomas O'Neill are now back in their jobs with Aer Lingus and Dublin Corporation respectively. Seamus O Dorain's trade union has notified him that his position with C.I.E. is now open to him any time he wishes to resume.

But Tomas Mac Giolla who was employed for years with the E.S.B. in Fitzwilliam St., Dublin, was actually dismissed outright before the notice referred to was received. To date he has not been re-employed.

And what of the other 27 men who were also sentenced by the Military Tribunal last winter? None of them was in employment to which the influence of the 26-County State extended directly.

They are barred from ever being employed by such bodies for seven years according to Section 34 of the Offences Against the State Act. Unlike the four men named above they did not receive any notice of the lifting of the "disqualification and forfeiture."

Is the black list which was circulated by the 26-County Government some months ago still in existence with the names and addresses of the 27 remaining victims on it?

If so it must be got rid of. All 31 victimised ex-prisoners must be cleared. And Tomás Mac Giolla must be given back his post in the E.S.B.

Public opinion must force the complete removal of such injustice and the only sure way of doing that is to abolish the Offences Against the State Acts.

G.A.A. AND GARDAI

FURTHER note has been taken of the withdrawal of 26-County police who had been engaged in active collaboration along the Border.

The Cavan "Anglo-Celt" of May 26 stated:

"A number of Gardai who were stationed in the town (Bellurmet) during the past four years have been transferred to other stations."

"Garda Tom Laing, who had been on temporary Border patrol duty in the town, has been transferred to Glenties."

The position of the Garda senior Gaelic football team this year was explained in the G.A.A. notes of the Longford Leader of March 31st last.

The eagerly awaited appearance of the Garda Senior football team will not take place. The Club, which was formed in the "off season" and had affiliated for this year's competitions, has now gone out of existence.

Composed mainly of Gardai on Border duties, those in

Mrs. Nolan Reception

OVER 30 guests were present at a dinner and reception for Mrs. Mai Nolan in the Castle Hotel, Dublin, on June 13. She had completed a sentence of 21 months served in Strangeways Prison, Manchester, for assisting the Irish Resistance Movement.

Later she was given an ovation when she attended with her husband and daughter a specially arranged Ceili Fille in Moran's Hotel, Sean Treacy St. Mrs. Nolan declined to speak other than to thank everyone who had given her such a wonderful welcome on her release from prison.

A native of Longford, she intends to resume residence with her family in Liverpool. Mrs. Nolan carries with her the good wishes and appreciation of Republicans for her part in the 1956-62 Resistance to British rule in Ireland.

charge felt that because of recent happenings concerning this area, there was now no guarantee that sufficient players would remain to form a team.

"Composed mainly of Gardai on Border duties . . . !"

We understand that members of the British Forces in Ireland are officially banned from the G.A.A. playing fields. But what of those who have collaborated with them.

PROSECUTED FOR SELLING EASTER LILIES

A Chata,

I have read of three men who were fined in Gorey, Co. Wexford, for selling Easter Lilies without a permit, and I think this is most shocking news. To make matters worse Superintendent S. O Coinin told the District Justice that even had they applied they would not be granted a permit for what he called "that purpose".

It seems to me that in the Superintendent's way of thinking that it is a crime to sell Easter Lilies for people to wear in memory of those great men that laid down their lives for their country.

Yet Irishmen and women can go about the streets of London and other cities in Britain during Easter Week selling them and the police there take no notice.

I never thought that the time would come when Irishmen would be fined in 26-County courts for selling Easter Lilies to commemorate the men that made such a gallant stand for their God-given rights against what was then a mighty empire. I wonder what Superintendent O Coinin was doing in 1916 . . .

This and all the other victimisation of Republicans by a Government that calls itself Irish and Christian is not alone a disgrace but it also makes Ireland and the Irish a laughing stock in Britain's eyes. It shows both Mr. Macmillan and Lord Brookeborough that the so-called native Government is carrying out their wishes.

Banning or refusing permits for the selling of Easter Lilies is like spitting on the graves of Pearse, Connolly and the others by men who are not worthy of the name of Irishmen. Yet this is happening, not in Russia, Germany, China or elsewhere but at home in Ireland.

If Pearse and his true and brave companions could come back I am sure they would ask themselves, "Is this what we died for?" If I know the men of Wexford—and I think I do—Superintendent O Coinin can rest assured that Easter Lilies will always be sold in Co. Wexford.

He has his men watching out for anyone selling them but would they not be putting their time to better use by protecting people's property from hooligans or on the watch-out for drunken driving and the many other crimes that are being committed?

As always the question is being asked: "Where were the Guards?" Two murders in Counties Wexford and Carlow are yet unsolved.

John Shaw.
Co. Limerick. 12/6/62.

DONEGAL MEMORIAL UNVEILING

At a meeting of the Glenconville Branch of the National Graves Association held on Tuesday, May 1, Rev. J. McDyer, C.C., presiding, it was decided to fix the date for the unveiling of the Donegall Mac Niallghus Memorial for Sunday, August 5, 1962.

An Rúnal, Seán O h-Ighne, predicted that this first Sunday in August, 1962, would see the greatest event ever in the history of Glenconville.

The subscription list is still open and the Secretary or Treasurer will acknowledge all donations to this worthy cause.

BELFAST PRISONERS

13 Due For Release

THIRTEEN of the Irish Republican Prisoners in Belfast Jail are due for release before the end of the year. They include men from Armagh, Down, Dublin, Cork and Louth.

They will have completed sentences of four, five, eight and twelve years imprisonment imposed on them by British courts for their part in the recent Campaign of Resistance in Occupied Ireland.

Nine are due for release on August 1. They are: Gabriel and Anthony Loy, (brothers) of Newry, Co. Down; David Lewsley of Lurgan, Co. Armagh; Pat Shaw, Peter Duffy and Seamus Hand of Dundalk, Co. Louth; Sean Garland and Paddy Constantine of Dublin, and John Madden of Cork.

The Loy brothers, Pat Shaw, Peter Duffy, Seamus Hand and Paddy Constantine were members of a column which was captured by Crown Forces in the Mourne Mountains in January 1957. They were subsequently sentenced to eight years penal servitude each.

David Lewsley and John Madden were taken prisoner with John Kelly of Belfast near Dunamore, Co. Tyrone, in the Sperrin Mountains, on December 30, 1956. They also received sentences of eight years for possession of arms and ammunition. John Kelly will not be released until February 1 next. His sentence was extended by six months for attempting to escape in December 1960.

Sean Garland was arrested by Crown Forces in Victoria Street railway station, Belfast, in November 1959. He was sentenced to four years for membership of the Resistance Movement. Sean had previously spent two years in Mountjoy Jail and the Curragh Concentration Camp in 1957-59.

Then on August 13 two men from Crossmaglen, Co. Armagh, Michael Daly and Owen Carragher will have completed their five-year terms of imprisonment.

They were arrested in their homes in March 1959 following Resistance attacks on British installations in Crossmaglen and causing with causing explosions. On November 15 James Oliver Smith of Beebrook, Co. Armagh, will be due for release. Captured on December 12, 1956, he was sentenced to eight years for possession of arms.

And on December 1 the last

MACROOM

At the monthly meeting of the Macroom Urban Council, Mr. C. O'Leary, Chairman, presiding, the following resolution from the Kerry County Council was unanimously adopted: "That the Kerry County Council join with the Sinn Féin Organisation in calling publicly for the release of the Republican prisoners in Belfast and England."

Mr. Twomey, who proposed the adoption, stated it was about time these men were released.

Mr. Collins seconded, and the Chairman, in declaring the motion passed, stated they were all Irishmen the same as ourselves.

—Cork Examiner, 30/6/62.

SINN FEIN CEILI
SUMMIT HOTEL, HOWTH
SAT., JULY 21, 1962
Bulao Ceili Tomas Dalbhis
Taillie, 2/6 : Rinnee, 8-12
Mianraí agus rí, ar fail.

Obituary: Two Active Republicans

We regret to record the death of Patrick McGinn, Clonacary, Bawnboy, Co. Cavan, which took place recently. An active Republican all his life, he was brother of Michael McGinn of Philadelphia, U.S.A. Clan na Gael leader and uncle of the late Emmet McGinn. He was also uncle of the late James Crossan who was murdered by British Crown Forces outside Swanlinbar, Co. Cavan, almost four years ago.

The funeral took place to Drummeela Cemetery on May 29 with military honours. John I. McGirl, Pallinamore, was in charge of the Guard of Honour and John Mulvihill gave the oration. Ldirm Cornhartha Centaur of Sinn Féin voted sympathy with the relatives, Mrs. Gilman, Bawnboy, and Michael McGinn, Philadelphia.

Another life-long Republican also died during June. He was James Hickey of Millstreet, Co. Cork, who saw active service against the Black-and-Tans and Free Staters and was active with Sinn Féin up to his death.

The funeral was one of the largest ever seen in the area and was a striking tribute to his memory. Ruaidhri O Driscoll, Corcaigh, spoke at the graveside.

At its meeting on June 9 the Ard-Chomhairle of Sinn Féin voted sympathy with the relatives of Patrick McGinn and James Hickey.

NOTICE

All articles, letters, notices, advertisements, etc., must be received not later than the eighteenth of each month to ensure that they are in time for publication in the following issue.

Articles or comment on current affairs are stale if publication is delayed through late entry.

—Ed. U.I.

RELEASE PRISONERS DEMAND

The demand for the immediate and unconditional release of the Republican prisoners in Belfast and England grew stronger during June.

Five more local councils endorsed the demand and these actions are at last being noted in the daily press.

On June 4 Monaghan Co. Council adopted the circular letter from Sinn Féin Headquarters calling for the release of the prisoners. Sinn Féin member James McElwaine proposed the motion.

Longford Co. Council on June 30 adopted a similar resolution from Kerry Co. Council. Dublin Corporation on July 2 did likewise and decided "to send a copy of the resolution to the Minister for External Affairs."

Macroom, Co. Cork, Urban Council also adopted the Kerry resolution during June.

Bray, Co. Wicklow, Urban Council unanimously called for the release of the two life-sentence prisoners in England, one of whom, Joseph Doyle, is a native of the town.

Donegal Co. Council refused to endorse the demand. Some members agreed to call for "conditional" release and ask

that "clemency" be shown to the prisoners but no councillor would second Sinn Féin member Seamus Rodgers' resolution demanding immediate and unconditional release.

A full report on the discussion at Monaghan and Donegal Co. Councils will be given in our next issue. Glenconville, Co. Donegal, Parish Council of Muinter na Tíre demanded the release of the prisoners.

The following local bodies have now sought the release of the prisoners:—
Wexford Corporation (February 30).
Westmeath Co. Council (April 30).
Sligo Corporation (May 6).
North Tipperary Co. Council (May 15).
Kerry Co. Council (May 21).
Monaghan Co. Council (June 4).
Longford Co. Council (June 30).
Bray Urban Council (prisoners in England only) (June).
Macroom Urban Council (June).
Dublin Corporation (July 2).
Has YOUR local council acted yet on this vital question?