

M A N I F E S T O.

A General Convention of Oglagh na h-Eireann, composed of elected delegates of all the Volunteer units in the whole of Ireland, addresses the Irish people as follows:-

To break the connection with England, the never failing source of all our ills remains the goal towards which Irish Ireland strives. The Irish Republican Army, with its reserves, is that section of the Irish manhood who, throughout the thirty-two counties, have organised themselves to assert in arms, when the Irish people demand, or the National Sovereignty demands it, the inalienable right of this nation to be free, and to organise its life freely as the needs of the Irish people urge, and their own genius directs.

In taking on this duty the Irish Republican Army is supported by the knowledge that Irish history proclaims that generation to be the wisest that struggled most heroically for freedom. It is not the bargainers for relief but the soldiers of freedom that represent the wisdom of the Irish people; not Grattan, but Tone, not Redmond but the men of 1916, not Griffith but Mellowes - always it is the Separatists who are wise.

As a separatist organisation, the Irish Republican Army must regard itself therefore as essentially the weapon of the mass of the Irish people in their struggle against the British Empire.

We are ready to pledge the complete and undivided allegiance of the Irish Republican Army to the Government of the Irish Republic, functioning as the Government of a free united Ireland.

The Irish Republican Army realises, however, that the onslaught of the British Government, supported by the alien garrison and its allies in our midst, temporarily wrecked the national forces in 1922, and that in recovering from the defeat the Nation hesitated to face again the rigours of a campaign on the full national programme.

There is ample evidence, however, that the Irish people are ready to take the old proud way once more. It is clear that they have not yet found their leadership, for in the election that is being fought between the Fianna Fail and the Cosgrave parties, the former are not asking the people to re-declare for the Republic.

But even on the narrower front great victories have to be recorded. The overthrow of the Cosgrave regime last year was carried through in the face of frightful terrorism. That great achievement removed from our land the immediate dangers of civil war, the foulest of all the evils British rule ever forced on our people. Besides, it freed us from the shame of permitting into power, with an appearance of popular support, the murderers of great soldiers of freedom in 1922. and 1923.

The Convention decides to release the organisation from the restriction that prevented it from taking part in elections, and we are recommending our members, and the mass of national opinion that looks to us for leadership, to work and vote against the Cosgrave candidates and their so-called Independent allies. In practice, this



means that the Fianna Fail Government should be assisted into office again.

Whilst adopting this course, we wish it to be clearly understood that we do not commit ourselves in any way to acceptance of the policy of the Fianna Fail party. Reviewing the record of that party during its term of office as the Twenty-six County Government, we see evidence of its weakness in face of Cumann na nGaedheal and its inability or unwillingness to achieve Republican aims, and we note with dismay its attempt to stabilise and build up an economic system which, for all that it alleviates unemployment at the moment, will perpetuate the evils of social injustice.

The attitude of the Fianna Fail Government towards the Republican Movement is proved by the claim that it now makes for itself for a legitimacy it denied the Cosgrave Government; on its failure to repeal coercive legislation, and even by its enforcement of it. Twelve months ago Fianna Fail featured an election campaign pledged to release I.R.A. prisoners. To-day Fianna Fail enters on an election campaign holding I.R.A. prisoners in its gaols.

We emphasise, therefore, that our support of Fianna Fail is not because they represent our ideals. Indeed we realise that the Fianna Fail administration intend to pursue a dangerous policy of negotiation on issues that are non-judicable - the unity and independence of this country and its freedom from all foreign domination whatsoever.

We believe that the oath should be abolished, but we also believe that the representative of the British crown should cease to be received or recognised or permitted here.

We are against the payment of compensation to R.I.C. prisoners and to other British servants in Ireland. We are emphatically opposed to the payment of land annuities, but we do not base our repudiation of this exaction on any juggling with legal documents. We take our stand on the extension of the people's sovereignty to the Nation's soil.

We are in favour of shutting out British goods, but we do not believe this should result in the enrichment of an exploiting manufacturing class here. We believe the re-organisation of Irish life demands the public ownership of the means of production distribution and exchange in a state based on the needs of the mass of the people.

We are in favour of separating our financial system from the British, not to give Irish bankers power of our Irish life, but to guarantee to the Irish people the power to avail themselves of the wealth their industry creates out of the natural resources which are the common inheritance of all our people.

In short, we demand the scrapping of the Treaty, the abolition of partition, and complete severance from the British Empire.



The Nation will see, therefore, that we are supporting Fianna Fail because it is the way of driving out of public life a party that has sold itself to the British Empire, and which would, if returned to office, loot our people in the interests of that power, and force civil war to tear the national forces.

We ask the people of the Twenty-six Counties to return the Fianna Fail Government on these terms, but we would appeal to them, even as they do so, to insist on full freedom for separatist organisations.

We call on the people to return that Government, but at the same time to see that the youth of the country are left free to arm and train and that soldiers of the Irish Republican Army, now in prison, be released forthwith.

And we appeal to the Irish people, once the election is over, to rally for a free United Irish Republic, wherein the great common people will be enthroned and the Irish Republican Army will be their servants."

Issued by the General Convention of Oglaigh na h-Eireann.

January 8th 1933.