

Representative of the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) Addresses the Internationalist Rally

Published: *Workers' Advocate* Volume 8, Number 6 June 19th, 1978

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HISTORIC INTERNATIONALIST RALLY OF MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTIES MONTREAL, APRIL 30th 1978

Representative of the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) Addresses the Internationalist Rally

At 9:36 p.m., Comrade Bains introduced the representative of the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist). Strong applause and cries of **Long Live the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist)!**, **Long Live the Unity Between the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) and the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist)!** and **Long Live Proletarian Internationalism!** met the representative of the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist). His speech to the Internationalist Rally is printed below:

Speech to the Internationalist Rally of the Representative of the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist)

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) I would like to thank the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) for inviting us to participate in this revolutionary Internationalist Rally of Marxist-Leninist Communist Parties, on this eve of May Day, the great day of the working class.

We in the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) consider the question of unity of the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties from different countries to be a question of great importance for the revolutionary movement. This unity when based on correct Leninist principles is a source of strength and inspiration for every Marxist-Leninist party. It is of mutual importance to all Marxist-Leninist parties whether they are big or small and whether they are from big or small, developed or under-developed countries.

The question of the unity of the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties is a question of especially great importance at the moment when a new form of revisionism, in the form of the so-called theory of

"three worlds," is attempting to obstruct and liquidate the revolutionary struggles of the world's peoples.

This theory denies the revolutionary struggle in every country of the world. It seeks to harmonize the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in each country. In its place it raises a counter-revolutionary programme of so-called unity, between the working and oppressed people and the reactionaries in every country against one particular superpower.

Our Party is resolutely opposed to the theory of the so-called "three worlds." We consider that it is of the utmost importance that the genuine revolutionaries in every country in the world unite firmly to oppose this theory and its practical implications. The revolutionary situation throughout the world is excellent; looked at both in the perspective of the world situation and in the situation in every particular country the theory of "three worlds" is nothing but a feeble attempt to oppose an ever-growing tide of revolutionary struggle against capitalism, imperialism, and all forms of reaction.

Our Party, the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist), is firmly in favour of developing close ties between the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties of the world. Our view is that in this question, as with every other question in the revolutionary movement, Leninist principles must be applied. By this we mean that ties should be developed on the basis of the principle of mutual exchange of ideas and experience; and on the basis of non-interference in the internal affairs of any party. We uphold the Leninist line that there should be one Marxist-Leninist party in each country and one only. It is the responsibility of the genuine Marxist-Leninists to support the Marxist-Leninist party in each country.

We are opposed to the anti-Leninist line of supporting the bourgeois or petty-bourgeois national movements in those countries where the question of national oppression is the main question, in any way which opposes the line of the Marxist-Leninist party in that country, or suggests that these bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements can lead the revolution to victory. On this question our Party firmly upholds that only the genuine Marxist-Leninists united in one party in each country, no matter what the stage of the revolutionary struggle in that country, can lead the revolutionary proletariat and thereby lead the revolutionary struggles in each country to victory. This important principle is one of the foundations on which the Leninist line on the relations between Marxist-Leninist parties is determined. Lenin said on this particular question that the proletariat of the advanced countries must support the national liberation struggles through the communist parties of those countries.

What is the Situation in Ireland and What is the Party's Programme?

Firstly, the principal problem in Ireland is the problem of British imperialist intervention and domination. British imperialism has direct control over the north eastern counties of Ireland (a part of Ulster) and occupies this part by force of arms. The southern part of Ireland is supposedly an "independent" "republic", but in reality it is a neo-colonial state, dominated economically, politically and culturally by British imperialism, and run for them by the Irish bourgeoisie of the south.

Some opportunists in our country claim that the problem of British imperialist domination exists only in the north of the country, whilst the south is now free of the problem. But in reality the British

imperialists exert colonial control over northern Ireland precisely as a way of ensuring their continued domination of the whole country.

Therefore our Party's policy lays down that the principal task of the revolution today is the defeat of British imperialist intervention in Ireland, its domination of the economy and the political and cultural spheres of life, and its division of the country.

Naturally there are many other imperialist powers involved in the exploitation of the Irish people -- U.S. imperialism and German monopoly capitalism especially. The hand of the monopoly capitalist EEC and all its policies can also be felt there.

But our Party states clearly that it is British imperialism which is the principal enemy, whilst all other imperialisms must also be opposed. This is an important question because one section of the modern revisionists (Official Sinn Fein -- the Workers' Party) claims that, "because there are many imperialist powers joining in the exploitation of Ireland", that we should not organize for the concrete political and military defeat of British imperialism, but should fight all imperialism in general, or the EEC in Brussels. This policy is straightforwardly and in practice a policy for encouraging the people to lay down their arms and allow British imperialist intervention to continue.

The second important feature of our revolution is the nature and stand of the Irish bourgeoisie. Our Party lays down in its policy that today, all the main sections of the Irish bourgeoisie, north and south, are in collusion with British imperialist domination. This includes of course the so-called "Republican" section represented by Fianna Fail in the south, the followers of Eamonn Devalera. This section of the Irish bourgeoisie who contributed to the patriotic struggle in the war of independence, have, over the past fifty years, resolved all the basic contradictions between themselves and the British imperialists and have become wealthy and prosperous in their role as officials of the government, as "Irish representatives" on the boards of big foreign monopolies etc. They have become a monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie with no quarrel with the British ruling class, (except of course the characteristic inter-bourgeois dispute for better deals etc). This section of the Irish bourgeoisie has to its shame more patriots imprisoned in southern Ireland than the British imperialists have in the north. The Fine Gael section of the bourgeoisie in the south do now as they always did, support British imperialist rule -- they are the descendants of the landed gentry in the south, they signed a truce in the War of Independence and unleashed terror against the fighting workers and peasants. Other sections of the Irish bourgeoisie are represented by the Irish labour party in the south, while in the north all factions of the "Unionists" are closely allied to British imperialism. The "Unionists" in fact are that section of the bourgeoisie derived, not from the protestants of the north, but from the Anglo-Irish aristocracy, the big lords and English soldiers who were given land in Ireland to reward them for activity against the Irish and English people. With their wealth and the privileged position they enjoyed for years, they became rich industrialists, and were "given the north" as their "mini-state" by the British bourgeoisie in 1922, rather than lose all at the hands of the patriotic workers and small farmers. It is also important to deal, with the "Social Democratic and Labour Party" headed by Gerry Fitt and John Hume. This party is promoted as a party of "catholic people" according to the well known swan song of the British imperialists (that is that the Irish people are fighting one another on religious grounds). In reality it is a party of monopoly capital. It was established by the British bourgeoisie to create confusion and division. It developed making use of the fact that the catholic section of the capitalists in the north did not get a

fair share in the exploitation of the people. Now even this situation has been rectified and these capitalists are receiving their share of the booty. It can be seen that no section of the Irish bourgeoisie remains who has any interest in opposing British imperialist exploitation.

As the capitalist system in Ireland has been developed and expanded in the last decades, the bourgeoisie has become a monopolist bourgeoisie with innumerable bridges and ties between its capital and that of the British imperialists. This process was an inevitable process, as Comrade Stalin pointed out. He said that after an initial period of struggle for control over its own markets the national bourgeoisie of an oppressed country may win a certain amount of victory or concessions but that once launched into the world of "independent capitalism", the oppressing power (and other imperialist powers) would in a million ways establish links with this "independent capital" and of necessity subjugate it to its own superiority in size, connections etc.

Our Party therefore lays down that the Irish people can only win liberation from British imperialism by taking up struggle against the internal reactionaries, who at every step act as the front line of the enemy against the people. Furthermore the Party policy clearly points out that the Irish people desire liberation not just from one imperialist power in order to be subjugated by another, or to be exploited further by the Irish monopoly capitalists. The desire of the people for liberation is a desire for complete national and social liberation. Therefore to talk of the defeat of British imperialism without struggle to overthrow reaction in Ireland is both an illusion and a false goal.

This is why the Party strongly criticizes the petty bourgeois nationalists' (Provisional IRA) policy which advocates unity with the bourgeoisie in the south (a united front of people and monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie!) to liberate the north. But then they go further -- and advocate in their official programme "*Eire Nua*" a future alliance with the Unionist bourgeoisie -- because, they say, they are Irish.

To talk in this way is to create illusions for the people. How can the Irish people think of uniting with the Unionist bourgeoisie, a section of the bourgeoisie which is distinguished only by the extent of its anti-national* anti-communist and demagogic behaviour. The Irish people in reality cannot take a step forward without the southern state, or the legal and "illegal" organization of the northern bourgeoisie (the RUC, UDA, UVF) moving in as a front line for British imperialism.

It is little wonder that these petty bourgeois nationalist leaders have started associating themselves with the "three worlds" theory which also preaches the treacherous path of the oppressed peoples relying for their liberation on their own bourgeoisie. Whether Ireland or the Irish bourgeoisie is defined as third world, or Irish or catholic, or protestant by these misleaders, nothing can paper over the true character of this class -- that of being an enemy of our people, a truth which the people have experienced only too well.

The "three worlds" theory makes out that proletarian socialist revolution is not on the agenda today, but that what is on the agenda is the bourgeois democratic revolution of the "third world". This is the same policy as the petty bourgeois nationalists.

No such revolution can occur today. Today all democratic and national revolutions are part of the proletarian socialist revolution, there is no force that can lead them but the working class, no party to represent this class but the Marxist-Leninist party, and no goal that will satisfy the demands of the

people but national and social emancipation which will be achieved only with the defeat of the monopoly capitalist system itself.

These are the reasons for our Party's policy on the Irish bourgeoisie.

Thirdly, as people will know, the British and Irish bourgeoisie try to make out that our struggle is a struggle within the people between two religious camps. This of course is a smoke screen to cover over the genocide against our people and an attempt to portray themselves as the peace-makers. In reality the English colonialists (now the British imperialists) have for three centuries attempted to create divisions.

When they themselves planted the country they brought the members of their own class (who were Protestants) to rule over the people. At the same time, they cleared the Scots and Welsh peasants (crofters) off the land, and exported many to Ireland. These people were in the main poverty stricken peasants and were not members of the official protestant church (Church of England) but Presbyterian. They were exploited in all the same basic ways as the native Irish (who were catholic) including the fact that their right to practice their Presbyterian religion was denied to them, as the right to practice Catholicism was denied the native population. But the English colonialists tried at the same time to create differences in the statuses of the two, granting for example the Presbyterians the land in the more fertile valleys and sending the catholic peasants to the hill tops.

This policy has continued unabated and now the British imperialists with the direct and active assistance of the Irish capitalists have divided people according to work place, job opportunity, education, culture, housing etc. They have tried, whilst exploiting all our workers and small farmers in the north viciously, to create many differences as a source of friction -- for example unemployment in some predominantly catholic towns and areas in the north is as high as 50 percent whilst it is under 5 per cent as a whole in the protestant districts.

The British imperialists, today, using their army, their undercover agents such as the SAS, and making use of the paramilitary organizations which they organize jointly with the Unionist bourgeoisie, carry out wide-scale intimidation campaigns and try to enforce their divisive and terror campaign against the resistance.

But despite all this, in the past centuries as in the present, as an inevitable law, the people have continually refused to engage in fratricide against one another, and time and time again have come together to fight the common enemy.

This is why our Party's policy is not just to oppose the sectarian propaganda of the rulers in words, but also to carry out deep-going work among the catholics and the protestants to unite them in the common struggle. This is not a problem that will be resolved in a day, but it will be resolved in the conditions of the struggle against British imperialism and the Irish bourgeoisie, under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party which alone can show that the future of the workers and small farmers lies in the overthrow of the monopoly capitalist system.

This is the policy that our Party practices; it is in striking contrast to that of the revisionists, Trotskyists and petty-bourgeois nationalists who push the protestant workers towards the bourgeoisie and claim that they are fascists. In this way the petty-bourgeois nationalists adopt the

same ideology as the British imperialists, and openly promote the politics, that national liberation means the catholics liberating themselves from the protestants.

Fourthly, what is the class composition of Ireland, and on whose shoulders can these problems be resolved?

The working class constitutes approximately 30 percent of the population. The small farmers and other agricultural workers constitute more than 50 percent of the population. Of the remainder of the population, the majority belong to the petty-bourgeoisie, which includes the professionals and the students. There are only a handful of members of the monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie.

The working class is regularly growing as a result of the policy of the British imperialists and the Irish bourgeoisie. Traditionally, it is more concentrated in the main cities, in particular Belfast, Dublin, Cork and Derry. But capitalist enterprises now exist throughout the country.

The working class does not constitute the majority, but it is the leading force of the Irish revolution. Since its birth, it has played this role, exercising an important influence on the patriotic struggle during the last century, but especially since the beginning of this century.

The small farmers and agricultural workers make up the majority of the population. The main force in the patriotic struggles has always been the peasantry. The small farmers and agricultural workers are the principal allies of the proletariat in the struggle for national independence and socialism.

The majority of the petty-bourgeoisie, and especially the intellectual youth, support the national struggle and certain sections of it play a very active role.

Our Party considers that the youth of all the oppressed classes constitute a particularly important section of the revolutionary movement in our country.

Fifthly, I would like at this point to summarize the position of the Provisional IRA. This is because this organization has received much publicity as being the leader of the struggle of the Irish people. According to us, they are petty-bourgeois nationalists:

1. they are for "independent" capitalism;
2. for an alliance with the Irish bourgeoisie;
3. they are not for the total defeat of British imperialism by the people;
4. they are opposed to the leading role of the working class;
5. they are "catholics";
6. they are against the English working class;
7. they are against proletarian internationalism;
8. their war is not a war of liberation but:
 - (a) for a truce, and not the complete defeat of the enemy;

- (b) not aimed at arousing the people;
- (c) they are terrorists;
- (d) they base themselves on intimidating ordinary people to have support;
- (e) they are for "economic warfare" in order to so-called undermine the economic blockade of British imperialism;
- (f) they support actions against the working people.

We are not opposed to a united front with the Provisional IRA, and on several occasions, we have approached them on this question. They have always refused, adopting an arrogant attitude. We support all actions taken against the enemy, and we do not brand them as fascists, as some do. We lay emphasis on the fact that in practice the united front must be led by the working class.

In Summary

The policy of our Party is to completely defeat the British imperialist intervention and domination, to combine this with the struggle against and the defeat of the Irish bourgeoisie, which has sworn allegiance to foreign governments, and which is the class enemy of our people.

To arouse the **industrial proletariat**, in the north and the south, both **catholic and protestant**, to form the leadership of the struggle, and to ally the **small** farmers, intellectuals, small shopkeepers, etc..around the working class.

To advance the struggle by transforming the war from the present terrorist variety to a people's war for national independence and socialism waged by the people under the leadership of the Party for ' the complete defeat of British imperialism.

Once again, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) we extend our warmest thanks to the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) for their work in holding this Rally and for inviting us to participate. We extend our warmest fraternal greetings to the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties present and to the representatives of the national liberation struggles. We greet with great friendship the revolutionary Canadian people and particularly those present this evening.

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM!

LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE GENUINE MARXIST-LENINISTS!

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD UNITE!

This speech was also met with sustained tumultuous applause and the slogans **Glory to Marxism-Leninism! Long Live Proletarian Internationalism!** were shouted over and over again.