

NATIONAL ARCHIVES

IRELAND



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TO WASHINGTON FROM HQ
FOR AMBASSADOR FROM SIEV

1. TODAY'S IRISH TIMES PRINTS THE FOLLOWING TWO STATEMENTS WHICH WERE ISSUED YESTERDAY AFTERNOON.

2. FULL TEXT OF IRA STATEMENT

THE TEXT OF THE STATEMENT ISSUED IN BELFAST BY THE IRISH REPUBLICAN PUBLICITY BUREAU IS :

"THE IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY RESTATES ITS POSITION IN REGARD TO ITS USE OF FORCE TO BRING ABOUT POLITICAL CHANGE FROM THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. FIRSTLY, THE ROOTS OF THE PRESENT TROUBLES GO BACK INTO HISTORY, BUT HAVE, IN THE LAST DECADES, THEIR SOURCE IN THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEPRIVATION SUFFERED BY THE NATIONALIST PEOPLE. RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE POOR CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE RESTED IN STORMONT AND WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AT WESTMINSTER.

"ATTEMPTS TO RESOLVE THOSE PROBLEMS PEACEFULLY MET WITH BRUTE FORCE FROM THE STATE, AND PEOPLE WHO WERE EXASPERATED ORGANISED AND FOUGHT BACK WITH CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND THE USE OF FORCE. IN ALL CONSCIENCE WE BELIEVE THAT FORCE IS BY FAR THE ONLY MEANS OF REMOVING THE EVIL OF THE BRITISH PRESENCE IN IRELAND. THEIR INTERFERENCE HAS DIVIDED THE PEOPLE AND CAUSED UNTOLD HARDSHIP. ONE SHOULD NOT TALK ABOUT "MEN OF VIOLENCE" AND IGNORE THE 33,000 STRONG ARMED FORCES IN THE SIX COUNTIES, THEIR REPRESSIVE LAWS, THE ARMY FORTS OCCUPYING AREAS, THE PROVEN CASES OF TORTURE, AND OF COURSE THE SITUATION IN THE H-BLOCKS. WHEREAS WE WANT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO CEASE INTERFERING IN OUR AFFAIRS, THEY ARE OUT TO EXTERMINATE REPUBLICANS, AND VIOLENTLY REPRESS THE CLAIMS BEING MADE FOR IRISH SELF-DETERMINATION.

"FURTHERMORE, WE BELIEVE THAT OUR PROSPECTS FOR VICTORY ARE SUPPORTED BY THE EXAMPLES OF OTHER COLONIAL STRUGGLES, BY OUR CONTINUED EXISTENCE GIVEN THE DURATION OF THE REPRESSION, AND BY THE WIDESPREAD SUPPORT WHICH WE KNOW WE COMMAND AND WHICH OUR OPERATIONS PROVE. WE KNOW ALSO THAT UPON VICTORY THE CHURCH WOULD HAVE NO DIFFICULTY IN RECOGNISING US.

"CHURCH LEADERS, POLITICIANS AND ESTABLISHMENTS ARE BANKRUPT AND HAVE ALSO FAILED TO RESOLVE THE MASSIVE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS SUFFERED BY OUR PEOPLE AND CREATED BY BRITISH INTERFERENCE. INDEED, IT WOULD BE CORRECT TO SAY THAT MANY OF THEM HAVEN'T EVEN EXAMINED POSSIBLE WAYS OF SOLVING THE PROBLEM. THEY LACK THE COURAGE TO HONESTLY IDENTIFY THE PROBLEM. WE HAVE, AND WILL CONTINUE TO DEAL WITH IT, UNTIL THE BRITISH DIMENSION IS WITHDRAWN AND A CLIMATE FOR REAL PEACE WITH JUSTICE CAN BE CREATED."

IT WAS SIGNED BY P. O'NEILL FOR - IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY.

3. PROVISIONAL SF STATEMENT.

A STATEMENT ISSUED YESTERDAY BY PROVISIONAL SINN FEIN ON THE VISIT OF THE POPE TO IRELAND SAID :

"THE VISIT OF POPE JOHN PAUL II TO IRELAND HAS GENERATED DEEP AND WIDESPREAD INTEREST IN OUR COUNTRY AND ESPECIALLY IN THE CONFLICT IN THE NORTH. TO UNDERSTAND THIS CONFLICT IT IS NECESSARY TO COURAGEOUSLY AND OBJECTIVELY ANALYSE THE ROOT CAUSES OF THE PROBLEM. THE POPE HIMSELF STRESSED THIS POINT AND ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IT IS NOT A RELIGIOUS WAR. THIS IS SOMETHING THAT WE HAVE ALWAYS MAINTAINED

"THE STRUGGLE IS NOT MERELY FOR CIVIL RIGHTS WITHIN THE SIX - COUNTY STATE. RATHER IT IS A WAR OF NATIONAL LIBERATION AGAINST ENGLISH OCCUPATION AND COLONIALISM WHICH HAS LASTED, NOT JUST 10 YEARS BUT 810 YEARS, HAVING ITS ROOTS IN THE NORMAN INVASION OF 1169

"DURING A PREVIOUS CRITICAL PHASE IN THIS STRUGGLE THE PRESIDENT OF THE ALL - IRELAND REPUBLIC, ON OCTOBER 19TH 1921, EXPLAINED THIS TO POPE BENEDICT XV IN THE FOLLOWING WORDS : "THE TROUBLE IS BETWEEN IRELAND AND BRITAIN, AND ITS SOURCE THAT THE RULERS OF BRITAIN HAVE SOUGHT TO IMPOSE THEIR WILL UPON IRELAND, AND BY BRUTAL FORCE HAVE ENDEAVOURED TO ROB HER PEOPLE OF THE LIBERTY WHICH IS THEIR NATURAL RIGHT AND THEIR ANCIENT HERITAGE."

LIC, ON OCTOBER 19TH 1921, EXPLAINED THIS TO POPE BENEDICT XV IN THE FOLLOWING WORDS : "THE TROUBLE IS BETWEEN IRELAND AND BRITAIN, AND ITS SOURCE THAT THE RULERS OF BRITAIN HAVE SOUGHT TO IMPOSE THEIR WILL UPON IRELAND, AND BY BRUTAL FORCE HAVE ENDEAVOURED TO ROB HER PEOPLE OF THE LIBERTY WHICH IS THEIR NATURAL RIGHT AND THEIR ANCIENT HERITAGE."

"WE ARE PROUD THAT IN EVERY GENERATION THE IRISH PEOPLE HAVE RESISTED AGGRESSION AND MADE GOOD THEIR CLAIM TO NATIONAL FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE. WHAT WE HAVE WITNESSED IN THE LAST DECADE IS A CONTINUATION OF THE STRUGGLE AND NOT 'STRUGGLE' FOR THE SAKE OF STRUGGLE' OR FOR SOME ALIEN IDEOLOGY. THOSE WHO HAVE MADE ENORMOUS SACRIFICES TO SECURE NATIONAL FREEDOM HAVE BEEN MOTIVATED BY THE PHILOSOPHY OF IRISH REPUBLICANISM WHICH IS THE PRODUCT OF SOME OF THE GREATEST THINKERS AND DOERS OF THE IRISH NATION.

"WE NOTE WITH SATISFACTION THAT POPE JOHN PAUL HAS REAFFIRMED THAT 'EVERY HUMAN BEING HAS INALIENABLE RIGHTS THAT MUST BE RESPECTED' AND THAT 'EVERY HUMAN COMMUNITY - ETHNIC, HISTORICAL, CULTURAL OR RELIGIOUS - HAS RIGHTS WHICH MUST BE RESPECTED'. WE WOULD ADD THAT THE NATION IS ANOTHER HUMAN COMMUNITY WHICH HAS THE SAME INALIENABLE RIGHTS. FOR EIGHT CENTURIES, AND ESPECIALLY DURING THE PAST 10 YEARS, THE RIGHTS OF THE IRISH NATION HAVE BEEN DENIED AND GROSSLY VIOLATED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND ITS ARMED FORCES.

"PEACEFUL AND NON - VIOLENT EFFORTS TO WIN EVEN OVER A SMALL MEASURE OF REFORM WITHIN THE BRITISH SYSTEM ITSELF WERE MET WITH THE OFFICIAL VIOLENCE OF THE ROYAL ULSTER CONSTABULARY AND THE B SPECIAL CONSTABULARY. AMONG THE MANY ACTS OF AGGRESSION OVER 500 HOMES WERE BURNED AND THOUSANDS OF FAMILIES WERE FORCED TO FLEE IN AUGUST 1969.

"NINE PEOPLE WERE KILLED ON ONE NIGHT. THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY THE CURFEW ON THE LOWER FALLS AREA OF BELFAST IN JULY, 1970, WHEN FOUR UNINVOLVED CIVILIANS WERE KILLED BY THE BRITISH ARMY. MATTERS CAME TO A HEAD WITH THE IMPOSITION OF INTERNMENT WITHOUT TRIAL BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN AUGUST, 1971, AND THE SUBSEQUENT SYSTEM-ATIC AND IN - DEPTH TORTURE OF MANY PRISONERS - A PRACTICE WHICH WAS LATER CONDEMNED BY THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION AND THE EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS. NEW DEPTHS OF VIOLENCE WERE REACHED WHEN 17 INNOCENT PEOPLE WERE MURDERED BY BRITISH PARATROOPERS IN THE CITY OF DERRY AT A PEACEFUL MARCH AGAINST INTERNMENT IN JANUARY, 1972.

"WITH ALL OPPORTUNITIES FOR POLITICAL ACTION THUS DENIED TO THEM THE PEOPLE ORGANISED THEIR OWN PHYSICAL RESISTANCE TO BRITISH TERROR. THIS ACTION WAS TOTALLY IN KEEPING WITH THE TRADITIONAL CHRISTIAN TEACHING BRITISH ARMY TO FOMENT BASTARDY AND VIOLENCE 'LIT TROOP' THE 'MEN OF VIOLENCE' SINN FEIN WOULD WELCOME CLARIFICATION AS TO WHETHER THIS TEACHING ON THE RIGHT TO RESIST, THE RIGHT TO RESORT TO LEGITIMATE REVOLT AND THE RIGHT TO ENGAGE IN A JUST WAR HAS BEEN CHANGED. SUCH A CLARIFICATION IS OF THE UTMOST URGENCY BECAUSE OF ITS SERIOUS IMPLICATIONS FOR SUBJECT AND EXPLOITED PEOPLES ALL OVER THE WORLD.

"DESPITE THE INTENSIFICATION OF THE CONFLICT THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT EXPLORED EVERY AVENUE TO SECURE A JUST AND LASTING PEACE. THERE WAS A UNILATERAL TRUCE IN MARCH, 1972, WHICH MET WITH NO RESPONSE FROM THE BRITISH : A BILATERAL TRUCE IN JUNE AND JULY, 1972, WHICH WAS EVENTUALLY THWARTED BY A COMBINATION OF THE ACTIONS OF THE BRITISH ARMY AND ARMED LOYALISTS. A COURAGEOUS INITIATIVE BY REPRESENTATIVES OF VARIOUS PROTESTANT CHURCHES AT FEAKLE, CO. CLARE, IN DECEMBER, 1974 WAS MET WITH POSITIVE RESPONSE BY THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT. DESPITE THE EFFORT BY THE DUBLIN GOVERNMENT TO WRECH THIS INITIATIVE AN UNILATERAL TRUCE WAS IMPLEMENTED OVER CHRISTMAS AND EXTENDED INTO THE NEW YEAR. FOLLOWING DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WITH BRITISH GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES A BILATERAL TRUCE WAS AGREED UPON WHICH LASTED FOR MOST OF 1975. NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE BRITISH CONTINUED THROUGHOUT THIS PERIOD IN ORDER TO DEVISE MEASURES FOR A BRITISH WITHDRAWAL FROM IRELAND. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT LOYALIST KILLINGS OF INNOCENT PEOPLE INTENSIFIED DURING THIS TIME WHILE THE BRITISH FORCES ALLOWED THEM FULL SCOPE.

"THE NEGOTIATIONS FAILED BECAUSE OF THE INABILITY OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO FACE THE STARK REALITY THAT COLONIALISM IN IRELAND IS AN ANACHRONISM AND MUST BE BROUGHT TO AN END. THE FAILURE OF THE TALKS WAS WELCOMED BY THE ESTABLISHMENT POLITICIANS, NORTH AND SOUTH, WHO HAD ENGAGED IN A FUTILE BRITISH - SPONSORED CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION WHICH WOULD SHORE UP THE TWO ARTIFICIAL STATES AND THUS PERPETUATE THEIR OWN POWER AND PRIVILEGE. THE FACT OF THE MATTER IS THAT THE POLITICAL PARTY ESTABLISHMENTS IN IRELAND, NORTH AND SOUTH, DO NOT WANT A BRITISH WITHDRAWAL, NEW POLITICAL ARRANGEMENTS AND A NEW KIND OF POLITICS.

"SINCE 1976, THE POLICIES OF BOTH BRITISH AND DUBLIN GOVERNMENTS HAVE BEEN TO 'SET ASIDE THE MORAL LAW IN THE INTERESTS OF SECURITY AND LAW AND ORDER', TO QUOTE POPE JOHN PAUL, BY AN INTENSIFICATION OF REPRESSIVE MEASURES. THESE MEASURES HAVE PRODUCED BARBARIC BRITISH POLICIES OF DENIAL, HUNGER STRIKES AND THE MURDER OF TWO BENEDICTINE CARDINAL O'FLAICH HAS DESCRIBED AS 'ONE OF THE GREAT OBSTACLES TO PEACE IN OUR COMMUNITY' (AUGUST 1ST 1978). THE COERCIVE MEASURES BY BOTH GOVERNMENTS RESULTED IN THEIR INDICTMENT BY AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL IN THEIR PUBLISHED REPORTS OF SEPTEMBER, 1977, AND JUNE, 1978, AND EVEN BROUGHT ABOUT THE RESIGNATION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE TWENTY-SIX COUNTY STATE IN 1976.

"SINN FEIN WHOLEHEARTEDLY WELCOMES POPE JOHN PAUL'S HEARTFELT PLEA FOR 'TRUE PEACE FOUNDED UPON JUSTICE'. REPUBLICANS UNDERSTAND WELL THE URGENCY FOR A LASTING PEACE IN IRELAND, SINCE THEY HAVE ENDURED GREAT SUFFERING. IN ADDITION TO THE DEATHS AND INJURIES 10,000 MEN AND WOMEN HAVE SUFFERED IMPRISONMENT DURING THE PAST DECADE ALONE AND THOUSANDS OF FAMILIES HAVE BEEN DEPRIVED OF HUMAN, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SECURITY. IT MUST BE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE MAJOR RESPONSIBILITY FOR ESTABLISHING A JUST AND LASTING PEACE RESTS WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WHOSE DENIAL OF THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND TO SELF-DETERMINATION IS THE ROOT CAUSE OF THIS CONFLICT.

"IN VIEW OF THE WORLD INTEREST NOW FOCUSED ON IRELAND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS A BOUNDEN DUTY TO DECLARE ITS INTENTION OF WITHDRAWING FROM IRELAND, TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND TO SELF-DETERMINATION, TO FREE PRISONERS-OF-WAR AND THUS TO END THE WAR. ITS LACK OF ACTION HERE CONTRASTS SHARPLY WITH THE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS ON ZIMBABWE WHICH INCLUDE THE LEADERS OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT.

"THANKS TO POPE JOHN PAUL, WHO HAS EXHORTED US TO BE CONSCIOUS OF OUR ROOTS, CULTURE AND HERITAGE, THE IRISH STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE IS NOW MORE THAN EVER A LIVE, INTERNATIONAL ISSUE, REQUIRING URGENT RESOLUTION. TOWARDS THIS END SINN FEIN WOULD WELCOME AN OPPORTUNITY FOR DIRECT CONTACT WITH POPE JOHN PAUL, WHOSE GENUINE INTEREST IN ACHIEVING TRUE PEACE BASED ON JUSTICE IS WARMLY APPRECIATED."

END OF MESSAGE
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