

The most significant development of the last few months was the arrangement of the bi-lateral truce between British and Republican forces. After five years of conflict the British Government realised the futility of waging a military campaign against a guerilla army, which could not be defeated. England faced similar situations before in Palestine, Cyprus and Aden. She had the courage to adopt the only realistic course of action by withdrawing from these territories. A grave responsibility now rests with the British Government to publicly declare a policy of disengagement from Ireland.

Half-baked ideas about Conventions and Conferences have little relevance; they only confuse people and ~~press~~ press postpone the day when a permanent peace can be established. The Truce has created a climate within which the Wilson Government can demonstrate to its own people, and to the people of Ireland a quality of honest and courageous statesmanship, which has been sadly lacking in all British policy concerning Ireland.

The British Government are fully aware that the truce will not last forever. Its duration ~~even~~ depends on the progress made towards securing a radical change in British policy. To date, the Republican Movement has shown discipline, control, and magnanimity in observing the truce. Such behaviour should not be construed as a sign of weakness; we are conscious of the grave responsibility which rests upon our Movement as the chief determinant of events of the past five years. We stated on numerous occasions, that we would never fear to negotiate, but we would never negotiate out of fear.

Today we speak from a position of strength. That strength is derived from the people who bear the injustices of British rule and who face the reality of opposing naked repression with armed resistance. The Provo Army is the people's army; it sprang from the people and was sustained and supported by the people. The objectives of the Provisional I.R.A. are not theoretical demands from the pages of history, but are practical, feasible goals which spring from the dynamic aspirations of our ancient race. Every generation has striven and fought to secure the freedom of our country, in the full knowledge that only in conditions of freedom could a just and lasting peace prevail over our ~~land~~ land.

It is the historic task of this generation to bring the struggle for freedom to a ~~successful~~ successful conclusion. We have not been found wanting in employing the peaceful process of negotiations during the last few months



2 If these methods fail, we shall not be found wanting either in employing more direct and perhaps more decisive means for securing our objectives. English rule must be ended, even if it requires five more years of fighting.

The suffering of the last few years and the hardship endured by our comrades in jails throughout Ireland, Britain and the U.S. have not been borne for the sake of ghoulish politicians to emerge again practising the futile, if lucrative, politics of the television screen. For freedom we have fought, for freedom we negotiate, and for freedom we shall fight again, if England fails to see reason.

Freedom means no British army, no U.D.R., no R.U.C. and no sectarian assassinations. While instruments of repression exist it is meaningless to talk about positive about positive political developments. A pattern has developed during the truce of the R.U.C. emerging as the para military organisation of the most bigoted loyalist politicians. It is becoming increasingly clear that the British Government does not control the R.U.C. Messrs. Paisley and Craig have no longer any need for the U.V.F. and the U.D.A.; the more these people kill each other, the better the politicians like it. Craig and Paisley can depend on the R.U.C. and the expanded R.U.C. Reserve as well tried organs of oppression when they, the politicians rule as masters of the forthcoming Convention.

We wish to be very explicit about that situation. We brought Stormont down, we smashed the old Unionist Party, we have fought the British Army to a standstill, and by God, we will smash the R.U.C., if they persist in their present tactics of harassment. We know what war is and we do not enter into it lightly, but we will not shrink our responsibility as the British appear to be doing, by permitting the re-emergence of a fascist police force.

Unlike the other times when you stood defenceless in the face of R.U.C. onslaughts, today you have in your midst, your army of your own sons and daughters who are the most experienced guerilla force the Western world has ever known. The courage, daring, and ingenuity of that army has been demonstrated many times in the past, and it stands ready at all times to employ its resources in defence of you, your homes, and livelihood.

In the past twelve months we have also witnessed the emergence of the Dublin Government in all its viciousness as a blue shirt fascist regime.

Its recent performance of desecrating a funeral brought shame to all who bear the name Christian.



3 Northern people will not be surprised at the conduct of the Cosgraves, Cooneys and O' Briens whose predecessors sold the six counties into decades of slavery. The Truce revealed these politicians in their true colours, men who are mean, petty and cruel. The Dublin regime act like the sows who eat their own farrow, because the nature of the animal can never be changed.

Republicans reject the politics of lies, deceit and sellout. Dublin Ministers are ~~profic~~ prolific in making speeches and writing articles all of which could be said in a one minute telephone, if the telephones worked. There is little said about the thousands unemployed, the sell out of our natural resources or the suppression of the means of communication. Society in the South is being changed by the people with warped and twisted minds who never cared anything for the culture, value and well-being of our nation.

There was a time when you in the North looked North South, expecting understandind, aid and support. That is no longer so. Thousands in the South now look to you in the North for leadership, guidance and comradeship. You have proved your strength and courage and in that lies the hope and future for ~~your~~ people. Free State politicians have jailed your sons, blackened your name throughout the world and collaborated fully with the British oppressor. History has the habit of bringing such people to their knees. Stormont fell because of its ~~ee~~ corruption, so too will Leinster House.

The only politics that matter now are the negotiation between the representaitives of the Republican Movement and the British Government. A successful outcome to those talks will lead to a permanent peace. The British will clearly show they are leaving our country; all our imprisoned comrades will be back amongst their own and an era of new politics will begin.

Concern for the community will replace the obsession for the political party. Patronage wilt before the human considerations for one's neighbour. People will be judged not by their class or creed but by their willingness to work for the common good of all. A New Ulster will arise strengthened by the splendid spirit of MidUlster, to charter a new frontier for the entire Irish nation.