

NO.3. A REPSOL PAMPHLET

**IN THE 70's**

**THE  
I.R.A.**

***speaks.***

**15p.**

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## INTRODUCTION

The first part of "The I.R.A. in the 70s" was first published in January 1970 in answer to a request by the United Irishman to the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau. The Statement was issued over the name of J.J.McGarritty, Secretary of the Bureau. It is one of the most comprehensive statements released over the past decade on the aims, objectives, and methods of the Irish Republican Army.

The Statement spans two decades, ranging over the history of the I.R.A. for the past ten years, since 1962 in particular, and giving indications of what the policies of the I.R.A. will be in the ten years just beginning. The history and future of the I.R.A. is discussed within the context of the struggle by the Republican Movement as a whole against British Imperialism both North and South.

The struggle is described under three main headings: Economic, Political and Military resistance to Imperialism. The relationship between the three aspects of the struggle is also explained. Military action undertaken in recent years - such as E.I. dispute at Shannon; the action taken to defend fishery resources off Co. Galway in 1968; attacks on foreign-owned ranches in Meath; and such recent actions as that undertaken on behalf of striking

workers in Mogul Mines, Silvermines, Co. Tipperary - is put into perspective against the political background which made them necessary.

The second half of "IRA in the 70s" is a further comprehensive statement made at the beginning of 1972. It is an elaboration of the 1970 Statement and takes note of the changes since 1970 and details what the tactics, strategy and objectives of a revolutionary movement should be.

The statements should go a long way towards helping the public judge the IRA for what it is. To many people the IRA in general suggests gun-toting youths, fanaticism and misguided old men living in the past. They rarely get an opportunity of putting their ideas across to the public, now, the Educational Department of the Republican Movement is publishing "The I.R.A. in the 70s" as No. 3 of a series of pamphlets being published on behalf of the Revolutionary Movement in an attempt to inform the Irish people of what the role of the Irish Republican Army is, as seen by the Army Council of the I.R.A.



THE I.R.A.  
IN THE 70s

In February '62 the I.R.A. ended its most recent Campaign of Resistance to British military occupation of Ireland. From the military point of view the campaign was well conceived, well organised and capably executed. There was a high level of training, discipline and morale among the volunteers, and their equipment was reasonably good. Nevertheless they did not succeed in their objective. Why?

As soon as the campaign ended the questioning, examination and assessment began. It was not confined to the 1956 Campaign but covered the role of the Republican Movement since 1916. One thing was evident. *The Irish Republican Army had become remote from the people.* The people respected the stand which they were taking and indeed they cheered them on from the sidelines. But they were spectators and not participants in the Republican struggle against British Imperialism.

It was agreed that the major miscalculations of the past were political rather than military. War is an extension of politics and must be logically seen by the people as such. The following major weaknesses were seen by the Army Council:-

1. The Army had no solid political base amongst the people.

2. It had no clearcut ideology which could define to the people what the struggle was all about.
3. The Army had concentrated its attacks on the British Military Occupation of the 6 Counties to the exclusion of direct assaults on:
  - a) The British Political Administration in the 6 Counties.
  - b) The British Economic and Cultural penetration of both the 6 and 26 Counties.
4. Free Statism had been left free of both military, political and economic assaults and was merely attacked for its failure to take the 6 Counties and for its coercion of Republicans.

Free Statism is now a clearly defined pseudo-Nationalist/Catholic/Capitalist philosophy rooted in Griffith and de Valera and happy in its British designed geographical area.

FUTURE STRATEGY: By 1963 the strategy of the future had taken shape. It was decided, not to organise for a campaign in the Six Counties against the British Occupation Forces, *but to organise for a revolution in the whole country against all the forces of British Imperialism and native Gombeenism.* Our objective was to be the Re-Conquest of Ireland, not simply to place an Irish Government in political control of the geographical entity of Ireland *but to place the mass of the people in*

*actual control of the wealth and resources of the Irish Nation and to give them a cultural identity.*

Our methods were to be:-

ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL RESISTANCE by the people to British Imperialist penetration and exploitation and to the enslavement by the gombeen men.

POLITICAL ACTION by the people to defend their rights, to achieve specific objectives or simply to demonstrate their strength and power.

MILITARY ACTION to back up the peoples' demands, to defend the peoples' gains and eventually to carry through a successful national liberation struggle.

No time was lost in preparing policy documents, drawing up education programmes and generally adapting the whole Republican Movement for the new type of campaign ahead. Even while this was being done the activists within the Army were already enthusiastically engaged in the first phase of organising economic resistance.

### ECONOMIC RESISTANCE

The activities resulting from this strategic decision slowly but surely showed results. The deep freeze which seemed to grip so many areas of political life began to thaw - in particular the more



vital areas close to the living and working conditions of people. The example and assistance given in the foundation of Tenants' Associations gave working class people a powerful organisation in a sphere which was completely at the mercy of TDs and Councillors. The patronage system was now being gradually broken down.

*CITIZEN ADVICE BUREAUX* sprung up in many areas and they soon became the powerhouse of most agitational activity. The most exploited and oppressed found their way to the Sinn Fein Citizen Advice Bureaux and from them Housing Action groups were set up in Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Dun Laoghaire, Derry, Belfast and Bray.

The *REPUBLICAN TRADE UNION GROUP* was formed to educate Republicans in the need for Trade Union involvement aimed at making Trade Unionists more conscious and militant. Assistance was given to unofficial strikers who had a just cause but a weak and compromising Trade Union leadership. *Bord na Mona* strikers, *I.T.A.*, *Arigna* coal workers enslaved by Leydens and various smaller groups were given assistance and encouragement. *E.I.* provides an example of successful militant action backing up the 1913 established principle of a right to form a Trade Union then under attack by the American company at Shannon.

*CREDIT UNIONS* have grown throughout the country with the co-operation and help of Republicans who see in the Credit



Union Movement a means of teaching people something of the mystery of high finance and making them independent of banks and H.P. Companies. They also see Credit Unions as the beginning of the Co-operative Banking system which could smash the power of the Commercial Banks.

### LAND LEAGUE

In rural areas support for the Co-operative Movement allied to political action for Government aid was seen as one solution to the problem of the small farmer. As the decade progressed and the Government made friendly noises without giving any real assistance, the attitude of the hard-pressed farmers hardened.

Land Leagues that have latterly sprung up with the active encouragement of the Republican Movement have solved the problem of providing an organisation at the level of Ireland's small farmers and should ultimately give them a voice independent of the big-farmer dominated N.F.A.

Government apathy to the plight of the small farmer became official policy with the publication of the Third Programme condemning 36,000 to leave the land by 1972.

Land buying by foreigners had become rampant. Land prices soared. Small uneconomic farm-holders despaired. Militant action was again called for. A short

sharp campaign against foreign owned farms brought land prices back to normal and effected more permanent relief on this score than a decade of Government legislation.

More recent successes for the policy of Economic Resistance includes that of the '*National Waters Restoration League*' in its demand for re-possession and public ownership of inland waters: a single season of '*fish-ins*' forced a reluctant Government to establish a Commission to inquire into the matter.

A parallellled agitation will be that to have *Ground Rent* abolished in urban areas. Both of these agitations involve the after-effects of Conquest and both involve the principle which carried the Land League to victory in the 1890s. Neither can be won without a well organised struggle against the forces of vested interest which the political structure of the Dail and legislature supports.

But apart altogether from individual successes in the course of these campaigns the greatest success has been the change in attitude of people. In the past dissatisfaction and complaints about injustice was channelled through local TDs and Councillors who succeeded in averting trouble with promises of action. There was a feeling of hopelessness and apathy and a lack of the will to resist.

Now injustice is a challenge and dissatisfaction is a call to action. *The*

people have seen their own power and are no longer going to be pushed around. The once powerful local politician is now being defied even by those whose jobs he holds in the palm of his hand.

*The first lesson had been learned - ORGANISE and RESIST.*

## POLITICAL ACTION

Campaigns were carried out with varied degrees of success on a number of political issues, in most of which Republicans were associated with other groups who agreed with the objective. The most notable of these were:-

*Opposition to the E.E.C.*

*The Defence of the Nation League.*

*Opposition to the Free Trade Agreement.*

*Campaign against the Criminal Justice Bill.*

*Support for Citizens for Civil Liberties.*

*Civil Rights Campaign in the North.*

*Our support for N.I.C.R.A.*

*The fight for the rights of the people of the Gaeltacht.*

*Our support for the Coisde Cearta Sibhialta na Gaeltachta.*

Arising out of these struggles many felt the need to take the political fight a stage further and felt frustrated as they saw political opportunists climbing on their backs. As 1969 closed this problem was tackled in order to make the



fullest use of whatever opportunities arise. A democratically elected Army Convention decided by a large majority to remove all restrictions on the leadership in regard to electoral policy so that they could use the tactics best suited to the occasion to smash the power of the establishment, North and South.

Whether Republicans contest elections and take seats in any of the three parliaments governing this country or whether they continue their policy of non-participation, there is no question of ever giving recognition to the legitimacy of the authority of these parliaments.

The Westminster Parliament has no shred of authority, and never had, to legislate for any part of this country. The Stormont and Leinster House Parliaments are both puppets of Westminster set up by Act of the Westminster parliament and not by the will of the Irish people, North or South. Both these parliaments protect the British Imperial interest and the interests of the Tory Ascendancy class, the Castle Catholics, the horse Protestants and the native gombeen men.

It is our task to subvert the authority of all three parliaments and to establish the authority of the common people in a united socialist republic in which the brotherhood of man will make religious differences irrelevant.

Much revolutionary effort has been



put into the various campaigns of Economic Resistance and Political Action and certain limited successes have been achieved. Thus far, however, each activity has been carried out in isolation and those engaged in them do not see themselves as part of a national revolutionary struggle. *Our first task for the seventies must be to knit them all together so that all radical groups within the nation can work as one and fight as one for the Re-Conquest of Ireland.*

### MILITARY ACTION

Those who think that political means alone are sufficient for the Re-Conquest of Ireland are closing their minds to the lessons of history, not alone in Ireland but in every other country struggling for national liberation.

If freedom can be won without violence then by all means let us win it that way, but, let us not allow victory to be snatched from us by those who will have no scruples about the use of violence when they see power and wealth and privilege slipping from their grasp.

Only an armed, determined people will be listened to with respect. *While Britain claims the right to legislate for Ireland and upholds that claim by armed force then Irishmen must be trained and ready to resist her claim by armed force. The I.R.A. in the 70s, with its new political consciousness, remains an army, trained,*

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disciplined and determined. But it is now a revolutionary army, an army of the people, capable of developing and exploiting a revolutionary situation for the benefit of the people, *knowing when to fight and when to melt away*. It is no longer an army of militarists, rigid and inflexible, and geared only for a military campaign against British Forces in Ireland. It has learned the bitter lessons of such campaigns. An elitist force, divorced from the struggles of the people, but calling on the people to support it, can never win.

Each such campaign ended in total defeat and at the end of each campaign Ireland was less of a nation than before. We can no longer afford such defeats. *To be victorious a struggle for freedom must be a struggle of the people. The role of the I.R.A. is to assist the people in what is THEIR liberation struggle.*

This concept of a people's campaign for the Re-Conquest of their country rather than an armed campaign against British Occupation Forces is the key to the fundamental difference between the I.R.A. and other elements. It can be clearly seen in the streets of Belfast where the I.R.A. help the people to organise the successful defence of their own areas while other elements clear the people off the streets with ineffective gunfire against British armour.

Now the gulf is again being widened by the sectarian activities of those who

wished to turn the Irish Republican Army into a purely Catholic Defence Force. The task of the Irish Republican Army is to defend the common people against physical attack from the forces of the establishment and against economic exploitation by the forces of capitalism and British Imperialism in both the North and South of our country.

To prejudice Protestants against the Republican Movement it has been emphasised that the majority of the Irish Republican Army and the mass of republicans are mainly Catholic, and that non-Catholic religious beliefs would not be respected in a free Ireland. It is quite true that Republicans are now mainly Catholic simply because the dissenters have been prevented by constant indoctrination from embracing republicanism which should be their natural political philosophy. But in Southern Ireland the same political and economic interests and voices which tell Protestants that Republicans are Catholics, tell the Catholic population of the South that Republicans are anti-God fanatics and yearning for an opportunity to make war on the religion to which the majority of Irish people belong.

The fact is republicans are quite unaware of religious distinctions within the Republican Movement. Catholic would guarantee Protestant, Protestant would guarantee Catholic, and both would guarantee to all Dissenters full freedom of Conscience and Civil and Religious liberty. Our



history as a revolutionary movement demonstrates that in a United and Independent Ireland. This is the truth of the matter and just now when Imperial interests are attempting to conceal themselves behind the mad fury of religious strife, Protestant workers and all others should combine to make certain that no such escape is provided them.

In the process of exploitation of workers and small producers, religion matters little to the exploiters. Orange and Republican, Catholic and Protestant toil side by side in factory and mill, all equally victims. Those who thus exploit mercilessly the workers' labour and energies, would set them at one another's throats, because it is to their advantage to divide them and lead them into conflict by arousing irrelevant religious issues and inflaming passions. In this way they can split the organisations of the workers and render them ineffective.

Protestant and Catholic can be found queuing shoulder to shoulder at the unemployment bureaux waiting for the "dole". In that fast growing queue religion or membership of the Orange Order will count for as little as Catholicism does to the unemployed and emigrating Catholics in the South.

Nothing could be more contrary to the revolutionary strategy of the Republican Movement than the indiscriminate bombing and burning campaign of certain elements. It is completely sectarian in that all



targets are Protestant owned and seems designed specifically to alienate the Protestant people from the struggle for justice of their Catholic fellow-citizens. It is anti-social in that a number of targets are co-operative shops or stores and is thus designed to alienate workers.

It is totally irrelevant to the peoples' struggle as the targets for attack are neither Military, Government or Capitalist and seem to follow no pattern or policy beyond sustaining a campaign of sorts. To the militarist, sustaining a struggle becomes more important than achieving victory *and it is apparent that there are sinister elements at work who are leading some sincere people by the military ruse to utter defeat.*

The Republican policy in the 26 Counties even more clearly emphasises the new revolutionary strategy of the '70s. The enemy is not just British Forces in the North. The enemy is the exploiter and oppressor of the Irish people. It is British Imperialism, Unionism and Free Statism. All must equally be fought and all must be fought in the same manner - *by the organised resistance of the people with the constant leadership and assistance of Republican Revolutionaries.*

Every agitationary struggle must be carried through by the people concerned. *The homeless* must be organised to fight for houses; *the unemployed* for jobs; and *the landless* for land. When their struggle brings them face to face with superior

force of the Landlord, the Capitalist, or the State they know they can *call on a Revolutionary Army for assistance*. Then the I.R.A. will give whatever help the people think is necessary to ensure victory. But they must never act on their own initiative without the knowledge of the people involved. A Revolutionary must remain only sufficiently ahead of the people to give them leadership but never so far ahead as to become isolated from them.

It is apparent that even the most successful military struggle in the North in isolation cannot result in the establishment of an Independent Socialist Republic. The best that could be achieved is to put the North into the hands of *Fia-na Fail*, either the Lynch brand or the Haughey brand.

The most vital thing is to develop a popular struggle in the South to complement the struggle in the North *so that there can be a fusion of the people of both areas in opposition to the Establishment of both areas*: Those who say that Revolutionary activity in the South is a stab in the back to the fight in the North are ignoring the lessons of our history and assisting the 26 County Establishment to maintain their power. It is all too clear that the stab in the back will come from the Dublin Government when the opportunity presents itself.

To safeguard the struggle in the North it is therefore essential to mount a

massive campaign in the South to oust the collaborationists. The economic condition which Republicans predicted as a result of the Free Trade Agreement are now upon us. Closures of factories are coming thick and fast, hundreds of workers are being made redundant owing to the full effects of the 1965 Free Trade Agreement with Britain being felt by Irish industry, and while small and medium sized farmers are being driven from their holdings by social pressures and falling incomes. This is but a first instalment of the effects of Free Trade in E.E.C. conditions, and should be sufficient warning to rouse our people to the disaster that awaits our country in the E.E.C.

Now is the time to organise workers, unemployed, farmers, homeless etc., to AGITATE FOR THEIR RIGHT TO CONTROL OF THE WEALTH THEY CREATE. They can only exercise that right by taking power from those who now exploit them. The Irish Republican Army, in North East Ulster as well as in the rest of Ireland, believe that the mass of workers and small farmers must organise behind revolutionary leadership if they are to rescue themselves from a system within which few prosper and the many are impoverished.

It is the opinion of Republicans, a conviction driven in on their minds by the facts of life around them that capitalism and imperialism constitute a system of exploitation and injustice within which the mass of the people know no real freedom.



Unemployment is today reaching dangerous proportions in Ireland and Britain, while the Three Tory Governments make economies in Social Services, while workers real earnings are falling due to inflationary conditions caused by speculators and profiteers, while the same Tory Governments introduce Anti-Worker Legislation, the Six County Unionist Regime uses the armed force of 12,000 British troops in an attempt to intimidate and cow fellow Irishmen, and when this fails it resorts to indiscriminate killing, torture of men and imprisonment without trial.

The Fianna Fail regime in the Twenty-Six Counties, attempts once more to coerce people who are assisting dependents of prisoners by holding collections and *introduces further repressive legislation - the Forcible Entry Bill - at the behest of the property owning elements and threatens to introduce Internment Without Trial in the 26-Counties in order to aid the British in their efforts to smash the Revolutionary Movement.*

For more than fifty years, since they were established, in fact, both Governments in Ireland, Orange and Green Tories have had to rely on acts of coercion and repression in order to maintain their power and privileges. In the Six Counties the Special Powers Act, (*which has drawn praise and envy from white South African Government Ministers*) is used to oppress the people. In the 26-Counties the notorious Offences Against the State Act has been used by the



Ruling classes against Republicans, Farmers and Workers. Both of these Acts have been resisted and fought by Republicans down through the years.

The fight to establish and maintain basic civil rights and liberties is still being fought today, North and South. History records that *any Regime that hopes to maintain its power by repressive measures such as Special Powers Act and Offences Against the State Act, will inevitably fall just as sure and as certain that those struggling to win FREEDOM and JUSTICE for the mass of the people will inevitably SUCCEED.*

In conjunction with all of these repressive measures against the working class the Establishment in Ireland and Britain have now drawn up the '*Final Solution*' to the '*Irish Question*'. Their plans are to try and force the Irish people into accepting entry to the EEC *where this whole process of annihilation of the Irish Nation would be accelerated.* Total opposition of the mass of the people to the whole concept of the EEC is our major task in the coming period. This Threat must be defeated if we are to retain any hope of survival as a nation.

The Irish Republican Army can see no permanent solution of these and other social evils except by the transfer of power over production, distribution and exchange to the mass of the people. The power to produce what the many require exists; its

organisation and distribution presents no insoluble difficulty. *But the vested interests of a privileged minority are across the road and progress is impossible unless the people are prepared to clear away these obstacles.*

These interests that deny their rights to the many are those on which Imperialism rests. Touch or threaten these privileged interests and the whole force of British Imperialism is invoked for their protection. Thus it is that revolutionary Republicans see and say that the emancipation of the mass of the Irish people is impossible without breaking the connection with Imperial Britain and with the system she has imposed on Ireland, North and South.

The Irish Republican Army believes that only the *mass of the Irish people, Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter, aided by a conscious revolutionary organisation can defeat the forces of repression and reaction. A struggle waged for on behalf of the interests of the people must involve the mass of the people if it is to succeed.*

Part 2 - Statement early 1972.

As the year of 1971 draws to a close the Army Council of the Irish Republican Army looks with pride on the progressive achievements of the past year and salutes all those who have been in the forefront of the struggle against British Imperialism in both the North and the South of Ireland, and also all those fighting against Capitalism and Imperialism throughout the world. We pay tribute to the many victims of imperialism in the past year.

The Volunteers of the Irish Republican Army have truly proved themselves to be the army of the people. The many actions in which they have been engaged and the many casualties which they have inflicted on the forces of imperialism have been carried out within the context of Army policy which is to defend the people against aggression by terror forces and to take retaliatory action against those who murder innocent people in the streets or who participate in tortures. The main aggressive force has been the British Army. The people's resistance has at all times been a defensive one and the Irish Republican Army has acted with the people, although they face internment and torture or death.

It cannot be too often emphasised that the present struggle in the North is a struggle not simply of the Irish Republican Army against the British Army but



of an oppressed people against their oppressor. The main brunt of the struggle has been carried with magnificent strength and courage by the common people. It is the working class and their families who suffer the constant harassment, terror and murder, and it is they who are the backbone of the resistance. They actively resist the British Army raiding parties and they also resist through the Civil Disobedience Campaign the political forces who direct this terror campaign. Such resistance cannot be broken.

It is necessary in the midst of the turmoil in the North to re-examine our objectives and our tactics in order to ensure that pressures of events do not in any way divert us from the revolutionary road on which we have embarked. The declaration in 1967 by the Irish Republican Army that the Objective of the Revolutionary Movement must be the establishment of a Democratic Socialist Republic was the first full explicit statement by the revolutionary movement of the Ireland of tomorrow. The statement was the culmination of many years of debate and analysis among the revolutionaries as to the causes for the continual defeat for the revolutionary forces in Ireland. The Democratic Socialist Republic was not a new vision for the Irish Republican Army for as far back as the thirties the best elements of the revolutionary movement had this vision of a United Democratic Socialist Republic. Unfortunately at that time certain backward elements were able to isolate the

revolutionary leadership within the movement and succeeded in leading the Irish Republican Army into the area of armed struggle only. The opportunities at that time, a time of crisis in world capitalism and of rising revolutionary consciousness among the workers, were lost and the establishment in Ireland, North and South, were able to deal with the Republican forces who were totally committed to armed struggle to the exclusion of all other forms of struggle.

It was not until the sixties, 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. Accepting completely that as our enemies will resist in arms, final victory can only be accomplished by armed struggle, *we have realised that armed struggle on its own, or as an end in itself, is doomed to failure.*

Armed struggle must be linked with, must be integrated with all other forms of struggle. It must be related to the needs of the people. The most consistent element in the 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 in upon us, by our history, by our defeats and finally by the few times we have managed to have a partial victory that the fight for freedom is bound up in the fight

for the land, for jobs, for houses, for our children's education, for women's rights, for the elimination in fact of all of the many injustices and abuses that the workers suffer in a Capitalist State. It is essential that all who are involved in the National Liberation Struggle realise that the national struggle is a peoples struggle - a class struggle.

We have carefully developed the political consciousness and revolutionary potential 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, dole, trade union rights, civil rights etc, 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 are the Orange/Unionist regime in Belfast and the Taca/Fian-na Fail/Fine Gael regime in the South.

It has never been and is not now our intention to build a movement to launch a purely military campaign against British



forces in the North. We have seen the failures of past campaigns based on military action only and have set our faces against such campaigns which are doomed to failure. *We do not see, nor do we want a repetition of the fifties.* Our purpose is to unite workers throughout Ireland behind the struggle for the reconquest of their country from British Imperialism and Capitalism and to lead them to a realisation that until power is 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.

During the course of the Civil Rights struggle in 1968-69 the Irish Republican Army vigorously resisted all pressures to promote strife and used their influence to ensure that all civil rights protests would be peaceful non-sectarian demonstrations. Republicans supported the Civil Rights Movement because they agreed with the democratic demands being made. They also saw the importance of the Civil Rights protests in building the solidarity, strength and power of the common people.

Victory for the people on Civil Rights issues would inspire them to further battles on the social and economic front. It was in this second stage of the struggle that Republicans saw the greatest prospect of uniting Catholic and Protestant workers. We believed that the struggle for civil

rights would become a struggle for class rights: *that all Irish workers would become dissenters.* We set fire to the northern Tories in the full confidence that the blaze would cross the border and burn up corruption from Belfast to Cork. Our plans therefore did not provide for the launching of a military campaign against British forces although the Army Council was at all times aware of the possibility of aggressive attacks being made on the people. Our military policy at this time was clearly stated to be one of using physical force only in defence of the people or their rights against aggressive attack. We always recognised that forces of establishment would use aggression against people, therefore, there would always be a need for armed defence.

The pattern of aggressive violence in the North was begun by the Orange Unionist Junta who directed the B Specials under the protection of the R.U.C. to carry out a massive pogrom against the Catholic working class. The purpose was to smash the Civil Rights movement by promoting sectarian conflict. *It did not succeed because the Republican forces who were in control of the defensive network in Belfast and Derry emphasised the dangers of sectarianism and advocated policies to unite Catholic and Protestant workers.* Such policies did not suit the militarists in our ranks, the 'bigots' or the unscrupulous paid agents of Fianna Fail who had just entered the scene. All of these combined to split the Republican Movement and use the people's

struggle, which they had played no part in building, to promote sectarian, or any kind of conflict, for their own varied objectives.

It was also the clear policy of the British Army during 1970 to provoke armed conflict in the hope that gunfire would drive the people off the streets and isolate the Republican Army by forcing them into a purely military campaign. Their continual search and destroy tactics in working class areas were designed to terrorise the people and goad republicans into armed conflict. The magnificent work of our fellow-republicans in the Republican Clubs during this period ensured that the people were continually made aware of the political designs of the British and Unionist forces. Not alone were Britain's designs being thwarted but great progress was being made through 1970 in promoting joint action between Catholic and Protestant workers on housing and other issues in both Derry and Belfast.

1971 saw the beginning of the sectarian bombing campaign by people who are blinded by bigotry and who are unable to see who the real enemies of the Irish people are. As this continued it provided the opportunity to the British Army to escalate their terror tactics to the stage where innocent civilians were and are being indiscriminately murdered in the streets. The Irish Republican Army, which had maintained a purely defensive role with the people early in the year,



made it clear that it would take retaliatory action for such murders and have since inflicted many casualties on the British forces in many areas without however launching an all-out military campaign.

Here we wish to emphasise that we are not in competition with any other armed group and as such do not feel it necessary to keep stating in a parrot-like fashion '*we did this or we did that*'. The ordinary men and women of the 6 Counties who are in the forefront of this struggle know well who it is they look to for leadership, defence and aid whenever needed. We are confident of our support among the people who themselves have never betrayed the Revolution but have always been betrayed.

The introduction of internment on August 9th had a twofold purpose:

1. *To further escalate the terror against the people designed to provoke more armed conflict;*
2. *To remove the political control which guided the people's resistance and continually thwarted the establishment's plans and leave the compromisers to take over the political leadership of the people.*

Republican Clubs, socialist organisations and the Civil Rights Movement have suffered far more from internment than have the Units of the Irish Republican Army which have greatly increased in strength since August 9th.

The responsibility for violence in the Six County State rests clearly on the Stormont and Westminster Governments and on those who are trying to promote sectarian conflict. The Irish Republican Army which is not engaged in a military campaign, will cease its armed defensive and retaliatory actions only when the British Army calls off its campaign of terror against the people, and ends internment and torture. There will however be no cessation of the just struggle of the people for what is their right.

British Imperialism wants to talk only to a beaten people and speaks of military victory. *The people are struggling for their democratic rights and for freedom from economic oppression.* They will not be forced into subjection by the British army in 1972, as they were not by the RUC and B Specials in 1969. They know that there can be no peace in Ireland between a subject Irish people and a victorious British Imperialism except the peace of desolation and oppression.

There is no going back now. The Republican Movement demand is for the total withdrawal of British Troops and administration from Ireland. There will be no compromises here. This must be clearly understood especially by the lickspittles in the South of Ireland who have no demands to make on Britain but who are simply standing by to give their stamp of approval to whatever political solution Britain might wish to impose on Ireland. The

Republican Movement shall continue to organise the people for revolutionary struggle in all parts of Ireland despite any pseudo solutions put forward by Britain and dutifully accepted by her Belfast and Dublin puppets.

But Britain will soon be ready to begin political talks because she believes the Irish people, North and South, will soon be conditioned by propaganda and terror to accept Britain's solution in exchange for peace. The British Government must therefore not be allowed to use internment torture and terror as bargaining counters. These must be ended as a pre-condition for any talks. Talks when they occur must be on the basis of Irish demands not on the basis of British concessions.

*The demand must be the implementation of the Civil Rights programme including the dismantling of the Orange/Unionist structure and the establishment of a new Democratic Assembly with the power to make trade agreements and to control capital investment including the authority to nationalise industries threatened with closure.*

Republicans believe that the real and fundamental talks on the future of the Irish Nation must take place within Ireland. Talks must be opened between the Catholic and Protestant working class, between Trade Unionists and small farmers, between the Labour Movement and the Republican Movement, between the North and the South,



between the Gaeltacht and the Galltacht. It is here that the foundations of unity of the Irish people can be laid and not in talks with Britain nor in talks between the Tory establishments in Dublin and Belfast.

The New Year 1972 will see an intensification of the struggle of the Irish people for the re-conquest of their land. The Labour and Republican Movements will be confronting the right wing Coalition of Fine Gael/Fianna Fail on the EEC referendum issue in the Spring. This is a battle which must be won. It must be seen as an integral part of the struggle which is taking place in the North - the struggle against British Imperialism in Ireland

What is at stake is the ownership of Ireland and the control of Irish destinies. Britain's new political solution to maintain her hold on Ireland is based on the assumption that Ireland will be under her wing in the Common Market. A defeat for the Lynch/Cosgrave axis in the referendum will therefore be a defeat for Britain's designs on Ireland and will protect the interests of the workers and small farmers and will also be a demonstration of solidarity with the people of the North.

The coming year will therefore be a crucial one for the Irish Nation. We are confident that the magnificent resistance shown by the oppressed people of Belfast, Derry, Newry, Armagh, Coalisland and many other areas of the North will be an inspiration to all the Irish people. Our

objectives have not changed and the policies we have laid down for achievement of these objectives have not changed. In spite of the great obstacles placed in our path we shall continue our efforts to unite Catholic and Protestant workers in the struggle for their emancipation from their common exploiter: we shall continue to defend people against repression and terror and to oppose sectarian acts.

Consistent with our ultimate objective - *a Democratic Socialist Republic* - the tasks that the Army Council of the Irish Republican Army sees for all revolutionaries to be engaged in are:

- \* *North and South continue to expose and fight the many facets of British Imperialism, direct and indirect;*
- \* *To fight the establishment's attempt to sell the Nation to the monopoly capitalists of the E.E.C.;*
- \* *To forge unity of Catholic and Protestant workers and to continue to isolate all sectarian elements;*
- \* *To continue to aid and organise the working people of all Ireland in their fight against the many social and economic evils and injustices which are a part of the violence of the Capitalist system;*
- \* *To promote, at every opportunity, the unity of the workers and small farmers of all Ireland;*

*\* To organise the people to defeat repression North and South, and to secure the release of all those imprisoned.*

It must be made clear that the new Ireland we envisage and intend to build will not be a new Free State in any shape or form. It will be a country that does not allow oppression or exploitation of any group or individual; a State that provides equal opportunities for all its people, men and women, Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter, in work, worship, education, political decision making and cultural and artistic expression.

We believe as Wolfe Tone, McCracken, Connolly, Mellowes and all the socialist Revolutionaries of other times and other countries believed that the working class is the only class which has need of liberation, which will not compromise in this struggle and finally is the only class capable of leading the fight to a genuine Democratic Socialist Republic of all Ireland.





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