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26-COUNTIES GENERAL ELECTION

SINN FEIN ON RESULTS

IN the recent general elections in the 26 Counties Sinn Fein, in terms of the number of votes cast for its candidates, suffered a reverse. For the future welfare and continued existence of the Republican Movement it is most essential that this reverse is appreciated and assessed in its proper perspective.

Sinn Fein must, and will, continue to stand in the future, as it has in the past, a bulwark against the British occupation of Irish territory, against the forcible partition of Ireland by an alien power, against the slightest surrender of Ireland's sovereignty or of the right of the people of Ireland to complete control of their own affairs.

The reduction in the number of votes cast in the recent elections for the Sinn Fein candidates, as compared with those cast in the previous elections in 1957, is no indication that the electorate of the 26 Counties reject the above principles which in the past have guided and sustained the struggle for Ireland's liberation from foreign aggression and which in the present enthrall and direct the continuing determination and efforts of the present generation to achieve the full freedom of Ireland.

Sinn Fein is not just another political party seeking power. It is a national separatist organisation which cherishes and defends the undefeated Irish Nation and which will yet lead the Irish people to freedom.

It would be a mistake in this instance to measure the advance of the Republican Movement towards achievement of its objective by making a comparison between the number of votes cast for its candidates in these elections and the number cast in 1957.

A similar mistake was made by many people in their assessment of the results of the 1959 Westminster elections in the Six Counties with those of the previous Westminster elections in 1955. In both areas in the later elections the overall poll

for the Republican candidates was less than that of the earlier elections.

But, and this is an important point, the results of the 1959 and 1961 elections are a more factual reflection, a far truer and more reliable indication of the real and genuine support of the electorate for the principles of Irish freedom supported and maintained by the all-Ireland Republican Movement but rejected by the partition politicians on both sides of the Border.

In the later elections 100,311 of the electorate cast their votes for the standard bearers of the Republican Movement in the constituencies contested by Sinn Fein North and South. This simple fact must be taken into account in any attempt now made to assess the advance made by the Republican Movement since 1948.

The lower poll for the Sinn Fein candidates in these elections, which politicians construe as a weakening of the will of Irish people for full freedom, as a rejection of all that the Republican Movement stands for, may be attributed to a number of factors.

Not the least of these is the refusal of the Movement to acknowledge allegiance to, or support partition institutions of Government in Ireland by taking part in their proceedings. Contrary to popular belief Sinn Fein policy is a positive one having as its objective the establishment of a 32 County parliament with sovereign control of all Ireland.

It may without reservation be stated that each and every member of our organisation who helped and those others who assisted Sinn Fein in the campaign are deserving of the highest commendation for their co-operation and strenuous efforts to make the campaign a successful one. And in paying this well-deserved tribute to our active workers in the campaign we must also pay an equally well-deserved tribute to those Irish exiles and friends overseas who so generously contributed to the Election Fund.

—Issued by the Publicity Committee of Sinn Fein, October 18, 1961.

Full Security Measures

WHEN Lattone bridge on the main Garrison-Belcoo road in West Fermanagh was damaged by explosives on October 25, R.U.C. Headquarters in Belfast stated that the number of Resistance attacks this year would be greater than last year's figure.

According to the Evening Mail of October 26 County Inspector Smith, who took over from C/I Nelson recently as head of the "Special Crimes Branch", stated that "full security measures were in operation."

He added that "police in the Republic also were maintaining a strict watch. It was an expensive operation on both Governments."

Following the explosion at Lattone Crown Forces were rushed to the scene. Later a widespread search was carried out and next day R.U.C. claimed to have found two mines containing gelignite under a culvert on the old Garrison-Belcoo road.

In Co. Leitrim, 26 County police were very active but nothing was found.

SELLERS

This is an eight-page issue of the United Irishman. We have had to curtail space for two reasons: first, many of our people have been working in the election campaign, and, secondly, many accounts are outstanding.

We would ask our sellers throughout the country to insure that last month's issue is paid for without delay. We hope to return to 12 pages next month.

COMMEMORATION IN LONDON



At the Terence McSwiney commemorative meeting in London's Trafalgar Square Oct. 22, Tom Mitchell, Dublin — centre — was the guest speaker.

Economy Worsens In British-Occupied Ireland

OCTOBER saw a further deterioration in the economic position of Occupied Ireland. Dismissals at the shipyards continued, the total sacked since November last being now in the region of 8,000.

In addition up to 3,000 subcontractors' employees were let go in the past twelve months making a grand total of 11,000 out of work as a result of the position in the shipyards.

Hopes for a reversal of this trend were dashed by the announcement during the month that the Cunard Co. will not build the proposed £30 million Queen liner after all.

The depression in the textile industry in the occupied area continues and further pay offs took place during October. Sixty-five workers were let go in Bessbrook Spinning Co. m.p.'s. South Armagh mill on October 6.

Mill at Half Production

Over 1,000 workers were employed at the mill about four years ago. At present it is at half production and employs just over 500.

A few days earlier the Penny-burn Shirt Factory at Derry paid off forty workers. A director of the firm, which has also a factory at Bradford, England, and manufactures shirts, pyjamas and blouses, said the pay-off had been taken to avoid unnecessary stockpiling. The factory still employs about one hundred workers.

Then on October 20 came the announcement that the Braidwater Spinning Co. Ltd. of Ballymena, Co. Antrim had decided to pay off 100 employees "owing to trade depression and lack of orders."

No Crisis Exists Says Stormont

After a year of pay-offs and dismissals, with unemployment at 36,000—over 7,000 higher than a

year ago.—Lord Brookeborough refused in Stormont to accept that a crisis exists.

He also refused to meet a deputation of trade union officials who wanted to discuss the unemployment position on October 4, as long as the group included an official of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions—which Brookeborough's regime does not recognise. It is an All-Ireland body.

BRITISH SOLDIERS IN SHOOTING AFFRAYS

A British soldier received gunshot wounds outside Palace Barracks, Holywood, Co. Down, in the early hours of October 24. He is Corporal Edward Harper of the Royal Sussex Regiment, a native of Woolwich, London.

A party of British soldiers returning to barracks heard a shot from some bushes just outside the barracks. Press reports say they found the wounded soldier in a search of the area and that the R.U.C. are investigating.

Earlier in the month another British soldier was shot dead. He was attached to a squadron of an armoured unit—the 9th/12th Royal Lancers—stationed at Castle Archdale, Co. Fermanagh.

According to evidence at the inquest he was a member of a security stand-to party within the camp and was carrying a revolver. He drew the weapon and shot himself by accident.

Plight Of Our Emigrants

THE Bill to restrict immigration into Britain from other parts of the Empire will also apply to Ireland, Prime Minister Macmillan has told the House of Commons.

Apologists in some Irish newspapers have said that the Bill is directed solely against immigrants from British Colonies or former Colonies: the West Indies are cited as an example.

Actually the Tory party conference—where this matter was first raised—made it quite clear that objection was as much to Irish as to other immigrants.

But Home Secretary, R. A. Butler told the delegates: "We need Irish labour."

Ireland needs Irish labour—and an anti-emigration policy.

Sinn Fein Ard-Fheis

The 1961 Ard-Fheis of Sinn Fein will be held in the O'Connell Hall, Catholic Commercial Club, Upper O'Connell St., Dublin, on Saturday and Sunday, December 2 and 3 commencing at 5 p.m. on Saturday.

"ACT SOON" PLEA

For the first time the I.R.A. had been active during the summer months, said Mr. Stratton Mills, Unionist M.P. speaking at an "Ulster Day" rally in Derry City.

If the Dublin Government did not act soon, it would be too late, Mr. Mills added.

—Mid-Ulster Observer, 5/10/61.

Letters to the Editor

No Physical Victory Can Compensate...

A Chara,

The General Election is over. Once again the partitionist, 26-County satellite that is misnamed Dail Eireann swings into orbit. Once again the smug politicians who pretend to rule portions of our national territory return to office, confident that the trouble-some, foolish, irreconcilable minority called Sinn Fein are now finally on the brink of extinction.

Indeed one of our so-called national newspapers, unable to conceal its elation, spoke jeeringly of the end of a political party, as if Sinn Fein were indeed but a mere gathering of place-hunting profiteers on the lines of Fianna Fail or Fine Gael.

Let us admit it: Sinn Fein fared worse than had been hoped. Indeed, the defeat of O Bradaigh, de Ris, and Mac Fhearghail was a bitter disappointment which few had anticipated. True it is that Sinn Fein failed to return a representative, yet, sifting through the natural depression, there is still great cause, aye, splendid cause for rejoicing. For, though Sinn Fein have been momentarily defeated—in a physical sense alone—they have triumphed in a deeper, more spiritual manner, than the selfish little materialists who scorn their aims can ever realise.

They have refused to abandon their principles, and in so doing have won a victory, the significance of which will yet awaken a future Ireland to a sense of pride and national dignity.

It has been said again and again during the past weeks that if Sinn Fein representatives attended Leinster House, if they abandoned the idea of an all-Ireland Parliament and recognised a 26-County "Free State" as the sole historic Irish nation, they would have been returned in increased numbers. What rubbish! Nobody is foolish enough to believe that Sinn Fein would purchase success at such a price.

Dare any man suggest that they would abandon the principles that led to the formation of the first Dail Eireann in order to contribute to a junta that is little more than a puppet bureaucracy of self-esteemed importance. Who, reading the immortal words of Terence Mac-

Swiney, "No physical victory can compensate for spiritual surrender", cannot but say: "and they have triumphed."

As a mere sympathiser with the Sinn Fein programme, an ex-soldier converted to the Republican viewpoint by the writing of Tone and Mitchel and above all by the noble example of the patriots of this generation, as one who had the high privilege of travelling more than sixty miles to vote for the first time for a united and free Ireland, may I state that I, for one, am convinced that the separatist faith will certainly triumph and survive, long after the petty parties that misrule both portions of our country have vanished into the dust of oblivion.

That day will come and when it does there will then be no mocking at the so-called failure of Sinn Fein. On that day, the policy now so nobly expounded will be fully vindicated.

Sean a' t'Sleibhe.

Tiobrad Arann.

Not Present At Mountjoy

A Chara,—I am instructed to inform you that the National Graves Association received an invitation to be represented at the unveiling of a memorial by Mr. de Valera at the graves of executed patriots, in Mountjoy Prison on Sunday, October 8.

This invitation had to be declined as it has never been the policy of the Association to attend such functions.

The Committee feel it necessary to make this statement, as Radio Eireann in its News Broadcast informed the public that the Association were represented at the ceremony.

Mise, le meas,
Sean Og Mac Giolla Phadraig,
Runal,
74 Dame Street,
Dublin.

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Should Be In Occupied Ireland

A Chara,

Recent events in the Congo where Irish soldiers of the 26-County State are serving with U.N.O. make sad reading. The place for those men is in Occupied Ireland helping the freedom-fighters.

Pro-British elements are busy trying to discredit recent attacks by the Resistance. Statements like "The principles of these men are outdated" are being noised abroad by the Imperial robber.

Now our land was built up, and defended by men of principle, and fundamentally principles never change. Sacrifice them and you lose all. The Irish nation has survived the pitch-cap, the hangman, firing squads, and the prison cell.

The future won't be easy, but was it ever easy? We have a history of struggles for freedom and have survived some appalling tests. The people should now realise that there is no future in the 26-County Government or the junta in the occupied six.

In Killynure the foreigner has spiked roads (this seems familiar), preventing javeys entry. In Traghuma (West Cork) the modern invader has wired off part of the strand for private bathing, and put up notices banning 'trespassers'. (Shades of Cromwell!)

The answer will be found only in a truly National Government legislating for all Ireland. Make no mistake about it, the sacrifice of our martyrs is not in vain.

Resurgent Ireland will emerge and the Irish people will vindicate the efforts of her fighting men. Let us go forward now—not in another ten years or in another generation—but now—forward in God's name uncompromising 'neath the flag of Sinn Fein to National Unity.

An Phoblacht Abul
Is mise do chara i gcuis na hEireann.
Eamonn O Murchadha.
16 Shrubbery Road,
Weston-S-Mare,
Somerset, England.

DANCE, BUT NOT CEILI

A Chara,

Perhaps you may wish to publish in next month's issue the following incident:—

At the Walsh Cup Hurling Final in New Ross on Sunday, October 1, the public address system on the field was used to advertise a modern dance being held in Enniscorthy that same night.

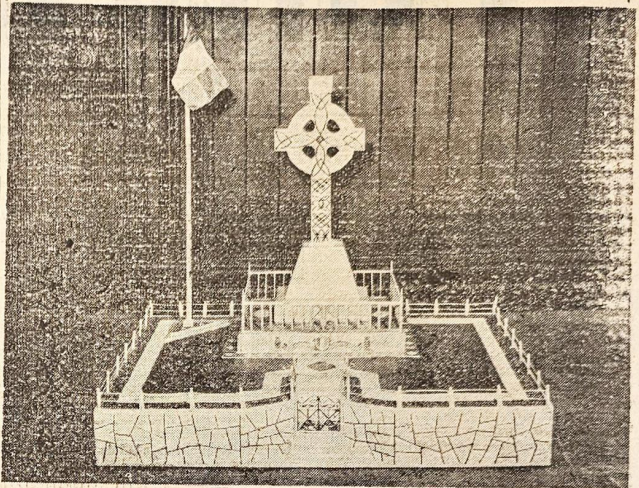
On hearing the announcement of this dance two young men from Instigloe approached the announcer and asked him to announce a céilidh in Instigloe also being held that night. This request was refused.

Is mise,
L. O hAimheirgin.

THANKS

The Sinn Fein Director of Elections for Dublin South-Central wishes to acknowledge gratefully, the subscription of £1 received from an anonymous donor.

Replica Of Edentubber Memorial



The matchwork replica of the Edentubber Memorial pictured above is offered as first prize in a raffle sponsored by the North Louth G.A.A. The draw is in aid of a presentation fund for three Dundalk men: Peter Duffy, Pat Shaw and Seamus Hand who are serving 8-year sentences in Belfast Jail and are due for release next August.

Released From Prison

THE following were released from Mountjoy Jail, Dublin, during October on completion of sentences under the Offences Against the State Act:

Joseph Quinn, Limerick;
Mairtin O Seanaid, Dublin and Patrick Hayes, Brosna, Co. Offaly.

All three were jailed on one charge only: refusing to give information to the police while under interrogation.

Released during September was Thomas Mac Giolla of Drumcondra, Dublin, who had completed his fourth term of imprisonment in recent years.

GARDAI PROTECT SPIKES

A Six-County contractor, working under armed R.U.C. guard, replaced spikes which, it is believed, were cut away by smugglers on the Clontibret-Middletown border last weekend. Gardai officers were present as the spikes were being reset.

—Anglo-Celt (Cavan), 7/10/61.

FALSE ALARM

A fine example of co-ordinated action by British Crown Forces and 26-County police was seen at the Armagh-Monaghan border on September 30.

Fourteen men were seen acting suspiciously on a bridge. This was reported to the R.U.C. who called on the Gardai for assistance. Both forces turned out in strength and worked in closest collaboration.

On arrival at the scene it was found that the "saboteurs" were Monaghan Co. Council workmen who were preparing to demolish an old railway bridge just 70 yards from the Border as part of a road-widening plan.

'Strong And Stern Action'

THAT pro-British elements in Ireland feel the time is ripe for more coercion by the 26-County Government—now that the elections are over—is the view which emerges from a recent meeting in Belfast.

The Belfast Telegraph's report (October 18) stated:

"The Eire Government is playing politics over the problem of the I.R.A. and is intellectually and morally dishonest, members of the Unionist Society were told in Belfast by Mr. Patrick Riddell.

A panel comprising Mr. Riddell, Mr. Denis Barritt, Miss Bessie Maconachie, M.P., and Mr. T. M. Roberts, political correspondent of the Belfast Telegraph, answered questions on politics put by members of the Society.

Replying to a question of what efforts were being made by the Northern Ireland and Eire Governments to stop I.R.A. outrages, Mr. Riddell said the people in control in Eire were of a generation who clung to bitter-

ness and bitter memories.

The trouble also stemmed from the fact, he said, that false histories were being taught to many young people in the South.

He felt that the Northern Ireland Government was doing everything it could in connection with I.R.A. outrages.

Mr. Roberts said that although the Eire Government had not done all it could have done, nevertheless it had made some efforts to cope with the I.R.A.

He hoped the new Government, now that it had seen Sinn Fein eliminated at the polls, would take strong and stern action.

Miss Maconachie said that on the whole the efforts of the Eire Government had been lukewarm. They had paid lip-service to doing something but it had never amounted to anything very effective.

Mr. Barritt also hoped that with a new Government firm action would be taken."

Carbon Copies Of English Children

"WE can't afford bitter memories; we can't afford religious bigotry and intolerance," said Mr. John Rice at the I.N.T.O. secondary schools advisory conference in Belfast on October 7.

"We can't ignore the fact that we are educating children who don't know who or what to be loyal to," he continued. "We can't afford to go on educating Anglo-Irishmen for export.

"Because the one glaring and heartrending fact that affects us all to-day is that since 1921 this country has lost 1,000,000 of its citizens. And they are not all leaving the 26 Counties. We can't afford to be smug North of the Border."

He deplored the fact that the average Six-County secondary school pupil knew more about the history of Continental countries or America than he did

about the history of Ireland. The educational system in the Six Counties seemed designed for turning out little carbon copies of English schoolchildren.

"I don't think that as teachers we should consider it quite good enough that the average history text-book in the Six-County grammar or secondary intermediate school dismisses the history of Ireland in one chapter, entitled, as often as not 'the Irish problem' or 'the Irish question,'" he added.

SYMPATHY

At a local convention of Sinn Fein held in Dundalk on Sunday, October 22, votes of condolence were passed with the Quigley brothers, Drogheda, on the death of their mother; with Patsy Larkin, Thomastown, Dundalk on the death of his mother; and with Laurence Grogan, Drogheda on the death of his sister-in-law, Mrs. Grogan.

WHEN WAS FIANNA FAIL FOUNDED?

A Question For The Sunday Press

USUALLY it is a waste of time to take any notice of scribes who, to please the political bosses for whom they write, produce for public consumption written articles which are intended to misrepresent, and which are distorted with a political bias.

A recent example of this is an article which was published in the issue of the *Sunday Press*, dated for October 14, 1961 and written by "A Student of Politics". The following is quoted from the article:—

"The collapse of Sinn Féin is the minor sensation of the 1961 election. It had a useful 65,600 votes in 1957 and held 4 seats. Sure of a greater win, it put 21 candidates into the field. Between them they were able to collect only 36,300 votes or less than 1,800 each. Not a single seat went to the party this year. It is the nation's emphatic rejection of the effort to solve partition and unite Ireland with bombs and gunfire which kill and injure only Irishmen and destroy mainly Irish property."

Since "A Student of Politics" is not a member of Sinn Féin his claim to a knowledge that the organisation was "sure of a greater win" may be described as presumptuous. But then to make a case motivated by political bias one has got to be presumptuous.

32 COUNTIES

"It is the nation's emphatic rejection, etc." The Nation is comprised of 32 counties and approximately four and a half million citizens. Adding the different preferences under the various headings in the table attached to the article in question, it seems that the total valid poll in the recent elections was 1,158,123, that is approximately one-fourth of the total population. So according to "A Student of Politics" one-fourth of the people of Ireland represent the nation.

Insofar as a partly hostile press and a completely hostile radio could not prevent it, the policy of Sinn Féin was put to the electorate and their support was sought for the ending of British rule in Ireland and the enthronement of the Irish Republic subverted by the politicians, who since 1922 have accepted and maintained the Partition of Ireland.

The electorate were not asked to reject the just claim of the

Irish people inherent in this policy, nor were they asked to pass judgment on the merits, or otherwise, of the means, the use of which Britain compels, to end the injustice of British rule in Ireland.

Apart from the Sinn Féin platform, the issues put to the electorate were simply the narrow, selfish and disruptionist policies and self-seeking ambitions of rival party and individual politicians. Not a single one of the latter had the temerity to ask the electorate to approve of Britain's forcible dismemberment of our Nation, or to reject the use of means to-day to unite our country, similar to those used for the most part of 800 years to free Ireland from the greedy, grasping grip of a foreign oppressor.

F.F. IN 1923!

But an anonymous scribe masquerading as "A Student of Politics" comes forth to twist the results of the elections into the "emphatic rejection" of something not even put as an issue to the electorate.

This "Student of Politics" uses a table of election statistics purporting to establish that in the 26-County elections of 1923 Fianna Fail secured 288,307 votes and 44 seats.

One wonders if "A Student of Politics" has made even that superficial study of history which would justify his masquerade as a student of anything related to the Irish nation.

In 1923 the principal founder of Fianna Fail was still President of Sinn Féin, and as yet had made no move to desert the Sinn Féin organisation and Fianna Fail remained unborn until 1926.

In the years around 1923 scribes of the ilk of "A Student of Politics" were denouncing and misrepresenting members of Sinn Féin, amongst whom were those who afterwards founded Fianna Fail, for the efforts then being made to (in the words of "A Student of Politics") "solve partition and unite Ireland with bombs and gunfire which kill and injure only Irishmen and destroy mainly Irish property."

The echo of those scribes carries down the intervening years and resounds to-day through the political and biased medium of "A Student of Politics". To qualify for a rightful claim to being a student of

politics surely calls for something more than political partisanship, for something more than being merely an echo.

Note: In the issue of the *Irish Press* dated for September 16, 1961 a table of election statistics was published purporting to establish that in the "Pact Election" of 1922 Fianna Fail won 35 seats.

Issued by the Publicity Committee of Sinn Féin, October 18, 1961.

EDENTUBBER: NOV. 12

The annual commemoration ceremony at the Memorial Cross, Edenubber, Ravensdale, Dundalk will be held this year on Sunday, November 12.

The cross marks the spot near the Armagh Road where five soldiers of the Republic were killed in an accidental explosion in the early hours of November 11, 1957.

The parade will assemble on the main Dundalk-Newry road at 3.15 p.m. and will march to the site of the memorial where the main ceremonies will take place.

The organising committee request a large attendance of Republicans in order that a fitting tribute may be paid to the Five Edentubber Martyrs.

Memorial Unveiled

South Kerry Republicans attended in large numbers at the unveiling on Sunday, Oct. 1, of a Celtic cross to the memory of Commandant Padraig O Loingsigh, an Tarna Cúth, Briogaid a Trí (Clarraidhe) d'Arm na Poblaíochta.

Comdt. O Loingsigh was killed outside his own home on Nov. 30, 1922, during a round-up by Free State forces.

A parade marched from Bealich na gCúl to the site of the memorial. A decade of the Rosary was recited and the unveiling was performed by Sean O Drisceoil, Sinn Féin member of Kerry Co. Council.

John Joe Rice delivered a stirring oration.

SERVED ONE YEAR

ON October 30, Patrick Kileullen of Belzack, Ballins, Co. Mayo and John Judge of Holborn Street, Sligo were released on expiration of 12-months sentences.

Both men were arrested in Co. Donegal near the Fermanagh Border and jailed for possessing a revolver and ammunition and refusing to give information.

At the time of his arrest Patrick Kileullen was punched about the body by a uniformed Guard. His assailant later admitted this in the witness box.

SEAN TREACY HONOURED

ON the occasion of the 41st Anniversary of the death of Sean Treacy, a commemoration under the National Commemoration Committee was held at Killeakle, Co. Tipperary on Sunday morning, October 15.

A decade of the Rosary was recited by a member of Cumann na mBan and a wreath laid on the grave. Leonard O Meicillín in the course of an oration said:

"This morning we are assembled here at this sacred spot to pay honour and tribute to one of Ireland's greatest patriot soldiers, Sean Treacy, who was taken from the unfinished task of achieving a free and Gaelic Ireland on the 14th October, 1920. 41 years ago a man died in vindication of his deathless ideals, and in hope that the sovereign, indefeasible Irish Republic which he envisaged, would soon be accomplished.

But Irishmen at home and abroad were moved when Sean Treacy fell in action in a Dublin street, to which his faithful followers have since added his name, but which our Free State continues to call by the name of an English viceroys.

Sean Treacy who grew up to manhood beneath the shadow of Slieve Donard, loved his country, its language and customs, and resolved, as his great forerunner Tone had done, never to waver until the connection with England was fully and finally broken.

After the Rising of 1916 the name of Sean Treacy became a byword, but his great motto was

"On with the fight." On January 21st 1919, the day of the first meeting of the Government of the Republic of Ireland, the first shots were fired on a quiet roadside near Limerick Junction.

We recall the story of Sologheadbeg, the deeds of Knocklong, the battle of Ashtown and Sean's last encounter at Talbot Street where he fought until he was killed. But before he fell, he left the mark of his blazing guns on two of his assailants.

Today followers of Sean Treacy can best serve their land by remembering his ideals, for no other method but Treacy's method can ever win freedom for our country."

A local correspondent writes:

A short time ago representations were made to the Republican Movement in South Tipperary to the effect that only one commemoration should be held, and that we should take our place in same. Further it was stated that that commemoration was non-political, but this we are sorry to say is not so.

On Sunday, October 15, at 3 o'clock all the political organisations assembled at this sacred place, and a full report of the proceedings appeared in all our local

Arrested In Dublin

TWO Republicans were arrested by 26-County Special Branch detectives at Harold's Cross Road, Dublin on September 26.

The car in which they were travelling was jammed against the footpath by two squad-cars. The men were Patrick Murphy of Brownsford, Inistioige, Co. Kilkenny and Joseph Maguire of Ballynagh, Co. Cavan.

In the Dublin District Court next day they were jailed for six months each under the Offences Against the State Act. The charge against both men was refusing while in custody to give information to the police.

Det.-Sergt. E. O'Dea said he found a document in Patrick Murphy's possession relating to weapon training by Volunteers.

Patrick Murphy served six months previously in 1959. Joseph Maguire was also imprisoned for six months in 1957 and on completion of sentence was removed to the Curragh Concentration Camp.

papers, with a reference at the end: "a wreath was laid earlier on the grave by a group of young men." As no press report was present it is impossible to know from what source they obtained their information.

We wish to make it clear that present on Sunday morning were comrades of Sean Treacy and also relatives. Again the politicians have made this holy place a place-hunting assembly and made "Capital of Sean Treacy's name, which is an insult to our patriot dead.

Fianna Eireann Notes

OIREACHTAS NA bhFIANN

Oireachtas na bhFiann (Ard-Fheis) was held in Dublin on the week-end of September 23-24. In the opinion of longer serving members this was the most successful Oireachtas for many years.

Very noticeable was the attendance of representatives from all but one of the provincial Sluaithe. The Adjutant-General's report showed that there is a 100 p.c. improvement in the organisation—in all its aspects—over the previous year.

Unlike other years, the uniform was by a minor detail on the agenda. Training, policy, and organisation were the more discussed items and some very constructive proposals were adopted.

At the elections, B. O. Murchadha, Ath Cliath, was returned unopposed as Chief Scout for another period in office. An Ard-Choisle of 5 members and 2 substitutes was also elected.

"It is to the young that a Nation must look for help, for life itself—and this is our message to those who are young in Ireland to-day. Ireland wants you, Ireland is calling you. Join Na Fianna Eireann, the young army of Ireland, and help to place the crown of freedom on her head."

—Countess Markievicz (1914).

"A FIANNA BOY IS OBEDIENT"

Obedience of a high standard is to be found in all scouting organisations, and more than any in Na Fianna. The whole organisation is founded on obedience and discipline, the two

going together all the time. If obedience is not observed in the home then it is very hard on officers to try to discipline boys without fear of losing them or embittering them against Na Fianna. Disobedient and undisciplined boys can be cured in time if the proper technique is used.

Officers are often too hasty in condemning boys for acts of disobedience and fail to see that there are ways of reaching the boys' goodness without using the "strict disciplinarian" methods. This does not imply that an officer should be too easy on disobedient boys. One boy of this kind could undermine the whole Sluagh if he is let go too far.

If an officer himself is disobedient to his superiors then he can expect the same attitude from his subordinates. If you let your rank go to your head and disregard self-discipline, disobedience will follow you. So remember that no matter who you are, you are always subordinate to a higher authority.

INTIMIDATION:

We in Fianna under 30 a lot of pressure and intimidation from Special Branch police as we pursue our duties. Usually they beset us while we attend our weekly parades or while we are camping. Of late, their tactics have changed. They now follow us as we go about our daily work.

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EIGHT YEARS STRUGGLE IN ALGERIA

On November 1 the Algerian guerrilla struggle entered its eight year. To help bring our readers face to face with the realities of such a fight we are giving space to this article written by a Breton nationalist whose viewpoint is pro-Algerian and anti-French. His story deals with ordinary people fighting against professional soldiers.

A FEW weeks ago, Mr. Fehrat Abbas was replaced, at the head of the G.P.R.A. (Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic) by Mr. Ben Khedda. The fate of President Abbas was linked with that of the negotiations with the French: these have failed, and a new President has stepped in.

The Algerian war of liberation started on November the first, 1954. In fact, since the days of the conquest, Algerian resistance to assimilation had never stopped but, after the military defeat of Abd El Khader and the Kabilian warriors (1857), the struggle took another form.

AN ALGERIAN REPUBLIC

Immediately after the first world war, Messali Hadj founded the nationalist party of the North-African Star; this party was banned in 1937 and its place taken by the Algerian People's Party, which was forbidden in 1939. In 1938, Mr. Fehrat Abbas launched the Algerian People's Union, which did not last very long. In 1943, Mr. Fehrat Abbas, with the U.D.M.A. (Democratic Union of the Algerian Manifesto) and Messali Hadj with the M.T.L.D. (Movement for Democratic Liberties) were asking for an Algerian Republic.

The French answer came in May 1945: 45,000 persons were killed by the French forces in the district of Setif. There remained no prospect of progress towards freedom through constitutional action.

The political parties were dismantled by police action and sometimes nationalist politicians indulged in personal quarrels. Elections were "made" by the French governor, Mr. Naegelen, and pro-French candidates were returned.

There remained only one possible course of action: the C.R.U.A. (Revolutionary Committee for Union and Action) called on the Algerian People, on November 1, 1954, to take up arms against the French, created the National Liberation Front, (F.L.N.) and started the War of Liberation.

ECONOMIC DOMINATION

Algeria has 9,528,000 inhabitants, according to the 1954 census, among which 1,042,000 are of European or Jewish origin. In 1953, 42.5% of the Moslem population were under 14 years of age. According to the Maspelot report (1953), 74 million Moslems have a yearly income of under 38,000 francs, i.e. about £27.

Half the arable land is the property of 25,000 Europeans and 7% of the tilled land is devoted to the

production of wine, which Moslems never drink.

In this country, which the French are trying to seal off completely from the outside world by means of two huge electrified barricades running along the Tunisian and Moroccan borders, by a network of radar posts and constant sea and air patrolling, 800,000 French soldiers with the most modern equipment are trying to break down a fight for liberty.

The Algerian nation has lost 800,000 dead; 200,000 persons are kept in jail and in camps of various denominations; almost two millions have been forcibly taken from their villages and gathered in concentration centres; 300,000 are refugees in Tunisia and Morocco—and the struggle is still going on.

In 1960, a well-known French writer, Algerian-born Jules Roy, published a book *The Algerian War*. He wrote:

"The district of Toudja includes two parishes, themselves composed of 22 small villages covering about 10,500 acres, of which 4,600 are state-owned forests. In 1954, there were 7,230 people living in it. To-day, only 3,800 are left, including 900 refugees from neighbouring areas. 600 men work in French factories, to keep their families from starving . . .

"... As regards the village of Toudja itself, there were, in 1959, 2,331 inhabitants in it, i.e. 796 women, 251 men, 1,284 children. The men are now working in France, they are dead, or they have taken to the bush . . .

'MILITARY REPRESSION'

"... The French really came to Toudja for the first time in 1956, to destroy the rebels. Frenchmen with arms, with tanks, with planes; the army. The Army has made repression.

"I am absolutely sure about the figure I am going to give and which I checked by interviews on the spot. I was not asked to keep that figure confidential. It was avowed by answering yes or no to my questions. I am making no mistakes.

"I thought I went beyond the limits of horror when I suggested 500 as a possible figure for the number of dead or missing; indeed I know the country well enough. A shake of the head told me I was wrong.

—Too much?

—No.

—Eight hundred?

—No.

—One thousand?

No answer.

—Twelve hundred.

—About that."

H. Krea, the poet, could indeed write 1960:

"I am speaking for a slaughtered people.

For a gagged people

For an imprisoned people,

For a people

Whose tongue they tried to cut, Whose nature they tried to break down.

For a righteous people,

For an ill-treated people,

For a people penned-up.

Behind the barbed wires

Of hate,

Of crime,

Of scorn,

Of GENOCIDE."

One of the most awful, most bloody moments in this awful, bloody war, was the "battle of Algiers." The F.L.N. had established, in the town of Algiers an organisation, headed by the able Yacéf Saadi, which controlled completely the Arab district, and following the execution by guillotine of two Algerian soldiers, Zabana and Faradj (summer 1956), had started a campaign of terrorism.

The French decided to get rid of that menace in their administrative centre and on January 7, General Massu was given dictatorial powers in the district of Algiers: the 10th Division of Paratroopers was to "restore order".

From January to October 1957, 24,000 persons were sent from the town of Algiers to concentration camps and 5,000 were reported missing. It is impossible to say how many thousands were tortured, but torture units, called the D.O.P., were organised by Colonels Trinquère and Godard and El Moudjahid (August '57) gives the names of 18 buildings in Algiers where torture is daily practised.

It was during the battle of Algiers that Maurice Audin was reported missing and that Djamilia Bouhired, a 22-year old girl student, was tortured — to mention only two of the most famous cases. Djamilia Bouhired was tortured by electricity, and submitted to shameful ordeals.

COURT NOT RECOGNISED

She wrote to the magistrate: "I cannot, after the tortures I suffered — worse than death because they are humiliating — at the hands of French officers in a French Army hospital or in French Army buildings, but deny a French tribunal not only the competence, but even the moral right to try me." (April 1957).

Maurice Audin, reported missing in June, and said to have run away, was in fact strangled by Lieutenant Charbonnier. The said Lieutenant was awarded on the 28th of February, 1960 the Legion d'Enneure — a very high French decoration — by M. Messmer, Minister for the Armed Forces.

And how many other names could be added to the list of those who gave their lives for their country in the most terrible way! Dr. Ali Boumendjal, the barrister, who was pushed or jumped from a sixth story building in Algiers after 43 days of torturing; Aissat Idr, secretary of the U.G.T.A. (General Union of Algerian Workers) who died from burns while in custody; Ben M'Hidi, who is said to have hanged himself while under arrest at General Bigeard's Headquarters, suffered in fact a most horrible death.

TORTURED BY ELECTRICITY

And what about those nameless martyrs in the djebels? What about the little boy who was tortured on January 28, 1956: "A fourteen-year old boy", writes a French soldier; "a patrol caught him while he was running away, so they say, to warn the fellaghas . . . I first thought the jackals were yelling but the noise lasted too long; I then went out in my pyjamas and listened; I heard people speaking and somebody moaning in the lieutenants' tent.

"I told myself: They cannot be putting the kid through the electricity . . . But it was the kid they were torturing."

And what about the 43 civilians who were gas-poisoned in the wine-tanks at Ain-Isser on March 14, 1957? What about the 112 civilians, mostly women and children, who were killed by gas in May 1959, in a cave near Batna? And what about all those humble heroes who were guillotined in the sinister Algiers jail which the French call Barberousse (Barbarossa)?

A PRISONER POETESS

Zohra Drif, herself a prisoner, wrote for them:

"Don't weep, O children of my womb

Your father will come
It is a hymn of joy I am singing
My tears do not run.

Don't weep, O children of my womb

This day is a sacred day
Because he loved freedom
Your father died a *chahad*
(soldier killed in jail).

Your father, they sentenced him to death

He wanted independence
Your father accepted the sacrifice

You, go on, go forward.

That he shouted when he heard

The noise of the keys at day-break

"I am walking to sacrifice
I am walking to victory."

They came in, dragging their chains

And they put, around his ankles, their fetters.

"Pray to your God, beseech Him,

For your Dawn has come"
"I am dying, but my country will live!

Be a witness to me, O Barbarossa!"

Don't say, my children,
That your father is dead

Your father, children of my womb,
Is still alive."

A doctor in the A.L.N. (Army of National Liberation) is now speaking: "I remember the day when De Gaulle held his famous press-conference of October 23. We were retreating. It was a very, very difficult retreat. The French, there were lots of them, it was a big scale honeycombing; and I had fifty patients which is a lot.

"Fifty patients, who can or who cannot walk. And we were not prepared at all to having to move. Well, I was able to save all those who could walk. There was a blockhouse in which there were six badly-wounded soldiers. Coming back after the honeycombing, I found them all dead, stung, all of them.

"They had not even had pity for lads who had no legs left. And on that very day, I remember, I listened to De Gaulle speaking about brotherhood and reconciliation. The speech was just finished when one of my djounouds (soldiers) who was standing sentry, came to tell me he had seen, on the other side of the river, a mother and three little boys killed." (November 1958).

In Paris, on December 2, 1958, M. Bechir Boumazza, who was responsible for the Red Crescent (Algerian Red Cross), was arrested and taken to the French police offices in the Rue des Saussaies where he was horribly tortured.

Twelve days later he was taken

to the magistrate. He writes: "At 3 in the afternoon they took me handcuffed to the magistrate, Mr. Batigne. He looked at my twelve-day old beard, at my tumbled face, at the crusts on my nose, and said only:

—You are charged with endangering the security of the state and with re-starting a banned organisation. You will be jailed in Fresnes.

I looked a long time at him, without uttering one word.

—What do you want? he said. I did not answer.

He then told the guards: —Take him away.

Since that time Special Algerian units have been drafted into Paris, and police officers have seen many other things . . .

'ALREADY A FREE PEOPLE'

And the poet Hocine Bouhazer writes:

"The righteous man died.
You know that,
One day, one morning,
With the sun in his hand,
His eyes open, his mouth shut,
His eyes open, his fist closed,
He died, the righteous man.
With a star on his forehead."

Speaking in Tunis, Mr. Ben Youssef Ben Khedda, the new president of the Provisional Algerian Government, said: "In fact, the Algerian people is already a free people."

In the French-dominated territory, the *kutibas* are holding their ground. In Tunisia, in Morocco, large units of the National Army are getting trained.



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The R.I.C.'s Report to the British Commission of Inquiry

CLARE AND WEXFORD IN 1916

COUNTY INSPECTOR GELSTON, in his evidence, said that he had had 26 years service in the R.I.C. three years of which he had spent in the County Clare.

The first branch of the Volunteers was started in the County Clare in March 1914. The number of branches increased to four, and the membership to 400, and that went on until September 1914, when a split occurred in their ranks and many of them seceded from Mr. Redmond's party. At that time about 300 Volunteers became what was subsequently the Sinn Féin party or McNeill party.

The Chairman: What brought about the split?

I don't quite know. It was, I think dissatisfaction with Mr. Redmond's policy regarding the Home Rule Bill. At that time they had no leaders—the Sinn Féin party—in the county. A Sinn Féin branch, composed of very few people was organised by Thomas O'Loughlin, and he and his little party became the centre of the Sinn Féin movement, but nothing was done until May 1915, when a paid organiser named Ernest Blythe came to the county. He later underwent a term of imprisonment for disobedience of a police order.

DRILLED AND WORE UNIFORM

When Blythe left the county the movement stood still until a man named O'Hurley, a Gaelic teacher and organiser, became very active, with the result that at the beginning of this year there were ten branches of Sinn Féin in the county, with a membership of over 400. They drilled, and some of them wore uniform and practised shooting with miniature rifles.

The Chairman: What number of arms had they?

In the whole county they had about 35 rifles. They were not well armed but they had plenty of shotguns and miniature rifles. These branches became more or less aggressive in some parts of the county, and people got afraid of them. Complaints were made to him of the marching with arms of these men through the county.

On one occasion a man named Michael Brennan, a captain of one of the branches paraded his men after Mass on Sunday on the road, and before proceeding on a route march he distributed ammunition to them. That created a great deal of alarm in the minds of the

BRIAN O'HIGGINS

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BRIAN O'HIGGINS
56 Parnell Square, Dublin.

A Royal Commission was appointed by the British Government in May 1916 to investigate the "rebellion in Ireland." In our issue of April last we quoted the evidence given by the R.I.C. regarding Co. Galway.

In response to requests we are publishing further interesting extracts. The "Sinn Féin Rebellion Handbook," Easter 1916, compiled by the Weekly Irish Times, Dublin, is our source.

people. Brennan, addressing his branch of the Volunteers made the remarks: "I want to say a few words for your own information about the seizure of arms. My advice to you is if such an attempt is made, to use them, and not to use the butts of them, but the other ends and what is in them."

The Chairman: What is the date of that?

Witness—It was on the 17th March last. It was on 15th December 1915 that he handed the ammunition to the men. Brennan further said at that meeting on 17th March—"Some of you may not like to commit murder, but it is not murder, it will be only self-defence. You know well that if your arms are taken that the next thing will be conscription." He was prosecuted for that speech and sentenced to three months imprisonment.

The Sinn Féiners in the County Clare did not rise, and gave no trouble, but at the time of the rising there was considerable activity. Organisers were moving about and the Sinn Féiners were evidently anticipating something.

On Easter Sunday many Sinn Féiners met along the banks of the Shannon, evidently anticipating the landing of arms from the Kerry side of the river. He attributed the fact that there was no rising in Clare to the failure to land arms from Kerry.

The Chairman: What was the state of recruiting in Clare?

Recruiting was very good in the County Clare, taking it all round amongst the labouring classes and in the towns, but there was no response from the farming classes—otherwise the recruiting was surprisingly good.

Was the Sinn Féin movement a small one in Clare?

Well at first it was very small, but it grew rapidly at the end of last year and the beginning of this year. We had a record of over 400 Sinn Féiners in the county, but of course there were a great many sympathisers who did not openly join, but showed themselves in sympathy with the Sinn Féin Movement.

My own opinion is that if they had had a rising in Clare we would have had a great many more than 400—we would probably have had three times that number.

Mr. Justice Shearman: Did you

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have any seditious sermons or remarks from the priests?

No. We had—there were quite a number. There was one clergyman who addressed a meeting, and told them to arm, and if they could not get long range rifles to use shot-guns, that shot-guns were very useful in the hands of Irishmen.

Was this reported to head-quarters?

No. He also told them if they could not use shot-guns to get revolvers and if they could not get revolvers to get pikes—that the blacksmith could make them, and if they could not get pikes to

'Marched Into Enniscorthy'

COUNTY INSPECTOR Sharpe was next examined. He said he had been 29 years in the R.I.C., five of which he had spent in the County Wexford. Besides the County Inspector there were four District Inspectors, four Head Constables, and 204 constables in the county.

Asked by the Chairman what he knew of the Sinn Féin movement he said it was first started in Enniscorthy about 1904, its founders being persons who had been connected with the Fenian conspiracy. Its aims were the overthrow of English rule in Ireland, the establishment of Irish industries, and the boycotting of English manufactures.

It had seven branches with a membership of 325 in the County Wexford. They had 95 rifles, most of modern pattern, 47 shot-guns, 34 revolvers, a number of bayonets, and some ammunition. He could not state accurately how much.

Several branches held weekly and bi-weekly drills and route-marches, some indoor and some outdoor, and they sometimes went out under arms. They were occasionally visited by P. H. Pearse, J. J. O'Connell, Mellowes and other organisers.

600 MEN IN TOWN

Prior to the outbreak of the rebellion in Dublin the county was peaceful, and none of the political organisations was active, save the Irish Volunteers, which latter had been very active for the past two years.

Beyond the fact that they were in possession of rifles, there was no indication of an intended rising until the 25th April last, when some men marched into Enniscorthy, where they remained that night and dispersed the following morning. The Irish Volunteers took possession of the town at 4 a.m. on April 27th.

The Chairman: How many men were there?

There were 600 men, and 200 of them had rifles and shotguns. They established themselves in the Athenaeum as their head-

quarters and got hatchets or slanders in their own houses.

How long ago was that speech made?

In January last.

The Chairman: Was that speech made by a young priest?

Yes.

As a rule are the younger priests hostile?

Any of the priests in the county who had Sinn Féin tendencies were of the younger variety. The older men, as a rule—the parish priests in a number of cases—have spoken against the Sinn Féin movement.

Have they given assistance to you in the performance of your duties?

Well no, except to the extent of denouncing the rising from the pulpit. In one case a parish priest addressed the Sinn Féiners, and asked them to give up their rifles to us. That was the only case in which rifles were given up to any extent.

Sir Mackenzie Chalmers: There are arms in the county still?

Yes, quite a number.

quarters and appointed "Irish Republican Police." They appointed sentries and allowed no one to enter or leave the town, without a permit. They commandeered motor cars, food and every description of goods, including arms, and they searched houses for arms.

Five constables and the District Inspector held the police barracks, and the sergeant and one man were in the bank. The bank was in view of the barracks. The rebels took possession of the castle on the hill, and from that they fired on the barracks, and they also fired from the slope of Vinegar Hill. There was an open space around the barracks, and that saved the barracks.

WANTED POLICE TO SURRENDER

On the morning of the 28th the Administrator of the parish, Father McHenry, and a Mr. O'Neill wanted the police to surrender. He (witness) was very glad they did not surrender. They held out until relief sent by the military arrived on the 1st May.

The Chairman: What ammunition are the police supplied with?

They are supplied only with 30 rounds each man, but they had seized a thousand rounds of Sinn Féin ammunition before that, and it came in very handy, for it fitted the police rifles. The 600 Sinn Féiners were not all armed. The military told him that a man in a house was equal to 18 men outside in a fight of this sort.

Sir Mackenzie Chalmers: They did not try to rush the thing at night?

No.

Mr. Justice Shearman: You say there were about 325 men in the county and that 600 turned out?

Yes, two hundred of them armed.

That is about double the estimated number?

Oh yes; but they terrorised the whole of the inhabitants into joining them.

To Mr. Justice Shearman: The

DONEGAL CANDIDATE

SPEAKING at the conclusion of the count for Donegal South-West constituency, the Sinn Féin candidate, Seamus Rodgers, said:

Ba mhaith liom bufochas a thabhairt don Cheann Comhairim agus a chuid oibreannail. Níl beag-uchtach ar bith orm-sa fá thoradh an toghacháin seo.

Tá sé 36 bliain ó bhí iarrthóir ag Sinn Féin i dtoghachán i dtír Chonail. B'é an t-iarrthóir an t-am sin Tomás Ó Dálaigh as Co. Ciarraige. Buailleadh muid inniu, ach le cuidiú D'é beidh lá eile againn.

I want to return thanks to the Returning Officer and his staff. I am not disappointed with the election result; it is 36 years since Sinn Féin contested in a Donegal constituency, the candidate on that occasion being the late Tom Daly from Kerry. We were not experienced election campaigners as in our ranks we have many young people, and we were depleted in numbers by reason of emigration.

In fact in recent years some of our best workers, young boys and girls, had to take to the emigrant ship and many others were too

population of Enniscorthy was about 5,000. There was no bloodshed with the exception of one head constable wounded. There was a small disloyal element in the county. The only disloyal people were the Sinn Féiners whom the police were watching.

There were four young priests who were Sinn Féiners, but the rest of the priests helped the Authorities in every way possible, and were thoroughly loyal. In fact one of the priests, Father Murphy of Ballymun, was most abusive of the Sinn Féiners in his sermons, and 99 per cent of the priests were thoroughly against them.

Over 200 persons assisted the police to hold the town of Wexford and witness armed them with shotguns and other weapons. Then the National Volunteers, Hibernians, Unionists and in fact everyone was most keen in helping the police.

The Chairman: Did the National Volunteers turn out?

They turned out everywhere. There were 200 Redmondite Volunteers assisting the police before the military arrived. Wexford was about 14½ miles from Enniscorthy. Witness intended to go to the relief of Enniscorthy, but he received a message from the General Officer commanding in Cork stating that men were urgently required to guard the railway, and it would be no use to send them to Enniscorthy, and on no account to send them there.

BRITISH TROOPS SENT IN

Subsequently 1,100 men and 70 cavalry with a 4.7 gun, were sent to take Enniscorthy.

In reply to the Chairman, witness said that 375 Sinn Féiners were arrested and of these 319 were sent to Dublin, 52 were discharged, and 2 were taken to hospital. The police seized 46

young to vote themselves. I am proud to have been the Sinn Féin standard-bearer in this election, and we have no regrets for fighting this campaign.

We have given an opportunity to many old Republicans to vote; some of these people had not voted for the past thirty years and were delighted that they were afforded the opportunity at this election.

I want to refer to a statement made by Mr. Breslin (Fianna Fail) in relation to Sinn Féin being disclaimed by the Nationalists of the Six Counties.

Has Mr. Breslin ever heard of one Tom Mitchell who was elected twice for Mid-Ulster? He was subsequently unseated by a British court of justice, or rather injustice, Mr. Aiken did not tell the world that this was a flouting of democracy.

Tom Mitchell contested Mid-Ulster for the third time but on this occasion Dublin politicians caused a so-called Nationalist to be nominated yet Tom Mitchell beat him hollow.

In this election postal votes were sent to the Free State Forces in the Congo. If the same method were adopted in regard to our exiles in London, Birmingham, Manchester and Glasgow, we would have a landslide in many places in Ireland today.

Of one thing I can assure everyone: we will be back again to fight another day. I wish to thank the workers who worked so unflinchingly for Sinn Féin and the voters who supported the Republican policy. Go raibh míle maith againn go leir.

I will conclude by recalling the words of that great Kerry patriot Austin Stack: "We Republicans can never be beaten for the cause we serve" enshrines the soul of Ireland."

rifles, 66 shotguns, 8 pistols, 6 revolvers, 1 bomb, 21½ stone of blasting powder, 667 rounds of sporting ammunition, 4,067 rounds of rifle and revolver ammunition, and a quantity of gelignite and other explosives.

The Chairman: A regular arsenal?

Yes. The rifles were mostly German pattern, and amongst the ammunition was a quantity of soft-nosed bullets. They were not fired but were made clean cut.

Mr. Justice Shearman: Did you find amongst the prisoners any copies of the circular read by Alderman Kelly in Dublin?

No, but on one of the prisoners we found the whole programme of the rebellion in Dublin. It was written out in a pass book and contained all details as to the attack on the General Post Office and everything else.

That document remains to be produced before the court-martial. It was an ordinary penny pass-book with the whole programme written in it. It was written in pencil, and was evidently a copy of the original programme.

A New Series

PRINCIPLES OF FREEDOM

It was my intention to publish these articles in book form as soon as possible. I had them typed for the purpose. I had no time for revision save to insert in the typed copy words or lines omitted from the original printed matter. I also made an occasional verbal alteration in the original.

One article, however, that on "Intellectual Freedom," though written in the series in the place in which it now stands, was not printed with them. It is now published for the first time.

RELIGION

I wish to make a note on the article under this heading to avoid a possible misconception amongst people outside Ireland. In Ireland there is no religious dissension, but there is religious insincerity. English politicians, to serve the end of dividing Ireland, have worked on the religious feelings of the North, suggesting the danger of Catholic ascendancy.

There is not now, and there never was, any such danger, but our enemies, by raising the cry, sowed discord in the North, with the aim of destroying Irish unity.

It should be borne in mind that when the Republican Standard was first raised in the field in Ireland, in the Rising of 1798, Catholics and Protestants in the North were united in the cause. Belfast was the first home of Republicanism in Ireland.

This is the truth of the matter. The present-day cleavage is an unnatural thing created by Ireland's enemies to hold her in

By
**TERENCE
MC SWINEY**
*These lines were written
in Brixton Prison, Sept.
1920, shortly before his
death.*

subjection and will disappear entirely with political Freedom. It has had, however, in our day, one unhappy effect, only for a time fortunately, and this is disappearing. I refer to the rise of Hibernianism.

The English ruling faction having, for their own political designs, corrupted the Orangemen with power and flattery, enabled them to establish an ascendancy not only over Ulster, but indirectly by their vote over the South.

This becoming intolerable, some sincere but misguided Catholics in the North joined the organisation known as The Ancient Order of Hibernians.

This was, in effect, a sort of Catholic Freemasonry to counter the Orange Freemasonry, but like Orangeism, it was a political and not a religious weapon.

Further, as a political weapon, it extended all through Ireland during the last years of the Irish Parliamentary Movement. In Cork, for example, it completely controlled the city life for some years, but the rapid rise of the Republican Movement brought about the equally rapid fall of Hibernianism.

EMIGRATION

Stoops the sun behind the ocean;
Darker shadows hide the bay;
And the last weak words are spoken,
From heart-breaking to heart-broken,
As the ship gets under weigh.
Now the yellow moon is waning
On the dim and lessening strand;
Darkly speeds the exile, draining
The life-blood of the Land.

Reck not Youth's intense emotion—
Weeping Love, or white-brow'd Care,
Look on Manhood, spirit-broken;
On the dark signs that betoken
Progress of the plague—Despair.
Hopeless are the dim eyes, straining
Tow'rd that woe-worn pilgrim band;
Darkly speeds the exile, draining
The life-blood of the Land.

WILLIAM JAMES LINTON.

Sale Of Work

A Bazaar and Sale of Work will be held in the Thomas Ashe Hall, Fr. Mathew Quay, Cork on Friday and Saturday, December 8 and 9.

Proceeds will go to the Republican Prisoners' Aid Committee (An Cumann Cabhrach).

B-Man Jailed

A full-time B-Special on security duty at Carrickmore, Co. Tyrone, R.U.C. Barracks was sentenced to a month's imprisonment at Pomeroy Petty Sessions on October 24.

He was released on bail pending an appeal.

This month we begin an important new series—Terence MacSwiney's "PRINCIPLES OF FREEDOM." This is a classic of Irish Republicanism. In it the martyr Lord Mayor of Cork outlines the basis of freedom, separation, moral force, principle in action, literature and freedom, intellectual freedom, militarism, the British Empire, resistance in arms, the Bearna Baghail and many other topics. Above all he answers the question posed by many in our day as well as his: "Why should we fight for freedom?"

At the present moment it has as little influence in the public life of Cork as Sir Edward Carson himself. The great bulk of its one-time members have joined the Republican Movement. This demonstrates clearly that anything in the nature of a sectarian movement is essentially repugnant to the Irish people.

As I have pointed out, the Hibernian Order, when created, became at once a political weapon, but Ireland has discarded that, and other such weapons, for those with which she is carving out the destinies of the Republic.

For a time, however, Hibernianism created an unnatural atmosphere of sectarian rivalry in Ireland. That has now happily passed away.

At the time, however, of the writing of the article on Religion it was at its height, and this fact coloured the writing of the article.

On re-reading it and considering the publication of the present work I was inclined to suppress it, but decided that it ought to be included because it bears directly on the evil of materialism in religious bodies, which is a matter of grave concern to every religious community in the world.

PUBLICATION

A publication originating in U.S.A. and at present being circulated in Ireland called the *Irish Republican Bulletin* is not connected with any branch of the Republican Movement nor with the organisations in America which assist that Movement.

Accordingly, those responsible for it have no authority to call for recruits for any branch of the Republican Movement. Also, the assertion made in it that one branch of the Movement is oath-bound is without foundation.

ATTENTION

Ireland calls on her exiled children to assist in the struggle for Freedom and Unity. In every decade the exile has played a vital part; now more than ever your help is needed; mercenary politicians are lining their pockets with tainted gold; the foreigner is moving in; the Irish have to move out. This must stop. Will YOU help? How? by joining Sinn Fein! Sinn Fein is strong in England; join and make it stronger; do so now. If you live in Birmingham, or surrounding district, write to the following address for full particulars:—

T. POWDERLY,
47 Farnham Road,
Handsworth, Birmingham.

To Maurice O'Neill

ON November 12, 1942, a fine young Kerryman, Maurice O'Neill of Cahirciveen, was shot to death in Mountjoy Jail. He was 25 years of age. To the air of "Fínean the Rover" I wrote this song:—

*It rings through the mountains of Kerry,
From Tarbert to Cahirciveen,
And awakens proud memories of valour
In the fights of the days that have been;
And out o'er the green fields of Ireland
It sweeps with a loud-swalling peal—
That cry full of anger and sorrow:
"They've murdered young Maurice O'Neill!"*

*And a prayer rises up from the faithful—
The faithful in woe and in weal:
"This night 'mong the martyrs of Ireland,
God rest you, brave Maurice O'Neill!"*

*He sprang from a long line of freemen
Who never bent knee to the foe,
And his heart gave unflinching allegiance
To the Cause that was trampled and low.
He came to the red gap of danger,
Where thousands had fallen before;
He died like a Gael and a soldier,
And his memory is green evermore.*

*His name, through the darkness of thraldom
Shines out like the flashing of steel;
And the true heart of Ireland is calling:
"God bless you, brave Maurice O'Neill!"*

*"Let no voice plead for me with the traitors"
He cried, when the death-hour was nigh,
"May the young men be faithful forever
To the Cause that has called me to die.
When the deathless Republic of Ireland
Is rescued from thraldom and shame,
I ask but place in her memory,
And her soldiers' salute to my name."*

*And the young men of Ireland make answer:
"When the foemen in front of us reel,
And we march to the dawnlight of freedom
You will march with us, Maurice O'Neill!"*

—Brian na Banban

MEMORIAL TO NURSE O'FARRELL

A small committee has been formed in Dublin for the purpose of erecting a memorial to the late Nurse Elizabeth O'Farrell who played such a prominent part in the struggle for the independence of our country.

It was she who carried Commandant-General Pearse's surrender message to the British Commanding Officer at the close of the fighting in Dublin in Easter Week 1916. She never wavered in her allegiance to the Republic of 1916 and shortly before her death she stood on a platform at a public meeting in Dublin in January 1937 which was held in connection with the opening of the Resistance Campaign in Occupied Ireland the previous month.

It is proposed to erect the memorial to Nurse O'Farrell in conjunction with the National Graves Association. Subscriptions, which will be duly acknowledged, may be sent to Sean Fitzpatrick, National Graves Association, 74 Dame St., Dublin.

Fresh Troops Arrive In Six Counties

British troops of the 1st Battalion Sherwood Foresters arrived in Belfast in two contingents on October 26 and 27. They are billeted at Palace Barracks, Holywood, Co. Down.

There they have replaced the Royal Sussex Regiment which has left after two years in Occupied Ireland. During that period the Royal Sussex participated in many security sweeps against Resistance fighters, notably in

South Fermanagh and South Armagh.

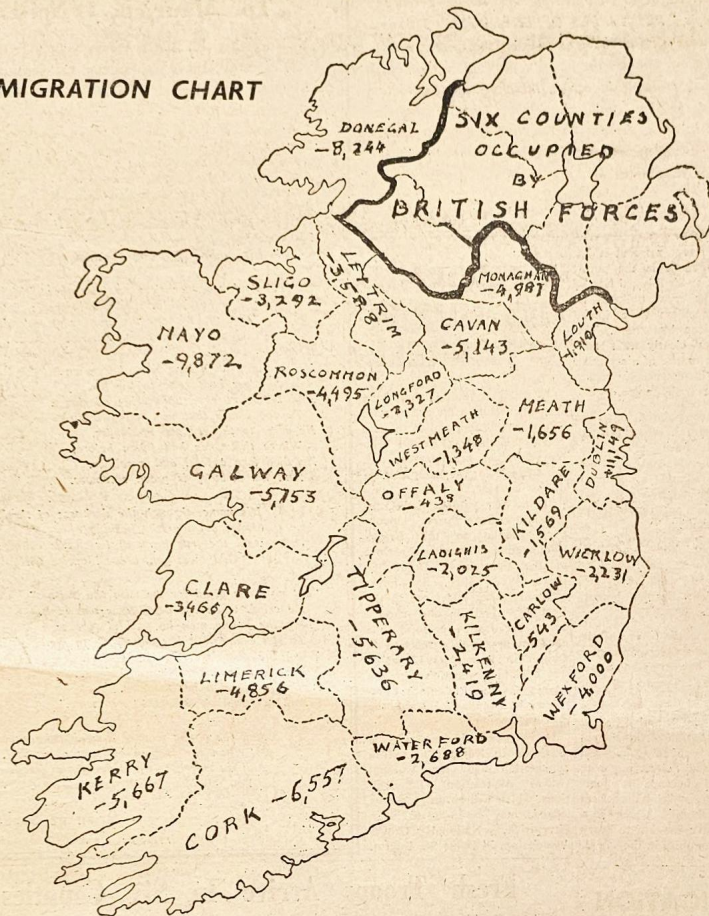
The G.O.C. British troops in the Six Counties, Lieut.-General Hackett met the Sherwood Foresters on their arrival at the quayside.

To The Polls By Jaunting Car



This is how they went to the polls in Wexford Town. They went the old way—an echo of 1918. On the right is Sean O Duinn of the Wexford Comhairle Ceanntair, Sinn Fein.

EMIGRATION CHART



We'll Come Back Fighting...

SPEAKING after the conclusion of the count in the Longford-Westmeath constituency on October 6, Ruaidhrí Ó Brádaigh said:

Mr. Returning Officer, Ladies and Gentlemen,
Mar iarrachóir Sinn Féin sa toghchán seo is mian liom buíochas a ghabháil leis an bhfoireann uilig anseo a rinne a gcuid oibre go h-éifeachtach agus a thug comh-oibriú dúinn go fonnúthar i rith an chomhairle.

On behalf of the Sinn Féin organisation in this constituency I, as the Republican candidate, wish to be associated with the vote of thanks to the Returning Officer and his staff for the courteous and efficient manner in which they carried out the count over the past two days.

I want to thank the 2,598 people in Longford and Westmeath who voted solidly for the Republican programme. I want to thank every single person who subscribed to our election fund and all who assisted our election campaign in any way. In particular I wish to thank that gallant band of election workers in both counties who

did not spare themselves in their efforts for the All-Ireland Republic.

Various interpretations will, no doubt, be made of the result here today in so far as it affects Sinn Féin. The facts are that 2,600 people voted — on the negative side — in condemnation of the entire partition system of government which has been operated here by all parties since it was first set up by the British forty years ago.

On the positive side, 2,600 people made a demand that all Ireland should belong to the Irish people and that through a 32-County Parliament the entire resources of Ireland should be developed for the benefit of the Irish people first — to give our sons and daughters a living here at home.

There has been a lot of talk just now about democracy. This is my first time to speak here at the conclusion of a count. On the last occasion I was in jail under a Coercion Act.

On that occasion — unlike today — we were successful. But that democratic verdict was not accepted. There was talk at the

close of the count here in Mullingar of "putting down Sinn Féin at all costs" and "ruling with an iron hand." I was not present to hear of that iron hand, but I felt it.

I, the newly-elected Sinn Féin T.D., was taken from jail and thrown into the Curragh Concentration Camp. I was held there without charge or trial for well over a year until I escaped from it. Had we been successful on this occasion also, there is no guarantee that the same thing would not happen again.

Let no man here today think that the result of this election gives the signal for further and more vicious coercion of Irish Republicans. Any man who interprets the outcome in that manner has not his finger on the pulse of the Irish people and has not learned the harsh lessons of Irish history.

We have lost support but we have lost nothing else. We have not lost our self-respect, nor have we bartered our principles or compromised the full national demand. We have gone down fighting and, please God, we'll come back fighting.

FALLING POPULATION

In the 30-year period 1926-56 the population of the 26-County area fell by 73,728. In the last five years (1956-61) it fell by 83,561 i.e. more than in the previous 30 years.

These are official 26-County Government figures — and Mr. Lemass said no later than October 28 in Galway that the population was on the increase!

The map on this page shows the extent of the decrease in population in each of the 26 Counties — with one exception — in the past five years alone.

Of the eight counties showing the greatest relative decline in 1956-61, four are Border counties and the other four adjoin them. The eight are: Leitrim (9.7%), Monaghan (9.6%), Cavan (8.3%), Mayo (7.4%), Longford (7.1%), Roscommon (7.1%), Donegal (6.8%) and Sligo (5.8%).

BELFAST TRAGEDY

The sympathy of Republicans goes to Mr. and Mrs. James Steele, Clondara St., Belfast, on the tragic death of their son Colm (21) who was killed in a traffic accident on October 28.

ARMoured PATROLS IN GORTORAL

Bridge Rebuilt at Kinawley

BRITISH troops of the 255 Field Squadron, Royal Engineers (T.A.) were drafted into South Fermanagh on the weekend of September 23-24.

Under heavy guard they worked throughout Saturday night and Sunday morning building a second Bailey bridge at Springtown, Kinawley, Co. Fermanagh. The original bridge was demolished by the Resistance on July 25 and another Bailey bridge which replaced it was blown up on August 28 — five days after it had been erected.

A Special Correspondent writes: The Gortoral area of South Fermanagh — cut off from the rest of Occupied Ireland on two occasions during July-August-September — has again been linked up with the occupied territory by the replacement of Springtown bridge.

BLOWN UP TWICE

When this bridge was first demolished on July 25 lest the isolation of Gortoral was completed. Crown Forces were unable to bring armoured vehicles into the area and as a result were unable to patrol it effectively.

Gortoral was linked up with Co. Cavan by the clearing of spikes from two cross-Border roads on August 4.

On August 23 Springtown bridge was replaced for the first time and was blown up once more five days later. Spikes were again removed on the same night.

Two more roads leading into Co. Cavan from Gortoral were cleared of spiked barriers on September 2. The British reply was to build a stone wall across one road and crater another. Then they demolished a cross-Border bridge on one of these roads — to maintain the British Border in Ireland at all costs.

Cut off once again from Co.

Cavan in this way, Gortoral was linked up again with Occupied Ireland on September 24.

Effective Crown Forces patrols were unable to enter Gortoral for the periods July 25-August 23 and August 28-September 24. And the Resistance Movement lost four members — jailed by the 26-County authorities who helped out the Crown Forces in their Gortoral difficulties.

Belfast Releases

Patrick Loy and James Healy, both of Newry, Co. Down, were recently released on completion of 3-year sentences from Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast.

The two men were jailed in 1959 on charges of participating in Resistance attacks in their native town.

Patrick Loy left behind him in "A" Wing of the prison his two brothers, Gabriel (23) and Anthony (29) who are serving 8-year sentences.

NOTE: At one stage of the present campaign six of the Loy family — the father and five sons — were all imprisoned in Belfast.

Silent On British Rule

Whether this time, if he is returned, Mr. Lemass will feel himself strong enough to recognise the Government at Stormont remains to be seen.

I stood listening to him last night while the flag of the Province of Ulster waved from his platform. But not one word did he say about partition. This surprised an American observer, who believed that it was a live issue.

However — disappointing it may be to Nationalists in the North, Northern Ireland is becoming more accepted as a separate entity by the compatriots in the South.

The "Belfast Telegraph" Political Correspondent 3/10/61.

'Democracy In Action'

About 50 civic guards and detectives were on duty in Monaghan town as the final election rally organised by Sinn Féin took place.

Plainclothes guards from outlying stations mingled with the crowd and took special note of all the speakers.

Cars were checked on the outskirts of the town from early yesterday evening. "Only routine," said a police spokesman asked to comment on the alert.

— Belfast Telegraph, 3/10/61.
Comment: "A worthy example of democracy in action" (Mr. Lemass on the 26-County General Election).