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STATEMENT TO NOVEMBER 20th 1982 CONFERENCE

Mosquito Press is proud to be a sponsor of this Conference and congratulates the comrades who have worked so hard to muster such an impressive display of unity among organisations of many different standpoints who stand together on the platform: Victory to the Irish People! Troops out now!

We salute in particular the fine and dedicated anti-imperialist forces currently grouped around the RCG, who have week after week been out on the streets defending the democratic right to conduct Ireland solidarity. Their work has provided a core and basic impulse for this Conference, and has indeed written an enduring page in the history of internationalism in this country.

NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

"The internationalism of the future will be based upon the free federation of free peoples and cannot be realised through the subjugation of the smaller by the larger political unit." These words of James Connolly's are in our time being translated into reality by the national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the struggle for socialist construction and national independence by those countries that have won their freedom. Socialist Korea and China, Zimbabwe and many other countries now chart their own national path free from diktat by any superpower or dominationist force. As Nora Connolly O'Brien said of socialist China, that is the "kind of socialism my father fought for."

The important concept of Sinn Fein Self Reliance put forward by Comrade Ruairi O'Bradaigh at the latest Ard Fheis concentrates the magnificent spirit of unquenchable independence that has been upheld by the Republican Movement since the days of Wolfe Tone. This ideology of Sinn Fein Self-Reliance is firmly in accord with the spirit of our age, when the oppressed peoples and nations are striking out to create their own utterly independent and distinctive politics - in socialist Korea - Kim Il Sung's Juche Idea, in socialist China - Mao Zedong Thought, in Zimbabwe - Chimurenga, in Iraq - Baath, in Kampuchea - the recreation of the civilisation of Angkor, just as John Maclean long ago put forward his ideology of Celtic communism and James Connolly the ideology of the Reconquest of Ireland.

Sinn Fein Self-Reliance is thus a profound reflection of the characteristic of our age - an age of independence, when, to quote Korea's leader Kim Il Sung, "the oppressed and humiliated people have appeared as the masters of the world and are pushing the wheels of history with vigour according to their own will and demand. The people of the world oppose all forms of domination and subordination and call for independence."

DOMINATIONIST SOCIALISM

Though firmly united in practice and on many points of principle with the RCG, we note the following important questions on which David Reed stands opposed to this spirit of freedom and national independence sweeping the world and the principle of Sinn Fein Self-Reliance which is its expression in Ireland:

1) David Reed clearly indicates that support for Ireland is to be built on the understanding that freedom for Ireland would be of benefit to 'socialism' (see for example FRFI 24, p.9, column 2). All the world knows that FRFI regards the Soviet Union as the world's central socialist force, and supports Soviet domination of Poland, Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, etc. According to our understanding of Sinn Fein Self-Reliance, however, Ireland fights for freedom so that, in the words of James Fintan Lalor, it may "bear full, true and undivided fealty and allegiance to the nation, and the laws of the nation ..., and own no allegiance whatsoever to any other prince, power, or people, or any obligation of obedience or respect to their will, orders or laws."

2) David Reed's work on the 'communist tradition' ignores precisely those elements of the communist movement which have been most preoccupied with integrating the struggle to build socialism with the fight for independence and reunification as James Connolly lived and died to do, namely the Asian communist tradition. David Reed's communist tradition would appear not to extend East of Suez, just as FRFI's

support for liberation movements is almost entirely restricted to those which happen to be compatible with Soviet foreign policy. Such a caricature of internationalism is in stark contrast to the practice of APRN, which upholds universal and unconditional support for all oppressed nations and peoples, thus demonstrating the profound internationalist essence of the politics of Sinn Fein Self-Reliance.

3) It appears that David Reed's articles contain an implicit complaint to the Irish Republican Movement. He states that the failure to build large scale solidarity for the hunger strike was due to a "strategy laid down in Ireland" (FRFI 22, p.11, column 4). Our view, however, is that the Irish Republican Movement has a fine internationalist tradition and has since the days of Wolfe Tone always and at every stage extended the hand of solidarity and cooperation to all of progressive mankind. All shortcomings in the solidarity movement in this country are due to the corruption of the British labour movement by imperialism, and we do not consider the Irish Republican Movement or any other movement fighting British imperialism as subject to any complaint emanating from any political force in Britain whatsoever, least of all from a British political group which unashamedly preaches support for domination of countries such as Afghanistan and Poland where this is done under a 'socialist' signboard. What guarantee do we have that these comrades will not apply such 'principles' to Ireland??

FOR A UNITED, PRINCIPLED AND ACTIVIST IRELAND SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT

Our criticism of these dangerous dominationist and chauvinist aspects of the RCG's politics will be made in the context of continuing and constructive cooperation in the building of a united, principled and activist Ireland solidarity movement. We shall not use our criticisms as an excuse not to lend such support as we can to the movement the RCG have taken a lead in building. The RCG have shown up the middle class left by building this activist movement. We shall repudiate the impudent accusations of 'sectarianism' which are levelled against the RCG by the middle class left - accusations which are clearly nothing but an excuse for failing to take action in solidarity with Ireland.

At the same time we shall uphold Sinn Fein Self-Reliance as being ultimately the only firm basis for strengthening the unity and cohesion of the Ireland solidarity movement along genuinely internationalist and unconditional lines, and we shall consequently undertake the exposure and repudiation of the dominationist aspects of David Reed's politics as an essential political task in strengthening principled solidarity with Ireland. We regard this as a central task in the struggle to forge a genuine revolutionary internationalist ideology for this country, that will draw on the three great revolutionary traditions of Irish Republicanism, Asian communism and the new world of youth rebellion led by black youth. What force on earth would be able to withstand a revolutionary movement which drew on the combined force of these three great revolutionary traditions?

In opposition to the dominationist aspects of the RCG's standpoint, we shall uphold the vision of James Fintan Lalor:

"Ireland her own - Ireland her own, and all therein, from the sod to the sky. The soil of Ireland for the people of Ireland, to have and hold from God alone who gave it - to have and to hold to them and their heirs for ever, without suit or service, faith or fealty, rent or render, to any power under Heaven."

Long live the great Juche Idea! Lamberi ne Chimurenga! Ya'ish al-Baath al-'Arabi!

Long live Sinn Fein Self-Reliance!

Victory to the Irish people! Troops out now!

H. Stephens
Editor, Mosquito Press
November 18th 1982.