

# An tOglach

Official organ of the Irish Republican Army

## EDITORIAL

Our experience as a Nation struggling to free itself, has an almost unique position in the world. We have had many and varied kinds of movements; - - - legal and illegal, underground and open, narrow circles and mass movements, each of which according to their time and circumstances, used tactics which were sometimes military, sometimes political to achieve their ends.

Our generation has the lessons of history to learn from; This first issue of An tOglach, and future issues, will help to provoke and stimulate thought by Volunteers on every aspect of the struggle; with particular emphasis on the conditions of to-day, and the needs of tomorrow.

We must not confine or bind ourselves to one particular form of action. We must keep learning from new experiences and new situations. We must devise new tactics and means - and be prepared to use them - which will bring us nearer our goal. We must get down to the business of knowing and understanding fully the need for flexibility of action, then, this generation will succeed in winning Freedom.

Such understanding will not come about immediately-; it will come only by prolonged effort and hard won experience.

A Revolutionary Movement, to succeed, needs to have several essential elements:

It must have.....Unity of Purpose;

It must have .....Workers, not just members;

It must have .....Workers, who know what they are about;

It must have.....Workers, Educated in our Aims;

It must have.....Workers , fully Trained and disciplined, and an ability to relate our aims and activities to the best interest of the broadest mass of people, whether they be of the Industrial or the Farming Community.

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This issue carries notes on, Political Education, an Essay by James Connolly, notes on Short Arms and Intelligence, each of which should be read and digested by every Volunteer; for, in the struggle that is to come, it is vital that every Volunteer be trained physically and mentally in all aspects of Revolutionary tactics, both Political and Military.

"But war must be faced and blood must be shed, not gleefully, but as a terrible necessity." (T. McSwiney.)

TO MARK TIME OR .....

For seven hundred years Ireland has been engaged in a ceaseless and heroic struggle for national liberty, a struggle which is still unfinished; which is now perhaps, only just entering into its last and most glorious phase, that of a struggle for a free and independent worker/farmer Republic. Ireland has given many great revolutionary figures to the Liberation Movement, and these men should be our reference books. It is the dream of earnest men to have an end to our long war-- a peace final and honourable, wherein the soul of the country can rest, revive and express itself. Express itself in poetry, music and art, evidence of release from long suppression. But this final peace will never come while there is any formal link of dependence - complete independence is a necessity, for while there is any restraint on us by a neighbouring power, acknowledged superior, there is dependence to an extent. In making the dream come true, strong men and women, strong in mind and body are needed. Confidence in oneself and a complete belief in what one is aiming at are absolute essentials. "For the strength that will support a man through every phase of this struggle a strong and courageous mind is the primary need, and this is the result of a clear and thorough knowledge of one's beliefs and where one is going, and the means to be used in getting there".

We have fallen into the dangerous habit of deferring important questions on the plea that the time is not yet ripe - but to evade the issue is to invite disaster. This has always been a fault and each generation must learn from the mistakes of the last. The task of this generation must be to fulfill what has been left undone by the last, and to fulfill it now. It is fatal to think that, until the time comes to strike a blow for freedom there is little to do but watch and wait. Our principles and beliefs are not something to argue about or write about, or hold meetings about, but are something to act on.

It is for us to decide whether we will, in our time, mark time, or finally use our time.

J MARK TIME OR.....cont.

In the writings of Connolly we have a guide line. He saw Ireland ruled by moneylords depending on the British Connection for support, this is the situation to-day. The essence of Tone and Connolly's teaching is that the freedom of the Irish people can only be achieved through a complete break with the British Empire (under any name) and that the only power capable of achieving and maintaining that freedom is a National Movement led by the Irish working class. It involved the assumption of the ownership of Ireland by it's people and effectual ownership at that. The aims of Tone, Connolly, Pearse and Larkin are not attainable without the building of an Irish economy based upon the needs of the Irish people.

It is not enough to be vaguely sympathetic towards Labour, if there is to be any future for the Irish people as a free people it must depend upon a return by organised Labour to the politics of Connolly. "The power of the monied interests is the greatest pressure power on one side. It can only be met effectively by the power of organised Labour."

Other men, in other days, will contemplate the mistakes of the past- for of course, the Ireland of the poor will be back. There will be another day:

Now is the day.

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## TASKS.

Believing that National Freedom must be realised in Ireland, the midds of all must turn to the uses too which that freedom must be put. There is a neccessity to give effective expression, politically and socially to the right of all the community to control - for the good -of all, the industrial activities of of each and to endow such activities with the necessary means. Before beginning we must know where we are heading, and why and how we are going to get there. These are the things we must establish and educate ourselves on, and having done so, organise to get there and put plans and theories into action.

The immediate task of the movement is not, to summon all available forces to attack right now, but to form a working Revolutionary Organisation, capable of uniting all forces and guiding the movement in actual practice and not in a name alone, that is, an organisation ready at any time to support every protest and every outbreak and use it to build up and consolidate the fighting forces suitable for the decisive struggle. We should not only be clear on the nature of the organisation that is needed and it's precise purpose, but we must elaborate a definite plan for an organisation. The kind of an organisation we need is one that is sufficiently large to embrace the whole country--; sufficiently broad and many-sided to effect a strict and detailed division of labour--; sufficiently well tempered to be able to conduct steadily it's own dwork under any circumstances, in the face of all contingencies; sufficiently flexible to be able to avoid an open battle against an overwhelming enemy, and on the other hand to be able to take advantage of his unwieldiness and to attack him when and dwhere he least expects it.

The time for dreaming is past- there has been far too much time already spent on dreaming and theorising. We must not, any longer, just work inthe knowledge that we prepare for a future that only generations will enjoy. It is here and now that people are hungry and in need of housing, and now that WE MUST ACT. We must be there to support thowe who are fighting social injustices and conditions and after this the bigger National issues. We must give leadership on all issues that in any way tough the National question: We must fight emigration, bad conditions, factory dlosures and the foreign take-over of land.

We must involve ourselves in struggles for better housing, more employment, etc.,. We must clear the illusion held by many that Ireland is free, by going to the root of problems and showing them it's cause.

We must always be ready to support the just agitation i.e. the unemployed movement in some particular. We must always be prepared, and united, to come to agreement to satisfy the practical aims of the Movement, but never to allow any bargaining over principles, never to belittle the significance of theory "without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement".

In order to be able to fulfill all our tasks we must at all costs set out, first to learn secondly to learn and thirdly to learn and then to see to it that learning shall not remain a dead letter; that learning shall become part of our very being, that it shall actually and fully become a part of our life.

We must not imagine that we can compensate our lack of knowledge by zeal or haste, etc. The most harmful thing would be to rely on the assumption that we know at least something or that we have any considerable number of elements necessary for the building of an organisation to complete the tasks we have before us. The only elements we have for the building of an revolutionary Organisation are the workers who are not sufficiently educated, and some elements of knowledge which we have, but which is very little. Better fewer, but better, we must follow the rule, better get good human material in two or even three years than work in haste without hope of getting any at all.

JAMES CONNOLLY.

To return to Connolly, whose teaching is to us invaluable; some of his definitions: "Definition of a Socialist Republic. This is the application to agriculture and industry; to the farm; the field, the workshop, of the democratic principle of the Republican ideal".

The development, planning, and carrying out of this new system must be the aim of those interested in Ireland's salvation. To even begin to achieve this a complete understanding of the situation in Ireland to-day is necessary and then to extend from that to what Ireland should be, and WILL BE. "Educate that you may be free", but before we even attempt to educate others we must thoroughly educate ourselves. "Others", meaning the mass of the Irish people. In every revolution in this country in the last 100yrs. the fighting forces have been drawn from the working-classes and the social question has not always been to the fore. Consequently, the great majority of the people has not been behind each rebellion. Only the "purest of mind" have volunteered, and though an earnest band more effective than a discreditable multitude, the multitude (not discreditable) will in the end be the decider. But, at present, as a-way, Ireland's greatest export industry is her sons and daughters of this very class, on which Ireland will depend when the time comes, and the multitude breaks from the lethargy and prejudice which grips and marches for freedom and ownership and control of their land.

LIAM MELLOWES.

"The people with a stake in the country were never with the revolution. The issue is -- Capitalism and empire versus national independence and the industrial workers and poor ~~and~~ farmers."

The realisation of the truth of Liam Mellowes statement and how it still applies to-day is a bitter pill, but one that must be fully digested before any good can come of the Republican Movement, and to realise is not merely to surmise and draw conclusions but to act, and the action here and now must be in preparing the way for the free and independent Ireland of the future.

A revolutionary movement is alone capable of uniting Ireland and carrying the fight through to the victorious end- a workers and farmer's Irish Republic. "Let us free Ireland", says the patriot who shuns socialism, and when she is free, let the working class go back to their slums, the agricultural workers go scraping for the landlord's rent, to what avail is this freedom?" (Connolly)

To work and fight for complete separation from England for complete ownership of a 32co. Ireland- to what avail is all this if we cannot make the lot of the people, who are Ireland, a better one- not just a better lot, but to make contentment, security, hope and

pride in themselves and their country, these things which are their right to expect-  
 to make them theirs. It is for this reason that we must organise as a class to meet  
 those who would deny a Socialist Republic to the people of Ireland and destroy their  
 mastership; "organise to drive them from their hold on public life through their  
 political power, organise to cleanse our social life from the preying of man upon man.  
 Organise for a full, free, and happy life for all or for none. "This is the key to a  
 prosperous future for Ireland.

An almost complete change in the intellectual view-point of the mass of ~~the~~  
 people is required to bring about this great social change. Attitudes and beliefs,  
 shame and a base humility and an inferiority complex which is engrained in the Irish  
 people, must be wiped out completely. We must begin to work now on the education of the  
 people to "Revolutionary Thinking", and to believing in revolution and social change as  
 Ireland's only hope for salvation. The people are to be judged by their performances and  
 the picture drawn of itself at the ballot-box. "to judge FROM THIS PICTURE TO DAY, the  
 time is ripe for a party which is social in it's policy.

No one doubts that the strength of the present day movement lies in the awakening of the  
 masses and so we must make this our concern, and bring them to the realisation that  
 revolution is inevitable. A complete knowledge of the movement is necessary if the  
 "plain people of Ireland" are to be won over. It is vital how the idea is put across to the  
 plain people, old stigmas die hard, and old tags stick. One must capture the interest and  
 on having gained the confidence, expound theories, using terms, but clearly defining each  
 one. Publicity is an aspect which needs to be studied and practiced much more. From the  
 innumerable no. of forms- from a whispering campaign to demonstrations.

All this will give unity of ideas. And the workers need unity, and unity must be won,  
 not for the workers, but by the workers, and unity without organisation is impossible and  
 organisation is impossible unless the minority bows to the majority, and the movement should  
 at all times be there in the majority, working for unity.

EDUCATE THAT YOU MAY BE FREE."

"AGITATE EDUCATE ORGANISE."

Notes on Intelligence

Every Volunteer realises, that the Army must have a proper Intelligence system and that without one we are doomed to everlasting failure.

For some time now the Dept. of Intelligence has been reorganising and rebuilding both at H.Q. level and at Command level. However most of this work is of a specialist nature and chiefly concerns Command and Unit I/O's. These notes are intended for every Volunteer; for every member of the Army and not just I/O's, can, and should gather intelligence. Every Volunteer sees and hears things, can read a wide range of papers and magazines, and in the ordinary course of events during his work and spare time can gather much information that can be of interest and value to the Army. Judging from reports, very few Volunteers bother to report any Intelligence or information to their Officers. Begin Now. Begin to Observe, to Listen, to Read, and to learn with the one object of building an efficient machine to destroy our enemies.

Promptness in passing on reports is most important, opportunities to carry out operations can and have been missed because someone did not report what he knew as soon as possible.

Remember, the Army is interested in information of all kinds, you never know when information is going to be valuable even though it may seem unimportant at the time you receive it. The Intelligence Staff will decide what its importance is, that is their job.

In addition to the normal intelligence requirements information can, and should be gathered on, Economic, Social, and Political Fronts. For example, some big estate is up for sale in your area, find out who is the selling agent, who is the buyer; The new super-market in your town, is it foreign-owned?

What do the members of your Trade Union think of the Union Officials?

Are the Officials or any members sympathetic to the Army?

The same questions apply to all other organisations. Answer them.

September issue of United Irishman had an article on "Who owns Ireland", read this article and fill in any information you have on this subject and send it along to the United Irishman.

An tOglach is the internal organ of the Army. Discuss the contents with your comrades in the Army. Do not discuss any matter that is in An tOglach with anyone who is not a member of the Army.

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