

\$2.00

AN



IRELAND'S BIGGEST SELLING
POLITICAL WEEKLY



PHOBLACHT

Republican News

HONOUR
IRELAND'S
DEAD —
WEAR AN
EASTER LILY

ATTEND YOUR LOCAL
COMMEMORATION



Sraith Nua lml 13 Uimhir 13 28 Márta Thursday, 28th March, 1991 (Britain 40p) Price 35p

...We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible...

CALL OF 1916 — CHALLENGE OF TODAY



THE 75th ANNIVERSARY of the 1916 Rising is being marked in an Ireland which today is very far from the vision of the women and men who risked everything in the single most revolutionary act in Irish history. There are some in our country for whom the memory of 1916 is a profound embarrassment, some for whom it is an object of hostility and hate, many, many more — the majority it can safely be said — for whom it is an occasion of pride and celebration of their Irishness.

This year, the Fianna Fáil/Progressive Democrats government had hoped to sit out the anniversary without the necessity of an embarrassing official commemoration. But they were successfully challenged. It was put to them that if they claimed inheritance from the Proclamation and the leaders of 1916, they could not ignore this anniversary. In the end, responding to pressure, they moved and hastily organised a ceremony at the GPO for Easter Sunday.

The sole reason for this reversal was the success of the plans of the broad movement of people in the country which determined to mark the 75th anniversary fittingly and, most importantly, to highlight its relevance to today. That movement has gone from strength to strength, lifted by the groundswell of national feeling in the 26 Counties which has been suppressed for more than 20 years. It seems that the true relationship between the people of Ireland to whom the signatories of the Proclamation addressed themselves, and the government which sees that Proclamation as a document to be mentioned rarely and handled with care, will become very clear; the quickly-thrown-together government ceremony will contrast with the National 75th Anniversary Committee's festival throughout the 32 Counties, with its centre-piece in Dublin on April 6th, and with the Republican Movement's annual ceremonies all over Ireland this weekend.

So much for the celebrations, but what of the message of 1916 for today? First, let it not be forgotten that the Easter Rising was above all an armed action, planned with hopes of success in an effort to end the British political and military occupation of Ireland. When those plans went wrong courageous men and women, girls and boys, set out regardless to take on the might of the British Empire with few resources except their own deep faith in the justice of their cause.

IRA SAME THEN AS NOW

In 1991, there are those who do not wish to remember 1916 because they fear that the link

OPINION

**POBLACHT NA H EIREANN
THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT
OF THE
IRISH REPUBLIC
TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.**

**Call of 1916 —
challenge
of today**

will be made between the Irish Republican Army of today and its predecessors of Easter Week. There are others who will pay lip-service to 1916 and claim that the IRA of today is fundamentally different and not fighting in the same cause.

Both are wrong. The Irish Republican Army which came into being in the bullet-swept streets of Dublin in 1916, is the same IRA, fighting in the same cause, as that which confronts British rule in arms today.

So we honour equally and remember with no lesser pride those who died in every phase of the struggle for freedom this century and before, as we do the heroes of 1916. The surest sign that their ideals have not been lost and will be attained is the fact that young Irish men and women are still prepared to risk everything to achieve them. This Easter we salute them all, in particular those who died in this last phase of the fight for freedom.

The 1916 Rising transformed Irish politics; the Proclamation of the Republic set out the demand for full Irish independence and national self-determination; it called for a society based on the equality of all citizens and the just distribution of the nation's resources; it was endorsed by the Irish people in the last all-Ireland parliamentary election when the Irish Party was swept aside by Sinn Féin, Dáil Eireann was established and an unprecedented

phase of resistance to British rule began.

The central fact of Irish politics today is that we are still living with the British response to 1916 and the national struggle it sparked. The bombardment of Dublin in Easter Week, the executions of the leaders, the suppression of Dáil Eireann, the 1920 Government of Ireland Act, the Treaty of 1921 and all the British violence that accompanied them had as their object the defeat of the struggle for full Irish independence. The result was partition and the creation of two partitionist states. That enforced British settlement is effectively still the basis on which Ireland is governed in 1991.

For this reason the call of 1916 is a challenge for today — a challenge to the British government which still imposes partition, and to all Irish people who seek peace with justice.

It challenges the British government to renounce its illegitimate claim to govern part of Ireland. It challenges Irish nationalists to work to oppose any arrangement based on partition; any such arrangement is doomed to failure.

PROVEN RIGHT

In decades of opposition to partition and upholding the ideals of the Proclamation, republicans have sacrificed much. They have also been proven right. Justice, equality and peace are not and never were possible in a partitioned Ireland. That is as true today as when partition was first imposed; the record of poverty, violence, unemployment, sectarianism, discrimination, unemployment, emigration — symptoms of political, social, economic and cultural failure in both states, proves the point.

The struggle to end these injustices and create a truly free Ireland has inspired people in every generation since 1916. It is time to renew that inspiration, to involve more and more people in the struggle for freedom, to confront the British government with a strengthened Republican Movement, to step up the electoral challenge posed by Sinn Féin, to widen activities on all fronts, to work with all progressive forces that share the goal of Irish unity and British disengagement.

In one of his last messages during Easter Week, James Connolly paid tribute to all his comrades when he said: "Never had man or woman a grander cause, never was a cause more grandly served." We repeat that message today and are confident that the cause of Connolly and Pearse and of all who have followed them will triumph in the '90s.

**Attacks in Tyrone, Fermanagh,
Armagh and Belfast**

THE IRA's Tyrone Brigade has said that Volunteers attached to its command carried out the ambush at the village of Trillick, in which a British soldier was injured.

The ambush occurred on Sunday evening, March 24th, as the soldier, a member of the UDR, was driving a lorry near his home. Two Volunteers armed with assault rifles had set up an ambush position and opened fire on the vehicle as it entered the target area. The soldier, although seriously injured, was able to speed from the scene.

In a supplied statement the IRA said that the soldier, whom they named, "was not only a serving member of the UDR but was engaged in delivering petrol to crown forces bases throughout Tyrone and Fermanagh". The IRA also said that the man killed was also the youngest member of a four-man gang who murdered Omagh Councillor Patsy Kelly in 1974.

In the same statement the IRA said that Volunteers armed with G3 assault rifles, and backed up by oth-

er armed Volunteers, had ambushed a joint UDR/RUC patrol which was stopping cars at Lurgylea Crossroads near Galbally on Monday, March 25th. The IRA said that two UDR soldiers were injured in the attack and refuted RUC claims that civilians were placed at risk during the operation.

RUC WORKER INJURED

An RUC employee engaged in clerical work at the force's Strand Road headquarters, Derry, sustained serious gun injuries on Thursday, March 21st, when she drove from the city's main RUC base and right into a carefully planned IRA ambush.

The active service unit involved in the operation had moved into position in the Strand Bar, near to the RUC barracks, shortly before teatime, and had waited for the clerk's black sports car which had

been pinpointed by IRA intelligence. As the car drew up at traffic lights adjacent to the bar, Volunteers using AKM assault rifles opened fire on the vehicle.

**BRITS ATTACKED
IN FERMANAGH**

Volunteers of the Fermanagh Brigade have twice engaged British troops involved in the permanent closure of the fortified border crossing at Derryvallon Road.

The first of the attacks mounted by the IRA came on Friday, March 22nd, when a lone Volunteer using a high powered rifle fired ten shots at British soldiers who were dismantling part of the border checkpoint. There were no confirmed injuries in the shooting which occurred at 7.40pm.

Two days later, British soldiers who had erected a temporary dug-out to guard troops engaged in the demolition work, came under sustained attack from an IRA active

service unit using heavy calibre machine-guns and automatic assault rifles. Over 200 shots were fired at the soldiers position. Again there were no confirmed reports of injuries.

CULLYHANNA SHOOTING

British soldiers patrolling the border again came under fire within hours of the Fermanagh attack on Sunday, March 24th. On this occasion the soldiers were part of a massive patrol which had entered the Cullyhanna area of South Armagh.

Volunteers had taken up positions covering a regularly used patrol path and when troops entered the area they engaged them with automatic rifle and machine-gun fire for ten minutes. There were no reports of any injuries but, on this occasion, the British soldiers returned fire.

BELFAST ATTACKS

Crown forces were once again kept at full stretch over the past seven days when Volunteers of the IRA's Belfast Brigade employed the tactic of placing blast incendiary devices backed up by a series of elaborate hoaxes in commercial premises, at



crown forces installations and at major road junctions, in both Belfast itself and in Bangor.

The wave of alerts sparked by the IRA actions came on Thursday and Friday, March 21st and 22nd.

On Thursday 20 shots were fired at the British army base in North Howard Street. There were no injuries. On the same day, Locksley Engineering Works of Belfast issued a statement saying that they would immediately cease all work for the crown forces. The statement came less than 24 hours after the IRA ambushed and shot an employee of the Lisburn Road firm.

The Belfast Brigade also said that its Volunteers placed two explosive devices which only partially exploded. The devices were left at Henry Taggart Barracks in West Belfast on Friday, March 22nd and at Antrim Road in North Belfast on Monday, March 25th.

BRITISH ULTIMATUM WHIPS PARTIES INTO LINE

BY HILDA Mac THOMAS
INTER-PARTY talks will take place. Seventy years after the setting up of the 'Northern Ireland' state, the major achievement and the political breakthrough was for a British minister to get four political parties to agree to talk, and it took him 15 months to do it.

These talks represent half of Peter Brooke's two-pronged agenda: to bring unionists and the SDLP into some — into any — kind of political process, and to get the IRA to agree to a ceasefire. Brooke's means, a mixture of diplomatic and media pressure, failed on the latter. But the atmosphere he created around his 'talks about talks initiative' succeeded in forcing the parties to agree to take part on the basis of the formula, the "ultimatum" as some described it, which he proposed two weeks ago.

The two main areas of disagreement between the political parties over the last 15 months regarding the basis for accepting the invitation to talk together were:

- The timing of the Dublin government's entry into the talks process: not before "substantial progress" on the internal Six-County arrangement had been made, the unionists demanded; within weeks of the talks starting, said Dublin. However, by December, both sides had agreed more or less to let Peter Brooke decide when this should happen;

- The status of Northern political parties in the talks with Dublin: a 'United Kingdom delegation' led by Peter Brooke, said the unionists; unionists, SDLP and Dublin as free-standing parties, said the SDLP. Brooke's formula remains suitably ambiguous on this point, stating that unionists would be "formally" linked to the British minister.

CORE QUESTION REMAINS

These two points have formed obstacles to inter-party talks starting since July, and while they seemed like minor procedural issues, in fact they touched the core question — the status of the Six Counties in relation to Britain, and whether or not Dublin has any right over it, what the SDLP likes to call the "Irish dimension". And while Brooke's present formula, eagerly accepted by the Dublin government within hours of being issued on March 14th, and accepted with a lot more reticence by Northern political parties at the beginning of this week, seems to find a way round all this, the 'core question' remains, and will loom large over the talks when they start after Easter.

The talks, Peter Brooke announced, were to include three strands, the first between Northern parties, the second between those parties and Dublin, and the third between the London and Dublin governments. These were the 'three sets of relationships' as Dublin premier Charles Haughey or SDLP leader John Hume would call it, or the "relationships within these British islands", as OUP leader James Molyneaux undiplomatically put it last weekend.



● Northern nationalists — about to endure yet another time-wasting exercise (clockwise) Brooke, Hume, Paisley and Molyneaux



The parties involved have been consistently and wrongly referred to as the "four main parties". The fact is that the fourth main party in the North, Sinn Féin, is excluded from the talks: it has excluded itself by its espousal of violence, argues the British government which not only espouses the use of military force but maintains in the Six Counties an armed force of approximately 30,000 members, RUC and British army, just to back up its 'argument'. Meanwhile, the Alliance Party, the moderate unionists the British government can count on in all its initiatives, has been promoted to the rank of "fourth" main party. They poll between 6% and 10% of the vote in the North in comparison to Sinn Féin's 11% to 13% (35% of the nationalist vote).

The question is now, as it was a month ago, and a year ago: what will they talk about? More to the point what will they agree about? Unionists have made it clear that power-sharing is out, that the Hillsborough Agreement must go, and that the South's constitution which contains a territorial claim over the North must be amended. The SDLP will have a real problem selling this to their own voters, never mind to the tens of thousands of disenfranchised republican voters.

As for the context of the talks, it could not be worse: the Six Counties, this 'failed political entity', has killed every British political initiative since 1972, Sunningdale, the power-sharing Executive, the Constitutional Convention, Atkins' conference, the Northern Ireland Assembly of

1982... Unionists would not share power with nationalists; or they refused to consider a role for the Dublin government; or nationalists refused to take part because of either of those reasons; or unionists refused to take part because power-sharing or a role for Dublin were on the table. Every time, the British government had set the agenda. Every time, it failed.

The Hillsborough Treaty can be included in this list of failures, both because it failed to deliver the reforms which we were promised would flow from it, and because its replacement by some other agreement is now clearly envisaged by the British government. This must satisfy the unionists.

IMPENDING FAILURE

Given the high likelihood of impending failure, at least as far as producing a durable administration for the North is concerned, why is it that political parties agreed to be associated with yet another doomed British initiative? It is to their political advantage to do so in the short term.

First of all each party was scared to be blamed for the talks process ending. Peter Brooke had successfully engineered an atmosphere in which the parties would feel obliged to stay in.

Then there is the unionist objective of destroying the Hillsborough Agreement. While talks take place, the Maryfield Secretariat will not be functioning and the intergovernmental conference will not meet. An alternative agreement will be discussed. Unionists are pleased: they have managed to reduce the status of the Hillsborough Treaty from what was lauded as the historical breakthrough of the century to that of a transient document about to become dead letter.

The SDLP has a different agenda. For them, as indeed for many of the Catholic middle class, the era of Hillsborough was a good one. Economically better off than many of their counterparts in the South and in Britain, they also enjoyed some political weight through access to the Dublin government and the intergovernmental conference. The SDLP are defensive about the Hillsborough Treaty, which aimed in particular to bolster them in the face of electoral pressure from Sinn Féin. But in the short term they will probably gain from being involved in the talks, since their political rivals, Sinn Féin, are excluded from them.

As for the Dublin government, it has silenced its opposition in Leinster House which, up to two weeks ago, was accusing it of blundering, of hindering political progress and of failing to stand by the Agreement. By accepting Brooke's talks formula so fast, Haughey can boast to have wrongfooted Molyneaux, and privately and cynically make the assessment that at least the failure of this initiative will not have his name written all over it.

Northern nationalists are about to endure yet another time-wasting exercise, the object of which will be to prove for the umpteenth time that the Six-County state is not a viable political entity.



RISING TO THE CHALLENGE

ON THIS, the 75th anniversary of the 1916 Rising, many people are questioning how far the Ireland of today measures up to

the ideals of the Proclamation of the Republic. For the thousands who will be participating in commemorations this year, that Proclamation is not a romantic relic nor an irrelevant historical document.

It advocates a notion of freedom that is all-embracing — political, social, economic and cultural. Sinn Féin is the only party on this island fully committed in policy and in practice to implementing the ideals of the Proclamation.

That means no British solution to the conflict in our country, it means a united 32-County Ireland, it means "the ownership of Ireland for the people of Ireland".

If you wish to know more about Sinn Féin's policies and its work, or if you want to help that work, either directly if you live in Ireland, or through solidarity activity if you live abroad, then fill in this form. Send to Sinn Féin, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.

Name

Address

Tel:

Age





Nicaraguan poet salutes Rising

CARLOS RIGBY, a poet and a former prisoner of the Somoza régime, was in Ireland this week as a guest of the Irish Nicaragua Support Group. He is from the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua, where English is spoken and the culture is mainly Caribbean. During his short trip to Ireland, he paid tribute to the struggle for Irish freedom.

As a member of GRADAS, the radical organisation of artists and writers which supported the FSLN, he was imprisoned for protesting against the dictatorship. During the mid-'70s, the practice of 'disappear-

ing' people — simply abducting protestors and killing them in secret — was common throughout Latin America. "Somoza was the champion of that," says Rigby, who was 'lucky' enough to have merely been tortured.

"We relied on international attention to isolate the government over its atrocities," he says. "Finally the

FSLN toppled the Somoza régime with a big uprising in 1978-79." After the revolution, he worked on his native Caribbean coast in the town of Bluefields as a socio-cultural advisor to the new government. His object was to see to it "that the gains of the revolution were being implemented" in that area.

Over the centuries in Nicaraguan society, big cultural and political gaps developed between the Spanish-speaking people of the West (Pacific) Coast, who form most of the population, and those of the East — differences which were exacerbated by Somoza's dictatorship in a divide-and-rule manner. The FSLN was predominantly Spanish-speaking and it had problems relating to the English-speaking Creoles of the north-east and the native Indians of the south-east.

MISTAKES

Despite the efforts of those such as Carlos Rigby, considerable mistakes were made. "There were a lot of errors committed," he says while emphasising that "the FSLN brought round a change in Nicaragua and it became the hope for the rest of Latin America. We showed that it was possible to get rid of a dictator when you get together and you fight."

Attempts to get the people of the region to harvest crops twice yearly (which is quite possible in that climate) instead of just once, foundered due to the lack of consultation. Grain provided by the government for sowing was sold off instead, to the intense anger of Managua. The mistake made by people in the capital consist-

ed of not knowing that local people depended on agriculture for only half the year and that their diet was supplemented by fishing. Growing a second crop would have made that impossible.

"For the first time we had the opportunity to become active, reading our own language, understanding the real history of Nicaragua." The FSLN government enabled these developments to occur through its measures which gave autonomy to the region, "which is little over half the size of Nicaragua, usually called the Atlantic Coast, it is really the Caribbean Coast".

GROWING OPPOSITION

Two autonomous regions were created and they were to be administered by elected assemblies. One was to be based in Bluefields for the predominantly Creole regions and the other in Puerto Cabezas, covering the lands of the Miskito, Sumo, Rama and Garricono Indians. The present government of right-wing Violeta Chamorro has let these assemblies fall into disuse and has handed over total control to two Contra leaders. There is considerable and growing opposition to this move.

Rigby was also emphatic about the links between Ireland and his country. "We are really clear and keen about the 1916 Rising. When I came to this country, I saw a lot of people who were looking forward to celebrating it and we, as a people who have lived under a similar situation before the triumph of the Sandinista revolution, we know all about that."

Twinbrook residents combat joyriding menace

ANGER was channelled into action in Belfast's Twinbrook estate last week, as the community responded to the untimely death of a young mother, killed when the car she was travelling in was in collision with a car stolen by joyriders.

Accompanied by bereaved relatives of the victim, over 300 local people gathered in Twinbrook on the evening of Thursday, March 21st, to march around the estate as an expression of sympathy with the family of Maureen Dornan and to publicly show those involved in joyriding that the community would not be intimidated.

A packed public meeting on Monday, March 25th, a week to the day of the fatal incident, provided a clear indication not only of the anger but also the collective resolve of the Twinbrook community to tackle the menace of joyriding. In a two-hour-long, heated and at times emotional debate, local people, community groups and councillors discussed the problem with representatives from a number of statutory bodies, including the local Education and Library Board, Housing Executive, Probation Service, a number of youth groups, Twinbrook Youth Ways and the local Lynx Project, which works with young offenders.

RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

Sinn Féin Councillor Pat Rice said that the party had made 79 housecalls since Christmas dealing with joyriding and that in that period alone there had been one serious incident per week involving stolen cars. Responding to a question about recreational facilities, Twinbrook Sinn Féin Councillor Michael Ferguson said:

"All young people in the area are at risk in one form or another from dangerous and deadly pastimes in the absence of any real facilities to cater for them. Unionist-controlled Lisburn Borough Council has an appalling record on the provision for youth in these two nationalist areas. At the end of the day, the only people who can resolve this has to be the



community themselves, but that's no reason to let statutory bodies who have some responsibility, off the hook. The Education and Library Board, the Social Services, Lisburn Borough Council and the Church all have a responsibility to this community and this community should push them into meeting that responsibility."

Amongst often emotional contributions from the floor, residents described the risk imposed by high-speed joyriding on their families, particularly their children who have nowhere else to play but in the street. A woman employed to help school children cross one of Twinbrook's busy roads said that joyriders were putting children walking home from school at risk everyday.

"It's nothing short of a miracle that more deaths and injuries haven't occurred. Even in the early afternoon when children are returning home from school, stolen cars are flying around these streets. Children have already been injured by joyriders, sooner or later some of these children will be killed."

A number of parents whose children had at one time been involved in joyriding were also present. One father whose son had been killed as a result of his joyriding activities, backed a call for the exclusion of the joyriding 'hard-core' from the estate and said that if firm action had been taken and his son had been put out of the country he might still be alive today.

Before adjourning, a number of people present at the meeting came forward to form a co-ordinating committee, which was established to consider the problems raised and suggestions made by the meeting with a view to further action.



Fingers Byrned again

BY DARA McNEILL

ONE OF THE great pretences of modern Irish broadcasting is that Gay Byrne is a serious social commentator, an outspoken critic of sorts, a veritable thorn in the side of the establishment, if you will.

Thus, by implication, Mr Byrne is placed in the same category as the likes of John Pilger or Robert Fisk — someone for whom speaking the truth holds no fear. That is utter nonsense. Byrne is a lightweight entertainer, admittedly a good one, but a lightweight nonetheless.

Occasionally, on issues relating to personal freedom — condoms, women priests, taxation etc — he will fly the liberal flag. They are important issues, but nothing likely to bring a government tumbling down.

When, for example, as one critic pointed out years ago, do you ever hear him hold forth on an issue as fundamental as the unequal distribution of wealth in this country. By never raising such issues he uses his position, not to question, but to re-affirm the fundamental values of the southern Irish establishment.

DILEMMA

Thus, on the odd occasion that serious topics come up for discussion on the *Late Late Show*, Mr Byrne is in something of a dilemma. If he were to treat the subjects seriously, ask the necessary questions, his own glaring lack of depth and essential conservatism would shine through. So, he just trivialises the whole thing.

The examples are legion. A few years ago Tony Benn appeared on the show. His own at-

tempts at reasoned discussion were ignored and Benn ended up looking exactly as the British gutter press portray him; an off-the-wall maverick. By implication, the causes he espoused (particularly British withdrawal) were similarly demeaned.

Next came Nicky Kelly. Mr Kelly told the story of his wrongful imprisonment convincingly and, for a moment, the whole show was in danger of becoming serious. So Byrne asked him his plans for the future. Kelly shook his head. Quick as a flash, Byrne quips "well, I doubt if you'll be looking for a job with CIE". Another, cheap damage-limitation exercise completed.

Then it was the turn of Gerry Conlon and Paul Hill. They, however, proved more formidable and no trivial remarks on Byrne's part could dent the seriousness of their story. The result? Mr Byrne became visibly flustered, dropped his notes on the floor and forgot Paddy Armstrong's name. When told that the two had been 'looked after' in prison (by republican prisoners) Byrne's incomprehension led him to inquire whether the two had been subjected to a republican "protection racket"!!!

NO RESPITE

It is for moments such as these that we reviewers live.

Last Friday night it was the turn of Richard McIlkenny, Gerry Hunter and Paddy Hill. When things got a little heavy Byrne wandered over towards Chris Mullin in the audience. Even here, however, there was no respite. Mr Mullin informed him that the British judicial system was "working very hard in learning no lesson" from the case. To which an incredulous Byrne replied, "Not many of them,

surely". Obviously the name Dessie Ellis means nothing to him.

COMEUPPENCE

And when Paddy Hill condemned extradition in very forceful terms, stating clearly that it should not continue, Byrne was aghast. "Even now?", he asked. It was an answer worthy of Lord Lane.

At another stage, Mr Byrne suggested to Paddy Hill that perhaps, he was a little forceful in his condemnations of British justice since his release. This time he got his comeuppance. "The truth", said Paddy Hill, "is always forceful."

However, determined to show just who was Boss, Mr Byrne went on later to denounce the IRA as the real culprits. It wasn't a question, it was as bold a political statement as you are likely to hear. Neither of the three were considered worthy enough to be asked their opinion. If Gay Byrne wants to appear as a guest on his own show, that's fine. But you don't invite people onto a show in order to use them as a backdrop whilst you hog the platform. Well, real broadcasters don't anyway.



● Gay Byrne — a 'real' broadcaster

1916 — 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE EASTER RISING — 1991

EASTER SATURDAY

COUNTY ARMAGH

6.30pm Chapel Car Park
Mullaghbawn

COUNTY TYRONE

Assemble 3pm McNally's Shop
Ballycolman Avenue
March to Strabane Republican Plot
Strabane

Assemble 5pm
Cranagh

EASTER SUNDAY

COUNTY ANTRIM

Wreath-laying ceremony
10.30am Vol Gerard Casey
St Mary's Cemetery
Rasharkin
11.45am Vol Peter Rodden
Drumknagamer, Kilrea
12.30pm St Joseph's Cemetery
Dunloy
1pm Cargin (Toome)

COUNTY ARMAGH

10am assemble Killeeny school
March to Republican Plot
Killeeny
10.30am assemble St Patrick's
March to Drumintee Chapel
Drumintee
10.30am The Square
Camlough
10.30am Rangers Hall
Commemoration after 11.30 Mass
Killeen
11.30am march to St Patrick's
Crossmaglen
12.30 Portadown
2pm assemble Ferla crossroads
Ballymacnab
2pm McVerry GAA Tournament
followed by march
to Republican Memorial
Cullyhanna
2.30pm Francis Street
Lurgan

BELFAST

1pm Beechmount
March to Milltown Cemetery

COUNTY CAVAN

Assemble 2.30pm Milltown Village
March to Drumlane Cemetery

COUNTY CORK

Assemble 2pm National Monument
Grand Parade
Cork
3pm Tadhg an Astna Monument
Clonakilty

COUNTY DERRY

2.30pm main county commemoration
Loup
Wreath-laying Ceremonies
10.30am Glenullin
10.45am Desertmartin
10.45am Newbridge



Easter Commemorations

ALL NATIONALIST cultural and sporting groups, and trade unions are invited to take part in Easter commemoration ceremonies which are organised by local commemoration committees but no banners are to be carried on the parades.

People who wish to take photographs of the parades and ceremonies must first obtain permission from the organisers. For further information, please contact the Republican Press Centre, 51/55 Falls Road, Belfast (phone 230261); or 44 Parnell Square, Dublin (phone 726932).

11.45am Lavey
12.15pm Bellaghy
12.15pm Maghera
12.15pm St Patrick's Chapel, Dungiven

DERRY CITY

Assemble 2.30pm Bogside Inn
March to City Cemetery

COUNTY DONEGAL

3pm Drumboe
Assemble Johnston's Corner

COUNTY DOWN

10.30am assemble Francis St
Newry
5.30pm assemble Bann Road
playing fields
Castlewella

DUBLIN

Assemble 2pm GPO
March to Republican Plot
Glasnevin Cemetery

COUNTY KERRY

12 noon the square
march to Republican Plot
Listowel
3pm Denny St
March to Republican Plot
Tralee

COUNTY LIMERICK

11.45am Bedford Row
March to Mount St Laurence's Cemetery
Limerick City
3.30pm Con Colbert Memorial Hall
March to Templethea cemetery
Athea

COUNTY LEITRIM

Main county commemoration
11.30am Bornaoola Church

COUNTY LOUTH

3pm march leaves square
to the Republican Plot
St Patrick's Cemetery
Dundalk

COUNTY MEATH

2.30pm Ballinlough
Oldcastle

COUNTY MONAGHAN

Main county commemoration
2.30pm O'Hanlon Memorial
March to Lathluran Cemetery
Monaghan Town
Local commemorations will take place
in following church yards after
masses on Easter Sunday and
on Easter Monday where decided
(check locally for details)
Annyalla, Carrickroe, Castleblayney
Clara, Clontibret, Corcaghan

Rafecragh, Rockcorry (Trinity)

Urbleshanny
(The family and friends of the late
Vol Seamus McElwain will hold the
annual commemoration at Urbleshanny
on Easter Sunday
at 2pm. Fáilte roimh chách)
Clones commemoration
Assemble Car park off
Roslea Road at 12.30pm
March to grave of
Volunteer Alo Hand

COUNTY OFFALY

11.45am
Clareen

COUNTY SLIGO

2.30pm assemble Lady Erin Monument
March to Republican Plot
Sligo Cemetery
Sligo

COUNTY TIPPERARY

Assemble 11.30am for Wreath-laying
ceremony
Templederry
Assemble 3pm Bamba Sq
for main ceremony
Templederry
George Plant commemoration
3pm St Johnston cemetery
Fethard

COUNTY TYRONE

Main county commemoration
3pm Carrickmore
Local commemorations
9.30am Aughnagar
10.15am Rock
10.15am Broughderg
10.30am Altmore
10.45am Moy
10.45am Edendork
10.45am Galbally
11am Dunmoyle
11.15am Tullysaran
11.45am Brockagh
11.45am Pomeroy
11.45am Kildress

11.45am Greencastle
12 noon Eglis
12 noon Coalisland
12 noon Aghyaran
12 noon Ardboe
12 noon Loughmacrory
12.15pm Carrickmore
1.15pm Clonoe
1.15pm Moortown
Wreath-laying ceremonies
11am Castlederg
12.15pm Trillick

COUNTY WATERFORD

Assemble after 11am Mass
Portlaw
3pm The Glen
Waterford City

COUNTY WEXFORD

Assemble 11am Foley's Garage
(the Quay)
March to St Mary's Cemetery
Enniscorthy

COUNTY WICKLOW

Assemble 11.30am
Old Connaught Corner (PMPA)
March to Republican Plot
Little Bray Cemetery
Wreath-laying Ceremony
12 noon Hollywood Cemetery

EASTER MONDAY

COUNTY ARMAGH

Assemble after 10am Mass
Jonesborough
11am assemble Main St
Belleek
11am Wreath-laying ceremony
Sean McElvenna's memorial
Portmore
Armagh County Parade
2pm
Assemble McEnemey's filling station
Monaghan Road

Belfast

1.00pm Carlisle Road
to local monument

COUNTY CORK

Assemble 2pm
March to local monument
Ráthlíre

COUNTY DERRY

2.30pm The Diamond
Swatragh

COUNTY DUBLIN

2.30pm Baker's Corner
March to Deansgrange Cemetery
Dún Laoghaire

COUNTY KERRY

3pm Wreath-laying ceremony at
Republican Monument
Killamey

COUNTY MEATH

Assemble 11.30am
10.30am Bus leaves 44 Parnell Sq
Ashbourne

COUNTY OFFALY

Wreath-laying ceremonies
11am Vol Joe Byrne
Kilclonfert
Dangen
1pm Vol Matthew Kane
Muchlagh
Tullamore
3pm Vol Thomas Dignam
Kilcoursey
Clara

TUESDAY

Belfast

1.00pm Herbert Street
Ardoyne

National Reclaim the Spirit of Easter 75th Anniversary Committee

April 2nd — Official Opening 5.30pm. Irish Labour
History Museum, Beggars Bush, Dublin 4.
EXHIBITION OF WATERCOLOURS BY CONSTANCE
MARKIEVICZ.

This event supported by Dublin 1991 European City
of Culture.

April 3rd — The Mansion House —
Debate — 7.30pm.

"That Articles Two and Three of the Constitution be
retained."

April 4th — The Mansion House — 7.30pm.

Symposium — "Women in Irish History."
Diana Norman plus prominent individuals and histori-
ans.

April 6th — PARNELL SQUARE, DUBLIN, 1pm.

LIVE CONCERT
Live All-Star Concert — 1 pm. Leading Irish Musi-
cians, Singers, Dancers.



PARADE AND SPECTACULAR PAGEANT

The Parade commences at 3pm from Parnell Square
and will include Pipe bands, Brass bands, banners,
Trade Union banners, (no party-political banners),
street entertainers, musicians, community groups. All
welcome.

CEILI MOR

Céilí Mór — Mansion House — 9pm till late (full bar).

Details of local events throughout the 32 counties,
and other events in Dublin, are available in the Com-
mittee's Calendar of Events, which is now widely
available. It can be obtained by writing to the Com-
mittee at 16 North Great George's Street, Dublin 1.

COULD ALL commemoration committees, in conjunction
with the Republican Movement locally, please send pho-
tos and reports of the ceremonies to AP/RN at: 58 Parnell
Square, Dublin 1, phone 733611 (for 26-County reports);
2A Monagh Crescent, Belfast, phone 624421 or 622112
(for Six-County reports). Please ensure that they arrive at
AP/RN no later than 12 noon, Tuesday April 2nd.

AP/RN has only a limited number of journalists/pho-
tographers available to cover events so it is essential that
local PROs ensure that we get reports. Please send film,
preferably black and white ASA 400 35mm (undeveloped
if necessary) by train to make sure it reaches us in time.

1916 — 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE EASTER RISING — 1991



'I'D DO THE SAME AGAIN' — DAN GLEESON

PREVIOUS TO 1916, of course, the British army were in occupation of the country with barracks in all of the big towns. At this time a great debate about Home Rule was going on. I remember this baker from Cloughjordan, he used to go round the houses delivering bread with a pony and trap. He would bring the *Cork Examiner* to my father every weekend. Well this day he came into my father and the *Examiner* had a big splash and a photo and it said that Home Rule was on the statute book.

Of course Carson then came on the scene and formed the first paramilitaries as they call them today — the Ulster Volunteers, and they weren't going to be long putting a stop to Home Rule. So what the politicians did was that they set up this convention, something similar to the forum they conducted a few years ago. It was to come up with a solution to the problems which would be caused by the granting of Home Rule. They wanted something to accommodate the loyalists.

But in the meantime, the National Volunteers were formed in Dublin and they spread around the country, so we had a great time organising. Every parish was organised under local committees. There was a company here in Ballymackey, one in Toomevara and so on. Nearly every Sunday there'd be a parade and there was great excitement in watching and following them. Then they decided to have this massive parade in Nenagh for the whole country. The rally was addressed by a man called Esmond, he was the sitting MP for North Tipperary and a member of the Irish Party.

Then the First World War came along and people were encouraged to support the war. The propaganda, aimed at getting people to support the war, worked very well. I remember going to the creamery in Toomevara. They had this huge big poster with a man, Michael O'Leary on it, who was after being awarded the Victoria Cross. There was three noted characters back in history called Kelly, Burke and O'Shea. Kelly, Burke and O'Shea were very good men in their day but nothing to Michael O'Leary is what the poster said. And then they had stories about the Germans raping convents and all this about 'Catholic Belgium'.

So this was the kind of atmosphere before 1916. There was only an odd few people here and there

who knew anything about the goings on in the Republican Brotherhood.

Griffith had a paper called *Nationality* and there was this local man, John Hickey, a very intelligent man, who used to buy it. He'd often read it to a crowd at night. He'd talk about the paper and Griffith and Sinn Féin. I remember being really impressed by him. He had what to me was a real separatist tradition. He was saying things that were new and revolutionary.

Redmond decided that the question of Home Rule would have to be postponed until after the war was over and that the Volunteers should go and join the British army. I think 30,000 of them died in that war.

INSURRECTION

When the insurrection broke out there was a complete black-out upon news and it was a good while before people got to know anything about it. I was 14 years of age at this time. For a good while people around here were very silent about it. You had a pro-British element you know, whose sons had gone out to the war.

Many of them were the better-off people, who had big farms and that. But not all the big farmers were like that.

Following the Rising, there was a great feeling among the younger generation. One organisation especially that played a great part in raising this feeling as far as Tipperary was concerned, was the GAA. It was a very national-minded organisation at that time. The Volunteer organisation spread very rapidly.

JOINING THE VOLUNTEERS

Up near the church there, there is an old house. We all used to meet up there in the evening after a game of hurling. It was in the Autumn of 1917, sometime around my 15th birthday. There was three men, Wedger Maher, a man named Harty and a younger man not much older than myself named Jim Devenny.

We all went into this old house. There was six of us, brothers and others, who had been on the hurling team or whatever. They had a big form and it stated the aims of the Irish Volunteers and it was read out and then you signed your name. I was the last to sign. I was a bit young at the time but I said 'sure I'll sign it anyway'. So that year they started grouping and training with fellas who had knowledge of infantry training and all that kind of thing.

We had a massive parade on St Stephen's Day 1917. Moneygall

DAN GLEESON of Ballymackey, Nenagh, County Tipperary, has been a lifelong Irish republican, joining the Irish Volunteers in 1917. He witnessed the 1916 Easter Rising and every major event in Irish history since. He has been active in the ranks of the Republican Movement most of his life and has been incarcerated first by the British and then by the 26-County authorities in every decade from the '20s to the '70s.

To this day Dan remains committed to the Republican Movement, its ideals and objectives. He is a living link between the revolutionaries of 1916 and the republicans of the 1990s.

Speaking to Aine Nic Mhurchadha and Art Mac Eoin, Dan Gleeson tells the story of Ireland's freedom struggle through his own personal experiences as an active participant.



● Anti-conscription meeting at Ballaghaderreen, 1918

wasn't organised and our Toomevara Company wanted to get things going there. So the parade went from Toomevara to Moneygall. That was an historic day. The first Tricolour I ever seen was in Moneygall that day.

The structure of the movement then began to develop. The basis of a military organisation was laid.

The next thing that happened was to give the biggest boost to the Republican Movement. The Brits got this brainwave that they'd enforce conscription. There was a great anti-conscription meeting held in Nenagh and they were selling little badges with the motto "Death before conscription, we'll never subdue." There was a Fr Behan there that day, his people are still around, and he said: "The right place for a bullet from an Irish rifle is in an English heart", and he really emphasised it. That today of course would be referred to as 'incitement to violence'.

Conscription definitely helped Sinn Féin and in 1918 when the general election was held, they swept the decks.

The Volunteers didn't become

known as the IRA until after the elections in 1918, when the Nationalist Party was swept away and the government was set up. We all had to take an oath then to the Republic. I took the oath twice. From there on it was the IRA.

THE BRIGADE

Each area then had a Brigade. Then they restructured again and formed Divisions. North Tipperary became part of the Third Southern Division which included Brigades in Offaly and Laois.

South Tipperary was linked with another Division. They were the most famous of all, the Third Tipperary Brigade, with Treacy, Breen and Dinny Lacey. They waged a tremendous war against the British. Treacy and Breen were individuals, but Dinny Lacey was a man who could command and take charge of men. He was a great leader and a great soldier.

Each Brigade area had to develop their skills in warfare. Of course the greatest problem of all was the lack of armaments, of rifles and machine-guns. We collected all the shotguns from the farmers (laughs). They were alright but you wouldn't have much chance if you were facing a machine-gun and you only had a shotgun.

FLYING COLUMN

Then there was formed what was known as Flying Columns, what they now call active service units. There were men picked out and trained in every aspect of guerilla warfare.

They got a good column organised here in North Tipperary. They carried out some very good operations, the first of which was in the village of Borrisokane. They attacked a police barracks. There was about a dozen or so police in it. A house adjoining the barracks was taken over. They had a lot of petrol filled into



● An IRA Flying Column — a well organised Column operated in Nth Tipperary

1916 — 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE EASTER RISING — 1991

bottles and they got up on the roof and took off some of the roofing tiles to drop in the petrol. But the others had prepared for that and had sand along the top floor. The attack was going on for a good while. The Tans were no distance away in Nenagh, only about seven or eight miles.

The IRA had a scout out in that direction who came back to them with a message that there was fierce activity. So they called the attack off. But they weren't well gone away when the police threw out their weapons, but there was no-one there to collect them. One of the main purposes of those raids was to capture weapons and they would have had a good haul if they hadn't to retreat. They lost one man in that operation and he would be an uncle to the present Minister for Agriculture, Michael O'Kennedy. That was our baptism of fire.

There was a Volunteer on that operation who was home on leave from the British army. A lot of these men were disillusioned by the war. They had gone to back the call to fight for the freedom of small nations. So they decided they'd have a go to fight for their own small nation. They became officers and very valuable.

All the weapons we had were of short range. We hadn't even enough rifles. But the Column was very active. They turned out to be a very good fighting unit. They annihilated a whole section of Black and Tans or Auxiliaries down there in a place called Modrenny.

I spent a while in Birr Barracks and a week in Limerick during this time.

You can't win a war with gloves on your hands. That's the rules of war. If you're fighting you have to take measures to protect yourself. The RIC supplied all the information to the Tans and the Brits. They had to be dealt with.

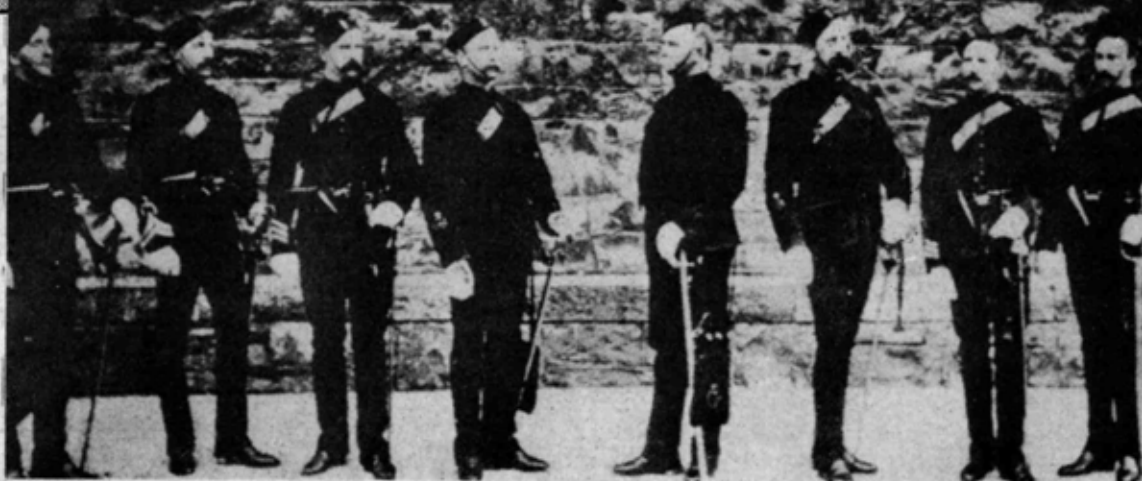
They knew too much because there was a lot of carelessness in the early stages. The Volunteers of the IRA weren't careful enough. There was piles of parades and meetings and some fellas you know, stupidly, wanted to show themselves off, maybe wearing a Sam Browne belt or giving orders. And the police had all that taken down. Personally, I never showed myself off nor to tell the truth did any of our section. They were very cautious. But there was others who liked people to see that they were IRA men. Maybe there was glamour about it (laughs). It was stupid because their names were penned down on the list.

APPARITION

We had a very interesting development in this parish at that time (laughs). Curraheen is up there in the hills, above Toomevara. There was this young fella worked for a farmer up in this place. Its just under the Devil's Bit Mountain. But he said he had an apparition. You have to go up to high country to get to the site. There is a kind of a quarry where this apparition was supposed to be. The story spread throughout the country and they came from all over Ireland. The police were out you see, so the IRA decided to take over and keep order and they did a good job. There wasn't a single accident despite all these thousands that were coming. I spent many days there on duty.

The Cumann na mBan was very active and they collected a rake of money there. All the people coming used to donate money (laughs).

The quarry was the main attraction for the apparition and people used to leave down-coins. But one evening this priest came. He was very upset. He got all the money and flung it up into the furze bushes.



● The RIC supplied information to the Tans and Brits — they had to be dealt with



● TOM BARRY

These travelling people came along and well they tore it all up. 'Oh Lord' they said, 'this is really a miracle, this is really a miracle' (laughs).

TRUCE AND TREATY

The Truce was a disaster... I was against the Treaty but where could you go? The IRA failed to organise themselves and to maintain themselves as a secretive army. They went public too much and too much was known about their organisation.

At that time there was a lot of Irishmen in the British army. After they were demobbed they had the option of rejoining a British regiment. However, these men formed the bulk of the Free State army.

I was active during the Civil War. Around here there was no attacks launched on barracks or anything like that. It was different to South Tipperary or with Barry in Cork. There was skirmishes but they were mostly defensive. When they were surrounded by the Free Staters they fought their way out of it.

The Free Staters really went to town and showed no mercy. My brother was arrested one Friday evening and they took him to the barracks in Cloughjordan. They riddled him with bullets that evening and said that he was trying to escape.

Then they issued an order that anyone caught with arms would be executed. There was four killed around here, Martin O'Shea, a man called Burke, Russell and McNamara. They were captured up near Borrisoleigh staying in this man's house and the fact that they had arms was enough. It is said the Free Staters executed 77 during the Civil War but you could add another 70 unofficial executions to that. Mulcahy, who took over from Collins, was a ruthless man.

You had around here a conservative farmer element who didn't give a damn about the whole thing as long as they could sell their goods. It was terrible to listen to some of them who had lost nothing and the way they were for the Treaty. They wanted a settlement, any settlement and they didn't care. That goes for every country I suppose. There are a lot of slaves in Ireland and I suppose there still are.

The IRA had a meeting up around the Knockmealdowns. Liam Lynch was Chief of Staff and this was where he was

killed. Immediately after this Aiken called a ceasefire.

FIANNA FAIL

Sinn Féin had their annual Ard Fheis and de Valera gave them notice of what he intended to do. After a very angry and heated debate, de Valera and Aiken and that crowd withdrew and formed Fianna Fáil. During the Treaty negotiations de Valera kept out of it. If he was a good leader he would have said there and then that we are not accepting an agreement with partition but he didn't and he proved afterwards that he wasn't genuine.

I remember the Republican Congress. I knew Frank Ryan and Peadar O'Donnell. I met them at a lot of Army Conventions I attended. I had great respect for George Gilmore.

Gilmore was a lovely, mild person. He was very intellectual and impressed me very much. I knew Mick Price as well.

Around the time of the build-up to the bombing campaign of 1939 there was a lot of tensions within the IRA. People wanted to go different roads. To keep on fighting the Free State, to restart the Civil War, these things would have needed an awful lot of consideration. Then the Second World War broke out.

Seán Russell wanted first to start a campaign in Britain and there was Volunteers selected from all over and they were trained in the use of explosives. Harry White spent a good while in England and then there was a fella I met in Mountjoy, Dom Adams, he carried out a lot of operations.

During the war, under de Valera, there was nearly 2,000 prisoners in the Curragh Internment Camp and I was one of them for a while. I was in there twice.

THE CURRAGH

During the '40s, it is amazing the amount of very intellectual people that were in the Curragh. Two of the Plunketts were there, George and John, one of them underwent a long hunger-strike. There was a great series of lectures held in the camp.

Then there was a split among the internees, a disastrous split. It was there you see before the camp was open, between the supporters of Tom Barry's attitude and Russell.

There was lectures and some people wanted to make use of the situation. There was young fellas from all over and they could be educated in the strategy of war and politics and it was going ahead at a great rate.

McLogan I think would have been a firm believer that they should stay put and try to educate in both political and military matters. But then a lot of those who had been serving sentences up in Mountjoy came in, the original people who started the war in Britain. They came in and decided to take over. The first thing they did was to start protest action over the food. The food was very bad.

All the huts were in lines. McLogan and myself and Martin White, a Clareman, were detailed to carry out this operation and of course it had to be kept under the strictest of secrecy. There was about 20 in the hut so it had to wait until they were all gone out. There was this stove in the centre of each hut for heating. McLogan had unearthed this lot of coal and he put it into the stove and waited until it was red. We prised holes in the partition and then threw in the burning coal, well the Lord save us!



● DAN BREEN

They had the races in the Curragh that day and they had to abandon them. The black smoke! It didn't rise at all but stayed about 20 feet from the ground.

We were only meant to burn four huts but all around the camp they started burning their huts. There was no discipline among them! (laughs) They all wanted to burn their huts so there was an awful lot burned in the end. We paid dearly for it afterwards.

We were all crammed into a big hut which they called the ice-box. I can picture it now with fellas marching around trying to keep themselves warm and they left us no toilet facilities or anything. We were there for six or seven days I'd say.

Barney Casey was a lovely young fellow, from Longford. He was a tradesman and I being a blacksmith's son we had a lot in common. We used to form up in our huts to march up and get our meals. Then you would rush back to your hut to be with your own. Well he ran out this day and they blasted him, they riddled him with bullets. He was killed outright.

In 1957 I spent four months in Moun-



● Dan Gleeson with Gerry Adams at a recent Sinn Féin Ard Fheis

joy and a while in Limerick Jail for having documents in the house.

THE STRUGGLE TODAY

In 1976 there was a big commemoration of the 1916 Rising. They had an order prohibiting it but it went ahead anyway. I was speaking at this and I think it was the best speech I ever made. I got four days in jail for this.

I was at most of the funerals of the 1981 hunger-strikers. There was trouble at the funeral of Joe McDonnell in Belfast. I was late arriving and wanted to join in the procession. The route was lined with people. They were changing the coffin bearers when I spotted John Joe McGirl, God be good to him, near the Guard of Honour and called him. So I got in beside John Joe and we proceeded along the route. The youngsters were getting very excited. Then there was a commotion because there was an attempt to apprehend the firing party who tried to escape. Plastic bullets and live bullets were fired which caused great panic among the people. Myself and another old-timer Ned Shea managed to calm them down. None of the people were wounded, but only for the fact that they got cover.

Looking back on the history of this country, it keeps repeating itself. The politicians in this state are giving every aid possible to Britain. They are acting as policemen and informers by extradition, by every means in their power. Where is the EC bringing this country? We are going to be the poor relation now, begging for alms.

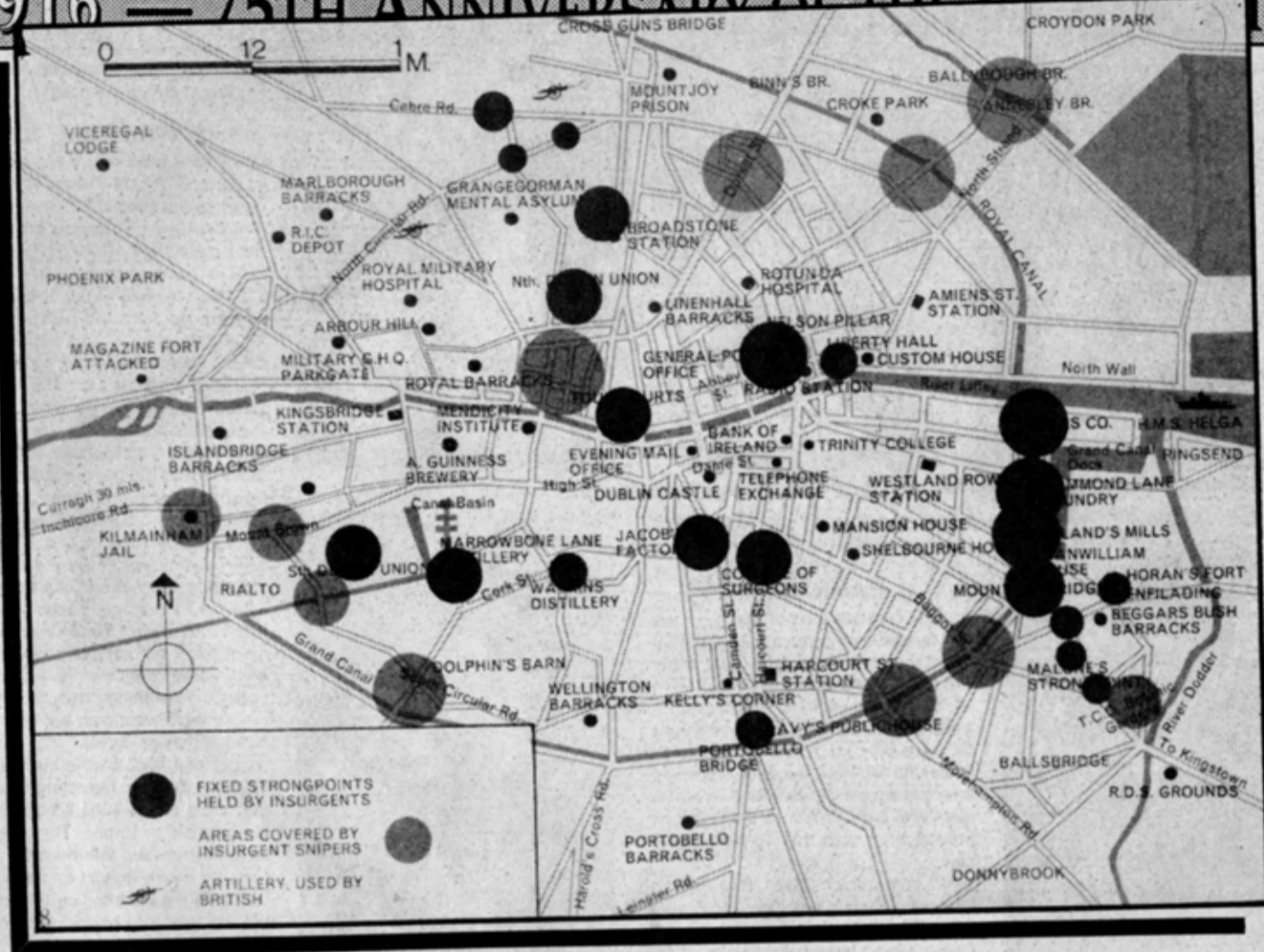
We should be out there as much as possible meeting the people and lashing out our policies to them. The struggle goes on. I don't think that they will be able to stop the Republican Movement. But getting the people behind you is the all-important factor. I have respect for many of those who opposed the Movement entering Leinster House, but you can't go around with blinkers on you, not seeing the reality before you. People will not give you the support if you can't represent them and do something for them.

There is no use commemorating '16 if you are not going to do something about achieving the aims of it. There is no way that the establishment here is going to cause themselves any trouble. They will flow along with the tide. They are putting forward this thing that we are members of Europe. There is a move towards a superpower for the EC countries.

I never thought in the early days that so many people would turn against the Movement, that they'd go off the main road and go the by-roads and get lost in the hills.

Its amazing going back to the days of Redmond's Volunteers and then into the IRA, prison cells and camps. All those things that were gone through. Well I don't regret it. I am very glad that I had some part to play and I'd do the same again.

1916 — 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE EASTER RISING — 1991



pied Jacob's Factory. Some units occupied positions in the Fairview/Ballybough area.

A contingent of the Citizen Army, under Commandant Michael Mallin, with Constance Markievicz as second-in-command, occupied the St Stephen's Green area and the Royal College of Surgeons.

The 3rd Battalion, under Commandant Eamon de Valera, occupied Boland's Bakery and flour mill and the railway from Landsdowne Road to Westland Row station, with outposts at Mount Street Bridge and Northumberland Road.

The 4th Battalion, under Commandant Eamonn Ceannt and Vice-Commandant Cathal Brugha, occupied the South Dublin Union, James's Street Hospital, with outposts at Marrowbone Lane, Roe's Distillery, Ardee Street brewery and Cork Street.

A company of Citizen Army men and women under Captain Seán Connolly occupied the City Hall and houses facing Dublin Castle, the seat of British government in Ireland. The Castle was almost undefended and probably could have been taken had the republicans known it. The first casualties of Easter Week occurred here, a police officer at the Castle gate and then Connolly himself on the roof of the City Hall as he was attempting to raise the Tricolour.

The insurgents also attacked Haddington Road and Beggars Bush Barracks but 2,500 British troops from the Curragh arrived and engaged them in the Dublin Castle area and recovered City Hall. The Mendicity Institute, held by Volunteers and Fianna members under Seán Heuston, came under attack as did the South Dublin Union. The British gained entry to the grounds of the Union. During the day a cavalry detachment of Lancers charged down Sackville Street but were repulsed without firing a shot. Six cavalymen were killed with the accidental shooting dead of one Volunteer in this first encounter in Sackville Street. In the Ballybough/North Strand area a party of Volunteers bringing supplies from Fairview to the GPO came under machine-gun attack but the crown forces who were advancing towards Annesley Bridge were successfully repulsed by snipers in the North Strand and the main contingent of Volunteers continued on their way to the GPO.

A small party, consisting mainly of Fianna with a few Volunteers, raided the Magazine Fort in the Phoenix Park, the main munitions store for crown forces in Dublin and blew up the explosives store. The British had so far been taken completely by surprise although the republicans had made a basic error in overlooking the importance of seizing the Crown Alley telephone exchange.

● Tuesday, April 25th

The Lord Lieutenant, Viscount Wimborne, declared martial law. The British attack on the Mendicity Institute continued and they took Citizen Army posts at the Dublin Daily Express and Evening Mail building and the Henry and James shop nearby. Artillery pounded barricades at Phibsboro' and the British secured the North Circular Road. The British occupied the Shelbourne Hotel and from it and the United Services Club kept up fire on the Volunteers in St Stephen's Green, forcing a withdrawal into the College of Surgeons.

General W.H.M. Lowe took command of the crown forces in Dublin and established a cordon from Kingsbridge to College Green via Dame Street. British reinforcements arrived from Belfast and Templemore and artillery support from Athlone. The South Dublin Union

A WEEK THAT SHOOK THE BRITISH EMPIRE

BY LIAM O COILEAIN

IT IS NO EXAGGERATION to say that the events of Easter Week in 1916 radically altered the course of Irish history. This is the story of the Rising in Dublin during that week which re-awakened the national demand for Irish freedom, the struggle for which continues to this day.

● Thursday, April 20th

Plans for a nationwide Rising received a cruel blow on Thursday, April 20th, 1916, when the German arms ship, the Aud, arrived in Tralee Bay at 4.15pm with arms and ammunition for the insurgents. It failed to make contact with Irish Volunteers ashore, however, because it wasn't expected until Sunday.

● Friday, April 21st

On Good Friday, the next day, at 2.15 in the morning, Roger Casement landed from a German submarine on Banna Strand in Kerry. At 1.30pm he was arrested at McKenna's Fort by armed members of the Royal Irish Constabulary. At half past six that evening the Aud was surrounded by British naval vessels and was ordered to Cobh (then known as Queenstown). Three Volunteers who had been sent to dismantle the wireless station at Cahirciveen and to set up a transmitter in Tralee to help Casement were tragically drowned when their car plunged into the River Laune at Ballykissane Pier in a freak accident.

● Saturday, April 22nd

On the orders of its Commander, Captain Karl Spindler, the Aud was scuttled off the Cork coast in the early hours of the morning. The captain and crew abandoned ship and were all captured. Towards midnight that night, Eoin Mac Néill, the Chief of Staff of the Irish Volunteers, issued the now infamous countermanding order, cancelling the Rising which had been arranged for Sunday. He had only found out on the Thursday about the Rising, which had been planned by the Military Council of the Irish Republican Brotherhood since January. He confronted Pádraig Pearse and Seán Mac Diar-

mada, who had both then managed to persuade him that the Rising would be a success because of the imminent arrival of the German arms shipment. The news of Casement's capture and the scuttling of the Aud led to his countermanding of Pearse's orders for a full mobilisation on the Sunday morning.

● Easter Sunday, April 23rd

On Easter Sunday, the IRB's Military Council, (which had been formed in February 1915 and consisted first of Pádraig Pearse, Eamonn Ceannt and Joseph Plunkett but was later expanded to include

Thomas Clarke, Seán Mac Diarmada, James Connolly and Thomas MacDonagh) met at 9am in Liberty Hall. It confirmed the cancellation of the Rising for Sunday but decided to go ahead the following day. From noon onwards, printing of the Proclamation of the Irish Republic, signed by the seven members of the Military Council, now the Provisional Government, commenced.

New mobilisation orders were issued but as a result of the confusion caused by Mac Néill's countermanding order the Rising was mostly confined to Dublin City.

● Easter Monday, April 24th

Even in Dublin mobilisation was far from complete. The details of how many Volunteers, Irish Citizen Army, Cumann na mBan, Fianna Eireann and Hibernian Rifles mem-

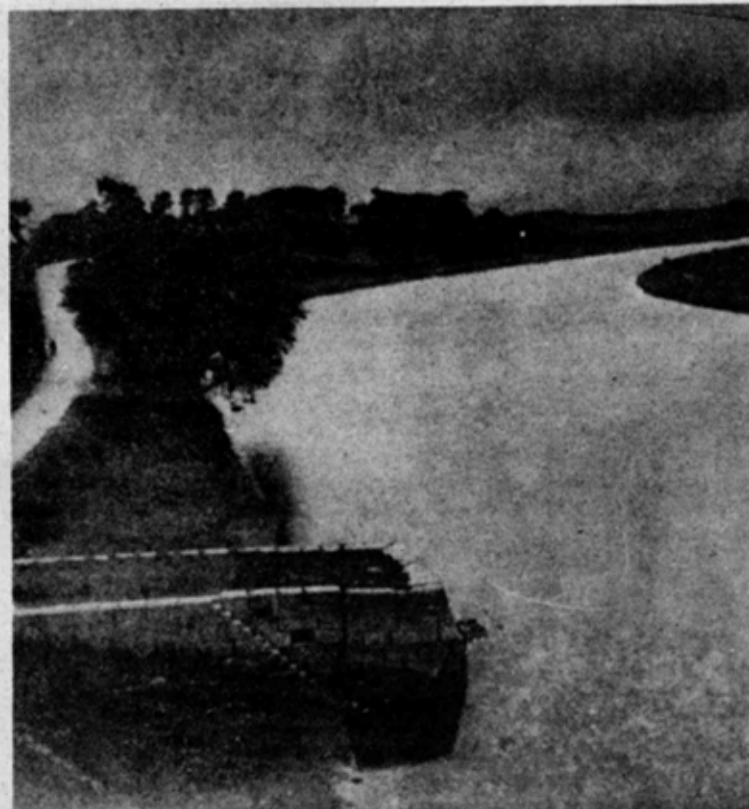
bers turned out are sketchy, but it appears that at the start of the week the total number was less than 1,000 but this was augmented during the week. At its peak the republican side consisted of around 1,800, of which over 200 were Citizen Army.

At 12 noon, having marched from Liberty Hall, the main body of insurgents, headed by Pearse and Connolly, and including Clarke, Mac Diarmada and Plunkett, occupied the General Post Office in Sackville (now O'Connell) Street as headquarters. Connolly sent small detachments to occupy Hopkins the jewellers and Kelly's Gun Store, the corner shops commanding Bachelor's Walk, Eden Quay and Carlisle (now O'Connell) Bridge. Later, other small parties would be sent to take over such prominent buildings as the Metropole Hotel, just across Prince's Street from the GPO, the Manfield boot factory and Eason's bookshop on the corner of Abbey Street. On the other side of Sackville Street the Imperial Hotel, Marconi House and the tall Dublin Bread Company building were occupied. Connolly had the Starry Plough run up on the roof of the Hotel, a capitalist stronghold during the 1913 Lockout. A barricade was constructed at the junction of Abbey Street and Sackville Street to hold off the expected British reinforcements' line of march from Amiens Street railway station.

Pearse stepped outside the front of the GPO into Sackville Street and read the Proclamation of the Republic. Two hundred copies of the Proclamation were pasted around the city-centre.

The 1st Battalion of the Irish Volunteers under Commandant Edward Daly, occupied the Four Courts and established posts at Jameson's Distillery and buildings in the Church Street/North King Street area. The Mendicity Institute was occupied by D Company under the command of Captain Seán Heuston.

The 2nd Battalion, under Commandant Thomas MacDonagh, occu-



● Ballykissane Pier, where three Volunteers, sent to set up a transmitter to help Casement, tragically drowned

1916 — 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE EASTER RISING — 1991

was attacked and the British cordoned off the route from the North Wall to Kingsbridge (now Heuston) Station. Irish positions throughout the city came under attack. Despite inflicting many casualties on British forces repairing the damaged Great Northern Railway line at the Sloblands, British strength forced a withdrawal of republican outposts from the outlying Fairview and Annesley Bridge posts late in the day. At noon that day the insurgents had produced their own newspaper, *Irish War News*, priced one penny, giving details of all that had taken place so far.

Control of Trinity College and Dublin Castle enabled the British to attack the GPO with artillery from the south side of the river, this wedge in the ring of rebel defensive positions also making it unnecessary to do more than contain the insurgents at Boland's, Jacob's and the South Dublin Union. It wasn't until Friday that the gunners got the range of the GPO accurately. Two British infantry brigades were landed at Dún Laoghaire late on Tuesday evening.

● **Wednesday, April 26th**

These reinforcements marched towards the city centre. The 5th and 6th Battalions, Sherwood Foresters came in on the Blackrock, Stillorgan, Donnybrook road in time to take part in heavy fighting at the South Dublin Union. The 7th and 8th Battalions, marching in via Ballsbridge, were halted by three Volunteer outposts covering Mount Street Bridge. For nine hours 12 men held down the two battalions, inflicting appalling casualties on them. The British admitted losses of 234 officers and men killed or wounded — in fact more than half their total casualties in the Rising, an unnecessarily stubborn waste of lives, as there were other undefended routes into the city. Four Volunteers survived the epic battle, retiring from Clanwilliam House only when it was in flames from incendiary artillery fire.

That day the rebels burnt the Linenhall Barracks and took the surrender of the garrison. The unoccupied Liberty Hall was shelled by the gunboat Helga which had sailed up the Liffey to Butt Bridge but the Loop Line bridge prevented direct firing. British forces took up positions in Sackville Street while rifle and machine-gun fire on the GPO and other IRA outposts in Sackville Street and on the Quays became heavy and ceaseless. This was mainly coming from Trinity College and the tower of Tara Street Fire Station across the river. Artillery at Tara Street also shelled Liberty Hall. In the afternoon a heavy gun at the corner of D'Olier and College Street demolished the upper part of the post at Kelly's corner and its little garrison was forced



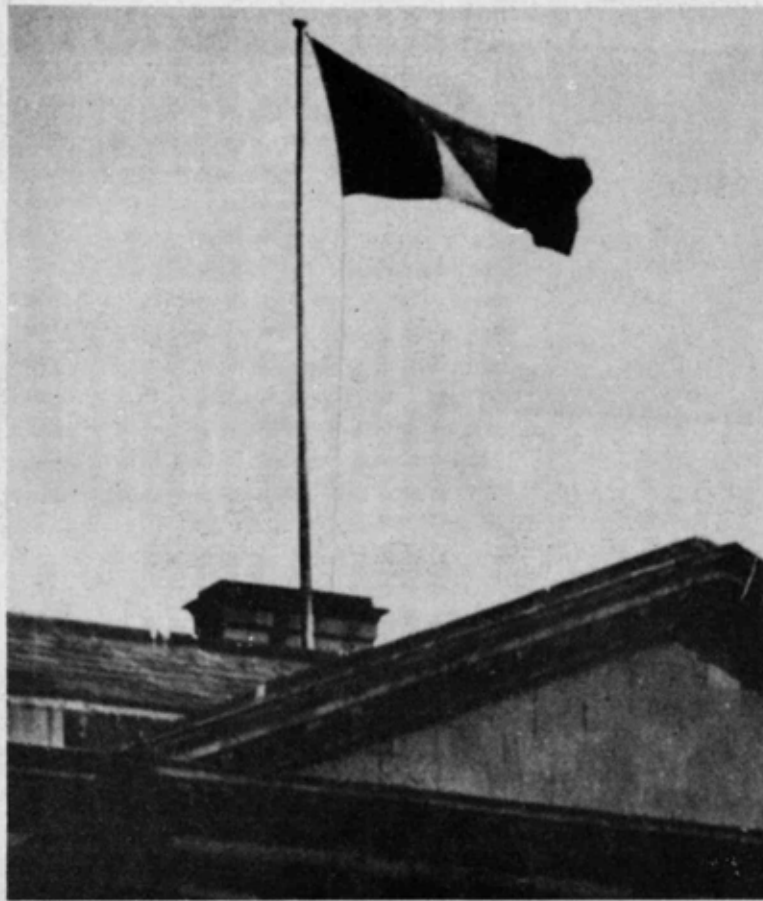
● SEAN CONNOLLY

to withdraw to the Metropole. The Mendicity Institute was bombed and its rebel garrison was forced to surrender, despite causing heavy British losses. Crown forces advancing on Sackville Street from Parkgate met stiff resistance from Daly's posts in the Four Courts and North King Street area. By the end of the day a cordon had been thrown the city centre, north of the Liffey. Two more battalions were also on their way from England. The pacifist Francis Sheehy-Skeffington, who had been arrested the previous day while trying to prevent looting in the city centre, was killed, along with two journalists, on Wednesday by British troops in Portobello Barracks, Rathmines.

● **Thursday, April 27th**

Communications between the republican outposts had been cut and it became clear that the principle British objective was the GPO and its outposts. Heavy fighting in the North King Street and Four Courts area was an unsuccessful effort on the crown forces part to eliminate these obstacles to the principle objective. The Four Courts was shelled and an armoured car was used by the British in North King Street. Artillery attacks and incendiary bombs on the GPO continued and fires raging throughout Sackville Street spread rapidly.

Connolly was severely wounded twice but continued to direct the defence from a stretcher. In the South Dublin Union Cathal Brugha was also very seriously wounded in heavy fighting but continued firing. The British were forced to temporarily retreat. There was no very determined assault on the main republican positions in Jacob's and Boland's. John Redmond, leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party, condemned the Rising in the House of Commons.



● The Tricolour flying over the GPO during Easter Week 1916

IRISH WAR NEWS

THE IRISH REPUBLIC.

Vol. 1. No. 1 DUBLIN, TUESDAY, APRIL 25, 1916.

"IF THE GERMANS CONQUERED ENGLAND."

In the London "New Statesman" for April 1st, an article is published—"If the Germans Conquered England," which has the appearance of a very clever piece of satire written by an Irishman. The writer draws a picture of England under German rule, almost every detail of which exactly fits the case of Ireland at the present day. Some of the sentences are so exquisitely appropriate that it is impossible to believe that the writer had not Ireland in his mind when he wrote them. For instance:—

"England would be constantly irritated by the lofty moral utterances of German statesmen who would assert—quite sincerely, no doubt—that England was free, freer indeed than she had ever been before. Prussian freedom, they would explain, was the only real freedom, and therefore England was free. They would point to the flourishing railways and farms and colleges. They would possibly point to the contingent of M.P.'s, which was permitted, in spite of its deplorable disorderliness, to sit in a permanent minority in the Reichstag. And not only would the Englishman have to listen to a constant flow of speeches of this sort; he would find, too, that his children were coming home from school with new ideas of history. They would ask him if it was true that until the Germans came England had been an uncivilized country, constantly engaged in civil war. The object of every schoolbook would be to make the English child grow up in the notion that the history of his country was a thing to forget, and that the one bright spot in it was the fact that it had been conquered by cultured Germans."

"If there was a revolt, German statesmen would deliver grave speeches about 'disloyalty,' 'ingratitude,' 'reckless agitators who would ruin their country's prosperity.' . . . Prussian soldiers would be encamped in every barracks—the English conscripts having been sent out of the country to be trained in Germany, or to fight the Czar—in order to curb the ardour of German morality, should English sedition come to blows with it."

"England would be exhausted to abandon her own genius in order to imitate the genius of her conquerors, to forget her own history for a larger history, to give up her own language for a 'universal' language—in other words, to destroy her household gods one by one, and put in their place . . ."

● **Friday, April 28th**

Major General Sir John Maxwell arrived from England as Commander-in-Chief of the British forces. At 9.30am Pearse, President of the Pro-

● **The Irish War News 25/4/16**

visional Government and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces of the Irish Republic, issued his last manifesto paying tribute to his troops, singling out Connolly for special mention:

"If I were to mention names of individuals my list would be a long one. I will name only that of Commandant General James Connolly, commanding the Dublin Division. He lies wounded, but is still the guiding brain of our resistance... If we accomplish no more than we have accomplished, I am satisfied. I am satisfied that we have saved Ireland's honour. For my part, as to anything I have done in this, I am not afraid to face either the judgement of God, or the judgement of posterity."

Connolly himself ended an order with the words:

"Courage, boys, we are winning, and in the hour of our victory let us not forget the women who have everywhere stood by us and cheered us on. Never had man or woman a grander cause, never was a cause more grandly served."

The Fingal Volunteers, then the 5th Battalion of the Dublin Brigade,

under the command of Thomas Ashe, numbering 48, out-fought and completely defeated a superior force of about 70 RIC officers at Rath Cross Ashbourne, the Volunteers having taken four RIC barracks. They captured arms and ammunition but failed to take Ashbourne Barracks.

However, in the city, the beginning of the end of the Rising was marked when the British artillery finally got the range of the GPO. The building was set on fire and the prisoners who had been taken and the wounded were withdrawn by Volunteers and Cumann na mBan members to Jervis Street Hospital. The GPO could no longer be defended and the decision was taken to evacuate it. Connolly remained in command but as the garrison unsuccessfully attempted to break through a British barricade in Moore Street, hoping to fight their way through to a soap factory on Great Britain (now Parnell) Street, the O'Rahilly was killed. At 8.40pm the new headquarters were set up in a house at the Moore Street end of Henry Place. British soldiers of the South Staffordshire Regiment shot dead 15 civilians in the North King Street area.

● **Saturday, April 29th**

From first light on, the battle raged with mounting intensity. British forces closed in on other posts where fighting continued. By morning headquarters in Moore Street were isolated. Around Connolly's bedside Pearse and members of the Provisional Government, except MacDonagh and Ceannt, whose commands were in Jacob's and the South Dublin Union, decided to negotiate terms of surrender; preliminary arrangements were made by Cumann na mBan member Elizabeth O'Farrell, who took the dangerous job of delivering the message to the British in Moore Street. General Lowe would accept only unconditional surrender. At 3.30pm Pearse agreed to this and handed his sword to Lowe. Fifteen minutes later he signed orders to the other outposts:

"In order to prevent the further slaughter of Dublin citizens, and in the hope of saving the lives of our followers now surrounded and hopelessly outnumbered, the members of the Provisional Government present at Headquarters have agreed to an unconditional surrender, and the commandants in the various districts of the City and County will order their commands to lay down arms."

The Tricolour was hauled down from the roof of the GPO by British soldiers and the headquarters garrison marched out to surrender. Late in the afternoon Daly's garrison in the Four Courts also surrendered. The 400 republicans taken prisoner spent the night in the open in the grounds of the Rotunda Hospital.

● **Sunday, April 30th**

All the other strongpoints, the South Dublin Union, Jacob's, the College of Surgeons and Boland's Mill were still in action but after assurances of the genuineness of Pearse's order, all the other Commandants, with their officers and men and women, surrendered. The republicans who had been held prisoner at the Rotunda were taken to Richmond Barracks at Inchicore. Hundreds were taken from here to the North Wall to be interned in Wales and England. On Wednesday, May 3rd, the executions began.

Sixty-four republicans had been killed in action during the Rising. Of the 20,000 British troops involved, 516 officers and men were officially listed as killed, wounded or missing. British shelling had reduced much of the city centre to charred rubble and somewhere between 160 and 216 civilians had been killed.



● The ruins of Linenhall Barracks after the Rising

Republican Roll of Honour

Fuair siad bás ar son saoirse na hÉireann

BELFAST BRIGADE

1st Battalion
Vol Tony Henderson 1971
Vol Terence McDermott 1971
Vol Martin Forsythe 1971
Vol John Finucane 1972
Vol Gerard Fenell 1974
Vol John Rooney 1974
Vol Sean McDermott 1976
Vol Thomas Kane 1976
Vol Brendan O'Callaghan 1977
Vol Dan Turley 1983
Vol Jim McKernan 1986
Vol Margaret McArdle 1987
Vol Kevin McCracken 1988
Vol Caoimhín Mac Brádaigh 1988

2nd Battalion

Vol Liam McParland 1969
Vol Jimmy Steele 1970
Vol Peter Blake 1970
Vol Tom McGoldrick 1970
Vol Charles Hughes 1971
Vol Seamus Simpson 1971
Vol Danny O'Neill 1971
Vol Albert Kavanaugh 1972
Vol Gerard Crossan 1972
Vol Tony Lewis 1972
Vol Sean Johnston 1972
Vol Patrick Campbell 1972
Vol Tom McCann 1972
Vol Robert McCrudden 1972
Vol Michael Clarke 1972
Vol Jimmy Quigley 1972
Vol Daniel McAweeney 1972
Vol John Donaghy 1972
Vol Joseph McKinney 1972
Vol Stan Carberry 1972
Vol Francis Liggitt 1972
Vol Edward O'Rawe 1972
Vol Patrick Mulvenna 1972
Vol James Bryson 1972
Vol Martin Skillen 1972
Vol John Kelly 1972
Vol John Stone 1972
Vol Paul Fox 1972
Vol Sean Bailely 1976
Vol James McGrillen 1976
Vol Paul Marlowe 1976
Vol Billy Reid 1977
Vol Tony Nolan 1979
Vol Kevin Delaney 1980
Vol Eamonn McNulty 1981
Vol James Burns 1981
Vol Tony Campbell 1985
Vol Brian Dempsey 1986
Vol Finbarr McKenna 1987

3rd Battalion

Vol Henry McIlhorne 1970
Vol Michael Kane 1971
Vol Billy Reid 1971
Vol Patrick McArdery 1971
Vol Tony Nolan 1971
Vol Gerald McDade 1972
Vol Joseph Cunningham 1972
Vol Gerard Bell 1972
Vol Robert Dorrain 1972
Vol Robert Dorrain 1972
Vol Samuel Hughes 1972
Vol Charles McCrystal 1972
Vol John McErlan 1972
Vol Edward McDonnell 1972
Vol Jackie McIlhorne 1972
Vol Joseph Fitzsimmons 1972
Vol Martin Engelen 1972
Vol Louis Scullion 1972
Vol James Reid 1972
Vol Joseph Downey 1972
Vol Seamus Cassidy 1972
Vol James Sloan 1972
Vol Tony Campbell 1972
Vol James McCann 1972
Vol Brian Smyth 1972
Vol Frederick Leonard 1972
Vol Seamus McCusker 1972
Vol Martin McDonagh 1972
Vol Frank Fitzsimmons 1976
Vol Joseph Surgenor 1976
Vol Trevor McElhin 1977
Vol Jackie McIlhorne 1978
Vol Denis Brown 1978
Vol Jim Mulvenna 1979
Vol Laurence Montgomery 1979
Vol Frankie Donnelly 1979
Vol Martin McKenna 1987
Vol Laurence Marley 1987
Vol Brendan Davison 1988

CLARE

Vol Hugh Hehir 1988

CORK

Vol Tony Ahern 1973
Vol Dermot Crowley 1973

CUMANN NA mBAN

Vol Dorothy Maguire 1971

BELFAST BRIGADE

Vol Maureen Meehan 1971
Vol Anne Pecker 1972
Vol Anne Marie Pettitrew 1973
Vol Bridie Dolan 1975
Vol Laura Crawford 1975
Vol Rosemary Bleakley 1976

DOWNPATRICK

Vol Vivien Fitzsimmons 1970

NEWCASTLE

Vol Pauline Kane 1973

PORTADOWN

Vol Julie Dougan 1972

DERRY BRIGADE

Vol Thomas McCool 1970
Vol Thomas Carlin 1971
Vol Joseph Coyle 1971
Vol Eamon O'Lafferty 1971
Vol Colin Keenan 1972
Vol Eugene McCulligan 1972
Vol John Sturrs 1972
Vol Seamus Bradley 1972
Vol Michael Quigley 1972
Vol John Brady 1972
Vol James Carr 1972
Vol James McDaid 1972
Vol Joe Walker 1972
Vol Gerard Craig 1972
Vol David Russell 1972
Vol Michael Meenan 1972
Vol John McDaid 1972
Vol Ethel Lynch 1972
Vol Jim Gallagher 1972
Vol Brian Coyle 1972
Vol Dennis Heaney 1972
Vol Patrick Duffy 1972
Vol George McBrearty 1972
Vol Charles Maguire 1972
Vol Eamon Bradley 1972
Vol Phil O'Donnell 1972
Vol Oscar Quigley 1972
Vol Curran Fleming 1972
Vol Danny Doherty 1972
Vol Willie Fleming 1972
Vol Charles English 1972
Vol Tony Gough 1972

COUNTY DERRY

Vol Phillip McFadden 1971
Vol Patrick O'Hagan 1972
Vol Gerard Logue 1973
Vol Paddy Deery 1975
Vol Eddie McSheffrey 1976

COUNTY DERRY

Vol Martin Lee 1971
Vol John Bateson 1971
Vol James Sheridan 1971
Vol Anthony McMullan 1971
Vol Antoine Mac Giolla Bhrighde 1971

DONEGAL

Vol Peter McElcar 1976
Vol Raymond McLaughlin 1985

DUBLIN

Vol Patrick Cannon 1970
Vol Colm Dalton 1971
Vol Mick Timothy 1972

ENGLAND

Vol Michael Gaughan (Pachhurst Prison) 1972
Vol James McDade 1972
Vol Brian Fox 1972
Vol Francis Stagg (Wakefield Prison) 1972

FIANNA ÉIREANN

Vol Patrick Campbell 1969
Vol John Douglas 1970
Vol John Tobias Molloy 1970
Vol Bernard Fox 1972
Vol Patrick Hughes 1972
Vol Oliver Rowntree 1972
Vol Noel Madden 1973
Vol Brendan Quinn 1973

GHQ STAFF

Vol Kevin McAuley 1975
Vol James O'Neill 1976
Vol Paul McWilliams 1977
Vol John Dempsey 1981

GHQ STAFF

Vol Jack McCabe 1971
Vol Thomas O'Donnell 1973
Vol Mairéad Farrell 1988
Vol Dan McCann 1988
Vol Sean Savage 1988

LIMERICK

Vol Patrick Sheehy 1991

LONG KESH

Vol Francis Dods 1973
Vol Teddy Campbell 1974
Vol Patrick Teer 1974
Vol Hugh Coney 1974
Vol James Moyne 1975
Vol Henry Heaney 1978
Vol Sean Bateson 1990

H-BLOCK MARTYRS

Vol Bobby Sands 1981
Vol Francis Hughes 1981
Vol Raymond McCreech 1981
Vol Patsy O'Hara(NLA) 1981
Vol Joe McDonnell 1981
Vol Martin Huxson 1981
Vol Kevin Lynch(NLA) 1981
Vol Kieran Doherty 1981
Vol Thomas McElwee 1981
Vol Mickey Devine(NLA) 1981

MONAGHAN

Vol Sean McKenna 1975
Vol Peadar Mohan 1981

NEWRY

Vol Colin Murrighan 1972
Vol Patrick Hughes 1972
Vol Oliver Rowntree 1972
Vol Noel Madden 1972
Vol Brendan Quinn 1973

Vol Edward Grant 1973
Vol Patrick McKeown 1974
Vol Michael Hughes 1980
Vol Robert Carr 1980
Vol Brendan Waiters 1984

NORTH ANTRIM

Vol Phelim Grant 1972
Vol Charles Agnew 1972
Vol John Hogan 1984
Vol Declan Martin 1984
Vol Peter Rodden 1987
Vol Gerard Casey 1989

NORTH ARMAGH

Vol Michael Cressley 1971
Vol Charles Agnew 1971
Vol John Francis Green 1975
Vol Terry Brady 1975
Vol David Kennedy 1975
Vol Sean Burns 1982
Vol Geruase McKerr 1982
Vol Eugene Toman 1982
Vol Eddie Dymne 1983
Vol Sean McIlvenna 1984

PORTLAOISE

Vol Thomas Smith 1975

SLIGO

Vol Kevin Coen 1975

SOUTH ARMAGH

Vol Michael McVerry 1973
Vol Sean Boyle 1975
Vol Francis Jordan 1975
Vol Sean Campbell 1975
Vol James Lochrie 1975
Vol Peter Leary 1976
Vol Seamus Harvey 1977
Vol Peadar McElvanna 1979
Vol Brendan Burns 1988
Vol Brendan Moley 1988

SOUTH FERMANAGH

Vol Seamus McElvanna 1972
Vol Seamus McElvanna 1972

SOUTH DOWN

Vol Peter McNulty 1972
Vol James Carlin 1972
Vol Leo O'Hanlon 1973
Vol Francis Rice 1973
Vol Alphonsus Cunningham 1973
Vol Paul Magorrian 1974

TYRONE

Vol Denis Quinn 1972
Vol Eugene Devlin 1972
Vol Kevin Kilpatrick 1973
Vol Sean Loughran 1973
Vol Patrick Carry 1973
Vol Gerard McGlynn 1973
Vol Seamus Harvey 1973
Vol Daniel McAnallen 1973
Vol Patrick Quinn 1973
Vol Desmond Morgan 1973
Vol Jim McGlin 1973
Vol Patrick McDonald 1974
Vol Kevin Murray 1974
Vol Eugene Martin 1974
Vol Sean McKearney 1974
Vol Paul Duffy 1978
Vol Brian Campbell 1983
Vol Colin McGirr 1983
Vol William Price 1984
Vol Charlie Breslin 1984
Vol David Devine 1985
Vol Michael Devine 1985
Vol Declan Arthurs 1987
Vol Seamus Donnelly 1987
Vol Tony Cormley 1987
Vol Eugene Kelly 1987
Vol Paddy Kelly 1987
Vol Jim Lynagh 1987
Vol Padraig McKearney 1987
Vol Gerard O'Callaghan 1987
Vol Seamus Woods 1988
Vol Brian Mullin 1988
Vol Gerard Harre 1988
Vol Martin Harre 1989
Vol Liam Ryan 1989
Vol Dessie Crew 1990
Vol Martin McCaughey 1990

TYRONE

Vol Denis Quinn 1972
Vol Eugene Devlin 1972
Vol Kevin Kilpatrick 1973
Vol Sean Loughran 1973
Vol Patrick Carry 1973
Vol Gerard McGlynn 1973
Vol Seamus Harvey 1973
Vol Daniel McAnallen 1973
Vol Patrick Quinn 1973
Vol Desmond Morgan 1973
Vol Jim McGlin 1973
Vol Patrick McDonald 1974
Vol Kevin Murray 1974
Vol Eugene Martin 1974
Vol Sean McKearney 1974
Vol Paul Duffy 1978
Vol Brian Campbell 1983
Vol Colin McGirr 1983
Vol William Price 1984
Vol Charlie Breslin 1984
Vol David Devine 1985
Vol Michael Devine 1985
Vol Declan Arthurs 1987
Vol Seamus Donnelly 1987
Vol Tony Cormley 1987
Vol Eugene Kelly 1987
Vol Paddy Kelly 1987
Vol Jim Lynagh 1987
Vol Padraig McKearney 1987
Vol Gerard O'Callaghan 1987
Vol Seamus Woods 1988
Vol Brian Mullin 1988
Vol Gerard Harre 1988
Vol Martin Harre 1989
Vol Liam Ryan 1989
Vol Dessie Crew 1990
Vol Martin McCaughey 1990

SINN FEIN

Vol Jim Murphy 1974
Vol Paul Best 1976
Vol Noel Jamkinson 1984
Vol Liam Ryan 1989
Vol Dessie Crew 1990
Vol Martin McCaughey 1990

19 Roll of Honour 16

As a tribute to all those who gave their lives in the struggle for Irish freedom in the last 75 years, we reprint here a list of those who died as a result of the engagements of Easter Week 1916.

Name	Address	Date of Birth	Date of Death	Place of Death
Michael Doherty	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
Joseph Byrne	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
Patrick Lynch	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
Andrew Cunningham	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
Conradus Keating	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
David Swainson	Limerick	1876	1916	Limerick
Charles Maguire	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
John Owens	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
James O'Connell	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
William McDowell	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
John Taylor	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
Nurse Margaret Keogh	Carlow	1876	1916	Carlow
John Kelly	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
Sean Healy	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
John Dwan	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
John Conran	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
Brendan Donnellan	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
Sean Conroy	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
Charles Darcy	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
Loke Byrne	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
John O'Rielly	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
Edward Walsh	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
William F. Burke	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
James J. Kelly	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
Patrick Farrell	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
Edward J. Conboy	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
Ernest Kennah	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
Phil Clark	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
James Conran	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
John F. Mann	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
Don Murray	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
Peadar MacIn	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
John Costello	Westmeath	1876	1916	Westmeath
George Geoghegan	Kildare	1876	1916	Kildare
Philip Wilson	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
Robert O'Connell	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
George Reynolds	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
Richard Murphy	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
Patrick Doyle	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
Michael Malone	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
Edward Ennis	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
Patrick Whelan	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
Andrew J. Byrne	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin
Thomas O'Rielly	Dublin	1876	1916	Dublin

CLARE

Vol Hugh Hehir 1988

CORK

Vol Tony Ahern 1973
Vol Dermot Crowley 1973

CUMANN NA mBAN

Vol Dorothy Maguire 1971

1916 — 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE EASTER RISING — 1991

Amhrán na bhFiann

Seo dhíbh, a chairde, duan óglaigh,
Cathréimeach, bríomhar, ceolmhar,
Ar dtínte cnámh go buacach táid,
'S an spéir go mín réaltógach.
Is fonnmhar faobhrach sinn chun gleo,
'S go tiúnmhar glé roimh thíocht don ló,
Faoi chiúnas caomh na hoíche ar seol,
Seo libh, canaig amhrán na bhFiann.

Sinne laochra Fáil,
Atá faoi gheall ag Eirinn,
Buíon dár slua
Thar toinn do rainig chugainn,
Faoi mhóid bheith saor,
Seantír ár sinsear feasta
Ní fhágfar faoin tíorán ná faoin tráill.
Anocht a théim sa bhearna baoil,
Le gean ar Ghaeil chun báis nó saoil,
Le gunna-scréach, faoi lámhach na bpiléar,
Seo libh, canaig amhrán na bhFiann.

Cois bánra reidhe, ar arda sléibhe
Ba bhuach ár sinsear romhainn,
Ag lámhach go tréan fá'n sár-bhrat sein,
Atá thuas sa ghaoith go seolta:
Ba dhúchas riamh d'ár gcine cháidh
Gan iompáil siar ó imirt air,
'Siul mar iad i gcoinne namhaid
Seo libh canaig amhrán na bhFiann.

A bhuíon nach fann d'fhuil Gaeil is Gall,
Sinn breacadh lae na saoirse,
Tá scéimhle 's scanradh i gcroíthe namhad,
Roimh ranganna laochra ár dtíre;
Ar dtínte is tréith gan spréach anois,
Sin luisne ghlé san spéir anoir,
'S an bíobha i raon na bpiléar agaibh:
Seo libh, canaig amhrán na bhFiann.



Amhrán na bhFiann — The Soldier's Song

LE DIERDRE NIC AN TSAOIR

SUNG WITH pride for Irish nationhood *Amhrán na bhFiann* (translated into Irish in 1923 by Liam O Riain) or *The Soldier's Song*, the national anthem of republicans, was first written and music put to it 84 years ago in 1907. In the last few years a campaign has been waged by West British elements such as Gay Byrne to try to replace it as the anthem of the 26-County state. Written with the express purpose of rallying nationalists to the cause of Ireland, its originators would be proud to see that the establishment today still fear their words and music.

The son of John Kearney of Rosybrook, Ardee, County Louth and Katie McGuinness of Rathmaiden, Slane, County Meath, Peter Kearney (or Peadar O Cearnaigh) as he signed himself, was born and lived most of his life in Dublin.

His nationalism came from his parents: at an early age his father tore Union Jacks from his school copies and admonished the teachers for allowing them into the school.

In 1901, he joined the Willie Rooney branch of Conradh na Gaeilge. At the same time he became involved with the Abbey Theatre Company, travelling the country with them. Roundabout 1902, Peadar teamed up with Patrick Heaney in writing songs and music to rally the youth of Ireland to the national movement.

"Sometime in 1907 Peadar felt there was need for a song with a rousing chorus, something off the beaten track. And within a week the words of *The Soldier's Song* were in the hands of Paddy Heaney. The meter was so unusual that Paddy was doubtful. He worked on the melody for a week and gave up in despair. When halfway through the chorus his inspiration failed.

"When Peadar called round to see him on a Sunday morning, Heaney was dejected. Peadar asked him anxiously how the music was coming along and for reply Heaney threw the manuscript into the fire. Kearney snatched it out and smoothed it on the table. Yes, the tune was all right, but the chorus was all wrong.

"They went over the words and scroll again. Peadar suggested they go back on the melody of the verse. So Heaney toned

out the tune and Kearney lifted the words. And thus *The Soldier's Song* was born."

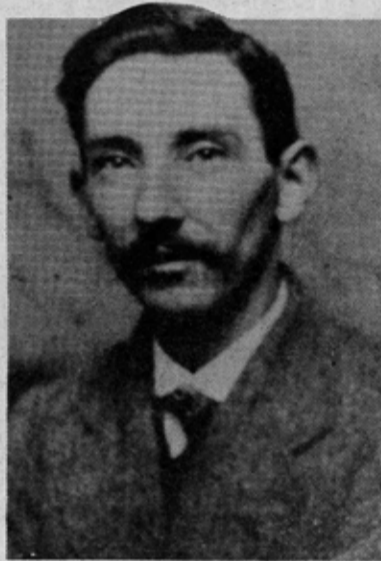
— *The Soldier's Song. The story of Peadar Kearney by Seamus de Burca.*

They worked mostly in a basement restaurant — the Swiss Café — at the corner of O'Connell Street and North Earl Street where Burton's now is, and occasionally at 10 Dominick Street, where Peadar lived.

At first the song got a cold reception in the national clubs, being too novel for many concert singers. Arthur Griffith refused to print it in the *United Irishman*, but, in 1912, Bulmer Hobson printed it in the IRB's republican newspaper *Irish Freedom*. By this time it was tremendously popular, but Paddy Heaney had died by then.

After the formation of the Irish Volunteers in 1913, the song was sang on route marches and at benefit concerts and eventually adopted as the Volunteers rallying song. It wasn't until 1916 that the words and music were first printed. During Easter Week 1916, the song got its baptism of fire, being sung in many of the republican outposts, and later in the internment camps. By 1917 it had superseded *God Save Ireland* as the anthem of Irish republicans.

Kearney, an IRB member himself, was in Liverpool when he heard of the mobilisation for 1916, but succeeded in returning, taking part and avoiding capture until the Tan War. Other songs which Kearney wrote include *The Three-Colour Ribbon, Down by the Glenside* and *Whack Fol The Diddle*. In 1937 he also wrote an extra verse for *The Soldier's Song* to give ex-



● PEADAR O CEARNAIGH



● LIAM O RIAIN

pression to northern nationalists' opposition to partition.

"And here where Erin's glories bide
Clann London fain would flourish;
But Ulster-wide what e'er betide
No pirate blood shall nourish;
While flames the faith of Con and Owen,
While Cave Hill guards the fame of Tone,
From Gullion's slopes to Inisowen
We'll chant a Soldier's Song.

Nowadays the most commonly sung version of the song is the chorus in Irish, with "Laochra Fáil" replacing the original "Fianna Fáil" to ensure that the ideals of the song writers are not sullied by linkage with de Valera's party which adopted the words as a title three years after the translation.

THE WAYFARER

The beauty of the world hath made me sad,
This beauty that will pass; Sometimes my heart hath shaken with great joy

To see a leaping squirrel in a tree,
Or a red lady-bird upon a stalk,
Or little rabbits in a field at evening,
Lit by a slanting sun,
Or some green hill where shadows drifted by
Some quiet hill where mountainy men hath sown
And soon would reap; near to the gate of Heaven;
Or children with bare feet upon the sods
Of some ebb'd sea, or playing on the streets
Of little towns in Connacht,
Things young and happy.
And then my heart hath told me:
These will pass,
Will pass and change, will die and be no more,
Things bright and green, things young and happy;
And I have gone upon my way
Sorrowful.

— Written by Pádraig Mac Piarais the night before his execution in Kilmainham Jail.

1867

...In the days of our doom and our dread
Ye were cruel and callous,
Grim death with our fighters ye fed
Through the jaws of the gallows;
But a blasting and blight was the fee
For which ye had bartered them,
And we smite with the sword that from ye
We had gained when ye martyred them!

— Joseph Mary Plunkett

CEAPACH AN BHAIS, CILL MHAIGHNEANN

I gCill Mhaighneann dom, i gceapach an bháis,
Tá tocht i mo scornach, deoir le mo shúil,
Gruama na fallai, dubh, dorcha, ard.
Toll glór mo chos ar na leacracha fúm.
Scáilí scuid lámhaigh trén geaitín ag teacht
Samhlaím dom féin, agus laochra na Cásca.
Duine i ndiaidh duine ag máirseáil isteach.
Cluinim na rosa piléar ba chreill bháis dóibh.
Dhá phiosa adhmaid buailte le chéile;
Nochtann an croisín beag uaigneach do chách
lobairt-altóir mar ar doirteadh fuil laochra,
'Bheannaigh an chré', rinne naofa an áit.
Comhartha na croise, i nganfhóis, go ciúin,
Gearraim ar m'éadan. Tá deoir le mo shúil.

— Piaras F. Mac Lochlainn

JAMES CONNOLLY

Where oh where is our James Connolly?
Where oh where is that gallant man?
He is gone to organise the union that working men
They might yet be free.

Then who, then who will lead the van?
Then who, then who will lead the van?
Who but our James Connolly,
The hero of the working man.

Who will carry high the burning flag?
Who will carry high the burning flag?
Who but our James Connolly
Could carry high the burning flag.

Oh they carried him up to the jail,
They carried him up to the jail,
And they shot him down on a bright May morning
And quickly laid him in his gore.

Who mourns the death of this great man?
Who mourns the death of this great man?
Oh bury me down in yon green garden
With union men on every side.

Oh they buried him down in yon green garden
With union men on every side
And they swore that would form a mighty weapon
That James Connolly's name could be filled with pride.
— Patrick Galvin

1916 — 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE EASTER RISING — 1991

The poets' insurrection in song and verse

● British soldier surveys the ruins of O'Connell St from the top of Nelson's Pillar (itself a victim of the 'unofficial' 1966 50th Anniversary celebrations)



THE FOGGY DEW

As down the glen one Easter morn to a city fair rode I
There armed lines of marching men in squadrons passed me
by,

No fife did hum nor battle-drum did sound their dread tattoo,
But the Angelus bell o'er the Liffey swell rang out in the Foggy
Dew.

Right proudly high over Dublin town they hung out the flag of
war,
For 'twas better to die 'neath an Irish sky than at Sulva or Sud El
Bar;

And from the plains of royal Meath strong men came hurrying
through
While Britannia's sons with their long range guns
Sailed in by the Foggy Dew.

The night fell black but the rifles crack made perfidious Albion
reel

'Mid leaden rain seven tongues of flame did burn o'er the lines
of steel.

By each shining blade a prayer was said that to Ireland her sons
might be true
And when morning broke still the war flag shook its folds in the
Foggy Dew.

But the bravest fell and the requiem bell rang mournfully and
clear

For those who died that Eastertide in the sprintime of the year.
And the world did gaze in deep amaze, on those warriors brave
but few

Who bore the fight that freedom's light might shine through the
Foggy Dew.

'Twas Britannia bade our wild geese go that small nations
might be free

But their lonely graves are by Sulva's waves or the shores of the
grey North Sea.

Oh! had they died by Pearse's side or fought with Cathal Brugha
Their names we would keep where the Fenians sleep 'neath the
shroud of the Foggy Dew.

Back through the glen I rode again and my heart with grief was
sore,

For I parted then with brave women and men I never would see
no more;

As to and fro in my dreams I go I kneel and pray for you,
For slavery fled, Oh rebel dead, when you fell in the Foggy Dew.

— Anonymous

WHAT WOULD THEY SAY IF THEY WERE ALIVE?

What would they say if they were alive
After long years have passed, now 75?
What would they think of the state of this nation
And would it resemble their Proclamation?

James Connolly hardly would have enjoyed
A quarter of a million still unemployed
But inflation's down and our exports are in surfeit
I wonder what would he think of Michael Smurfit?

Ní tír gan teanga Pearse did say
Now the ancient tongue's almost withered away
But the government is determined to make the language last
Because they sign their letters — Mise le Meas.

What would Clarke think of the new British tricks?
He'd know the plight of the Birmingham Six,
Injustice to the Irish is now their tradition
Yet we still continue with extradition.

Oh what would they say if they were alive
After long years have passed, now 75?
What would they think of the state of this nation
And would it resemble their Proclamation?

Educate that you may be free
Cherish all of the children equally
A talented nation full of diversity
But few working class at the university.

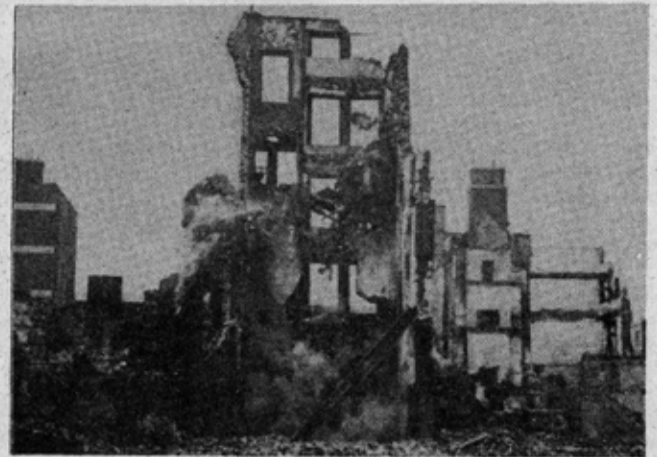
A caring society with a Christian ethos,
Concern for the underdog, well, except travellers.
Guaranteed access to housing and health,
That is of course if you have the wealth.

Céad míle fáilte, a land full of charmers
Polluted rivers and rancher farmers
Incapable now of flexing our own muscles
We live in a country controlled from Brussels.

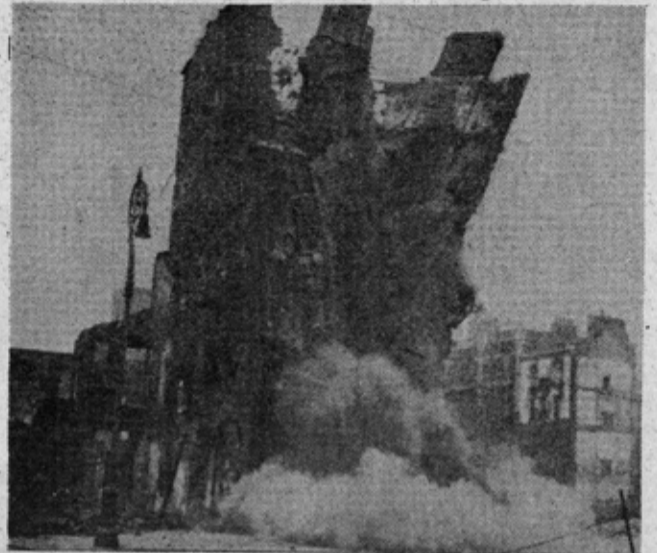
Oh what would they say if they were alive
After long years have passed, now 75?
What would they think of the state of this nation
And would it resemble their Proclamation?



● Looking over the ruins of Clery's towards the Custom House



● (Above and below) Ruins in Upper Sackville St (now O'Connell St) being demolished after the Rising



New York, London or Sydney our youth's destination
As Ireland's once more dependent on mass emigration
Our lifeblood is haemorrhaging and it causes much pain
To witness each day what they call the brain-drain.

A trade union movement that used to have guts
Now is prepared to facilitate cuts.
But a socialist President, she'll present a new look,
She won't rock the cradle but she will sack her cook.

The media can interview Paisley, Bush and Saddam Hussein,
But no airspace allowed for elected Sinn Féin.
Suggested amendments to Articles Two and Three,
Forgetting that in '16 they died for 32 free.

Oh what would they say if they were alive
After long years have passed, now 75?
What would they think of the state of this nation
And would it resemble their Proclamation?

Disappointed, disillusioned would they turn in their graves
To witness their country run by gombeen men and knaves?
The answer my friends, and make sure that it's true...
But then, I cannot answer, I'll leave that to you.

— Frank Allen

A ROW IN THE TOWN

I'll sing you a song of a row in the town
When the green flag went up and the crown flag came down
'Twas the neatest and sweetest thing ever you saw
When they played that great game they called Erin go Brách

God bless gallant Pearse and his comrades who died
Tom Clarke, MacDonagh, MacDermott, MacBride
And here's to James Connolly who gave one hurrah
And faced the machine-guns for Erin go Brách

Now one of our leaders was down at Ringsend
For the honour of Ireland to uphold and defend
He had no veteran soldiers but Volunteers raw
Playing sweet Mauser music for Erin go Brách

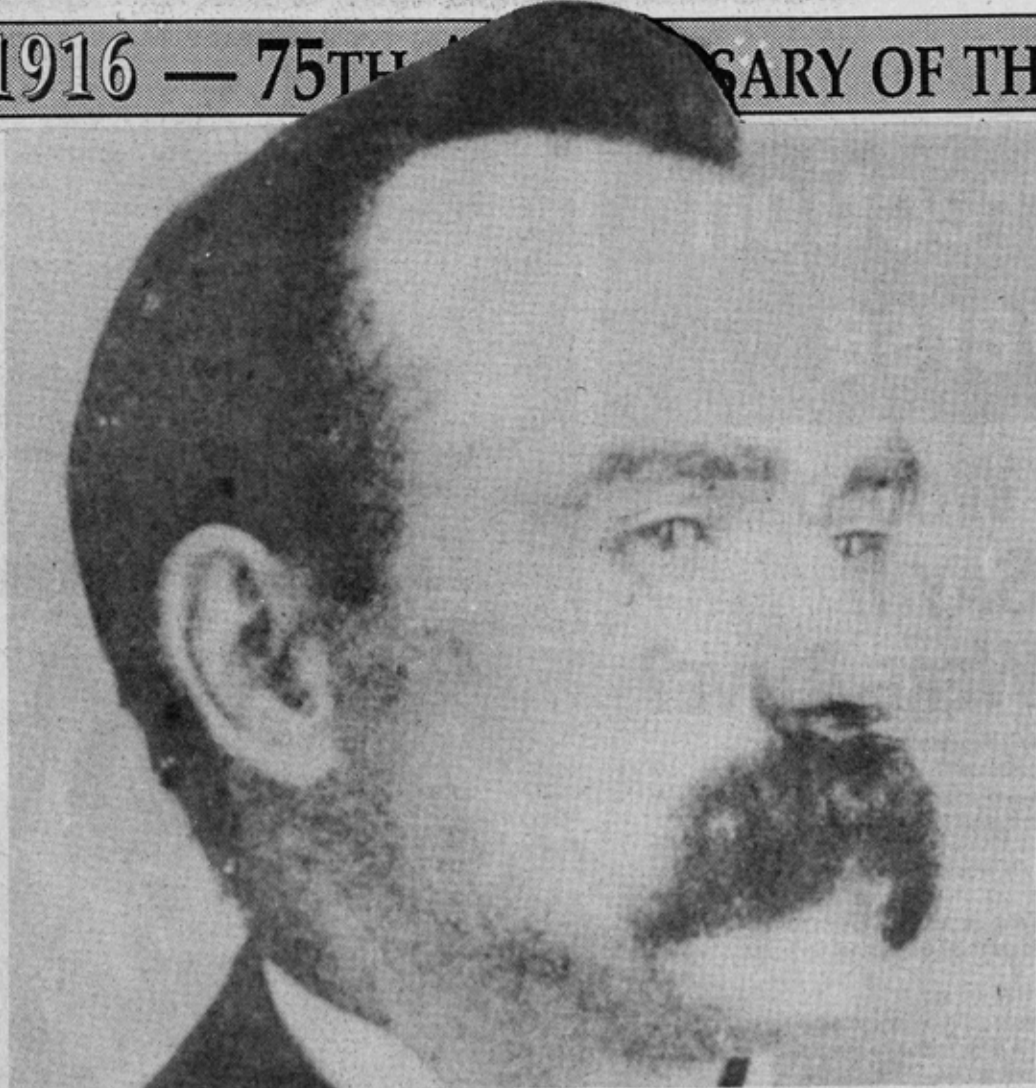
Bold Ceannt and his comrades like lions at bay
From the South Dublin Union poured death and dismay
But what was the awe when the invader's men saw
All the dead khaki soldiers of Erin go Brách

A great foreign captain was raving that day
Saying give me one hour and I'll blow you away
But a big Mauser bullet got stuck in his jaw
And he died of lead poison of Erin go Brách

A glory to Dublin to her due renown
In the long generations her fame will go down
And children will tell how their forefathers saw
The red blaze of freedom o'er Erin go Brách.

— Peadar Kearney

1916 — 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE EASTER RISING — 1991



JAMES CONNOLLY — the practical visionary

TO REVISIONIST HISTORIANS James Connolly's participating in the 1916 uprising is the ultimate proof of his abandonment of socialism. By joining the rebellion he violated all the principles of Marxism on which his political outlook was based. In 1916 there was no revolutionary situation; there was no attempt to involve the broad mass of workers; there was no declaration in favour of socialism. In place of these there was only a conspiracy of isolated day-dreamers and a lot of woolly idealism. To become embroiled in such an adventure Connolly must surely have ditched his Marxism in preference for the romanticism of his nationalist confederates. So goes the myth.

The revisionists are unable to fathom Connolly's distinctive approach. He agreed with militant republicans that a national uprising should be attempted during the First World War. But anyone who reads his writing and follows his activities during 1914-'16 cannot fail to be impressed by the independent line he pursued.

A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION

Connolly remained firmly committed to the view that a rising could only be attempted in a revolutionary situation. This he believed existed. In the Marxist tradition to which Connolly adhered, there are two conditions for defining a revolutionary situation — firstly, the ruling class has to be at an impasse such that it must radically change its method of political domination; secondly, there must be a sufficient awakening among the people such that they refuse to continue to be ruled as before.

During the period 1914-'16, British rule in Ireland arrived at this kind of crossroads with a vengeance. In Britain itself the social and economic underpinnings of the Tory-Liberal two-party system had long been eroded and the First World War was hastening major political changes under the worst possible conditions.

Meanwhile, in Ireland, expectations of Home Rule had been raised to fever pitch. However, Britain was walking a tightrope. The autonomy on offer was drastically reduced. To

add insult to injury partition was introduced and then the whole sorry mess was deferred indefinitely for fear of alienating the loyalists and provoking a Tory backlash which would upset the precarious balance in Britain itself. The national question had become explosive and Britain had no strategy to defuse it, except hope for the best.

In consequence, a huge National Volunteer force steam rolled into existence. Some 12,000 of this army

was staunchly in favour of a radical separatist solution to Ireland's problem. They began to arm, drill and train openly.

Parallel with this the working class was becoming an independent factor in Irish politics for the first time in history. Trade union membership doubled from 50,000 in 1910 to 100,000 in 1914. In 1914 also, despite an undemocratic franchise, Dublin Labour and Sinn Féin won 42% of the vote in a wide number of seats contested in the capital. And from 1914 onwards there was a steady growth in the number of strikes.

As workers grew in self-confidence they continued to be faced with intense hardship. From the turn of the century wages had steadily declined while prices rose. Unemployment was high and social misery endemic. Dublin, for example, was one of the worst slums in the world — 20,000 families (a quarter of the total population) lived in one-room tenements and infant mortality

was higher than in Calcutta.

Overall the traditional dominance of the constitutional nationalists was under threat. All the signs were that political reality was about to dramatically catch up with the Home Rulers. Their traditional one-party dominance was in imminent danger of collapse in a situation that was highly volatile.

A STRATEGY FOR MASS MOBILISATION

It was in the context of this crisis that Connolly proposed a strategy for mobilising the people of Ireland as a prelude to armed insurrection. The first lever he suggested should be a popular campaign against the export of food to Britain. The war, he warned, would bring even greater poverty and misery to the downtrodden. A fight for the retention of food supplies and their equitable distribution could be turned into a mass confrontation with the British authorities.

Connolly proposed a joint labour-republican campaign around this issue to galvanise a widespread social uprising. "Let us not shrink from the consequences", he wrote in August 1914, "This may mean more than a transport strike, it may mean armed battling in the streets to keep in this country the food for our people. But whatever it may mean it must not be shrunk from. It is the immediate feasible policy of working-class democracy."

A second lever he proposed was a campaign against conscription. He emphasised especially the need to resist economic conscription and to take on the Home Rule employers who were acting as recruiting sergeants for Britain. Opposition to enlistments, he urged, should be backed up with a declaration from the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army (ICA) to defend all resisters. The outcome he envisaged would be popular revolt, "in short it means barricades in the streets, guerrilla warfare in the country". Connolly was familiar with the history of the 1905 revolution in Russia and here he is echoing the strategy pursued by the left-wing of the Russian social-democrats.

Connolly also argued for a determined fight against the accelerating curtailment of civil liberties. Under the Defence of the Realm Act the republican and labour press was being systematically suppressed and scores of leading activists were being arrested or deported. Connolly insisted on the need to defy this coercion and to draw in the Volunteers and ICA in defence of its victims.

Connolly himself was immersed in building the trade union move-

ment. He became general secretary of the ITGWU in 1915 and under his leadership recruitment developed steadily. At the same time he tried to popularise the ICA by deploying it as an armed guard to pickets during strikes.

There were two reasons why Connolly's proposal to foment mass discontent were not as successful as he had hoped. In his own view the most important of these was that the advanced nationalists were paralysed by a right-wing clique — Arthur Griffith, Eoin MacNeill et al. This element tried to prevent a link-up between the labour and national movements. In January 1916, just as he was about to conclude an agreement for insurrection with the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) Connolly publicly slated the right-wingers:

"Had we not been attacked and betrayed by many of our fervent advanced patriots, had they not been so anxious to destroy us, so willing to applaud even the British government when it attacked us, had they stood by us and pushed our organisation all over Ireland it would now be in our power at a word to crumple and demoralise every offensive move of the enemy against the champions of Irish freedom. Had we been able to carry out our plans, as such an Irish organisation of labour alone could carry them out, we could at a word have created all the conditions necessary to the striking of a successful blow whenever the military arm of Ireland wished to move".

But there was also another major reason why Connolly's strategy was unsuccessful. As a syndicalist Connolly concentrated on the building of trade unions to the neglect of a specifically socialist political party. Because of their broad-based nature the unions were too unwieldy for giving prompt and principled leadership. They were not suitable for the type of political campaigning Connolly had in mind and he was left with no vehicle to implement his programme.

INSURRECTION OR ADVENTURE?

Given that his mass action strategy was not successful, surely Connolly violated his own Marxist principles by not postponing the contingent objective of an armed insurrection? In fact, within the Marxist tradition, there is substantial support for the stand Connolly took.

It is true that for Marxists such as Connolly, an insurrection should be attempted only in the context of a revolutionary situation where mass support exists. But within that framework insurrection is a specific art with a logic of its own. Armed preparations cannot simply be subordinated to the ebbs and flows of popular consciousness. It is obvious therefore, that Marxism does not exclude the possibility — rare though it may be — of a situation where an armed uprising can be a prelude to an awakening of the mass of people.

With regard to the situation in Russia, Marx's close collaborator Engels wrote in 1885 "the country is like a charged mine which only needs a match to be applied to it... This is one of the exceptional cases where it is possible for a handful of people to make a revolution ie — with one little push to cause a whole system, which is in more than labile [unstable] equilibrium, to come crashing down, and thus by an action in itself insignificant to release explosive forces that afterwards become uncontrollable".

Conditions in Ireland during 1914-'16 were fairly similar to those outlined by Engels. The political situation had reached an impasse of historical proportions and a substantial



● The Irish Citizen Army — the first workers' defence force in 20th Century Europe

1916 — 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE EASTER RISING — 1991



● James Connolly (sitting centre) at an outing of the Irish Socialist Republican Party in the Phoenix Park in May 1901

resistance force was already in existence. The powder was in the keg and the fuse was set; would the match be lit? The right wing of the Volunteer leadership was trying to prevent it. So were the British who were gradually whittling away democratic rights to prepare for a general clampdown.

As Connolly saw it the balance was gradually tipping in their favour. On occasion Engels had said that once the battle lines were drawn, even in unfavourable circumstances, it was better for the working class to fight than to retire. A temporary defeat was preferable to long-term demoralisation. In assessing the situation in Ireland, Connolly had precisely the same idea in mind. He constantly stressed the danger of letting a revolutionary situation slip away without taking decisive action. Consequently, his views on the timing of an insurrection started not from the mood of the workers at that time but from their long-term interests. Apart from the consciousness of workers, Connolly also had to keep the objective situation in mind — particularly the line of march of indispensable allies and the machinations of the British state.

When the Irish Republican Brotherhood eventually proposed definite plans for insurrection, Connolly readily agreed. In the *Workers Republic* he gave a guarded prediction of impending events and expressed regret that they would not take the form of a classical revolution envisaged by Marxists. But he was prepared to push ahead anyway. On the one hand, he was convinced, as a socialist, that if he did not do so he would be throwing away the potential of a revolutionary situation. On the other hand, he felt every right to be optimistic that an insurrection, though relatively isolated to begin

with, would reinforce and prolong revolutionary opportunities.

NATIONAL REVOLUTION AND SOCIALIST OBJECTIVES

The claim that Connolly abandoned his objective of a socialist Ireland in order to take part in a nationalist rising is a contortion hard to credit even from the pens of revisionists.

It is clear that Connolly did not see the Easter Rebellion as a specifically socialist undertaking. But he remained convinced that the logic of events would help transform the ensuing upsurge in a socialist direction. His was a thoroughly socialist perspective, similar (though not identical) to the strategy then being followed by Lenin in Russia.

The mass of workers were not yet thinking in socialist or revolutionary terms. But they were organised in mass, cultural, athletic, military and, above all, labour organisations which were not under the leadership of the traditional constitutional nationalists. Therefore, an insurrection for national democratic demands had a tremendous possibility of evoking a broad response. Connolly's aim was to place democratic demands, which specifically affected workers, in the forefront of this rebellion in order to draw workers in and ensure that the struggle would be dominated by the traditional methods of struggle of the labour movement.

Connolly outlined this approach in the January 15th, 1916 issue of *Workers Republic*, "Ireland should commence by guaranteeing the rights of its toilers to life and liberty, and having guaranteed those rights should then call upon her manhood to protect them with arms in hands."

In this struggle it would be necessary to "conscript" the railways, ships, factories and land of the wealthy classes. These socialist measures, hitherto feared or thought impractical, would be readily accepted "as the propertied classes have so shamelessly sold themselves to the enemy, the economic conscription of their property will cause few qualms to whomsoever shall administer the Irish government in the first days of freedom".

In sum then, Connolly saw a socialist transformation of property relations as the necessary outcome of a real struggle for national freedom. He ended his arti-



● JAMES CONNOLLY

cle by saying, "If the Irish Volunteers and Irish Citizen Army is the military weapon of, the economic conscription of its lands and wealth is the material basis for, that reconquest [of Ireland]"

This conception of a democratic revolution flowing into a socialist revolution became a constant theme of Connolly's, leading up to the events of April 24th. Later on he wrote again that "should it come to a test in Ireland... the greatest civil asset in the hands of the Irish nation for use in the struggle would be the control of Irish docks, shipping, railways and production by Unions that gave sole allegiance to Ireland". Or again on the eve of the insurrection, as he coined the battle-cry of the Citizen Army he declared:

"We are out for Ireland for the Irish. But who are the Irish? Not the rack-renting, slum-owning landlord, not the sweating profit-grinding capitalist; not the sleek and oily lawyer; not the prostitute pressmen — the hired liars of the enemy. Not these are the Irish upon whom the future depends. Not these, but the Irish working class, the only secure foundation upon which a new nation can be treated."

From this definition of the social driving force of the looming national revolution he logically derived a socialist programme!

"The cause of labour is the cause of Ireland, the cause of Ireland is the cause of labour. They cannot be severed. Ireland seeks freedom... Labour seeks to make a free Irish nation the guardian of the interests of the people of Ireland, and to secure that end would vest in that free Irish nation all property rights as against the claims of the individual, with the end in view that the individual may be enriched by the nation, and not by the spoiling of his fellows."

When Connolly's strategy and programme is understood it be-

comes obvious how preposterous is the claim that by joining the Easter Rising and signing the Proclamation of the Republic he was reneging on socialism. He signed away no principles or abjured no cause. Quite the reverse. To Connolly, Easter Week was an essential step on a longer journey with a more ambitious destination.

CONNOLLY LEGACY AND THE MARGINALISATION OF LABOUR

Revisionist historians blame Connolly for the subsequent marginalisation of the labour movement in Irish politics. They claim that in the national struggle, contrary to Connolly's expectations, social and economic issues were bound to be squeezed out. The labour movement, they argue, should have held aloof and continued to stress purely working-class issues. But, say the revisionists, under the influence of Connolly's legacy his heirs plunged into the national struggle, abandoned socialism and became indistinguishable from the nationalists.

Unfortunately for both the labour and national movements the new labour leaders did not follow in the socialist-republican tradition pioneered by Connolly. This was one of the great tragedies of modern Irish history.

Events following 1916 unfolded in a way remarkably similar to what Connolly had expected. The explosion of national sentiment and fighting spirit is well known. What is less acknowledged is the simultaneous eruption of working-class militancy. The most revolutionary phase of class struggle in Irish history was unleashed during this period.

The first phase of this (up to 1920) was precipitated by the successful general strike against conscription in 1918. This was the first national general strike in the history of the international working class and its sweeping success encouraged workers to launch a belligerent crusade for better wages and shorter hours. A massive strike wave developed, studded by 18 local general strikes — there were real battles entailing riots, armed resistance, mass arrests.

The second phase of this struggle began with the economic recession of 1920 and lasted until early 1922. The workers' antagonism became more defensive but was no less determinedly expressed. The weapon of the local general strike was replaced by workplace occupations. All over the country factories, harbours, railways, gasworks, mines and quarries were seized by workers. This eruption culminated in the "month of soviets", May 1922, when workers throughout Munster took over 100 creamery depots, posted armed guards, elected management committees and hoisted the red flag.

At the same time, the Irish working class brought the methods of the labour movement to bear on the national struggle. The anti-conscription general strike was a death blow which marginalised the constitution nationalists and prepared their destruction in the 1918 general election. This was followed up by mass strikes in support of republican hunger-strikers, against executions, military use of the railways, martial law, military motor permits and travel restrictions. Without the 1918 general strike the national struggle might never have gotten off the ground at all and without the 1920 munitions strike the armed struggle would have been crushed in its infancy.

As a sequel to all this upheaval, Labour made enormous strides in

popular support. Trade union membership increased from 100,000 in 1916 to 300,000 in 1921. At the polls, Labour won 324 seats in the 1920 local elections compared to 422 seats for Sinn Féin. In the 1922 general elections, Labour scored 21% of the vote to rival the 21% for Sinn Féin and 38% for the Free Staters.

All the evidence suggests that Connolly's pre-1916 prognosis was convincingly vindicated. If the national struggle did not develop into a socialist phase it was precisely because his successors did not embrace his legacy. The working class put the Labour leaders in a position to take the leadership of the national struggle and press on to victory on the economic and social fronts. Sadly, these leaders copped out. They tried to undermine and water down the popular spontaneous support for the anti-imperialist resistance.

A favourite argument of the revisionist historians is that when de Valera said "Labour must wait" the Labour leaders, voicing Connolly's strategy, meekly obeyed. This is a travesty of what actually happened.

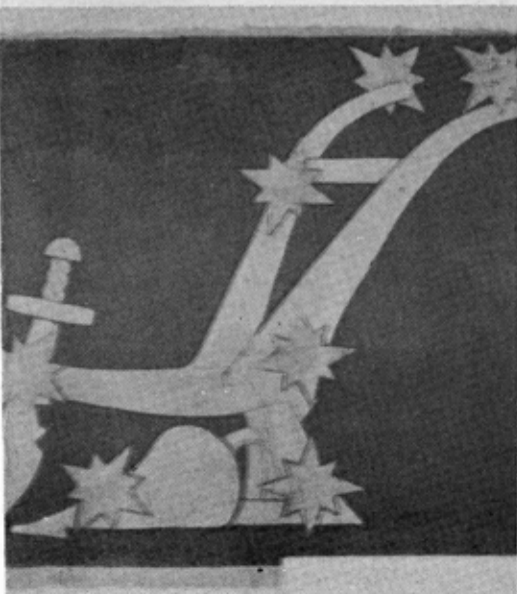
In reality, the Labour leaders were not prepared to nail their colours to the mast and come out unequivocally for a republic. Labour would only go as far as favouring "self-determination" (ie a British withdrawal) after which the form of government suitable for Ireland would be decided upon. In line with this Labour never gave official recognition to Dáil Éireann, just as it refused, at its annual conference in 1917, to support the stand taken by Connolly in 1916.

This puts into perspective Labour's attitude to the 1918 general elections. The failure of Labour to put up candidates is usually presented as symbolic of its general subservience to Sinn Féin. What transpired on that occasion was a bit more complex.

Labour expected to win no more than six or seven seats — four of which were in Dublin. Sinn Féin offered Labour a free run in these four constituencies, which would have given Labour effective political dominance in the capital of the country and the heartland of the working class. This was a generous offer by any standard.

The Labour leaders were willing to do a deal but refused to accept the one condition laid down by Sinn Féin, namely the adoption of abstention from Westminster as a matter of principle. They were afraid of offending loyalist trade unionists and of embarking on a course of action which had "illegal and unconstitutional" implications. Besides they imagined, as was explained in the president's address to the TU Congress in 1919, that the British Labour Party would soon be in power at Westminster and in conjunction with Irish Labour would legislate home rule for Ireland! As a result of this timidity and hesitation a grass-roots rebellion rolled through the unions and forced the opportunist leaders to retreat. Rather than enter a principled alliance with Sinn Féin, Labour withdrew to the side lines.

If Labour's attitude to the 1918 elections symbolised anything it was the distance which separated Connolly's successors from the strategy he had bequeathed them. Whereas Connolly believed that a republic was "the only purely political change worth crossing the street for" and would only ally with militant separatists, his successors were the exact opposite; they ran scared of the very word republic and wheeled and dealt with the right-wing nationalists, the Free State. They are still at it to this day.



● The Starry Plough — the flag of the ICA

1916 — 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE EASTER RISING — 1991

The Rising outside Dublin

BY PETER O'ROURKE

WITHOUT DOUBT, had a large scale rising taken place throughout the country, albeit based on the confused and conflicting plans prepared by the IRB's military council, the story of Easter Week 1916 might well have been very different.

A number of factors combined to frustrate attempts for a successful rising in large areas of the country outside Dublin. These included the badly prepared plans for a rising in the country as a whole; the arrest and deportation of a number of provincial leaders prior to the rising, particularly in Munster; the divisions that existed and the secrecy among the members of the Irish Volunteer Executive and the IRB's Military Council; Eoin Mac Néill's countermanning order; the lack of proper communications with the commandants in the provinces and lastly the failure of the arms ship the Aud and the expected arrival of German support.

That plans existed for a rising outside Dublin there is no doubt, but how elaborate and effective these were is open to much speculation.

Pádraig Pearse's declaration that there were in existence "arrangements for a simultaneous rising of the whole country, with a combined plan as sound as the Dublin plan", is supported by Liam Mellows. He confirmed this following his return to Ireland after his escape from England, to where he had been deported; he had been taken into Pearse's confidence and left St Enda's on the Thursday before Easter to take command of the Volunteer forces in Galway.

The overall plan for the rising in the country, especially in the south-west and West of Ireland, is generally believed to have been similar to the plan for the rebellion in Dublin, which involved the seizing of defensive positions — the setting up of garrisons and outposts in strategic public buildings in the capital — though no conclusive evidence of this plan exists.

If the Dublin plan was indeed a blueprint for use in other areas, there is little evidence that it had been explained to the officers in the provinces; and the lateness of its announcement (a notice in the *Irish Volunteer* of Saturday, April 22nd 1916) would have left little time for working out details with regard to the selecting, provisioning, fortifying and defending of specific buildings in cities and towns, on the lines of the Dublin plan, which was being perfected for more than a year. The success of the country-wide plan, however, was very much dependant on the successful landing of the arms and ammunition from the Aud and the expected arrival of 5,000 German reinforcements.

On the Thursday, April 20th 1916, Eoin Mac Néill, Chief of Staff of the Irish Volunteers, on learning of the proposed rising for the following Sunday was persuaded not to cancel the Volunteer manoeuvres for Easter Sunday, having been reassured that German aid in the form of arms and ammunition would successfully arrive within days. But within hours the first serious blow to a

country-wide rising occurred.

That night, five Volunteers chosen to take part in establishing a transmitter to send messages to British ships to divert them from the Kerry coast, set out for Ballyard, near Tralee in County Kerry. In the early hours of the following morning, three of these Volunteers, Charles Monaghan, Donal Sheehan and Con Keating, were drowned in the river Laune after driving off the Ballykissane pier, due to dense fog.

ARRESTS IN KERRY

Later that morning an event which was vital to the success of the rising outside Dublin occurred. The German submarine, U19, carrying Roger Casement, Captain Robert Monteith and Daniel J Bailey, reached the planned rendezvous point with the German arms ship, the Aud. Unaware of the change in plan to land the arms at Fenit, in County Kerry on Easter Sunday, instead of Good Friday, the Aud anchored off Tralee Bay while Casement, Monteith and Bailey landed in a dinghy from the submarine at Banna Strand, at 1.30pm. Hours after landing, Casement was arrested at McKenna's Fort Banna Strand. Monteith and Bailey travelled to Tralee where Bailey was arrested. Monteith, however, made his way to Cork.

That day the Kerry Volunteers suffered another fatal blow with the arrest of Austin Stack, the commandant of Kerry. At 9.28am the following day; rather than have his cargo of arms fall into the hands of the British, Captain Karl Spindler and his crew scuttled the Aud off the Kerry coast. On learning of the scuttling, Mac Néill immediately dispatched messages throughout the country cancelling the Easter manoeuvres for all Volunteers, throwing officers and volunteers not only in Dublin, but also in the country into confusion and dashing all hopes of a rising outside Dublin.

In anticipation of Volunteer leaders obstructing the rising, and fully aware that Mac Néill and Bulmer Hobson were opposed to it, the Military Council had instructed IRB members to disregard all orders except those emanating from known IRB men. They appear to have been fully confident that they could overcome opposition from the Volunteer Executive and that "their men" would be capable of committing the whole Volunteer organisation to a rising.

The evidence of any detailed plans for a rising in most areas in the country is slight, except for vague general instructions to the Limerick, Clare and Galway Brigades about "holding the line of the Shannon" and "relieving the pressure on Dublin". Had this co-ordinated plan for using the line of the Shannon and for trying to prevent British forces from penetrating into Connaught been put into operation, it might have pro-

longed the rising for a considerable length of time and would certainly have given the enemy a more formidable task than the reduction of Dublin alone gave them. Like the Dublin plan, it was to have been a defensive one, but it is difficult to believe that the handful of Volunteers available, even with the addition of German armaments, would have successfully captured and held large cities and towns like Limerick and Athlone.

The Military Council did, however, take steps to organise Volunteer movements in the south-western and western counties which was to be the main centre of action outside Dublin. Following the landing of the arms from Germany in Kerry at Easter, the commanding officers of Cork, Kerry, Limerick and Galway were to occupy positions which would enable them to cover the arms landing, and ensure the protection and distribution of the arms.

PLANS CHANGED

On the eve of the Rising Michael Calivet, the commandant of Limerick, who was completing his plans for holding the line of the Shannon from Limerick to Killaloe, County Clare, and capturing Limerick City, had his instructions altered by the Military Council. On Tuesday of Easter Week he was put in charge of a vast area covering several counties by Pearse, who directed that following the landing of the arms in Kerry and the supervision of the collection and distribution of arms for his own men and for the Galway Volunteers, he was to attack police and military barracks and cut telegraph, telephone and rail communications. When all this had been accomplished and the position in Limerick was under his control, they were to march eastwards and relieve Dublin, in what was a major shift away from the previous defensive plans. It is difficult to understand the reasons for the sudden change of plan which would have resulted in these poorly trained Limerick Volunteers engaging in an offensive role, while no such task had been allocated to the Dublin Volunteers who had been preparing for a rising in the city for more than a year.

The loss of the Aud on Saturday, April 22nd 1916, threw these plans into total confusion and Mac Néill's countermanning order dealt a fatal blow to the hopes for a successful rising not only in the South and West, but throughout the country. Calivet, believing that the Rising should now be postponed and having received no new instructions from Pearse, cancelled all arrangements for the Easter Sunday mobilisation of Volunteers. At 2pm on Easter Monday, he received a communication from Pearse, having earlier received a message from him saying that "everything was off for the present", announcing that the Dublin Brigade was going into action at noon that day, and the instructions to Calivet were "carry out your orders".

CHAOTIC SITUATION

The situation in the southern counties and in Limerick was chaotic. These orders were now no longer relevant fol-

lowing the loss of the Aud. The police and military in the south-west were on full alert and heavily reinforced. For the Volunteers, having being demobilised due to Mac Néill's countermanning order, it would have been impractical in the circumstances to go on the offensive. It is not surprising, therefore, that in such a confused atmosphere, a rising did not happen in Limerick.

In other counties, which were to have been involved in holding of the line of the Shannon, the situation was utterly confused following Mac Néill's countermanning order. Nevertheless, the Volunteers were active in several counties.

In Kerry, the capture of Stack and local leaders, who were planning to rescue Casement, left the 300 Volunteers leaderless with none of them knowing the plans for the Rising or what to do. Having waited many hours for news of events, they eventually returned to their homes.

Pierce McCann, O/C of the Tipperary Volunteers, having received the countermanning order, disbanded his men. However, McCann agreed with two local Tipperary IRB men, Seán Treacy, (later killed in action during the Tan War) and Eamonn O'Dwyer, that Tipperary Volunteers would go into action if the Cork and Limerick men would co-operate, but though contact was made with these counties, no action ensued.

In Leitrim, Cavan and Westmeath, counties which were to have been involved in the plan to hold the line of the Shannon, attempts were made to rally the Volunteers but without success.

DEFENSIVE ACTION ONLY

As Brigade Commandant of Cork, Tomás Mac Curtain mobilised the entire Volunteer movement in Cork, numbering over 1,000 men and issued orders for them to assemble at Crookstown. On learning of Mac Néill's order on Easter Sunday, April 23rd 1916, he decided to avoid further confusion and allowed units to proceed as arranged to Crookstown, where exercises took place. In the afternoon Mac Curtain, mistakenly believing that the cancellation of manoeuvres from Dublin was backed by the Military Council, cancelled manoeuvres himself and directed all Volunteers to return to their areas.

Having set up headquarters in the Volunteer Hall in Sheares Street, he made a decision, one which he did not take lightly, that the Volunteers who were poorly armed, would act only in a defensive capacity.

During the week of fighting in Dublin, Bishop Daniel Coholan and the Lord Mayor of Cork, T.C. Butterfield, arranged a compromise with Captain Dickie on the British side stipulating that no Volunteer arrests would be made in Cork provided the local Volunteers surrendered their arms. Guarantees made on the British side were not honoured and Mac Curtain and ten other Volunteers were arrested on May 2nd.

The only fighting that occurred in Cork took place the previous day during a raid on the Kent home at Bawnard in Castlelyons, near Fermoy. During the defence of their home against British military and police, Richard Kent was killed. One brother, David, severely wounded, was sentenced to death, but the sentence was later commuted to penal servitude. Another brother, Thomas, was court-martialled, sentenced to death and executed on May 9th.

In County Galway, nearly 1,000 Volunteers rallied to the standard raised by Liam Mellows. Having captured the police barracks at Oranmore and occupied Athenry, they were reluctantly forced to disband when they realised their position was hopeless. Mellows, however, refused to surrender and eventually made his way to America.

Volunteers from Belfast, Derry and Tyrone were to have arrived in Galway to co-operate with Mellows, in the original plan of holding the line of the Shannon. Men from Belfast went as far as Coalisland, County Tyrone, on Easter

Saturday, April 22nd, with two days rations, but the confusion and uncertainty which they met resulted in their return home.

In military formation Volunteers left Dundalk and marched to Ardee. Roadblocks were set up and RIC prisoners taken. The men then marched back to Castlebellingham where they took over the RIC barracks and dispatches which had arrived from Dublin to Dundalk.

While the Louthmen tramped miles, under the command of Dan Hannigan, trying to link up with the other groups and ultimately missing the Fingal, North County Dublin/Meath group led by Thomas Ashe, which did turn out, one of their number, Seán MacEntee, succeeded in reaching the GPO before the surrender.

ASHBOURNE VICTORY

About 50 Volunteers, the Fingal Battalion, under the Command of Ashe, overran North County Dublin, capturing police barracks and taking nearly 100 prisoners. Their greatest achievement was a striking victory over superior forces at Ashbourne, County Meath, on Friday, April 28th. Like most of the men who had risen, Ashe and his comrades were reluctant to surrender and only did so following a meeting between one of his men, Richard Mulcahy and Pearse in Arbour Hill Military Prison.

In County Wexford, Volunteers were disbanded following Mac Néill's countermanning order, but there the news of the Rising in Dublin had the effect which Pearse and the other leaders had hoped for — it brought out some of the determined Volunteers led by Seamus Doyle and Sean Etchingham. On Thursday, April 27th, the insurgents occupied the town of Enniscorthy, established headquarters and controlled the town. Another party occupied Vinegar Hill. The police barricaded themselves in their barracks, and remained there until relieved. Fighting had barely commenced when news came of the surrender in Dublin, and a truce was called. Doyle and Etchingham, the Wexford leaders, were allowed to visit Pearse in Kilmainham Jail and he confirmed the surrender. "Hide your arms," he told them, "You'll need them again".

GALLANT EFFORTS

Gallant though the efforts of officers and Volunteers in North County Dublin, Cork, Galway and Wexford were during Easter Week 1916 and the willingness of those in other counties to enter the fight, in the circumstances that existed at the time the Rising in the country was doomed to failure from the very beginning. Despite the loss of the Aud and Mac Néill's countermanning order, adequate communications between the IRB Military Council and the provinces was lacking and this must be reckoned as an important factor in the collapse of such plans that did exist for a rising in the provinces.

But perhaps the most important factor in the failure of the plan for a country rising, however, was the evident non-existence of the control claimed to have been wielded by the IRB over the Volunteers. Apart from the very general secret instructions issued by Pearse to some of the IRB Volunteer officers early in 1916, which were not understood by even all the senior commanding officers to be definite plans for a rising, IRB officers in the Volunteers, and indeed the members of the Supreme Council itself, knew practically none of the secrets of this organisation. The ordinary rank and file members of the IRB appear to have been kept completely in the dark regarding the Rising.

Considering the fact that the Dublin plans, the garrisons and outposts held by the Volunteers and Irish Citizen Army, and supported by members of Fianna Éireann and Cumann na mBan, held out against the full strength of the British army for one week, it is quite conceivable that a general rising throughout the country could have lasted for a much longer period.



● A train derailed by Volunteers on the Great Southern and Western Railway near Portarlinton during Easter week

1916 — 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE EASTER RISING — 1991



● Pádraig Mac Piarais — loinnigh meon an oideachasóra ina chroí is ina aigne

An Piarsach mar oideachasóir

Foilsíodh an t-alt seo don chéad uair i bhFeasta, iris Chonradh na Gaeilge, i 1979. An t-údar cáiliúil Ghaeilge Diarmuid O Suilleabháin, nach maireann, a scríobh.

NACH BEAG A CHLOISTEAR faoin bPiarsach mar oideachasóir na saolta seo? Ní féidir a rá faoi nach bhfuil na foinsí eolais ann — Scoil Eanna, iardháltaí dá chuid, agus an chéad chaibidil (teidealach) den *Murder Machine* tráchtas atá thar a bheith glé.

An té a léifeadh an aiste úd go cúramach thioctadh sé cinnte dearfa ar mheon an oideachasóra a loinnigh i gcroí is ina aigne an Phiarsaigh. Tagann dhá fhocal go mór chun cinn ansin — saoirse agus ionspioráid. Ní bhíonn scoil go saoirse (Deir sé linn ámh, nach seasadh sé don ainriail) — saoirse chúrsaí léinn, saoirse don mhúinteoir, saoirse shaothair ach go háirithe don dalta. Ní rud é an dalta a mbrúitear rudai eile isteach ann, fiú "exotic excellences" mar a chuir sé féin é. Níorbh ionann torthaí ná pounding ná cramáil agus fíor-oideachas.

Ba é ba dhea-oideachasóir ann dar leis an bPiarsach ná fear nó bean a scaoilfeadh dá phearsantacht is dá dhaonnacht féin teagmháil go flaitiúil is dul i bhfeidhm go spreagúil ar na mic léinn, ní ar mhaithe len iad a ghabháil ná a phlódú le heolas ach len iad a dhúiseacht le go ndéanfaí a gcuid foinsí foghlama féin a bheoú. Ba thábhachtaí an gheit úd chun saoil is féineolaí, is mar sin chun léinn fhoirfe, i ndeireadh báire ná aon lastáil ná lódáil a d'fhéadfadh na trí 'R.s.' ná aon fhoghlaim ón mbéal amach a dhéanamh.

OIDI MI-OIRIUNACHA

Úime sin deir sé nach raibh 60% d'oidí a linne féin in oiriúint go pearsanta don ghlaoh ná don obair a bhí idir lámha acu. Bhain oideachas le haltramas na sean a bheag nó a mhór go fóill, is é sin

Phiarsaigh ar bhealach — cheap sé go seolfadh EIRE teagascóirí ar aon chroí is mianach leis féin uathí bliain droim bliana. Níor dhein ná ní dhéanfaidh faoi mar atá cúrsaí iontrála agus oiliúna sa lá atá inniu ann. Táthar ann a déarfadh ar ndóigh nach bhféadfaí a bheith ag súil le hardlón múinteoirí den idéalhmhianach úd is go mbeadh san iontuighe go leor d'éinne-ach amháin sáridéalai.

An rud nach bhfuil inghlactha is ea an fhír gur ar éigin má d'éirigh leis an Stát breacuimhir nó sás taos an idéaloidachais féin a sholáthar. Maoláid ar shiolteagasc oideachasúil an Phiarsaigh diaidh ar ndiaidh agus tugadh cúl ar fad leis le déanaí i gColáistí Oiliúna an tSaorstáit. Is riléir san ar chaoile a gcuid torthaí, gan comhrá as Gaeilge ar a dtóil ag go leor acu féin.

Fós, ámh, maireann ríomhadh ceannródach an Phiarsaigh mar cheannlíne. Ní hionann teip seo an ábharachais inár measc agus ceadúnas chun cluas bhodhar a imirt ar choincheap uasal. Ní fál go spéir ár

dteip ná buanbhac ar iarracht a dhéanamh druidim le lárline a chuid eiseamláire. Thug sé áis dúinn le machnamh uirthi ar ghrafpháipéar an oideachais — buntreoir thábhachtach. Cheana féin is follas dúinn feo agus easpa a bheith séalaithe anuas ar anam ár muintire ní amháin i gcúrsaí idéalachais ach i sruthanna saolta chomh maith. Thugamar an iomad den chúl leis an *geist* dúchasach — bunchloch oideachais dar leis an bPiarsach, is má thug d'íocamar as an bhfaillí nó chrap na cinemhatáin ionainn diaidh ar ndiaidh agus sinn ag bocléim i ndiaidh an *geist* Eorpaigh — cibé ní é féin!

IONSPIORAID

O thaobh ár leanai de, chomh maith len iad a mhúscailt chun a mhuanna is chun a bhfiúntais fheidhmiúchána féin, molann an Piarsach dúinn ionspioráid a sholáthar go fairsing forleathan. Arís bíonn a leithéid seo de bhua fite fuaite le pearsantacht an mháistir. An rud nach mbíonn agat féin nó nach lonnaitar ionat is deacair é a bhronnadh uait ar éinne eile. Cinnte bhí an cháilíocht úd, an ionspioráid, go hantréan i gcuisle an Phiarsaigh — ba é a chuisle beatha é ar bhealach. Ba ní stairiúil agus ní reamhstairiúil príomhshamhaltach i an ionspioráid seo. Luann sé ina leith uaisleacht na Craobhe Rua is na Tána féin fiú, idéalachas na Féinne iar sin agus daonlathas na Críostaíochta trí bhithin a cuid naomh is a gcuid scoileanna. (Sileann a chuid naimhde an dearcadh seo a thiontú in aghaidh an Oideachasóra Eireannaigh seo ceal aon ródhomainthuisceint a bheith acu féin a thábhacht ná ar thionchar na bpríomhshamhaltacha, murab ionann agus Jung).

Bhain creideamh, cuma é bheith Críostúil, págánta nó eile le hionspioráidí nó ba é comhlíonadh agus iomlánu an duine é ar an saol seo chomh maith leis an saol eile. Ba aidhm phríomhdha an Oideachais é seo, go ndéanfaí neach foirfe den duine ina chorp is ina anam sa mhéid ab fhéidir, agus de na ceangail diamhra eatarthu. Bheadh idir chorpóilíúint agus cheirdóilíúint go mór chun tosaigh san obair seo agus thabharfaí cead a chinn ach go háirithe d'aon bhua nó fiúntas féinchur-in-iúl a nochtfadh an dalta.

Ní go dtí le firdhéanaí a leathadh scóip an churaclaim mar sin inár scoileanna freacnaiceachta! Dar an Piarsach ba iad an Fhírínne, an Dilseacht, an Uaisleacht agus Crógacht an Chirt na saintréithe a bhain leis an dalta dea-óilte.

Beireann seo sinn chuig an Tír Dhúchais, chuig an Náisiún Eireannach murab ionann agus coilíneacht laethanta an *Murder Machine*. Labhrann an Piarsach go smaointeach cúramach faoin Náisiúnachas. Ní fear rud ná a bhriathra féin a bhreacadh síos: "The value of the national factor in education would appear to rest chiefly in this, that it addresses itself to the most generous side of the child's nature urging himself to live up to his final self... the factor of nationality is of prime importance apart altogether from any propagandist views the teacher may cherish". (Nach annamh a luann critici an Phiarsaigh an ráiteas úd!) "The school which neglects it commits, even from a purely pedagogic point of view, a primary blunder. It neglects one of the most powerful of educational resources". (Beag an baol go luann revisionists an lae inniu é sin rómhinic.)

MUINEADH NA GAEILGE

Faoi chló na tuairimíochta seo is ea thagann an Ghaeilge is a teagasc mar theanga bheo. Tuigeadh go maith don oideachasóir sa Phiarsach

gur tábhachtaí teanga dhúchais thre ná díreach friotal nó liosta focal cuma iad a bheith éagsúil maidir le cuid na teanga ón iasacht, gur carbad nó seansoitheach príomhshamhaltach i teanga, ní a iompraíonn cinechuímhne, cinebheartaíocht agus idir chultúr agus traidisiúin fhreámhach na Príomh-Mhuintire. Tá an freagra ag an bPiarsach anseo don mbarbarcheist: What good is Irish? Deir sé linn gur theip ar Chromail, ar an díoltas a lean 1798, ar 'ceannacht' Pitt, na Gaeil a bhascadh taobh spride de,... "There still remained a stubborn Irish thing — enshrined mainly in the Irish language."

Tugann sé le fios dúinn freisin gur éirigh leis an gcóras oideachais ghallda in Eirinn — *The Murder Machine*. "It is because the English educational system in Ireland has deliberately eliminated the national factor that it has so terrifically succeeded in making slaves of us." Rud atá fíor sa lá atá inniu ann; níl le déanamh ach féachaint ar an "elimination of the national factor" i RTE 1 agus RTE 2 chun sin a thuisceint ná ní féidir a shéanadh gur mó é tionchar na teilifíse ar mheon na hóige anois ná tionchar oideachais ar bith.

SIOLOIDEACHASOIR

Oileadh an scríbhneoir seo mar mhúinteoir um 1949-1951 i gColáiste Phádraig, Dromconrach, Baile Atha Cliath. Chuala mé ansin faoi Froebel is Montessori, Freud, Adler, Jung is go leor leor eile a raibh baint acu leis an oideachas, ach, oiread is tagairt amháin, níor deineadh don Phiarsach mar Oideachasóir. Nárbh aisteach an ní é sin? Nó ar tuigeadh cás a thre amach anseo don bhfear dílis féin úd nuair a dúirt sé an ní seo leanas: "A new educational system in Ireland has to do more than restore a national culture. It has to restore manhood to a race that has been deprived of it. Along with inspiration it must therefore, bring a certain hardening." Bhain cinnteacht le príonsabail oideachais Mhic Phiaraís murab ionann is an leimhe is an galathris a cleachtáidh ó shin i leith.

Sioloideachasóir ab ea an Piarsach sa raon is leithne. Ná níor bhain an t-oideachas úd le fuillobairt ná leis an 'mBás Glóimhar' dá mhéid a lúbann a naimhde a chuid focal. Ar n-intleachtóirí mar dhea! Tuigeadh do Phádraig Mac Piarais mórthábhacht na hársaíochta chomh maith le tábhacht phearsanta na hársaíochta rud ba léir ón tagairt a rinne sé do na Mórmháistirí Ealaíne is a gcuid dámhscoileanna, cuma Scoileanna Eigse Fhíli na Mumhan iar Cionn tSáile nó na hoideachasóirí dúchasacha deiridh — na Scoláirí Bochta agus Scoileanna Scairte.

Má tá locht air is é déine agus dofhála a chuid oideachais — idéal na cainíochta úd. Amháil Chríost ba mháistir dian é, ní taobh an smachta chorportha de ach taobh na spride. Chruthaigh siad araon seo go pearsanta agus gabhann síolteagasc is ionspioráid leis seo freisin dár ndóigh. Ach d'fhéadfadh Pádraig Mac Piarais a bheith an-phraiticiúil fadaraíonach freisin: "Our English-Irish Systems take absolutely no cognisance of the difference between individuals, of the difference between localities, of the difference between urban & rural communities, of the difference springing from a different ancestry".

Dáiríre an le faitíos roimh an oideachasóir ab ea an Piarsach ann a cheap na revisionists píocadh as agus é leathchian marbh — na Shaws is na Cruise O'Briens et al? Tá an dealramh ar an scéal gur tuigeadh dá naimhde iarbháis gur sa ghné úd den tírghráthóir a mhair an síol ba ríghne taobh díghallú de. Is fiú smaoinearm ar sin.



● Mac Piarais (ar dheis) in éide Oglach ag sochraid Uí Dhonnabháin Rosa i 1915

Imeachtaí

PICKET ON US EMBASSY
Opposing US policy in Central America
11.30am-1pm
Every Saturday
Ballsbridge
DUBLIN

NORTH AND SOUTH DUBLIN RECLAIM THE SPIRIT OF EASTER CTTEE

Meets 8pm every Thursday
16 North Great George's Street
DUBLIN
to organise a fitting celebration for this year's 75th anniversary of the 1916 Rising
Everybody welcome

ANTI-EXTRADITION MEETING
Meets 6.45pm every Tuesday
DRC
DUBLIN

20 PANEL PHOTOGRAPHIC EXHIBITION AVAILABLE
Apply in writing to: 75th Anniversary Committee,
c/o 16 North Great George's Street, Dublin 1
or phone 860028 after 9pm
Book early

WANTED
Bands for Newry Easter Parade
Contact: Newry 68538 or 66633 after 6pm
All expenses will be covered

TABLE QUIZ
Thursday 28th March
Hermitage Bar
NEWRY
Táille: £2

EASTER TO SLAVERY
The events of 1916 and their modern day context in poetry, drama and song
Performed by Máighread Meadh and Gerry McGovern
8.30pm Friday 29th (Good Friday)
March
DRC Crow Street
DUBLIN
Táille £2
Disco after performance

SPIRIT OF 1916 MARCH & RALLY
Speakers from Spirit of Easter 1916 Committee, Dublin and performance by Rosetree Theatre Group
Assemble 12 noon Saturday 30th March at Whittington Park (off Holloway Road)
Nearest tube Archway
Rally 2.30-5pm Camden Irish Centre
52 Camden Square
LONDON NW1

EASTER REUNION DINNER
Traditional musicians
7.30pm Sunday 31st March
Roger Casement Irish Centre
131 St John's Way
LONDON N19
Táille £13 per person (includes three-course meal with complimentary glass of wine & Irish coffee)

DRUMBOE MARCH
Easter Sunday 31st March
Buses leave Strabane 1.30pm Innisfree Gardens
1.45pm Health Centre
persons wishing to travel should give their names to any Sinn Féin member
Fare £2

BALLAD SESSION
Music by Kevin O'Brien and friend
9.30pm Easter Sunday 31st March
Ormond Hotel
NENAGH
Organised by North Tipperary Sinn Féin

PICKET DUBLIN GOVERNMENT'S EASTER COMMEMORATION
Sunday 31st March
Assemble 10.45 USI
North Great George's Street
DUBLIN
(continued on page 19)

BARKLEY, Danny. Happy Easter to Danny. From Mum, Dad, and family.

BARKLEY, Danny. Happy Easter to my grandson. From granda and granny Barkley, uncle Christie, aunt Philomena and wee Gerald.

BARKLEY, Danny. Happy Easter big brother. From Eileen and Liam.

BEANNACHTAI NA CASCA do Martin Molloy, Peter Whelan, Dee Doherty (H-Blocks) Ailish Carroll (Maghaberry) Decky Moen, Conchur Mac Giolla Mhuire, Tarlac O Conghaile, Tony Miller (Crumlin Road) and especially to Dominic Martin and Peadar O Doibhlin, not long now. O Sean Mór, Béal Feirste.

BEANNACHTAI NA CASCA. To all imprisoned Irish republican soldiers throughout the world. Though your bodies are imprisoned, your spirits soar free and your sacrifice keeps the flames of freedom burning high. We will be free, that is a certainty. "Carry on my gallant comrades, victory and freedom get closer each day." You are always in my thoughts. God bless the struggle for freedom. UTP. Victory to the IRA. "The struggle is my life" Nelson Mandela. From Seán 'Jock' England.

BRADLEY, JJ. Happy Easter John. From Eileen and Liam.

BRADLEY, JJ. Happy Easter. From the Barkley family.

BULLOCK, Martin (H7, Long Kesh). Easter Greetings Martin. From your darling wife Anne Marie. XXX

BULLOCK, Martin (H7, Long Kesh). Easter Greetings Daddy. Lots of love. From your sons Martin, Seamus, Karl and daughter Catherine. XXX

BUTLER, Eddie (Frankland). Wishing you a very happy Easter Eddie. All our love. From your Mother, Father, John and all the gang in New York.

CARMODY, John (Portlaoise). Best wishes for Easter John. All our love from your wife Jennifer and daughter Sarah. XXX

CARMODY, John (Portlaoise). Happy Easter to my son John. Lots of love from Mammy.

COYLE, Ciaran (Long Kesh). Easter Greetings Ciaren. Love and missing you always. From you loving wife Tina. XXX

COYLE, Ciaran (Long Kesh). Easter Greetings Ciaran. We all love you. From your Mum and Dad and all at home.

COYLE, Ciaran (Long Kesh). Easter Greetings Daddy. We love you. From Tanya, Tracy, Shea and Ciara. XXX

CULLEN, Carol; McINTYRE, Tony. Beannachtaí na Cásca do Mhamaf agus Dhaidí. Le grá mór ó Chloíodhna agus Eamonn.

DONNELLY, Steven (Long Kesh). Solidarity Greetings at Easter from everyone at Killyliss.

DUFFY, Sean (A Wing, Crumlin Road). Easter Greetings. From Maggie and children. Sent with lots of love.

EASTER GREETINGS to all POWs at home and abroad. Thinking of you always. From the McVeigh family, Andersonstown.

EASTER GREETINGS to all POWs especially Ella O'Dwyer. From Pat Hackett.

EASTER GREETINGS to all POWs in England, Ireland and in Europe. From the boys in South London, especially Dale and Robert. Tiofaidh ár lá.

EASTER GREETINGS to all republic-

Beannachtaí na Cásca



can POWs at home and abroad. From the Matthew Kane Sinn Féin Cumann, Tulamore.

EASTER GREETINGS to Angelo Fusco and comrades (Portlaoise) and all Irish POWs both home and abroad. From John and Gretta, Dublin.

EASTER GREETINGS to Brú and Dessie. From Clarke/Smith Sinn Féin Cumann.

EASTER GREETINGS to Brú and Gussy. From The Hench.

EASTER GREETINGS to Brú and Gussy. From Valley Park Football Team.

EASTER GREETINGS to Dessie and Brú. From Tina, Finglas.

EASTER GREETINGS to Dessie Ellis. From Pat Bell and family, Finglas.

EASTER GREETINGS to Dessie Ellis from the Finglas Anti-Extradition Committee.

EASTER GREETINGS to Ella O'Dwyer. From the Republican Movement, North Tipperary.

EASTER GREETINGS to Fitzy, Kiwi, Dessie Ellis and all prisoners everywhere. From Terence MacSwiney Sinn Féin Cumann, Shannon.

EASTER GREETINGS to Liam O'Dwyer and Paddy McLaughlin. From Pat Bell and family, Finglas.

EASTER GREETINGS to my husband Pat McGennity (H4 Long Kesh). From your loving wife Sarah.

EASTER GREETINGS to Pat McGennity (H4 Long Kesh). From Father, Mother and Raymond.

EASTER GREETINGS to Nicky, Brú, Jerry, Mick, Bottler, Gussy and all the

other lads in Portlaoise. From Pat Bell and family, Finglas.

EASTER GREETINGS to prisoners, dear friends and families and all those playing their part in the long fight for a United Ireland. From Lynette and Owen Roe O'Neill, Sydney, Australia.

FITZGERALD, Gerald (Portlaoise). Happy Easter Fitzy. Last one kid. Got the bathroom painted. Danny, Eilish and kids.

FOX, Paddy (C Wing Crumlin Road). Solidarity Greetings at Easter. From Anthony.

JACKSON, Rab. Happy Easter Rab. From Mum, Dad and Eamon.

JACKSON, Rab. Happy Easter Rab. With love from Angie.

JACKSON, Rab. Happy Easter Rab. From Jake and Chrissie. Also from Collette and Hoes.

JACKSON, Rab. Happy Easter Rab. From Pauline and Raddo. Also from Carol and Fraggie.

JACKSON, Rab. Happy Easter Rab. From Theresa and Gargy. Also from Martine and Gary; and from Mick and Roisín.

KEENAN, Brian. Happy Easter Brian. From Chrissie, Sean and Bernadette.

KEENAN, Brian. Happy Easter Dad. From Ann-Marie and Jimmy.

KEENAN, Brian. Happy Easter Dad. From Chrissie and Jake.

KEENAN, Brian. Happy Easter Dad. From Frankie and Alice.

KEENAN, Brian. Happy Easter Dad. From Jeanette and Kieran.

MacGURK, Patsy (H6 Long Kesh).

From Mum, Dad and Brendan. Tiofaidh ár lá.

MacGURK, Patsy (H6 Long Kesh). From brother Martin, Jackie and Michael.

MacGURK, Patsy (H6 Long Kesh). From sister Libby, Raymond, Darren and Stefan. Keep smiling.

MacGURK, Patsy (H6 Long Kesh). From auntie Margaret and family.

McALEESE, Patrick Pearse (H3 Long Kesh). Easter Greetings. From Mum, Monica and Mel.

McALEESE, Patrick Pearse (H3 Long Kesh). Have a Happy Easter. From Harry, Geraldine, Kevin and Gerry.

McALEESE, Patrick Pearse (H3 Long Kesh). Have a Happy Easter. From Peter, Roisin, Gary and Brendan.

McALEESE, Patrick Pearse (H3 Long Kesh). Have a Happy Easter. From John, Jacintha, Leona and Michael. Also from David, Bronagh, Danny and Paul.

McALEESE, Patrick Pearse (H3 Long Kesh). Have a Happy Easter. From Micheal, Michele, Séan and Mark.

McCUSKER/McMULLAN Cumman, Swatragh. Greetings to our comrades Colm McGuigan, Seamus Kearney, Seamus Mullan.

McLAUGHLIN, Sean. Happy Easter Sean. From the Barkley family.

McNALLY, Louis (Long Kesh). Easter Greetings to my darling husband Louis. From your ever-loving wife Annette. Love and miss you. XXX

McNALLY, Louis (Long Kesh). Easter Greetings to my dear Daddy. From your loving daughter Louise. Love and miss you. XXX

McVEIGH, Tom (H3 Long Kesh). Easter Greetings to you and all your comrades. Thinking of you always. Love from Dad and the twins.

McVEIGH, Tom (H3 Long Kesh). Our thoughts and prayers are with you Tom. All our love. Noreen, Paul and Margaret.

McVEY, Micky. Easter Greetings to you and all your comrades. Thinking of you always. From Tommy and twins.

MOLLOY, Martin (H3). Easter Greetings to the Brackagh Skinhead, all the best. O do chara Sean Mór.

MOORE, Dermot (Long Kesh). Happy Easter (Big Boy). From your loving wife Kathleen. Thinking of you always. Love and miss you. XXX

MOORE, Dermot (Long Kesh). Easter Greetings from your children John, Joanne and Kyla. Love and miss you. XXX

O'DWYER, Ella (Durham). Happy Easter to our daughter Ella and all POWs. From Mum, Dad and family.

O'HAGAN, Sean (H1 Long Kesh). Easter Greetings from your loving wife Roisin and your children, Tracy, Máiréad, Denise, Kevin, Séan Og and Ursula.

O'NEILL, Fearghal (C Wing Crumlin Road). Easter Greetings from all at Killybrackey.

O'NEILL, Fearghal (C Wing Crumlin Road). Fondest Easter Greetings from Mum and Dad.

O'NEILL, Fearghal (C Wing Crumlin Road). From Maura, Tiarnan, Conall, and Saoirse with love at Easter.

O'NEILL, Joe. Happy Easter Joe. From the Barkley family.

QUINN, Frankie. Happy Easter to Frankie and all the Tyrone lads. From Paddy and Ann Barkley and family.

WRIGHT, Marie. Easter Greetings to you and your comrades. Thinking of you always. From the McVeigh family.

REPUBLICAN GRAVES ASSOCIATION

Research project

A chairde,

May I draw the attention of your readers to a research project that may involve them.

This year is the 75th Anniversary of the 1916 Easter

Rising. In order to pay proper tribute to all Derry's republican dead from 1916 until the present time, we need to identify and locate the graves of all deceased republicans lying in Derry City Cemetery. For this present campaign we have a complete list and flagpoles are up at every grave and a Tricolour flown over

them each Easter. However, we are aware that the graves of some deceased republicans are not identified nor marked in any way.

Our committee wishes to identify all these graves and so we appeal to AP/RN readers, amongst whom are undoubtedly relatives of these republicans. We would greatly appreciate it if relatives with this information would contact me at the above address as soon as possible, preferably prior to Easter. Our initial priority would be simply to update our lists.

In addition, we would be very interested in researching and compiling a complete history of Derry republicans over the past 75 years. At a later stage, ideally this year, we hope to publish this. All help for this project, particularly during the early days where information may be scarce, will be gratefully received and help ensure that such people are properly remembered each Easter.

Is mise,
Jacky Walker
c/o Shantallow Sinn Féin Centre,
64B Racecourse Road,
Derry. Telephone 359747



THE CAPTIVE VOICE

The Spring '91 edition of *The Captive Voice/An Glór Gafa*, written entirely by Republican POWs currently held in Ireland, England, Europe and the US is now on sale priced £1. The magazine contains its usual mix of political analyses of national and international affairs, culture, short stories, poetry and updates on prison-related campaigns and examines in this issue the particular use of the media against the Republican struggle. Satire and humour, cartoons and artwork illustrations complete the line-up of the voice of the political prisoners.

The Captive Voice/An Glór Gafa can be obtained from:

The POW Department
51/55 Falls Road, Belfast.
Tel:249975. Fax: 231723
or
5 Blessington Street, Dublin.
Tel: 308664.



● Irish prisoners in Britain — the legal fight for repatriation is heating up

POWs — bring them home

IRISH PRISONERS in British jails received a tremendous boost when the Birmingham Six were released. One of the first calls the Six made was one for immediate repatriation — the transfer of Irish prisoners to jails in Ireland. Now the legal fight for repatriation is heating up.

In two separate legal cases, Irish POWs are demanding the right to finish their sentences in Six-County prisons. By locking Irish republicans away in inaccessible prisons, the British Home Office is simply attempting to break their morale,

hurting them through their families. The cost of regular travel to Britain and the antagonism which the visiting families suffer is only part of the problem. Relatives often turn up at the prison only to find that the POW is not there as prisoners have been

repeatedly transferred from jail to jail without notice to anyone.

Robert 'Roy' Walsh, Billy Armstrong and Paul Holmes were sentenced to life imprisonment in November 1973 at Winchester. Six others were sentenced with them and all of these have been either released or transferred to Six-County jails. On March 22nd they were granted leave to appeal their sentences by the Court of Appeal in London.

All but one of those who were

sentenced with them have been released but the three are still held in British top security jails. Their counsel, Edward Fitzgerald, told Judges Watkins, Alliot and Cresswell that their continued imprisonment was "extraordinary and irrational".

A number of those who were sentenced with them, including the Price sisters and Gerry Kelly, were transferred to jails in Ireland after hunger-strikes. They have since been released. Of the rest, William McLarnon was freed in 1984 and Hugh Feeney was released last year. Martin Brady, the sole remaining prisoner to have been sentenced with them, is now free on a pre-release scheme and expects to be formally discharged in June. Their sentences will be considered by the Appeal Court after Easter.

VINDICTIVE BEHAVIOUR

John McComb from Belfast is also a victim of vindictive behaviour by the British prison service. He is being held in an English jail because transferring him to the Six Counties could mean he would get remission. He received a 17-year sentence at the Old Bailey in May 1983 and David Waddington, the then British Home Secretary, refused to grant either a permanent or a temporary transfer in case he might become eligible for two years' remission.

At the London High Court on Monday, his counsel, Patrick O'Connor, accused Waddington of basing this decision on unlawful criteria and of ignoring the need to allow a prisoner to maintain proper contact with his family.

CAMPBELL, Patrick (19th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Patrick Campbell, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, who was shot dead on active service on March 25th 1972. "As long as Ireland is unfree, the only honourable attitude for Irish men and women is an attitude of revolt." — PH Pearse. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

CAMPBELL, Patrick (19th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear son Vol Patrick Campbell, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, who died on March 25th 1972. St Patrick, pray for him. Proudly today your memory we treasure, missing you always, forgetting you never. Always remembered by his mother.

CAMPBELL, Patrick (19th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Vol Patrick Campbell, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, who died on March 25th 1972. St Anthony, pray for him. He died as he lived, fighting for the cause of Irish freedom. Always remembered by his brother Anthony, sister-in-law Bernadette and family.

CAMPBELL, Patrick (19th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Vol Patrick Campbell, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, who died on March 25th 1972. Sacred Heart of Jesus, pray for him. Always remembered by his brother Eddie.

CAMPBELL, Patrick (19th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my

InDíl Chuimhne

dear brother Vol Patrick Campbell, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, who died on March 25th 1972. St Jude, pray for him. "Life springs from death and from the graves of patriot men and women spring living nations." Always remembered by his sister Anne and kids Leanna, Pádraig and Conor.

CAMPBELL, Patrick (19th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Vol Patrick Campbell, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, who died on March 25th 1972. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him. Deep in my heart your memory is kept, to love and to cherish and never forget, so deep are your memories special they stay, no passing of time can take them away. Always loved and remembered by his sister Kathleen, brother-in-law Colum and family.

CAMPBELL, Patrick (19th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Vol Patrick Campbell, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, who died on March 25th 1972. St Martin, pray for him. Always remembered by his brother Brendan, sister-in-law Jo and nieces Siobhán and Sorcha.

CAMPBELL, Patrick (19th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Vol Patrick Campbell, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, who died on March 25th 1972. Thanks for

the years we shared, the love you gave and the way you cared, I miss you now and always will. Always remembered by his brother Harry, sister-in-law Margaret and family.

CAMPBELL, Patrick (19th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Vol Patrick Campbell, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, who died on March 25th 1972. Our Lady of Lourdes, pray for him. Will those who think of him today, a little prayer to Jesus say. Remembered always by Patricia, Eamonn and Ursula.

CAMPBELL, Patrick 'Peatey' (19th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Patrick Campbell, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, who died on March 25th 1972. "How proud we were to know you, how sad that you have gone. Soldier true, farewell to you, one of Ireland's finest sons." Always remembered by his friends John and Gretta, Dublin.

CAMPBELL, Patrick (19th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Peatsy Campbell, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, who died on March 25th 1972. RIP. Always remembered by Isobel.

LOGUE, Gerard (4th Anniversary) In proud and loving memory of our dear friend Vol Gerard Logue, Derry Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, who died on active service on March 22nd 1987. "No greater

love hath any man than to lay down his life for his friends." Sadly missed by Archie and Veronica.

McCABE, Patrick (18th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Fian Patrick McCabe, Fianna Eireann, who died on March 27th 1973. Fuair sé bás ar son na saoirse. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in Fianna Eireann.

SMITH, Tom (16th Anniversary). In loving memory of Vol Tom Smith, Dublin Brigade, shot in Portlaoise Prison on March 17th 1975. March is here with sad regret. The day, the month, we will not forget. Quickly, sadly came the call, without farewell you left us all. Simple words but very true. We will always love and remember you. Sadly missed by his loving brothers, sisters and friends.

SMITH, Tom (16th Anniversary). In loving memory of Vol Tom Smith, Dublin Brigade, shot in Portlaoise Prison on March 17th 1975. When God gives you a brother, these words he does not say. Please don't be angry, when I take him back some day. You were so special Tom. Simple words but very true. We will always love and remember you. From Paddy, Lily, family and friends.

SMITH, Tom (16th Anniversary). In loving memory of Vol Tom Smith, Dublin Brigade, shot in Portlaoise Prison on March 17th 1975. A daily thought, a silent prayer, we cannot bring back the old days Tom when we were all together. The family chain is broken now but memories last forever. Sadly missed by his loving nephews, nieces, family and friends.

cur on March 28th and who died in Long Kesh in June 1991. RIP. "His body you imprisoned, his youth you drained it too, his heart you could not capture, his soul you could not hold, his spirit, it is freedom, his heart forever bold." Will those who think of him today a little prayer to Jesus say. Always remembered by his brother Joe and family.

KELLY, Patrick. In proud and loving memory of my brother Patrick who should have celebrated his 34th birthday on March 19th 1991. I shall never forget you Patrick, the very echo of your name, the memory of your smile. The little things you said and did are with me for the rest of time. No words I speak can ever say how much I miss you every day. Always remembered by his loving sister Marie.

Cuimhní Breithlae

you." Always remembered and sadly missed by his loving sister Rita, Terry, Róisín and Terry.

BATESON, Seán. In proud and loving memory of my brother Vol Seán Bateson. St Martin, pray for him. "There is always a face before us, a voice we loved to here, a smile we'll all remember, of a brother we loved so dear." Always remembered and sadly missed by his brother Ciarán, Ann-Marie and baby Ciarán Seán.

BATESON, Seán. Birthday memories of my brother Sean whose 35th birthday oc-

BATESON, Seán. In proud and loving memory of my dear son Vol Seán Bateson who should have celebrated his 35th birthday on March 28th. St Martin, pray for him. "When God gave us you Seán these are the words he forgot to say, please try and understand when I take him back someday. O God it's been so lonely, so heart breaking and so sad, but we never forgot to say thank you for the wonderful years we had." Sadly missed and loved by his loving mother, Gary and Donna, Sharon and Ciareen.

BATESON, Seán. In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Vol Seán Bateson. RIP. Padre Pio, pray for him. "For him no special day is needed Seán for us to think of you. You were very special to us as we thought the world of

COYLE, Ciarán (Long Kesh). Happy birthday daddy, hugs and kisses. From Tanya, Tracy, Shea and Ciara. XXX

COYLE, Ciarán (Long Kesh). Happy birthday son. Thinking of you always. From mum and dad.

Comhbhrón

QUINN. Deepest sympathy is extended to the families, especially Pauline Quinn (Maghaberry), of John, Dwayne, Malcolm and Tommy. From Frankie Quinn, Long Kesh.

TAFFEE. Deepest sympathy is extended to Jim and the entire Taffee family on the death of his wife Gabriel who died on March 17th 1991. From the Delaney/Doherty Sinn Féin Cumann, Newry.

TAFFEE. Deepest sympathy to Jim and family on the death of his wife Gabriel who died on March 17th 1991. From Meath Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin.

Beannachtaí

COYLE, Ciarán (Long Kesh). Happy birthday Ciarán, you are always on my mind. Lots of love. From your loving wife Tina. XXX

All notices for AP/RN should reach our Dublin or Belfast offices no later than 5pm Monday for inclusion in that week's paper.

Imeachtaí

(continued from page 18)

IRISH NIGHT
Easter Monday Night 1st April
Kelly's Lounge
STRABANE
Táille £1.50

Gaelic Football Challenge Match
75th Anniversary Easter '16 Trophy
Easter Monday 1st April
Strabane V Castlederg
Warm up match, ex-POWs V Strabane reserves

IRISH NIGHT
Music by Bracken
Easter Monday Night 1st April
Gatsby's Nightclub
NEWRY
Táille £2
Easter draw will take place at function

IRISH NIGHT
Music by Justice
Easter Monday Night 1st April
Nikita's Night Club
CARRICKARNON

EASTER MONDAY FUNCTION
Featuring The Irish Brigade
Monday 1st April
Wexford Inn
DUBLIN

PUBLIC TALK
"Should we celebrate the Easter Rising"
Speaker: Bernadette McAliskey
8.30pm Wednesday 3rd April
11-1.30pm dancing by Spideog Carraig Springs
CAVAN

DUBLIN MARCH
Saturday 6th April
Buses will leave for Dublin
8am sharp
from Inisfree Gardens, Strabane
Fare £5
Persons wishing to travel should give their names to any Sinn Féin member

COMMEMORATION
75th Limerick Anniversary
Saturday April 6th
LIMERICK CITY
Bus for Dublin march
leaves Shannon Town Centre
9.30am
Leaves Penneys 10.30am
For more information contact
Tom Clancy. Ph: Limerick 53855

WREATH-LAYING CEREMONY
3pm Sunday 7th April
Ballykissane Pier
KILLORGLIN

EASTER PARADE
11.30am Sunday 7th April
SHANNON
Meet at St John Paul Chapel at
11.15am
Transport provided

SPIRIT OF 1916 QUIZ
8pm till late Friday 12th April
Roger Casement Irish Centre
131 St John's Way
LONDON N19
(Nearest tube Archway, bus no 41)
Táille: £3.50/£2.50 unwaged
Funds in aid of minibuses for prisoners' relatives
Organised by the Haringey Irish Working Group

SPONSORED CYCLE
in aid of Dublin Bus Fund
Saturday 13th April
to and from Portlaoise
Sponsorship cards available
from No 5
followed by
FUNCTION
Eccles Lounge
Dorset Street
DUBLIN

DAY OF ACTION
On 1st day of
Dessie Ellis's Appeal
Picket
5.30pm O'Connell Bridge
DUBLIN

MONTHLY PICKET
Starting Saturday 13th April
1-2pm GPO
DUBLIN

POBLACHT NA HEIREANN. THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE IRISH REPUBLIC TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

IRISHMEN AND IRISHWOMEN: In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom.

Having organised and trained her manhood through her secret revolutionary organisation, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and through her open military organisations, the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army, having patiently perfected her discipline, having resolutely waited for the right moment to reveal itself, she now seizes that moment, and, supported by her exiled children in America and by gallant allies in Europe, but relying in the first on her own strength, she strikes in full confidence of victory.

We declare the right to the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right, nor can it even be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish People. In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty; six times during the past three hundred years they have asserted it in arms. Standing on that fundamental right and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world, we hereby proclaim the Irish Republic as a Sovereign Independent State, and we pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades-in-arms to the cause of its freedom, of its welfare, and of its exaltation among the nations.

The Irish Republic is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman. The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally, and oblivious of the differences carefully fostered by an alien government, which have divided a minority from the majority in the past.

Until our arms have brought the opportune moment for the establishment of a permanent National Government, representative of the whole people of Ireland and elected by the suffrages of all her men and women, the Provisional Government, hereby constituted, will administer the civil and military affairs of the Republic in trust for the people.

We place the cause of the Irish Republic under the protection of the Most High God, whose blessing we invoke upon our arms, and we pray that no one who serves that cause will dishonour it by cowardice, inhumanity, or rapine. On this supreme hour the Irish nation must, by its valour and discipline and by the readiness of its children to sacrifice themselves for the common good, prove itself worthy of the august destiny to which it is called.

Signed on behalf of the Provisional Government

John Blake
Seán MacStáma *Tomás MacDonagha*
P. H. Pearse *Conyngham Connors*
James Connolly *Joseph P. Ryan*



A MHUNITIR NA HEIREANN, IDIR FLEARA AGUS MHNA. In ainm Dé agus in ainm na n-áin, d'fhéad romhainn agus d'fhéad agáin mar oidhreacht sean-spiorad na náisiúntachta, tá Éire, tírme, ag gairm a clainne chun a brataigh agus ag buataidh buille ar son a saoirse.

Tar éis di a leam d'ceagnú agus d'olluim ina heagraíocht rúnda réabhlóideach, Braithrechas Phoblacht na hÉireann, agus ina heagraíocht míleata phobli, Ogláigh na hÉireann agus Arm Cathartha na hÉireann, tar éis di a riallúisceacht d'fhorbhu go foilgúireach agus fanúint go buanseasmhach leis an bfaill chun gairme, tá sí ag glacadh na fallle sin anois, agus, le cabhair na clainne atá ar deoraíocht uathu i Meiricea agus na gearde calma cogaidh atá aici san Eoraip, agus, thar gach ní le muintir as a neart féin, tá sí ag buataidh buille i lán-dóchas go mbéarfáidh sí bua.

Dearbhainid gur ceart ceannasach do-chloíe ceart mhuintir na hÉireann chun tír na hÉireann, agus fós chun dála na hÉireann a stiúradh gan chosc gan loirmese. An fórlámhas atá á dhéanamh air le cian d'ámsir ag pobal lasachta agus ag riallas íasachta, níor mhích sé an ceart sin ná ní féidir go brách a mhúchadh ach le dlúthú phobal na hÉireann. Níl aon ghlúin dá dtáinig nar dhearbhaigh pobal na hÉireann a gceart chun saoirse agus ceannas náisiúnta. sé huatre dhearbhaíodar é faoi arm le trí chéad bliain anuas. Ag seasamh ar an gceart bunaidh sin dúlún agus á dhearbhu arís faoi arm os comhair an tsaoil, fógraímid leis seo Poblacht na hÉireann ina Stát Neamhspleách Ceannasach agus cuirimid ar n-ainm féin agus ainm ár gcomrádaithe comhrac i ngeall lena saoirse agus lena leas agus lena móradh i measc na náisiún.

Dlíonn Poblacht na hÉireann, agus éilonn leis seo, géillsine ó gach Éireannach idir líne agus bhéan, Rátháinn an Phoblacht saoirse chridimh agus saoirse sibhialta, comhchearta agus comhdheis, dá saoránáigh uile, agus dearbhaíonn gur é a rún sean agus sonas a lorg don náisiún uile agus do gach roinn de, ag tabhairt géana do chlann uile an náisiún mar a chéile, gan arfd aic ar an easaontas a cúlúidh catarthu ag riallas íasachta agus lenar deagháidh míonáirtreamh díobh ón mhór-áireamh san ain atá innithe.

Go dtí go mbéidh an chaoi agáin de thioradh ar n-arm chun Buan-Riallas Náisiúnta a bhunú a bhéas ionadaitheacht do mhuintir na hÉireann go léir agus a toghair ag fir agus ag mná uile na tíre, déanfaidh an Riallas Sealdach a bunaithear leis seo cúrsaí sibhialta agus cúrsaí míleata na Poblachta a n-ádh thar ceann an phobail.

Cuirimid cúis Phoblacht na hÉireann faoi choimirte Dhia Mór na nUilechunnhacht agus iarrainid A bhéannacht ar ár n-áitir, imrimid gan aon dúine a bhéas ag íonamh sa chúis sin do thabhairt náire dhi le mí-laochas, le mí-dhronnacht ná le siad. Ar uair na hiarachta ró-vaisle seo is é dualgas náisiún na hÉireann a cruthú, lena chalmacht agus lena smacht air féin agus le hullmhacht a chlainne chun fulaig ar son an mhaitheasa phobli, gur fu é an ard-creim atá i ndán do.

Arna shíniú thar ceann an Riallais Shealdach

John Blake
Seán MacStáma *Tomás MacDonagha*
P. H. Pearse *Conyngham Connors*
James Connolly *Joseph P. Ryan*