



REPUBLICAN NEWS

"VOICE OF REPUBLICAN ULSTER"

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TIME FOR DISCIPLINE

On the fourth day of the bilateral suspension of offensive operations by the Irish Republican Army in British Occupied Ireland, Sinn Fein extends congratulations to the brave people of the North, who have suffered so much since 1968 in the cause of justice and lasting peace; we also commend the heroic freedom-fighters of 1969/72, who have carried the struggle to the enemy on a scale and with an intensity unknown in Ireland since 1921.

The present situation calls for discipline and forbearance on a very high level. Offensive military activity only has been suspended. The Civil Disobedience Campaign must be maintained and if possible intensified. Not alone must free areas be kept intact, but they must be strengthened by the election of properly-based community institutions as is proposed in Free Derry.

Political activity by Sinn Fein must take place on an unprecedented scale to organise the people, articulate their demands and give them leadership and direction. Short-term directions will include:

1. *The release of all political prisoners.*
2. *Abolition of the Special Powers Act.*
3. *Removal of the ban on Sinn Fein.*
4. *Withdrawal of all political test oaths and their restrictions on candidates contesting elections.*
5. *Removal of the oath of allegiance to the British Crown as a condition of employment.*
6. *Confirmation of the P.R. system of elections.*

In the 26-Counties, we now have the sorry spectacle of Republican prisoners still being denied political treatment while their comrades in British hands north of the Border now enjoy full political status. If Mr. Lynch and his Government and their allies in Fine Gael and Labour are not completely insensitive, they must immediately:

1. *Abolish the Offences Against the State Act and their Special Courts.*
2. *Bring all Republican Prisoners in Mountjoy, the Curragh and Portlaois together and give them full political rights pending a speedy general amnesty.*

An active campaign to force such action is now being planned by the Republican Movement. The possibilities for creating a New Ireland were never greater. To succeed, generosity is required from all parties. To miss the opportunity now presented would be a great tragedy in view of the tremendous price the people of the North have paid to reach this stage.

Sinn Fein calls on the people of Ireland to rally support to the Republican Leadership now engaged in a peaceful endeavour to secure a just and lasting peace. This call by Sinn Fein has the full support of the Editor and Staff of Republican News.

DRAFT CHARTER OF RIGHTS

We suggest a Charter of Rights on the following lines:

"We, the people of Ireland, resolved to establish political sovereignty, social progress, and human justice in this island do hereby pledge that we will practise tolerance and live in peace with one another in order to achieve a better life for all and we declare our adherence to the following principles:

ARTICLE 1 All citizens are born free and equal in dignity and rights. Every person is entitled to the rights of citizenship without distinction of any kind, such as distinction of race, sex, religion, philosophical conviction, language or political outlook.

ARTICLE 2 Every person has the right to life, liberty and security of person. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention.

ARTICLE 3 Every person has the right to freedom of conscience and religion and the open practice and teaching of ethical and political beliefs. This includes the right of assembly, peaceable association, petition and freedom of expression and communication.

ARTICLE 4 Every person has the right to participate in the government of the country and to equal access to public service.

ARTICLE 5 The basis of government is the will of the people. This is expressed in a direct participatory democracy and free elections by secret ballot. The right of the citizen as an individual to follow his conscience and express his opinion is valid against any mathematically contrived attempt to repress him.

ARTICLE 6 Every person has the right to education according to personal ability, work and a standard of living worthy of a free citizen. This right extends to food, housing, medical care and security against unemployment, illness and disability.

ARTICLE 7 Every person has the right to equal pay for equal work and to join a trade union for protection of his interests. Motherhood and childhood deserve society's special care and attention. Men and women have the equal right to marry and found a family.

ARTICLE 8 In the exercise of his rights, every person shall be subject only to such limitations as shall secure recognition and respect for the rights of others and the welfare of the democratic community."

In addition, it is intended that the European Convention on Human Rights should be made part of the internal domestic law of the New Ireland.

GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE

The proposed governmental structure would be federal in character and would consist of four levels:

- (a) **Federal (Central) Government:** based upon the unity and sovereignty of the people of Ireland.
- (b) **Provincial Government:** based upon the four historic provinces.
- (c) **Regional (Administrative) Government:** based upon clearly defined economic regions.
- (d) **Community (Local) Government:** which would replace existing local government North and South.

NORTHERNER'S JOTTINGS

"The next time you hear some Irish Catholic talk of the rights of Protestants, who is not prepared to talk at the same time of the rights of Catholics, remember you are talking to a man with the servile soul of an old-time Killarney jarvey. The plain fact is that as long as there is political Protestantism on this island there will be continual tension and regular outbreaks of violence. Immoral as the bombing may be, impractical as it may be, the 'Million Protestants' and the bombing go together like sausage and mash, like Darby and Joan."

(Hugh Munro Hibernia 23/6/72).

"From the 'East Antrim Loyalist Front' to the West Ulster Unionist Association, from Bill Craig's Vanguard to Bangor's British Women from the Orange Order to the UVF and the UDA the cry goes up 'Give us back our bossmanship, our parliament, our whip and our Jackboots' William Whitelaw must have qualms about restoring any sort of system which would give any of them a decisive say in anything. And when he examines closely the latest activities of former Premier Brian Faulkner the British supremo must ponder on the possible eventually that the Unionist Party could some day declared illegal as a subversive and violent threat to the stability of the area."

(Claid Gordon Sunday Press 25/6/72).

"All hopes of uniting the workers, irrespective of religion or old political battle cries will be shattered, and through north and south the issue of home rule will still be used to cover the iniquities of the capitalist and landlord classes. I am not speaking without due knowledge of the sentiments of the organised labour movement in Ireland when I say that we would much rather see the home rule bill defeated than see it carried with Ulster or any part of Ulster left out."

(James Connolly)

To take the border out of N.I. politics, the following Unionist groupings, factions, cliques and fellow travellers are demanding that Whitelaw holds a plebiscite on the question. The Unionist Party, Democratic Unionist Party, The Northern Ireland Labour Party, The Alliance Party, New Ulster Movement, plus anyone and everyone who wishes to play on the fears of the Unionist workers, these gangsters have been having so-called plebiscites for every election this past fifty years, does anyone ever remember even a council election fought on bread and butter questions, the stupid N.I.L.P. should remember their own election experiences and my older readers will remember the days when Jack Beattie a member of the N.I.L.P. fought elections under the tricolour in west Belfast while Bob Getgood also N.I.L.P. fought the Oldpark and North Belfast under the union jack flying on his election lorry... a plebiscite is not on until we are able to hold a

plebiscite with the people of the whole island taking part.

You won't believe it, when I tell you that Craig has employed lawyers, and experts on law, to prove that England and her army has no right to be in Ireland. We in the Republican Movement agree with them and that is why the Irish people for so many generations has fought the occupying forces for the right of the people of Ireland to rule themselves.

In a long article in the 'Ulster Times,' edited by George Alport of Vanguard they trace history back to the 1800 Union Act which was based on "Union with Ireland was, it is often forgotten a union of two separate Kingdoms — the Kingdom of Great Britain and the Kingdom of Ireland. Thus the famous section 75 in the Government of Ireland Act is limited by the Act of Union 1800. Against this background it is clear that the assertion by Westminster of unbridled powers over N.I. without the consent of the people of M.N.I. rests on bad faith and brute force. Westminster is now here as an occupying power."

(See Ulster Times June issue 1972)

What a laugh. God help them! There they were quite happy in their own wee corner of the island shouting that they were as British as Yorkshire, that is until their power, their arrogance and domination over a minority in the six counties, was so abused that the minority refused to live in such a state and rebelled and brought their power base crashing down around their ears. Becoming a danger to their imperial masters their power was taken from them and naked and bare they stood guilty before the world. But the political struggle is a question of power... the Irish nation wants the right to rule themselves... and are willing to give to the new minority in Ireland a guarantee that they will have a voice in the running of the Nation.

The new unionists — the middle class Catholics and the middle class unionists are now willing to share power between them so that the six county state will continue, on the lines of a Conservative Party (Alliance Party) and a Labour Party (SDLP). Thus the assurances given by Heath and Wilson that no constitutional changes will be made unless the people of the six counties so decide... will make them all happy.

That is the belief of the new Unionists. But it won't work as long as our Nation is partitioned as long as the majority of the Irish people in the whole island are not satisfied then we won't allow the struggle to be put off for another generation.

"What ever happened to Desmond Boal? And why is Bill Craig acting so peculiarly of late"... The Hibernia Magazine asks the above question and also answers it. But our answers would be as far as the Dessy boy is concerned we couldn't care less what

happened to him we still remember the many times he acted as public prosecutor against Republican boys and girls and seemed to take great pleasure in getting convictions, while in comparison he had always refused to act in the same capacity when extreme Unionists were involved in court cases. In regards to why Bill Craig is acting peculiar these days... honest we didn't notice any difference as of course he was always peculiar anyway.

(See Hibernia 23/6/72)

John McKeague is getting very angry with the leadership of the UDA as far as he is concerned by listening to Whitelaw and agreeing to hold off for a fortnight before they would take action the UDA was being conned by Whitelaw and 'until they engage the British army in the streets, it is still only a war of words and men whose skill is in the use of words will only use and fool them.

(See Loyalist News 24/6/72)

When three characters such as Craig, Faulkner and Powell get on to the same platform as they did a few weeks ago in Banbridge it is a worry to most unionist workers on trying to understand which one of them he is supposed acclaim as his leader, so it is interesting to note that the Sydenham Defence Association news-sheet (24/6/72) has to say: Mr. Faulkner's first priority is to save the Unionist Party with himself as leader — of course. Mr. Craig and his Vanguard Movement bolstered up the Unionist Party and when Faulkner get his party back on its feet he will kick Vanguard's legs from under it and Craig will be left amidst the ruins of his movement.

The only one of the three who has the right to call himself a Unionist is Mr. Powell... I wonder why he gets this conclusion from this Defence Association... I think I smell a whiff of Paisleyism... Paisley for integration and so is Enoch... yes I think that is what we smell here... I wonder how long will the other Defence Associations allow this to go on!!!

On the day the Republican Movement announced its ceasefire and which was so quickly followed by the reciprocal statement by Whitelaw, I watched the 24-Hour programme and the antics of the three politicians — Hume, Ardill and the wee man Brian and sure enough they lived up to what one expects from these men. But surely the display of the wee man deserved an Oscar for his showing that he is in reality an adult delinquent and that he is just another gutter politician. As Observer in the Sunday News wrote: "I feel the programme served one useful purpose. Viewers in the rest of the UK now know — if they ever had any doubts — why their Government was forced to suspend Stormont." It also seems as if the Unionist Party is beginning to see wee man Brian in his true colours.

ÉIRE NUA

THE
DEMOCRATIC
SOCIALIST
REPUBLIC
TO BE

PART TWO: Our programme on Education

The existing largely denominational secondary educational structure will be encouraged to become inter-denominational in areas where minority educational facilities are absent. It will also be encouraged to broaden its scope to include crafts, technology, science, including agricultural science. Every school will be encouraged to develop relations with particular farms and factories, enabling practical experience to be gained.

The vocational education system would also be broadened to include all the subjects normally regarded as being the preserve of secondary schools. The ultimate objective will be to establish a universal comprehensive post-primary system for all up to the age of 16. This will range from fully secular through inter-denominational to fully denominational according to the historical background of the school. The teaching orders would continue to carry out their dedicated work within the broader framework. The present competition between lay and clerical teachers for senior posts would become an anachronism; there would be plenty of room for all.

The Irish language will be an obligatory subject and the first language in all schools. The whole educational structure will be gradually made bilingual and ultimately Gaelicised. This process would of course be slower in the Six-County area where little ground work has yet been done.

The level of qualification required of teachers would gradually be raised to the Honours university degree.

Libraries, debating and dramatic societies will have a place in all post-primary schools, in order to encourage initiative, self-reliance and self-expression. Creative work rather than passive appreciation of works of others will be encouraged.

Above all it will be the duty of the school to instil a sense of national purpose and achievement, to develop an understanding of the nation's history and the part played by both native and settler stock in the moulding of the national character, to avoid all idea of a national stereotype, to develop the idea of a many-sided and rich national culture. The concept of Ireland having a place among the nations of the world will be developed, making use of films and television.

Teachers will be encouraged to develop novel and original methods, in collaborat-

ion with the Educational Research Institute. Inspectors will be expected to seek out this type of initiative among teachers and see that any new ideas with positive content become generalised. Career guidance will become part of the programme of every school. This might include discussions with people prominent in the newly-developing areas of the national effort.

Candidates for places in the Universities and Technological Institutes will be selected on the basis of the results of the final post-primary school examination at the age of 16-17. Those achieving the necessary grade will be immediately offered places at the university or technological institute of their choice, with full maintenance by the State, provided they continue their studies satisfactorily. The number admitted will be related to the anticipated national demand, with a generous margin to allow for possible loss.

A five-year university course will be instituted; the first year will be a general studies course aimed at broadening the students background knowledge; the decision as to the direction of specialisation will not be made until the third term of the year, and then only partially by the retention of two major subjects.

The number of places in the various faculties will be allocated in such a way as to satisfy the anticipated national needs. There will be a reasonable fraction of first year students whose interests will not yet have crystallised. Guidance will be given to the first year students so that their direction of specialisation will correspond to the national needs, as reflected in the availability of second-year places. Thus, a flexible system will be worked out for combining freedom of choice with the satisfaction of the national need, and with the minimum of wastage through failure and misfit. All students will be able to specialise finally in one or other of their first-year major subjects.

The next four years will correspond to the present Masters Degree course. Extensive library and reading-room facilities will be provided; tutorial classes will be made general; the large, impersonal lecture will cease to be the main method of instruction. Co-operative study among groups will be encouraged; students who reach a greater level of understanding will help their fellow-students.

The University Colleges and Trinity College will be linked under a reformed National University, which will include Queen's University, Belfast, (possibly renamed McCracken College) and the new University of Ulster in Coleraine; TCD and UCD might also be renamed perhaps after Wolfe Tone and Kevin Barry, in order to emphasise the break with the past. The Constitution of the new University will be drafted in such a way

as to safeguard academic freedom and integrity and to do away with anachronistic appointment procedures. Merit, judged by people university recognised to be competent, will be the yardstick, having due regard to the overall educational aims.

The Dublin Colleges will to some extent specialise, especially as regards small faculties, so that good integrated schools may be built up and unnecessary duplication avoided. This specialisation will not be in the direction of science vs. the humanities; a balance will be kept in each college. The Technological institutes in Dublin will be integrated into the Dublin University structure; first-year courses will be shared. The state will assume full responsibility for financing the Universities.

Graduate schools will be founded, for the carrying out of research. The Applied Scientific Institutes (such as at present typified by the Agricultural Institute, the Medical Research Council and the Institute of Industrial Research and Standards) will form part of the graduate school structure, so that cross fertilisation of pure and applied research will occur, and the scientific body as a whole will feel themselves to be part of the national economy and culture as well as part of the international scientific community.

The application of scientific methods to the study of the economy and the management of industry and agriculture will be given high priority; this will form part of the applied scientific research structure and will be in touch with practical problems related to the national need.

The Universities will become bilingual and ultimately Gaelicised. The building up of University College, Galway, as an Irish language centre will be given high priority.

There will be some specialisation between the universities directed at fulfilling local needs. Applied scientific institutes associated with local colleges would tend to concern themselves with industrial and agricultural problem of local origin.

As the economic principles of Comhar na gComharsan are based on industrial democracy or worker ownership all workers must be educated to the high standard that industrial efficiency and harmony demand. General principles of social and industrial co-operation will be taught in schools at all levels with a similar aim to that of the Folk High Schools founded by Bishop Gruntvig in Denmark.

A book on this subject "Den Danske Folkehoiskole" states: "The importance of the Folk High Schools to the co-operative movement lay in fact that they prepared the minds attending them for the idea of voluntary association on the basis of self-government and solidarity and gave them the necessary education. The emphasis which the High Schools laid on the democratic as being that which

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ARE YOU ACTIVE

I WAS IN KILEEL RECENTLY and when I suggested to some people there that a Sinn Fein Cumann should be formed in the town, I was asked a straight-forward question, namely: "What could the members of a Cumann do here?" The question may appear simple but if you had been in my position how would you have answered it?

Lets face it. A lot of hard work is required to make Sinn Fein into a really effective political organisation. There is scope for a great increase in membership; there are many towns in Ulster without a cumann. We must admit that the organisation has many critics, even among dedicated Republicans. It would be foolish to dismiss these criticisms without giving them at least a careful examination.

However, we must remember that Sinn Fein is the political wing of the Republican Movement and its members must make certain that they are not regarded or treated as second class members of the movement. Let all Republicans clearly understand that the National Leadership of the movement in their statement to the last Ard Fheis stated that, "Sinn Fein can and must play a vital role in the struggle for National Freedom."

Every member should have a copy of the Constitution of Sinn Fein and a copy of its Social and Economic Programme. It is the duty of the Officer Board of each cumann to ensure that this is the position and that the members have studied these documents.

Let each member realise that he or she has a voice and a vote in the running of the organisation and that this should be used to the best possible effect. There is no point in staying quiet at the cumann meeting and then criticising afterwards the views expressed or the decisions taken at the meeting. Members must be prepared to accept responsibility but they should not take on a job unless they are willing to do it properly.

Every cumann should be pushing the sales of An Phoblacht and the Republican News. How many copies of these papers are sold by the members of your cumann? What are you doing to increase the sales in your area? These papers are capable educators, agitators and organisers for the movement. Are you doing all that can be done to assist them to spread Republicanism in your area? People still tell us that they cannot buy our papers as sellers are not calling with them. Can this be said by people in your area? There is no valid reason why each cumann could not organise a team of sellers to sell our papers in another district not already covered as well as their own. Children can be successfully utilised for this purpose. We know of one district in Belfast where a few children under the age of 12 sell 150 copies every Sunday morning. So what about it? Banbridge? Ballynahinch, Cushendall, Portaferry, to mention but a few places, should get early attention

What the Christian Churches Say

In a country in which the overwhelming majority of the population belong to one or other of the Christian churches it might be beneficial to focus attention on what these churches have to say on armed resistance to oppression.

Many people might forget that the World Council of Churches recognise that "there are situations when Christians may become involved in violence." (World Council of Churches, 1968). The Lutheran World Federation in 1968 was even more specific when it said: "There are cases when Christians can in fact participate in violence in order to bring about a more just legal system." Both Karl Rahner, a leading Catholic theologian, and Emil Brunner, a leading Protestant theologian are quite unequivocal on the matter, the former when he says "the principle of the absolute renunciation of force is not a Christian principle," and the latter when he says: "Where the existing order is no longer useful but

harmful, it is ripe for destruction. Under certain circumstances revolution is certainly justified." Father Sean O'Riordan, CSSR, one of the Vatican II experts is no less clear in stating that "the way is left open theologically for the rightful use of force to secure social justice."

A Group of professional theologians called "The Roman Association of Priests for Justice in Northern Ireland" exploded last January the myth that the churches recognise the right of only elected representatives to resort to armed resistance on behalf of oppressed people when they said: "It is not true to say that only the 'elected' leaders can decide when to resist aggression and brutality with force."

If the Dublin politicians succeed in muzzling the media, thus ensuring wide coverage for the women's vague peace petitions just because they are backed by Whitelaw and the scant mention of the Provos' three point peace plan, then they will be as unacceptable to the people who brought down Stormont as were Faulkner and Taylor.

Dependents Fund

We have been asked by the Prisoners' Dependents' Fund to state that funds are still urgently required.

Some people may have felt that as internees are released the need to support the P.D.F., is not so urgent. Nothing could be further from the truth. There are still hundreds of men and women in Belfast and Armagh prisons and in Long Kesh Concentration Camp. Their families need your continued support.

Remember the difference between an internment order and a conviction was sometimes only in the amount of torture a human body could endure. People who refuse support on the excuse that they don't like what is happening should remember that the internees and political prisoners don't like what is happening to them.

By supporting the P.D.F., you remove a large mental worry from the breadwinners who have been removed. By not supporting the P.D.F., you are like Judas washing his hands of the State's crimes.

CAR THIEFS

- A GANG of car thieves who have been stripping cars and selling the parts, have claimed the money is for the P.D.F. Early yesterday morning a Prisoners Dependents' fund official angrily repudiated this slur.
- All money for P.D.F. is collected through honest endeavour. The gang are being sought for by a special unit of the Irish Republican Army.

IMPARTIALITY

- TWO PROTESTANT gunmen were captured by the British Army on Tuesday, 20th June in full view of hundreds of people in the Horn Drive area of Andersonstown. Their weapons were seized by the British troops but the gunmen were allowed to go free.
- Whitelaw means Onelaw!!!

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BRITISH MISTAKES?

SINCE THE BRITISH CAME to the North of Ireland during the pogroms of August, 1969 their greatest single weapon against the people's resistance movement has been propaganda. The use of propaganda as a weapon of war has been synonymous with the rise of the British Empire. The commonest form of British propaganda against the present Republican Army has been the healine blasting of IRA "mistakes." However, the reverse has been the case. Countless mistakes have been made and continue to be made by the British, but these have been successfully glossed over by their spokesmen.

Taking a backward step we can examine some of the errors made by the cream of British manhood. Not including internment and Bloody Sunday in Derry, the greatest single blunder made by the Crown Forces was the curfew of the Lower Falls in July, 1970. Three innocent men lost their lives, Charles O'Neill mowed down and crushed by a tank; elderly men, Billy Burns and Patrick Elliman slaughtered in their own doorways. June of that year saw the abandonment of Ballymacarret to the Orange hoardes. The British Army stood by while defenceless men of the area saved St. Matthew's from burning.

August 1970 saw the brutal murder of young Danny O'Hagan as he walked past his own street. Mistakes extended to Derry and the people of Derry experienced the murder of two young men, Desmond Beattie and Seamus Cusack. Initially they were slandered as gunmen, later vindicated at inquest.

Back again in Belfast, two days before the introduction of internment saw the killing of Harry Thompson as he drove to his work. His dazed and shocked companion, Mr. Sean Murphy was later dragged from the death car and given a hideous beating at Springfield Road Barracks. The 9th August, 1971, Internment Day, saw wholesale violence throughout the North. Many men died, and women too. Most poignant of the deaths was a priest as he gave succour to the dying at Ballymurphy - Father Hugh Mullan.

Across the city a Protestant street was evacuated but Mrs. Sara Worthington lay dying on the steps of her burning home. "This lady was shot by mistake," not by the IRA but by a jittery soldier. On the day of internment many men and boys were taken, detained and savagely beaten, some to be left as mere shells of their former selves.

October 1971 and two sisters were shot to death as IRA-type gunmen. The world stood aghast as pictures revealed the blatant truth. The brutal murder of two young women in

a car. The real story has still to be told. The day following this tragedy saw the killing in Newry of three young men as they walked home. A single British soldier caused this terrible toll of life. All three shot dead eating chips on the public highway. Again in Derry a jittery soldier fired into the back of a car badly wounding a 6-year old Protestant child. A car back-firing brought about this tragedy. Soldiers in Newry, to the horror of the people, allowed two youths to burn to death in a shop in Hill Street. Their screams of pain went unheeded and fire brigades were not permitted to help them. County Tyrone did not escape the attention of the British Army mistakes - a mentally retarded deaf-mute was shot dead among a group of rioting youths.

On the 30th January, 1972 there was another BLOODY SUNDAY in Ireland. Thirteen men engaged in peaceful protest were gunned to death in Derry's Bogside. These men were branded as snipers, gunmen and mad bombers by General Ford and his henchmen as they endeavoured to cover up thirteen bloody mistakes.

Mrs. Emily Groves, a quiet housewife, living with her family in the Andersonstown area of Belfast, until a rubber bullet from a paratrooper's gun left her disfigured and in complete darkness for the remainder of her life.

One of the most comical "mistakes" which carried fatal undertones was the shooting of a man in the Markets area as he carried home his Christmas dinner! He escaped with a bullet wound in the arm. In the far flung reaches of Coalisland, 16-year old Martin McShane met his death as he played with other youths on the local gaelic pitch. Against public outcry this youngster was labelled a gunman by the British Army as they strove to cover this terrible deed.

The death toll in Derry since the troubles began can also couple the names of a housewife and a 14-year old girl Annete McGavag

han. In Belfast a taxi driver, Mr. Thomas McIlroy was shot dead as he changed the wheel of his car. ALL MISTAKES!!

The Clonard area of Belfast was bereft of a youngster of 13, Sean O'Riordan, brutally murdered by members of the Gloster Regiment. "A man was seen to fall," covered up the lost life of this young child. Equally successfully pushed under the carpet were the circumstances surrounding the death of two itinerants, whose only crime was possession of a stolen van. These young men lost their lives by "mistake." The latest spate of army mistakes have been directed towards children. An 11-year old boy's head was crushed like an egg-shell by a rubber bullet. He died in hospital later. The next victim was an 8-year old boy in Derry, he was blinded in one eye by a rubber bullet.



How many times have the British Army allowed innocent people to walk into bombs when suitable time had been given for their safety? How many men have been tortured and beaten by "mistake?" 800 of these so-called "mistakes" still languish in Long Kesh and British jails.

THE ULSTER VANGUARD OATH

I SWEAR by Almighty God, by all Heaven and Earth, by the Holy Bible of the true Protestant faith. By our glorious Queen Elizabeth the second and by our noble and victorious leader William Craig, Supreme Ruler of the Loyalist people of Ulster to fight until we wade triumphantly through the rebel blood of every Fenian tyrant and murderer in our glorious Ulster. That these Fenian robbers and villains, these unbelievers of our glorious faith will be driven like the Swine they are into the sea by the bullet, fire and sword, until Ulster is of the true Protestant and the Vanguard movement is indeed victorious and that all Fenian rabble is driven from our land. Age must not be considered in our blessed deeds in the extermination of the rabble who in the past have robbed our Loyalist people. We must shed the blood of all Fenian rabble and we must also penetrate by whatever means, all Roman Catholic businessmen and employment that will cause ill feeling among their own kind. Above all we must keep our deeds secret, using any methods of deception to gain our ends towards the downfall of the Roman Catholic heretics.

I also swear that for every one of the British soldiers murdered by cowardly Fenians anywhere in our glorious British Isles, we shall exterminate one Fenian man, woman or child or a Fenian Priest. And so to our Loyalist Leaders we shall report at least once a week our good deeds. This I do swear before Almighty God. God save our glorious leader William, our Queen Elizabeth and the Rev. Martin Smyth.

Above all, keep Ulster Protestant. Remember 1690.

Footnote: We invite the Vanguard Leadership to confirm if this "oath" is used in their organisation.

LIAM MAC

THE BAILLIE



So according to the Press and television, that great liberal Unionist Robin Baillie couldn't stomach the swing of the Unionist Party towards the right, by chumming up with Bill Craig.

How liberal is this little man? He not only went along with wee man Faulkner in bringing in internment but took on the job with a few other 'liberal' Unionists and travelled America and Canada to put over a campaign of propaganda on the necessity of Faulkner's mad and stupid policy of military action against the Irish People.

This little man never even suggested that he was in anyway horrified at the deaths and jailing of people who opposed Faulkner. Instead he was quite happy at playing the game of politics and received as a bribe the job of Minister of Commerce.

The only reason why he has now retired from the scene — for the present anyway — is that he knows the game is up and that the Unionist Party and its police state will never come back . . . Therefore like all the other sections of his class . . . the professional and middle classes he sees that their saviour must be through the new Unionist party — (the Alliance Party). In a few months he won't be the only one who will try to save their hides. Expect a few more ex-Faulkner men to jump on to the platform of the Alliance.

WHO WILL LEAD

While it seems that wee man Faulkner has got the message that he smells of failure and treason to all the other 'loyalist' groups, at least he should feel at home on the same platform as the one and only Enoch Powell, who it seems has now forsaken the road to trying to start a pogrom against the blacks in Britain, for the better and more appreciative role of leading the fight against 'Rome' rule.

The other week when he spoke to a Unionist meeting he gave a hint that he might consider a seat for Westminster to represent the Six Counties, then at Banbridge on 10th June, he hinted once again that the north needed a leader to ensure unity of purpose.

Wee man Brian also suggested at the same meeting that he was the leader and nobody was going to take that away from him. Could we be seeing the start of a war between two great bigots for the leadership of the Unionist Party?

BLACK/WHITE/ORANGE?

At least Nimrod the columnist of the Down Recorder' is more honest than the usual Unionist hack writer or supporter of the establishment in the Six Counties.

Giving three resounding cheers at the possibility of Enoch Powell becoming the new leader of the revolt of the Unionist skinheads he shows in his next breath why he loves Enoch's policy of keeping Britain WHITE and the six counties ORANGE. He must be the only journalist outside South Africa to suggest that Vorster, P.M. of South Africa was not tough enough with the student protestors, who by the way had been merely protesting against discrimination of the authorities against black students.

But then Nimrod is just one of those who decreed that discrimination should be the official Unionist establishment policy against the minority and backed it up. Characters like this of course never learn . . .

(See Down Recorder 9/6/72)

FASHION HINTS

I liked the remark of the journalist in the article dealing with the source of supply of the uniform of all those UDA boys playing at cowboys and Indians that: "For the sugarplum general or boy lieutenant with a bit of imagination, there's an impressive ex-Luftwaffe overcoat and all manner of patches, chevrons and the like, for mother to sew onto the sleeves."

(See Sunday News 11/6/72)

I think we might just see a few of these Nazi uniforms being worn by these skinheads, but my mind boggles at the thought of the Cowboy Craig all dressed up while he reviews his 'troops' and taking the Nazi salute — that is until the crunch comes and then like the German Nazis they will fade away . . .

THE ARSONISTS

What do you know, and people thinking that we had no discrimination once you got into the hands of the law . . . but after the recent case at the City Commission, it seems that nothing has changed.

A Protestant family leaving their home off Manor Street, gave the keys to Councillor McFarland, a member of Paisley's Party, who in turn gave them to a character named McFarland from Boundary Street for the purpose of turning off the electricity supplies. Why he did this no one asked when McFarland found himself in court answering a charge of trying to burn down the house. You see a soldier caught this character soaking all the walls and floors with cresote and the fire already started. Seems clear cut, one would say. Not if you are a friend of Mr. Paisley . . . two councillors Fred Proctor and Mrs. Miskimmons of the same party, as well as a Superintendent of the RUC, all gave McFarland a good character. Result, the boyo got off. Soldiers should find out the affiliations of those

caught before they are made fools off.

(See newspaper reports 6-7/6/72).

I am just wondering how many other homes did Councillor Proctor decide should be burned down so that they could not be lived in by Catholic people and other homeless families?

P.S. I have just read in the Telegraph (12/6/72) that Councillor Fred Proctor and a reserve policeman have been arrested on an arms charge. What's the betting he will talk his way out of it?

THE DERRY STALWARTS

Trying to stay in the leadership stakes, Paisley gave instructions to his skinheads in Derry to do a confrontation and hold a demonstration in the Diamond on Saturday 10/6/72. He would show Craig and his Indians that he was as able as Craig to get the crowds on the streets. His number one boy in Derry Rev. McClelland even went to the extent of holding a Press conference the day before, to tell the world, and anyone else who was interested, what they intended to do, and to just show his independence of Ian and prove that he could think for himself he read a letter to White-law protesting against the army action on Craigavon Bridge the week before against Craig's morons.

So let the battle start and on Saturday all dressed up they stood in the Diamond wondering if this was the day of glory — to march in front of the millions into the Bogside and Creggan and clean out the no-go areas. Ah such things, dreams are made of, but in reality there they waited shocked and dismayed only about 100 stalwarts — drunks and all turned up.

Wait until Ian hears about it, the salt mines for the Derry leadership of the D.U.P.?

PLEASE SIR:

WE WANT OUR CAR

There they were behind their barricades at the corner of Ainsworth Avenue and Cambria Street across the Shankill Road and the reporter Colin Smith of The Observer waiting. "Then shortly before 1 a.m. a young lieutenant of the Royal Regiment of Wales accompanied by a corporal walks up to the barricade and asks for the leader by name. They greet each other in a friendly manner. It seemed that someone had hijacked an Army Land-Rover. Its four-man crew walked away rather than open fire, and the army wanted it back. After a while it is returned. The young commander of the UDA goes to see the local Army commander, a major, to talk over the situation. His pistol is still under his anorak, but nobody searches him. He comes back, "they say they want another of their vehicles back, but they are not getting it." So there he stood king of all he surveyed, still playing at cowboys and indians . . . great stuff!

(See The Observer 11/6/72)

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We are not happy about present sales in Beechmount, the Bone, Ardoyne and the Lower Falls. The readers are there but they are not getting the chance to buy. It is not enough to be a member in name. Let us see some action!
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Around and about . . by Con

THE FATHER KENNY whose "thought for the day" on RTE, radio added up to a shuddering glance at Pat Coogan's book on the Irish Republican Army — which he found "frightening" — concluded that shooting one's enemy dead was an obscenity and an unchristian thing.

With childish bias he specified only the Irish Republican Army as "guilty" (are Derry's 13 already consigned to some clerical limbo?). And he called for "the men of violence" to abandon their ways with the ono-chalance of a man who'll never know what it's like to have to defend his liberty and home, with prayers alone.

Catholic theologians from Pope to parish priest have not proved so squeamish. Down the centuries they have proclaimed the just war as a social necessity, and have inspired a few in the process . . . The chief moral condition for a just war in Ireland is that it should have a reasonable chance of success.

The authors of a new book about man's nature, "The Imperial Animal," assert that violence to do right is a natural morality shared by Padraig Pearse and Fidel Castro among others. Violence indeed is basic to human survival, the book claims, and the authors scoff at the idea that there is any other way. Violence, of course, a propaganda word, meaningless without interpretation.

Violence can be for good or evil, like the surgeon's knife. In the context of war, an English liberal soldier and poet, Siegfried Sassoon, stricken by the callous slaughter of Germans in Flanders, drew back in revulsion from the mindless militarism of Britain's leaders in 1914-18. He drew a distinction between the military forms of violence. He said of his own part in his country's army that he joined in a war of defence and liberation to discover it had become one of aggression and conquest.

For sticking to his philosophy, and trying to opt out of what he saw as an unjust war by Britain, his superior officers threatened to have Sassoon committed to a mental hospital. So he went back to the Front!

The Irish Republican Army's clearly defined cause of defence and liberation, and the British government's ruthless determination to conquer by aggression, are the key factors in the current struggle and have been for generations. To confuse the issue is to give disservice to many brave and clear-sighted Republicans.

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GERMAN STUDENTS SOLIDARITY WITH IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY

An Irish Republican Army spokesman travelled from Belfast to Germany recently to take part in "teach-ins" on the Irish Question. He visited universities in Hamburg, Frankfurt, Hildesberg, Göttingen and West Berlin. His purpose was to explain the military role of the Republican Movement and to counter-act British black propaganda in Germany. The smallest attendance was 500 and in Hildesberg, 1200 packed the university hall to learn about the Irish resistance struggle.

The West German Ministry of Education made strenuous efforts to have the teach ins banned because of the presence of the Irish Republican spokesman. He claimed that a "terrorist" speaker was inopportune at the present time because of the growing terrorist organisations in Germany. The students strongly expressed their feelings against any attempt to ban the meetings, threatening militant action. The Minister eventually dropped his opposition, on the advice of University leaders.

The Irish spokesman was greatly impressed by the knowledge and interest of the students. He was questioned at great length about the political and military objectives of the Republican Movement. There was much criticism of the actions of the movement from the Maoist groups in some centres visited by the spokesman. Theory was their only argument. Unless you have

theory you can have no revolution, they claimed.

They were attacked by the other students and were visibly upset by the spokesman who won much support by stating that he learned his politics on the streets and not from books. Recognising that much can be learnt from past revolutionary struggles he went on to say that action is the keyword to success. At one centre, the students gave a standing ovation when he declared: "An armoured car can not be stopped by theory but can only be stopped by action."

The only real sour note of the tour occurred when a collection for internees' dependants was stopped by the Maoists who claimed their support for the National Liberation Front. Even when they were assured that internees' dependants were from every political organisation, they still prevented the collection on the grounds that they were opposed to the Irish Republican Army. However, votes of solidarity with the Republican Movement were passed with great acclamation at all meetings.

R.T.E. restricts politicians

The attempts to restrict reporting on the Northern situation by politicians is both regrettable and alarming. It is the Leinster House politicians, not the RTE staff who have been cowardly maligned by people like L'Estrange in the Dail, who are responsible for the blacking out of political views on TV with which they do not agree. If RTE is prevented from fulfilling its representative function then democracy will be eventually undermined. Groups denied political expression of their views will in their frustration resort to violence.

The blacking out of some political views is being done in the name of blacking out the activities of what these politicians call "subversive organisations," in other words the IRA or what the people of Bogside Creggan and Falls call the 'Freedom Fighters.'

The decision was taken last November without any serious, in depth study of the situation vis a vis the IRA and the Northern Ireland problem. It was taken by men in Leinster House who must have guilty consciences on their failure to do anything for any section of the Northern community for 50 years. Their decision has therefore no creditability with the oppressed people of the North.

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE THREE)

concerns the people as a whole helped to create that social mindedness which became the soil in which the co-operative movement was to grow."

The technical aspects of co-operative industry and agriculture will be the function of the Universities and Technological Colleges. There will also be special short courses in various aspects of Comhar na gComharsan for members of the various co-operative undertakings.

JOHN HAUGHEY SINN FEIN CUMANN
COALISLAND

First Annual DINNER/SOCIAL EVENING

FOUR SEASON'S HOTEL, MONAGHAN
ON WEDNESDAY, 5th JULY, 1972

Music by The Evergreens
Commences at 8.30

BAR EXTENSION : ADMISSION £1.50
DIA, SABHAIL EIRE!

Ta me cinnte go bhfuil Físa na Foia in a dlúntneal mheirbh i mBiuro na Staire Mileata. Ta an oiread sin ag eiliu curamhí den Físa sin is go mba doiligh an neal a scaipe anois, go hairid i ndiaidh Míodhchuairt mhór na Casca seo.

Ni folair a ra, doili, na daoine seo a thuigeas chuile rud go bhfuil rudai faoin gCaisc ata ag dul o mheabhair orthu. Nil mogal a bhain le Eirinn o sceith si amach in a Dun Briste o Ghairdin Phairthis nar thracht Frank O'Connor agus Sean O Faolain air. Dar ndoigh nior fhaga siad cursai na lucht na Casca gan ple. Ta amháidithe acu nar thuigeadar ce an sort duine e Sean Mac Diarmada. D'eireodh dhoibh. An te nach rachadh níos faide amach as bearaic na bosca an fhaireora ag an ngeata ba deacair dho bothan ar scoird Chonnachtach a thuiscint. Agus ba deacra arís a thuiscint go mbeadh duine a shaolofaí sa mbothan bocht sin cho dulai sa tsaoirse leis an ngeath thuas as a chionn ar an sliaibh.

Nior fhaga Frank O'Connor fuioill cainte ar an bPíarsach. Chain se as an cheithre hairde fichead e, mar dhuine, mar chainteoir, mar scríbhneoir, mar chinnire, mar reabhlóidí . . . Diabhal a leithide de thara thairt! Mar leirmheastoir nior fhead Frank O'Connor scára ariamh le cuing a scaile fein a bhíodh in a scoirteog bhladhmannach ar an mbilleog roimhe. Nil seana ar bith agam



ar a chuid buannai oílmhóra. Ach níorbh e an duine ab ilbhuaí oílbhuai e len a linn, rud ba teannach leis a ra. Ba mhór leis an Píarsach sílim. Chuir an Píarsach dha reabhlóid ar siúl, ceann i leiríocht na Gaeilge agus reabhlóid na Casca. Bhí Frank O'Connor gar go leor dha bheith a dha fhad ar an saol leis agus níor chuir se reabhlóid ar bith ar siúl, 'sú sa leiríocht. I gceinle eile reabhlóid an Píarsaigh ní raibh ann ach giolla coise, bandwagonner, fearacht I Fhailain, o chairtfear e a ra.

B'fheidir nach míleán ar Frank O'Connor cuid dhar dhuirt se, ra is gur minic a lucht leanúna fein ag tabhairt samhail mheirbh go maith ar chinnirí na Casca. Ta sort Machmad deanta acu go hairid den Píarsach. Ni Píuratanach a bhí ann ach oiread le ceachtar na na cinnirí eile. Ma dhuin se a shuíle ar an aille fhorocht ar fharíos go stanfadh se ní fhagann sin gur dhiultai se bean na an posa. Mar is feaich do chach an bhean a raibh laimh agus focal idir agus i baiththead ar na Blascaid i agus thug mac le Tomas O Cíomhthainn, Tomas an tOileanach, a anam fein ag iarra i a tharrthail. Is feaich dhuinn an fhuarimhe a d'fhaga sin i gceoi Thomais bhoicht, fiú's ma ba e an ba a lon lae. Chairtfheadh se go ndeacha an oide dhubalta sin i bhfeidhm go mor ar dhuine goilliúnach mar an bPíarsach agus thiofadh dho go mba e an cor ba chinnirí in a shaol ar fad e. Nil a fhios againn. Bhí fíos a shaoil, a chinnirí, aige ar son chor. Is eolas duinn nach gcoinneadh aon phosa on gceath na on iúirt e. Níor choinnigh sin na ceada eile, ní airim an Píarsach, on tsaribirt, go dtí an la ata inniu ann fein.

Ba e an Píarsach ab eagarthoir ar an gClaidheamh Solais aimsir an bhaite. Ta se beagnach cinnte gurb e a scríobh an t-eagarfhoical faoin mba sin (An Claidheamh Solais, August 21, 1909, Vol. 11. No. 24) mar a bhfuil caint scrúdach faoi dhaoine a bhíos ro-ghoilliúnach le labhairt faoi rudai ach in aghaidh a dtóla:

"... it is when they are called upon in the course of their duty to speak in public of things that touch their own hearts . . ."

Is lear ar a pictiúr, ar a chuid cainte, ar na cuntais ata againn faoi, fiú nuair ata an aibheall feannta díobh, gur duine glan a bhí ann. Ba duine craifeach a bhí ann freisin ce n-deanadh se an phaidir chapail dha chraifeacht. Bhí an-toir aige ar an bhfocal naofa, holy. Shamhláigh se e, naofa, holy, holiness, le aiteachai agus pearsana staire: uaigh Tone, Micheál O Cleirigh, Eoghan O Gramhna, Donnabhanach Rosa. Gan aithreas bhí Donnabhanach Rosa ar dhuine de na daoine ab eacthai gníomh sa stair. Ach ní he luireach an naoimh ach luireach an laoiach a choirigh spleodra a chairde, cho maith le doicheall a namhaide, air. Chumhneofa scaití gur le corp stuaise agus staine agus fíochmhairacht iúitíne—malairt treathra an naoimh—a bhí se cho dogheillte, dolubtha, dobhogtha, fiú faoi na rudai ba mhíne neamhthabachtai. Measaim fein gurb e an rud a rinne an Píarsach dílseacht an naoimh a bhualta thall ar Bhashtíle dochloíte d'fhear nach raibh ann ach fear daonna i ndiaidh an iomláin.

Bhí a fhath fein ag an bPíarsach faoi sin. Ba mhór e a omós do Pharnell. D'ainmigh se ar chúigiuí sóiscealí an náiisiúin e. San Eire sin a d'eirigh se suas, an Eire sin a raibh screachail nímheneanta na Mor-rígan, Kitty O'Shea, ag foluainn tresna tíre as cionn cathannai cathartha Pharnelligh agus frith-Pharnelligh. Bhí Donnabhanach Rosa posta trí huairé ach níor chloí an bhean e. Ba phairt dha dhaoineacht go raibh an grasta ann a bhí uireasach ar Pharnell. Ba mhian leis an bPíarsach e a chur in a ghallán dushlanach san ait ar trascaíodh Parnell.

An te nach dtuigimse—an ainleog a choinnigh an glas gan baint—ba e Eoin Mac Neill e. Chuala me fear ag mola d'fhear eile le goirid drama a scríobh. Mar seo: go saorfadh na Sasanaigh an Píarsach ar ais in Eirí Amach, go gcuirfeadh na hOglachí armchúirt air agus e a chur chun báis as ucht a easumhlaocht da chuid uachtaran an Chaisc sin. Mas linn a bheith pointeailte faoi easumhlaocht bhí Eoin Mac Neill go sladrusach agus go follasach easumhal e fein. Thoiligh se le teachtai an Reamannaigh a raibh formhór na nOglach

geilliúnach doibh a chur d'Ard-Choiste na nOglach agus fanacht in a cheann ar mhionshlua. Agus ta raite gur i leith an Reamannaigh a bhí se i gcurasí polaitíocht! Thairis sin ní raibh cead de reir an dli aige ar neamhdhlísteanach a bheith dha chortu aige. Go fiú's ma bhí lucht an udarais dha fhúilt mar arm de bharr go mb'eigin doibh oglachí Charsón a fhúilt níor fhaga sin nach raibh an da dhream neamhdhlísteanach.

Ce an fath gur thoiligh se ar an gcead iarra a bheith in a bhall suntais cho mor sin in Oglach na hEireann, sna hIrish Volunteers, na iad a chur ar bun beag na mor? Ta a lán cainte scoitfe faoin a alt *The North Began*. Ach Dia linn agus Muire ní ag smaoiniú ar oglachí Gharrtan na ra a role a bhí se! Bhí fhíos aige ceard a bhain doibh. An tsaoirse phairlimeid a baineadh amach ní raibh inti ach lochan a d'fhuaigh an chead phuth gaoithe siar soir-soir. Scoir oglachí Gharrtan i meatachas ní ba chloíte na aon cheas naíon agus chríochnaigh an seail leis na hEireannaigh Aontaithe, coga cathartha mar ba shin e a bhí ann dhairis, agus daoine a dhul ag iarra cunamh ar an bhFrainc mar bhí Eoin Mac Neill fein a iarra ar an nGearmain. Ní raibh col ar bith aige le cabhair Ghearmnach a ghlacla na le Eirí Amach ar dhoigh dho rathu de bhithin cunamh on nGearmain.

Cuirtear ar a shon gur slua le oglachí Charsón a choinneail ceansaithe a bhí uaidh. Níor dhoigh sin marach arm Shasana a bheith de chul torraic acu. Ba shin i an ghlas-shnaim a d'fheadh an Chaisc a fhuascailt. Ní fheadfadh duine ar bith beo na marbh a shamhlu go mbeadh Eoin Mac Neill cho dimheabhrach is nar lear dho an meid sin cho maith leis an bPíarsach, agus a fhir foirne.

Ba b'arm le Hom Ruil a chinntiú i ndeire an choga a bhí i gceist aige ba lear tar eis an scoitfe a rinne an Reamannach nach mbeadh a raibh d'oglaigh ann fre cheile sach laidir le Hom Ruil a chinntiú an uair sin, d'uireasa deamhein Shasana. Ma ba Sasana buailte a bheadh inti bheadh se sach meabhrach go dtuigfeadh se roimh re nach mbeadh Gearmain chathreimeach sasta ionga na orlach saoirse a ligean le Eirinn nach e amhain nach raibh si cuntach lei, ach ar namhaduile lei a bhí, no ba chirt e a ra a bheadh. Ma chuireann muid i gcas go mbeadh Sasana deamheiníuil le Hom Ruil ní theastodh oglachí ar bith len a cinntiú.

- 1) Feach freisin leiríú o Aidghan O Rahilly, Irish Times, 13/5/66.
- 2) Sean Mac Entee: Episode at Easter p.50.

Bhí a fhios aige faoin seail aighneasach a chraobhscaoil an Plúinceadach go raibh ceannfóirteachai na n-oglach le gabhail agus an hOglach le d-armail an Chaisc sin. Is feaich muid anois go bhfuil bunadar staire leis an seail sin. De dheantas na firinne ní raibh ach cupla uair an chloig de thosach ag an Eirí Amach ar run sin Chaisleain Bhaile Atha Cliath (1).

An raibh fíos faoin seail seo eile aige ag a Sean Mhac an tSaoi? (2). Ta raite aigesan gur innis Thomas Mac Donogh dho an mhaidín Chasca sin i Halla na Saoirse go rabhadar cinnte go mbeadh cruinniú ag Aireacht Rialtais Shasana i lar na seachtaine sin le síochain a dheanamh leis an nGearmain. B'ionann sin dar leis fein agus Eire a bheith fagtha ar lar arís ag síor-ol domlas na daoirse. Is doiligh a chreidintú go ndearfaí le Sean Mhac an tSaoi e marach go raibh geille eicint do mar luadren. Agus cinnte ma duradh le Sean Mhac an tSaoi e dearfaí le Eoin Mac Neill e na laethantaí cinníunach sin, mar ní fheadfadh se sa gcas sin gan toiliú le Eirí Amach. An raibh maide cor caimín ar bith ba ghuaig na an te a chuir an tOrdu Coitíann seo amach mar Cheann Foirne chuig díoghaí uilig na nOglachí thrathóna Cheadaoin na Bratha: "Your object will be to preserve the arms and organisation of the

Volunteers. . . In general you will arrange that your men defend themselves and each other in small groups so placed that they may be best able to hold out." Eirí Amach no gad na gce?

Cruthaíonn a chuid imeachtaí fein tar eis Eirí Amach gur shantaigh se neamhspleachas don tír agus b'ach raibh aon doicheall roimh throid aige leis an neamhspleachas sin a ghnothachan.

Bhí eolas aige faoi Bhraitheachas na Poblacht, an sort dream a bhí iontu agus a gcuid imeachtaí. Ní feaich muid go ri-bharrainneach ce cho dal is bhí se ar a gcuid imeachtaí. Is lear nach raibh se fiordhail orthu na easaontach leo thrid agus thrid. An bhliain roimhe an gheill se ag Ard-Fheis Chonradh na Gaeilge i nDun Dealgan go ndeanfadh comhcheilg de dheantas an Bhraitheachais Uachtaran ar Chonradh na Gaeilge dhe agus go n-atrofaí Bunreacht an Chonradh sa gceoi go gcuirí cuispóir an Bhraitheachais isteach ann.

- (1) Fe, Sean Mac Entee: Episode at Easter p. 50.
- (2) Sean Mac Entee: Episode at Easter p. 90.

Dha mbeadh breith ar aifeala aige an ndéanfadh se sin? Ar duine e a bhí i mbis dha fhasca idir a fhonn agus a mhíthonn fein? Ce an anail a bhí ag an gCraoibhin agus ag sampla a shaoil air? Chonaic se an sort gluaiseacht ollmhor shíochanta a chuir an Craoibhin agus e fein ar bun agus bhí cionnith ar bun as cionn fiche bliain acu, ag troid agus gan iad ag troid in a dhiaidh sin? Arbh amháin nar lear dho na hOglachí as deire na cuise ach mar Chonroirí in eide? Conroirí in eide a bhí in a lán acu agus ba e an t-eide an deiríocht eatarthu fein agus conroirí fillte beag an Craoibhin.

Ba chosuil le fear idir dha chomhairle, marabhair idir trí chomhairle e. Bhí a dhothain meabhair aige ar dhaoine, agus ar mhuintir na hEireann go hairid, le fíos maith a bheith aige nach bhfanadh sluaite arm-olte achar eiginnte gan leas a bhaint as na hairm in a nglac. Smaoineag ar Ordu Coitíann Cheadaoin na Bratha! An raibh rudai pearsanta, ead, a chumhacht fein i gceist? No an raibh a fhios aige cor ar bith ceard a bhí se a dheanamh leis an ordú cealuchain, no ar shamhláigh se ar bhealach ar bith an iarmhairt a bheadh air? Chítear dhom fein go gcuirfeadh se go raibh na cursaí pearsanta i gceist. Is ionann is gur cruthaíomh air sin an chaoi a raibh se athphairteach tar eis 1916—ní hionann is Hobson—i ngluaiseacht míleata atheagrathaithe a bhí cho mor idir dha chinnreacht, mar ar mho a bhí se amháin, na an ghluaiseacht reamh-Chasca. Tar eis príosún agus campai geibhinn na Casa ní fheadfadh se a bheith dal! gur dhluithfhithe cheannasai Braithreachas na Poblacht faoi sin na ariamh.