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EX-PRISONERS VICTIMISED

Editorial

Living Proof of Collaboration

MANY people were surprised at the sudden release of all 28 Republican Prisoners from Mountjoy Jail on April 20. To those who had studied closely the policy of the 26-County Government since February 26 it came as no surprise.

On that date the ending of the five-year-old Resistance Campaign in British-occupied Ireland was announced in a press release from the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau. From this statement several paragraphs dealing with the collaborationist policy of successive 26-County administrations throughout the entire Campaign were deliberately suppressed.

The fact that the Dublin Government had continuously, brazenly and treacherously stabbed the Resistance Campaign in the back was to be carefully hidden from February 26 onwards. And the case was made that the Campaign had failed to achieve its objective on its own merits—without any pro-British intervention by the 26-County Government.

But the physical evidence of collaboration remained: 400 Gardai on Border duty and 30 to 40 Republican Prisoners in Mountjoy.

Early in April press reports announced that the 26-County police would soon be withdrawn from the Border. The next step, logically, was to clear D-Wing of Mountjoy where the Republicans were held.

They were living proof of collaboration and if the 26-County politicians' version of the Irish Resistance effort from 1956 to 1962 was to prevail in the public mind, then the prisoners would have to be speedily released.

Already public attention was being drawn to their presence in Mountjoy: Clones Urban Council unanimously called for their release on April 16. Before this type of resolution by local bodies could snowball, the politicians acted.

On April 20 the gates of Mountjoy Jail swung open and the remaining 28 Republican Prisoners were unconditionally released. When the 26-County police force is withdrawn from the Border the last physical evidence of collaboration will have been buried.

But the Irish people will never forget or overlook the traitorous actions of the 26-County politicians during 1956-62. A day of reckoning must surely come as it has come in other countries.

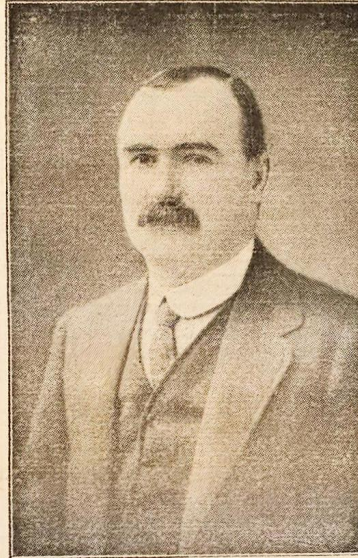
The Released Men

The following were released from Mountjoy Jail on April 20:

Michael McDowney, Maghera, Co. Derry (8 years).
Richard Nagle, Middleton, Co. Cork (7 years).
Alphonsus Larkin, Farranashore, Limerick (7 years).
Peadar Doyle, Carrickmacross, Co. Monaghan (5 years).
Thomas O'Neill, James's Street, Dublin (5 years).
Walter Dunphy, Mooncoin, Co. Kilkenny (4 years).
Denis O'Riordan, Carricktohill, Co. Cork (3 years).
John Joe McGil, Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim (2 years).
Matt Murray, Clogheen, Co. Tipperary (2 years).
Thomas O'Sullivan, George's Quay, Limerick (2 years).
Patrick Mulcahy, Dublin Road, Limerick (1 year).
Tony Hayde, Carrow Road, Drimnagh, Dublin (1 year).
William Folan, Shantalla, Galway City (1 year).
James Roche, Mooncoin, Co. Kilkenny (1 year).
Sean Treacy, The Heath, Portlaoise (1 year).
Patrick Ryan, Hospital, Co. Limerick (9 months).
Cathal Goulding, Rathfarnham, Dublin (9 months).
Patrick Tierney, Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh (6 months).
Thomas Mac Giolla, Kilmaham, Dublin (6 months).
Thomas Smith, Beshbrook, Co. Armagh (6 months).
Sean Cronin, Rathmines Road, Dublin (6 months).
Liam Mac Aodhagáin, Sandycove, Dublin (6 months).
Seamus O'Doran, Sullivan St., N.C.R., Dublin (6 months).
Seamus Mac Collum, Liverpool (6 months).
Thomas Nixon, Clondalkin, Dublin (6 months).
Michael F. Hennessy, Kildorrery, Co. Cork (6 months).
James McCabe, Garrison, Co. Fermanagh (4 months).
Richard Walsh, Mooncoin, Co. Kilkenny (4 months).

Released on April 17 on completion of a four months sentence was Nicholas D. Swanton, 34 Marian Park, Blackrock, Cork.

Executed May 12, 1916



JAMES CONNOLLY

To the Field General Courtmartial, held in
Dublin Castle, May 9th, 1916.

The evidence went mainly to establish the fact that the accused, James Connolly, was in command at the General Post Office, and was also Commandant-General of the Dublin Division.

Two of the witnesses, however, tried to bring in alleged instances of wantonly risking the lives of prisoners. The court held that this charge was irrelevant and could not be placed against the prisoner.

I do not wish to make any defence, except against the charges of wanton cruelty to prisoners. These trifling allegations that have been made, if they record facts that really happened, deal only with the almost unavoidable incidents of a hurried revolt against long-established authority, and nowhere show evidence of set purpose.

We went out to break the connection between this country and the British Empire and to establish an Irish Republic.

We believe the call we then issued to the people of Ireland was a nobler call in a holier cause than any call issued to them during this war (the 1914-1918 war) or having any connection with this war.

We succeeded in proving that Irishmen are ready to die endeavouring to win for Ireland those national rights to which the British Government has been asking them to die for in Belgium. As long as that remains the case, the cause of Irish freedom is safe.

Believing that the British Government has no right in Ireland, never had any right in Ireland, and never can have any right in Ireland, the presence in any one generation of Irishmen of even a respectable minority ready to affirm that truth, makes that Government for ever a usurpation and crime against human progress.

I personally thank God that I have lived to see the day when thousands of Irish men and boys, and hundreds of Irish women and girls, were ready to affirm that truth and attest it with their lives, if need be.

(Signed) JAMES CONNOLLY,
Commandant-General, Dublin Division,
Army of the Irish Republic.

Abolish the Offences Against the State Act

IRISH people everywhere rejoiced at the unconditional release of all 28 Republican Prisoners from Mountjoy Jail, Dublin, on April 20. But how many realise that the 26-County Government's persecution of these men for being Irish Republicans does not end with their release from prison?

True, their imprisonment has ended but the notorious Offences against the State Act provides for further punishment. Section 34 of that coercion act says that anyone sentenced by the infamous Military Tribunal is to be subject to the additional penalty of seven years unemployment. That is in so far as the 26-County Government can ensure.

Furthermore, pensioned employees are to be deprived of the fruits of a lifetime of service; any superannuation allowance, pension or gratuity—to which a prisoner may have contributed out of his earnings over the years—will be denied to him.

As was stated in our April issue, a circular letter has been sent by the 26-County Government to all Civil Service departments, local Councils and their subsidiary committees, and to all statutory bodies such as Bord na Móna, C.I.E., the E.S.B., Aer Lingus, Comhlucht Siúire Éireann, Irish Shipping Ltd., and so on.

THIRTY-ONE VICTIMS LISTED

A full list of the names and addresses of the 31 Irishmen sentenced by the Military Tribunal in recent months accompanied the circular. Instructions issued were: do not employ any of these men for seven years; if they are already in your employment, confiscate their pension fund or any other gratuity due—and dismiss them summarily!

At least four of the prisoners recently released are affected. Of these two are married—one with a large family. They are:

Tomás Mac Giolla (35), Madison Road, Kilmaham, Dublin: E.S.B. employee—married and a native of Nenagh, Co. Tipperary.

Liam Boylan (21), 78 Clancathy Road, Donnycarney, Dublin: Aer Lingus employee.

Seamus O'Dorain (24), Sullivan Street, N.C. Road, Dublin: C.I.E. employee; and

Thomas O'Neill (36), Mary Aikenhead House, James's Street, Dublin: Dublin Corporation employee—married with five children.

The first three were arrested in a swoop on their homes by Special Branch detectives from Dublin Castle in November last. Section 30 of the Offences Against the State Act gave power to arrest them without warrant or charge. Under Section 52 they were jailed for refusing to answer questions.

Thus by a series of technicalities under O.A.S.A. Irishmen are arrested, jailed and deprived of their employment for seven years.

Isn't it time the Irish people wakened up to what is happening in their midst—and in their name? The unconditional release of the prisoners is not enough—the silent, sinister move to deprive all 31 released men of employment in their own country for seven years must be defeated.

A DENIAL OF DEMOCRACY

The whole vicious and repressive fabric of the Offences Against the State Act must be examined. It provides for indiscriminate raiding of Irish homes "by force if necessary," arrest without charge, imprisonment without trial, Military Courts, savage penal servitude sentences, Concentration Camps, jailing for refusing to become an informer, loss of employment for seven years...

It is the 26-County counterpart of the Special Powers Act in the Six Counties. It was designed and is not used for the same purpose—maintaining British rule in Ireland. Now that its totalitarian provisions stand exposed to the Irish people they must demand its abolition for all time.

THE OFFENCES AGAINST THE STATE ACT IS
A BULWARK OF BRITISH RULE IN THE SIX
COUNTIES AND A COMPLETE DENIAL OF THE
FUNDAMENTAL DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF THE
IRISH PEOPLE.

Letters to the Editor

Anti-National Propaganda

This Irishman living in England sent us a newspaper cutting of an editorial in the "Southern Star". He also enclosed a letter which he wrote to the Editor of that paper by way of comment.

A Chara.—Editorial in the "Southern Star" issue of March 3 is a vicious attack on the Resistance. First it states "that the I.R.A. have conceded defeat." God help the unfortunate wishful thinkers. Even the gutter Press of Fleet Street admitted that "There was no defeat."

We are aware that the so-called "national" newspapers must do as they are told, but some are going to extremes by feeding the public on false propaganda.

But the most audacious of all was the piece where "The Southern Star" regretted that the "South" did not recognise the Border. The answer of course is that we are, always have been and God willing always will be a separate isle (all of it) and no amount of false propaganda by the "Southern Star" or any other newspaper will ever veer any true Irishman from that view.

The heroes of the Resistance will always be remembered for their gallant fight against fearful odds. Far from "being defeated" they are stronger than ever and have won the admiration of people everywhere.

EAMONN O MURCHADIA

Remembered In Scotland

A Chara.—It was with the greatest regret and sorrow that we the members of the Republican Movement in Glasgow learned of the death of Tomas O Dubhghaill, Vice-President of Sinn Féin and secretary of An Cumann Cabhair.

To his relatives, members of An Ard-Chomhairle, Sinn Féin, to his many friends and to his Republican associates I extend on behalf of his Republican friends and supporters in Scotland our deepest sympathies.

Those of us who knew Tomas O Dubhghaill for his ideals and Republican principles can well appreciate the great loss the Republican Movement has suffered.

No doubt exiles will recall his last visit to Glasgow in April, 1959 when he was speaker on the occasion of a National Protest meeting, a function organised by Glasgow citizens opposed to Irishmen being held in prison simply because they wanted full freedom for Ireland. During the course of his remarks he spoke of the horrible conditions the internees had to live in and put up with in the Curragh Concentration Camp (he had personal experience, but he was speaking of others not of himself).

His modest and unassuming manner concealed a strength of character and purpose that was known only to those who shared his Republican principles to which he devoted himself so unselfishly. His life was dedicated to the full freedom of Ireland.

Let us pay tribute to his memory by helping the Cause he served so well. We can for instance respond to the appeals made on behalf of the Republican Prisoners' Dependents; we can play our part in Sinn Féin; we

Dear Sir,—Your Editorial in issue of March 3 carried some statements that are erroneous and vicious. To state that the "I.R.A. have conceded defeat" is a stupid and malignant statement. The Republican Movement has NEVER conceded defeat to any aggressor, foreign or native.

To speak of "The South" accepting Partition is a gross slander on our heroic deed. Ireland has always (and please God will be) a separate isle—a unit in herself.

And while one inch of her soil is occupied by the invader it is the duty of ALL true Irishmen to continue the fight until freedom is attained.

We know that the newspapers have their instructions about what they must publish, but please don't insult the intelligence of our people with false and Imperial propaganda.

Yours faithfully,
EDWARD MURPHY
22 Lonsdale Avenue,
Weston-S-Mare,
Somerset,
England.
29/3/62.

U.S. Sympathy

A Chara.—It was with the greatest regret and sorrow that we the members of the Republican Movement in Glasgow learned of the death of Tomas O Dubhghaill, Vice-President of Sinn Féin and secretary of An Cumann Cabhair.

We will miss Tomas O Dubhghaill for his sterling qualities. Ar dheis Dé go raib a anam.

F. JORDAN,
Chairman, James Connolly
Cumann, Sinn Féin, Glas-
gow.
9 Huntingdon Place,
Springburn,
Glasgow,
Scotland,
26/3/62.

CO. WEXFORD

A Chara.—At the last meeting of the Irish Freedom Committee, Inc., a vote of condolence was passed to the relatives of Tom O'Sullivan of San Francisco, who recently went to his eternal reward. He was a native of Kerry.

Known affectionately by all his friends as "Tom Kerry", the fine old Irish nationalist was known widely throughout the United States and held in high esteem by all who knew him.

He supported every worthwhile cause and was active all his life in the cause of Ireland's freedom.

It was directed that copies of the vote be sent to the Irish-American press. The meeting was then adjourned after respectfully observing two minutes silence.

Charlie Lavery,
Liam Cotter,
Secretaries.
Irish Freedom Com-
mittee, Inc.,
326 West 48th Street,
New York 36, N.Y.,
March 30, 1962.

THE MISGUIDED

A Chara,

In every generation during the 700 years of British rule in our country, unfortunately some of our people have been misguided and easily led by the false British propaganda, particularly by its gutter press and often by some of our own weak-kneed shoneens and politicians who to their discredit do a fine job for their masters across the water.

Even to-day we are told how grateful we should be to John Bull to allow our surplus population into his country and also not to be classed as foreigners. I for one am always proud to be called a foreigner as far as Britain is concerned but would feel very hurt if I were classed a British subject, which is an insult to any Irishman or woman.

When will the Irish people see the curse of political and economic ties with our only enemy—John Bull; also the corrupting of our people's minds as a result of the filthy magazines, newspapers, books, periodicals, and films that are imported from Britain?

We were once known as the people of the "Island of Saints and Scholars". Can we boast of that now to visitors from other countries or do we honestly admit to them that the Sassenach has now even robbed us of that as he robbed us of our culture, language and is now trying to rob us of our Gaelic games with the help of some irresponsible Irishmen?

The only thing John Bull has failed to deprive us of is our accent or brogue, and though I am an American by birth I am proud of my Irish brogue which I acquired as a result of being reared in this country and though I respect the Stars and Stripes, the Tricolour (bless it) is my flag.

Yes, Ireland was a Christian country until the English invaded us in 1169, being authorised by an Englishman, Pope Adrian IV. Gradually they have by 1962 brought our people's morals as low if not lower than any country in the civilised world today.

We still have the emigrant ship, and we are expected to be grateful even for that while our land is being taken over by wealthy Englishmen to use as shooting grounds and get away from the hustle and bustle of the large industrial cities of Britain.

The 26-County Government just couldn't care less. Do they not feel even a little guilty to allow all this to go on under their very noses or is protecting the border for England's benefit more important.

Wake up, Irishmen, before it is too late.

John Shaw.
Co. Limerick.

CO. WEXFORD

At the March meeting of Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin, Loch Garman, a vote of sympathy was passed with the family and relatives of the late Tomas O Dubhghaill, Vice-President of Sinn Féin, and two minutes of prayerful silence was observed.

Several members commented on the despicable splenic attitude of so-called National press and in their calculated omission of all reference to the imposing funeral of this esteemed Irishman who remained faithful unto death.

Tomas O Dubhghaill

An appreciation by a colleague on the Ard-Chomhairle Sinn Féin.

"Fuair Tomás O Dubhghaill bas ar maidin!" B'shin seál an gutháin dom. Cé go raibh fhios againn le tamall ná téar-namh ná biseach a bhí i ndán dó, mar sin féin, baineadh geit asam.

Samhlaidh ós mo comhair-e-an aghaidh stuamdhá, dáiríre, na súile, ceiltithe, geall leis, ag uas-imeall na spéaclóirí, an hata bog buailte anuas ar a cheann aige, a dhá lámh sáite i bpócaí an ghaibéirdín agus leath-ghuala chun áirde aige!

Dán le Tórna ag cothú m'intinne—

"Mo chreach 's mo chás sé an bús a thagann go trom,

Nuair leagtar ar lár an cara ar mháith linn bheith buan,"

—buan! "Ni bhíonn tréan buan" dar leis an sean-fhocal.

But, strange to say, as it were Tomas O Dubhghaill was both tréan and buan. Tréan in his deeprooted nationalist principles and separatist ideals; buan in his uncompromising tenacity with which he adhered to those principles and ideals despite all the vicissitudes of the last three decades of years or more.

Born but a year before the Easter Rising, he joined the Republican Movement in his teens and for night thirty years he served Ireland faithfully in the various branches of that Move-

ment. Quiet and self-effacing almost to a fault he applied himself unobtrusively to the tasks imposed on him.

Though of serious mien he had a keen sense of humour—a God-send to any man in such a position. Strong in argument, he harboured no personal animosities, but was trenchant in his condemnation of all adversaries of the Independence Movement, in which he laboured just as earnestly through his latter years of failing health as he had done from his first connection with Republican organisations.

Dismissed from the 26-County Civil Service by "virtue" (sic) of having been sentenced by the Military Tribunal under the now more-familiar Offences Against the State Act, he found clerical employment with the Workers Union of Ireland. Giving the same whole-hearted loyalty to trade unionism as he was wont to give to the Republican Movement, he soon endeared himself to his new-found colleagues, who knowing his worth, mourn his loss equally with Republicans.

Yes, Tomás will be mourned and missed not only through the length and breadth of Ireland but beyond the seas wherever Irish Republicans foregather, especially perhaps by those who experienced his kindly, sympathetic and understanding nature in his capacity as Rúnai of Cumann Saortha na bPríosúnach Poblachtach and of An Cumann Cabhair.

SOLUS na bPríosúnach dá ANAM UASAL Gaelce!

GALWAY RECEPTION

ONE hundred and twenty people were present at a highly successful Dinner and Ceili held in the Banba Hotel, Salthill, Galway, on Sunday, March 25, to welcome home Peadar Burke and Alphonsus Ryan, both recently released from Mountjoy Prison.

The event was organised by Cumann Antoin D'Oraigh (Galway City) of Sinn Féin, with assistance from other cumann in the county and patrons from all parts of Co. Galway gathered to welcome the released men.

Among the guests were Padraig O Ceallaigh and Paddy Ruane, Sinn Féin Co. Councillors; Mr. and Mrs. Egan, parents of David Egan, serving 14 years in Belfast; Hugh Loughmane, brother of the Loughmane martyrs; Joe and the Noel D'Arcy, sons of the late Noel D'Arcy who died on hunger strike in 1940.

George Ryder proposed the toast to The Guests. Alphonsus Ryan replied and proposed the toast to The Republic. Paddy Fox spoke and proposed the toast to The Prisoners.

Entertainment was provided by the Orammore Ceili Band and exhibitions of Irish dancing were given by Damhsóirí Chonaradh na Gaeilge, Craobh na Gaillimhe, and by Ruaidhri and Fionnuala Stafford. Tom Savage of Fianna Éireann gave a selection of airs on the Uilleann pipes. Patriotic ballads were also rendered.

Special Branch detectives had visited the hotel that morning. Gardai and plain clothes men watched all evening and two detectives were discovered at the rear of the hotel trying to spy through the venetian blinds.

Pat McCormack Memorial

At a meeting of the Antrim Branch of the National Graves Association held on Sunday, March 25, it was decided to unveil the Pat McCormack memorial in Cushendun cemetery on Sunday, May 26, at 4 p.m.

FROM DENMARK

Dear Sir,

As I shall not be here for quite a while to come, I have to ask you to stop sending me the "United Irishman", as the copy will simply be wasted. I may wish to have it later on as a subscriber, but in that case I shall write to you. It could not be for quite a long time.

I want to say that I have been exceedingly glad to have it, as the paper has kept me informed about developments which no other source of information could possibly give me.

Yours faithfully,
Esther Skonboe.
Kimmerslev pr. Barnp,
Denmark.
7th March, 1962.

CUMANN NA mBAN

Calling the women of the counties

CAVAN
LOUTH
MEATH

MONAGHAN

Are you interested in forming a Branch of Cumann na mBan in your area? If so, please write to

Director of Organising,
Cumann na mBan,
C/o P.O. Box 187,
Dublin.

Fianna Éireann Notes

"A FIANNA BOY IS CLEAN"
Cleanliness and purity was so important to the Fianna of old that they included it in the Fianna motto:

"Purity in our hearts"
"Truth on our lips"
"Strength in our arms"

Cleanliness in thought, word and deed is our constant objective. We should guard against unclean words, and show good example in the company of younger members. Personal hygiene, especially on camp, is very important; important too is cleanliness and neatness in uniform. One untidy member on parade is immediately picked out. Although a person may not be in possession of good clothes, there is no excuse for his being dirty. When camping, remember to leave the campsite as it was found—"Leave nothing but your thanks."

SEAN HEALY

The youngest martyr of the 1916 Insurrection was Fianna boy Sean Healy. Sean was born in Phibsborough, Dublin, in 1901. He was a pupil of St. Peter's School. At the age of thirteen he joined a Sluagh on the north side of the city. His O.C. was Sean Heuston, himself to be executed a few days after Sean had died.

Before the fighting began the Fianna G.H.Q. had issued orders that none of the younger members be allowed near the areas of action; a route march was even arranged for them. Sean thought that he was old enough to fight, so he made his way across city to Jacob's factory. Here he was given a dispatch to take to the Volunteers defending Phibsborough bridge.

Before he delivered the dispatch he called at his home to assure his mother he was safe; a few minutes later he was dead, shot by Crown Forces at Phibsborough corner. His dying words were "God bless the Volunteers."

TOM DOYLE

(Close friend of late Patrick McGrath. Died in Dublin, March 12, 1962.)

O'er Dublin's fair city a dark cloud has fallen. Another brave diehard is cold in the grave; He stood in the vanguard when Erin was calling. To help in the fight against tyrant and knave.

No bribes or alarms could ever subdue him. He clung to the cause with sword and with pen; Despite prison rigours and traitorous venom He proved both a soldier—and leader of men.

God rest you, Tomás, with our martyrs in Heaven. With McGrath, Thomas Hart, General Plant and O'Neill. Our brave Volunteers of 1957 Who died for Róisín in the grim Bédra Baoghail.

In Republican hearts your name lives for ever. Wherever Gaels gather and brave deeds are told; May your spirit imbue us the slave bonds to sever. Neath our own beloved banner the green-white-and-gold.
EAMONN O MURCHADIA.

Clar Aontachta agus Neamhspleachais Naisiunta

REAMHRA

Is iad cuspóirí Sinn Féin: an ceangal le Sasana do bhriseadh; deireadh do chur le h-ionlám leis an geóras Impiriúil Stánsaigh in Éirinn; deireadh do chur le bochtaineacht agus neamhdhaingne; an dá thoras rialtais atá ann faoi láthair, agus atá bunaithe ar an gcríochdheighilt, do chur ar ceal, agus Rialtas Náisiúnta do chur ina n-áit a mbeidh úrlámhas ionlán agus éifeachtach aige ar chríocha uilig an Náisiúin. Beidh, riardh gnóthaí an náisiúin ag an rialtas sin saor ar fad ó thionchar iasachta, agus ní chuirfeadh bac ná teorainn leis an riardh sin le comhaontuithe a imroinnt ar bhunán rialtais.

Tá sé mar aidhm ag Sinn Féin, in gcomhar le h-eagraíochtaí gaolmhara, an Gluaiseacht Phoblachtach d'athneartú, toisc gur é sin an bealach is éifeachtach chun an cuspóirí thuasluaite a bhaint amach. Taobh istigh de chomhlachtaí na Gluaiseachta sin is feidir le muintir na hÉireann a bheith do-chloíte—mar a bhíodar ó 1918 go 1921.

Aontacht tola agus díoghabhlaíocht rúin chun saoirse d'fháil ar ais nó ar eigin a rinne do-chloíte iad le linn na mblianta sin. Stolladh an spiorad sin ó shin, agus baineach bonn ón muintir a bhí acu astu féin chun a gearraí mar phobal shaor do bhaint amach, tríd an gcomhghéilleadh, tríd an mbrabúsaíocht agus tríd na cleasanna caothúlachta a chleachtáinn ceannairí páirtitice polaitiacha.

Tríd is tríd, is go neamhchruinn a thuiseann cuid den ghluín a tháinig in aois fir le linn na 25 mbliana atá imithe tharainn aidhmeanna agus cuspóirí na Gluaiseachta Poblachtaí. Ní fios don chuid eile a leithéide de ghluaiseacht a bheith ann ar chor ar bith. An chéad duaglas atá ar lucht ceannais na gluaisceachta, an t-easnamh seo tuiseann agus eolais a léighas. Déanfar é sin trí Óise na hÉireann a mbealladh agus trí leas a bhaint as na deiseanna atá le fáil chun iad a chur ar an eolas i dtobh na mbunphrionsabail ar a bhfuil cúis na Poblachta bunaithe.

ANAILIS DALA POLAITIUCHTA IN ÉIRINN

Tá cur i gcrích aidhmeanna agus cuspóirí na Gluaiseachta Poblachtaí ag brath ar chomhoibriú agus ar thacaíocht ón mórchuid de phobal na hÉireann. Chun an cúnamh sin d'fháil, ní mór a thaispeáint do na daoine an bealach nó na bealaí atá ceaptha ag an ngluaiseacht chun an beartas a chur i bhfeidhm. Agus an bealach agus na modhanna a mbaineann feidhm astu a socré ní mór ádh breithiúnach a thabhairt ar staid na Sé Chontae agus na 26 Chontae faoi seach i dtaca leis an gceangal atá idir iad agus an Bhreatain.

Gan aon amhras is ionann feidhmeanna rialtais an dá cheantar sa mhéid go gcoinníonn siad an Náisiún deighilt agus briste i ndhá chuid. Cé go bhfuil smacht ionlán ag an mBreatain ar chuid mhór de ghnóthaí na Sé Chontae agus tionchar éiginthe aici ar an gcuid eile, ní mar a chéile go díreach atá cúlraí ins na 26 Chontae.

De bharh na ndríochtíocht ins na dála thuasluaite, is casta agus is deacra le réiteach an fhadhb atá sa bhealach ar Phoblachtaigh. Is í an féidir thadhb a chuireann na ndríochtíocht seo sa bhealach orthu: an chéad polasaí amháin a chur in eagar a bhféadfaí a chur i bhfeidhm i n-gach cuid den tír, nó an bheidh gá le dhá pholasaí faoi leith i leith an dá limistéir rialtais atá ann, an dá pholasaí sin a bheith comhlachtaí dá chéile agus ag lú le chéile sa gcóir is go ndéanfaid siad polasaí fóirleath amháin d'Éirinn uilig.

GLUISEACHT NAIISIUNTA RIACHTANACH

Ní mór gan a ligen chun dearmaid go dteastódh mar chéad riachtanas i bpolasáí réamhscoirachtaí go mbeadh sé den chineál a tharraingeodh tacaíocht mhór ón bpobal i gcoitinne. Polasaí ar bith, is cuma cé chomh maith is a beartaíodh agus a treoraíodh é, mura mbeadh tacaíocht aige ó riar maith daoine, Thuaidh agus Theas, ní móide go n-éireodh leis.

Beidh gá ar an ábhar sin le polasaí a leagan amach a mbeidh tarraingt aige do réasún, dúchas náisiúnta agus samplaíocht choitianta an phobail, ach a sheachnódh san am céanna cleasanna caothúlachta agus fóibair phrionsabail, agus sa tsí sin an bealach a réiteach le h-aghaidh iarrachta aontaithe chun an Poblacht a chur faoi réim arís.

AN DÁ PHARLAIMINT CHRÍOCHDHEIGHILTE

Stiúrann agus riarann an Bhreatain go díreach na príomh-feidhmeanna rialtais ins na Sé Chontae, agus coinníonn sí bunaitheachá mbeala agus fórsa forghabhála san áit. Tá líon an fhórsa sin athraitheach, ach tá sé ag teacht cóngarach do 10,000 fear i láthair na huairé. Na feidhmeanna rialtais atá i riaradh ag Parlaimint Stormont ní theann siad thar cúrsaí riaradh rialtais áitiúil agus coinneáil an dlí agus na socrúchá a ch háirithe.

Coinníonn rialtas an limistéir fórsa armtha póilín ar bun atá amuigh is istigh ar 15,000 fear, idir 3,000 de Chonstáblacht Ríoga Uladh agus 12,000 Constábláí Speisialta. Chomh maith le sin; is feidir céatáid den daonra fásta a áireamh mar dhream a bheadh in aghaidh aontú na tíre faoi Rialtas Náisiúnta.

Le h-aghaidh ionadaíochta parlaimint atá an limistéir roinnte i 12 thoghach, gach toghach acu ag toghadh teachta amháin do Westminster; agus roinnte freisin i 52 thoghach, gach ceann acu ag toghadh teachta amháin do Stormont. Agus dáileadh na dtoghadóirí atá ar thaobh na hÉireann agus ar thaobh na Breataine faoi seach ar fud an limistéir mar atá sé, ní feidir ach trí theachta

Sinn Féin

1. Teachtaí tofa na hÉireann uilig do thabhairt le chéile mar Chomhghéill Náisiúnta Poblacht Neamhspleach na hÉireann.

2. An Comhthionól sin do dhul i mbun reachtaithe d'Éirinn uilig.

3. Ar gceir-dhícheall cóir do dhéanamh chun cur in éadan na Poblachta do sháir.

4. An uile chrónradh, an uile shocrú, agus an uile dhlí a bhaineann i sí ar bith ó neamhspleachais na Náisiúin, do dhéanamh.

ar a mbeidh atá ar thaobh na hÉireann a thoghadh do Westminster, agus dárcas a thoghadh do Stormont go hiondúil.

Seachas na gnáth-rialacháin reachtúla, níl bac ar bith le haimníúil iarrthóirí san iomaíocht i dtoghcháin do Westminster. Iarrthóirí atá ag féacháil le go dtogfaid iad do chomhlachtaí rialtais áitiúil ní mór dóibh dearbhu a shíniú, agus gealltú go nglacfaid siad leis na suíocháin má thoghtar iad. Mura ndéanann siad amhlaidh ní ghlacfar leis na h-aimníúcháin. Maidir le toghcháin do Stormont tá an scéal mar a chéile, ach amháin gur mionn a dhíleat ar chás seo. I n-gach cás caithfidh ionadaithe parlaiminteacha agus iadsan a thoghtar ar chomhlachtaí rialtais áitiúil móid díchearta a thabhairt do Rí (nó Banríon) Shasana, sula dtugtar cead dóibh páirt a ghlacadh in imeachtaí na comhairle ar ar thoghadh iad.

Cóisceann na teorainn seo Poblachtaigh ó chur isteach ar thoghcháin do Stormont agus do chomhlachtaí rialtais áitiúil. Cuireann sé seo teorainn leis an méid gur feidir le Poblachtaigh a dhéanamh ar bhealach bunreachtúil taobh istigh de na Sé Chontae. Fágann sé nach dtóg leas a dhath ar bith a dhéanamh ar an mbealach sin ach amháin dul san iomaíocht i dtoghcháin Westminster ar pholasáí neamhlítheachta.

Agus an scéal amhlaidh, is cosúil go gcaithear cineadh ar mhodhanna eile seachas modhanna bunreachtúla. Pé ar bith modhanna a mbeidh gá lena n-úsáid chun na fórsaí Breataineacha a ruaigeadh agus an limistéir, agus chun cur in éadan áireamh an limistéir faoi úrlámhas Rialtais Náisiúnta a sháir, ní bheidh siad éifeachtach gan tacaíocht mhór ghníomhaigh ón gcuid eile d'Éirinn.

Bheadh sé tubaisteach ar fad an aire uile a dhíriú ar na Sé Chontae agus gan an riachtanas a dhéanamh chun a leithéide de thacaíocht a eagraí agus a stiúradh. Agus ina theannta sin, má bhaintear úsáid as modhanna eile seachas modhanna bunreachtúla, tá sé beagnach dearra go ndéanfaid Rialtas na 26 Chontae, mar atá sé bunaithe faoi láthair nó bunaithe ar an gcuma céanna, úsáid a bhaint as na fórsaí atá faoina réir i gcomhar le fórsaí na Breataine agus Stormont, chun an iarracht ar na fórsaí Breataineacha a ruaigeadh as na Sé Chontae a chur faoi chois. Na daoine a bheas páirteach san iarracht sin gabfaid iad mar a bheadh i bpionsúir idir na trí fórsaí.

Ainneoin aon athruithe bunreachtúla rineadh ó bunaíodh f, tá Parlaimint na 26 Chontae, go frinneach agus go bunúsach, mar a leagadh amach í ar tús: is foras rialtais í a bunaíodh chun gnóthaí a riaradh i bpairé de Náisiún na hÉireann a deighleadh ar mhaithe le namhaid eachtrannach agus le sárthórsaí an namhad céanna.

Tá an fórsa seo gan athrú dá laghad, ainneoin an mhéid de shaoire pholaitiúil agus eacnamaíoch a baineadh amach ins an limistéir atá faoi úrlámhas na Parlaiminte. Má ghlahtar leis an bParlaimint sin nó má mheastar í ar aon chuma eile is ionann sin agus éileamh Shasana chun smacht a choinneáil ar ghnóthaí Náisiúin na hÉireann a admháil. Tá sé fánach a bheith ag súil go bhféadfaí críochdheighilt na hÉireann a chur ar ceal agus Poblacht na hÉireann a chur faoi réim arís trí bheith páirteach i bfeidhmeanna rialtais Parlaimint na 26 Chontae nó trí chabhrú lena coinneáil ar bun.

TOGHCHÁIN PHARLAIMINTEACHA

Agus an scéal amhlaidh, dá bhíir sin, beidh gá le polasaí a chur in eagar a riaras ar an difríocht ins na dála taobh ó thuaidh agus taobh ó dheas den teorainn. Agus polasaí dá leithéid á chur in eagar, ní mór cuimhne a choinneáil ar an bpríomh-thóise seo: cé go mbeidh aidhm ghinearálta leis an bpolasáí seo, beidh modhanna difriúla riachtanach chun riaradh ar an difríocht ins na dála.

Beidh polasaí dubailte ag teastáil, mar sin; sa mhéid, ar a laghad, go mbeidh gá le modhanna faoi leith agus modhanna breise de bharh na díosa. Mar chompla, tiús le polasaí gearrálta a bheith díoiristeach do iomaíocht toghcháin ins na 26 Chontae agus do Westminster; ach caithfeadh aghaidh a thabhairt ar thoghcháin do Stormont ar bhealach éigin eile.

Chomh maith le sin, caithfeadh aghaidh a thabhairt ar an Rialtas Áitiúil ins na 26 Chontae agus ar na Comhlachtaí Riaracháin Áitiúil ins na Sé Chontae ar bhealach éagsúil. Agus arís, cé go mbeadh sé indéanta ceannas a fháil ar na 26 Chontae trí ghéas an toghcháin, ní seans dá laghad, gan athrú san *status quo*, ceannas a fháil ar na Sé Chontae tríd an ngéas céanna.

PLEAN FEACHTAIS

Tá sé an-deacair polasaí den tsóir seo a chur in eagar. Mar sin féin, is cosúil go mbeadh polasaí den chineál seo níos féilúnaí ná ceann ar bith eile, agus go mba chóir go nglacfaí leis, nuair a chuimhnítear gurb é an cuspóir Poblacht Éireannach a chur faoi rialú Parlaiminte Náisiúnta, agus go mbeidh sé riachtanach an dá rialtas chríochdheighilt atá ann faoi láthair a chur ar ceal sula mbainfeadh an aidhm sin amach.

Molann Sinn Féin do phobal na hÉireann mar sin glacadh leis an bplean feachtais atá leagtha amach thuas, toisc gurb é an t-aon phlean amháin a chuirfeadh i gcrích an mhian chun neamhspleachais agus ceart Náisiún na hÉireann ar an tsaoire.

1. An iarracht chun an pobal a chur ar an eolas i dtobh aidhmeanna agus cuspóirí na Gluaiseachta Poblachtaí a leathnú agus a neartú. Is feidir é seo a dhéanamh trí fheachas dian bolsaireacha a bheas ceaptha chun iad a mhúscalt as an bparlaimint agus an fórsaí dóibh gurb é an páirtitice polaitiúchá, agus chun a léiriú dóibh gurb é an cuspóir atá roimh Poblachtaigh an pobal a aontú agus deireadh a chur leis an mbealach agus leis an ngangaid a chothaíonn na páirtitice sin.

2. Comhthiticeach le 1, neart agus acmhainn na Gluaiseachta Poblachtaí a mhéadú. Is feidir é seo a dhéanamh sa ghnáth-shíl, trí gach ceann de na heagraíochtaí a dhírítear ar an ngluaiseacht aire a thabhairt do na gnóthaí a bhaineann lena réim féin, agus iad ar fad ag comhoibriú le chéile san am céanna i ngnóthaí a bhaineann leo uilig. Ní mór dóibh cuimhneamh ar an bhfóir-riachtanas atá leis an gcomhghéill ionlán iarrachta i n-gach eim den ghluaiseacht ar aghaidh.

3. Mar chomhthóir ar 1 agus 2, agus mar ghéas chun iad a chur i gcrích, cur faoi réir chun dul san iomaíocht i dtoghcháin Rialtais Áitiúil ins na 26 Chontae. Glacfaidh na hionadaithe tofa páirt i ndualgais na gcomhlachtaí Rialtais Áitiúil ar ar thoghadh iad. (N.B.—As an iomaíocht de 76 Comhlachtaí Rialtais Áitiúil ins na Sé Chontae, ní smacht ag an dream atá ar thaobh na hÉireann ar níos mó ná deich ginn.)

4. Cur faoi réir chun dul san iomaíocht i dtoghcháin pharlaiminteacha ins na 26 Chontae. Ní rachaidh poblachtaigh isteach i dTeach Laighean mar dhream mhlionlaigh. Má éiríonn leo an tromlach d'fháil, tá siad díreach chun ceannas rialtais a ghabháil ar an limistéir, ní tríd an ngéas atá ann faoi láthair agus atá bunaithe ar an gcríochdheighilt, ach tríd an Rialtas Poblachtach, comhdhéanta de ionadaithe tofa nó ionadaithe roghnaithe mar atá leagtha amach in áit 6 thíos.

5. Cur faoi réir chun dul san iomaíocht, ar pholasáí neamhlítheachta, i n-gach ceann den 12 thoghach a thoghann ionadaithe do Westminster. Ar an mbealach sin, cuirfeadh an dream ins na Sé Chontae a bhfuil intinn náisiúnta acu ar an eolas i dtobh polasaí na Gluaiseachta Poblachtaí: léireofar dóibh go bhfuil na Poblachtaigh páirteach leo in obair shaotha na Sé Chontae agus go dtóg leo bheith ag brath le cinnteacht ar thacaíocht na Gluaiseachta Poblachtaí go hionlán i gcur i gcrích an bheartais sin. Léireofar ar an mbealach sin freisin gur Gluaiseacht náisiúnta í.

6. Tar éis tromlach na n-ionadaithe tofa d'fháil ins na 26 Chontae, cuireadh a thabhairt do bhaill uilig Stormont a suíocháin a ghlacadh i bParlaimint na Poblachta, agus a ngéillíne agus a gcumhachtaí d'aistriú go dtí an Rialtas Náisiúnta. Ní móide go nglacfaid níos mó ná díreach as an 52 ionad faoi leith an gceardáir sin. In a leithéide de chás, agus chun go mbeadh ionadaithe ó gach cuid den tír ins an bParlaimint Náisiúnta, is feidir teacht a roghnú trí chomhdhálaíceanna toghlaigh nó trí ghéas scoiruithe eile chun bheith ina deachtáí ó na toghlaigh a ndíolfaíon a deachtáí tofa suí sa Parlaimint Náisiúnta.

Iarrthóirí a roghnaítear ag Sinn Féin le go dtogfaid iad mar ionadaithe Parlaiminteacha, caithfidh siad, ar bheith roghnaithe dóibh agus sula n-ainmítear iad, gealltanas mar seo a leanas a thabhairt go poiblí agus go sollúnta:—

Dearbhaime..... go saor agus go sollúnta:

(a) Nach suifidh mé, má thoghtar mé, i bParlaimint ar bith atá ag teacht nó in ainm a bheith ag teacht do phobal na hÉireann, agus nach nglacfaidh mé páirt in imeachtaí Parlaiminte dá leithéide, seachas Parlaimint Poblacht na hÉireann comhdhéanta de ionadaithe ó gach ceann de 32 Chontae na hÉireann.

(b) Go dtí go mbanfaítear Parlaimint Poblacht na hÉireann, go nglacfaidh mé treoir ó agus go mbeidh mé géillúnta do, gach ordú a tugtar dom ag Ard-Chomhairle Sinn Féin, ins na cúrsaí go léir a bhaineann le dualgais agus feidhmeanna ionadaithe Parlaimintigh.

(c) Go dtí go mbanfaítear Parlaimint Poblacht na hÉireann go n-éireodh mé as mo shuíochán nó ionadaithe Parlaiminteach do Thoghachlath..... má iarrtar orm am ar bith é sin a dhéanamh ag tromlach na mbail d'Ard-Chomhairle Sinn Féin.

(d) Go bhfuil mé ag tógáil an ghealltanas seo de mo shaorthóil agus de mo dheoin féin agus a fhios go cinnte agam go bhféadfaid mar fheallbheir a bpléifeir leis mar fheallbheir ar aon sáir ar chuid (a) de.

(Caithfidh iarrthóirí i dtoghcháin Rialtais Áitiúil ins na 26 Chontae dearbhuí cosúil leis an gceann seo a dhéanamh.)

Tugtar faoi deara gur feidir scóip an pholasaí mar atá léirithe in Uimh. 1 go 6 thuas a leathnú agus go ndéanfar sin de réir mar bheas gá leis.

OUR PRINCIPLES—A RULE OF LIFE

Chapter Six.

OUR philosophy is valueless unless we bring it into life. With sufficient ingenuity we might frame theory after theory, and if they could not be put to the test of a work-a-day existence we but add another to the many dead theories that litter the history of Philosophy.

Our principles are not to argue about, or write about, or hold meetings about, but primarily to give us a rule of life. To ignore this is to waste time and energy.

To observe and follow it is to take from the clouds something that appeals to us, work it into life, by it interpret the problems to hand, make our choice between opposing standards, and maintain our fidelity to the true one against every opposition and through every fitful though terrible depression; so shall we startle people with its reality, and make for it a disciple or an opponent, but always at once convince the generation that there is a serious work in hand.

If our philosophy is to be worked into life the first thing naturally is to review the situation. If we are to judge rightly, we must understand the present, draw from the past its lesson, and shape our plans for the future true to the principles that govern and inform every generation.

GREAT YEARS OF VISION

Let us survey the past, taking a sufficiently wide view between two points—say '98 and our own time—and we see certain definite conditions.

Great luminous years—'98, '03, '48, '67, rise up, witness to a great principle, readiness for sacrifice, unshaken belief in truth, valour and freedom, and a flag that will ultimately prevail.

In these years the people had vision, the blood quickened, a living flame swept the land, scorching up hypocrisy, deceit, meanness, and lighting all brave hearts to high hope and achievement—for, the whippersnappers notwithstanding, it was always achievement to challenge the enemy and stagger his power, though yet his expulsion is delayed.

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Between the glorious years of the living flame there intervened pallid times of depression, where every disease of soul and body crept into the open.

True hearts lived, scattered here and there, believing still but disorganised and bewildered—the leaders were stricken down and in their place, obscuring the beauty of life, the grandeur of the past, and our future destiny, came time-servers, flatterers, hypocrites, open traffickers in honour and public decency, fastening their mean authority on the land.

GENERATION OF DESPAIR

These are the two great testing places in our historic survey: the generation of the living flame and the generation of despair; and it is for us to decide—for the decision rests with us—whether we shall in our time merely mark time or write another luminous chapter in the splendid history of our race.

Let us consider these two generations apart, to understand their distinctive features more clearly for our own guidance. Take first the years of vision and the general effort to replant the old flag on our walls.

With the first enthusiasts breathing the live flame abroad, the kindling hope, the widening fires, the deepening dream, there grows a consciousness of the greatness of the goal, of the general duty, of the individual responsibility for higher character, steadier work, and purer motive; and gradually meanness, trickeries, and treacheries are weeded out of the individual and national consciousness: there is a realisation of a time to come to restore the nation's independence, and with passion and enthusiasm are fused a fine resolve and nerve.

All the excited doings of the feverish or pallid years are put by as unworthy or futile. The great idea inspires a great fight; and that fight is made, and, notwithstanding any reverse, must be recorded great.

Whatever concourse of circumstances mar the dream and delay the victory, those brave years are as a torch in witness to the ideal, in justification of its soldiers and in promise of final success.

Let us examine now the deadening years that intervene between the great fights for freedom. We have known something of these times ourselves, have touched on them already, and need not further draw out the demoralising things that corrupt and dishearten us.

But what we urgently require to study is the kind of effort—more often the absence of effort—made in such years by those who keep their belief in freedom and feel at times impelled in some way or other to action. They have followed a lost battle, and in the aftermath of defeat they are numbed into despair.

They refuse to surrender to the forces of the hour, but they lack the fine faith and enthusiasm of the braver years that challenged these forces at every point and stood or fell by the issue. They lie apathetic till, moved by some particular meanness or treachery, they are roused to spasmodic

any hour in the day a man's flag may be challenged and he must stand and justify it.

An idea you hold as true is not to be professed only where it is proclaimed; it will whisper and you must be its prophet in strange places; it is insistent of all things—you must glory in it or deny it; there is no escaping it, and there is no middle way; wherever your path lies it will cross you and you must choose.

EVERYONE MUST ANSWER

Beware lest on any plea you put it by. You cannot elect to do nothing; the concourse of circumstances would take you to some side; to do nothing is still to take a side.

Priest, poet, professor, public man, professional man, business man, tradesman—everyone will be called to answer; in every walk of life the true idea will find the

Principles Of Freedom

by

Terence MacSwiney

anger, rush to act in some spasmodic way—generally futile, then relapse into helplessness again.

They lack the vision that in spires every moment, discerns a sure way, and heightens the spirit to battle without ceasing, which is characteristic of the great years.

They tacitly accept that there is a useless generation, that the enemy is in the ascendant, that they cannot unseat him, and their action, where any is made, is but to show their attitude; never to convince opponents that the battle is again beginning, that this is a bid for freedom, that history will be called on to record their fight and pay tribute to their times.

PUT FUTILITIES ONE SIDE

Their action has never this great significance. When stung to fitful madness by the boastful varieties of power, their occasional frantic efforts are more as relief to their feelings than destructive to the tyranny in being.

Let us realise this to the full; and seeing the futility in other years of every pathetic mukeshit to annoy or circumvent the enemy, put by futilities and do a great work to justify our time.

We have, then, to consider and decide our immediate attitude to life, where we stand. There are errors to remove.

The first is the assumption that we are only required to acknowledge the flag in places, offer it allegiance at certain meetings at certain times that form but a small part of our existence; while we allow ourselves to be dispensed from fidelity to our principles when in other places, where other standards are either explicitly or tacitly recognised.

That we must carry our flag everywhere; that there must be no dispensation: these are the cardinal points of our philosophy. Life is a great battlefield, and

false in conflict and the battle must be fought out there—the battle is lost when we satisfy ourselves with an academic debate in our spare moments.

This is a debating club age, and a plea for an ideal is often wasted, taken as a mere point in an argument; but to walk among men fighting passionately for it as a thing believed in, to make it real, to influence men never reached in other ways; it is to arrest attention, arouse interest and quicken the masses to advance.

And wherever the appeal for the flag is calling us the snare of the enemy is in wait. Our history so bristles with instances that a particular concrete case need not be cited.

We know that priests will get more patronage if they discourage the national idea; that professors will get more emoluments and honours if they can ban it; that public men will receive places and titles if they betray it; that the professional man will be promoted more aggrandisement, the business man more commerce, and the tradesman more traffic of his kind—if only he put by the flag.

Most treacherous and insidious the temptation will come to the man, young and able, everywhere. It will say, "You have ability; come into the light—only put that by; it keeps you obscure. And what purpose does it serve now? Be practical; come."

OLD IDEA WILL RANKLE

And you may weaken and yield and enter the light for the general applause, but the old idea will rankle deep down till smothered out, and you will stand in the splendour—a failure, miserable, hopeless, not apparent, indeed, but for all that, final.

You may stand your ground, refuse the bribe, uphold the flag, and be rated a fool and a failure, but they who rate you so will not understand that you have

won a battle greater than all the triumphs of empires; you will keep alive in your soul true light and enduring beauty; you will hear the music eternally in the heart of the high enthusiast and have vision of ultimate victory that has sustained all the world over the efforts of centuries, that uplifts the individual, consolidates the nation, and leads a wandering race from the desert into the Promised Land.

If we are to justify ourselves in our time we must have done with dispensations. Many honest men are astray on this point and think attitudes justifiable that are at the root of all our failures.

What is the weakness? It is so simple to explain and so easy to understand that one must wonder how we have been ignoring it quietly and generally so long.

A man, as we have seen, acknowledges his flag in certain places; in other places it is challenged and he pulls it down. He is dispensed.

He believes in his heart, may even write an anonymous letter to the paper, will salute the flag again elsewhere, but he will not carry his flag through every fight and through every day.

When a particular crisis arises, which involves our public boards, public men, and business men in action, that requires a decision for or against the nation, he will find it in his place in life not wise to be prominent on his own side, and he is silently absent from his meetings—he gives a subscription but excuses himself from attendance.

PRIVATE PROFESSION

He satisfies himself with private professions of faith and whispered encouragement to those who fill the gap—words that won't be heard at a distance—and, worst of all, he thinks, because some stake in life may be jeopardised by bolder action, he is justified.

The answer is, simply he is not justified. Nor should anyone who is prepared to take the risk himself take it on himself to absolve others—nor, least of all, openly preach a milder doctrine to lead others who are timid to the farther goal, believed in at heart.

Encourage them by all means to practise their principles as far as they go; never restrict yours, or you will find yourself saying things you can't altogether approve, and keep on telling him, it wears into you, and a thing you once held in abhorrence you come to think of with indifference.

You change insensibly. Old friends rage at you, and because of it you rage at them—not knowing how you have changed.

You dare not let what you believe lie in abeyance or say things inconsistent with it, else to-morrow you'll be puzzled to say what you believe. You will hardly say two things to fit each other.

Let us have no half policies. Our policy must be full, clear, consistent, to satisfy the restless, inquiring minds; when we win all such over, the merely passive people will follow.

It should be clear that no man can dispense himself or his fellow

from a grave duty; but for all that we have been liberal with our dispensations, and it has left us in confusion and failure. On the understanding that we will be heroes to-morrow, we evade being men to-day.

We think of some hazy hour in the future when we may get a call to great things; we realise that the call is now, that the fight is afoot, that we must take the flag from its hidden resting place and carry it boldly into life.

So near a struggle may touch us with dread; but to dread provoking a fight is to endure without resistance all the consequences of a lost battle—a battle that might have been won. And if we are to be fit for the heroic to-morrow we must arise and be men to-day.

ON NEUTRAL GROUND

At times we find ourselves on neutral ground. The exigencies of the struggle involve this; and unfortunately we have in our midst sincere men who do not believe in restoring Ireland to her original independence.

Perhaps, from a tendency to lose our balance at times, it is well to have near by these men whose obvious sincerity may serve as a correcting influence. We have to make them one with us; in the meantime we meet them on neutral ground for some common purpose.

Yet, we must take our flag everywhere? Yes, that is fundamental. What then of the places where men of diverging views meet? do we abjure the flag? By no means.

The understanding here is not to force our views on others, but we must keep our principles clear in mind that no hostile view be forced on us. We must see to it that neutrality be observed.

One of the pitfalls to be aware of is, that something which on our principles we should not recognise, is assumed as recognised by others because to attack it would be to violate neutrality. But if it may not be resisted, it may not be recognised; this is neutrality; it is to stand on equal terms.

And since grave matters divide us—not directly concerned in our national struggle for freedom—let the dangerous idea be banished, that in entering on common ground we deify all opposing beliefs. For men who hold beliefs as vital it would not be creditable to either side to put them easily by.

No, we do not ask them to forget themselves, but to respect one another—an entirely greater and more honourable principle. On neutral ground a man is not called on to abjure his flag; rather he and his flag are in sanctuary.

(Continued).

CUMANN NA gCAILINÍ

Girls under 16 years of age who are interested in joining Cumann na gCailiní should write to:

Director of Organising,
Cumann na mBan,
C/o P.O. Box 187,
Dublin.

ORATION AT LONGFORD

At the Co. Longford annual Easter Commemoration in Ballymacormack Cemetery, Michael J. Lynch, of Castlepollard, presided and Sean O Bradaigh, of Longford, spoke as follows:

Táimid bailithe le chéile arís chun onóir a thabhairt do na fir agus na mnaí so léir a fuair bás ar son ár dtíre. Tugaimis onóir dóibh, gúimis ar a son, agus iarraimis ar Dhia na Glóire cabhrú linn chun saoirse iomlán na hÉireann a bhaint amach.

We have gathered in this holy spot for a twofold purpose—to pay respect to the memory of all those who died for Ireland, and to obtain from a few moments' meditation on their sacrifice the inspiration necessary to enable us to continue with the struggle till their objectives are won.

Here in Ballymacormack we honour especially the memory of Capt. Henry Hughes of the Irish Republican Army who died on June 13, 1921, from wounds received while training, and of Patrick McKee who died on February 23, 1922, as a result of the rigours of imprisonment in Ballykinlar Camp. Co. Down. We honour with them all those men and women who in every generation died for the freedom of Ireland.

WHY THEY DIED

It is a tenet of Christian belief that "greater love than this no man hath than that he lay down his life for his friend." Why, we may ask ourselves, did these men die. Why did they make the supreme sacrifice of their lives in their prime of youth?

Did they do it for a flag, for a tricolour of green, white and orange? No. They did not die just for that. A flag is merely a symbol.

DONEGAL

Are you a member of any Sinn Féin Cumann? If Cumann Donnchadh Mac Niallghais (Glennchoille) is in your area, join now. For full information contact An Rúnai or any member of the Cumann at any time.

Bi i do chomhaltá de Sinn Féin anois.

NOTICE

We have been informed that Denis McGilgan, a member of Clones U.D.C. and Móránghlu Co. Council is no longer a member of the Sinn Féin organisation.

CASTLE HOTEL

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BALLAD RECORDS

TWENTY Anglo-Irish ballads are featured in a series of ten 45 r.p.m. Beltona records issued by Clifford Music Ltd., 271 Gallowgate, Glasgow, C.4., Scotland.

Most of them have been ruined by arrangements and renderings which are in fast dance time. This modern tendency to render these ballads in waltz time is questionable at any time, but here it has made many of these records positively objectionable.

"Bold Robert Emmet" is sung by the Emmettes in true cowboy style to guitar accompaniment. "Barry's Column" is sung to the air of "Follow Me Up To Carlow", a fine tune which is often played in dance tempo for Solaisti na Bealtaine. But here we get an African tom-tom effect.

The tempo is so fast that listening to most of them one would almost think they were being played at the wrong speed. Yet it is something worth-while in the lot. Enoch Kent's singing of "Sean Sabhar of Garryowen" is quite pleasing, although his voice seems to drop very low at times. The chorus refrain is well done.

Four others which could somehow be recommended are "Shall My Soul Pass Through Ireland", "The Soldier's Song", "The Men of the West", and "Johnson's Motor Car".

The records are:
Sung by Diarmuid O'Neill: *Erin Divided and My Old Fenian Gun; Irish Soldier Boy and Tipperary So Far Away; The Foggy Dew and Barry's Column.*

Sung by Enoch Kent: *Sean Sabhar of Garryowen and The Smashing of the Van.*

Sung by the Emmettes: *Bold Robert Emmet and The Bold Fenian Men; Johnson's Motor Car and The Men of the West; Father Murphy and Erin Go Bragh.*

Sung by Peadar O'Toole: *Take It Down From The Mast and The Patriot Game.*

Sung by Patrick O'Malley: *The Soldier's Song and The Wearing of the Green; Roddy McCorley and Shall My Soul Pass Through Ireland.*

These records retail in the 26 Counties at 5/9 and in the Six Counties at 6/9.

Dónall Og.

AN CUMANN CABHRACH

Members private draw. Result:
1st prize, £25. Kerfor, No. 27162. Drawn by Sean Macken, Whitehall, Castlepollard.
2nd prize, £10. Team Spirit. No. 17117. John Keating, Yellow Rd., Castlecomer.
3rd prize, £5. Brown Diamond. No. 29577. M. McSwenny, Cap-pabue, Kealkill, Bantry.

The following drew 10/- prizes:
21539, 11628, 33663, 38614, 28126, 21198, 27744, 32862, 23759, 25176.

An Cumann Cabhrach

For the relief of the Dependents of Republican Prisoners.

CAVAN

Swanlinbar Collec. £ 8. 0. 0
Ceili, Corlough 3 10 0

CORK

Cork Branch (Feb.) £150 0 0

DONEGAL

"Cluiche i mBaile Bo Feigh" 1 0 0

DUBLIN

Miscellaneous 5 13 0
Cumann na mBan, Carrig Dubh 5 0

"I gCúimhne Tomas O Dubhghaill" 10 10 0

Bosca san Oifig 8 13 0

Cumann Piarsaigh, Rath Fearnain 8 16 0

Per Coisde Atha Cliath: Plant Cumann 33 3 0

Mitchell Cumann 11 6 10

Cumann na mBan 4 15 8

Russell Cumann 1 2 3

Miscellaneous 8 8 8

KERRY

D. Mac Gearailt 1 0 0

"An Irish Priest on the Foreign Missions" 6 dol.

KILDARE

Cumann Cabhrach, Kildare 42 0 0

LEITRIM

Leitrimscenna Collec. 10 0 0

LOUTH

Cumann Cabhrach, Droghda 20 0 0

B. McShane 5 0 0

MEATH

Per Dunboyne Cumann, Sinn Féin: Blanchardstown and Castleknock 21 7 10

Dunboyne, Clonoe and Kilbride 14 11 5

Curraha 2 0 0

Ratoath 6 0 0

Ashbourne 4 8 9

Porterstown 14 9

LONGFORD

Longford town annual collection 15 16 0

SLIGO

"A Friend." Sligo 5 0

WATERFORD

Waterford Co. Board, G.A.A. 10 10 0

C.I.E. 7 10 0

G.A.A. Match 15 10 0

WESTMEATH

Barnes and McCormack Cumann, Sinn Féin, Mullingar 6 0 0

AMERICA

Pearse & Connolly Irish Republican Club, San Francisco 100 dol.

Frank O'Neill, Chicago 10 dol.

ENGLAND

M. Bean Mhic Shuibhne Coventry Cumann Cabhrach 5 0 0

Liam Mellowes Branch Cumann Cabhrach, Liverpool 10 10 0

AUSTRALIA

Per Jack Hartnett: Frank Hegarty A1 9 0

Mrs. Fodhla MacKeown A1 0 0

Joe O'Garman A1 0 0

Jack Hartnett A1 0 0

Taxman O'Byrne 10 0

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The Path to The Common Market

BLITHELY and apparently without care the Government of the 26 Counties continues to lead the people along the primrose path to the "paradise" of the Common Market. Punt and ineffectual attempts to warn the politicians of possible consequences of their thoughtless actions have been made but they continue on their way, holding out the promise of new prosperity, higher standards of living, cheaper goods ... bigger and better circuses and more bread!

Wiser and more experienced writers than I have already drawn a comparison between the European Economic Community, with its prospect of 400,000,000 living in a materialistic Utopia, and the Roman Empire, with its free bread and gladiator shows to keep the populace full and contented. Materialism in itself cannot be an end and the community that sets out to achieve it, and only it, is predestined to decay. One has but to read Gibbon to know this.

But, outside a few voices crying in the political wilderness, have we heard anyone in a responsible position in this country decry the blind pursuit of materialism which seems to motivate the present plan to join the Common Market. From Mr. Lemass and company we have heard naught but platitudes about the tremendous opportunity for industry, for economic progress, for more production and so on.

NEVER A WORD

NEVER a word has been uttered by them about the inescapable impact of European materialist thinking and ways of life on the Irish people's outlook. Are we destined to acceptance of un-Christian (to say the least about them) modes and morals in our way of life?

One might wish for a warning from the Church which must be in possession of information and knowledge about these things not available to the ordinary man or woman. In so wishing, one might put forward the example of the Bishops of Brazil who recently warned of the new threat to Christianity and called upon all "to emphasise human values rather than material gains in evaluating national progress".

When may one expect such a warning here?

A QUOTATION

WHILE discussing the Common Market, here is a quotation which might have been made by an Irish politician—if he had the courage. No marks are offered for guessing who the speaker is.

"We cannot tolerate a situation in which, after months of

secret negotiations, we are suddenly confronted with a fait accompli."

"The Government should not reach a decision on such grave matters without both Parliament and people having first discussed fully the nature of the conditions of our entry and all that they imply."

COMMITMENTS

WHAT exactly are these political commitments about which Mr. Heath was speaking? Are decisions which are binding on us to be taken only by a council of Governments on which we should have, in effect, a veto? No one, I think, could object to this. Or are the powers which now rest with the British House of Commons to be in any respect conferred on a European Parliament which is directly elected?

The speaker was Mr. Gaiskill, the British Labour leader, voicing the fears of a large section of the British public. But substitute the words "Mr. Lemass" for "Mr. Heath" and "Leinster House" for "British House of Commons" and the lesson is brought home.

The 26-County Government has done just what Gaiskill warned about—applied for membership of the E.E.C. without themselves, not to mention the Irish people, being fully aware of what they were committing the country to. If ever there was a time for caution, this is it. If ever there was need for care, it is now. But Mr. Lemass and company, chasing the rainbow's end where they hope to find a cornucopia, have eschewed all care and caution.

IN A HURRY

THEY are men in a hurry for they realise that time, for them, is running out and they must now take a gamble. The transparency of their election promises and their failure to solve big national problems like re-uniting the country, ending emigration and providing full employment, can no longer be hidden. They have failed in these things and something else must be substituted to engage people's attention and divert their interest.

Thus the Common Market is a blessing in disguise for Mr. Lemass and company. Thus it is explained their impetuous haste to join. For in the E.E.C. such things as sovereignty, national boundaries, unemployment and emigration will, they fervently hope, become matters of no importance and cause them no further trouble.

Let us sincerely trust and hope, for the sake of Ireland and the Irish people, that the politicians are not leading us to a fool's paradise.

MAC DARA.

DRAW RESULT

Republican Prisoners Dependents Fund. Result of Prize Drawing.

1st prize, ticket-No. 11038: Eamon Hawes, Clontarf Park.

Dublin. 2nd prize, ticket No. 11870. M. Kellegher, Richmond Road, Dublin. 3rd prize, ticket No. 8860. Colleen Devine, 73a Beckett Road, Yorkshire, England. "Sellers" Prize, "Frank McGlade and Joe Nolan.

THE ALTERNATIVE TO

Another Sinn Fein Story

WHENEVER discussion centres on the problem of the E.E.C. or whenever any consideration is given to the matter of Ireland's entry into the Community, almost invariably the question is asked, what is the alternative to her joining? In a superficial way this question implies that the nation of 32 counties has a choice in the matter.

It is no harm to reiterate that the nation, as a unit, has no choice in this, nor, for that matter, in any other question affecting its national or economic welfare. The unjust forcible division of the nation's territory and the forcible maintenance of partition, by all three Governments that rule the country, preclude any chance, any hope of an overall national decision in the interests of the nation and its citizens.

Alternative in the Event of

Refusal of 26-Co. Application

In these circumstances, therefore, and since six counties of the national territory will be forcibly committed by Britain to whatever ultimate course, taken in her own selfish interests, she decides upon in relation to her joining the Common Market, the question of the alternative to Ireland's joining the Community boils down to the question of what is the alternative for the Southern partition statelet.

There is one simple way in which an answer to this question may be given. It is, that the alternative is precisely that which the partition statelet will have to find and abide by if the application of its professional political rulers for admission of the area to the Community is rejected. And it may well be that just such a thing will happen.

If Survival is Impossible

Politicians Stand Condemned

In such event what measures will the statelet's rulers, and other advocates of full acceptance of the unknown and undefined ramifications to which they would commit the area and its people, propose should be taken? Or is it their case that economic conditions will have deteriorated to the point where survival becomes impossible?

If this be their contention, and from the line of reasoning indicated in their advocacy it would appear to be just that, and if for this reason they are prepared, as they indicate they are, to forfeit the measure of freedom attained and the sovereignty of our nation, then they stand self condemned, and as accepting in its full scope and equity the judgment of the present generation and posterity, that they have abjectly failed to lead our people to the freedom, prosperity and happiness which is their rightful inheritance.

Any attempt to make an assessment of the relative merits of joining, or remaining outside the Common Market is made difficult by the fact that individual or collective judgments have to be made on the basis of what individuals, or groups, visualise as the economic conditions that will obtain if membership of the Community eventuates.

Treaty of Rome Provides for

Trade with Outside States

To premise consideration of the matter on the hypothesis that as a member it will be possible for the partition statelet to maintain present-day economic standards, or to achieve any improvement of them, is sheer speculation. Likewise any consideration given to an effort to assess the economic conditions that would emerge from non-membership must have a hypothetical basis, because no one can say for certain what exactly the impact of a fully developed Common Market economy will have upon economic conditions within the partition statelet.

But if those who advocate membership claim a right, either as rulers or otherwise, to commit the statelet to the full and yet unknown political, economic and military ramifications of a European bloc on the hypotheses that the interests of its people are thereby served, then those who stand opposed to what they believe to be, and regard as the intention of professional politicians, given the opportunity to sell, or otherwise surrender the nation's right to full sovereignty, have an equal right to assume that the present or an improved economic standard is feasible outside the Common Market.

A considerable part of the case made for joining the Common Market is based upon the assumption that the "Common Tariff" barrier will price the products of non-member nations out of the Community Market, or restrict their flow into it. There are indications that few substantial grounds exist for such an assumption.

In the first place it is most unlikely that the Community can exist in complete economic isolation from the rest of the world. That nations adjacent to the Community either refuse

to join or seek only association with it indicates their concurrence with this view. It will have to seek markets in non-member states for its surplus production.

It will have to import goods not produced within the Community, or that are otherwise in short supply. Hence it will have to seek and obtain reciprocal trade agreements with non-member states, on terms of trade that can prove to be equally as favourable to them as if they were full members of the Community.

Further it must be borne in mind that the Community has deliberately made provision for trade with states outside the Common Tariff area. This provision is embodied in Article 238 of the Treaty of Rome. It is worded as follows:—"The Community may conclude with a third country, a union of states, or an international organisation agreements creating an association embodying reciprocal rights and obligations, joint actions and special procedures."

Within this provision ample room is left for a wide variety of commercial treaties. And it is also noteworthy that whereas full membership is only available to European states, association, as outlined in the foregoing Article, has no geographical limitations. The wording of this Article leaves no room for doubts either on the scope of its purpose or its scope. And it effectively disposes of the contention that non-membership carries with it an absolute deprivation of any share in the markets of the Community.

Lesser Commitments Involved

In Associate Membership

In the case of association the political and military implications are considerably less substantial than in the case of membership. Association permits a much more flexible trade arrangement less closely shaped to the rigid pattern of full membership. It also involves a much lesser surrender of national autonomy over domestic affairs, a very much lesser subjection to the common policies of the Community and it is worthwhile remembering that common policies will be decided by majority vote.

During 1961, according to details published by the Central Statistics Office, the Southern Partition Statelet imported goods valued at 35.3 million pounds from the E.E.C. area and exported to it goods valued at 11.3 million pounds. Imports rose by 5.9 million pounds over the figure for 1960.

Will this Favourable Flow

of Trade be Halted?

It may be assumed that the measure of these imports, and the possibility of a continuing expansion of them will cause the E.E.C. to hesitate before erecting a tariff barrier which would reduce, or completely stem this, to it, favourable flow of trade, simply because the Statelet opted to remain outside the Community. And even if the Community took such a step then an alternative for the Statelet would be to gear its production to providing internally the goods now imported from the E.E.C. rather than attempting to gear productivity at home to the competitive demands of the Common Market.

To date there has been no appreciable diminution of trade between East and West Germany or between the Community and countries east of the Iron Curtain. And what are future prospects? Some observers go so far as stating the only likely change will be that instead of trading as heretofore with individual states comprising the Community, the Eastern Bloc countries will, from now on, deal with the Community as a unit.

In point of fact it could be, if the Community continues to thrive, that countries East of the Iron Curtain will be provided with greater export opportunities. None of these countries seeks membership of the Community. They accept, in their own interests, the alternative available to them.

Prospects of Retaining Present

Share in British Market Remote

A principal plank in the platform of those who advocate membership is that to retain a share in the British market the Statelet has no option but to seek entry into the Common Market. But the simple and obvious fact remains that if Britain enters the Community her markets will be thrown wide open to nations better organised, better equipped, and with productive capacity far greater than that of this Statelet. In such circumstances the prospects of the Statelet's securing a share of the British market on anything approaching the existing scale are very remote.

An ironical aspect of the British market question is that, on the one hand, the case for the Statelet's entry into the Common Market is represented as an absolute essential because Britain's policy of subsidised support for her own agricultural producers devalued her market for certain of the Statelet's exports to it. On the other hand it is represented that to retain a share in the British Market the Statelet must join the Community. Didn't a prominent professional

politician once make the ponderous statement "You cannot have it both ways"?

The alternative? The money volume of the Statelet's imports from Britain in 1959 exceeded 100 million pounds, and its exports to Britain were in excess of 77 million pounds. For Britain the prospects of the Community, in view of its almost self-sufficiency, providing an outlet for British exports on this scale are scanty. And just as Britain makes her membership of the Community conditional on some measure of freedom to retain Commonwealth trade on preferential terms outside the Common Tariff of the Community, so in her own interests it may be assumed she will seek similar accommodation in respect of her trade relations with the Statelet as a non-member of the Common Market.

Reduce British Imports and

Expand Dollar Exports

In these circumstances, or even should these circumstances not arise, the commonsense thing would be to adjust the pattern of the Statelet's economy with a view to reducing the volume of British imports and, in addition, gear its productive capacity to provide at least some of the goods remaining to be imported from Britain. On balance, the deficit accruing to the Statelet would not necessarily be in excess of that which will probably arise because the superior competitive capacity of the Community states will enable them to "corner" the British market, and squeeze the Statelet out of any worthwhile share in it.

According to the Central Statistics Office the volume of the Statelet's exports to the Dollar countries rose from 14.1 million pounds in 1960 to 16.4 millions in 1961. Expansion of this market would, in some degree at least, provide an alternative.

Expansion of Home Market

Would Provide Outlet

A further, and of all the alternatives that spring to mind, a most important alternative is to cease chasing around the globe seeking markets, which in all cases and in all circumstances place the future of the home economy in the hands of foreigners and entirely at their mercy to use as it suits their own interests, whilst the economic conditions such a policy enforces deprive thousands of our own people of the means to purchase the consumer goods of which they stand in dire need, and the purchase of which would provide, through an expansion of the home market, an outlet for goods for which export markets have not to be sought.

Within the Community the productive capacity of the Statelet will have to be organised and geared to provide products that will be in short supply within the Community area. And it will have to produce such goods on a costs basis that will enable them to be disposed of on cut-throat competitive terms. Hence low cost production and all it entails will be an absolute essential. Further, since the Community is intended to be a trading entity, a unit, member states may be precluded from seeking and negotiating bilateral trade agreements, or treaties with non-member states.

Freedom to Negotiate Trade

Agreements to Advantage

All such trade agreements, or treaties will be negotiated by the Economic Authority of the Community with particular reference to its own interests and quite regardless of the impoverishment it may inflict upon a member state through depriving it of the right and the opportunity to negotiate trade agreements favourable to its own interests.

The alternative of remaining outside the Common Market will enable the Statelet to negotiate trade agreements or treaties wherever markets are, or become, available for surplus goods the production of which is organised and geared to serve the interests of the home economy. It will allow some freedom of choice in selecting what goods should be produced, having regard to the interests of our own people. And in the matter of production costs the competitive element will not be any greater; it may well be much less than that which E.E.C. conditions will compel.

Reserve Home Market to Home

Producers Where Possible

It will also mean that instead of the home market being thrown wide open to the competitive capacity of member states to undersell native products and therefore place even the home market in jeopardy to the native producers, that the

THE COMMON MARKET

Statement on Vital Issue

home market can be reserved entirely to the home producers for its requirements of those goods and services which the native economy is capable of providing.

It is frankly admitted by the professional politicians that the economic welfare of citizens of the Statelet may not be enhanced through membership of the Community. All their statements, all their propaganda advocating entry into the Common Market are a maze of qualifications, a combination of "musts" which will have to be complied with, in order that the Statelet's economy and the future welfare of its people will not in fact be jeopardised through membership.

Membership Requirements Applied to

Home Economy Remaining Outside

The small word "if" keeps recurring at an alarming rate. Other qualifications are profuse and all are stressed as absolute essentials. To repeat just a few:—"Increased Productivity", "Workers and bosses must co-operate", "Amalgamation of Industries", "Merging of farms", "Co-operation among small farmers", "Rationalisation", "Specialisation" and so on through the whole gamut.

Here again the alternative springs to mind. Some of the requirements are unacceptable because of their nature, and the adverse elements inherent in them, but others if developed and applied to the home economy would help to expand the home market and would also go some part of the way towards enabling the products of the Statelet to pierce whatever common tariff barrier the Community may erect. Incidentally, trade-unionists and others whose means of livelihood may be jeopardised by "redundancy" within industry would be well advised to give earnest consideration to this drift.

It would be possible to go on suggesting alternatives to each of the points made in favour of membership. This, however, is unnecessary since alternatives will occur to those who give any worthwhile measure of thought to the matter. The alternatives suggested may, or may not, in the economic sphere prove more beneficial to the Statelet or to the interests of its people than those that would accrue from membership.

Neutrality Bargained Against

Doubtful Share in British Market

But there is one tremendous advantage for the Statelet and its citizens in the further alternative of keeping it clear of political and military alignments, involving commitments the

scope of which is yet unknown, even to the rulers of the Statelet who, on the unwarranted presumption that they speak and act for the people of Ireland, now publicly proclaim the national heresy that for membership of the Common Market our people must pay the admission fee and that in the absence of any kind of preview, any sort of advance publicity which would reliably indicate the merits of the circus.

It is very important that the citizens of the partition Statelet should now realise that the official policy of the professional political rulers now publicly accepts that the Statelet should join in the military defence of a Western bloc. In passing it may be noted that by this summons the Statelet's rulers have discarded the mantle of neutrality formerly worn by them. They have discarded it without any mandate from the people unfortunate enough to have them as rulers. They have discarded it without regard for the sacrifices the people may have to make in defence and maintenance of foreign interests, survival of which brings no benefits, no succour in its wake. They have discarded it without any great wish of the people, outside circles having vested interests, for European unity or alignments with military blocs.

Those who have discarded the mantle of neutrality are not prompted by considerations of this kind. They are influenced solely and entirely through the fear of forfeiting the British market to continental producers. They are prepared to commit the people to payment of any price, no matter how exorbitant, for something that may well prove worthless, since even on their own showing, on their own reckoning, European competition may deprive the Statelet of a substantial share of, if not the entire British market, in any event.

Maintenance of Right to

Sovereign Independence Worthwhile

Mr. Lemass and his professional henchmen have a right to gamble with possessions in their rightful and private ownership. But they do not own the part of partitioned Ireland over which they rule and hence they have no legitimate right whatever to gamble it and the future of its rightful owners in a game of power politics, where the cards are "stacked" against the interests of the Irish people. Such a gamble reveals just how closed are the minds of the professional politicians to the interests of the nation and future welfare of its people.

Even should Irish people have to endure economic hardships as a price for remaining outside the Common Market, the nationally minded and thinking among them would prefer to make sacrifices to retain liberty of action in maintaining the nation's right to Sovereign Independence rather than to sell

themselves into an undefined state of slavery as the bondsmen of the political manoeuvres and cut-throat economic competitive conditions of a foreign controlled and dominated alliance.

An Attempt to Commit 26 Counties to

Foreign Control in Many Spheres

The purpose of this statement is an endeavour to attract attention to the probability that, taking the long term view, the Southern partition Statelet may have nothing to lose in the economic sphere, by remaining outside the Common Market. Further that, even if less favourable economic conditions evolve through non-membership, the Statelet and its citizens will be more than amply compensated, because they will not have to make the far greater and more devastating sacrifices the political and military commitments membership of the Community will compel.

It must not be assumed that because this statement deals almost exclusively with the area of one of the British imposed partition Statelets that recognition of the Statelet, for other than what is really is, is intended or even implied. The reason for confining the scope of the statement is given at the outset.

The future welfare of Ireland in the economic, political and all other spheres, hinges on something far more fundamental than the party and antinational manoeuvres of the professional and overpaid politicians, ably abetted by the self-interested, to commit even a part of Ireland to any form of economic, political and military control designed and administered by foreign elements.

Enduring Alternative can be Based

Only on Complete Liberation

The real, worthwhile and enduring alternative to the Common Market and to partition can only be erected as a national structure on the secure foundation of Ireland's complete liberation from foreign occupation, from foreign domination and from foreign influence.

On this ground Sinn Fein stands fast to-day as in the past it has stood.

Taking its stand on this fundamental essential for the nation's survival and future welfare, Sinn Fein opposes the sale, or other form of surrender, of a single iota of Ireland's just claim and right to self-determination and sovereign Independence.

— Issued by Sinn Fein Publicity Committee,
April 17, 1962.

Sinn Fein Leaflets on the Common Market

1. Sinn Fein Opposes E.E.C. Tie
2. The Border and the Common Market
3. The Alternative to the Common Market

ALL THREE LEAFLETS ARE NOW AVAILABLE FROM SINN FEIN HEAD OFFICE,
30 GARDINER PLACE, DUBLIN 1, AT A COST OF 1/3 PER DOZEN POST FREE

Buy them — Read them — Distribute them

THE PROSPECTS FOR THE IRISH LANGUAGE

MEN make history. What happens to continents and nations is not the result of some mystic rhythm, not a series of automatically recurring cycles. God gave men free will, and man chooses or rejects, acts or allows others to react on him. God helps those who help themselves.

The Catalans of Spain are agitating again for freedom and in one of their pamphlets they point the importance of their language: "The language is the essence of our being," they write.

Here in Ireland there have been efforts to prove the opposite, as an excuse for abandoning the Irish language. They point to Switzerland, Belgium, the U.S.A., Canada, the republics of South America. They say that here are nations and they are using borrowed languages. Hence a nation can exist without a native language.

While these people are sincere, they are confused. They are confusing two words, 'state' and 'nation.'

ALPHABET OF NATIONALITY

Even a casual analysis would prove to such people that there are a number of things common to the 'Spanish-speaking' world because of the language; a more careful analysis would reveal that the peoples of South America regard Spain or Portugal, as the case may be, as their motherlands.

It should be unnecessary to state such facts again. But such has been the neglect of the Irish language by two statelets in Ireland, and the extent of hostile propaganda, with a resulting ignorance of the truth, that it is necessary for the Irish people to learn again the alphabet of nationality.

LANGUAGE THE BULWARK

Nations do not rise and fall in rhythm to the music of the spheres but through the actions of man. Sometimes a people becomes weak through corruption (soft living) or anarchy. Nature abhors a vacuum. Where a nation is weak, there is always another nation waiting to come in and fill the vacuum. The native state ceases to exist. The nation survives for a time, mainly through its language.

Only when the language has been obliterated does it become possible to assimilate the conquered people. Once a few generations have passed without the knowledge of the once-native language, the main difference between the conquered and the conquerors disappears. The reason for opposition disappears. Even if there is some form of native state or administration in existence, the urge of the conquered people is towards complete assimilation, unless there be some other outstanding difference, such as a persecuted religion, or a difference in the colour of the skins.

In South America, the conquerors imposed their religion on what remained of the original population. But they mixed freely with the conquered. There is no colour bar in South America.

In the United States of America is significant that

Another thought-provoking article has been contributed by DEASUN BREATNACH. This month his topic is the Irish language. His article in our April issue, "The Materialist Concept of Patriotism," was very well received by our readers.

any, sooner or later, comes a backing for Britain, the 'mother-figure,' in all her troubles and difficulties, and that despite the huge distance that separates the two sister states of the one Anglo-Saxon nation.

OBLIVION HASTENED

The process of assimilation is not yet complete in the U.S.A. The attempt to form a separate language—belonging to the Germanic group of languages—is developing slowly. But because of the facility and speed of travel to-day, it does not seem likely that America will become a separate nation.

The place of languages in nationality is illustrated more clearly in Canada, where two nations strive for supremacy, the English and the French. Judging by the virility of the French nation in Canada, its retention of its language, its insistence on its use at all levels, even to the point of changing English names to French ones on the map, and its increase in population, the Canadian nation may yet emerge victorious in Canada. Certainly, at present, it is no exaggeration to say that it has an even chance.

Nations die when the people who compose them are no longer willing to keep them alive. There is nothing sacrosanct about a nation; there is no promise from God that, regardless of the actions of those who compose the nation, the nation will last until the end of time.

The history of the world is full of accounts of nations that were once great but which now no longer exist. A nation that exists for 700 years under foreign occupation is an anachronism. If the Irish nation to-day is dying, it is no great surprise; the surprise is that it has existed so long.

If the Irish nation to-day is dying, it is because the will to keep it alive has weakened. Is the Irish nation dying? The signs are that it is. A majority of people in the 26 Counties is supporting political parties which are pursuing courses which can lead only to oblivion. Their tactics, especially in relation to the use of the language at all levels, have been such as to hasten oblivion.

THE EXAMPLE OF IRELAND

Nations have reached such points at other times and have been saved. The Irish nation was at such a point in 1916. Dublin people, Irish people, spat on the men of the G.P.O. when they emerged after the surrender. Yet by 1918, the nation had recovered.

This is the century of false politicians, of men who are selling their countries. And because some people care, these peoples have produced their leaders and got rid of the traitors. It happened

in Egypt, in France, in Algeria, in Morocco, in Israel.

Ironically, the patriots of these countries and of many others say that it was from Ireland they got their inspiration. A flame was lit in Easter Week that shone around the world. The link we broke in Easter Week loosened a worldwide chain of imperialism.

Now look at Ireland to-day. Would anyone believe that the fathers and mothers, or grandfathers, and grandmothers, of to-day's adults set the world on fire for liberty a little over 40 years ago?

The historic unity of the island is broken and accepted as such by thousands, defended, even, by the ruling families.

The reins of real freedom—economics—are controlled from London. The so-called "Irish" pound has a London backing. The headquarters of most of the banks are in London.

LEINSTER HOUSE A CO. COUNCIL

Leinster House, in reality, is little more than a general council of county councils. Like all the other county councils, the language it uses most of the time is English. Less than one per cent. of the money it controls goes towards the preservation of an ideal, the practice of which it avoids—the extension of the use of the Irish language.

English culture and English cultural values are treated generously, such as the Wexford Festival. The native thing frequently doesn't get a clangour, such as the Fleadh Cheoil.

"COMPULSORY" IRISH

The hand of the gombeen rests heavily on the country. Cínaif Mhí Ní, Gleann da Loch Caiseal na Ríogh—the despoiled universities and desecrated shrines of an Ireland which had not been reduced to the dimensions and character of the till—are choked with weeds. Not a party, not a deputy, to fight for their restoration.

In Leinster House there are, perhaps, some sincere men, fools, judging by the level of debate. Fools can be excused, if not the men who put them there. But in Leinster House, too, there are men of intelligence, individuals who are selling their country—clann do dhíol a mairbh.

It may happen, if the Irish people awakens, as it did during the Black-and-Tan War, that the dishonest politicians will be brought to trial in Ireland. Certain generations to come will spit on their memory as Irishmen spit on the name of Diarmuid na Gáill, their progenitor.

Certainly, too, they will be called to witness for sinning against the Holy Ghost in seeking actively the death of the Irish language while pretending they care about its fate.

The ugliest, most sinister words to be thrown in the face of the Irish people in centuries are "compulsory Irish." In this well is the sneer and the jeer; the rejection of nationality; the mentality of the informer, the traitor, the coward, the turn-coat.

This well has depths of vindictiveness, heavily loaded connotations. This slogan is a conditioner, a snare, a rallying point for reaction that would not dare show itself under any other label. It is a seducer. It plays on the Irishman's hatred of oppression, twists it, mixes with the sense of guilt of the man or woman who knows little Irish. But above all this it is a lie.

For if there was "compulsory" Irish, the words would not be used. Everybody would be too busy learning Irish to bother wasting time coining a malignant phrase. Public opinion would not tolerate its dissemination.

As far as I know, the term originated with a Fine Gael publication titled the "National Observer." This was an organ in which, it was boasted, the intellectuals of the party displayed their talents, modestly, anonymously.

One of the topics discussed was Irish. The campaign began with an all-out attack on the language as useless, archaic, dead, . . . and all the rest of it. But that was an extreme to which even Fine Gael was then unwilling to go. A compromise was achieved by the architects and high priests of compromise. "Compulsory Irish" was spat out.

AN ALIEN PRESS

Since then, a steady campaign has been maintained by a small and determined group. They use many names and addresses, seldom their own. They seek to give the impression that they come from such places as Crumlin, with their "Mother of Seven," and not from Mount Merrion or Rathmines. This gives the campaign the stamp of democracy.

If the newspapers were to refuse to publish their letters, most of their platform would be demolished.

But the press which, time and again, has compromised and betrayed the people's trust and the nation's honour in other matters, gives them the hospitality of free columns of space.

Largely, ours is an alien press. It worked against Irish nationality before 1921; it continues its work, very little changed. As Connolly said it would be, the crown has been changed for the harp in the gombeen set-up.

POLITICAL CONSPIRACY

The press to a greater or lesser extent, is tied to big business interests which, in turn, have their headquarters in London. That which is not so tied is part of the political conspiracy to distort the meaning of 1916 and the aims of Irish patriots.

Would French newspapers publish letters or leading articles condemning the revival of French in Alsace or Lorraine?

Would any other country with

Middle-Class Opposition

ONE of the most important points to remember in any consideration of the state of the Irish language in the 26 Counties to-day is that a privileged group could avoid going to national school, where a reasonably good grounding in the fundamentals of Irish is given, and, from a private school go on to a secondary school, where all the emphasis is on the beauty and wonder of English, and where Irish is taught largely in formulae. These formulae, if learned, result in a pass in Irish at examinations, but also an attitude towards the language varying from disinterest to contempt.

A whole generation has grown up which has passed from private school to English-biased secondary school question, hence the need for the formulae mentioned, and the unfortunate results.

It is from this middle-class group that whatever opposition there is to Irish comes. To most of these people, there is no Irish literature. In contrast, they know English literature in considerable detail and, therefore, respect it. English, too, being their medium of instruction, is the dominant language.

Language experts have proved that it is from about three to about nine years of age that the mind is best equipped to pick up a language. This period has largely been missed by the "privileged" middle-class group in question, hence the need for the formulae mentioned, and the unfortunate results.

What we fail to master, we tend to fear or dislike. The personal failure is transferred to the subject.

a problem similar to ours act as subjects but not necessarily in Irish. Entry to jobs should not be barred by lack of a knowledge of Irish, they urge.

Irish can be revived by voluntary effort, plus a few scholarships from the State, they promise.

How far has the 26-County state advanced the language cause? Remember that, before 1921, Irish was made a necessary subject for entry to the National University.

The 26-County State added to this that people seeking public employment must have a certain knowledge of Irish—and often this was a ridiculous minimum.

Once inside the public service, in most cases, the language was forgotten.

No attempt was made to grade its increased use, year by year, until such time as all public administration would be done through Irish alone.

Donall O'Morain of Gael-Linn has been quoted recently as having said that those who try to use Irish in the Civil Service are prohibited from doing so, actively discouraged.

PATTERN AND TRADITION

It was the British civil service—the part of it in the 26 Counties—that was taken over by the Free State in 1921. The Treaty ensured the protection and continued employment of Britain's servants. Pattern and tradition have continued, virtually unchanged.

One might hope, at the very least, that public servants at work in the Gaeltacht would have a good knowledge of Irish and would use it.

I have lived in the Gaeltacht and heard doctors and nurses forcing English on the people. I know of cases of Gaeltacht mothers, who went to hospital for the births of their children, having been forced to accept English names for their sons or daughters.

I know of old Connemara women with little English who have been mocked and ridiculed in public hospitals because they knew "only Irish."

When the gardai go to work in (To Page 11).

THE ANTI-IRISH STAND

The stand the enemies of Irish are taking, briefly, is this: for the present the Leaving Certificate should be granted to those who pass in a certain number of

SINN FEIN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRAMME

Social Welfare

THE first thing that springs to mind in regard to the supply of Social Welfare Services is that their cost must be met out of revenue collected through taxation in one form or another from the tax-paying public. Generally speaking the tax-paying public embraces all members of the population, because all are caught within the network of taxation either in its direct or indirect form, or in both.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Granted that the burden is generally lightened by a "spread-out" of taxation, it remains, nevertheless, a fact that those who benefit from the provisions of social welfare services contribute some share of their cost.

Unemployment and the maintenance of remuneration for work at a level below that required by wage-earners to support themselves and their dependants are two of the main factors contributing to the need for provision of social services at a high over-all cost to the community. The need for the "dole", home assistance, free milk schemes, children's allowances, health services administered through dispensaries, etc., is mostly due to unemployment and low wages.

It goes without saying that adequate provision must always be made for the mentally defective, the physically deformed, the aged; in a word, for all who through the visitation of God, in one form or another, are unable to provide for themselves.

Having made adequate provision for such, surely a sane approach to providing a solution to the problem of social welfare would be to make those capable of providing for themselves and their dependants independent of any need for State assistance through full employment at the necessary standard of remuneration for work accomplished.

Periods of temporary unemployment, either through illness or slackness of work, will always

have to be provided for. The former can be covered through a contributory scheme designed to meet claims for sickness benefits. The latter can be met, in part or in whole, through capital development schemes of reproductive character.

In the sphere of Social Welfare, the aim of Sinn Féin is—

* To correct the national outlook that has grown up among the people, of which it may be said that its chief characteristic is to rob them of a spirit of independence and self-reliance and prompt them to seek State and other aids for many things which their own industry and enterprise could provide. To make adequate provision from State funds for the care of the mentally defective, the physically deformed, the aged, widows and orphans, and for others incapacitated and unable to support themselves.

* To reduce to a minimum the need to provide unemployment benefits by directing development of the national economy towards achievement of full employment at a family wage for all. Periods of unemployment may be unavoidable, but every effort should be made to ensure that these will be as short as possible in duration and as limited as possible in extent.

* To meet whatever requirements that may arise through unavoidable unemployment, provision will be made for adequate cash payments to those out of work, from a fund to be established on the basis of a contributory scheme or from State finances or from a combination of both.

* To provide a comprehensive scheme of National Health Insurance on a contributory

basis—contributions to be graded in accordance with the scale of family income. The scheme to be administered through a Health Council acting under the direction of a Health Ministry, and to embrace, on an agreed basis, all Health Services (such as Dental, Ophthalmic and Optical, Specialist and Consultative, Midwifery, Pharmaceutical, etc.), including all hospitals—public, voluntary and private.

* Through the scheme provision will be made for payment of unemployment (through sickness) benefit, for marriage, maternity, disablement and mortality benefits, on scales commensurate with maintaining the solvency of the scheme.

* In addition, provision could be made to meet the cost, in part or in whole, of specialised medical advice and care in cases where the family income is not equal to bearing the extra cost of specialised services. The aim shall be to draft a good scheme suitable to the national economy, based on an expert actuarial estimate of the costs involved and financed by contributions from the State, employers and employees.

* In the provision of Social Welfare Services, to be guided by the paramount interest of the Nation in preserving the Family Ideal, the sanctity of the home, and as a general guiding principle, that only those incapacitated and unable to provide for themselves and their dependants shall require assistance from the State.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN

The Mayor of New Brunswick, New Jersey, Mr. Chester W. Paulus, greeted Councillor Robert Briscoe, T.D., Lord Mayor of Dublin, on the steps of New Brunswick City Hall on Tuesday, and announced that the New Brunswick High School Band would now play the Irish National Anthem.

The band played "God Save the Queen."

—Irish Times 15/3/62

DUNDALK RAFFLE

The results of the raffle under the auspices of North Louth G.A.A. in aid of the Duffy, Shaw and Hand Presentation Fund are as follows:

1st Prize (Matchwork replica of Edentubber memorial): O'Callaghan, 1 Mary St., Wexford.

2nd Prize (Lady's Leather Handbag): L. O'Keeffe, Thomastown Co. Kilkenny.

3rd Prize (Gent's Leather Wallet): Seán O'Shaughnessy, Junr., St. Finian's, Newry Road, Dundalk, Co. Louth.

Peter Duffy, Pat Shaw and Séamus Hand, all of Dundalk and serving eight-year sentences in Belfast Jail for Resistance activities, are due for release in August next.

Death of Kerry Sinn Féin Councillor

DAN JOE CONWAY, life-long Republican and Sinn Féin member of Tralee Urban Council died unexpectedly at his home at O'Rahilly's Villas, Strand Street, Tralee, Co. Kerry, on March 20.

Age 59 and unmarried he was a well-known supporter of Gaelic games and in his youth was a Kerry county footballer. He took an active part in the fight for freedom down through the years and as a result was imprisoned and interned many times.

During the Black and Tan war he was on active service as a scout. He was interned in Tintern during the Free State War and again during World War II, when his brother Charlie was a fellow internee.

Another brother, Sonny, was shot while a prisoner in Tralee during the Free State War.

On his release from internment in 1923 he played with the Kerry internees football team; later with Kerry in championship and league games, and with the Strand Street (now Kerins O'Rahilly's) football team. In 1927 he took part in the Kerry team tour of America.

The late Dan Joe Conway also was an outstanding athlete.

The attendance at the removal of the remains to St. John's Parish Church on March 21 and at the funeral to the New Cemetery the following morning was among the largest seen for years and was a great tribute to the popularity of the deceased.

The coffin was draped with the National Flag; members of the Republican Movement formed a Guard of Honour; and members of the Sinn Féin Organisation and



The late D. J. Conway.

the Kerins O'Rahilly Football Club also marched. The attendance included members of the Tralee Urban Council.

At the graveside the Last Post was sounded by Fianna Éireann buglers.

The prayers at the graveside were recited by Rev. Fr. M. Murphy, C.C., and Rev. Fr. M. Maher, C.C.

The chief mourners were Mrs. Joan Conway (step-mother); Robert, Francis, Charlie, Patrick and John (brothers); Mrs. Helen O'Callaghan (England); Mrs. Kathleen O'Sullivan, Tralee; Mrs. Joan Lawless (sisters).

The funeral was the occasion of intense police activity in the precincts of the graveyard. Nine car-loads of Gardaí and detectives drawn from Tralee and adjacent towns, converged on the cemetery, much to the disgust of all who attended to pay a final tribute to a soldier of Ireland.

Character Assassination

THE lengths to which people hostile to the Republican Movement will go to denigrate the Movement and its members are extraordinary. A favourite tactic is to besmirch an individual member's good name. Through him, or her, it is hoped to do the entire Movement an injury.

A recent case comes to mind. At the Military Tribunal in Collins Barracks, Dublin, on December 15 last, a veteran of the fight for freedom—Matt Murray, of Gortacullen, Clogheen, Co. Tipperary—was jailed for two years. He is 57 years of age.

The charges were possession of a revolver, a .22 sporting rifle and ammunition without a certificate and the usual charges under the Offences Against the State Act.

Next day, December 16, the "Irish Press" report of the proceedings said:

"It was stated that he had two previous convictions for larceny and one under the Offences Act."

This was echoed by Matt Murray's local paper, the "Nationalist" which stated:

"A Garda sergeant said that there were two previous convictions against the accused in respect of larceny. In May, 1940, he was sentenced to imprisonment on charges under the Offences Against the State Act."

Evidently that was what took place at the Military Tribunal on December 15 last. And a veteran Republican's character was blackened nationally and locally.

Mrs. Murray, his wife, wrote to the "United Irishman" enclosing the local paper's report of the

trial. She was very upset about the matter and was considering consulting a solicitor.

Inquiries were instituted by this paper and this is what came to light:

In the 1922-3 period, commonly called "the Civil War," Matt Murray in his official capacity as a soldier of the Irish Republican Army requisitioned a quantity of timber for use in building a dug-out.

He was summoned for "larceny" but did not attend the Free State court which fined him £1. He never paid the fine and heard nothing more about the matter until his appearance at the Military Tribunal in December, 1961.

Could pettiness and meanness go further? The police and the newspapers were careful not to reveal the circumstances of the "larceny" in 1922-3 by Matt Murray.

Incidentally, we understand that members of the present 26-County Government, who were Matt Murray's comrades in the Irish Republican Army at the time of the "larceny," have similar "convictions" dating from the same period. And at least one of them—who has understandably been very quiet on the subject of the Military Tribunal—was sentenced to death by a 26-County Military Court for the "murder" of a Free State soldier by shooting during 1922-3.

It all boils down to this: Any stick is good enough to beat the Republican Movement—and character assassination is not ruled out.

Appreciation

RARELY does one know a man who was obviously so content to accept his lot in life that his very countenance portrayed it. Perhaps it was humility, maybe pride. Whatever it was, Dan Joe Conway had it. From his earliest years he was, first and foremost, a Republican in the true sense of that much-abused word.

He fought against the Black-and-Tans. Yet no one dare call Dan Joe an 'old' I.R.A. man in the now accepted sense of that term. When he spoke of "the lads" one did not know whether he referred to his comrades in Tintern in 1922 or his fellow-internees in the Curragh in 1940. He saw service against the Tans, later against the Free State Forces and always remained a member of the Republican Movement.

He knew and believed that the goal for which s—many endured death and imprisonment had yet to be attained.

Two years ago, though urged not to do so, Dan Joe insisted on making the church gate collection on behalf of the Republican Prisoners' Dependents Fund. He knew that this meant imprisonment. He also knew that it had to be done—whatever the cost.

Yet, no one ever heard a harsh or uncharitable word from him. His smile disarmed his opponents; his wit and cheerful disposition made him a personality in the Council chamber as well as in the prison cell.

May his example prove a lesson to those of us who would seek the material things in the Ireland of to-day.

STOP!

LOOK!

READ!

A REMINDER . . .

. . . that there are still 46 Republican Prisoners held in British and Irish Jails.

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

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

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

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

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

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

PLEASE HELP US

TO

HELP THE PRISONERS

Support

An Cumann Cabhrach

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

The Prospects for the Irish Language

FROM PAGE 9

the Gaeltacht, annoying people for dog or radio licences, or searching for poitin-making equipment, it is the loud-mouthed English that is used because, as one garda once told me, "this has the ring of authority."

DR. HILLARY AT GALWAY

Dr. Hillary is a man who learned Irish when he was working in England, and all credit to him for the effort he made. Dr. Hillary is the Minister for Education in Leinster House and may be sincere in the political views he holds. If he is sincere, all credit to him.

But Dr. Hillary, having learned Irish and knowing the importance of the language to national survival, said some things when he addressed a group in University College, Galway, recently.

The strangest thing of all was that "a good dose of Europeanisation" would be the best thing in the world for the revival of the Irish language.

How? He didn't say. He was echoing other people, and they have not yet said why, either.

He was referring to the entry of the 26 Counties into the Common Market. What will happen, then? Many of our industries will go, the smaller ones. Many of those who are working in these industries will go, too, perhaps to Germany, where they will learn German; or to France, where they will learn French; or to the Netherlands, where they will learn Dutch.

AN UNCOMMON MARKET

Germans, and Dutch and French and Italians and heavens knows how many others, will come in here. They will buy small houses and small patches, or big houses and big tracts, for quiet summer holidays.

Some of the foreigners will come as part of complete factories, perhaps to process cheese, because it will be more convenient for the owners to take in trained men, their own countrymen, who are "reliable" from a trade union viewpoint.

But what advantage is all this to the Irish revival? I am prepared to listen to any logical argument, willing to argue on facts and figures.

This Common Market is becoming a very uncommon market indeed, if it is to abolish national boundaries, revive languages, make us all rich and prosperous, solve emigration. Go deimhin, ní aisling go dtí e.

Some of what Dr. Hillary said in Galway was true. The literature in the language is thriving (i.e., books are being written, sold and read).

POSITION OF THE GAELTACHT

More Irish is known to-day than 40 years ago—but this depends on what part of the country is in mind. A little more Irish is known in the Gaeltacht than 40 years ago but no real, resolute attempt is being made by Church or State to put it into use.

But the Gaeltacht? There is more Irish spoken in the Bronx of New York, or in

downtown Boston, or in Camden Town of London, than in any Gaeltacht area in Ireland to-day.

When Mr. de Valera first stood for Co. Clare, there was a big Gaeltacht there. To-day, the 26-County government admits that all Clare is a Gaeltacht. Most of the other Gaeltacht areas have shrunk, many of them considerably, since then. The Gaeltacht to-day is a sad, lonely place mostly of old folk and a few children.

RETROGRADE POLICY

An entire generation has emigrated. Some of these emigrants are still speaking Irish to their children, but their roots are far down in British or American soil.

There was a chance to save many of these emigrants from Ireland, to pick them from the schools, educate and train them, and put them in various branches of the public service. At the same time, a "gaelicising" policy could have been introduced, on a graded basis.

It would have been Christian charity if the State had educated these people properly, if it was unwilling to give them priority in Ireland, so that they might have a better life as emigrants than they have to-day in Britain. Read "Dialann Deorai" by one of them, Donall Mac Amhlaidh.

Dr. Hillary, at Galway, was on the defensive. Though Fianna Fáil had asked for support of its Irish policy at the last 26-County General Election, and had received that support, Dr. Hillary was obviously on the defensive.

No talk of an extension of the use of Irish. No promise that Irish would become more necessary, on a graded basis, in the years to come. Nothing but a promise that, for the Leaving Certificate, a pass in Irish would still be necessary.

Dr. Hillary did not say in Galway that men are hounded by public officials for refusing to take English language versions of public documents—demands for rates, driving licences and such like. He did not say that such people are prosecuted and fined for taking this stand.

A Mr. and Mrs. Beasley were similarly treated in Wales, in recent years, for demanding that the Welsh language be used. Before 1921 the same action was taken against Irishmen.

A humorous song in Irish commemorates one such incident, Pádraic Mac Piarais once defended such a victim. English writ and English design still run in this as in so many other parts of Irish life.

Nor did Dr. Hillary speak of the place of Irish in the law courts of most of the 26 Counties, where it is made as difficult as possible for an Irishman to use his Irish tongue, where an interpreter is employed, where judges and lawyers are permitted publicly to sneer at the language.

The Galway stand, therefore, was the pre-1921 stand. Thus far and no further—until, of course, the language is dead, and it may be waked with crocodile tears, accompanied by Pilot's bowl.

What are we to think of Dr. Hillary? He is hardly a fool. He has been kept supplied by

many with the results of analyses made by experts, through Gael-Linn and other organisations. He can read "Comharach," "Festa," "Inniu," "Amharach," "Agas." He can read Meir Gertner's lecture on the revival of Hebrew (available in the language in which it was delivered—English—from Gael-Linn).

Dr. Hillary spoke of fanatics in the Irish language movement, and not a word of the fanatics, who are winning, in the English fifth column in Ireland.

Who are these Irish fanatics? The men and women who insist on Irish language versions of public documents? The professors and lecturers who have studied languages, know the nature of languages, understand the ABC of language revival, speak of the techniques and measures needed to make possible the revival of Irish?

Are they the spokesmen of the Comhchaidreamh, of the Comhdhail, of Conradh na Gaeilge? Or are they those who write to the papers to defend Irish against vicious and lying attacks?

FIANNA FAÏL AND IRISH

Dr. Hillary's party "takes a stand" on Irish. Yet, under Fianna Fáil, the Gaeltacht has been forced to Britain and America.

Under Fianna Fáil, it is necessary no longer to know Irish for the E.S.B., Aer Lingus, Irish Shipping, the Garda Síochána. This, surely, isn't a stand on Irish, even a standstill on Irish, but a gradual retreat.

Under Fianna Fáil, state subsidised primary, secondary schools and universities give English pride of place. A man or woman educated in Ireland learns all about English literature in Irish secondary schools, nothing about Parliament, Chloinne Thomais, or "Aisling Meic Coingine," or Irish syllabic poetry or, in fact, about Irish literature.

In University College, Dublin, he does Celtic Studies through the medium of English. Parents who wish to have their children educated through Irish from kindergarten upwards have barriers thrown in their way by Church and State in Ireland.

Three managers—parish priests—in Dublin refused to agree to become managers of an all-Irish national school in their parishes. It was not because of monetary worries. As in the case of Scoil Lorcain, the parents' committee would raise the money to foot their half of the bill; the 26-County State is obliged to pay the other half.

Yet the P.P.s of Rathfarnham, Rathgar and Rathmines refused. Did the 26-County Dept. of Education come to the aid of the organisers? No. That happened about two years ago. "Inniu" publicised the facts. Comhdhail and Conradh protested. Nothing has yet been done.

In the Dun Laoghaire district there is no boys' secondary school to take the pupils who leave Scoil Lorcain and whose parents wish them to continue their education through Irish.

Instead, young lads have to spend over an hour travelling to a city all-Irish college daily, at considerable cost to parents.

When the young men leave

Police at Funeral of Cavan Republican

THE funeral of the late Frank Maguire, ex-N.T. of Derryconnessy, Corlough, West Cavan, on February 24-25, was the occasion of extraordinary measures by the 26-County police.

The death of this life-long worker in the Republican Movement took place at St. Phelim's Hospital, Cavan, on February 23 and the remains were removed to Corlough Church next day.

Two squad-cars full of detectives and uniformed Guards patrolled the road near the church waiting the arrival of the funeral from Cavan, a distance of 20 miles. One squad-car followed the remains right up to the church.

When the coffin had been removed and taken into the church the police opened the doors of the hearse and inspected it. They then followed the mourners into the church and remained throughout the ceremonies.

At the burial next day in the adjoining cemetery a large crowd was in attendance. A Guard of Honour was provided and the coffin was draped in the Tricolour. Patrick Duffy, Sinn Féin member of Cavan Co. Council, delivered an oration.

At least three Special Branch

NEW YORK FUNCTIONS

The Irish Brigade Memorial Committee, 326 West 48th Street, New York, will hold a Dance in the City Center Ballroom on Sunday, May 20, to defray its expenses for a busy 1962 schedule. This will include the visit to the grave of General Michael Corcoran, commander of the famed "Fighting 69th," and the Irish Legion in the Civil War. The remains are in Old Calvary Cemetery, Brooklyn. The ceremony takes place on Saturday, May 26.

The annual visit to Gettysburg battlefield will take place on the week-end of Memorial Day, Saturday, June 2. Buses will depart from the Irish Institute before noon and will return before midnight, after a tour of the nation's greatest military park, including the Great Irish Brigade Celtic Cross, the Chaplain Corby statue, the scene of Pickett's Charge and other historic sights.

their all-Irish secondary school to go to university, they must travel to Galway to continue their education through Irish.

NON-COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE

Naturally, some parents weaken. It is easier and cheaper to send the youngster to a neighbouring English-language college. It is virtually compulsory to send him to an English-language university or technical school.

For every all-Irish primary school in the 26-Counties there is a long waiting list. From this it is obvious that, despite their knowledge of the mockery and insincerity about Irish on the part of the politicians, a good proportion of Irish parents want their children to be educated through Irish. They know that only by this means will their children's dominant language in after life be Irish, thereby making the revival possible.

detectives were present during the graveside ceremonies. The relatives of the deceased Republican were very upset by all this police activity.

Frank Maguire was aged 72, but two years ago he served his term of imprisonment in Mountjoy Jail along with comrades of a younger generation. His "crime" was that he collected funds for the Republican Prisoners Dependents.

He was chairman of the local Corlough Cumann of Sinn Féin and of the Breffni Branch of the National Graves Association. A National Teacher, he was dismissed from his school in the 1940's because of his Republican activities.

Frank Maguire was a good friend of the freedom fighters from nearby Occupied Ireland and was active right up to his last illness.

THE ORATION

One more soldier of the Republic of Ireland has fallen by the wayside and we pause in our weary march to give his body the shelter of the earth and to say a prayer for the happiness of his immortal soul.

Month after month it is the same proud story: a funeral procession, a graveside gathering, poor weak words of praise for the one that has gone, the feeling of loneliness and gloom yet a thrill of pride that we have been associated with one who has been faithful unto death, and the desire that our comrade who has been called away might be in our midst again to inspire and encourage us on the long road that has so many hardships, the road that the lovers of Ireland must walk until death gives them release or until Ireland is free.

There is no need for me to praise Frank Maguire. His own life has done that, a life unflinching as his own native Cullagh Mountains when the fierce storms of winter break over them.

He stood the shock of the conflict for the past 40 years and smiled at the efforts of those who deprived him of his livelihood, but were powerless in their efforts to

But Church and State refuse to co-operate. What, in all honesty, is the interpretation of such an attitude? Is there any possible excuse other than cold, deliberate design?

In all reason, must those who know what is at stake be forced to act as the F.I.N. acted to preserve nationality?

What can one think of Dr. Hillary and of his colleagues who know the language, what is involved, what must be done to revive it as the spoken language of the majority of our people?

View this treason against the background of "compulsory Irish." View it against the protestations and the record of venal politicians. View it against the ignorance—or the vested interest—of most of the press in Ireland.

Balance it against the record of the Republican Movement. Use your God-given reason. Pray to the Holy Ghost for the scales to be removed from your eyes.

1 SCUMINE

The 10.30 Mass in Adam and Eve's Franciscan Church, Merchant's Quay, Dublin, on Sunday, May 13, will be offered for the repose of the souls of

Christy Bird, Dublin, who was accidentally shot while training, May 13, 1939.

Sean Mac Caughey, Co. Tyrone, who died on hunger and thirst strike in Portlaoise Prison, May 11, 1946.

John Duffy, Derry City, accidentally shot, May 7, 1960.

break his spirit. With clear vision he saw the goal of truth, justice and freedom and walked unwaveringly towards it.

To the very last hour of his life the forces of injustice, falsehood and tyranny strove against him and his comrades with the mean vindictiveness of their kind. But as he said himself a few days before he died, "Ireland divided shall never be at peace."

Here by the grave in which we have placed his poor broken body, we should take these words as a source of inspiration in the hard struggle that is before us all.

Sometimes it may be said despairingly that the headless millions of our people are not worthy of freedom, that slavery suits them best, but the fact that Ireland has given birth to such men as Frank Maguire and his comrades is a denial of that cry.

He is gone as Ireland's ambassador to the only court that matters and will testify by having been amongst us that Irishmen are prepared to fight for the freedom that God meant this country to enjoy.

I believe that in the dark night that has come down upon us, we should take the teachings of Frank Maguire as our glowing hope.

Let the young men of Ireland come to this grave and learn from the story of the faithful soldier who sleeps in it that there is but one road to freedom, that all other roads lead to dishonour and defeat, and that no earthly force can withhold victory from the young men who fight for Truth, Justice and Freedom with the inspiration of their unconquered dead.

Go nDeanaidh Dia Trocaire ar a

Ireland is being sold by Irishmen as Wales is being sold by Welshmen as Scotland is being sold by Scotsmen—but Ireland, part of it, is free (for the moment) they tell you.

Look around you for the monuments to freedom—for your children, compulsory English; compulsory treason; compulsory ignorance; compulsory emigration.

For adults, a similar pattern may be, in time, for all, compulsory materialism, compulsory paganism, compulsory communism, compulsory slavery.

Does it matter? Is it worth the effort to resist? Is it possible to change the scene? Is there any moral courage left? Have we any guts? Sense of shame? Christianity?

Blessed are they who hunger and thirst after justice, for they shall have their fill."

Ortaí atá sé ag brath, it depends on YOU.

Easter Statement

Issued by the Resistance Movement in British-occupied Ireland and distributed by the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau.

ON the 46th anniversary of the Easter Week Rising the Irish Resistance Movement sends greetings to our people throughout the world who are assembled in commemoration of our heroic dead.

It is customary in this annual Easter Statement to review the progress of the Resistance Movement towards its objective during the previous year.

The Irish Republican Publicity Bureau statement of February 26th last which announced the decision to end the Resistance Campaign in British-occupied Ireland contained such a review of the entire five-year period December 1956 - February 1962. It also indicated clearly the nature of the Resistance Movement's future intentions towards the complete overthrow of British rule in Ireland.

Notwithstanding the ending of that Campaign seventy four Irish Republican prisoners are still held. Forty-three are serving long and savage sentences in Belfast Prison, two life-sentences men and one woman are in English jails while 28 are held in Mountjoy Prison, Dublin.

The unconditional release of all of them is one immediate objective which calls for the unstinted support of Irish people everywhere.

Recent weeks have seen a further attempt in the form of new 26-County legislation to break the Prisoners' Dependents Fund. By continually striking at the dependant relatives of prisoners the collaborationist politicians hope even now to bring the men in jail to their knees.

And having severed their prison sentences those jailed by the recently-revived Military Tribunal are to be further victimised. In so far as the influence of the 26-County Government extends they are to

be denied employment for seven years.

Such mean and vicious victimisation of Irish Republicans must be exposed for what it is and ended forthwith.

The sacrifice of ten young Irish lives in the most recent phase of the fight for freedom and the continuing sacrifices of the prisoners will serve to inspire our people to a renewed effort for the enthronement of the Republic of all Ireland. The spirit of our volunteer-soldiers is not broken; rather have they gained in experience from the dearly-bought lessons of five years of incessant guerrilla warfare. The Resistance Movement is intact and has already embarked on the work to be done in the new era.

It remains then for the Movement to put before the youth of Ireland the ideal of service to the Cause of freedom and to call on the members of the Irish race at home and abroad for whole-hearted support.

The objective of the generations of our patriot dead will not be realised by the present move to link the 26 Counties with a grouping of European states and all the political economic and military commitments that involves. Such attempts to compromise the national demand for full freedom will not only lead to further disappointment and disillusionment but actually threaten to smother for all time the idea of Ireland as a distinct and unfettered national entity.

Only when the Irish people—using every honourable means in their power—assert their right to control their own destinies in every part of Ireland will the Proclamation of the sovereign, democratic Irish Republic issued 46 years ago be made effective; then and only then will the ideals of our Republican dead become a living reality among our people.

And Teachers Also

"ON principle I couldn't agree with that circular; it is most unreasonable," said Mr. Michael O'Regan at a meeting of Tralee Vocational Education Committee on March 26, after Dr. Joseph G. Hill, C.E.O., had read a circular letter from the 26-County Department of Education regarding the Offences Against the State Act, 1939.

"If a man has certain beliefs I don't think that he should be victimised to that extent," said Mr. O'Regan.

The letter stated: "I am directed by the Minister for Education to direct the attention of your Committee to the provisions of Section 34 of the Offences Against the State Act, 1939, regarding forfeitures and disqualifications on certain convictions by the Special Criminal Court.

"The Court is again functioning and the persons on the attached list have been convicted of a scheduled offence.

"A copy of section 34 of the Act is attached and you should ensure that its terms are observed in the case of any employee (serving or pensioned) of your committee, who may have been convicted by the Special Criminal Court,

"Care should be taken, also, that disqualified persons are not appointed to any office or position under the committee.

"It will be noted that a convicted person may be granted a full pardon and that the Government may remit in whole or in part any forfeiture or disqualification incurred under the Section.

"Intimation of the grant of pardon, or remission, will be conveyed to you by the Department. I am to request that in all such cases, and in any case in which a conviction is quashed or annulled, this Department may be consulted before any action to be taken by your committee is decided upon."

Mr. Thos. Ryle, Chairman, U.D.C., said that it was possible that the circular letter was drafted before the recent change in circumstances and it might not hold much longer.

Rev. P. Scott, Chairman — If the position arises we can discuss it fully. At the moment it is only theoretical.

COMMENT: Mr. O'Regan deserves credit for speaking out. Mr. Ryle apparently hopes that the matter will be quietly dropped by the 26-County

COUNTY MONAGHAN COMMEMORATION

IN our own time we have heard Sean Sabhat and Fearghal O h-Anluain and their comrades being referred to as "foolish young men," as sinister men, as weeds and criminals, and we have seen them being held up to derision and scorn, said Tomas Misteil at the grave of Fearghal O h-Anluain in Monaghan on Easter Sunday.

"But if they were slandered and denigrated," he continued, "it adds to their character to say that they went out to meet the enemy in spite of this."

"The men of the Resistance Movement were not 'foolish young men.' They were men who loved life and all the things which God has provided for us. They had no malice or anger in their hearts but only the hopes and desires and wishes and faults which belong to all men."

"They tried in their own way to give the lead to the Irish people which did not come from the so-called 'leaders of the people.' They went out to fight in 1956 and with their blood they saved the name and honour of this generation."

"The men who died in the past five years have given us the opportunity to say to Britain that the Irish nation still lives and that the British way of life will never be imposed on us."

"We have seen in that period the sacrifices, the successes and the disappointments of the most recent Campaign against British Occupation. We have seen the Campaign grow in strength with the distinct possibility of ultimate success."

"But then the politicians, the place-hunters, those whose hands have been stained by British money realised that if British rule in Ireland was ended, so also would Free State rule be ended and with it would go the new-rich, those who had lined their pockets and built their dubious prestige upon the sacrifices of an earlier generation."

"They took action. They imprisoned those who were endeavouring to lead this country to freedom. They muzzled the press and the radio."

"They went into the councils of the world in order to make capital for themselves and to boost their ego, and were not unprepared to throw young Irishmen into the cauldron of power politics when those same young men, if properly directed, would have been only too glad to shoulder their arms in the Cause of Irish Independence."

"But that would not have suited the British. They did not want Irishmen to be fighting against their forces in Ireland. Instead they wanted sterner action against the Resistance Movement. And the Leinster House Government did not fail England."

"Along with their slander cam-

COMMENT

"Section 34 of the Offences Against the State Act is rather a horrible affair, and it is to be hoped that the Government will shortly cancel it."

—Dublin Correspondent of the "Longford Leader", 24/12/62.

authorities and that that will relieve him of taking a stand on the question,

And the matter was not just theoretical—even on March 26 men had already been dismissed from employment. All Irishmen should be concerned about such political victimisation.

Easter in British Occupied Ireland

IN defiance of a Crown Forces ban on its display the Irish Tricolour was carried at the head of the annual Easter commemoration parade through the streets of Newry, Co. Down, on Easter Sunday.

Large detachments of the British Forces were drafted into the town as the flag of Ireland flanked by the flags of Flanná Eireann and the Citizen Army was borne by a colour-party from the forming-up point at the Mall to St. Mary's Cemetery.

There the Last Post and Reveille were sounded, a decade of the Rosary was led by Eugene Moore, and the Proclamation of the Republic read by Daniel Moore. Jack Shields laid a wreath on the Republican Plot and Christopher Loy gave the oration.

Two days later a young Newry man, Francis Gerard McAleavey, was arrested in his home and charged in a British court with displaying the Irish Tricolour in public. He was jailed for two months.

Last year Daniel Moore was sent to prison for three months for the same "crime." He was a former Republican internee in Belfast Jail.

At the gates of Milltown Cemetery, Belfast, on Easter Sunday, eight hundred people joined a Republican parade which had marched through the Falls Road area. The Tricolour was mounted

and the parade proceeded to the Republican Plot where a ceremony under the auspices of the National Graves Association was held.

Seamus Steele presided and Frank McGlade recited a decade of the Rosary in Irish. Mrs. Joe McGurk laid a wreath and a stirring oration was delivered by Sean Keenan of Derry City.

A commemoration ceremony was held at Meenan Park, Derry, at which Sean O Gormail of Tuam, Co. Galway, gave the oration. Eamonn McLough pre-laid and Padraig Kirk read the Roll of Honour which included the name of John Duffy, of Derry City, who was accidentally shot on May 7, 1960.

At Lurgan in North Armagh the Easter Week Rising was commemorated at the Republican Plot in St. Colman's Cemetery. Wreaths were laid and the Proclamation of the Republic read.

Other Easter Commemorations were held at Mullaghbawn, Killeen and Crossmaglen in South Armagh and at Dromboe in Co. Donegal, where large contingents from Tyrone and Derry were in attendance.

(Further details next issue.)

The Power of Coercion

In order that our readers may satisfy themselves as to the veracity of the claims made in our main news story on page one regarding political victimisation of the recently released Republican prisoners, we quote verbatim and in full Section 34 of the Offences Against the State Act:

34.—(1) Whenever a person who is convicted by a Special Criminal Court of an offence which is, at the time of such conviction, a scheduled offence for the purposes of Part V of this Act, holds at the time of such conviction an office or employment remunerated out of the Central Fund or moneys provided by the Oireachtas or moneys raised by local taxation, or the funds of a board or body established by or under statutory authority, such person shall immediately on such conviction forfeit such office, employment, place, or emolument and the same shall forthwith become and be vacant.

(2) Whenever a person who is convicted by a Special Criminal Court of an offence which is, at the time of such conviction, a scheduled offence for the purposes of Part V of this Act, is at the time of such conviction in receipt of a pension or superannuation allowance payable out of the Central Fund or moneys provided by the Oireachtas or moneys raised by local taxation, or the funds of a board or body established by or under statutory authority, such person shall immediately upon such conviction forfeit such pension or superannuation allowance and such pension or superannuation allowance shall forthwith cease to be payable.

(3) Every person who is convicted by a Special Criminal Court of an offence which is, at the time of such conviction, a scheduled offence for the purposes of Part V of this Act, shall be disqualified—

(a) for holding, within seven years after the date of such conviction, any office or employment remunerated out of the Central Fund or moneys provided by the Oireachtas or moneys raised by local taxation or in or under or as a paid member of a board or body established by or under statutory authority, and

(b) for being granted out of the Central Fund or any such moneys or the funds of any board or body, at any time after the date of such conviction, any pension, superannuation allowance, or gratuity in respect wholly or partly of any service rendered or thing done by him before the date of such conviction, and

(c) for receiving at any time after such conviction any such pension, superannuation allowance, or gratuity as is mentioned in the next preceding paragraph of this section which was granted but not paid on or before the date of such conviction.

(4) Whenever a conviction, which occasions by virtue of this section any forfeiture or disqualification is quashed or annulled or the convicted person is granted a free pardon such forfeiture or disqualification shall be annulled, in the case of a quashing or annulment, as from the date of the conviction and, in the case of a free pardon, as from the date of such pardon.

(5) The Government may, at their absolute discretion, remit, in whole or in part, any forfeiture or disqualification incurred under this section and restore or revive, in whole or in part, the subject of such forfeiture as from the date of such remission.