# CONNOLLY YOUTH MOVEMENT

MANIFESTO
AND
POLICIES

1970

Adopted at 1st. National Congress Belfast, April 1970.

# **COMMUNIST** MANIFESTO FOR YOUTH

(1) There is a need for a United Marxist Youth Movement in Ireland:

Currently Ireland is in the prelude to political change more significant than for many years. The ferment of struggle, to the chagrin of the ruling parties, does not abate, but rather becomes wider and on every issue more intense. The Unionist Party has been weakened considerably, constantly on the defensive against the Civil Rights Movement, unemployed demanding jobs, tenants demanding comfortable houses at reasonable rents. Fianna Fail, confident that it had dealt with the other parties in electoral victories, now finds a growing unity between mass struggle in the streets and parliamentary opposition that poses new threats. Meanwhile progressive elements of the Trade Unions fight the inroads of monopoly penetration, the small farmers demand that the land of Ireland be returned to its people and its waters do not become the property of foreign wealth.

This new level of conflict presents to the progressive forces unparalleled opportunity for mass maximum unity of people opposed to the present order, to lay the basis of transition from government in the interests of Britain to government in the interests of the workers and small farmers of Ireland. In such a situation we pose as a necessary condition ensuring the general advance of the Irish people a united Socialist youth movement, based on the principles of Marx, Connolly, Lenin and Liam Mellowes, linking the struggle North and South, continuing in the traditions of the Rising of '98 the ideas of Tone and Emmet, the ideals of the Young Irelanders, and taking the same anti-Imperialist stand as did the men of 1916 who proclaimed the Republic of Ireland.

It is neither accident nor an act of volatile will that we decide to lay the basis of a national movement, it is instead a decision based on experience and taken in consciousness of the historical and political factors that are pressingly relevant.

Britain now seeks new solutions to the "Irish Problem". Her hopes that economic co-operation between North and South would promote the best conditions for the further exploitation of the Irish people is not so bright. The Unionist Party's flirtation with Fianna Fail has ceased through the reaction of its own right wing and the political explosion of August 1969. Last year Chichester Clark declared that the North would seek her friends other than in the Republic. Moreover the pressure of Civil Rights demands for the immediate implementation of Statute Book reforms and the end of oppressive legislation is as much a political reality this year as it was last year. Given that situation it is evident that Imperialism now seeks as its long-term solution a federation of the British Isles, a gutting of any independence in the Republic, a massive economic unit with which to dominate the Common Market. For purposes of exploitation Imperialism views all of Ireland as one unit. To carry out effectively a campaign against the ultimate enemy, British Imperialism, requires a single strategy for the whole of Ireland.

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# (2) Irish Political and Economic Reality:

Describing the Republic an "Economist" report of March 1969 says: "When Britain devalues, decimalises or abandons Grenwich Mean Time, the Republic complies. Its industrial and agricultural sectors react directly to British decisions and developments. Its main safety valve for population pressure has long been its citizens full freedom to seek work in Britain. Its ability to attract foreign manufacturers largely results from the fact that goods made in Ireland enter Britain duty-free and enjoy preferences in the Commonwealth. Inflows of British capital and tourists keep its balance of payments healthy." Thus is described the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement. a relationship of increasing dependence, a relationship where the economic future is gambled on the 300 foreign or partly-foreign enterprises that have come into the country since 1959, of which 40% are British. Yet one aircraft factory near Dublin alone cost the Irish people £2,250,000 before it closed down, and the Government has been advised that a failure rate of 7% of all new firms be regarded as acceptable!

Meanwhile a report published in March has revealed that the unemployment rate for non-agricultural jobs in the Republic is the highest in Western Europe. Between 1926 and 1966 nearly half of the people born in Ireland found their livelihood outside of the country. Unemployment and unemployment assistance paid in one week in December 1967 equalled 32% of the pay of the employed.

Profits, however, show no symptoms of depression. P.J. Carroll Ltd., fourth largest firm in the Republic, made an average profit per employee of £1,773: R. & H. Hall, 13th largest company, made £5,287 per employee. In addition the Republic builds fewer houses than any country in Europe and pays less for education except for Spain, Portugal and Greece, three Fascist dictatorships. Its inhabitants have fewer phones than any country in Europe except for Portugal and Greece and similarly fewer cars. In a period of expanding profits, capitulation to private enterprise and foreign monopoly has created for the mass of the people economic scarcity. Thirty per cent of the population of the Republic live on the land, yet the growth of agricultural output has increased by less than 15 since 1953!

We say that these facts are an indictment of the policies of the present Government, a condemnation of the Government itself which has ruled continuously since 1932, except for six years of coalition government. It is a government originally elected on an anti-imperialist stance that has through the years fallen increasingly victim to Imperial policies, its international neutrality encroached upon, it treated the Socialist world at best as non-existent, at worst with bitter hostility.

The record of the Northern Unionist Party has been even more decrepit. The North of Ireland has been universally recognised as an area of acute depression since its foundation as an artificial State. Unemployment gravitates around 7% of the insured population. In the last ten years 35,000 people have left the land. Emigration accounts for 2/5 of the net increase in population each year and only this prevents a drastic worsening of the economic situation.

It is a kept government: in 1968 it received £2,000,000 in agricultural remoteness grants, £10,000,000 to enable it to pay outselective employment premiums and £19,500,000 to bring social services in line with Britain, in addition to £60,000,000 gained by absolving Stormong from contributing to Imperial Services. Once again it relies on the attraction of foreign industry to solve the economic problems.

A Government advertisement declares: "Northern Ireland has altogether more to offer than other investment areas". This includes low rents, 75% derating of premises, 40% grants for factory construction and new machinery, loans in "suitable cases", training grants, fuel grants, consultancy grants and initial grants towards operating costs.

Neither government offer real solutions to people's problems: instead they reply to the demands of workers small farmers and intellectuals with simple repression. North and South are the Special Powers Act, the Offences Against the State Act, Public Order Bill and the proposed Criminal Justice Bill in the South. Both try to impose wage restraint and anti-Trade Union laws on the working class. By and large the pattern of reactionary policies is the same on both sides of the Border.

# (3) A Risen People:

The Irish people in their history have never been prepared to accept passively either domination from abroad or repression at home. Masters North and South are faced with a risen people. It cannot be doubted that the campaign for Civil Rights in the North has unprecedently siezed the imagination and galvanised the actions of the people North and South. For the first time a mass novement, gathering to itself all sections of the people, came on to the streets in the North in unison for the basic demands of bourgeois democracy so long denied. Despite verbal abuse and physical bludgeoning the Movement took strength and grew.

With the development of the movement there also developed a split in the Unionist monolith, a split between those who took their orders from Britain and those still wishing to hold an anachronistic power hierarchy. The result was a deliberately sponsored pogrom that exploded into religious war, but this was defeated for it failed to involve the mass of the protestant working class and it was prevented from spreading to the factories.

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Most important, the people in the areas directly under attack erected barricades, proclaiming areas free from Unionist rule. Undeniably this has fractured the Unionist regime which staggers from crisis to crisis, from one meaningless vote of confidence to another, all the time directly taking orders from Westminster. For the first time there exists the concrete possibility of replacing the Unionist Government.

But for the whole country Civil Rights has only been a narrow part of the spectrum of struggle. On the vital issue of housing a new mass movement for the whole country is in the process of being created. The Dublin Housing Action Committee, representing Dublin's 10,000 homeless families, and N.A.T.O. campaigning on behalf of 300,000 tenants, have raised the housing question to a new pitch, to a stage where the Government is exposed even within the Dail, and where the homeless and the badly housed, by their demands, threaten the building of multi-storey office blocks for the monopolies.

In Belfast the Amalgamated Corporation Tenants Association is now fighting the fiercest rent battle the city has ever seen, with non-payment of rents for over two months. At present liaison is being established with other centres of tenants strife. Soon it is hoped to link Dublin, Cork, Belfast and Derry in a national committee for housing problems.

The working class, with over 200,000 in the North and 00,000 in the South organised in Trade Unions, has already shown its ability to lead by overcoming the border issues and reunifying the Irish Trade Union Movement in the Irish Congress of Trade Unions. Common identity of struggle is showing the workers that they have more to unite them than divide them, whether it be in the burning of blackleg buses, the sinking of boats used by American monopoly to rob the fishermen of Connemara of their means of livelihood, the over-turning of cement lorries, demonstrations against redundancy or binmen's protest over managerial brutality.

The land question is already a burning issue with the struggle to prevent foreign buying and the driving of the Irish farmer off the land, to restore to the people of Ireland, North and South, the lakes, rivers and waterways denied them by the granting of fishing rights to those who can afford to pay and to the descendants of those who robbed the Irish people of their land in various plantations, to re-establish in the rich farming areas a thriving agricultural economy based on the co-operative enterprise of the local farmers, to develop the areas west of the Shannon and the Bann by a massive investment of capital by the Governments of Stormont and Leinster House, the local people to decide how best to use this capital. International issues in defence of Cuba and Vietnam, and in opposition to Apartheid, have involved students and workers in united campaigns.

The people of Ireland are already a risen people. We declare our intention of co-ordinating this ferment and of raising it to a new level of class conflict. We believe it is a struggle that no one organisation can lead or carry through, but must involve the 500,000 workers organised in Trade Unions and linked through the I.C.T.U., the Communist Party of Ireland, the Republican Movement, the Irish Labour Party, those members of the Northern Ireland Labour Party opposed to the British amalgamation, the Republican Labour Party, all those progressive and co-operative sections of Peoples Democracy, radicals in the National Democratic Party, progressive Nationalists and even sections of Fianna Fail.

We regard as significant the re-constitution of the Communist Party of Ireland which "bases itself on that consistent revolutionary class, the working class." This poses new perspectives for a united Youth Movement and offers the guidance and leadership that no other Party can, since it is both the Party of the Irish Labour Movement and of the Irish Liberation Movement.

# (4) The Unification of the Youth Movements:

Neither the Connolar trath movement nor the Communist Youth League have had long histories nor have their experiences been identical, but in the union and interaction of experience we believe we are offering a new type of Youth Movement to Irish politics. In Ireland today two issues are of fundamental and crucial importance: the nation and the social. Socialism without national independence is impossible, national independence without socialism is impotent. A united Marxist youth organisation gives answers to both questions, solidly for national independence, solidly for Socialism.

We are an organisation firmly based on the working class and small farmers, projecting a programme for the "men of no property". The programme of the United National organisation is a product of the separate ones. It is a synthesis of the Connolly Youth Movement, which, initially a looser organisation, through concrete work in class politics has come to a firm Marxist-Leninist basis, and of the Communist Youth League, originally a rigid youth organisation of the Communist Party of Northern Ireland, becoming through its own experience involved in the mass movements of the people. It is an estension of the development of the Connolly Youth Movement from non-existence five years ago to a significant political movement acknowledged by the news redia, but more important, by the youth in the South, in Dublin, Cork, Sligo, Donegal, Mayo and elsewhere. Now the challenge is for branches in every major city and town in the Republic and in the North; branches that will participate in every progressive youth movement in the land and indeed that will make a contribution to the leadership of these.

For underiably there is a need in Ireland today for a youth movement of this type. The vast majority of those in every mass struggle have been people under 30 years of age. A new generation has grown up, an extrovert, aggressive generation, a questioning generation, thrusting at the bonds of the existing order, probing not only at the norms of today's society, but questioning the very basis of this society. This must be our starting point, a generation that Unionism and Fianna Fail have failed to make into witch-hunters of Communism; and this is a generation in which we can make progress. If they are not now completely receptive to our ideas then it is our job to make them so.

In meeting the challenges which we face we do not only adopt an All Ireland position, for we have also an international perspective. We see as allies the youth of the 14 Socialist countries who, under the leader-ship of revolutionary Parties, have helped to forge new societies and who have already swept capitalism into the past. We see as allies, youth in battle against Imperialism for their own national independence, and those also who have won independence and are pursuing an anit-Imperialist role. We see as allies the youth in capitalist countries who face similar problems and fight similar battles for jobs, houses and decent living standards.

We regard as important this year of the centenary of the birth of Lenin, who gave the leadership to the first people to break the yoke of capitalism and to establish the first Socialist State.

Most of all we declare our stand on the ideas of James Connolly, the giant of the Irish Socialist movement, the Marxist who identified the true relation between the struggle for Socialism and the struggle for national independence in Ireland.

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The Connolly Youth Movement declares that its most fundamental and ultimate objective must be a free, united and Socialist Ireland, and sees as its long term work the winning of youth for such a society. In this society the means of production, the wealth, the machinery of distribution and exchange are publicly owned and utilised for the whole of the people. This demand is not an abstraction, but is based on the reality of working class experience. It is not our immediate demand, for we believe it must be approached in stages.

Today the first stage towards the realisation of Socialism in Ireland is the potential for the replacement by progressive Governments of the ruling parties, North and South.

At the same time, being a Youth Movement we campaign on the particular denands of young people. These include:

- \* Denocratic structures within the schools and universities.
- \* Integration of all pupils at school, regardless of religion, class, or sex.
- \* A spreading of Irish Culture and games and the reviving of Gaelic as a viable National language.
- \* Full adu' rights at 18 years, and an end to all discrimination against young people.

# (6) Conclusion: \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

The future of the young people of Ireland lies only in a Socialist Ireland, a future that will solve her centuries' long struggle for freedom.

## RESOLUTION ON HOUSING

- (a) The housing crisis that presently exists in both parts of Ireland is a feature of the existing political and economic crisis caused by the subjugation of our country to British Imperialism.
- (b) In the North, British Imperialism maintains direct control through economic domination and by many forms of suppression and intimidation, notably through the division of our people by religious sectarianism.
- (c) In the South, Britain controls through her monopolies and financial institutions and through the complete capitulation to British Imperialism of the nature bourgeoisie and their spokesmen, the Fianna Fial Government.
- (d) The basic economic polivies of both Governments, i.e. the development of the economics on the basis of the attraction of foreign capital (particularly British capital) for investment, has resulted not only in economic subjugation but also in a tremendous
- (e) In both parts of Ireland the housing crisis continues to worsen (notably in the South). The average output of new dwellings in both states between 1958 and 1968 was 8,400 per annum, although the population ratio is 2.85 to 1.5 in favour of the 26 Counties.
- (f) In any Private Enterprise Economy capital is not invested where it is most needed, but where it will obtain the highest profits, and with the development of the property market, particularly in the 26 Counties at present, the capital that is urgently needed for the construction of living accommodation, schools and hospitals, is being invested in office blocks, supermarkets and car parks. North and South profit remains the sole criterion for investment.
- (g) The Connolly Youth Movement recognises that the existence of two states in Ireland hinders the development of an overall housing policy for the whole of Ireland, but recognises also the many similarities in both the causes and the effects of the housing crisis North and South.
- (h) Therefore the Connolly Youth Movement, while being aware of the complexities that exist, proposes the following basic demands in both States:-
- 1. Declaration of a housing energency in both the 6 and the 26 Counties and the adoption of energency measures to provide adequate temporary accommodation for all families in need of same.
- 2. A halt to the demolition and conversion to non-productive uses of sound living accommodation.
- 3. An immediate halt to the building of office blocks and the redirection of the capital and labour involved in the construction of family accommodation.

- 4. Requisition of all vacant accommodation for use as family accommodation.
- Nationalisation of the building industries and their subsidiaries.
- 6. 100% loans at low interest rates to house purchasers.
- 7. Nationalisation of the building societies.
- 8. Legislation to control rents for all letting accommodation.
- 9. Introduct an of a "points" system in the allocation of Local Authority dwellings.
- 10. Strict control of land prices to curb speculation.
- 11. Abolition without compensation of ground rent payments.
- 12. Housing targets in both States to be doubled immediately by substantially increased Trade investment.
- (i) The Connolly Youth Movement will support the struggles and the just demands of Tenants' Associations, Housing Action Committees, Residents' Associations and Preservationist groups in the 6 and 26 Counties and will work with any group or organisation for the implementation of any or all of our demands.
- (j) The Commanday Youth Movement recognises that the struggles being waged by the people of Ireland on the housing question are a significant part of the general struggle against Imperialism, for the creation of an Ireland that is free and independent, and moving towards Socialism.

#### RESOLUTION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The necessity for a civil rights movement was the result of 50 years of mis-government by the Unionist Party. Every year high unemployment rates exist which affect both sections of the community, as does the high rate of emigration. Everywhere is the evidence of the blunders of the Government - bad housing - discrimination in employment and also in voting in local Government elections.

The Unionist's defeat was ensured by the coming together of a very wide mass of the population stretching over every religion and no religion and forming a united opposition to Unionism on certain agreed objectives. The success of unity of opposition is a lesson for future work in achieving a better society. We must be careful at present to ensure that the biggest single organisation of the people of Northern Ireland — the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association does not become more or as sectarian and narrow than it has been labelled.

The recent attacks have been made of the present leadership that it is too narrow and in order to stifle these attacks the position must be reversed and the present leadership should be one which truly reflects the aspirations of all the people - creed irrespective.

British Imperialism and her lackeys in Stormont and the Dail have confused the programme of the Civil Rights Movement - they say our demands have all been met and extremist elements are trying to use the Civil Rights Movement for their own political ends. The Civil Rights Association must have the correct policies and slogans to win all of the people - even those who misguidedly follow the neo-fascist politicians and their rightwing policies, and also ensure that its policies cater for those who have been confused by ultra-left ideas. In this respect it is important that Communists and other progressive people remain in the leadership of the Civil Rights Movement. The Civil Rights Association has not been alone in its struggle for the democratisation of Northern Ireland. A progressive role has been played by the Trade Union Movement e.g. I.C.T.U. statement on the question of civil rights. We must involve the Trade Union Movement to a much larger extent in the fight for democracy in Ulster this could be a possible bridge to the Protestant working class, for their involvement.

Our main role for the future must be one of continued vigilance to ensure that all the promised reforms (on paper) are actually implemented — these include the implementation of One Man One Vote at 18 in all elections. Fair boundaries for local Government elections. The complete abolition of the Special Powers Act and Public Order Act and Flags and Emblems Act: a Central Housing Authority to allocate houses fairly: an end to discrimination in Private as well as Public employment: an impartial enquiry into the position of the Judiciary in Northern Ireland: the inclusion into the Government of Ireland Act (1920) an amendment with special reference to Section 75, to include all these demands and to ensure that they are implemented.

The Connolly Youth Movement must remain in the leadership and in the forefront of the fight for civil rights, realising all the time of course that the Civil Rights Movement is a movement for REFORM not REVOLUTION - and a movement which can be used to bring about a climate in this country wherein all political parties and groups can work more freely than now for the attainment of their political aims.

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#### RESOLUTION ON AGRICULTURE

In the 32 counties of Ireland agricultural produce is the main export, 75% of our people make their living either directly or indirectly from Agriculture. During 50 years of "Native" Government the agricultural policy has been one of dispersal of the small farm countryside in the 26 Counties. It is estimated that between 1969 and 1972 the farming population will drop by 36,000. A similar policy is pursued by the puppet regime of the 6 counties. This process is being accelerated by the anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement and will come to a head with Ireland's entry into the E.E.C.

There has been no mention from the Fianna Fail Government of the "Marsholt Plan", the blueprint of an agricultural policy for all E.E.C. member countries. The essence of the Marsholt Plan in its application to Ireland is that it will clear the small farmers off the land even faster than 50 years of Government neglect has succeeded in doing. All subsidies and grants will be stopped to all small farmers possessing under 70 acres. This would mean that approximately 170,000 Irish farmers would be forced off the land. The Treaty of Rome also provides that no restrictions shall be put on the buying up of native land by foreign tycoons and ranchers.

The six countries who comprise the E.E.C. at present are almost entirely self-sufficient in the goods which constitute our main agricultural exports. The E.E.C. is 98% self-sufficient in beet sugar, 95% self-sufficient in beef products and produces hugh surpluses of milk, butter and cheese.

In this situation the demands of the Connolly Youth Movement must be:-

- (a) The breaking up of large estates in the good farming areas and the re-establishment of a thriving agricultural economy based on the co-operative enterprise of the local small farmers.
- (b) The development of the depressed areas west of the Shannon and the Bann by a massive investment of capital by the 26 and 6 County Governments, the local people to decide how best to use this capital, and with all expert advice being made available.

In making these demands we recognise that the small farmers themselves must lead the struggle. On this basis we support the programme and policies of the National Land League, the only organisation to raise the banner of the small farmers in their struggle for ownership of the land robbed from them by successive English Plantations and more recently by cheque-book tycoons.

We, the Connolly Youth Movement will do all in our power to help develop the worker and small farmer alliance which is necessary for the ultimate smashing of British Imperialist control over the lives of our people and for the building of Socialism.

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## RESOLUTION ON VIETNAM

Within the last year the Vietnamese Revolution has scored more and more victories. The U.S. Imperialist aggressors and their puppet allies have been forced to abandon their bombing of North Vietnam and have been forced to negotiate in Paris with representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. Nevertheless the Imperialists continue to escalate the war in South Vietnam in spite of their empty talk about peace.

According to the Nixon administration over 1.2 million tons of bombs were dropped on South Vietnam in 1969, that is <u>half</u> the tonnage dropped during nearly four years of Johnson's term of office! The United States is guilty of using all sorts of poisonous gases and chemicals against the people of South Vietnam. From 1961 to October 1969 the U.S. has sprayed toxic chemicals over 43 per cent of the total area of anable land, over 44% of South Vietnam's forests and even over highly populated areas. The expenses of the Pentagon for the chemical warfare in 1969/70 was 650 Million Dollars. The quantity of C.S. toxic gas bought by the U.S. Government in 1969 was more than 16 times higher than in 1964.

The U.S. Imperialists have also spread their war of aggression into the neighbouring countries of Laos and Cambodia. They have bombed the liberated areas of Laos which are hold by the Pathet Lao, and they have been training special forces in Carbodia and Laos for action against the National Liberation Front in Vietnam. They have overthrown the neutral Government in Cambodia and set up a right-wing military dictatorship which is friendly towards Washington and Saigon. All these violate the 1962 Geneva Agreements which recognise the sovereignty and neutrality of these two countries.

The U.S. Imperialists' efforts to defeat the Vietnamese people are being daily transfed by the victories being scored by the N.L.F. which brings to the all genuinely patriotic forces and individuals in South Vietnam ander the leadership of the most consistently anti-Imperialist class. The W.L.F. which has liberated four fifths of South Vietnam including small areas in Saigon itself, has the support of ten million people in South Vietnam. The more the Americans escalate the war the more defeats they suffer at the hands of the united people of Vietnam.

A major boost to the prestige and morale of the Vietnamese peoples' Revolution, and a major blow to the U.S. Imperialists, has been the setting up of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. This Government must be accepted as the only legitimate spokesman for the people of South Vietnam. It will improve greatly the work of the Vietnamese Revolution on the political, military and diplomatic fronts.

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The Connolly Youth Movement has always given, and will continue to give, its full support to the N.L.F. struggle, bearing in mind that all opposition to the U.S. aggression must be utilised to the full, no matter how limited or from whatever motives. The C.Y.M. is represented on and supports the limited demands of the "Irish Voice on Vietnam", which is a broad liberal committee, but also bearing in mind our own role as a Marxist Youth Movement and the desire of the Vietnamese Representatives in Paris that the main emphasis in the world wide protest movement should no longer be on limited demands, but should express total solidarity with the Vietnamese Revolution. The Connolly Youth Movement sees the necessity for rallying this support and solidarity in Ireland and is prepared to co-operate with other organisations to do so.

The Connolly Youth Movement supports the anti-War Movement in the United States where the most important protest against the war can come from. The latest protests in the U.S. were even more successful because of the large participation of the Labour and Trade Union Movement.

We must do everything possible to help the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. Imperialism. We must view the war in Vietnam as part of the world wide struggle for peace, independence and socialism, and take the advice given to us by the Vietnamese Workers Party - to learn the lessons of the Vietnamese Revolution.

#### FOREIGN AFFAIRS RESOLUTION

Throughout the world an immense struggle is taking place between the forces of aggression and war on one hand and those who stand for peace and democracy.

The imperialist powers led by the U.S.A. are ruthlessly striving to maintain their control of the world's resources and their domination of its people, by means of economic manipulation by political intervention in other states, by propping up and installing the most bloodthirsty dictatorships and when these fail, by ruthless wars of aggression, thus posing the continual threat of a new world war.

Not withstanding the strength of imperialism, there are opposed to it - mightier forces; the socialist community of nations, especially the Soviet Union, the world-wide national liberation movement, the broad movements for peace, democracy and against discrimination and the international working class.

In its fight for Socialism, the Connolly Youth Movement stands in opposition to three governments, the two governments of partitioned Ireland and the Government of Biritsh Imperialism, the master of Stormont and rapidly gaining dominance over Leinster House.

In the present world crisis, Fianna Fail has turned its back on the historic struggle of the Irish people, abandoned all pretence of neutrality and support for the principle of national self-determination of all peoples and become very much the obedient servant of British and American Imperialism. Britain, though her relative importance, power-wise has declined, continues to play a reactionary role internationally, most notably in her continued support for American policy in Indo-China.

Fianna Fail has also sold out Ireland's economic independence with the signing of the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement, the preparation to enter the E. 9.C. and the corresponding possibility of entry into N.A.T.O.

The Connolly Youth Movements demands the reversal of these reactionary foreign policies by the Fianna Fail and Westminster Governments.

- (a) No entry to the E.E.C., an end to the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement, already broken by Britain and a diversification of trade especially with the Socialist countries. The dissolution of N.A.T.O. and the Warsaw Pact and the establishment of a system of collective security in Europe.
- (b) A policy of peace and friendly relations with the socialist countries, recognition of the G.D.R. and the restoration of China's rightful place in the United Nations.

(c) Support for the principle of national self determination and for national liberation struggles, an end to all trading, sporting and cultural interchanges with Southern Africa in accordance with United Nations' resolutions.

The C.Y.M. resolves to act in the utmost solidarity with oppressed peoples struggling for national liberation, freedom and democracy, with the heroic Indo-Chinese people fighting U.S. aggressors, with the people of Southern Africa and Guinea Bissao fighting apartheid regimes in South Africa, Zimbabwe and the Portuguese colonists in Mozambique, Angola and Guine and the people of Namibia fighting South African imperialism, with the Cuban people and the national liberation movements in Latin America, with the anti-fascist resistance in Greece, Spain and Portugal, with the Afro-American, Mexican-American and American-Indian people in the United States, and with all peoples fighting against oppression. We pledge our support to movements in Ireland which act in solidarity with these peoples.

We support the Palestinian liberation struggle and all progressive forces in the middle east, while recognising the rights of the people of Israel. We demand the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the areas seized in June 1967 and the just settlement of the Palestinian refugee problem as the first requirement for a just and lasting peace in the middle-east.

In this centenary year of Lenin's birth, we salute the Soviet Union and the community of Socialist States.

We applaud the generous self-sacrificing aid they have given to newly independent states and national liberation movements.

We rejoice in their increasing standard of life and development of higher standards of Socialist and proletarian democracy.

At the same time we recognise their continuing need to guard against external and internal enemies of Socialism.

One of the greatest tragedies today has been the abandonment of Marxism by the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the substitution of the personality cult of Mao-Tse-Tung coupled with their efforts to split and fragment the International Communist Movement. We are confident that these efforts will be defeated and that Marxism will once again triumph in China.

We have no fears of the final triumph of the Socialist system and the consignment of Capitalism, War and Exploitation to the past.

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, it ished by the Connolly Youth Movement

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**Title:** Manifesto and Policies

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