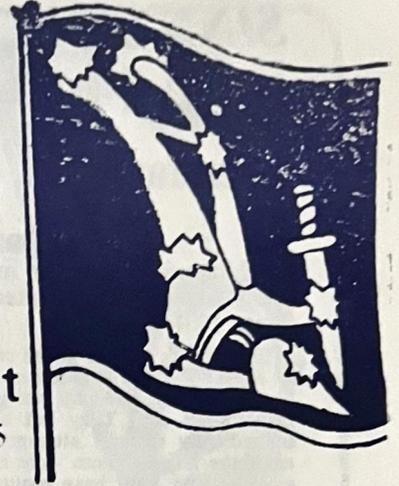


EOLAS

Irish Republican Movement
30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1. 40716/41045



UIMHIR 13

JANUARY 1974

Sunningdale agreement

DECEMBER 11.

MacGIOLLA DEMANDS 32-COUNTY REFERENDUM ON COUNCIL PLAN

THE PRESIDENT of Sinn Fein, Tomas Mac Giolla, called for a referendum throughout the 32 counties to see whether or not the majority of the population agreed with the agreement made at the Sunningdale tripartite conference. He said last night that none of the politicians at the conference had been given a mandate from the people to make such a decision.

Mr. MacGiolla said at the party's headquarters in Dublin that the agreement was a sell-out to Britain and a step further towards rule by Britain. Whether or not they got the referendum, Sinn Fein would organise a nationwide canvass against the agreement, and would consult with other groups of various interests, North and South, to help them have it thrown out, he said.

"The Sunningdale agreement is another despairing effort of the British Government and its subservient allies in Dublin and Belfast to sweep the Irish question under the carpet. The Dublin Government and all its resources, police force and Army, are to be placed at the disposal of the British Government to implement British Tory Party policies for Ireland, as well as giving appropriate safeguards for British financial and other interests."

Constitutional changes more far reaching than those of 1920 were being proposed, said Mr. Mac Giolla.

"Liam Cosgrave, with the advice of Garret FitzGerald and Conor Cruise O'Brien, has brought back a new surrender treaty which almost totally subordinates Ireland to the United Kingdom. The civil rights demands which got mass backing in Ireland and wide international support have been totally ignored."

Mr. Mac Giolla said the registration of an agreement at the United Nations recognising the permanence of British control of the North contravened Articles 2 and 3 of the Constitution and flew in the face of all Irish history. The Council of Ireland seemed to be a further step towards the abandonment of national sovereignty, in favour of an E.E.C. regional sub-committee.

"We therefore demand that the ordinary people of Ireland, Catholic and Protestant, North and South, be given the right in a referendum to express their views on the agreement, as none of the parties to this agreement received any mandate from the Irish people for the proposals made," he added.

Mr. Malachy McGurran, chairman of the Northern Ireland Executive of the Republican Clubs, said he wanted no part of the agreement and, in particular, he was against the clause dealing with "appropriate safeguards for the British Government's financial and other interests."

The agreement did not make it clear what the other interests were. Were they Lough Kesh and the torture barracks in Northern Ireland? Or the British Army or the R.U.C.?

The S.D.L.P. position was one of complete treachery, he said. They had obviously agreed to the R.U.C. and would push a large section of the community into accepting it too.

The agreement was a British plot to re-conquer the whole of Ireland. The Army, the courts and the police would be handed over to Britain during the so-called power-sharing to be used by the British in their own particular interests. Both the North and the South made concessions at Sunningdale, but Britain made none, said Mr. McGurran.

SINN FEIN PICKET AT CORK COTTAGE TO PREVENT COUPLE'S EVICTION

DECEMBER 8.

MEMBERS OF Sinn Fein yesterday barricaded themselves inside a cottage at Monard Glen, four miles from Cork city, and placed a picket outside to stop the eviction of a wrought-iron worker, Mr. Con Twoomey (59) and his wife, Hannah, who have lived there since 1936.

The bailiffs arrived at the cottage to serve the court eviction order at 11 a.m. accompanied by two gardai in a squad car. They left almost immediately without attempting to enter the house. There were no incidents. Sinn Fein have mounted a round-the-clock watch on the cottage.

The eviction order was given against Mr. Twoomey by Cork District Court and confirmed on appeal by the Circuit Court last July, to take effect on October 15th. The plaintiffs in the case were Mr. Alec Day, Neptune Lodge, Passage

West, Co. Cork, and Mr. Knolly Stokes, Summer Lodge, Wellington Road, Cork, who required vacant possession of the cottage in order to sell the property.

Mr. Twoomey said yesterday that he started work in Monard Glen, in 1928, at the Shovel Mill, run by Robert Scott and Company and moved into the cottage in 1936.

After the mill closed down, in the early 1960s, he signed a caretaker's agreement with Scott and Company, in 1962. Four years later he signed another caretaker's agreement with

Mr. Day and Mr. Stokes, two former directors of Scott's, who had bought the property and premises from the company. He has lived there since then as a permissive occupier on a rent-free basis on condition that he paid rates.

MAKING GATES

Since the wrought-iron mill closed down, Mr. Twoomey has continued independently making gates and other items in some sheds and forges on the property. He is now claiming squatter's rights to these and litigation is pending on this claim.

A Cork firm of solicitors, Messrs. Guest, Lane & Williams, acting for Mr. Day, said yesterday that the property and the premises were sold last year to Mr. Tom Byrne, who wished to start a business there. Vacant possession of the cottage in which Mr. Twoomey lived as a caretaker was required for the sale, but he refused to leave.

Mr. Twoomey claims that Mr. Byrne "arrived here with a sleeping-bag last March and broke into the house next door. In September he demanded rent from me, saying that he owned the property. I asked him to produce proof of ownership and he failed to do this. I refused to pay any rent to him."

Mr. Byrne, who was not present during the attempted eviction yesterday, started a game farm on the property last year. A pottery has also been started there by Miss Patricia Howard.

"We are here because our policy is to oppose all evictions on the moral ground that everyone has a right to a place to live," said Mr. John Bohan, one of the Sinn Fein picketers. He said they would remain in the house on a shift basis to make sure that the eviction order was not served.

Mr. Twoomey claimed yesterday that four locks had been cut off the doors of the sheds where he stored wrought iron and this equipment had been thrown out. A charge brought against Mr. Byrne for cutting a lock was dismissed in Blarney District Court.

"We are not moving," said Mr. Twoomey yesterday. "We have lived here all our lives and we have no place to go."



Mr. Con Twoomey and his wife, Hannah.

BRITAIN USED DUBLIN STATEMENTS IN U.S.

DECEMBER 8.

THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR to the United States, Lord Cromer, in a report published this week said that some of the most effective material used to counter the strong criticism expressed in the U.S. on British policy in Northern Ireland came from Dublin.

The statement was part of an interview in a report by the Commons Expenditure Committee, the External Affairs and Defence sub-committee of which earlier this year interviewed Lord Cromer and some of his staff in Washington.

Lord Cromer said that he was impressed by the material which was supplied by the British Foreign Office. A member of his staff is quoted as saying: "Some of the most effective material in this context comes from Dublin—from the statements of the last Prime Minister, Mr. Lynch, Cardinal Conway and the former Irish Minister for Justice, Mr. O'Malley, particularly on such matters as denouncing the support given in the United States to the I.R.A. in the way of funds".

Another part of the evidence omitted includes answers by Lord

Cromer and his staff about an interview between Mr. Heath and Senator Edward Kennedy in Washington. This followed criticism by Senator Kennedy of British policy in Northern Ireland.

Elsewhere in the report, the British embassy in Washington is accused by the C.E.C., a Commons "watchdog" committee, of weakness in liaising with the United States Congress. "We were concerned to learn that only two members of the embassy staff had as their prime duty liaising with the legislative branch of the government," the report says. Other parts of the private interview between the sub-committee and Lord Cromer and his staff have been censored in the report, particularly those dealing with embassy relations with Congressmen.

EUROPEAN GROUP TOLD OF FORCED FEEDING

THE BELFAST-BASED Association for Legal Justice has again protested about the alleged forcible feeding of five of the convicted London car-bombers serving sentences in various English prisons.

DECEMBER 10.

"At the present moment", a statement sent out to a number of European civil rights movements claims, "the British Government are torturing Irish prisoners in English jails. They are forcibly feeding Irish boys and girls who are on hunger strike to be returned to Irish jails—Dolours Price, Marion Price, Hugh Feeney, and Roy Walsh. Force feeding is an assault on the person. It is torture. It is against British law. It is inhuman and degrading treatment. Protest to Britain: get your government to protest. Have it stopped."

A separate statement from the A.L.J., giving the dates on which the seven were apparently force fed, includes a personal account of the procedure said to have been written by Dolours Price, a 22-year-old former student teacher.

She writes: "Well, at last it has happened, and today, on my 19th day of hunger strike, I was force fed—unpleasant in the extreme.. believe me I don't know how our boys have been managing for so long on it. I was scared stiff when I say the tube and the wooden clamp for my mouth. The worst bit was when I couldn't get my breath

as the tube was going down. I really panicked then as I thought I was suffocating. It only takes a few minutes but it seems like an eternity. Then, to crown matters, I was sick afterwards and brought everything up again. I feel a wee bit better again but I dread it all tomorrow.

"It's only to be expected that after 19 days my stomach would reject any food, especially when it's all rushed into it at once down a tube. I don't want to upset you, but I know you would prefer to know what exactly is happening and how we are, as the press prints such rubbish about us, so it's best we give you all the facts."



Reprinted from NR-Zeitung

Irish priests call on Government to accept refugees from Chile

TWO CATHOLIC priests, who have worked for years in the South American missions, are appealing to the Government to accept refugees from Chile. One of the priests, the Rev. Joe O'Donoghue, was able to leave the country only after he had spent a week in the sanctuary of the British Embassy.

Father O'Donoghue, a Mill Hill missionary, who was born in Killarney, and the Rev. Jim Roche, a Dominican from Cork, have made their first approaches to the Government through senior members of the Labour Party from whom, they said last night, they had won a promise that the subject would be raised in the Dail.

Both priests also challenge the traditional Irish view of foreign missions and the social attitudes of Irish missionaries working in South America. They claim, in general, that there is far too little concern for the social and economic conditions of people in mission areas while, among the missionaries, far too many enjoy a lifestyle markedly different from that of the people among whom they live—a style they describe as more appropriate to their North American colleagues.

DETERMINED ACTIVISTS

Father O'Donoghue and Father Roche had accepted neither the relative luxury of Yanqui standards nor the unquestioning attitudes of many of their brother priests at home and abroad. In both religious and political affairs they are determined activists with radical, perhaps revolutionary, opinions.

Father O'Donoghue went to Chile in 1969 and almost immediately became involved in a socio-religious experiment, establishing Christian communities in a housing estate outside Santiago. Priests worked with local committees, operating in concert with trade unions and political groups, to provide housing and social amenities for the very poor.

As the movement developed, and the contrast between the rich and poor became clearer, the communities took control of plots of land, the property of some of Chile's powerful land-owners, equipped the plots as sites and organised workers in co-operatives to build houses. The priests' role in the communities was an egalitarian one, not dominant.

Taking over land, however, produced a reaction not only among the middle classes but among well-to-do workers who feared the process of appropriation. In some cases

the reaction was hysterical, in others it took the form of right-wing anticlericalism. Among conservative Christians, who shared with the middle classes a horror of working alongside Communists, Socialists and other radicals, joining the local communities proved too great a change. At best they remained neutral, at worst they became hostile supporters of the far Right.

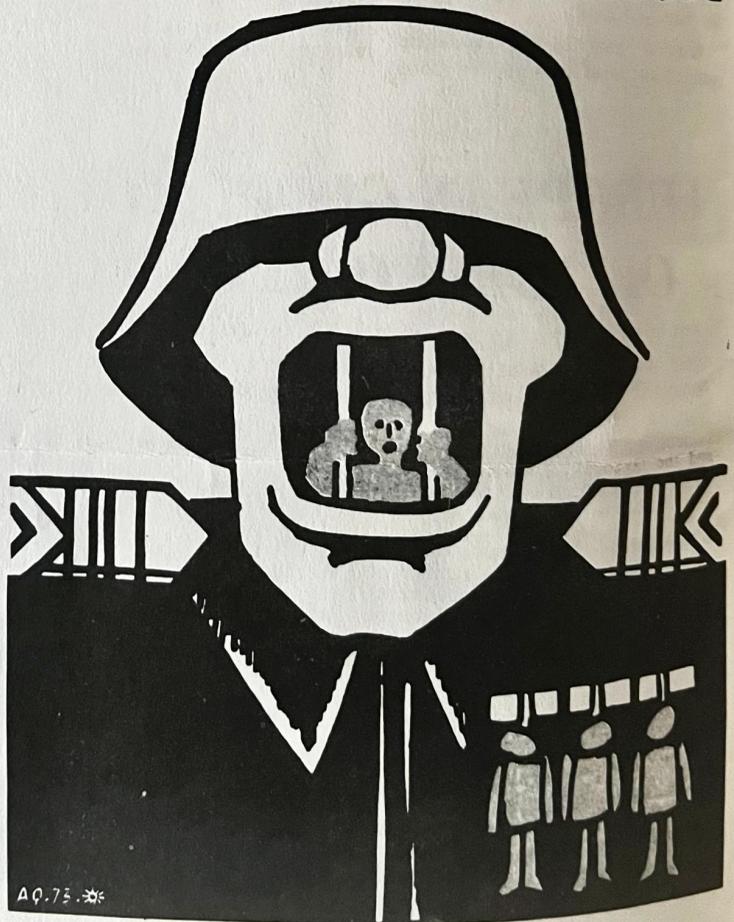
DENOUNCED LANDOWNERS

For Father D'Donoghue there is no such dilemma. He joined a worker-priest community guided by a Frenchman whose family had been deeply involved in the politics

of the Left. Working with Communists and Socialists was nothing new to him, and he was elected president of the homeless. The worker priests denounced the land-owners and the Christian Democrats, whom they considered traitors to the poor, and urged the people to take a hand in political affairs.

Chile, in 1970, was indeed in political turmoil, with Salvador Allende, supported by Communists, Socialists, radicals and the most militant sections of the trade union movement, challenging land and property owners, domestic and foreign, and attacking the overbearing influence of international

SOLIDARITE AVEC LE PEUPLE CHILIEN



corporations like I.T.T. of America and British Leyland which had become entrenched under conservative regimes. Father O'Donoghue found echoes of Ireland, though not in the clerical response to political challenge.

"I went to work on building schemes, no different from anyone else," he says. "I started as a labourer with pick and shovel, helped the construction workers' union and led a strike for better conditions — continuity of employment, security, mandatory holidays."

Side by side with the worker-priests' industrial activities went the growing political involvement of clergy and laity. Their direction was Leftward. Priests, nuns, laymen and women formed an organisation called "Christians for Socialism" through which they planned to influence not only politicians (on the side of the Church) but Church leaders (on the side of the Left). "It was not a question of intellectuals getting together to put pressure on the establishment forces, it was people who looked on the overall situation recognising what was necessary in the context of Chile."

interests in the country and the planes that bombed the Moneda Palace (the President's residence) on the first day of the coup—they were Hawk's Hunters."

Nevertheless, he acknowledges the work of at least one British diplomat on behalf of those refugees who were permitted to hide in the embassy—"he was a truly Christian man"—and he has nothing but praise for the staffs of the Swedish and Dutch Embassies who risked much to aid refugees of all nationalities.

If the story of his Chilean experience seems to members of the Irish Churches to be overtly political rather than religious, Father O'Donoghue sees no contradiction there. Nor does Father Roche, who had been serving in Argentina when he discovered the Chilean experiments and requested (demanded might be a better word) a transfer so that he could participate in them. He was back in Argentina when the coup took place.

"We believe", says Father Roche, "that only by involvement with the people can we achieve our aims."

Although the Irish missionary commitment to South America is small by comparison with our commitment in Africa, we believe the Irish people who support them must ask: "How are our missionaries living?"

It was the frustration and disillusion that gathered during two years' observation of these living patterns—cars, good houses, meat twice a week when the people could only have it once in 15 days—which sent him to Chile.

Now both men want Chilean refugees allowed into the Republic. The conditions for entry to Britain, which still maintain recognition of the junta, are restrictive. Here they are given hope by the reception which greeted the international secretary of the Radical Party, Carlos Parra, at Labour's annual conference in Cork and by a reported indication from the Irish Congress of Trade Unions that the issue of work permits would not be opposed.

Father O'Donoghue says that there are now five United Nations refugee centres in Chile, all of them crowded. The junta has set a deadline, at the beginning of the New Year, for their evacuation. The problem is, therefore, not only serious—stories of atrocities are still trickling out of Chile—but urgent.



But the worker priests continued, encouraged by members of the Chilean Hierarchy, and in Allende's conflict with big business they led demonstrations outside factories and the takeover of office blocks. It is hardly surprising that when the coup came and Allende's supporters were murdered in thousands, tortured and imprisoned in tens of thousands, worker priests were included among the targets of the junta.

Father O'Donoghue and his comrades went into hiding until some were able to leave the country and others to find refuge in embassies. He went to the British Embassy, much though he disliked the idea, and stayed for a week in the ambassador's residence.

"I didn't like going there," he explains, "because the British really supported the coup. After all, the Chilean Navy is ordered on British lines, Leyland has major

AT THE END OF ONE YEAR INSIDE LONG KESH

Prisoners in Long Kesh Concentration Camp are often dragged from their beds in the middle of the night by troops in riot gear who want to search their cages. Even behind the wire the political hostages are harassed by the soldiers of British Imperialism!



Long Kesh

The sentenced members of our Movement have just spent a year in Long Kesh Concentration Camp. Seized by armed and riot equipped British troops, R.U.C. and Prison Warders at 3 a.m. on the 10th December, last year, in A Wing, Belfast Prison, we were bundled into transport without our personal belongings.

Many of us were on hunger strike, some as long as twenty eight days. Our prison transport was joined, as it moved through the Prison's main gates, by a convoy of military armoured cars, which acted as an escort.

The entire convoy headed off for Long Kesh through the quiet night dark streets of Belfast and then along the country roads. No vehicle showed its headlights, only its dim sidelights showed.

Troops and military vehicles seemed to guard the entrance to all side streets and side roads on the route to our destination.

When we reached this unholy place, we saw nothing only wire, tin huts and many posts, a large number of which had lights on top of them for the purpose of night security. Frost sparkled on the ground in myriad gleams.

The freezing night air was chillingly cold, and the cold was no different inside the icebox like huts, which were to be our living accommodation. Hunger strikers got no attention in these surroundings.

To prevent serious danger to the health of the hunger strike. We were put in Cage number eight, which had some deficiencies in its set up that plague prisoners.

In January, this year, we were told that conditions were to be moved to us to Cage eight. The move to this cage was a move to Albion and his native hirelings.

In this cage, the deficiencies were greater and without alleviation till the month of June when we were moved to a cage which was slightly better, although too, it had some deficiencies.

Then came the glorious turnout much heralded and concerned a new phase that was being developed for accommodation for prisoners. A phase actual concentration camp, containing new cages and a new phase.

Eventually, we were moved to a finished cage which is our present address. After all the publicity and magazines giving the image of luxury and security, all the difference we found was that the cages which were formed by a hardboard partition



anger to the health of these men we immediately ended the
put in Cage number eleven and it had the usual list of
p that plague prisoners' lives here.

we were told that conditions would be improved by moving
move to this cage was a lesson in the duplicity of perfidious
hirelings.

ancies were greater and more numerous. These were borne
the month of June when we were moved to Cage ten,
ter, although too, it had much that was undesirable.

s turnout much heralded by the prison authorities. This
that was being developed, supposedly, with superior
isoners. A phase actually means an extension area of the
containing new cages and huts.

oved to a finished cage in the new phase, (number 21),
dress. After all the publicising by the Ministry in papers
the image of luxury accommodation for prisoners in this
erence we found was that the living huts contained cubicles
a hardboard partition erected between beds.

In bad weather, we have the old problem of downdrops, draughts, cold and so on. Nothing has improved as regards accommodation.

Neither has anything changed as regards other problems which we have since we came here, last year.

Mail, incoming and outgoing, is constantly going astray, occasionally turning up in the strangest places and in the strangest circumstances. Prisoners' parcels are always getting rifled and damaged.

Sometimes, there is no washed laundry for months. Educational facilities are nil. Medical treatment, with a slight recent improvement, is atrocious. Paroles, terminal and compassionate don't measure up to any rational law.

Cleansing materials consist of a minimal token amount which is completely insufficient for the purpose of hygiene and health.

Representatives from all the colours and shades of politics in the North of Ireland have visited us and discussed with us our bad conditions. Members of the Board of Visitors occasionally visit us too.

This Board is a little known body which is supposed to represent the public interest as regards the conditions of the country's prisons and prisoners, and are selected by the authorities for this purpose. It is strange that, since they are supposed to represent the public, the public knows nothing about them and has no say in their appointment. Yet, they claim to represent the public and the public's taxes provide them with a good day's pay when they visit this camp. The role of this Board is preposterous and unacceptable.

We, ourselves, make constant representation for improvement in our conditions, but the Camp Governor, as yet, never met us once and the lesser minions of the Camp's establishment are giving us the same stock answers today that they were giving us a year ago.

We continuously send our statements and reports of our deplorable conditions to wherever we can get a sympathetic ear. But it has all been to no avail. M.P.'s, Boards of Visitors and the rest have produced no results.

Long Kesh Concentration Camp still has the same conditions for prisoners as a year ago.

To add insult to injury, the S.D.L.P. has become part of a sham Unionist Government that always depended on Long Keshes. The S.D.L.P. will not take part in the exercise of the laws that run our concentration camp.

If these traitors to a struggling people ever think they can retain an ounce of credibility when in their present position, they must be extremely naive.

The thousands of prisoners that have experienced Long Kesh, their families, friends, comrades and supporters will remember the present role the S.D.L.P. assumed while these prisoners remained in this hell-hole.

From the nighttime flitting of last December to this year's Christmastime, we have endured the viciousness that is Long Kesh. But one of the things that kept up our morale is the knowledge that the struggle outside for justice is vested in the hands of those people whose object is to remove our enemy and our enemy's hirelings from the jobs of running the evils and deceptions of Long Kesh Concentration Camp and the sham Assembly.

Despite the vicissitudes, we prisoners endured, Christmas 1973 finds our spirit remaining strong and unbroken.

Long Live Justice and Freedom.





WORLD CONGRESS OF PEACE FORCES

MOSCOW

October 25th - 31st 1973

The World Congress of Peace Forces opened in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses at 4p.m. on October 25th 1973. On behalf of the International Preparatory Committee for the World Congress, Sean Mac Bride, Vice Chairman of the Committee, former Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ireland and President of the International Peace Bureau, declared the Congress open.

"This is the largest, most significant congress ever", he said, "Present here are approximately 3,200 delegates representing 144 countries, 9 international non-government organisations affiliated to the United Nations and 177 international and national organisations. We are especially glad", Mr. Mac Bride stressed, "that among these organisations there are representatives of many liberation movements of the entire world."

The Irish Republican Movement was represented at the World Congress of Peace Forces by Tomas Mac Giolla, President of Sinn Fein; Sean Garland, National Organiser and member of An Ard Comhairle (National Executive) and Dessie O'Hagan, Director of Education and member of Ard Comhairle.

The following document was submitted to the Commission on National Liberation Against Colonialism and Racism by the Irish Republican Movement Delegation:

SUBMISSION TO THE COMMISSION ON NATIONAL LIBERATION AGAINST

COLONIALISM AND RACISM FROM SINN FEIN,

IRISH REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT

INTRODUCTION:

Ireland is a small country on the fringe of the European continent, and at the periphery of the great capitalist centres of the world. The long history of the domination of Ireland and the Irish people by an alien power intent upon extracting the maximum amount of profit out of the people of our island, no matter what the cost in human or cultural terms, has naturally left deep marks. We are enmeshed in the aftermath of our colonial situation. Indeed in the North this direct colonialism is evident every day as British troops arrogantly assert the 'right' of Britain's imperialist rulers to lord it over Ireland.

The devastating attack on the Irish people made by a cruel and rapacious British imperialism did untold damage to the future of the people of Ireland. Our industries were stifled, our agriculture was weakened, our

continued on next page

people were divided and our whole culture and nationality were constantly eroded. The establishment of the Irish Free State did not alter any of this. It merely confused the issue for whilst the North remained a direct colony of Britain, the South nominally independent, remained tied; tied to the imperial system that has excited so much hatred from the Irish people over the generations. FOR FREEDOM, IN THE REAL SENSE, WAS NEVER WON IN ANY PART OF IRELAND.

THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE:

The primary characteristic of the National Liberation Struggle in Ireland is the struggle by imperialism to control and dominate the Irish people in order to exploit their resources and rob them of their wealth. On the other hand the struggle by the Irish people to throw off this control and domination and reconquer their wealth and resources. This has been the prime characteristic of the struggle for centuries. It remains so today.

The main features of imperialism in Ireland are:

1. A direct Colony in Northern Ireland occupied by 20,000 British troops.
2. Lack of democracy in Northern Ireland. The use of political and religious discrimination to divide the working people.
3. Economic domination of North and South by foreign monopolies - resulting in capital outflow, high unemployment and emigration.
4. Political and Economic subservience by the government in foreign policy and trade.
5. Cultural domination by the English language, literature, ways of thinking and in all fields of life.

The influence of English imperialism is in relative decline, due to neo-colonial rivalry from the U.S. and Europe. Areas once dominated by English capital, such as Canada, are passing under U.S. influence. English reaction to this decline has been to strengthen her hold over what she has got, Ireland being the oldest, closest and most important overseas colony. Ireland, for the English ruling class, is a source of cheap food, cheap labour, and a market for exports. The smashing of Irish nationality, long an objective, has proceeded no less rapidly under the partition structure than under the Act of Union: Bourgeois quasi-independence in the 26 Counties has been unable to take control of the economy, prevent the outward flow of people, or reverse the cultural erosion.

NORTHERN IRELAND (The Six Counties)

The most impoverished part of the United Kingdom is the Six Counties; it has the highest unemployment rate. Its impoverishment has been attributed, in a series of British government reports, to its remoteness from the market with which it is integrated, coupled with lack of control over its own economy. The Six Counties then are the key to English influence in Ireland. By means of division of the nation and occupation of part, England has introduced such disunity and complexity into the Irish question so as to defy the best efforts of two generations of Irish revolutionary thought and action.

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IMPERIALISM:

Modern imperialism is basically capitalism at its monopoly stage. It is a world system and adversely affects the peoples of under-developed countries as well as the working class of the imperialist powers. It has three main aspects, all of which are inter-related:

(a) the economic; (b) the political; (c) the socio-cultural. By far the most fundamental aspect is the economic. From the economic requirements of monopoly capital flow the political and socio-cultural aspects. The main reason for political domination of Ireland by imperialism and its pursuit of the federal solution is its need to provide secure and unhindered penetration of the Irish economy by British capital. The political and military intervention is necessary as the pre-condition for the establishment and perpetuation of efficient economic exploitation. The destruction of our native culture, communities and infrastructure is a consequence of this political and economic intervention. Ultimately, when the collapse of native culture is complete a vacuum is created which imperialism fills with its own dominant culture. This in turn further facilitates exploitation.

RESISTANCE:

We can see that imperialism has many aspects and that it operates on several different levels. We can also see that an adequate response to it must be more comprehensive and complex than reliance on a simple military strategy, or on an economist approach (such as reliance on purely union mobilisation); or through a purely parliamentary orientated strategy.

Unless all of these areas of struggle can be organised and integrated by the active involvement of the working class and under the leadership of its revolutionary organisations, defeat is certain. The same applies to the fight for cultural self-determination and the fight against religious sectarianism (or racism). It is against this background knowledge and armed with these facts that we must consider the national struggle today.

It is clear from this that if the working class and its revolutionary organisations are in the vanguard of the fight against imperialism, then such a fight is indivisible from the fight for Socialism.

BRITISH STRATEGY IN IRELAND:

The British, like all imperialists wherever they have been in occupation have created many problems aside from the main one of exploitation. They have succeeded in setting brother against brother, one religion against another, all to ensure the continuation of their own political and economic interests. The Irish Republican Movement seeks solidarity with the British working class and their support against our common enemy, the imperialist exploiters. We have in Ireland a complicated struggle with no experience of the like having happened anywhere else upon which we can draw. Some elements of our problem can be found in different countries.

The National Liberation struggle in Ireland faces a major problem in the division of the working class on religious sectarian lines. It was deliberately organised and kept alive by Britain for over 200 years by a

continued on next page

system of privileges for one group and discrimination against another. Sectarian division has led to separate educational facilities, ghetto housing and to continued mutual distrust and hatred. It has led to murder, assassination, riots and pogroms. We are convinced that if we are to win this struggle to establish a democratic socialist republic, then we in Ireland must win the fight against sectarianism, as others elsewhere must win the fight against racism. This can only be done by uniting the workers of whatever creed or colour on a class basis in the struggle for ownership and control of all wealth and resources of their country.

Since the beginning of this year our country has joined the so-called European Economic Community thus adding to the domination and exploitation of our people by this new modern imperialist bloc. This is the same bloc which has taken over in Africa and other continents. The place, formerly filled by the individual imperialisms of Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany and Italy. We are determined to oppose and fight the whole E.E.C. concept in Ireland and in Europe, and we urge all socialist states to oppose it as they would any imperialist power.

THE IRISH REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT STRATEGY:

It was not until the 1960's after many years of despair and defeat that through a deep examination and analysis of the causes for defeat we were enabled to return to the true path of revolution. We have realised that armed struggle on its own, or as an end in itself, is doomed to failure. Armed struggle must always be related to the needs of the people. The most consistent element in the Irish Republican tradition is armed resistance to British imperialism. It was only out of this armed resistance that our revolutionary vision of the Ireland of tomorrow came. But it was borne upon us by our history, by our defeats and finally by the few times that we have managed to have a partial victory that the fight for freedom is bound up with the fight for the land, for jobs, for our children's education, for women's rights, for the elimination in fact of all the many injustices and abuses that the workers suffer in a capitalist state.

It is essential that all who are involved in the National Struggle for Liberation realise that the national struggle is a people's struggle, a class struggle.

We have attempted to develop the political consciousness and revolutionary of the Irish people, North and South, over the past number of years. We have done so by leading them in agitations and extra parliamentary political action on issues such as housing, redundancies, unemployment benefits, trade union rights and civil rights issues which affected them in their daily lives. Issues of social, economic or political oppression which have existed for many years but for which there was no redress within the British imposed economic and political structures.

Our purpose was and still is to create a mass movement against oppression and exploitation - a movement of workers and small farmers to overthrow the twin forces of oppression and exploitation in Ireland - British imperialism and capitalism. The Irish offspring of these forces are the Orange/Unionist regime in Belfast and the southern bourgeois Fianna Fail-Fine Gael regime in the south.

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Our purpose is to unite workers throughout Ireland behind the struggle for the reconquest of our country from British imperialism and capitalism and to lead them to a realisation that until power has passed to the hands of the common people in a Socialist Republic, bigotry, hatred and divisions on religious or ethnic lines would continue to be promoted. There will be no peace, no freedom, no justice, until workers unite in brotherhood to claim their inheritance.

SUMMARY:

The National Liberation struggle in Ireland will only be satisfactorily resolved by the defeat of British imperialism. This defeat can only be achieved by a revolutionary movement based on the Irish working class and led by the vanguard organisations of that class.

The Irish Republican Movement is dedicated to unifying the working class and making it capable of assuming its historic role in our nation's history. We see the struggle for social and national emancipation as indivisible. We put forward socialist demands in a constant everyday struggle to mobilise the working class in defence of its interests as well as demanding an end to repression and British occupation of Northern Ireland.

We oppose the collaborationist policy of the 26 County regime with imperialism on the economic and socio-cultural fronts as well as the political. We seek in doing these things to unite all sections of the nation opposed to and oppressed by British imperialism. We do this because the revolution will be made by the working class and its allies of both the oppressed and the oppressing nations.

SOLIDARITY:

We ask you therefore to support us in the following demands:

1. Let Britain announce her intention to disengage militarily and politically from Ireland and set a timetable for phased withdrawal of her troops.
2. The immediate removal of British troops from the streets of our towns and cities and their return to barracks.
3. The release of all internees, detainees and an amnesty for all political prisoners.
4. The end of all repressive and coercive legislation.
5. The immediate passing of a Bill of Rights by the British government guaranteeing all human rights as accepted by the United Nations General Assembly and also guaranteeing democracy in the Six Counties.

Comrades and Fellow Delegates, the Irish Republican Movement brings its warmest greetings to the peoples of the great USSR and to all those delegations representing all peoples struggling for peace, national liberation and socialism. In the words of the great Irish Socialist Revolutionary leader and founder of the Irish Citizen Army, James Connolly, "The socialist of another country is a fellow patriot, as the capitalist of my own country is a natural enemy."