

ÁRD FHEIS '72 REPORT



SINN FEIN ARD FHEIS

1972 - 1973

REAMHRA

The following paragraph should appear at the beginning of the Resolution on Economic Affairs, page 37.

Whereas the monopolists and capitalists are attempting to divide the working-class by various devices which amount to new, more refined forms of exploitation; recognising that the forces of imperialism are seeking to perfect their methods of influencing the workers both ideologically and politically by means of the policy of "social partnership" which is designed to persuade the working-class to surrender the class struggle in exchange for so-called "profit sharing", a policy that suggests to the workers that they can and do cease to be workers and become small capitalists; recognising, too, that the vote for entry into the European Economic Community opened the way for further imperialist penetration and control of the Irish economy.

moladh an 7au Ard Fheis de Shinn Fein i dTeach an Ard mBaile Atha Cliath ar an 15u agus an 16u la mi na 1973. I lathair bhi 700 teachtai o chuile ait in araon leis an oiread ceanna cuairteoiri idir baill aghnadoiri o eagraiochtaí coigriocha agus cairdiula.

headh run o thaobh chultúr de ar choir do chuile gaeilghluaiseacht agus daoine nach iad dian-studeir a air no soileireann se go dtuigeann Sinn Fein tabhacht gaeltachta ní amháin o thaobh an Naisiun Gaelaigh de chuid den troid inéadan an impireachais.

mheid seo bhi an 67u Ard Fheis eagsuil o na hArd Fheisbhi ann roimhe. Ar ndoighe ta se ri-thabhachtach go dh Ard Fheis an gno seo: le polasaithe cruinne a aimor iad a bhunu ar thuiscint leathan agus ana-chuid dir na mbaill go leir, tionolaithe le cheile ag an s. Rinneadh sin i mbliana agus bhi se de thoradh mar n Ard Fheis gur socraíodh bunús pholasai ar na runtaigh.

67th Ard Fheis of Sinn Fein was held in the Mansion Dublin on December 15th and 16th. Upwards of seven hundred delegates representing cumainn from all over Ireland attended with as many visitors and observers: fraternal delegates attended from organisations in Britain, America, Australia and Europe. There were over 300 resolutions on the Clar dealing with every aspect of the Irish Revolution.

The Ard Fheis of 1973 demonstrates that Sinn Fein has the programme, the members and the capacity to organise the Irish people for a successful Socialist Revolution.

SINN FEIN ARD FHEIS

1972 - 1973

REAMHRA

Tionoladh an 7au Ard Fheis de Shinn Fein i dTeach an Ard Mheara i mBaile Atha Cliath ar an 15u agus an 16u la mi na Nollaig 1973. I lathair bhí 700 teachtai o chuile ait in Eirinn maraon leis an oiread ceanna cuairteoiri idir baill agus breathnadoiri o eagraiochtaí coigriocha agus cairdiula.

Ritheadh run o thaobh chultúr de ar choir do chuile gaeilgeoir sa ghluaiseacht agus daoine nach iad dian-studeir a dheanamh air no soileireann se go dtuigeann Sinn Fein tabhacht slanu na gaeltachta ní amháin o thaobh an Naisiún Gaelaigh de ach mar chuid den troid inéadan an impireachais.

Sa mheid seo bhí an 67u Ard Fheis eagsuil o na hArd Fheiseanna a bhí ann roimhe. Ar ndoighe ta se ri-thabhachtach go ndeanfaidh Ard Fheis an gno seo: le polasaithe cruinne a aimsiú ní mor iad a bhunú ar thuiscint leathan agus ana-chuid cainte idir na mbaill go leir, tionolaithe le cheile ag an Ard Fheis. Rinneadh sin i mbliana agus bhí se de thoradh mar sin ar an Ard Fheis gur socraíodh bunús pholasaí ar na runta ata istigh.

The 67th Ard Fheis of Sinn Fein was held in the Mansion House, Dublin on December 15th and 16th. Upwards of seven hundred delegates representing cumainn from all over Ireland attended with as many visitors and observers: fraternal delegates attended from organisations in Britain, America, Australia and Europe. There were over 300 resolutions on the Clar dealing with every aspect of the Irish Revolution.

The Ard Fheis of 1973 demonstrates that Sinn Fein has the programme, the members and the capacity to organise the Irish people for a successful Socialist Revolution.

The following paragraph should appear at the Resolution on Economic Affairs, page 37.

Whereas the monopolists and capitalist the working-class by various devices which forms of exploitation; recognising that they seeking to perfect their methods of influence logically and politically by means of the press which is designed to persuade the working-struggle in exchange for so-called "profit" suggests to the workers that they can and become small capitalists; recognising, that into the European Economic Community operationist penetration and control of the Irish

Early in February 1973 a General Election was called for the 26 Counties. The Sinn Fein Ard Comhairle decided to contest 10 seats in the Election.

Sinn Fein put forward a radical programme in the General Election and its 10 candidates received over 15,000 first preference votes - a significant achievement in a contest that was essentially about a change of government. Sinn Fein was, for the first time, contesting an election in the Twenty-Six County state and taking its seats. The reaction of the voters was encouraging..

For the first time in the ten constituencies in which the party fought, the people of this country had before them a programme that was unambiguously socialist, undeniably republican and, because it was both of these things, firmly rooted in the problems and potential of the working-class people of Ireland. That 15,000 people should have chosen this programme in such an election inspires the party to greater effort and assures the candidates of success in another fight.

Sinn Fein has gained substantially from the election because of the exposure its policies have had, because of its acceptance by the people despite the bans of R.T.E. and the bias of bourgeois commentators, because in ten constituencies at least its organisation has been given the tonic of action - a practical test certain to benefit the party in other elections.

The policy on which Sinn Fein fought was: the ownership, control and development of the resources of Ireland by and on behalf of the working-class people of Ireland; the establishment of a secular state with equal rights and equal opportunities for all, irrespective of sex, religion or conviction; the elimination of repressive legislation and the achievement of full development, by and on behalf of the people, of their cultural inheritance.

Welded to these national aims and aspirations, which will ultimately be won only with the establishment of a 32-county

socialist republic, the candidates of Sinn Fein, each of whom qualified by work already done on behalf of the workers of his or her area, there were important local issues.

In each case, the votes polled in favour of Sinn Fein reflected the extent of local involvement of the candidates, the determination and loyalty of party workers and supporters and the need, felt by the people, to win representation that speaks genuinely and responsibly for the Irish working-class.

SINN FEIN

PROGRAMME OF ACTION

Nationalisation of all mineral and oil resources and their development by the State on behalf of the people.

A full employment Plan within 5 years. Expand State sector of industry, using State Mining Co. and State Smelter industry as a base. (Control Mergers, Closures and Rationalisation of Industry. Use the Capital at present exported - £1,000 million in 1971-72 - for modernisation and expansion of industries, such as food processing, thus aiding both small farmers, fishermen and urban workers).

Strict control of Prices; Removal of V.A.T. from foodstuffs, attack on inflation and its source which is the financial and property speculators.

Elimination of Poverty and Social degradation, both in urban and rural areas as a national Priority: Implementation of a comprehensive free medical and social welfare scheme.

Nationalisation of Banks and other Financial Institutions; Restrictions on Export of Capital; A cheap money policy for Agriculture, Industry, Housing and other productive purposes.

Re-distribution of the wealth - 71% of which is at present controlled by 5% of the population; Introduction of Tax on Capital Gains and on Investment, Property.

Elimination of all speculative investment in farmland and establishment of an upper limit on the amount of land owned by any farmer.

Expansions of Forestry programme and 'speed up' of land acquisition.

Restriction of farms to maximum of 200 acres of good land, take over of large estates and redistribution of surplus land to cooperatives of small farmers.

Declaration of a Housing Emergency and Promotion of a Crash Programme designed to provide a housing unit for every family. Control of all building land by State or Municipal Authority.

Ending of Discrimination and repressive laws and establishment by legislation of equal right for all - irrespective of age, sex, or social status.

There is an ample supply of money in the State to finance this programme. There is great wealth in the hands of a few people - it belongs to the workers who produced it.

Education to be provided for all in a non-denominational state structure which would be democratically controlled by parents, teachers and pupils.

Sinn Fein promotes the revival of the Irish language and the rest of the culture associated with or derived from it; Believing that this revival is part of the revival of the Irish people. Sinn Fein further recognises that the revival of Irish depends to a large extent on the revival of the Irish speaking communities of the Gaeltacht and accordingly supports the demand for local autonomy for the Gaeltacht communities and demands that the Gaeltacht radio service be placed under the control of a local authority.

ORÁID AN UACHTARÁN

SINN FÉIN ARD FHEIS

1972

Níl aon aimhreas faoi ach go gcaithfear an bhliain atá imithe tharainn a áireamh mar bhliain briste dóchais do gach éinne a throid ar shon an daonfhlathais in Éirinn ó 1968 i leith.

Cé chomh fada ar chúl a brúdh cúis mhuintir na h-Eireann ní féidir a rá go fóill - ach gur féidir a bheith deimhnitheach de gur ar chúl a cuireadh é. Dá chomhartha san gur eirigh leis na Sasanaigh Rialú Díreach a thabhairt isteach ó thuaidh i dtús na bliana agus gur eirigh leo aontas an mhionlaigh a bhriseadh roimh deireadh na bliana; gur eirigh lena gcuid seirbhísigh o dheas Cuirteanna Speisialta a thabhairt i réim agus idiú mhór eile a dhéanamh ar chearta sibhialta o shoin.

An briseadh ba shonntasai i rith na bliana thuaidh agus theas an socru go ngabhfadh Éire reinnte isteach i bpriosún lucht chaipitil na h-Eorpa ag sodar i ndiaidh na Sasanach.

Tuige an briseadh seo? Cumhacht míliata agus eacnamaíoch Shasana thuaidh agus theas in Éirinn, ainbhíos agus dallintinneacht leanúnach na Sealadach, chomh maith le spleachas eacnamaíochta lucht tacaíochta Fhianna Fáil agus Fine Gael ar an gceangal le Sasana.

Ní gá dom trácht an iomarca ar pholasáí Shasana sa Tuaisceart agus i leith an Deiscirt le bliain anuas. Leanann siad fós dá bpolasáí muintir an Tuaiscirt a thuirsiú leis an bhfeachtas dúnmharfach míleata le tabhairt orthú éileamh a gcearta a thréigint agus glacadh le Pax Brittanica. D'eirigh go maith leo sa mhéid go raibh se ar chumas lucht leanúna John Hume an moid a ghlac siad don phobal gan caint na comhoibriu le udarais Shasana go scaoilfi an geibheannaigh i

bhriseadh agus anois go bhfuil glan dearmad déanta, beagnach, ar phriosúnaithe polaitíochta sa Tuaisceart.

Caithfear a rá nach n-eireódh chaomh h-éasca ná chomh h-éifeachtach le neart Shasana marach dallintinneach na Sealadach. An chuidiú is mó a fuair na Sasanaigh le dhá bhliain anuas san iarracht acu an status quo d'athbhunú ná feachtas buamála na Sealadach. Ro-mhaith a chuidigh an feachtas seo le riachtanas Shasana sa gcruachas a tharraing an feachtas cearta sibhialta uirthi. Ro-mhaith a chuidigh an bhuamáil le mearbhall intinne a chur ar an mhionlach sa tuaisceart, ar mhuintir an deiscirt, ar mhuintir an domhain fré chéile a chuir speis i gcás na hÉireann. Ró-mhaith a chuidigh sé le boltscaireacht Shasana sa mbaile agus thar lear. Ró-mhaith a chuidigh sé le polasáí an dreama a mhol agus a thug an t-airgead len a thosú - Rialtas Fhianna Fáil. Anois go bhfuil na céad tá marbh, go bhfuil urú glan deanta geall leis ar chearta sibhialta o thuaidh caithfidh go bhfuil muintir sasta leis an luach airgid a fuair siad.

Duine ar bith ar féidir leis a shamhlu cé'n dul chun cinn a bheadh deanta marach an buile Sealadach seo tuigeann se cé'n feall atá deanta ar an nglún seo Éireannach ag polaitéoirí Fhianna Fáil. Tuigeann sé no sí a thabhairt atá sé le rá arís agus arís agus arís eile le pobal na hÉireann nach den phoblachtanachas an buile Sealadach seo ach de shainnt chumhachta Fhianna Fáil, an dream nua-Reamannach seo atá chomh dílis sin cheangal le Sasana ar mhaithe leis an mbun dílseacht atá acu dá n-aicme féin.

Agus ceárd fúinn féin? Ní féidir go bhfuil morán i láthair anseo inniu atá sásta leis an méid a d'eirigh le Gluaiseacht na Poblachta a dheanamh le bliain anuas. Is féidir a rá go mba deacair dúinn morán a dhéanamh agus an buile Sealadach in a thuile rabharta ach ní leór sin mar leisceal. Mar ghluaiseacht réabhlóideach tá sé de dhualgas orainn freagraí a aimsiú agus a chur i gniomh. 'Se gnó na hArdfheise seo an dualgas chinniúnach sin a chomhlíonadh agus an stiúir cheart a thabhairt don Ghluaiseacht don bhliain achrannach a shineánn amach romhainn.

Even the most cursory analysis of the events of the past year will indicate that it was a victorious year for British Imperialism in Ireland. *It saw the imposition of Direct Rule under a one man dictatorship; a growth in sectarian organisations and a massive increase in sectarian bombings and murders; total harrassment and terrorising of the population of the North; the Irish nation tied closer to Britain in the E.E.C; fear and confusion spread amongst the people and fascism rampant, North and South.*

The year opened ominously with the ruthless gunning down of civil rights marchers on the streets of Derry in January. The murder of 13 was not a mad orgy of killing by undisciplined troops, it was a political decision by a coldly inhuman Tory Prime Minister to drive the people off the streets at all costs. It was a declaration of war on the people and this was intensified as the year went on. At last year's Ard Fheis I pointed out that British Tory Governments have always proved so ruthless in pursuance of their policies in Ireland that human suffering and death was never a deterrent to them. This has been tragically borne out in the past year.

Every regiment of the British Army which came to the North this year had obviously got the same briefing. Maintain a policy of total harrassment of the population with continuous raids, searches, cat and mouse arrests, beatings and shootings. Prevent the development of any political activity, terrorise the people and allow free rein to the sectarian bigots to murder and bomb.

To add to the reign of terror, special murder squads of the British Army were sent to the North to operate in civilian clothing. Whether they operate as the S.A.S., the S.I.B. or the M.R.F. is immaterial. The fact is they are there and their existence has been admitted by General Tuzo. The British Ambassador in Stockholm is still hotly denying their existence. Some of their murders have been uncovered, such as that of Daniel Rooney at St. James Park, Belfast. But during this year there have been over 100 unexplained killings in the North. How many of these have been the work of S.A.S. murder squads we do not know, but we do know that witnesses to the murder of Patrick McVeigh at Ladybrook Park, Belfast, were

told by the R.U.C. that he was in fact shot by members of the British Army.

The decision to send in these murder and terror squads was again a political decision. It was a decision by Heath and Whitelaw who are in direct control of every action of the British Army in Ireland. *Their purpose is to escalate terror, violence and sectarian actions to new heights so that the situation is brought to the very brink of massive sectarian warfare.* Nothing is calculated to strike such fear and horror into the people of the North as the prospect of total civil war and it is Mr. Heath's hope that by facing them with this prospect as the alternative to acceptance of his proposals, the people will accept anything he suggests. Far from trying to prevent sectarianism, the British Government welcomes every sectarian bomb and every sectarian assassination, and uses its own forces to add to them, cynically using human lives and human passions in a game of brinkmanship.

In this situation one might expect that the Dublin Government would at least be active in mobilising international support to halt these murderous assaults on Irishmen and women, but they remain silent and collaborate with the British Government in trying to extradite those who were lucky enough to escape the British terror gangs and flee south. And one would expect that the Labour Party's spokesman on the North, Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, would use the international news media which are open to him, to tell the world what is happening or at least speak out against it, just once. *In fact he acts as chief apologist for the British Government and still tells the world that the British Army acts in a peace keeping role and that their presence is essential to prevent sectarian civil war.* Even the British Government has long since dropped this hoary piece of propaganda.

It is now abundantly clear that the demand for the withdrawal of the British forces from the streets, pending their total withdrawal, is simply a demand for the ending of the activities of at least one of the forces which are escalating the drift to civil war. If the British forces

were withdrawn from the streets, great progress could be made in ending the present conflict in the 6 Counties. The full force of public opinion and all the organisations of the people, led, we would hope, by the Trade Union Movement, could then be brought to bear on the Provisional Alliance and the U.D.A. to end their sectarian activities.

We in Sinn Fein believe that the priority at present is to avert Civil War. It was in pursuit of this objective that the Republican Clubs executive approached the Official I.R.A. last May and in response to their request the I.R.A. announced that it was calling off all military activities, except the minimum necessary to provide defence in certain cases. They have maintained their ceasefire since then, recognising, as the Republican Clubs said in their statement of May 29th - *"that the overwhelming desire of the great majority of all the people of the North is for an end to military actions by all sides"*. The British Army response has been to escalate terror and murder and to try to provoke further military reaction by their brutal killing of Republicans such as Patricia McKay, John Pat Mullen and Hugh Herron.

The old British policy of Black and Tan terror and sectarian murders has succeeded again in diverting the peoples' struggle from its original purpose. These were the methods they had used so successfully in 1798 and again in 1920. This time they hoped that by driving the people off the streets and developing a purely militarist struggle which was remote from the demands of the people that our organisation would be crushed in the process by the apparent successes of the Provisionals. If this had happened then the military defeat of the Provisionals would lead to the total defeat of the revolutionary struggle.

The fact that we survived at all as an organisation is a tremendous achievement when we consider the combined machinations of three Governments to smash us. The fact that we have increased and strengthened our organisation, North and South, as this Ard Fheis shows, is a great tribute to the political awareness and dedication of our members and to the impact of our anti-imperialist policies among the people.

While there are no victories on the horizon for the Irish people, neither is there a prospect of defeat. The ending of conflict in the North and the imposition of some New British Solution, will not mean an end of struggle. It will merely mean a regrouping, a reassessment of the new situation and development of new strategies and tactics.

I must emphasise that the failure of the revolutionary movement to maintain its original momentum was not due to policy failures. *We may have failed in organisational methods and in propaganda but our policies have been correct.* They proved their effectiveness in mobilising people North and South and they injected new dynamism and life into politics and into people. Other actions and other policies by other organisations were imposed on the struggle which we had done so much to develop.

This was the purpose for which the Provisional Alliance was formed by Messrs. Blaney and Haughey with the approval of Lynch. They even took the name Sinn Fein, the better to distort our policies and objectives and create confusion amongst the people. Mr. Blaney has now openly admitted his part in splitting the Republican Movement and setting up the Provisionals. Mr. Haughey remains silent as he tries to crawl back to the seats of power and, together with his Taca henchmen, transfers his speculative activities to Belfast where property is now going cheap as a result of the bombings, which they did so much to finance and promote. Gradually the truth will begin to unfold and even the dark secrets of that forgotten man of Irish politics, Micheal O'Morain, former Minister for Repression, may soon come to light.

These men and their leader Lynch, bear more responsibility for the bombs and violence in the North than do the brave but misguided young people who plant them. And so do men like Tim Pat Coogan, Editor of the Irish Press, who was chief publicist for the Provisionals and not only turned the Press into a propaganda organ for them but sang their praises on Radio and Television. *Like Fianna Fail he has now dropped them and is at present reputed to be writing a book about them to exploit, for his own private profit, the sufferings he helped to create.*

Now that the origins of the Provisionals are being clearly exposed and that their policies are being shown to be not only futile but disastrous, *I would appeal to their members who may have been misled by lies and distortions, to examine our actions and policies.* I am confident that they will find there is only one Republican Movement, only one Sinn Féin which stands uncompromisingly with the secularism and non sectarianism of Tone, with the Separatism and Socialism of Pearse and Connolly and they will find it here.

Our objective is a Sovereign Democratic Socialist Republic for all Ireland. We do not want a totalitarian state; we do not want a capitalist state; we do not want a neo-colonial state dominated by British Imperialism (*even if it is united*) and we do not want a divided nation or a divided people. Basically our objective can be stated to be the reconquest of Ireland and our struggle is for the ownership and control of the wealth of Ireland by the mass of the Irish people. We are the only organisation pursuing this objective in its entirety.

Our enemy is Imperialism and Capitalism and their supporters in Ireland - *Unionism which supports direct colonialism and Free Stateism which supports neo-colonialism.* It is important to clearly identify our enemies, otherwise we may confuse them with our friends. When we say Unionism is the enemy we must not regard every supporter of Unionism now as an enemy, just as when we say Free Stateism or neo-colonialism is the enemy we must not regard every supporter of Fianna Fail or Fine Gael as an enemy. To do so would be to say that the majority of people in Ireland, both Catholic and Protestant, are enemies. The working class is never the enemy, no matter to whom they give their allegiance at this time.

We must therefore have precisely the same outlook towards the Protestant working class who support Unionism as we have towards the Catholic working class who support Fianna Fail and we must wean both away from support of Imperialism and Capitalism. Our enemies are victorious precisely because they have succeeded in holding the support of workers and small farmers. Our policies, North and South, must be designed to win the support of the workers and to unite them in the struggle against imperialism and capitalism.

Mr. Heath is now moving to what he believes is the last stage in imposing a new British solution for Ireland. The only thing which is clear is that its not going to be favourable to the Irish people, Unionist or Republican. Britain's overall plans for Ireland were clarified in the early sixties at a time when Mr. Wilson had an ambition to be the man who would unite Ireland. Then Ireland would be integrated economically and associated politically with Westminster in joint membership of the E.E.C. - *Capt. T. O'Neill would deliver the Unionist and the North and Mr. Lynch would deliver the "Republicans" and the South.* Mr. Heath took over the plan from Mr. Wilson, Mr. Lynch is succeeding admirably in keeping his part of the bargain but Capt. O'Neill has been rejected. The Unionists proved more intransigent and less subject to imperial direction than the so called "Republicans". Once Capt. O'Neill was gone direct rule was on the cards as Westminster could not trust anyone else to carry out her policy faithfully.

We opposed direct rule and opposed the abolition of Stormont because we saw that this was in Britain's interests and would aid British plans for Ireland. This is now obvious to all. We demanded the one thing which Britain did not want to concede - *democracy and an end to repression and sectarianism* - because this demand would strengthen the anti-imperialist forces in Ireland and would be conceding victory to mass struggle which would then increase and intensify on the ground gained.

It is significant that no British government, or no British Minister ever conceded any recognition to the Civil Rights Association, much less negotiated with them. We must continue to raise the democratic demands now more than ever. We must force the British Government, as long as they claim or maintain control over the 6 County area, to implement a Bill of Rights which would guarantee civil and religious liberty and basic civil rights for all and the repeal of all repressive legislation. There are also basic minimum demands which must be pressed on Whitelaw and Heath at this time:-

1. The withdrawal of troops from the streets;
2. Release of internees and political prisoners;
3. General amnesty arising from resistance to British terror and through involvement in the civil disobedience campaign.

Messrs. Heath and Lynch have agreed on their arrangements for the future government of Ireland. Lynch has fought for nothing and asked for nothing. He must, however, be given some sugar coating with which to sell the British idea in the South. He will likely be given "unity" or at least a prospect of "unity" in the future.

For the past year a "United Ireland" has been assiduously presented to the Irish people as the objective for which they were looking. This has been done by the British Tory and Labour Parties, by the Dublin Government, the SDLP, Nationalists and Provisionals. But "Unity" is not the fundamental issue. The real issue is one of national liberation, of control of Irish destinies and this Britain is not prepared to concede to the Irish of any brand.

In the context of joint membership of the EEC Lynch has now apparently ruled out all ideas of independent nationhood and is preparing a merger with Britain in which he will retain local managerial status, much like the deal Pat Quinn made with the International Weston group. To understand how Mr. Lynch has sunk to such a position of slavish subservience to Britain we must take a brief look at economic position of the 26 Counties. WE have consistently emphasised the neo-colonial status of the South, but few people seem to realise the enormous grip of imperialism on the economy.

In the past 8 years 75% of all new investment in industry in the 26 Counties was of foreign origin - *only 25% was Irish*. American investment alone was £16 million greater than the total Irish investment. In the same period all existing mineral resources and almost all exploration rights in Ireland were handed over to multi-national mining corporations on a 20 year tax free basis. They did of course have to bear the expense of taking Mr. Lalor, our Minister for Industry and Commerce on a tour of Canada. Gulf Oil, who brought the Taoiseach and Mrs. Lynch on a grand tour of the Orient some years ago, were handsomely rewarded with a free grant of Bantry Bay, one of the finest deep water harbours in the world, to do with as they please. The tremendous wealth in oil, natural gas and minerals which lie beneath the continental shelf around our shores has also been literally given away.

The explanation given for this liberal distribution of the nations resources is that we have not got sufficient capital to develop them ourselves. And indeed this is true. But the reason for our lack of capital is that we also give this away. Last year there was £1,000 million of our capital invested abroad, forty times the current annual rate of investment in industry here. An examination of this investment, particularly that exported through Unit Trust companies, reveals that much of our hard won capital is handed over to the very companies who are coming in here to exploit us. We must therefore urgently mount the demand to nationalise the banks.

There is no parallel in the world for this total foreign control of the financial, industrial and commercial life of a country, for this total exploitation of a people and for this total subservience of a government to multi-national corporations. The neo-colonial states of Africa and South America are fighting back and gaining ground in their struggle against monopoly capitalism but we are being routed completely. *We are now a third-world country, weak and underdeveloped and next month we are to be thrown into the heart of the richest and most powerful industrial and imperial area in the world.*

We are not in the same league as the other Common Market countries and this the people are slowly beginning to discover. One small decision of the E.E.C. such as standardising the weight of truck in the Common transport policy at ten tons, could cost us £80,000,000 in building roads and bridges to cater for them.

I now warn Dr. Mansholt that when Dr. Hillery goes to Brussels in January with Ireland in his brief-case, he will be tossing a bomb on the Commissioners table. The fight between multi-national companies, for whom the E.E.C. is a front, and the Irish workers and farmers for ownership of the wealth and resources of this country, will mean continual confrontations with the Commission and Court of Europe. Thus a basic anti-imperialist Third World struggle will be brought into the heart of Western European Capitalism and Imperialism. With this in mind we have during the past year, extended and developed our links with other Socialist organisations on the Continent as in the years ahead, we will need all the support we can get.

In anticipation of the development of such a struggle, Mr. Lynch is also making his preparations by adding to his arsenal of coercive legislation. The Offences Against the State (Amendment) Act, was not designed or needed to deal with illegal organisations. It was designed to deal with workers' protests and the publicity given to them. It is a preparation for the total Police State era which is almost upon us. In this situation there is an obvious need for a united and determined movement of workers and small farmers. *There is a need for a total fusion of the struggle for national liberation and the struggle for social justice as there was under Tone, as there was under Connolly.*

In the past, those who were leading the national struggle, refused to involve themselves in the struggle for social justice and workers rights, saying that this will be resolved when Ireland is free. The fallacy of this was surely made obvious when the new gombeen class represented by Collins, Griffith and de Valera, took over the national liberation struggle from the hands of Connolly and Pearse and issued the famous dictum "*Labour must wait*". Fifty years later, Labour is still waiting.

The acceptance of this dictum by O'Brien and Johnston, the Labour leaders at the time, was as complete a betrayal of 1913 and 1916 as was the issuing of the order by de Valera. Unfortunately the Labour Movement have continued to accept the waiting role, have tried to come to terms with the Establishment and work within the system. This leads to a series of compromises with Capitalism rather than a policy for its complete overthrow in the interests of the workers.

Connolly conceived of the Unions as a mass organisation of the working class which would be the vanguard of the struggle for a Workers' Republic. *He saw the Labour Party as the political extension of this desire to smash the capitalist structure and establish the workers in control of this country.* For a brief time he united the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist forces in one national liberation movement.

We have done a re-assessment and analysis of the role and policies of Sinn Féin. We have tried to correct past

errors and have attempted to push through the anti-imperialist struggle in the context of the struggle for socialism. We have had our successes and we have had our failures, but at all times we have tried to be true to Connolly.

I believe the Labour Movement at this crucial time in the nation's history, must now do a reassessment and analysis of its rôle. Labour must wait no longer. Its place is in the leadership of the struggle for the reconquest of Ireland.

North and South there is a growing awareness of the class nature of the struggle in Ireland. If this awareness leads to unity of workers an unconquerable force would be created which would soon overthrow the power of British Imperialism and monopoly capitalism in Ireland. Let us hope the coming year will see some new initiatives in this direction.

~~~~~



SECRETARY'S REPORTSIX COUNTIES:

Affairs in the Six Counties continued to dominate Irish political life during the past year. Again actual political activity by Republican Clubs was made difficult by harassment and imprisonment. In April a very successful meeting of members of Republican Clubs was held in Belfast. Members risked arrest to publicly avow their membership of Republican Clubs and to bring the Republican Clubs back out into the open. The Republican Clubs were to a large extent, responsible for a lessening of the tensions in the 6 Counties at a time when sectarian civil strife seemed imminent. They had talks with I.R.A. leaders and a cease-fire was agreed upon, with specific exclusion of action taken in defence of the people.

A permanent office for the 6 County Executive has been acquired, it is expected that this will result in officers of the executive working under less trying conditions and thus increase efficiency and activity.

CLANN NA hEIREANN:

On his release from prison Gerry Doherty took up the task of organiser for Clann na hEireann. Clive Carroll also started to work full time in the H.Q. at Lillie Road. Much progress in Clann has been obvious as a result of this. Many new Craobh have been established throughout England and Scotland. A new newspaper - *Rosa Catha* - has been established. Contact between the two organisations is immensely improved simply by there being someone in the Head Office in London. At the recent Ard Fheis Seamus Collins was re-elected president and Gerry Doherty organiser. Clive Carroll edits their paper.

Members of An Ard Comhairle took part in several successful tours of public meetings and TV appearances during the year. Malachy McGurran, Tomas MacGiolla and Tony Heffernan were responsible for putting Sinn Fein policies to various groups in Europe, Sean O'Cionnaith continued to organise and speak all over the U.S.A. Most of the tours paid for themselves and propaganda-wise were very worth while. Des O'Hagan and Mairin de Burca were barred from entering the U.S. and Tomas MacGiolla was refused entry into England.

During the year the need for a special department of education became apparent, and a special committee was set up for that purpose. An overall director of education has been appointed. This committee and its work will be expanded in the year to come and all members must give priority to the subject of education in future.

A special committee was also formed to deal specifically with Trade Union and Industrial matters. It has set itself a specific programme and the first bulletin was sent to members shortly before the Ard Fheis.

The weekly newsbulletin continued to be sent out during the year. It is felt that it still is not fulfilling one of its functions which is to publicise Cumainn and Club activity for the information and education of members in other areas. Only two or three areas send in any items with any regularity. Very little feedback is received from Cumainn on items printed in the bulletin.

During the past year the movement continued to grow, new members continue to come into the organisation, North and South. The new year poses new and vital challenges for our movement. Repression has reached an all time high. We must be in the vanguard of opposition to all repression. Local and Government elections are to be held in the 26 Counties in 1973 as well as local elections in the 6 Counties. Finance must be raised to contest these elections, candidates must be selected and elections must be fought with every resource at our disposal. If we contest we must mean to win. We must resume our place as the organisation of the people, on all the problems which beset our people.



The past year has been a record one from the point of view of finance. Our income has more than doubled over the previous year. The National Collection returns have set an all-time record and I would like to express appreciation to all of our members.

Our big task in the coming year will be the raising of £15,300 for the purchase of our headquarters at Gardiner Place. The delegates at the Ard Fheis subscribed or pledged a total of £875 and I would like to see this momentum maintained. I appeal to all cumainn and clubs to organise collections in their areas for the Headquarters fund and to all "United Irishman" readers to forward subscriptions.

The Ard Comhairle plans for the building include a modern walk-around bookshop, new offices for the "United Irishman" and Sinn Féin Secretariat. A Library room open to all members of the Movement, a room for press conferences and Cumainn meetings. An auditorium will be built at the rear and the present printing shop expanded.

As we must raise the money by May 1st, the active participation of all members is required.

The main points covered in the report of the National Organiser were: United Irishman; Exiles Organisation; Education, (*a report on Education presented to the Ard Fheis is carried on other pages*); A brief look at the strength and progress over the past year. The major part of the report dealt with the nature of the enemy today and how best the Republican Movement must organise to defeat this enemy and win through to our objective - National Freedom and a Socialist Republic.

#### UNITED IRISHMAN:

The importance which governments and businessmen attach to the ownership and control of newspapers, radio and television is evidence of the strategic role of the means of communication in the struggle for national independence and social and political domination. If we were to fail to recognise this, we would be failing to use one of the most effective weapons in our own fight for national liberation and socialism. The United Irishman, is, therefore, not a subject of academic interest or a casual instrument of fund-raising; it is a means of carrying our message to supporters and public in the way that best suits the movement and the readers. Keeping these two interests in mind, we must look at the U.I. from a variety of angles, balancing carefully our responsibilities and our needs.

We have expanded operations to the area of books, pamphlets and records, all of which have a cultural or educational value. Our members and supporters can now avail themselves of a complete service, directly at the office, or through the mail by advertisement in the U.I.

Despite difficulties that have occasionally caused orders to go unfilled, Repsol and the printing department have worked well under pressure to produce a huge volume of books and pamphlets for the movement. The amount of leaflets, posters and miscellaneous items produced is very considerable.



It is hardly necessary to remind you that we are now in one of the most critical phases of our history since the Treaty. The anti-Republican forces are at work in all areas of Irish life, in government and state institutions, in business and cultural affairs, in communication and education. Our role is all the more difficult because we have to try not only to educate people but to remove, at the same time, the myths and fallacies produced by decades of hostile rule, subtly and insidiously imposed by bigots and imposters of all colours.

In our struggle for the allegiance of the people - thorough education, organisation and agitation - much of the groundwork must be done by the Movement's publication. We must spell out the nature of the enemy we face and instil in people's minds the response of the socialist republic, not as an abstract thing but as a real alternative, capable of application to everyday affairs. Because this is far more difficult than anything the Republican Movement has attempted, it has not met with spectacular successes. The fault, we acknowledge, lies not only with the U.I. but with the organisational side of the movement; and we feel more and more the need to raise, internally, the levels of political and ideological understanding. This, in turn, means the expenditure of money on books, pamphlets, the setting-up of libraries and provision of works of reference.

The policy of the paper towards the Irish language remains as it always has been - to encourage an interest in the language and culture through articles in both Irish and English and to offer articles on current affairs in Irish. There is, it is clear, a dangerous trend towards derision of the Irish language and things Irish. There are those who seem to equate support of Irish culture with provo-ism. It is a cynical and unworthy attitude best left to the modern adherents of Fianna Fail.

National freedom and nationality are not antagonistic to the idea of a socialist republic. Their misuse by pseudo-republicans, band-waggoners and charlatans is not a reason to deride them and thereby hinder their development.

If some supporters of the Irish language present themselves as hypocritical opportunists and weekend patriots, that is no reason why we should compound the insult.

*THE FUTURE:* We are now going ahead with the idea of producing a weekly paper which we are confident will prove a success.

I will end as I began, by emphasising the strength and importance of the media and the great need of the Republican Movement to extend and develop its publicity, propaganda and educational facilities. You know our aim - to have our own printing press and an interest, at least, in a printing concern. You know that this can be achieved only if payments are made, regularly and on time. The achievement, I may say, is within our grasp. The goal, I need hardly remind you, is the fashioning of one of the most powerful weapons in our socialist republican armoury of education, organisation and agitation.

~~~~~

CLANN na hEIREANN

There are now over 20 branches in England, Scotland and Wales. On his release from prison Gerry Doherty took up the task of organiser for Clann na hEireann, Clive Carroll also started to work full time in the H.Q. at Lillie Road. A new newspaper - *Rosc Catha* - has been established. Contacts have been made with other socialist and workers organisations. Branches are active in many areas raising support for the prisoners, sales of *United Irishman*, and organising meetings to explain the policies of the Movement.

USA & CANADA

Irish Republican Clubs formed in June 1971, now active in 34 centres in U.S. and Canada, with the national H.Q. in New York. Sales of *United Irishman* between 6,000 to 8,000. The I.R.C. organised several fund raising tours - i.e. Tomas

Mac Giolla, Billy McMillan, Seamus O Tuathail. Clubs participated (New York area) in anti-war activities and organised public meetings and pickets on the Irish Question. The National Convention was held in Boston in September, and attended by over 60 delegates elected an executive for the coming year. The Executive, in October, decided to appoint John Keane, Belfast, Organiser for Canada and Dennis Cassin Organiser for U.S. We now have an active Republican Organisation in the U.S.A. and Canada.

EDUCATION:

During the year notable progress was made in the field of Education: a conference was held in Mornington during the Summer to examine and make recommendations to the Ard Comhairle on the question of Education. A report from the conference called for the establishing of a central education committee. The Ard Comhairle accepted the recommendation and the new committee drafted a programme of education which, over the past few months has been implemented with some success in many areas.

PROGRESS AND STRENGTH OF ORGANISATION:

All areas of the country have seen a strengthening of the organisation over the past year. Any area where we have full-time organisers, has, without doubt, advanced in membership, activity and consciousness. Very good progress has been made in the West with new areas opening up and strong active cumainn being formed in these new centres.

In the 26 Counties our efforts to win the people to reject the E.E.C. whilst a failure had some good results. We were able to reach many more people with our policies and won many new members and supporters. Our involvement in the E.E.C. campaign saw us emerge stronger and more experienced in fighting national campaigns.

Aside from the many local issues that the organisation is involved with, ranging from school issues, transport,

hospitals, redundancies etc., all of which are linked nationally. It is our intention to press ahead and, as the Secretary's Report stated, the main area of activity over the past year in the 6 Counties was the consistent campaign to defeat repression and terror and to secure the release of all those held in prison. The threat of civil war was, and is, the major danger for the Irish people; more than anything else our Movement must continue in its efforts to avert this catastrophe. We must organise National Campaigns on questions like 'Nationalise without compensation' of financial institutions; mineral resources, national waterways. We look forward to working with other principled groups on these and many other important issues that vitally affect the working people of this country.

We still have many problems to solve in relation to organisation and communication: Head Office makes every effort to maintain contact, not alone through post but by members of the Ard Comhairle visiting areas and speaking to members on local and national issues. Our hopes and our aim is to work to have more fulltime organisers - one to a county or a large city. This of course requires finance and here we would urge cumann to contribute to the Organisers Fund: if they are to do their job then we must ensure that they are equipped to do this.

The total number of full-time people engaged in revolutionary activity is now 20 and of these, Sinn Fein now has a full-time field staff of 7 organisers. Local organisations in most centres have organisers appointed as part of the officer-board of cumann and comhairle ceanntair. The tasks of organisers have not changed very much over the past years. It has long been recognised by the Executive that there is a need to more clearly define the role and exact position that organisers should have. This point was made last year but as yet we have not made any changes: the whole question is, of course bound up with the structure of the organisation, our overall programme, and our long and short term objectives. I will deal with this question of organisation later on.

Full time organisers are now settled in specific areas of the country, and we see it as urgent that we now begin to have organisers in specific areas of activity, such as Industry, Housing, Land and all the other major issues that confront the revolutionary organisations and the Irish people.

There are many things a revolutionary, political organisation must have if it is to be effective. It must have an overall strategy, based on an analysis of the opposing forces; it must have an effective functioning central committee; it must have grass roots involvement and a political programme setting out practical goals and priorities in attaining them and it must be able to clearly identify the enemy. This is an urgent task. To identify the enemy and his agents, the manifestations of his success, the extent to which repression is necessary to his operations and the action which we must take to combat his influence and, finally, put an end to his existence.

The enemy, which now presents itself under cover of the E.E.C., is the multi-national corporation, the international exploiter, whose interests are presented and promoted as if for the good of the people of this country, by the government of the 26-County state, by the Orange-Unionist junta and even by those who have engaged in the pretence of opposition in the parliamentary game.

We recognise the enemy, in his essence and in his subtle and carefully fostered representation. The company which, like I.C.I., Gulf Oil and Pfizer, has decided to take advantage of the natural resources, in terms of geography or manpower, of Ireland. The company which, with ill-concealed obeisance to some mythical national pride, puts the word Ireland in brackets in its title and owes its allegiance elsewhere. We see clearly the alien ideologists who now control more than half the investment in industry in Ireland, the multi-national corporations which, in 12 years, have put 75% of the total investment into Irish industry and who have won consequent political influence and control. We identify as the enemies of the Irish people the companies, foreign and in quotes native, that exist and survive by the crushing, the squeezing dry of the Irish working-class.

Radio and television and the capitalist press give the gloss of virtue and add the smell of excitement to these companies; their managers and manipulators are reported, photographed and discussed in such a way as to give the Irish people the impression that they are, if not benefactors, then generous friends of this country. Their masks are painted bright colours to give the impression of carnival. Beneath the masks are the faces of reality: the money-grubbing, profiteering, unscrupulous con-men who honour neither state nor people but the interests of the corporate god.

We know that as the governments represent them so do the forces under the control of the governments, blessed by the name of democracy and sanctified by the bishop's power, the armies, the police, the vicious agents and the shabby informers, fulfil the role of the defenders of the indefensible, the protectors of the social squalor which profit alone can justify.

The British Army in the Six Counties, the Free State Army in the Twenty-Six Counties, the serried ranks of police and political police in both, the squalid undercover agents of oppressive power - these are not the forces of democracy, these are not the people's allies, these are not the popular guardians of freedom; they are the night watchmen, the thugs, the fascist forces of property and the enemies of the people. Let us recognise the enemy and how he works. Let us expose the so-called opposition in the parliamentary game, the liberals who have forgotten their principles as the capitalists will never forget their friends; the so-called proponents of labour who can never be accused of betraying labour's interests because they never shared them; the profiting clowns who gamble with men's lives and liberty and call them criminals because they do not choose to play the game.

Let us set down and examine the manifestations of the social order that is theirs. The unemployed - 72,000 of them in the Free State, 45,000 in the Six Counties - who walk the streets and pick the pittance of the dole because profit, rationalisation or whatever they choose to call it demands that they should be unemployed. The lousy living standards, the

bad social services, the scandalous housing, the deprivation of amenities - these the working-class must suffer because the boss wants more, the foreign industrialist and financier will not tolerate more taxes, the speculator demands a bigger return, the managerial traitor sees playgrounds as a waste of space.

And watching over them, presiding with solemn hypocrisy at the marketing, packaging and selling of the Irish people, squats the humbug Lynch and his sneering cynical colleagues in what is so inaccurately called the government and cabinet of Ireland. They are no better, in fact, because of the centuries during which they might have learned the lessons of treachery they are worse than the small, weak men who sat in that parliament so scorned by Tone to give up not only the people's rights but, when their masters demanded it, even the powers of the parliament itself.

Tone, reading their speeches as he waited in Paris for the support of the French directory, identified them as the enemies of the Irish people; and they are the characteristic predecessors of the Lynches, the Cosgraves, the O'Malleys, the Collinses and the O'Higginses - the creatures of international exploitation who want no opposition because it would interfere with their bargain offer, the wealth and the people of Ireland.

They are the men who say they stand for democracy, for property-owning democracy. They stand for democracy alright. We ask: democracy for whom? Whose property? Not yours, comrades, not ours; not the democracy of full employment and good education and social conditions worthy of the dignity of human beings. They stand for a democracy that is a sham, in which they and they alone may say who is to survive and what is to be done.

Gathering taxes in the name of the people, they pay out meagre benefits as if they were bestowing favours that are theirs to give. But the favours that Fianna Fail and Fine Gael and the Orange-Unionist power seekers have to offer are not for the people of Ireland; they are the favour of exploitation, the right to pollute, the freedom to build spreading branches out of small farms - and these are not favours which are granted to the people of Ireland.

You know that, comrades, we know that. And they who inhabit Leinster House and Mount Street and Glengall street know it to their profit and their shame. And they who operate from Dublin Castle and Palace Barracks know it but cover their recognition in the duty they do in the name of the people. Ask those thin-legged blue-faced children who sit on O'Connell Bridge or in Royal Avenue, or at church gates in our cities and towns in whose interests the police of the Twenty-Six Counties or the Six Counties act. Ask the poor, the unemployed, the lonely small farmer and the emigrant in whose interest the upholders of so-called democracy are working. The answer is: not ours, not in the name of the people of Ireland but in the names of Courtaulds and Mogul and the proliferating varieties of Heinz.

76% of investment in industry in the Free State was made by multi-national corporations in the past 12 years - not because, as we had been told in school by the puppet authors of propagandist text-books, the Twenty-Six Counties were without resources, but because the puppet leaders of Dublin's regimes were bankrupt, in imagination, efficiency and moral commitment, *because they refused to recognise the wealth of Ireland and, recognising it, chose the easiest way out - the sell-out.* It is in this cause that Jack Lynch has once again decided to use our money to go the way of a begging ass around the United States seeking the international bargain-hunters who will take their cut out of the workers of Ireland.

Because of the volume of investment already made by the alien exploiter in this country, there has to be repression. It is the inevitable consequence of alien influence, first because it is essential for the rulers of any country which seeks, encourages and supports foreign investment that the faces of political normality should be maintained and secondly because there should be no suggestion that their interests will be opposed, questioned or even subjected to the distraction of national interests. So, comrades, when you come face to face with the British Army, the Free State Army or the police of either area be in no doubt whom they represent: not the peace-loving people of Ireland but the money-grubbing vultures of international capitalism.

Repression and the reaction it provokes serves a double purpose. It is aimed at destroying the will of the people by sapping their energies in the day-to-day business of physical survival; it is also aimed at distorting the issues of importance to the working-class, at setting aside the vigorous attention that ought to be paid to the problem of unemployment and social deprivation. And these, as you can see when you watch television, listen to the radio or read the capitalist press, are set aside; and issues are so distorted that even the question of peace is made to appear a question of accepting the miserable status quo or facing chaos. In this distortion, sectarianism plays a key part.

A divided working-class can be conquered, because the energies of the class will be devoted to internal and self-destructive conflict. A united working-class cannot be defeated, however powerful the forces of repression, however smooth their presentation in the capitalist controlled media. The man who plants a bomb or uses a gun deliberately to take the life of another working-class Irishman is cooperating with, collaborating with, sustaining and encouraging the forces of repression, the anti-working-class regimes and the remote and greedy corporations that are the enemy of the people.

Thus, comrades, we are together in this country - Catholic, Protestant, Jew, agnostic and atheist - together in a fight that has to be won. We have identified the enemy and the extent to which repression is necessary to his success. We must decide what action we are to take to combat his influence and finally to put an end to his existence.

In the past the working-class movement has suffered from fragmentation, as, for instance, when the labour and republican organisations took separate paths; it has suffered from lack of organisation to meet the repression that followed the civil war, when the fathers of the present Fine Gael imposed intolerable brutality on the people of this country; *it has suffered, let us admit it, from lack of leadership when the Republican Movement took to itself the ideal of an elite and concerned itself little with the demands of the mass of the people.*

We must learn from these errors as we have learned from the idealism of those who have inspired our tradition. In the names of Tone and Lalor, of Davitt and Connolly, of Mellowes and Plant, I say to you now that we must establish in all 32 counties of Ireland a revolutionary party which will respond only to the needs and demands of the working people, and because it responds only to the people of this country, it will destroy the enemy, gombeen and foreign, using the weapons that are available to the people in their revolutionary strength.

Because it will aim at the destruction of the social order, in the interests of the working-class, the new organisation will be truly and singularly revolutionary. Because its programme will be planned and assiduously delineated and because each and every member will subscribe to this programme it will be a party in the most accurate sense of that word.

It will be a revolutionary party deriving its inspiration from the past and its vision of the future from cold analysis of our present difficulties. It will absorb and expand the activities for which this movement has become known in the last decade: agitation, organisation and education in support of the basic demands and the basic rights of the working class.

As we have worked for the homeless and towards national ownership of mineral resources, as we have worked for the rights of the people over the land of their country and the inland waterways of their country, as we have striven for civil rights and full national freedom, so we shall now combine these activities in a revolutionary party which will aim directly and with all the force at the command of the working-class at the overthrow of foreign domination in all areas of Irish life.

~~~~~



## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

All Republicans will agree with the demand to end direct rule, and in fact the resolution quoted at the end of this document makes this demand in Para. 1, by calling for a complete British withdrawal at an early specified date.

The Republican Movement could not under any circumstances call for the re-establishment of a 6 County parliament. To do so would mean total recognition of Britain's right to impose a Partitionist assembly on the Irish people, and would be in complete conflict with the Republican and Separatist traditions of our own movement. A 6 County parliament would continue to leave the minority in the 6 County area, at the mercy of a bigoted, Unionist ascendancy who would, no doubt, continue to exploit both Catholic and Protestant workers, and would make the development of any form of meaningful class politics a complete impossibility.

There is an alternative to the call for a continuation of Direct Rule or to the call for the re-establishment of Stormont. It is to move in the direction that the proposal in this document points to. This is the only clear cut Socialist Republican position.

It is of vital necessity that a revolutionary movement formulates and makes the correct demands. To do otherwise leads inevitably to defeat. Accepting that the ultimate objective of the republican movement is the establishment of a democratic 32 County Socialist Republic. Recognising that the support of a united working class is essential for the basic struggle of the people for the ownership of the wealth and the means of production in Ireland, the immediate aim of the Republican Movement is to campaign for a settlement to the present crisis which will allow us to work towards our ultimate objective.

We recognise that the main obstacle confronting us in this struggle is the stranglehold of British Imperialism and its various manifestations, therefore any final settlement must be on the basis of a total withdrawal of all British military, political and economic control from Ireland.

We therefore propose that the only correct revolutionary demands today are:

1. That the British Government who have clearly demonstrated that they are in conflict with the demands of all sections of the Irish people, Protestant and Catholic, publicly renounce all claim to sovereignty over any part of Irish territory; commit themselves to a total withdrawal of their military and political control from the 6 Counties on an early specified date and that they make economic compensation to the Irish people so that the standard of living of working-class people will not be damaged. That Britain begin the necessary procedures now to implement their withdrawal from Ireland.
2. So long as Britain claims or maintains control over the 6 County area, she must ensure the introduction and implementation of a Bill of Rights at Westminster which would guarantee the following during the interim period:
  - a) *Civil and religious liberties and basic civil rights for all;*
  - b) *The immediate release of all internees and political prisoners;*
  - c) *A general amnesty arising from the resistance against British forces or through involvement in the civil disobedience campaign;*
  - d) *A write-off of all debts incurred in the civil disobedience campaign;*
  - e) *The immediate repeal of all repressive legislation;*
  - f) *The immediate withdrawal of all troops from working-class areas.*
3. That at the same time the 26 County government publicly accept responsibility for the introduction of legislation which would guarantee civil and religious liberty for all and for the removal of all repressive and discriminatory legislation at present in existence and implementation of laws to curtail the exploitation of Irish assets and resources by British and other imperial interests.
4. That a conference of Irish parties be convened, by a neutral body such as the ICTU for the purpose of drafting a secular constitution for the 32 Counties which would become operative on the completion of the British withdrawal.



5. Joint action by the Irish and British trade union movements to halt the escalating sectarianism and prevent all out sectarian warfare, by giving leadership to workers both at street and factory level. We call upon the trade union movement to support the struggle for democracy at local government level both North and South.

That the Ard Fheis directs the incoming Ard Comhairle to consult with local organisations as to how best to give effect to the decisions arrived at.

~~~~~

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The Ard Comhairle resolution at last year's Ard Fheis clearly identified the proposed re-organisation of Local Government in both the Six and Twenty-Six counties as an attack on the very principle of local democracy. During the last year, with the introduction of Direct Rule in the North and the Common Market Community Bill in the South, Local Government re-organisation represents a further erosion of the Irish peoples' power to control or even influence their own affairs.

In both parts of the country the major functions of local government - ranging from housing, transport to health and welfare services - are in the process of being removed from the control of an already greatly reduced number of local authorities (*27 District Councils will remain in the North and only an amended County Council structure will survive in the South*). The various functions of local government are now being regionalised without any corresponding creation of local democratic regional structures to control and administer them.

In this, the political thinking of the British and Dublin Governments is identical and is in direct opposition to the Sinn Fein policy of placing the control of local government in the hands of those affected by its exercise, i.e. *into the hands of the people*.

While the dismantling of local democracy has been more piecemeal in the South, it is in many ways in advance of the North. Fianna Fail has already taken steps towards setting up the undemocratic alternatives to local control. The nine regional planning boards for example, are emerging as the real focus of new planning and development and already beyond the control of the proposed new county authorities. The region health boards in the South are now over a year old, while the organisation of local government services in the North has been postponed until October 1973.

While Housing has been centralised in the North the Dublin Government's White Paper leaves open the possibilities of similar developments in the South.

In Ireland, Local Government expenditure totals some £400 million representing 18.5% of the Irish G.N.P. and over 100,000 people are employed directly and indirectly in Local Government services. As such, Local Government is one of our major industries.

Sinn Fein, recognising Local Government as an industry in its own right sees the proposed British/Fianna Fail reorganisation as being similar to other nationalisations and 'take-overs' experienced throughout Irish industry in general. The reorganisation is thus directly in line with Britain's long term aim of consolidating and extending its control over the Irish economy.

Any possibility of Irish democratic control over this important industry is now being dismantled and control is being unplaced in the hands of a commercial-professional class unwilling and incapable of offering any resistance to British Imperialism.

Already the effects of this can be seen. *Rent structure in both parts of Ireland are being 'rationalised' to bring it in line with the British Conservative Party Economic Rents Scheme.* At the same time Mr. Molloy in Dublin and Whitelaw in Belfast are ensuring that Ireland is kept ripe for property and land speculation by British and gombeen interests.

In Mallow, Monaghan, Armagh and Ballymena, local hospitals are being down-graded leaving large areas deprived of immediate hospital and casualty facilities.

Power and heating services to major housing areas throughout Ireland are being abandoned to private gas and oil companies.

Ironically in the North while the Local Government elections will be carried out on a democratic basis for the first time the power of the Councils has already been removed. The McRory reorganisation, in denying democracy at a local level, have side-stepped and nullified many of the Civil Rights gains.

These changes in the structure and control of Local Government readily define areas of struggle and agitation for the Republican Movement. Against the attempt to insulate Irish local government from democratic control, Sinn Fein must mobilise genuine democratic groups such as Tenants Associations, Housing Action Committees, Trades Councils, Community Groups and District Councils against the proposed re-organisation and against the undemocratic regional boards already established. The politics of these boards should be exposed and their anti-working class measures disrupted and frustrated.

While the defeat of the Unionist Sectarian patronage has to be completed it is vital now that the Republican Movement activates the militant defence of working class interests in the fields of *housing, unemployment, and local industry, health and welfare, and community facilities.* The achieving of North-South solidarity in working-class demands in these fields should be a major objective.

By its very nature this struggle is a 32 County struggle of unrelenting resistance to British penetration and control of this vital area of Irish politics. The grip of British commercial and financial interests formalised by the proposed Local Government reorganisation must be challenged and fought at every level by the Republican Movement.

Sinn Fein will oppose the implementation of the McKinsey Report in the 26 Counties and fight to retain local democracy.

We therefore recommend to the incoming Ard Comhairle that they consult with local organisations, North and South, early in the new year, to discuss and decide on the contesting of local elections.

~~~~~



## ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

This Ard Fheis declares the determination of the whole Republican Movement to continue its wholehearted opposition to imperialism in Ireland. In particular, we call for the immediate nationalisation of the institutions of finance, i.e. Banks, Insurance Companies, Building Societies, Credit and Investment Companies, etc.

We demand the right of the working man to secure equality with all other sections of the community when seeking financial aid from the banking system, recognising that such equality does not exist at present since workers are grossly discriminated against by the banks, building societies and credit companies. We call for a state-owned banking system and for the support of people's credit unions backed and secured by the state and the removal of present restrictions on Credit Unions which favour the Commercial Banks.

We demand that all mineral and oil wealth of Ireland and its surrounding seas be developed in the interests of the people of Ireland and not by privately owned, foreign corporations. Where such development is controlled by private concerns, we call for immediate nationalisation without compensation, recognising that these companies have already made huge profits at the expense of the working class. By controlling the mineral wealth of Ireland the people of Ireland will be free to use the surplus value created in their own interests e.g. to finance other forms of economic activity.

This Ard Fheis further calls for the repealing of the Value Added Tax legislation as a prelude to the complete revision of the whole tax structure. The increased use of indirect as opposed to direct tax which V.A.T. entails will further benefit the wealthy and penalise the poor. The decision regarding V.A.T. was made in Brussels and removes the decision making on tax structures from the hands of the Irish people. V.A.T. as presently conceived penalises Irish-made goods in preference to foreign products, since Irish factor costs are rising faster than other European costs. Since this means that the value added is greater in Ireland, V.A.T. will create further redundancies and add to the massive unemployment

which exists at present. This is totally unacceptable. We call, instead, for a tax system which will deprive the large monopolies of their vast holdings of wealth and which will re-distribute such wealth among the workers, e.g. tax on Capital gains and Corporation profits.

In this connection we call for a more realistic policy of industrial development by over-hauling the existing organisations used to promote new industry and jobs i.e. the IDA, Gaeltarra Eireann etc., and demand that priority be given to industries, which will be labour intensive, not capital intensive. As a first step, a proper industrial infrastructure must be created by the building of modern Transport System throughout the country but particularly in the Western Seaboard areas. In addition, ocean going port facilities should be established in these areas, thus reducing the dependence of Western areas on the Eastern and Southern seaboard ports. Such a policy would assist in the long term industrialisation of the depressed areas of the West, and would, furthermore, create immediate employment for the worker in the West. This in turn would have a spin-off effect on Western economy.

Sinn Fein will continue to call for the nationalisation of all major means of production and distribution in Ireland. It demands that this policy be immediately implemented with regard to industries where closures or large scale redundancies threaten.

Irish workers and their families should not be penalised to pay for the blunders of inefficient management and the rationalisation schemes of foreign subsidiaries which react to the pressures of international monopoly capital as opposed to the needs of the Irish people. In their place, managements responsible to and elected by the workers of the concerns threatened should be set up and the financial and technical resources of the Government made available to them to re-establish the industry concerned, on a sound basis. This Ard Fheis further calls on the Trade Union Movement to set up the machinery to campaign on the key issues: no closures, no redundancies, and nationalisation of all threatened concerns, without compensation and under workers control. Sinn Fein pledges itself to resist the economic imperialism of the Common Market and to actively fight every decision made in Brussels that penalises the workers.



## SECTARIANISM

This Ard Fheis views with concern the increasing drift towards sectarian civil war in the Six Counties. It is also the belief of this Ard Fheis that the British Army, through their open and secret contact with certain elements of the Protestant population, are deliberately fostering such a situation in the interests of their imperialists, and in order to avoid such a situation this Ard Fheis instructs the incoming Ard Comhairle of Sinn Fein to seek contacts with the working class leaders of militant Protestant organisations with a view to expanding and developing an organisation based on democratic workers control.

*Sectarianism is the weapon of the enemy. It has been used in the past to maintain the power and rule of the ascendancy and capitalist class by a patronage system of privileges for the Protestants and penalties for the Catholics, thus keeping the workers diverted from the real source of their common deprivation.*

Today, the Protestant workers, although held in the grip of sectarianism, have thrown off their old leadership and broken free of the old political mould. They have established their own organisations and their own politics and are moving into a position in which they will be able to identify their enemy as British imperial rule and economic exploitation. In this situation Britain was forced to take desperate measures to maintain the sectarian conflict long enough to enable her to put a new Tory leadership in power. Therefore direct rule was imposed and sectarianism has been continually heightened and fuelled where necessary by SAS operations. The past year has clearly shown that the role of the British Army is to increase sectarian confrontations and not to keep peace. The withdrawal of the British Army will therefore have no effect on the sectarian situation, other than to remove one of the sources of sectarian acts.

Sinn Fein believes that the Trade Union Movement has the capacity and the ability to organise a non-sectarian corps of workers whose sole purpose would be the elimination of sectarianism and giving security to people in their homes.

## PUBLICATIONS

This Ard Fheis, recognising the important role that propaganda must play in building a revolutionary movement in Ireland, recognises as a matter of priority the need of the Republican Movement to:-

- a) produce an urban orientated weekly paper;
- b) maintain the United Irishman as the national monthly of the Republican Movement;
- c) establish Teoric on a regular basis as the quarterly theoretical paper of the Movement designed primarily for internal consumption within the Movement and encouraging the right of reply to articles printed;
- d) acquire a printing press on which to print all of these publications and also to expand the capabilities of Clo Naisiunta and Repsol.

## PUBLICITY - PROPAGANDA

In view of the need to counter establishment propaganda, and particularly the need to get our policies across to the Protestant working class, that -

*a full time publicity officer, without any other functions in Sinn Fein, be appointed by Sinn Fein, with responsibility for issuing statements on a national level, answering criticisms made in newspapers - in particular the various left wing journals - and countering establishment propaganda.*

*Policy statements should be issued monthly by the central office to local areas for re-distribution. One side of these statements to be left blank so that local Cumainn can fill in details of their activities and advertise their presence.*

All publications and statements should avoid the use of terms which are open to misinterpretation or distortion in such a way as to alienate the support of workers, small agricultural producers and owner managers of small businesses.

That the local PROs be appointed by the National Publicity Officer to handle publicity in the Provincial Press and to co-ordinate the publicity of Cumainn and to supervise all local newsletters.



## WOMEN

Recognising that both men and women are oppressed by the capitalist system, we believe that women are conditioned in a particular way to accept a secondary and submissive role in society and that this conditioning has led them to accept inequality in education, law, wages and opportunity. We believe that the special function of women in child-bearing has been exploited by the Capitalist state as a means of oppressing women, in that they are forced to bear the full responsibility for rearing children without adequate and guaranteed support or protection for the vital work that they do.

Conditioning (brainwashing) is continually used by the media and advertising since, as wife and housekeeper, women play a vital part in maintaining the capitalist society in her role as a consumer.

Recognising also that in a State in which the moral code of a particular Church is enforced by law, women are denied the right to control of their own bodies and ultimate destiny. We believe that if we are to produce generations of free and conscious citizens both parents must share full responsibility in all aspects of their children's life from birth; the community must implement their responsibility for the welfare of all children.

### SINN FEIN DEMANDS:

1. Free family planning and advice for all women.
2. Equal pay, opportunity and an end to specific male or female jobs.
3. Fully paid maternity and paternity leave and a substantial maternity grant for all women.
4. Supervised nursery schools in all areas available to all.
5. That the same criteria be used to assess the eligibility for unemployment benefit of married women as in the case of men.
6. That the State pay an adequate grant to either men or women who are engaged full-time at home in the care of children.
7. Equality in law.

8. Equal educational facilities at all levels and an end to the type of children's books which begin the discrimination process by segregating children into aggressive and passive roles.
9. The immediate cessation of all advertising, books and periodicals which perpetuate discrimination against women.
10. That a mother without the financial and emotional support of a husband be granted a living wage to support herself and her children in decent comfort.
11. That since the lack of decent housing facilities affects to a greater extent, women and children, we demand decent housing for all.
12. That women wishing to return to work be provided with re-training facilities at all levels.
13. Trade Unionists, who have accepted the right of women to equal pay for nearly a century, should insist on the full implementation of women's rights as workers now., i.e. -  
*equal pay;*  
*an end to wage increase differentials;*  
*an end to the marriage bar;*  
*an end to the sex bar which still exists in some unions;*  
*the establishment of a minimum wage law to prevent the exploitation of women and juveniles whose underpaid labour depresses the wages of the working-class in general.*

Recognising that as a minority organisation and under the present system of imperialist domination which encourages and perpetuates the exploitation of women, we are unable to immediately alter the present status quo; we believe that a start in the direction of the liberation of women can and must be made by individuals who subscribe to and believe in Republican Socialism, at the very roots of society - in their own home. Members of this Movement who have accepted the role of leaders of the working-class, cannot substantiate this claim if they condone and participate in the exploitation of one half of the human race.

Recognising that the full achievement of women's liberation requires first and foremost the active participation of women themselves, we instruct the incoming Ard Comhairle to arrange for meetings of women members to implement the above demands.



## EDUCATION

We educate ourselves to build the Revolutionary Party of the Irish people by which the workers and small farmers will liberate themselves from imperialism and native capitalism and institute a democratic socialist republic. The need for such education has been felt in the Movement for many years, and indeed, has gone on. But the drive for intensive education started with Mornington two years ago and was followed by the setting up of the ad hoc National Education Committee.

Following a two-day conference held in Liberty Hall in March 1972 and a five-day conference held at Mornington in July 1972, an ad-hoc National Education Committee was appointed to be responsible to the Ard Comhairle for education. A programme on Foreign Domination and the Irish People and the Development of Republicanism was produced with accompanying graphics. Introductory and review conferences were held in Armagh, Ardee, Belfast, Boyle, Cork, Derry, Dublin, Limerick and New Ross. Only one conference was held in Rathdrum (for Wexford, Wicklow and Carlow), and one in Galway.

The proposed structure for education and the courses for 1973 are based in the main on recommendations made at these conferences. In all there were no less than 32 subjects proposed for the next Education Course.

In general the programme was implemented more fully in urban areas - Belfast, Derry, Dublin, Waterford and Cork. Because of organisation problems in rural areas where the course was implemented, it was done on a Regional basis. Approximately half of the cumainn and clubs from any area attended the conferences, with the exception of Dublin, where each cumann was represented.

## STRUCTURE

### 1. CLUB & CUMAINN EDUCATION OFFICERS:

To be responsible for implementing national and regional programmes. He should also devise his own programmes on

local issues. Organise cumann library. Invite guest educational speakers. Initiate discussions on education. Give film, slides and tape-recording shows which will be available from the National Education Committee at a later date. Attend the Regional Education Committee, where one exists.

### 2. REGIONAL OR COMHAIRLE CEANNTAIR EDUCATION OFFICERS:

To co-ordinate national education programmes. To implement the National course if it has not been given at cumann or club level, organise Regional Education Conferences and seminars. To invite speakers from other areas on specialised subjects. To relate regional education to political activity.

### 3. REGIONAL EDUCATION COMMITTEES:

Their function will be similar to that of the Regional Education Officer. They will elect one member to the National Education Committee.

### 4. THE ORGANISER:

It is his job to review education in his area and if necessary to implement the national course and serve the function of Regional Education Officer if none exists.

### 5. NATIONAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE:

To consist of five members appointed by the Ard Comhairle and all Regional Education Officers. The Director of Education will also be a member. Its functions are:-

- a) To devise and produce the National Education Programme;
- b) To report to the Ard Comhairle regularly;
- c) Attend Regional Education Conferences;
- d) To set up specialist subcommittees; for example, on research into educational techniques and materials.

The first Education course was a success with reservations. A National structure for education does exist. The necessity for a Director of Education is recognised. To build the Revolutionary Party of the Irish people it is essential that what is learned must be applied in practise.



## TRADE UNIONS

That all members of Sinn Fein entitled to join a Trade Union be required to do so. That they be active and fully participate in the work of their Union, educating their fellow trade unionists in the Republican and Socialist policies of Sinn Fein. That a full time organiser be appointed to help the Republican Industrial Division, responsible for making regular reports to the Ard Comhairle.

## AGRICULTURE

In view of the fact that the Irish Farmers Association can no longer claim to represent the interests of the small farmers in Ireland, this Ard Fheis urges all farmers in the Republican Movement to become active in the Small Farmers Defence Association.

Members of the Republican Movement should have a two fold task in relation to the Small Farmers Defence Association -

- (1) *as a viable alternative to the IFA and ICMSA:*
- (2) *to advocate within the SFDA more radical demands such as the establishment of Co-Ops.*

This Ard Fheis calls for the immediate abolition of the Irish Land Commission and have it replaced by a commission which will give priority to the needs of the small farmers instead of the present native land grabbers and speculators with their cheque book conquest of our native land.

Sinn Fein pledges itself to work against the purchase of land in Ireland by speculators, native and foreign alike, and especially those who use the land as holiday resorts, thereby leaving good farming land unproductive.

That a sub-committee of the Ard Comhairle be appointed to draw up a land/agriculture policy for the Movement.

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

The struggle of the Irish people to win national and social freedom from imperialism is one being waged by all oppressed people throughout the world. Imperialism is an international enemy of many nations, and our fight in Ireland is part of the global conflict between humanity and imperialism. A victory for any oppressed people against imperialism, the winning of freedom anywhere by any nation, is part of our own victory.

To this extent we herald the victory of the Vietnamese people in their long and heroic fight against the United States imperialists. Fighting first the French, then the Japanese, then the French again and the British, and finally the U.S. Imperialists, the Vietnamese people have shown a guiding light to all subject peoples. They have resisted the most abhorrent technological forms of warfare - saturation bombing, defoliation, napalming, the massacres at places like My Lai and have emerged stronger than ever as a people.

Their national culture and language is flourishing, and new heights of human endeavour have been reached while their enemies wallow lower and lower in their abasing denial of humanity. The Vietnamese have proved and are still proving, that a people conscious of their national rights, aware of their history and their future can defeat any enemy no matter how seemingly strong and all-powerful. A united people can humble the most arrogant aggressors, if they have the courage and heroism to endure all to win all.

We in Ireland look gratefully to this people who have shown all the world how to fight, how to suffer and how to win. We congratulate the people of South Vietnam on their heroic struggle under the leadership of the N.L.F. and the guidance of the Workers Party of Vietnam, assuring them of the eternal solidarity of the oppressed people of Ireland with them.

Likewise, in Palestine, the Palestinian people have staunchly maintained their fight against the forces of Zionism, the puppet of U.S. Imperialism. Upbraided and condemned



by all the establishment forces of the imperialist countries, the Palestinians have nevertheless continued to fight.

As in Ireland, they found that they were stabbed in the back as they attempted to come to grips with the Imperialist settlers. The Jordanian counter-revolutionaries have sold out their struggle and have assisted in all ways possible the attempts of the Zionists to smash the demand of the Palestinian people for the recovery of their national rights in a non-secular, democratic Palestine, where Muslim, Jew and Christian may live together in harmony.

That this is the demand of the Palestinian revolutionary organisations is heartening to us in Ireland who are striving for the eventual reconciliation of the Catholic and Protestant communities in a united and free country. Recognising the sameness of our struggle and the oneness of our mutual enemy we extend our solidarity to the people of Palestine and hope that victory will be theirs as speedily as we trust that it will be ours.

Lastly, we repeat our solidarity and brotherhood with all the oppressed of Africa, Asia, America and Europe. The struggle going on in Southern Africa against Portuguese colonialism in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea, for National liberation in Zimbabwe and in Azania are as important to us and for our final victory as the growth of our own forces resisting imperialism here in Ireland.

For us all, oppressed and colonised of the world -Basques, Bretons, Angolans, people of Asia, Latin America and Africa, the oppressed and colonised negroes of America, the native American Indians still being shot, as recently in Philadelphia and hunted in the reservations and big cities of America - our struggle is one.

We fight for the rights of humanity, for the only way to human progress; the right of self-determination for all subject and colonised peoples in a peaceful world. That peace can only be born when we have risen up together and smashed Imperialism. For as Fintan Lalor said in another context: *the only peace that there can be between a subject Ireland and a ruling England is the peace of death and desolation.*

The peace of death and desolation is being rejected and resisted throughout the world, and we in Ireland take our rightful stand in solidarity with our brothers and sisters in oppression.

~~~~~


CULTURE

An environment should be created which is conducive to the furtherance and development of Irish culture within the Movement and to an awareness of its role in the anti-imperialist struggle. The creation of this environment could by example, help to stimulate the Irish people to have an interest in and enthusiasm for their cultural heritage, to identify with it and realise its importance. A basis for this environment should be along the following lines:-

1. The Irish language, Anglo-Irish culture, both Orange and Green, and Irish culture in general, should have their proper place on the educational programme, e.g. Irish language classes, classes on local history and folklore, Irish traditional music and dancing. Special lectures on the role and importance of culture in the revolution should be also on the educational programme.
2. The Ard Fheis should set up a committee to study the relationship between the Republican Movement and cultural organisations especially for the possibilities of co-ordinating cultural activities.
3. A cultural week should be held once a year especially at a local level, which would have the involvement of the people in the Movement and also the general public.
4. The Irish language should NOT be confined in the U.I. and periodicals to articles on the Gaeltacht and Irish culture only. The Irish language is a living language and must be seen to be.
5. As the likelihood of a cultural revival is almost nil without a strong Gaeltacht especially in an economic and cultural sense their importance and development must always be kept in mind, as follows:
 - a) *A special officer should be appointed to co-ordinate activities, (economic, political and cultural) between na Gaeltachtaí themselves and between them and the rest of the country. This person should be, if possible, a person who, comes from the Gaeltacht and lives there.*

- b) *An educational camp similar to Mornington should be situated in one of the Gaeltachtaí. It would also serve the purpose of providing people from urban areas and the east coast with an insight into the way of life and problems of people living in the west and a better appreciation and understanding of their general culture.*
- c) *Major political writings, e.g. those of James Connolly should be translated into Irish.*

6. The mass media, both private and public of the Free State and the Six Counties should be condemned by the Ard Fheis for their hostility and neglect of Irish culture and their propagation of imperialist culture.
7. The Coiste Seasta should hold their meetings in the Irish language as often as possible.

Sinn Féin recognises that there are two cultures in this country; that both trends have progressive and non-progressive aspects. Our objectives as Revolutionary Republican Socialists must be to synthesize the progressive aspects of both cultures into a revolutionary anti-imperialist culture.

In supporting this motion we recognise that 800 years of conquest has twisted the full development of this nation which would put it on a par, in all fields, with the independent nations of Europe and the world at large and accordingly supports all emergent patterns of culture which tend to bridge the gap in the cultural imbalance and will support these pioneers who effectively struggle in their various ways against the all prevailing and all destructive power of international monopoly capitalism which seeks to destroy the cultural diversity of nations.

~~~~~



NOW READ -

|                                                  |                |                  |
|--------------------------------------------------|----------------|------------------|
| Workshop Talks (The Meaning of Socialism)        | J. Connolly    | incl. post. 12½' |
| Culture and Revolution in Ireland                | E.O'Murchu     | 22½p             |
| The I.R.A. Speaks (In the 70s)                   |                | 17½p             |
| The Revolutionary Movements of the Past. Ireland | Dr.J.de Courcy | 22½p             |
| Republicanism - Part I 1790-1920                 |                | 12½'             |
| The Revolutionaries                              | S. Cronin      | 29p              |
| The Relevance of James Connolly in Ireland Today | G. Gilmore     | 7½p              |
| Navan and Irish Mining (Resources Study Group)   |                | 34p              |
| The Re-Conquest of Ireland                       | J. Connolly    | 15p              |
| Labour Nationality & Religion                    | " "            | 15p              |
| The New Evangel                                  | " " "          | 12½p             |
| Labour in Irish History                          | " "            | 29p              |
| Massacre at Derry                                |                | 27½p             |
| Ground Rent is Robbery                           |                | 17½p             |
| Lenin on Ireland                                 |                | 12½'             |
| The Sovereign People                             | P. MacPiarais  | 12½p             |
| They Came in the Morning                         |                | 25p              |

*All are available from:*

*National Book Service,  
30, Gardiner Place,  
Dublin 1.*



WHAT YOU CAN DO  
TO ACHIEVE FULL ECONOMIC AND  
POLITICAL FREEDOM FOR THE IRISH PEOPLE

# Join the Republican Movement

We STAND for the OVERTHROW of British  
Imperial Rule in Ireland.

We STAND for an INDEPENDENT IRISH SOC-  
IALIST REPUBLIC.

We OPPOSE all FOREIGN financiers, spec-  
ulators, monopolists, land-  
lords, and their native collab-  
orators.

We PLACE the RIGHTS of the common man  
before the right of property.

We CLAIM the OWNERSHIP of the wealth of  
Ireland for the people of Ire-  
land.

## *Unite to Fight!*

Call or write to: The Secretary,  
Sinn Fein,  
30 Gardiner Place,  
Dublin 1. 41045-40716.



**Title:** Árd Fheis '72 Report

**Organisation:** Sinn Féin [Official]

**Date:** 1972

Downloaded from the Irish Left Archive.

Visit [www.leftarchive.ie](http://www.leftarchive.ie)

*The Irish Left Archive is provided as a non-commercial historical resource, open to all, and has reproduced this document as an accessible digital reference. Copyright remains with its original authors. If used on other sites, we would appreciate a link back and reference to the Irish Left Archive, in addition to the original creators. For re-publication, commercial, or other uses, please contact the original owners. If documents provided to the Irish Left Archive have been created for or added to other online archives, please inform us so sources can be credited.*