

AN tÉIREANNACH AONTAITHE

The UNITED IRISHMAN

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FREEDOM FOR PRISONERS NOW MUST BE UNITED DEMAND

26-COUNTY POLICE SEARCHES

SINCE the arrest of four Republicans in Co. Waterford recently, the 26-County police and special branch have searched remote areas in many other parts of the state.

The Blackstairs Mountains in South Carlow were searched by approximately 50 police on July 26. Their raid lasted for about five and a half hours and was fruitless.

The Slieve Bloom mountains, the Dublin and Wicklow mountains and areas in Cavan, Leitrim, North Monaghan, and Louth were also searched.



David O'Connell of Cork City is serving a sentence of eight years penal servitude in Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast.

'Buy Irish — In Irish Shops' Campaign Progresses

THE "Buy Irish—In Irish Shops" publicity campaign launched by Sinn Féin on July 30 is now well under way. Thousands of leaflets are being distributed by members of Sinn Féin Cumainn throughout the country, and a systematic canvass of Irish-owned factories and shops is being organised.

A three-fold appeal has gone forth to manufacturers, traders and consumers, outlining to them what they can do to assist in the campaign.

Simultaneously, members of County Councils, City Corporations and other local bodies are

being asked to endorse this appeal.

The following are typical quotations from letters of support received at Sinn Féin Headquarters:

"Rinne an ráiteas faoi na h-ollsiopaí an-mhaith. Chuala mé an-chaint faoi. Tá na ceardchumannaithe thar a bheith sásta faoi."

"Please let me have the posters and leaflets as soon as possible. We are sure of the support of almost every shop in this area."

Six-Co. Speakers at Dublin Meeting

A very successful and well-attended public meeting under the auspices of the Prisoners Release Committee was held in Dublin on Saturday, August 17, the eve of the All-Ireland Football Semi-final.

The three speakers had travelled from the Six Counties. Chairman was Liam Ferguson, Dublin.

Ard-Fheis in October

The Annual Ard-Fheis of Sinn Féin will be held in Dublin on Saturday and Sunday, October 19 and 20, in Moran's Hotel, Seán Treacy Street.

Determined Effort Required To Open Jail Gates

EIGHT long-term Republican prisoners are still held in Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast. They are:

Don McPhillips (23), Aghalee, Co. Antrim	14 years
Edward Mulholland (24), Lurgan, Co. Armagh	15 years
Joseph B. O'Hagan (39), Lurgan, Co. Armagh	8 years
Kevin Mallon (25), Coalisland, Co. Tyrone	14 years
David O'Connell (24), Lough Road, Cork City	8 years
Eamon Murphy (26), Leinster Avenue, Dublin	15 years
Patrick Traynor (29), Tydavnet, Co. Monaghan	14 years
Denis Foley (22), Tralee, Co. Kerry	14 years

With maximum remission of sentence Don McPhillips will not be released until 1969, Edward Mulholland, Kevin Mallon, Eamon Murphy, Patrick Traynor and Denis Foley will not be released until 1968, and Joseph B. O'Hagan and David O'Connell will not be released until 1965.

Three have been in jail since 1957, two since 1958 and three since 1959.

How long more are these men to be held as hostages by the British regime in Occupied Ireland?

As a result of the widespread publicity campaign carried out for the prisoners' release, 22 long-term prisoners have already been released from Belfast Jail this year.

None has been released, how-

ever, since June 14 last, and it would appear that it is the intention of the Crown authorities to hold the remaining eight men as hostages. This attempt must be defeated now. Only a united demand by all the Irish people can achieve this.

Much good work has already been done for the release of the prisoners and the results have been gratifying, but the plight of the eight remaining men calls for one huge and determined effort to secure their release.

Sinn Féin Cumainn and local representatives, Prisoners Release Committees and all Irish citizens, at home and in exile must redouble their efforts, organise parades, pickets, meetings, demonstrations and protests of various kinds to demand the immediate and unconditional release of all the prisoners.

NEWRY RESOLUTION

A RESOLUTION calling for the immediate release of the Republican Prisoners in Belfast Jail was passed at a well-attended and enthusiastic public meeting in Newry on August 6. Approximately 500 people and two bands attended.

Joe Campbell, Newry, was chairman and the speakers included Seán Caughey, Belfast, Hugh Mallon, Dungannon, Charles McGleenan, an ex-Republican abstentionist M.P. for South Armagh, and Dan Moore and Christie Loy, Newry.

R.U.C. tightens its security

TWO more R.U.C. stations, at Cullyhanna, Co. Armagh, and Loughbrickland, Co. Down, have been closed. Both had a garrison of four men and a sergeant.

The re-organisation is expected to affect other stations with small garrisons and is believed to be part of a plan to tighten security in the Occupied area, by concentrating forces in larger and more secure barracks.

Derrylin, Co. Fermanagh, R.U.C. station was closed during July.

Newry Man Jailed

Dan Moore, Newry, Co. Down, was arrested on August 19 and is now serving a two-month sentence in Crumlin Road Jail for organising an Easter Commemoration Ceremony in Newry.

Dominic Loy, also of Newry, was released on July 29 having served a two-month sentence on the same charge.

British Army Garrison Moves

THE British Army depot at Eglinton, Co. Derry, is to close down in November and the garrison of 400 will move to the new depot at Ballymena, Co. Antrim. The reconstruction of the Ballymena depot has been under way for some time and it is intended to make it the headquarters of the British Army Command in the Six Counties. The present headquarters is at Lisburn, Co. Down.

Attended Sinn Féin Summer School



A very successful Summer School was held by Sinn Féin on August 3, 4 and 5. Pictured outside No. 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin is the group which attended. It includes T. Mac Giolla, Uachtarán, R. O. Driscoll, T. Misteil, E. Mac Thomáis, S. Mac Gabhann and B. Halligan, Community Development Association, who lectured on a wide variety of subjects.

U.N. Supports African Plea for Freedom

26-County representatives remain silent

THE United Nations Security Council strongly condemned Portugal in a resolution passed on July 31 last and requested member nations to impose an embargo on arms shipments to that nation. The resolution was passed by unanimous vote.

The Security Council resolution also demanded that Portugal recognise her African Territories' right to "self-determination and independence."

Portugal's Foreign Minister termed the resolution "revolting" but as the New York Times

General Assembly last December and in the Security Council on July 31 last. Following the United Nations resolution, the American UN Ambassador, Adlai Stevenson announced that the United States fully agreed with the substance and spirit of the resolution.

Portugal is certain to meet with a torrent of ill will in international affairs as a result of the United Nations action and the impact of world opinion is bound to affect Portugal's actions in the future.

Great Britain abstained from the voting. However, this was expected as the British could hardly be critical of Portugal's Army of Occupation in Angola while she continues to maintain her own Army of Occupation in the Six Counties. In both areas the native population is without civil liberties and imprisonment without charge or trial is commonplace.

IRISH HAVE SAME RIGHTS

The United Nations resolution reaffirmed the universal right of a people to self-determination. The resolution directed that "immediate steps be taken to transfer all powers to the people of these territories without any conditions or reservations in accordance with their freely expressed wishes, without distinction as to race, creed or colour in order to enable them to enjoy complete freedom and independence."

The resolution further stated that, "The policies of Portugal in claiming the territories under its administration as 'overseas' territories and as integral part of Metropolitan Portugal are contrary to the principles of the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council."

"deprecates the attitude of the Portuguese Government, its repeated violations of the principles of the United Nations Charter and its continued refusal to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council."

The UN resolution called upon Portugal to "implement" the following:

- The immediate recognition of the right of the peoples of the territories under its administration to self-determination and independence;
- The immediate cessation of all acts of repression and the withdrawal of all military and other forces at present employed for that purpose;
- The promulgation of an

unconditional political amnesty and the establishment of conditions that will allow the free functioning of political parties;

- Negotiations, on the basis of the recognition of the right to self-determination, with the authorised representatives of the political parties within and outside the territories with a view to the transfer of power to political institutions freely elected and representative of the peoples in accordance with resolution 1514;

- The granting of independence immediately thereafter to all territories under its administration in accordance with the aspirations of the peoples;
- Request that all states should refrain forthwith from offering the Portuguese Government any assistance which would enable it to continue its repression of the peoples of the territories under its administration, and to take all measures to prevent the sale and supply of arms and military equipment for this purpose to the Portuguese Government;

- Request the Secretary General to insure the implementation of the provisions of this resolution, to furnish such assistance as he may deem necessary and to report to the Security Council by Oct. 31, 1963.

In light of the Security Council's strong action, it remains to be seen how long the present 26-County Government can refrain from pressing for a similar resolution with reference to the Six Counties. Certainly the white Irishman in the north is entitled to the same right to self-determination as the black native of Angola—or does Mr. Lemass disagree? His policy of refusing to press the partition question before the UN has led many Irishmen to believe that he does in fact disagree.

FOREIGN POLICY TIED TO BRITISH

World opinion, properly nurtured, can be used as a great weapon. It was so used during 1919-21 and with great effect in the United States and Great Britain. However for some reason, the 26-County leaders refuse to awaken from their slumber. It seems that agitation over peaceful agitation, is "verboden," in their foreign affairs. It appears that our foreign policy like our economics are tied to British policy.

What Irishman can fail to picture English embarrassment which would result from agitation in the UN over the Six Counties. World opinion in favour of Ireland would add immeasurably to the anti-partitionists' position.

But alas, it is too much to

What About Ireland?

IN the course of a recent editorial in the "Irish Catholic," in which the attitude of the United Nations towards Portuguese colonialism in Africa was criticised, the writer had the following observations to make on the attitude adopted by the 26-County representatives in U.N.O.:

Having obligingly agreed not even to mention in UNO British occupation of six of our own counties—we agreed that we were not going into the organisation with a sore thumb—we were equally obliging in acceding to UNO's request for troops to uphold its policy in the Congo.

Now that Portugal is taking the place of Belgium as the victim of UNO's policy of expediency, it is only natural to suspect that, obliging as we are, we may be called upon to help those who would see Angola become prematurely independent.

For an organisation boasting such high ideals of international justice, UNO has been remarkably choosy in its interventions.

True, it has never been asked to do anything about the injustice which is the partition of Ireland contrary to its people's will and the presence of British troops on Irish soil. And it has been careful not even to pass a resolution of protest, for that would put one of its principal upholders in a bad light.

It did get as far as passing a resolution of protest against Russia for its holding down of Hungary. To give it its due, it refused for some time to recognise the puppet government set up there after the October Revolution. At no time, however, did it organise active intervention and quite recently it received Communist Hungary into membership.

In conclusion, the editorial states:

Before we declare ourselves ready to send any more troops abroad at UNO's behest, is it not time that we asked UNO what it proposes to do to re-establish justice in Ireland? Perhaps we would do better by exhibiting our sore thumb rather than by pretending, as we now do, that we have no thumb at all.

WELCOME COMMITTEE SAYS THANKS

On behalf of the Joe Doyle Welcome Home Committee we wish to thank all those who contributed so generously to the above-mentioned fund and so ensured its success. We wish to extend thanks also to all those who helped in any way. We trust that the many anonymous subscribers will accept this letter as recognition of their contributions.

Colbárd O Máirtín, Rúnai.
Brian Mac Mathúna, Clisteoir.

Sympathy

The sympathy of Republicans in Dublin goes to Seán O Cróinín, Terenure, Dublin, on the recent death of his brother.

At the July meeting of the Seamus O hEachtigheirn Sinn Féin cumann, Cobh, Co. Cork, a vote of sympathy was passed with the wife and family of the late Thomas Carey Joyce, Main St., Midleton.

The sympathy of Republicans in Dublin goes to Michael Kelagher, the Coombe, on the recent death of his wife.

Treated as a criminal

THOMAS HAYDEN, Dublin Street, Longford, has served a two-week sentence in Mountjoy Jail for selling Easter Lilies.

He was sentenced, in his absence, at Mohill court on May 7, was arrested on July 13 and lodged in Mountjoy.

On arrival at the prison, he was instructed by the prison authorities that he would not be allowed to wear his own clothes. He insisted on wearing them and after arguing for about twenty minutes, he was allowed to do as he wished.

For the first nine days of his imprisonment, he was allowed to exercise for only one and a half hours each day because he refused to work. He was not segregated from the criminals and his food was much inferior to that usually given to political prisoners there.

When the four Republicans arrested in Waterford arrived in the jail on Friday, July 19, the prison authorities did not allow him to have any contact with them and it was not until the following Sunday after Mass that he finally contacted them. He was moved into their section of the prison then and received political treatment for the rest of his time there.

Congratulations are due to Thomas Hayden for his lone stand for political treatment and his refusal to be browbeaten or broken by the minions of 26-County justice in Mountjoy Jail.

D. Mac Giolla Phadraig

Bookseller and Stationer

12 CATHEDRAL ST.

DUBLIN

Two New Publications Now On Sale

Wolfe Tone, by Seán Cronin, 2/6.

Wolfe Tone To-day, published by Belfast Directory, Wolfe Tone Bi-Centenary, 1/-.

Copies available at a cost of 2/9 and 1/2 post free from Secretary, Dublin Directory, Wolfe Tone Bi-Centenary, 104 Kincora Avenue, Dublin 3, or Republican Publications, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.

RELEASE OF REPUBLICAN PRISONERS

An Open Letter to Irish Clergy

SIXTY-SIX Catholic Prelates, headed by the Primate of Argentina, Cardinal Coggiano, issued a statement recently calling for the release of political prisoners and an amnesty. The amnesty should apply to Peronists, Communists, anti-Peronists and military personnel who headed the unsuccessful April 2 revolt, it was stated. This news item was carried in Irish papers

has been taken up by laymen of various political affiliations in Ireland and outside it. The issue was clear cut. These men are not criminals. They were put away during a period of armed revolt. That period now has passed. The prisoners still are in jail. In charity and in justice they should be released.

As far as Britain is concerned, these men are not political prisoners. They have been "booked" on specific "crimes."

But nobody in Ireland is under any illusion as to their category. People may differ in their views of the prisoners' political opinions and of their actions. Nobody doubts their moral integrity, their high purpose.

To imprison a man during armed conflict is understandable; to hold him after that conflict has ceased is to be vindictive, revengeful. To hold a man a few years in jail may not do him untold harm. To imprison a man for political motives (not security) for long periods is known to mark his mind, scar his spirit and, frequently to render him unfit to take his normal place in society.

There is the hate motive—and what Churchman of any denomination can stand over that? To call for the release of these men is the opposite of hate. It is charity. And what true, sincere follower of any religion can resist charity, for in charity all of us are one in God Almighty?

Pádraig O Broin

In France Also

More than 700 priests and pastors in France have appealed for the release of five young men and women who are still in prison because they helped the F.L.N. (Front de libération nationale). The appeal says: "It is not good for a country when those who struggle for justice are persecuted. We pastors and priests appeal earnestly to all who are responsible for these men and women. We adjure them to realise their duty towards them, and to act accordingly."

Nineteen Catholic and Protestant chaplains in universities and grammar schools have also appealed to General de Gaulle to liberate three of the young prisoners.

In August. No doubt the appeal of the Argentinian hierarchy was dictated by charity.

In Ireland, political prisoners still are held in Belfast Jail. No church group in Ireland, Catholic, Protestant, Dissenter or Jewish, has called for their release. Such a call, especially if made by more than one church, would have a strong impact that would be difficult for the British and Stormont authorities to resist. Charity, one hopes, is not confined to the Argentinian Catholic Hierarchy.

I understand that the matter has not been raised at any meeting of the heads of any Church in Ireland. I understand, too, that some Catholic Prelates fear that such an appeal might be misunderstood. According to one source, it might be interpreted as "interfering in politics."

Unfortunately, as history records, such considerations never inhibited Catholic, Protestant or Dissenter clergy in Ireland. The most charitable thing that could be said about such clerical intervention in politics is that it is not always easy for the churchman to distinguish between the things of Caesar and the things of God.

The issue of the political prisoners in Belfast Jail already

Kellaghers

THE COOMBE,
DUBLIN

Garage and Petrol Station

Panel beating, welding repairs and coach building.

EMIGRATION
MADE EASY

Aer Lingus are told made a profit of £465,000 last year on the North Atlantic route as against a heavy loss on cross-channel services.

Obviously the 16-page brochure (see cover above) issued as a guide to emigrants to the U.S.A. and Canada was a best seller for Aer Lingus during the year.

It gives all information about travel documents, health requirements, climate, exchange of money, etc. It is quite obvious that this state-sponsored company has found a large market for its sales among the thousands of Irish men and women who emigrate to America every year. Their emigrant fares are specially reduced and they even have a special "pay-later" plan for emigrants.

So while the press shout about the "9% increase in North Atlantic traffic" and the position of Aer Lingus as "leader on the North Atlantic route", a glance through the company's passenger sales literature tells us that the miserable few thousand pounds have been made mainly by transporting emigrants to live, work and die in foreign lands. And the ultimate loss to Ireland is something that cannot be counted in terms of pounds, shillings and pence.

GLENOLUMILLE
STANDS FIRM

A report from Glencolumille, Co. Donegal, states that an attempt was made recently by foreigners to buy out the whole territory of three townlands there—Meenacross, Meenadiff and Meenadreen.

We are glad to report that the very tempting offer was turned down. The land in question is on a level plain between two hills, and looks like an airstrip. Well done, Glencolumille!

Cumann Cabhrach,
London 35 0 0

FRANCE:
Mrs. Terence Mac-
Swiney, per J. Clarke 5 0 0

AMERICA:
Prisoners' Aid Com-
mittee, New York ... \$50.00

AUSTRALIA:
Fianna Eireann, Mel-
bourne 1 0 0

'Buy Irish' says Bishop

AN appeal for preference to Irish goods was made by the Bishop of Clonfert, Most Rev. Dr. Ryan, when he blessed a new £7,000 pig-raising farm officially opened for St. Kilian's Co-operative Society at New Inn, Co. Galway, on August 8. "By buying Irish," he said, "you are giving employment at home and keeping your people at home instead of their having to emigrate."

Lieut-General Costello, Irish Sugar Company, speaking at a luncheon afterwards, thought that the country at present was infested with economists who had silly notions. Their learning came from books and not from the field or talking to the ordinary person.

"The work here in New Inn is part of the answer to those who announce that the end of the small farmer is in sight and that instead of having more people producing more wealth from the land we must by policy encourage people to move out.

"Another part of the answer can be found in Glencolumille and the other places where the people themselves have undertaken the establishment of co-operative enterprises," he said.

£3,000 SUBSCRIBED

The new pig raising farm—of the Solari type—which is about 10 miles from Ballinasloe, has over 200 shareholders who subscribed £3,000. The idea of the farm is that bonhams are bought off farmers within a 30-mile radius when they are over 50 lb. weight and fattened up to marketing stage. A special bonus is paid to the owners of litters who reach the Grade A standard. More than 80 farmers, with 122 sows, are at present supplying

the farm which has now 624 bonhams on hands. There is also an adjoining 26-acre farm on which there are 13 in-calf cows.

St. Kilian's Co-operative pig-raising farm was founded by the parishioners of New Inn two years ago. It has a 15-man working committee with the local parish priest, Very Rev. T. O'Grady, as chairman.

More Vigorous
Campaign in U.S.

"IF Republican Prisoners are not released soon a campaign that will be more vigorous and drastic than any undertaken previously will be launched, which will be a hard and effective blow to many British and Six County concerns in the U.S.A.," said Niall O'Beirne, speaking at a meeting of the Ticonnall Branch of the National Graves Association.

Mr. O'Beirne, who is treasurer of the American Prisoners Release Committee, is home on holidays from Philadelphia and is visiting his parents in Glencolumille.

He thanked the branch for inviting him to the meeting and congratulated them on the great work they are doing. When concluding, in reference to the campaign in the U.S. for the release of the Republican Prisoners, he said: "Over there the campaign is just starting."

Plans for Tone Bi-Centenary

TO mark the bi-centenary of Wolfe Tone's birth this year, numerous functions have been organised by the various Directorates of the Wolfe Tone Bi-Centenary in Belfast, Cork, Dublin, Waterford and other centres. As well, a souvenir paper "Wolfe Tone Today" and a booklet on Tone have been published and are selling widely.

The Dublin Directorate has announced details of two coming functions within the next few months—(1) A series of six public lectures on Tone and his life and ideals in the Mansion House from September 23 to 28 inclusive; and (2) The holding of an essay contest for children for which a prize of £25 is being offered.

(1) LECTURES—The lecturers for the series to be held in the Supper Room of the Mansion House from Monday, September 23 to Saturday, September 28, are all prominent and learned men—Dr. Roger McHugh, lecturer in English at U.C.D., Mr. Hubert Butler, writer and historian; Cláirín 3.

Mac an Fhailí, lecturer and political writer; John Bennett, journalist and editor of "Wolfe Tone Today"; Seán Cronin, journalist and author of "Wolfe Tone" and Máirtín Ó Cadhain, Irish writer and T.C.D. lecturer. The lectures will be free to the public.

(2) ESSAY CONTEST—This contest will be open to boys and girls between the ages of 12 and 16. The title is "Why I Remember Wolfe Tone" and essays may be in Irish or English. The length should be 500 to 750 words and the essay must be typed or written in ink on one side of the paper only. The entrant's name and address and name of school (if attending) should be clearly stated and the signature of a teacher should be attached to vouch for the essayist. There will be a first prize of £25 and other consolation prizes. The closing date is December 8, 1963, and entries should be addressed to—The Secretary, Wolfe Tone Bi-Centenary, 104 Kincora Ave., Clontarf, Dublin, 3.

Resistance in arms

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE discussion of freedom leads inevitably to the discussion of an appeal to arms. If proving the truth and justice of a people's claim were sufficient there would be little tyranny in the world, but a tyrannical power is deaf to the appeal of truth—it cannot be moved by argument, and must be met by force. The discussion of the ethics of revolt is, then, inevitable.

The ubiquitous pseudo-practical man, petulant and critical,

labour complications of all kinds of which no one can foresee the end, while as a result of another complication we find the Prime Minister of England going about as carefully protected as the Czar of Russia (The militant suffragette agitation.) The unrest of the times is apt to be even bewildering. England is not alone in her troubles—all the great Powers are likewise; and it is at least as likely for any one of them to be paralysed by an internal war as to be prepared

The pains we are at to make men physically fit we must take likewise to make them mentally fit. We are minutely careful in physical training, drill regulations and the rest, which is right, for thus we turn a mob into an army and helplessness into strength. Let us be minutely careful, too, with the untutored minds — timid, anxious, sensitive in matter of conscience; like him Emerson spoke of, they may be found yet in the foremost fighting line, but we must have patience in pleading with them.

Here above all must we keep our balance, must we come down with sympathy to every particular. It is surely evident that it is essential to give the care we lavish on the body with equal fullness to the mind.

Principles of Freedom

by

Terence MacSwiney

will at once arise: "What is the use of discussing arms in Ireland? If anyone wanted to fight it would be impossible, and no one wants to fight. What prevents ye going out to begin?"

Such peevish criticism is anything but practical, and one may ignore it; but it suggests the many who would earnestly wish to settle our long war with a swift, conclusive fight, yet who feel it no longer practical.

OUR TRUEST SOLDIERS

Keeping to the practical issue, we must bear in mind a few things. Though Ireland has often fought at odds, and could do so again, it is not just now a question of Ireland poorly equipped standing up to England invincible. England will never again have such an easy battle.

The point now to emphasise is this — by remaining passive and letting ourselves drift we drift into the conflict that involves England. We must fight for her or clear of her. There can be no neutrality while bound to her; so a military policy is an eminently practical question. Moreover, it is a urgent one: to stand in with England in any danger that threatens her will be at least as dangerous as a bold bid to break away from her.

One thing above all, conditions have changed in a startling manner; England is threatened within as without; there are

to wage an external one. This stands put clearly — we cannot go away from the turmoil and sit down undisturbed; we must stand in and fight for our own hand or the hand of someone else. However it be, no one can deny that in all the present uneasiness it is at least practical to discuss the ethics of revolt.

We can count on a minority who will see wisdom in such a discussion; it must be our aim to make the discussion effective. We must be patient as well as resolute. We are apt to get impatient and by hasty denunciation drive off many who are wavering and may be won. These are held back, perhaps, by some scruple or nervousness, and by a fine breath of the truth and a natural discipline may yet be made our truest soldiers.

NECESSITY FOR MENTAL FITNESS

Emerson, in his address at the dedication of the Soldiers' Monument, Concord made touching reference to some such in the American Civil War. He told of one youth he knew who feared he was a coward, and yet accused himself to danger, by forcing himself to go and meet it. "He enlisted in New York," says Emerson, "went out to the field, and died early". And his comment for us should be eloquent. "It is from this temperament of sensibility that great heroes have been formed".

THE RIGHT TO REVOLT

At the heart of the question we will be met by the religious objection to revolt. Here all scruples, timidity, wavering, will concentrate; and here is our chief difficulty to face.

The right to war is invariably allowed to independent states. The right to rebel, even with just cause, is not by any means invariably allowed to subject nations. It has been and is denied to us in Ireland. We must answer objectors line by line, leading them, where it serves, step by step to our conclusions; but this is not to make freedom a mere matter of logic — it is something more.

When it comes to war we shall frequently give, not our promises, but our conclusions. This much must be allowed, however, that, as far as logic will carry our position must be perfectly sound; yet, be it borne in mind, our cause reaches above mere reasoning — mere logic does not enshrine the mysterious touch of fire that is our life. So, when we argue with opponents we undertake to give them as good as or better than they can give, but we stake our cause on the something that is more. On this ground I argue not in general on the right of war, but in particular on the right of revolt; not how it may touch other people elsewhere ignoring how it touches us here in Ireland.

PRINCIPLE AND TACTICS

A large treatise could be written on the general question, but to avoid seeming academic I will confine myself as far as possible to the side that is our concern. For obvious reasons I propose to speak as to how it affects Catholics, and let them and others know what some Catholic writers of authority have said on the matter. One thing has to be carefully made clear. It is seen in the following quotation from an eminent Catholic authority writing in Ireland in the middle of the last century, Dr. Murray, of Maynooth:

"The Church has issued no definition whatever on the question — has left it open. Many theologians have written on it; the great majority, however (so far as I have been able to examine them), pass it

The Irish in America

By Tom McGuigan, Jr.

NO race has contributed more to the building of the United States than the Irish have, yet no race has benefited less for its efforts.

Granted, we can point with pride to the fact that an Irishman holds the highest office in the land, the Presidency of the United States, but the cause of self-determination for Ireland will be no further advanced by Kennedy than it was by his predecessors.

Granted, too, that we have many men of Irish name and origin in high places, politically, but so long as there is no semblance of Irish organisation, no politician will lift a hand to do anything for Ireland. We have only ourselves to blame for this unfortunate situation.

NEGRO UNITY

Our separate Irish organisations in America must number hundreds, yet in national influence among minority groups we must be placed last, or very close to it. Where does the trouble lie? Is it not in our multiplicity of Irish societies? Other national groups have but one.

Consider, for example, the negro race, with one organisation, the N.A.A.C.P., staunchly backed, it has practically stood the government on its proverbial ear.

Take the Irish by comparison — we represent one-sixth of the population of the United States, approximately 30,000,000, and we couldn't raise a ripple in Congress. Try writing to any of the dozens of "Mc's" and "O's" in Washington, and ask them what their feelings are on the partition of Ireland. Chances are they would first have to visit the Reference Room to find out what the partition of Ireland is all about, then eventually you would receive "State Department Form Letter Number 8", which goes: "This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter (dated

over in silence". (Essays chiefly Theological, vol. 4).

This has to be kept in mind. Theologians have written, some on one side and some on the other, but the Church has left it open. I need not labour the point why it is useful to quote Catholic authorities in particular, since in Ireland an army representative of the people would be largely Catholic, and much former difficulty arose from Catholics in Ireland meeting in with opposition from some Catholic authorities.

It may be seen the position is delicate as well as difficult, and in writing a preliminary note one point should be emphasised. We must not evade a difficulty because it is delicate and dangerous, and we must not temporise.

In a physical contest on the field of battle it is allowable to use tactics and strategy, to retreat as well as advance, to have recourse to a ruse as well as open attack; but in matters of principle there can be no tactics, there is one straightforward course to follow, and that course must be found and followed without swerving to the end.

(Continued)

so-and-so). Because of the friendly relations existing between the United Kingdom and the 'Republic of Ireland' and the Government of the United States, it is my personal feeling in the matter that this is a question that should be resolved by the governments of the two nations involved".

MORE EFFORT

That is it. Of course, if our Irish societies are satisfied with this wishy-washy attitude of the "Washington Slumber Club", and feel content, after reading about the de Valera-Lemass "prosperity" (Time, July 13), that upwards of 40,000 young Irish men and women are "running away from" annually, then there is no need to get concerned.

But, if they think that it is high time to give all of Ireland back to the Irish, then the task will require a little more effort than passing resolutions at monthly meetings and writing occasional letters (for publication).

APPEAL FOR UNITY

It is time to let a few months out of the organisations' moneybags and finance the continuation of the fight for Irish rights. Of course, the shoneen cry will go up — "We have donated thousands — who gets it?" — where does it all go?" And the ones that howl the loudest are the ones that give the least. If the bank accounts of all our Irish societies in the United States were pooled, the total would be large enough to buy the Six Counties from England.

But, unfortunately, these dollar stockpiles will lie in sweet repose for the next century, as they have for the last one, and Ireland will continue to have a few hundred dedicated men going out ill-equipped to face the might of England in every generation, some to die, others to face long years in imprisonment, unless we, the Irish in America, learn to come together and work as Irishmen for the sake of Ireland.

I gCuimhne

The 10.00 a.m. Mass in Adam and Eve's Franciscan Church, Merchants' Quay, Dublin, on Sunday, September 8, will be offered for the repose of the souls of:

THOMAS WILLIAMS, Belfast, hanged in Belfast Prison, September 2, 1942.

PATRICK MCGRATH, Dublin, and THOMAS HARTE, Lurgan, Co. Armagh, executed in Mountjoy Prison, September 6, 1940.

SEAN GLYNN, Limerick, died of ill-treatment, Arbour Hill Prison, Dublin, September 13, 1936.

PATRICK DERMODY, Westmeath, shot dead by 26-County police, September 30, 1942.

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Fianna Eireann Notes

AN ARD-FHEIS

All sluaite are requested to complete the Ard-Fheis forms and return them to G.H.Q. immediately.

NEW SLUAITE

Over the past few months several new sluaite have been formed throughout the provinces. These sluaite are located in Kerry, Tipperary and Wexford.

TIPPERARY

The new slua in Roscrea has got off to a fine start. Intending members should contact Donnchadh O. Cuanáin, Sráid Luimní, Ros Cré.

KERRY

Slua Cathal O Céirín, Tráilí, held their annual camp at the foot of Sliabh Mis, Curraheen. Fourteen scouts and officers attended this very successful camp. The slua wish to thank the local people who were so helpful when needed.

The new slua in Killarney invites boys in that locality to join. Intending members should contact Donie Coffey, c/o International Hotel, Killarney.

Cahirveena slua is now in a position to take new recruits. Intending members should write to G.H.Q.

WEXFORD

Enniscorthy slua has now divided into two separate working groups. One slua meets in the town while the other meets in the Monagear district. All enquiries should be sent to Liam Cúipeir, Monagear, Enniscorthy.

Wexford town is being organised by George Furlong, 68 South Main Street, Wexford.

ATH CLIAH

Slua Con O Coilbeard held their annual camp in the Inisteege area of South Kilkenny. A full week of fine weather, the hospitality of the people and the memorable hikes, will long remind the scouts of their first visit to this locality.

Slua MacAoidh-Aghas spent their annual camp at different locations along wild Glenmalure, Co. Wicklow. Accompanying the slua was the Fianna organiser. Doubtless he learned a lot of camp-craft from this experienced slua.

All enquiries regarding Fianna Eireann will be acknowledged. Write to Fianna Eireann, c/o P.O. Box 187, Dublin.

NA FIANNA EIREANN

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

Name

Address

Amount Enclosed

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

Theobald Wolfe Tone

There are hearts that are noble and tender,
There are souls that are splendid and true,
There are minds that enveloped in splendour,
A pathway of courage pursue;
But bright o'er them all shines the story
Of one who for Ireland alone
Wrote an epic of love and of glory,
And the name of that man is Wolfe Tone.

He loved the fair spaces of Ireland . . .
Each valley and moorland and stream;
He was true to the cause of his sireland,
And for it he fashioned a dream,
And he put that grand dream into action
By raising a right overthrown
And uniting each clique and each faction
For freedom and Ireland alone.

He planned and he strove without seeking
The favours that others caress;
He showed that 'twas deeds and not speaking
Would ever bring hope of success;
And not even the threat of a rifle
That knave or that hireling might own
Could put fear in his heart or e'er stifle
The courage of dauntless Wolfe Tone.

And so, though the centuries vanish,
His memory shines out through the years,
And tells us no force can e'er banish
Tho' faith that transcends all life's fears;
His memory still lives and its splendour
Rings clear as a glad monotone,
And proudly our homage we render
This hour to the gallant Wolfe Tone.

—Tadhg Gavin

Easter Lily Charges

WE have received the following reports of charges arising from the sale of Easter Lilies. In no case did those charged attend the court.

Peter Albert McGovern, Swanlinbar, Co. Cavan, was fined £1.
Thomas Greenan, Drumalee, Co. Cavan, was also fined £1.
During the hearing of his case in Cavan town, a picket of six men was placed on the court-house and a statement handed to the press which read: "In County Cavan the money collected from the sale of the Lilies was used to have Mass offered for all those who gave their lives for the freedom of Ireland and to help finance the Annual Easter Commemoration."

Seán Mac Suibhne and J. J. O'Sullivan, Bantry, Co. Cork, were each fined £2 at Dunmanway court.

Patrick Quinn, Station Road, Ballina, Co. Mayo, was fined £2 or seven days imprisonment.

CONSULATE PICKETED

THE British Consul in Philadelphia tried, unsuccessfully, to have the police disperse a picket which was placed on the consulate building on July 30.

The picket, which was organised by the American Committee for the Release of the Irish Prisoners consisted of twelve men and women and was televised and featured on five radio networks.

As on a previous occasion, the consul issued a statement to the press stating that there were no political prisoners in British jails.

Sinn Féin

Comhairle Ceantair Atha Cliath
PUBLIC MEETINGS
Abbey Street, Dublin
Aug. 31 and Sept. 21
at 8.00 p.m.

'Emigration an economic necessity'

In the course of a speech at the Muintir na Tire Rural Week in Gormanston College recently, Rev. J. Cunnane, D.D. C.C. Balla, Co. Mayo, said:

"Emigration is an economic necessity — not a crime or a desertion. An economist, concerned only with figures, might regard emigration as merely a process of adjustment, which will stop when the population has reached a level suitable to those areas which are admittedly, congested. But true Christian patriots who think of their country not in terms of figures, but of people — contented and reasonably prosperous people — will realise that this is not a process of adjustment but of decay."

The Erne Cafe

4 Parnell Street
(200 yards from O'Connell St., Dublin)

Lunches, Teas, Snacks, etc.
Prop. Michael Boyle.

Open 9.00 a.m. — 8.00 p.m.

U.I. Questionnaire

COPIES of the questionnaire distributed with the April issue of the U.I. were filled in and returned to us by hundreds of our readers. All the comments and suggestions have been carefully considered by the editorial staff, some of them have already been acted upon, and ways and means of implementing more of them are under consideration at the moment.

By far the most popular features with our readers during the early part of this year were the historical articles by the late Brian O hUiginn, articles by Deasún Breatnach, Notes and Comments by Mac Dara, and Terence MacSwiney's Principles of Freedom, in that order. Many mentioned the Story of Father Michael Griffin of Galway as a memorable contribution.

The criticism was constructive and some of the suggestions already carried into action were the article on Seán McCaughey in our May issue and the current series

on a National Monetary System by Proinsias O Gréacháin.

As part of our policy of improvement and expansion our Circulation Department launched a major shop sales drive during August, when two full-time Sales Representatives covered all of the 2. Counties (except Dublin, for which separate plans are now being made) in an effort to get more newsgazettes to sell our paper. The results have been gratifying, and the U.I. should now be on sale on many more shop counters. This increased circulation can be maintained and improved further by our regular readers advising their friends to ask for the U.I. in their local shop.

Some of the suggestions we received are not practicable at the moment but will be kept in view for future development. To all who responded to our request for their views we now convey our gratitude and best wishes.

THE EDITOR.

Tried to Visit Republican Prisoner



Our photograph, taken outside the main gate of Mountjoy Jail, Dublin, shows Miss Clarrie McAvinue, Chapelizod and Mr. Peter Pringle, Inchicore, who attempted to visit a Republican prisoner there on August 1.

They had been married earlier that day at the Church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Chapelizod and about fifty guests were present at the reception in the Spa Hotel, Lucan.

Philip Donoghue, Ballyfermot,

Dublin, who is serving a sentence since his arrest at a training camp in Waterford in July, was to have been best man. The bridegroom's brother acted in his absence and the couple decided to try to visit Philip after the ceremony. They were refused admission to the jail and did not see the prisoner.

The bride is a former member of the staff of the United Irishman and the bridegroom served a number of sentences in Mountjoy for his Republican activities.

COISTE CUIMHNEACHAIN NAISIUNTA

Liam Lynch Commemoration

Goatenbridge, Ardfinnan, Co. Tipperary

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 8

Parade leaves Goatenbridge at 2.30 p.m.

An oration will be delivered by

Ruairi O Drisceoil, Coraigh.

A Republican re-union Dinner and Ceili will be held at the Ormond Hotel, Clonmel at 7.30 p.m. on Sept. 8. Tickets at £1 each can be had from Eamon O'Doherty, 8 St. Mollerans, Carrickbeg, Carrick-on-Suir or Matt Murray, Gortacullen, Clogheen, Co. Tipperary.

AN ÉIREANNACH AONTAITHE

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Is í An Phoblacht ár gceuspóir.

Capital Punishment Remains
for Republicans

THE 26-County state came into being with the signing of the Treaty of Surrender in December 1921. The process of foisting the new servile state on a section of the Irish people was embarked on. A campaign of political hypocrisy and military ruthlessness, backed by British arms and 60,000 mercenaries recruited from British Army units in Ireland and the "hanger-ons" of every city and town in the state, was launched to undermine and overthrow the Government of the Republic.

That Government, backed by its Volunteer Army, withstood the onslaught until April, 1923, when its leadership called a ceasefire. Mr. Cosgrave's junta claimed it to be a victory for the Free State and the end of militant Republicanism in Ireland. However, his imagined victory was shortlived and by 1930 a new generation had forced him to protect British interests in the state. Coercion was in full swing and the jails were again full of Republicans.

Mr. Cosgrave made his exit from the political scene in 1932 and Mr. de Valera came to power with his pre-election promises that he would release the prisoners, abolish the Special Branch, stop the payment of the land annuities to England and work on from there to the re-establishment of the Republic. Within four years of his election, it became clear to Republicans that Mr. de Valera was as great a Machiavellian hypocrite as his predecessors and was actively engaged in strengthening the Free State position.

When the Army of the Republic opened hostilities in England in 1939 Mr. de Valera's junta imprisoned hundreds of Republicans and used the notorious Military Tribunal to take the lives of others. So well did his campaign of misrepresentation and brute force work on public opinion that Mr. Gerry Boland, who was 26-County Minister for Justice at the time, boasted that he was the man responsible for breaking, finally and forever, militant Republicanism in Ireland. How wrong he was!

Less than five years later young Ireland was again on the march and by 1956, was in a position to support the men of the North in a campaign against the British Forces of Occupation there. Once again, the Fianna Fáil pseudo-Republicans acted to guard the British Empire and hundreds of Republicans were interned and the Military Tribunal used against them.

Eighteen months ago, the leadership of the Army of the Republic stopped military operations in the Six Counties and ever since, the cry of the politicians and party hacks has been that militant Republicanism is now finally dead. How wrong they are! And to prove it, even Mr. Haughey has admitted it. He has introduced a bill in Leinster House to abolish capital punishment. However, there are a few exceptions. They include acts which are "criminal" within the terms of that gem of coercion — the Offences Against the State Act. This Act has been used continually against Republicans since 1939 and now, even though Fianna Fáil has shouted loudest that the spirit of resistance in Ireland is dead, Mr. Haughey is realistic enough to admit that it is far from so. Indeed, so much alive is it that he considers it too dangerous to withdraw his powers to hang its adherents.

And so the position has remained since 1921. Free State and pseudo-Republican juntas have told the people time and again that Irish Republicanism is a thing of the past, and that the people of Ireland, north and south, accept the present political set-up. But always, the lie is thrown back in their teeth. And so it will remain for the future, young Ireland will continue to assert itself and show to the world that the Irish nation will never be satisfied until British troops are withdrawn from the occupied part of our country and British financial and economic domination is ended in all 32 counties.

The Church, the State, the People

SINCE the inception of the 26-County state the leadership of the Catholic Church in Ireland has given it unequivocal support. Without exaggeration, it is true to state that without the pastoral from the Irish Hierarchy in October 1922, supporting the Free State government and penalising spiritually anyone who opposed it in arms, the state would have had much less success in undermining the Republic and establishing itself as the de facto government of the 26 Counties.

If they realised that they were supporting the establishment of a government which was still subservient to England economically, financially and politically and if they could have seen the tragic results, would they have been so enthusiastic with their support?

The fact that our function in the British economic system is to supply cheap labour and cheap food for industrial England is reaching the point where a serious situation is emerging for the supply of new religious for the Catholic Church in Ireland.

For centuries, the poor and middle-class people, the small farmers and shopkeepers, have supplied the vast majority of students for the priesthood. Through centuries of oppression and harassment these lowly people have maintained their allegiance to their God and have stood staunchly by His Church. But what is in store for them in the Ireland envis-

aged by our politicians? They are to be wiped out. It is apparent now in the West and South-West only but is spreading and it will not be long before the middle-class people of Ireland are forced to "close shop" and seek their bread in some other clime.

Father James McDyer, parish priest of Glencolumcille, Co. Donegal, is making an earnest and manly attempt to organise the small farmers in the West. To ensure a stable market for their products and thereby keep them at home. He is receiving the active support of a number of Catholic Bishops. It is a good and healthy sign to see men like him coming forward and playing an active part in the leadership of the farming community. What are his chances of success?

It is our honest conclusion that the 26-County Government will let him work away but will ensure that he receives no worthwhile support. They will allow him to work himself out, burn out his enthusiasm and will move quietly in the background to sabotage everything he is doing. He will end up as many an honest man before him has ended, worn out after years of effort and with nothing lasting or stable to show for his work.

And why this? Simply because the government of the 26 Counties was set up to govern this state in the interests of England. It has done exactly that for the past forty years

and there are no signs to show that it intends changing its allegiance in the future. One of its functions is to ensure a steady supply of cheap food for the British market. It is cheaper and more efficient to organise the rearing of livestock and harvesting of agricultural products on large farms and ranches. The 26-County government is not interested in people. Its only interest is to carry out its function, to receive the backing of the British government and thereby ensure its continued existence. The people can go to hell or to Connacht, or anywhere else they wish, for all the government cares. And while this is the position the efforts of Father McDyer and all the other patriotic and sincere men of Ireland will be set at naught.

Before we can build anything we must ensure first that the foundations are as secure as we can make them. The foundations of any state cannot be secure when they have to be geared always to the demands of another state. Until our countrymen come together and work to break the financial, economic and political grip which the British government has on this country all the effort and enthusiasm will be burnt up for nothing and every generation will come to its close in an atmosphere of bitter cynicism, believing in nothing, and blaming everyone and everything except those responsible.

MR. LEMASS'S SPEECH AT TRALEE

MANY times recently we have been told that the partition of Ireland is a purely internal, domestic problem to be settled by the Irish people north and south. It has been instilled into our youth that Britain has no say and little real interest in the affair. In fact, many people go so far as to tell us that the partition of Ireland is a serious and unprofitable situation for England and that she would be only too glad to lend her sympathetic ear to any plan which would solve it.

What a noble and dignified attitude for mother England to adopt towards us! We would gladly clap her on the back if we thought for one moment that there was an iota of sincerity in the false face she presents to the world on this issue.

Some short time ago, Mr. Lemass, the "realist" in 26-County politics, spoke at length in Tralee about the necessity for developing trade and cultural relations with our fellow-Irishmen in the Six Counties, with the objective of winning their confidence and showing them that co-operation in economic affairs will benefit all, and in his own words:

"The solution of the problem of Partition is one to be found in Ireland by Irishmen, and as we move towards it we can be sure that there is no power or influence anywhere which can prevent its implementation when the barriers of misunderstanding and suspicion which have sustained it are whittled away."

Mr. Lemass was so emphatic in giving the impression that the situation is a purely inter-

nal one that the interest of the British Government was not mentioned. However, his efforts are gone for naught. He is not as much a "realist" in dealing with this situation as he prides himself to be in dealing with others.

Mr. Henry Brooke, the British Home Secretary, arrived in the Six Counties shortly after Mr. Lemass's speech and proceeded, in a few words, to undermine and show the lie in his speech. He clarified, once and for all, that no matter how much we co-operate among ourselves, the British government holds the key to the solution to partition. He said that: he was glad to see a move towards co-operation between the two states in Ireland, but a condition for this co-operation must be the acceptance

of the permanence of the border.

Of course, it is wrong for us to infer that Mr. Lemass was sincere in his speech in Tralee. When a politician who is playing the double game has his back to the wall he must always try to draw the public mind from the pressing issues and give them something else to think about. But the politician's talk about partition impresses nobody now. It is worn out and even the schoolchildren smile cynically at it.

Speeches like the one in Tralee can no longer cloak the fact that, Mr. Lemass and his fellow-travellers are bleeding the Irish people dry and preparing the 26 Counties for a new sell-out to anyone who cares to take them.

Next Month

DEASUN BREATHNACH

writes on —

Irish Agriculture

and the national and economic changes
which are necessary to solve its chronic
problems.

A National Monetary System

What could be done

This is the fourth article in a series under the general title of A NATIONAL MONETARY SYSTEM in which the whole financial structure of the country is discussed and the advantages of a national system explained by PROINSIAS O GREACHAIN in a simple and straightforward style that will appeal to everybody.

In a country such as ours, with a disordered and false money system, every facet of our economic life and every citizen's life is affected by it. This article will examine some of the more important aspects and show how a reformed National Monetary System would be of immense relief and benefit to the people of Ireland.

40 MILLIONS TO SERVICE DEBT

A noticeable feature in the last ten years in the 26-County state has been the steady rise in taxation, the most recent example of which has been the odious Turnover Tax (ironically enough it is applicable to the bread which is the staple diet of the poor).

We are told by that select group of incompetents who pass for a government that this increased taxation is necessary in successive budgets in order to finance the "Programme for Economic Recovery". Approximately 40 million pounds of the annual budget of the Leinster House Government is earmarked to pay the interest on the "National" (26-County) debt. The writer has not got the exact figures, but it can be taken as certain that a very large proportion of this debt is owed to the Commercial Banks and the poor benighted citizens of this state are forced to bear this cruel weight of taxation in order to pay interest on money which the Banks never had, but created by mere book entries in their ledgers.

REDUCTION IN TAXATION

The whole business is a monstrous fraud and if the reforms proposed in the previous article were put into effect such state borrowings could be made from the Central or State Bank at nil or very low interest rates. This would result in a substantial reduction of the tax burden or, alternatively, taxation could remain at a slightly lower level, and the saving in expenditure on interest charges could be used for National development without further borrowing by the state.

Twenty or thirty million pounds a year would go a long way towards financing an economic plan or improving our educational system. With this money it would be possible to give decent pensions to the widows and old-age pensioners

whose plight in this state is a disgrace to and a slur on a people and a government which calls itself Christian.

The same position operates with regard to rates. Every year the rates burden is increased and in some counties in the state the rates have reached the scandalous and cruel figure of over 60/- in the pound. A sizeable amount of the rates goes in interest charges on Bank loans for housing the ordinary citizen. Again, in this case, the Banks write a cheque in favour of the Local Authority for money they have not got and charge the people 6% for what is, in effect, the use of their own credit.

This could be done by the Central or State Bank at very low interest rates (enough to cover the cost of servicing such loans) and the consequent reduction in the rates burden could be passed on to the ratepayers. This would cut the cost of living in a dramatic fashion overnight. Further, as businessmen and industrialists pay rates also, the reduction in their overheads in consequence of a reduction in rates could be passed on to the consumer in the form of lower prices, thus adding further to the reduction in the cost of living.

HOUSE PURCHASES

No doubt, it will be argued that much of the "National" debt is owed to private groups such as insurance and assurance companies and to private companies and individuals who lend the state real money and not the fictitious money loaned by the banks. This is perfectly true, but the writer's arguments still hold. If the state needs money for development or for a valid purpose to benefit the lot of the citizens it can, in the reformed system proposed, make all its borrowings from the Central or State Bank at nominal interest rates or nil interest rates, such borrowings to be limited by the productive capacity of the state.

Naturally, it is not suggested that the State issue money willingly to itself as the mood takes it. This would lead to galloping inflation and economic ruin. The essential thing, it must be emphasised again and again, is that the power to create credit must be taken out of the hands of private groups and the usurious interest rates payable at present by the people, through their so-called government, for the use of their own credit must be abolished for all time.

Another heavy burden on the citizen, whether he is buying his own house or renting a local authority or private house, is the cost of such housing. Anyone buying a house at the present time will pay between 64% and 71% for a House Purchase Loan through a building society, assurance company, bank or local authority. If this is borrowed over a 25 or 30 year term the borrower will have paid back

approximately three times the purchase price of the house by the time he has discharged the loan.

If this is not the cruellest extortion, the writer would like to know what is. The interest rates of assurance companies, building societies and local authorities are dictated by the bank rate, which, as far as this country is concerned, is dictated by the Bank of England, as we have not a shred of monetary independence, lacking, as we do, a national currency.

LOW COST BUILDING LOANS

In a reformed National Monetary System the money for private housing could be provided by a State Building Trust which would provide loans for house purchase to the middle and lower income groups at low rates of interest. Those earning high incomes could either borrow from the traditional sources or from the State Building Trust at a higher rate of interest than the other groups mentioned.

This is fair and equitable if they are earning large incomes, as the cost of house purchase will absorb only a small proportion of their income. The provision of low cost housing loans to private purchasers would remove a heavy burden from them and reduce their cost of living. The saving effected by them could be devoted to higher education for their children or to saving a modest sum for emergencies such as ill health, etc.

Local authorities provide rented houses to people in the lower income groups who cannot for various reasons purchase a house of their own. Because of the usurious interest rates chargeable for State borrowing and for direct loans by the banks to the local authorities the cost of providing such housing is very high. The people who occupy such rented houses cannot afford high rents and, therefore, they must be subsidised by the ratepayers and the result is high rates.

WIDE DISTRIBUTION OF PROPERTY

If, again, the cost of such housing were provided by money advanced by the Central or State Bank at low interest rates the rent payable by the tenant would be an economic one and would not require any subsidy from the ratepayer. Further, in the interests of securing the widest possible distribution of property (The Christian Ideal) such houses could be purchased by the tenants for the amount of the rent over a period of 25 or 30 years. This would have the doubly beneficial effect of establishing a property-owning democracy and would relieve the local authority of the cost of maintaining such property, and thus add further to the reduction in rates.

Another most unsatisfactory aspect of the banking system is

OUR READERS WRITE...

This series of articles on a National Monetary System has aroused much interest, as evidenced by these two letters to the Editor.

Sir,

My attention has been drawn to the series of articles, "A National Monetary System", by Proinsias O Gréacháin, though I have not seen the first.

I should like to point out that no Irish Government has any power whatever in relation to the creation and issue of credit. Leinster House did not, and could not "raise the bank rate here" as your contributor says.

The world bankers are the super-government in every country in the world (except Russia), and so-called governments are little more than tax collectors of the usury charges claimed by the banks upon the credit (money) they create and lend.

But, the "Republic of Ireland" is the only state in the world, claiming independence, that is dominated by an alien bank, which is the obvious result of our use of the Bank of England sterling, conferring upon it the virtual status of legal tender within our twenty-six-county borders, and upon that British

the fact that the same rate of interest is applied to all types of borrowing, whether it be for the purchase of a mink coat or for capital required for the expansion of an industry. It is obviously inequitable that borrowing for necessary purposes should attract the same high rate of interest as money required for the purchase of luxuries such as motor cars, TV sets and other status symbols of the modern materialist society.

AGRICULTURAL PROJECTS

It would not be difficult to devise a system whereby money required for worthwhile business and agricultural projects could be advanced at a lower rate of interest than the normal interest rate. The provision of invoices or estimates as proof of the bona fides of the borrower's project would be necessary to ensure that money lent was expended on the intended project and not on some luxury purchases. It is silly to say that this could not be done, as the hire purchase companies insist on the production of invoices before parting with money.

There are so many things wrong with Irish agriculture that it is difficult to know where to begin to discuss it. One aspect that comes within the competence of this article is the subject of agricultural credit. All that need be said about the Agricultural Credit Corporation's efforts or, rather lack of efforts, is that they are a rather poor joke. In their long years of existence they have lent an industry that is starved of capital, a few paltry millions. No wonder the small farmer is disappearing and our basic wealth is undeveloped.

If our agriculture is to become prosperous and develop a high rate of productivity and if the small farmer is to survive it is essential that an adequately funded body be set up to provide cheap credit on a wide scale. The farmers of this country must be taken out of the hands of the Bankers and hire purchase

Bank the power to destroy our economic existence, our national independence, and the individual life of our people.

Independence, whether of a republic, of a monarchy, or of a soviet "archy", depends upon State control of the creation and issue of financial credit, for and on behalf of the people, the banks being entirely deprived of that power.

H. Neville Roberts

Dublin.

'GOING TO ROOT OF TROUBLES'

A Chara,

I would like to congratulate, and express general agreement with, Proinsias O Gréacháin in his three articles on a National Monetary System. Some of the points he makes I would have expressed differently.

Nevertheless, it is a heartfelt one of our greyheaded Social Credit "sweet" mar mise féin to see one of the younger generation going to the root of our economic troubles. It is not necessary for everyone to understand the technical details of the present money system to see that it is defective, anymore than you have to know the workings of the internal combustion engine to see that a bus is defective when it goes only in fits and starts.

Unemployment, forced emigration, ever-rising taxation and ever-increasing public debt, and the continuous fraudulent decrease in the purchasing power of the money the Money Monopoly permits us to get are defects in the present money system we are all too familiar with. Proinsias O Gréacháin's articles should enable people to see the cause of them.

I am keenly interested in "the solution to the dilemma". A National Monetary System with a National Currency, plus a real State Bank, are not in themselves a solution. It is what you do with them that counts it is however only fair to Proinsias not to butt in any further until he has completed making his case. Perhaps I may be permitted, later on, to act as Devil's Advocate in the hope of clarifying points in his case that may be obscure to some of us.

E. Ua Curnáin

Ballybunion,
Co. Kerry.

companies and it would be cheaper, apart from any other considerations, than the present system of subsidies. The writer admits that it is necessary, in order to preserve the balance between farming and industrial incomes, that subsidies are available, but if cheap credit were provided agriculture subsidies could be reduced. This would have the effect of making our agricultural prices more competitive in the export market, and open up considerable prospects for the expansion of our basic industry.

The next article will discuss the necessity for complete independence for our country in order to make these reforms successful.

REALISM

Deasun Bretnach discusses other issues

THERE is a healthy wind of realism blowing through Ireland at present. The Common Market gamble failed; the bluff — that the 26-County State was sovereign and independent — has been called. As a poster for this paper forecast, Lemass toed the line. For, no matter what he said or pretended, at home or abroad, the French and Germans, anyway, were not deceived. They recognised the 26-County State for what it is, a satellite of Britain, one which orbits the British system, far closer than Poland the Russian one.

No Republican can fear truth — it is our greatest asset. All the rigging of historical and economic issues over the past 40 years now has been revealed. The Irish people are becoming angrier.

Recently people wrote to me to say they agreed with various things stated here but which, with all due respect to my correspondents, have been stated far better by people who have died that Ireland be free. Those who have died for their country have proved their sincerity; events their wisdom.

These correspondents have spoken of their contempt for the professional politicians but also have inferred a contempt for politics itself. The inference appears to be an error, for surely politics is the means by which changes are achieved in a normal, civilised, democratic society?

INHERITED FROM BRITAIN

Changes in a state may be brought about by military conquest, economic conquest, a coup d'état or through the ballot box. In the Six Counties, for Republicans, the ballot box virtually has been ruled but, except in elections for the Imperial Parliament, for those contesting Stormont elections have to swear an oath of loyalty which, in conscience, no Republican can do. For most of us are practising Christians to whom an oath is not a scrap of paper but a sacred thing, the calling of God to witness that what we are declaring is true.

In the 26 Counties no such oaths are required. True, the media of communication are controlled virtually in their entirety by a British puppet administration and establishment. Politics costs money; but in the 26 Counties the political party which has not made its compromise with the puppet establishment will be denied funds or, at least, will find it difficult to get them.

This has been the case until Britain's Common Market bubble was burst by Gen. de Gaulle. Now there is a far greater opportunity of reaching our people, of blowing away the fog of confusion in their minds, and of getting changes through the ballot box. This is preferable to what might have been necessary if certain steps had been taken by betrayers to make partition more permanent than ever.

But before we take the road

to the ballot box we might consider what we could hope to be able to offer certain sections of the people, to remove their just grievances. We know where we stand on the main issue of Ireland united, sovereign and independent. Where do we stand on such burdens as rates? What do we think of the two-party system? of P.R.? of the County Council system of administration? All these we have inherited from Britain. Are they suitable to the Irish character, to Irish conditions?

FREEDOM AT ALL LEVELS

We hear that Mayo is to have the highest rates in Ireland. Is this justice? Is it common sense?

It appears to me that, possibly, the French system of dividing the country in départements would be more suitable and equitable than our county system. Let the G.A.A., by all means, continue to organise games on this basis, if wished; but the Mayo case points the absurdity in terms of economics and administration.

It appears also, that such reorganisation — into four of five, (or maybe less) départements — would result in greater efficiency as well. As for rates — about which farmers so convincingly complain — it has always appeared to me that the old landlord trick of raising the rent in proportion to improvements is as unjust today as it was then.

For freedom is not something to be flaunted only at the national level, in the councils of the nations; it must go down to all the people.

How necessary is it to retain the rates system? I believe that such items as upkeep of roads, hospitals and social services should be the responsibility of the State, financed by taxation of one kind or another. The only justification I can find for rates is that, in theory, they should result in people paying taxes according to their abilities; but, perhaps, a graded property tax, would meet the problem.

THE PARTY SYSTEM

I do not pretend to be an expert on taxation; I am asking merely, that such matters be discussed and a policy stated. We have inherited a system from the British that was designed primarily to administer an empire and, secondly, to exploit our people in the British interest. I am aware that, in rural districts certainly, the rates system falls heavily on the farmers and that ironically, the less developed and populated the district, in many cases, the heavier the rates burden. That is an obvious injustice and must be removed for two reasons; the moral one and the materialist one, that it inhibits progress and development, as well as speeding depopulation in a thinly occupied area.

Because we have not had a revolution here it is necessary

to have one, to make the real changes demanded of a free people, preferably bloodless, following a ballot decision. The alternative to revolution is evolution which, it seems, merely postpones the taking of vital, fundamental decisions and results in procrastination in which the danger of revisionism always is present.

Many people here today accept the party system because, perhaps, it never has occurred to them to question it. Other peoples newly independent, are less sure of its merits. It is essential to preserve the principle of democracy in normal times though we should never forget that the 1916 Rising was not an act of democracy, and the Rising was not wrong — far from it.

If an Irish republican unity party — such as Sinn Féin — were to contest a 26-County general election, it would seem to me to be honest as well as practicable to announce beforehand that, if voted a majority, it would dissolve the other political parties which never have been all-Ireland parties and have betrayed the national interest consistently.

MUST BE JUST TO ALL

Democracy can be served equally in a one-party as a two-party system so long as it is not allowed to degenerate into a single, approved list, dictated by the dominating wing of the party. By this I mean that democracy should be expressed at the most local level which, in our case, might be the parish, and that all members of the party, at all levels, should be permitted to propose, second and decide on candidates; and that this process should continue upwards.

What I am concerned about is achieving a revolution and ensuring, in so far as is possible, that what has been achieved will be maintained; that there will be no revision — as in compromises and deals among discredited party politicians — on principles of the revolution; and that the basis on which the revolution has been constructed will serve as a foundation on which to erect the future state instead of leaving that basis open to attack and destruction.

The alternative, possibly, would be a Gaullist form of Government, without P.R., with a strong president; but this has too many dangers. I distrust it.

There is a principle of uniformity involved in a one-party system, as in all conquest. To my mind, it is not impossible to provide for such variety in unity as is necessary to true democracy, without endangering the tenets on which the State is built.

It is clear, for example, that the State to which we are directing ourselves must be just to Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter. As Irishmen, all have something in common, in terms, for example, of nationality, protection, the right to the ancestral language and to

The writer is not a member of any political organisation but is a Republican, disillusioned by 40 years of deceit, compromise and treason. He appeals here for an examination of issues, other than the fundamental ones of Unity and Republicanism and the promises in the 1916 Proclamation and the democratic charter of the first Dáil, and asks that they be discussed realistically, without fear, as a prerequisite to the march of the nation to the unity that Tone, Rossa, Pearse and Connolly advocated. Readers' views will be welcomed.

work. But as religious groups within the nation, also, they have certain rights. These people are our brothers, not our enemies. There are problems, including censorship of books and publications.

A NATION'S GREATEST RICHES

The French theologian, Maritain, has pointed out that censorship of books and publications is unnecessary in a society which has laws under which obscenity can be prosecuted. There is no theatre censorship in the 26 Counties and it has not resulted in any great danger to public morality. It seems to me that there is no necessity for censorship of books, or publications, either.

A vigilant, Christian community, Catholic and Protestant, will ensure, by public opinion that pornography be prosecuted and punished severely.

In such a society as I envisage for a united Ireland, religious communities would have to be on their toes. All the better. Priests, and ministers would see to it that their flocks were properly instructed. This is far from being the case at present. Only the small minority attending secondary schools is properly instructed in its faith. The result is that many emigrants, quickly lose, all conception of religion or, as Seán de Fréine has pointed out in Irish in his book, "Saoirse gan Sóg", Britain by now would have been made Catholic by the flood of Irish Catholic emigrants since the Famine.

There is one other fundamental point which I would like to mention before ending this article: People, not cattle, are a nation's greatest riches. For more than 100 years the economy has been worked on the opposite assumption. The landlords got rid of their tenants to make way for cattle and the process continues. Here is a simplification of what is involved:

We are sending out stores (cattle on the hoof for fattening in Britain) and subsidising butter and other export products in the 26 Counties ("we" because Irishmen's money is being used) so that Irish emigrant workers in Britain may eat them there.

CONTINENTAL MARKETS

If we must produce cattle — and our grasslands are the best in Europe, properly cared — the logical thing is to produce them for eating at home. The same applies to butter or, better still, to the drinking of liquid milk. Therefore, if subsidy is necessary, it should go, not on cheap food for the British market, but on factories and services to employ our own

people. If these factories and services break even for years — splendid. If they lose money for a few years, our job is to make them more efficient and productive, but not to close them and let our people emigrate. (Witness the recent closing of factories in the west to suit the British!)

If Britain offers a fair market to Irish produce — and increasingly it could be industrially processed home-grown food — there is no earthly reason to avoid this market. Increasingly, however, a united, independent, republican Ireland would have to direct its products to the best markets, and these are on the Continent.

SIMILAR TO GERMANY

The recent British hints of further chains on Irish production — the introduction of quotas for commodities other than butter — underlines the urgency of uniting Ireland and of achieving real industrialisation. The predominantly agricultural country already is half a slave, at the mercy of the industrial state. It is only in the context of a united Ireland that the economy can be planned so that work will be guaranteed to all.

I have no illusions about this kind of Ireland. Our people would be faced with a problem similar to that which confronted the West Germans after the 1939-45 war. Hours of work would be longer but profits and prices would be controlled so that the burden would not fall on only one section of the community, as at present.

But with a united Ireland a tremendous dynamic force would be released to carry us through a period of hard work and sacrifice, the recovery of our self-respect, the ability to hold our heads high as an independent people, beholden to no one but ourselves . . . and God.

NO MAGIC FORMULA

Much of the groundwork for unity already has been achieved. Despite boycotting and whispered campaigns, the Irish Congress of Trade Unions now is a 32-County body. The main farming groups of both parts of the country have met and found common ground for co-operation. Daily, both industrial workers and farmers are getting angrier at the antics of the professional politicians, and recently the President of the NFA, Mr. Rickard Deasy, spoke of going outside the establishment of Merion Street. Their anger is deep because their livelihood and the future of their children is being gambled by unscrupulous persons — or fools — in Dublin and Belfast.

It is becoming increasingly obvious to all that the Sinn Féin principles are not old fashioned

(To page 9)

BOOK REVIEWS

A Guide to English Usage

WHICH is more correct, "diplomat" or "diplomatist"? Would you "dissociate" or "disassociate" yourself from something? Do you know that "tennis racket" is correct and "tennis racquet" is wrong? What is the difference between "golf links" and "golf course"?

Difficulties in English usage crop up every day for everybody. Nobody can be expected to know all the rules, and an ordinary dictionary cannot go into much detail.

"Usage and Abuse," a new book of almost 400 pages in the Penguin Reference Books series has just been published. It is written by Eric Partridge, costs 7s. 6d., and answers the above questions and many thousands more.

It is a good reference book, a worthy successor and supplement to H. W. Fowler's *Modern English Usage*. It is a pity however that the author did not incorporate in his work some notes on phonetics. Perhaps he will do so in a future edition.

How long shall we have to wait until some such valuable guide to the usage of Irish is

REALISM

(From page 8)

but rather that in them are the only sane political and economic way to salvation. There is no magic formula for success, no club membership that will solve our problems. Sinn Féin, ourselves; we must rely upon ourselves, our own country, our traditions, national and Christian, in the way ahead.

Finally, on neutrality, how well our traditional policy has been enunciated by one of the most respected men in the world, the late Pope John XXIII.

compiled by a competent scholar? It is badly needed.

This book by Partridge is not one to read through from cover to cover and I have not done so, but one thing in particular I must mention. Under *Eiré* (sic) we read "See Great Britain". On turning to Great Britain we find: "Great Britain = England, Scotland, Wales; the United Kingdom adds Northern Ireland to these, but the official name is The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland; the British Empire adds to these dominions, dependencies, protectorates, etc."

Mr. Partridge is far from being correct on the (correct) usage of the name Eire, but somehow I do not think he is entirely blameworthy in this instance.

—Mac Léinn.

Religious Verse

The Penguin Book of Religious Verse. Introduced and edited by R. S. Thomas. 3/6.

An anthology is of necessity a personal choice, and therefore it is not fair to criticise it either for what it leaves out or for what it contains. The editor of this one takes the word 'religious' in its widest possible sense. Perhaps 'supernatural' would have been a better word as there are poems in it which one would be inclined to regard as rather poetic than religious.

Francis Thompson, Alice Meynell and Gerard Manley Hopkins are included. Wordsworth and Shakespeare are well represented. There is a very fine poem by John Donne on the Annunciation, and some fine anonymous poems.

The book is well worth the price, an excellent anthology, well calculated to appeal to all who like good poetry.

—Seán de hOra

Books of National Interest

The following publications are available from Republican Publications, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.

A Trinity of Martyrs. The story of Terence MacSwiney, Cathal Brugha and Austin Stack, by "Sceilg". Price 2/.

Sean Treacy and The Third Tipperary Brigade. The story of Seán Treacy's part in the Tan War, by Desmond Ryan. Price 3/6.

Rebel Cork's Fighting Story. The story of the men "who beat the Black and Tans". Price 3/6.

Glimpses of an Irish Felon's Prison Life. Tom Clarke's story of his fifteen years in British jails. Price 10/6.

Resistance. The story of the Struggle in British Occupied Ireland. Price 2/6.

The Story of the Catalpa. The true account of the rescue of the Fenian prisoners from Western Australia in 1876. Price 6d.

Tragedies of Kerry. The story of Kerry's heroic stand in defence of the Republic, 1922-24, by Dorothy MacArdle. Price 1/6.

Guerilla Days in Ireland. West Cork's Fighting Story, by Tom Barry. Price 3/6.

Ireland Since the Treaty. An outline of the detrimental results of the Treaty of Surrender from 1921 to '61, by Hugh Maguire. Price 1/.

On Another Man's Wound. Ernie O'Malley's thrilling account of his part in the Tan War. Price 3/6.

Nation or Province?—Ireland and the Common Market. Price 1/.

Wolfe Tone. A short biography of the Father of Irish Republicanism by Seán Cronin. Price 2/6.

Postage extra on quantities under one dozen.

Sean-chóras na ndúichí

Cáig Cáigí Eileann, le Seán Tóibín, M.A. 3/-

Leabhar as an ngnáth é seo ina dtugtar eolas dúinn ar theoirann na geitig, na bhfo-chúigí agus na ndúichí, de réir an tsean-chórais Ghaelaigh. Cuirfidh an staraí agus an geografaí spéis ann níos mó ná aon duine eile.

Ionsaíonn an t-údar córas na geantae, toisc gurbh iad na Sasanaigh a chuir ar bun é agus nach bhfuil aon bhunús ceart leis. Iarrann sé go gcuirfí an chuid sin den choncas ar ceal. Silim féin gurbh iad an dream ba mhó a thug orainn glacadh leis na contaetha agus dearmad a dhéanamh ar na dúichí ná lucht Chumann Lúthchleas Gael. Abhar machnaimh, nach ea?

Mar aonaid riaracháin áitiúil ní maith liom na contaetha. Is iomaí éagthroime rátaí agus rí. atá ag gabháil leis an geóras atá ann faoi láthair. N'theadar an bhféadfaí 16 nó 20 aonad a bhund ar an sean-chóras Gaelach?

Tá moladh agus buíochas tuille ag údar an leabhair seo, cé nach glacfaidh 'chuide dhúine lena bhfuil á mholadh aige.

S.O.B.

HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE

WHILE it is readily accepted that Ireland's ills stem from the Norman invasion, the diversity of these ills is often staggering. They cover the whole field of human endeavour and it is therefore not surprising that a history of European Architecture can be written in which the only reference to Ireland is as a demarcation point to define an area in Europe.

While the story of human development in Europe was being written in stone the Irish were either fighting or licking their wounds and the only buildings erected here were put up by the invaders. Therefore the buildings here are colonial and of little interest in the record of the main story.

That main theme is well told and illustrated in the Peircean Original "An Outline of European Architecture" by Nikolaus Pevsner. (12/6).

The book covers the development of building from the fourth century to the present day in a workmanlike manner, even if the author tends to overstress the importance of the part played in that development by his adopted country, England.

An outline is all that can be given in some five hundred pages and the book will provide a useful starting point for a more intimate study of an engrossing subject.

—AILTIRE

CUMANN NA gCAILINI

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

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

WE SHALL RISE AGAIN

Remember Easter's prophesy
That we shall rise again,
Prophetic words of Connolly
That we shall rise again;
Two score years have passed away
But there are men in jail to-day
Who by their actions clearly say
That we shall rise again.

What of the reigning renegades
When we shall rise again.
Retreating from our barricades
When we shall rise again?
At Britain's altar they will kneel
And shamelessly for aid appeal
But we'll have men to match their steel
When we shall rise again.

A nation-wide revolt 'twill be
When we shall rise again.
With North and South unitedly
When we shall rise again.
Unitedly—one final blow
In freedom's name to overthrow
Both native serf and foreign foe
When we shall rise again.

Conleith Martin.

A SOLDIER OF IRELAND

(On August 31, 1942, Gerald O'Callaghan, aged 19, was tracked to a friendly farmhouse in County Antrim, attacked on sight and killed. Two days later a comrade of his, Thomas Williams, aged 19, was hanged in Belfast Jail, because he was a faithful lover of Ireland and desired to see her free. To the air "The Blue Hills of Antrim" Brian na Banban wrote a ballad in his honour entitled "A Soldier of Ireland.")

The blue hills of Antrim are soft 'gainst the sky,
But young Thomas Williams this morning must die.
He has fought freedom's fight, but his land is unfree,
And his life must be laid on the high gallows tree.

In the green fields of Antrim, face to face with the foe,
His comrade, O'Callaghan, fell two days ago;
So the old spirit lives where there's many a slave,
And the old cause still calls to the noble and brave.

With the faithful and fearless who fell in the fray—
With Neilson and Barry we will place him to-day;
With the Martyrs of Manchester, deathless in fame,
And with Barnes and McCormack we link his proud name.

With Harte and McGrath, and with Plant and with Goss,
We will sing him to-night in our pride and our loss.
When the slaves of an Empire lie buried in shame,
The memory of Williams shall flash to a flame.

The blue hills of Antrim will shine in the sun,
When 't's despot is down and our freedom is won.
When the Right stands triumphant o'er falsehood and wrong,
We will honour our martyrs in story and song.

God rest all our dead in the peace of His Home!
God guide all our soldiers, wherever they roam!
God strengthen and bless them, that soon we may see
The Republic of Ireland victorious and free.

Brian na Banban

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY LECTURER
REVIEWS SIX-CO. UNEMPLOYMENT

FOR many people in the Six Counties it was still true that the greatest problem about work was how to find it, said Mr. D. Law, B.Sc. (Econ.), Assistant Lecturer in Economics, Queen's University, Belfast, at the 11th annual summer school of the Social Study Conference at St. Patrick's College, Kiltegan, Co. Wicklow on August 5 last.

Since 1951 the unemployment rate had never been below six per cent for a full year, and net emigration had averaged 9,000 a year, of whom about 5,000 were insured workers going to Britain, he said.

Lecturing on "An Analysis of Work and Wage Patterns in

Northern Ireland," Mr. Law said that on the one hand the long term decline of employment in agriculture and in the linen industry had continued and, more recently, the world-wide setback in shipping had caused a sharp fall in employment in Belfast shipyards.

Gaelic Sports Review

HOLDERS MAKE WAY FOR A CHANGE OF CHAMPIONS

BY MAURICE HOGAN

*Have you seen the teams parading with the pipers on before?
Have you felt the hot blood coursing through your veins?
Have you chafed and grew impatient for the coming treat in store?
As you listened to the pipers' stirring strains.*

*Have you marvelled at the daring, the feats of skill you see?
Have you wondered as they crash and sway and fall?
Yet, they're up again and going, hear the thousands shout in glee,
It takes a man to play it after all!*

HOW comprehensively Frank Doran captured in these lines the atmosphere of the season that is with us, how September memories must tug at the heart strings of our exiles who languish in every clime.

But there is more in this introduction to a review that must of necessity stop short at mid August than the thought provoking musing of dedicated Gaels. In the last line is enshrined the twin philosophies of success and failure—"It takes a man to play it after all". Submit any game you will to objective analysis and, forced upon us is the almost inevitable conclusion that the most admirable of all the winning traits, courage and manliness, were in greater measure employed by the victors.

Kilkenny for instance took this test in their stride when, having already turned the Leinster final tables of '62 on Wexford, they won on a tight rein from Dublin, thus recovering a Leinster title which had last been theirs in 1959. They had their early terms of indecision and laboured through exchanges which by their own standards had to rank as ragged.

It may have been part of a set plan to conserve their energy until their turn would come for the breeze to be behind them and those who prefer to think along these lines can point to the fact that in Dublin's scoreless spell of thirty minutes' duration which divided their seventh point from their eighth Kilkenny had flashed in two goals and six points.

They had struck as Kilkenny always endeavour to do at that vital stage which leaves little time for an answering volley, their approach work suggesting that they had cunningly altered the E. Keher pattern of their preceding success. Dublin defenders, of whom Des Ferguson and L. Foley were outstanding, were particularly watchful from this point, yet not one of them was in sight when a loose ball broke to Sean Clohosey on the right.

ANOTHER TEST BUT SAME RESULT

His ground delivery to the left angle of the woodwork completed the work that Johnny McGovern had begun half an hour before. How little it mattered in the end that over the hour these two players had repeatedly figured on the losing end in struggles for possession, how ironic that the only goals of the game should be conceded by the two players who had tried hardest to kindle

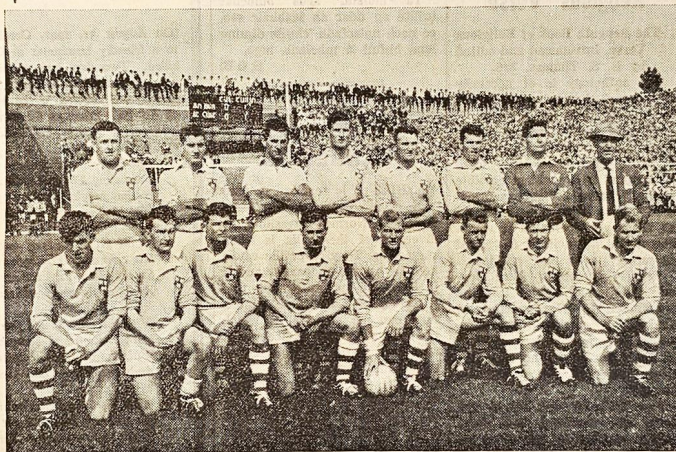
in unresponsive colleagues the fire and enthusiasm that would have kept them in this game with a chance. As provincial finals go, it was thus uneventful.

How much better the winners

could be had the occasion demanded it was anybody's guess but as though to endorse the correctness of this 2-10 to 0-9 result they were out again in three weeks' time to repeat the winning margin plus one point in the semi-final of the Walsh Cup.

Did the spot of friction that developed towards the end of this Nowlan Park encounter, that could incidentally have cost Kilkenny dearly, underline the wisdom of the Central Council's ruling which requires finalists to steer clear of inter-county commitments during the three

'Ath Cliath...



...no Gaillimh?



To an Irish Policeman

*ARE you an Irish policeman sir—
Your heart to Ireland sworn?
And does your life your uniform
With patriot-deeds adorn?
Or shall you blush in days to come
To think what might have been
Had you but served with vision, sir,
Your own Dark Rosaleen.*

*Have Pearse's sons and Wolfe Tone's heirs
Been hounded down by you
Because they love their country still,
Because to her they're true?
If now behind strong prison bars
They languish, in your heart
Can you with joy cry out "Thank God!
In this I had no part."*

*It's not a crime sir, still to strive
To loosen Ireland's chains
And spend in her sweet service, sir,
Our brawn, and, yes, our brains.
So if you're still an Irishman
A noble policeman be
And help, not halt the faithful few
Who strive to make us free.*

M. O. Cinnéide.

weeks preceding the All-Ireland final? In normal circumstances this embargo idea at either county or provincial levels has little to commend it but opposition must weaken when it is taken in this vitally important context.

It seems, incidentally, to have the full backing of Waterford who resisted the urge to have one more look at available talent when a Tournament clash with Cork at Cappoquin gave them what others might regard as a golden opportunity. Reserve talent was in all instances pressed into service.

NATIONAL LEAGUE FINAL

Not but that they too must be haunted by the spectre of a Munster final victory which yielded their forwards but three points from play. How sharply this goalless, colourless southern decider contrasted with the majestic quality of the hurling when Waterford and Tipperary last met in the National League final in May. But the southern final environment is a world apart. When negative tactics are made the watchword of defenders in general it is not easy for forwards to avoid a slump in accuracy.

It is not often that this charge can be levied against such as Liam Devaney, Larry Kiely, Jimmy Doyle or John McKenna, not often that Decies marksmanship is so dependent on what Phil Grimes can extract from a succession of frees, but probing deeper into this wastage problem it must be conceded that Tipperary were the greater offenders.

They could possibly have weathered this extravagance in finish had they plied Jimmy Doyle with more acceptable passes. As usual the Sarsfield winger's eye was in, but opportunities were in short supply due to the leech-like attentions of Jim Irish.

This was Austin Flynn's greatest hour and much of the indiscretions to which a harassed Tipperary rearguard had to resort, could be traced to the greatly increased pressure to which M. Dempsey had been subjecting them, when the Waterford men

Moladh do Aisteoirí Ghaoth Dobhair

ABHAIR Daithí O Céileachair, Ard-Rúnaí Chumann na Múinteoirí Náisiúnta, ag oscailt an Chúrsa Drámaíochta d'Abhair Mhúinteoirí i nGaoth Dobhair i nGaeltacht Thír Chonaill, Lúmasa 7.

Thagair sé do thábhacht na drámaíochta i saol na tuaithe, agus dúirt:

"Téann an dráma i bhfeidhm ar shaol an cheantair. Creidim gur fíor é sin go speisialta sna ceantair tuaithe. Tá sean-eolas againn go léir ar imeacht an phobail ón tuath—ar a dtíall ar na Cathracha agus ar na bailte móra sa bhaile agus i gcéin, ar dhúit na muintire sna soilse geala, agus ar an bhfionn a bhíonn orthu páirt a ghlacadh sa scéip, agus i saol sóisialta iomlán na slóite móra.

"Tuigim go bhfuil cúiseanna geilleagair leis an eismirce i móran ceantar sa tír seo, agus gur cúiseanna móra iad. Ach, is é na ceantair ina bhfuil an

saol sóisialta go lag is mó atá an pobal ag imeacht. Féadann an múinteoir mórán a dhéanamh don phobal ina thimpeall, agus don náisiún ar fad, má thugann sé faoin scéal sin a leigheas.

"Tá sampla den chéad scoth dá bhfuil i gceist agus le fáil anseo i nGaoth Dobhair féin. Tá obair mhór déanta agus á déanamh i gcéin ag an ngrúpa áitiúil, fuinníúil drámaíochta atá anseo — ag Aisteoirí Ghaoth Dobhair. Tá mórán á dhéanamh acu chun an saol anseo i nGaoth Dobhair a ghealladh, agus tá cáil orthu i gcuideadh mhór de chathracha agus de bhaillte móra na hÉireann agus in áiteanna thar lear.

"Ach is tábhachtai liomsa a bhfuil ar siúl acu ar mhaithe le pobal Ghaoth Dobhair ná aon mhéad comórtaí nó corn dá mbuafaidh siad aisteoirí amuigh den cheantar, dá mhéad moladh a bheadh ag dul dóibh as an ngaise sin."

APPEAL BY

T. Ó DUBHGHAILL MEMORIAL COMMITTEE



Tomás Ó Dubhghaill

On 12th March, 1962, Ireland lost one of its noblest sons and the Republican Movement lost its best worker and friend. A Committee has been formed to raise funds to erect a fitting memorial to the late Tomás Ó Dubhghaill. No words could describe the efforts made by Tomás to rid Ireland of British rule. Indeed many volumes could be written on Tomás the Soldier, Tomás the Writer, Tomás the Thinker, Tomás the Worker. Suffice it to say that he will always be remembered for his uncompromising spirit and his Christ-like charity and the words one often hears among his friends in Republican circles, words that will continue to be spoken wherever Republicans gather, whether in Ireland or among our exiles abroad. "There will never be another Tomás Ó Dubhghaill."

We believe Republicans would be glad to subscribe to this fund. While the sum of one pound is suggested, all other sums will be welcome.

Subscriptions to be forwarded to the Treasurers, Tomás Ó Dubhghaill Memorial Committee, 7 Auburn St., Phibsboro, Dublin 7.

when ends were changed with the holders three points ahead, and defenders at both ends still lording it over the respective attacks.

There was an air of greater urgency in the exchanges when play resumed and when Kerry stretched the margin to five it looked for a time as though their grip was tightening.

There were three factors that ordained it otherwise. The first, the head injury that lost them the great hearted Tim Lyons; the second, the tactical error of shifting Mick O'Dwyer away from the point where his craft and resolve were indispensable, the third, an opportunist Pat Donnellan goal which gave Galway the first real indication that here was a game they could win.

Just how they responded will be told and retold while football is played along the western seaboard. It was a jet age winning effort in which accuracy was not in the least impaired by the speed employed. Don't ever believe again that lightning strikes but once.

Many times have they drained

Notes and Comments

The Verolme Dockyard

IS the price which this statelet is paying for its industrialisation worth the money? I pose this question—as many others are doing nowadays as well—in the light of recent disclosures about the amount of state (i.e. public) money being poured into the Verolme Cork dockyard.

Not so long before Leinster House voted several million pounds more for the dockyard, its joint general manager, Mr. Gerard van der Puil, was reported as saying that the prospects for the shipyard there were not clear because of the great slump in shipping.

He also said: "I do not want to be pessimistic but if the situation does not change within the next few years I do not know what is going to happen. You can only guess".

LAI D OFF

THREE hundred men already have been laid off at Cork shipyard. Millions of pounds have been poured into it to keep it going. Yet, its joint general manager admits that he does not know what is going to happen. Is it asking too much to inquire if the Government knows any better than Mr. van der Puil? Have they some secret information that makes them so confident about pouring millions of pounds into the dockyard?

We have had previous—and costly—examples of Government "confidence" in huge industrial projects which had to be bolstered up to preserve Lemass's image of a booming, prosperous era. Remember the Avoca mines? Are we to see a repetition in Cork?

As I asked at the beginning: is the price worth paying? Or are our economic planners thinking in too big terms, boosting industry which has no tradition, no ancillary outlets, no link with local productive sources while neglecting smaller industries based on local products, labour and traditional skills? These questions call for answers—soon.

IN GLASS HOUSES

WELL may such an eminent personage as the Archbishop of Tuam, Most Rev. Dr. Walsh have doubts about "certain people who live in glasshouses in Dublin," as he called them recently.

the bitters of last minute defeats to the dregs, the most recent or perhaps the most galling of which was Paddy Doherty's almost random point for Down which lost them the last National League title. Even thus early in the year they had got that near to the top and the Donnellan brothers, S. Leydon, C. Dunne, M. Garrett, M. Newell, N. Tierney, etc., will be heard of again before September has run its span.

"I must confess," he said, "that I have the same difficulty as several other people have in regard to the expenditure of public money, when I hear of a large grant to a foreigner who comes to Ireland to found a new company with doubtful advantages, or when I see new posts being created which seem unnecessary."

The Archbishop was merely putting into words the doubts already assailing many people in the country as they note the stupendous rise in state expenditure, the increases in state-created jobs paying huge salaries, the colossal sums spent on entertainments, on the building of lavish embassies and legations abroad, on state receptions to which every Tomás, Risteard and Enrí in the chief political parties are invited—or at any rate appear.

Where will it all end? Where eventually will the money come from? Have our administrators lost all their commonsense and all touch with the real people of the country — the farmers, the workers, the underpaid and the underprivileged, the poor and the pensioned? Must there be a violent effort made to unseat the unscrupulous, hypocritical and un-irish clique which battens on the people as vultures on a helpless lamb?

WOLFE TONE

YES, there seems to be money for everything — except for the poor and the needy.

Consider the statement of one of the displaced tenants evicted from a house in Wolfe Tone Street, Dublin. "They can afford to spend £15,000 on a memorial to Wolfe Tone but they can't spend money on housing people from the street which was named after him."

How ironically true! Tone's gospel of "the greatest happiness for the greatest number" finds little echo in the hearts of officialdom these days. It has long since been forgotten by men like Lemass and company who merely add insult to injury by proposing to erect a memorial to Tone in the Dublin of to-day.

While pretending to honour Tone, they betray his every principle in their handling of national and local problems. Tone's free, united and truly democratic nation seems for Lemass and company to consist of a 26-county statelet in pawn to Britain where only the privileged prosper and where democracy is merely a word to conjure with at election times or in the presence of visiting statesmen or journalists.

How long would Tone himself, were he alive to-day, refrain from action before "subverting the tyranny of this execrable government"?

MAC DARA

GAELIC SPORT

(From Page 10)

tors sent him into midfield early in the third quarter.

On the football front it was Donegal's turn to learn that there is no short cut to greatness and the more experienced and far more composed Mourne men were no more than mildly extended in recovering the Ulster title which Cavan relieved them of a year ago.

The feeling, always inherent in first year finalists, that the big occasion might be too much for them sapped the Donegal spirit of the earlier rounds, making them easy prey to Down's precision advances. And now that they have sampled this tension and grasped its shallowness, opponents of repute will in future but inspire them to heights previously undreamt of.

Note Galway's reaction to Kerry's twenty All-Ireland titles. The Connacht champions' could possibly have been beaten by a side of lesser eminence but defeat became unthinkable when measured against the glory of overthrowing the acknowledged masters of the art of Gaelic football. Since the pairing was first mooted they were not given a chance, and youth, the very quality that ultimately carried

them through, was cited on all sides as their biggest drawback.

Valentia's invincible Mick O'Connell was paraded as reason number one why Kerry's down-the-years dominance must again prevail. The Kevin Coffey-Seamus Murphy-Mick O'Dwyer half line was as high a barrier and as resistant to western progress as the Reeks. The best full forward ever to have graced the Kingdom colours, Tom Long, would be far too strong and too wily a campaigner for the infinitely less experienced Noel Tierney.

To all but Galway it looked an unanswerable case for the holders but how easily all such reckoning can fall to pieces, and Mick Garrett was perhaps the first to show that the challengers did not subscribe to this reasoning. His boundless energy dominated the outfield exchanges. He went higher, handled more securely and kicked with greater gusto than the more highly rated M. O'Connell whose unusual experience of being forced to play second fiddle had an obvious effect even on his customary competence in the taking of frees.

OUTSTANDING

FULLBACKS

Next into the picture was N. Tierney who fetched the high ones clean as a whistle, demonstrating to most of the present day occupants of this difficult berth that the fort can be held securely without any infringement of the rules whatever. His Kerry counterpart at the opposite end, Niall Sheehy, must have brought near despair to a Galway attack that revolved none too happily around an off-form M. McDonagh, and even after P. Concannon had given way to Sean Cleary, and P. Donnellan had swopped wings with C. Dunne, the towering Boherbee man, the fourth of a family in two generations to captain Kerry, stood majestically in their path. Galway had but one point to show and that from an early free,

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'Resurgence of National Spirit Necessary'

—Says Northern Presbyterian

SPEAKING at a symposium on Wolfe Tone held in the Municipal Theatre, Waterford, on August 3, Liam de Búrca, Belfast, said that to those in occupied Belfast, Waterford had shown a fine national spirit in recent times.

"That spirit," he went on, "will never die and we must devote all our energies to the cause of Irish unity and freedom. The teachings of Wolfe Tone apply perfectly to the Ireland of to-day, and if we wish to promote the teachings of Tone, we will gather the people together for the attainment of the freedom of Ireland for our own sakes and that of the people who will come after us."

Jack Bennett, secretary of the Northern Directory of the Committee said that when there was a resurgence of national spirit they would see more people taking courage and expressing themselves accordingly through acceptable channels. A large proportion of Protestants in the North favoured a United Ireland. Many Protestants felt that partition was absurd and how stupid it was for the people of Belfast to be waving the Union Jack.

A NATIONAL BODY OF THOUGHT

The formation of Wolfe Tone committees throughout the country, he said, was a sign of a new approach in the growth of the national republican and patriotic spirit. Their purpose was to bring about a resurgence of the national spirit and they believed that Irish nationality could not be achieved except on

the basis of Wolfe Tone's teachings.

Uinseann Mac Eoin, a member of the Dublin Directory, said it would appear that the people of this country were split, sectionalised and opposed in their Republicanism. While it recognised among the people that it was the true direction, it was unpopular with the powers that be. The powers in the 26 Counties had accepted what was known as the "treaty position" and those in the Six Counties derived their authority from the same source. It was nationally in their interest to make Republicanism sound unpopular and fanatical. Irish Republicanism was really the only acceptable pathway for Irish people to follow. It had shown the people that it has the true direction and that it holds the seeds for the future.

"We Republicans," he said, "are not a hole-in-the-corner organisation. You will find Republicans in all of the 32 counties. We are a national body of thought. We are not a political party. We believe that all of Ireland should be entirely free and that it should be a Republic."

He continued: "The military occupation of part of Ireland was exactly the same as the occupation of the whole country. The military occupation of the Six Counties of Ulster was a standing threat to the country as a whole. It was designed that way at the be-

ginning and so it remained. "Eighty per cent of the Irish people believed in Republicanism. Irish Republicans needed a rallying point and their rallying point should not be in reference to the rights or wrongs of past days. Their rallying point should be in the future people of Ireland."

Deasún Breatnach, treasurer of the Dublin Committee, said that the Irish people should break the connection with England, politically, economically and also break the mental link. The break-

Will Contest West Belfast



John McGeehan, Falls Rd., Belfast, who has been selected as Republican candidate for the West Belfast constituency in the forthcoming Westminster Elections.

ing of the mental connection lay in the fostering of their own language and culture which had sustained them to the present time under fantastic conditions.

"Let no one say that the Irish language problem could be solved or any national problem so long as their people were divided or while the con-

NOTHING REVOLUTIONARY IN NEW LEMASS PLAN

THE Dublin Correspondent of the Longford Leader had this to say of Mr. Lemass's Second Economic Programme, on August 17:

Mr. Lemass has told Muintir na Tíre that the booklet of the grandiloquently styled "second economic programme" will be our next week. I am afraid that we cannot over enthuse.

This programme is based on the collection of purchase tax on food, clothing, fuel and most other commodities needed by the people.

That would be fair enough were the benefits outstanding. So far the increases in social welfare (the half-crowns for children and widows) are the only fruits thereof. As Opposition members of the Dail pointed out, these were due anyway even under a normal cost of living.

I fear Mr. Lemass's "Second Economic Programme" will simply allow for more concessions to private individuals who begin factories and industries

nection with Britain remained."

Did the people in the 26 counties, he asked, who started off with good ideals remain faithful to those ideals. They had gone back on their position in one way or another; they had compromised and made excuses. The Sinn Féin idea was that the economy and industries of Ireland should be owned and controlled by the Irish people.

The Symposium was organised by the Waterford Directory of the Wolfe Tone Bi-Centenary Committee, the secretary of which, Alphonsus O Riain, presided.

backed by Government grants. That will, of course, include Irish and non-Irish.

The Programme would have some significance if it showed the beginning of the undoing of the conquest by the handing back to the people of the material assets of the country—that is, land, minerals, lakes, rivers, quarries, etc. And, consequently all the industries, agricultural and industrial that arise therefrom.

It would be even more significant if the Government were taking over, on behalf of the people, or their councils, or their co-operative organisations, all the money-making businesses. These are the money lending financiers, the banks, insurances, hire purchase organisations, ground-rent associations and such.

I do not believe the Programme will be revolutionary because it will not be daring enough to involve these things and without these no revolution can be started or finished.

ROSCOMMON MEMORIAL

A memorial will be unveiled at Elphin, Co. Roscommon, on Sunday, September 15, to the memory of the members of the Roscommon Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, who died for the Republic.

A parade will form at the Convent Road, Elphin, at 3.00 p.m. and march to the site.

A special bus will leave Burgh Quay, Dublin, and seat bookings should be made at the 'United Irishman' office before September 8.

APPEAL TO IRISH MANUFACTURERS, TRADERS AND CONSUMERS

A LARGE part of the Distributive Trade in Ireland is being taken over by foreign interests. Every day that passes new foreign chain stores and supermarkets are being opened. Simultaneously with this trend, the small Irish retailers are gradually being forced to close their shops and emigrate. This whole takeover is not surprising when one considers that foreigners are being encouraged by both the Six and 26-County governments to take over the manufacturing industry of the country.

Large grants are being paid out of public funds to these foreigners and many concessions are offered to them which are denied to our own industrialists. Several of these foreign firms have got rich overnight and then cleared out of the country, leaving an empty factory building and hundreds of unemployed workers. Thousands of acres of Irish land are being bought out by foreigners every year. The National Farmers Association estimates the figure at 12,000—16,000 acres.

"The people are vanishing fast to England, to America, to wherever there is an opening for an emigrant, and they are being replaced by retired English, holiday-making or land-grabbing Germans", says Most Rev. Dr. Lucey, Bishop of Cork.

Commenting on this situation, the Publicity Committee of Sinn Féin said in a statement issued on July 30:

"A major move is being made by foreign concerns to gain control of the distributive outlets, both in the Six and 26 Counties, on a massive scale.

"The great dangers inherent in this latest foreign

incursion may not be immediately evident to the Irish people who have for many years seen two governments in Ireland actively encouraging foreigners to take over the industrial potential of their country.

"The danger lies in the importance to the economy of the Distributive Trade. Those who control the means of distribution control the consumers' choice of purchases and the purpose behind the foreign take-overs is to provide retail outlets for foreign goods. Foreign control of the Retail Trade will not only mean increased sales of foreign consumer goods but also will mean that the retail profit even on Irish goods sold will go to foreigners and be lost to the Irish economy. The whole Irish Community must be alerted to this danger. It affects everyone, producers and consumers, farmers, manufacturers and shopkeepers."

"To impose a 24% Tax on the Retail Trade at a time when the small shopkeeper is battling for his life can only be interpreted as a further example of the 26-County government's desire to hasten the end of the small businessman and increase the power of Big Business..."

Sinn Féin has launched the "Buy Irish — In Irish Shops" campaign in the interests of all the Irish people, those who live in towns and on farms, shopkeepers, industrial and agricultural workers — in the interests of ALL.

Will you support this Campaign? It is in your interest to do so. What can you do?

IRISH MANUFACTURERS: We ask you to ensure your products are of good quality, reasonably priced and well advertised.

IRISH TRADERS: We ask you to display and promote Irish goods. You should consider co-operating with other small traders in your area for the purchase and transport of goods in bulk so that you can give the consumer a better and cheaper service and thus compete successfully with the supermarkets. We invite you to assist the local Sinn Féin organisation by displaying posters and by distributing leaflets urging the public to help in the campaign.

IRISH CONSUMERS: You have a duty to buy Irish goods whenever you can and to buy them in Irish shops. If 1,000,000 wage-earners in Ireland have preference to Irish rather than foreign goods to the value of two and sixpence (2/6) per week, it would mean that £8,500,000 more would go into Irish trade, agriculture and industry in one year. Five shillings a week would equal £13,000,000! Thousands of workers and millions of pounds would remain at home.

REMEMBER: Our country is being sold, acre by acre, factory by factory, shop by shop. It is being bought out by foreigners who consider only their own selfish interests. Both partition governments are conniving in this.

Only YOU Can Stop It

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