

WORKERS' ENGLAND

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RELEASE

- A QUOTATION FROM CHAIRMAN MAO -

The oppressed peoples and nations must not pin their hopes for liberation on the "sensible-ness" of imperialism and its lackeys. They will only triumph by strengthening their unity and persevering in their struggle.

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All the News that Serves the Proletarian Socialist Revolution

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THE "NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY" IS AN ILLEGAL, ANTI-NATIONAL, ANTI-WORKING CLASS ASSEMBLY

SAYS COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRELAND (MARXIST-LENINIST) REPRESENTATIVE

London, July 20th, 1973 (WEDNR) - Following is the text of a speech delivered by a representative of the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) at the public meeting held in London to denounce the "Northern Ireland Assembly" on June 29th, 1973. The meeting was held two days after the British imperialist troops began to harass supporters of the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) calling on the Irish people not to vote for the "Northern Irish Assembly", and the speech was warmly received by the audience of 50 people including Irish people resident in England.

Comrades and Friends,

The struggle of the people in Ireland for national liberation and for proletarian socialist

revolution is not a far-away struggle, external to the struggle of the English proletariat for proletarian socialist revolution. In particular the struggle of the British Government to impose the terms of the White Paper on the people of northern Ireland is very directly connected with its ability to deceive and to trick the English working class in order to maintain the rule of the British monopoly capitalist class in England still longer. Whatever successes the British monopoly capitalist class has in its attempts to deceive and suppress the people of Ireland have very direct repercussions on the people in England and at the same time whatever successes the people in Ireland achieve against the British monopoly capitalist class have a great effect on the English people and

vice versa. Why has the National Executive of the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) given the call: - "Don't Vote for the 'Northern Ireland Assembly' "? Some people mistakenly think that we say don't vote. First of all I would like to point out that the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) is strongly opposed to the revisionists' so-called "Parliamentary road to Socialism" but fully supports standing candidates for the purpose, not of reforming the capitalist system, but of popularising Marxism-Leninism amongst the people. For example, the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) fully supports the decision of the Communist Party of England (Marxist-Leninist) to stand a candidate in the Manchester Exchange By-Election recently, where the Marxist-Leninists achieved quite an enormous success by getting 109 votes, or 1.1% of the poll. The poll of the Marxist-Leninist candidate of the Communist Party of England (Marxist-Leninist) was the biggest percentage increase compared to all the other Parties. Some of the capitalist press reported that the Conservative Party defeat was "almost as bad" as the Communist Party of England (Marxist-Leninist) "defeat", but this is turning truth on its head because whereas the Conservative Party used to be the dominant trend, and they have started losing votes and losing seats showing an overall downhill trend, the Marxist-Leninists have advanced from having no candidates to having one candidate and from having no votes to having 109 votes and this is an uphill trend. The Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) fully supports this sort of political activity. It is not that the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) stands for the "Parliamentary road to Socialism". The Party totally disagrees with the revisionists. There is no such thing as the "Parliamentary road to Socialism", there is no such thing as voting in socialists who are going to change the British monopoly capitalist class and introduce "nationalisation" or "socialisation of industry". This is the platform on which the British Labour Party always canvassed and it is very evident today where its policy led the British Labour Party and the people who supported it. There is no such thing as getting voted into the bourgeois state and making a "minor adjustment" and turning it into a state in favour of the proletarian masses. Our Party supports the standing of Marxist-Leninist candidates in some of the elections in order to give the bourgeoisie a tit-for-tat struggle. All the representatives of the British monopoly capitalist class canvass the local, working people with all sorts of unscientific theories on inflation, on the EEC, and about how they are going to save the people from all the problems. Elections present a good opportunity for the Marxist-Leninists to present a clearcut scientific line on what the

issues facing the people actually are, what is the root cause of inflation, what are the international issues at stake in the world today, what is the issue in Ireland, and so on. It is a very good opportunity for the broad masses of people to have the opportunity over a long period of time to listen to what the Marxist-Leninists have to say. As Marxist-Leninists we are interested in arousing the broad masses of the people to what's going on in the world and in presenting the Marxist-Leninist point of view on what is going on in Ireland and what is going on in England. We think that it is very important that the people have the opportunity of listening to the Marxist-Leninists, hearing what they have to say and weighing it for themselves over a period of time - whether the capitalist parties can bring home anything to the working people or whether the Marxist-Leninists and the road of proletarian socialist revolution is going to answer all these questions. In terms of this particular election for the Northern Ireland Assembly, the Party decided to call upon the people not to vote for a very specific reason.

It is clear that this "Assembly" is being created, shaped up, and handed to the people of northern Ireland by the British monopoly capitalist ruling class as a completely artificial, illegal and anti-national assembly which has absolutely no right to exist in Ireland, and is part of an attempt by British imperialism to completely turn the issues in Ireland on their head, distort the real issues in Irish politics and present false terms of reference to divert the Irish people. This is extremely crucial to the survival of the British monopoly capitalists' rule in Ireland, because the British monopoly capitalist class is acting as a foreign imperialist power intervening in the affairs of another country, and the large majority of the people of the world today oppose the intervention of foreign imperialist powers in the affairs of another country. We are living in the era when U.S. imperialism is being kicked out of Vietnam, and large masses of people throughout the world are up in arms against U.S. imperialist invasion of Vietnam, U.S. imperialist bombing of Cambodia, and very many such invasions. Today, the growing world support for non-intervention led by the People's Republic of China is quite a force. That is not to say that this is a force that can actually prevent any intervention occurring, at this stage people are not organised to that extent, so interventions by imperialist powers into other countries will still occur, and will occur more and more as the imperialists and especially the superpowers become more and more desperate. At the same time the world consciousness against the intervention of one country into the affairs of another country is very much increasing and for example the

people of England are increasingly against British imperialist interference in the affairs of other countries. So British imperialism cannot afford to present the issues in a clear-cut fashion, that is that it demands the right to intervene in the internal affairs of the Irish people and of course the Irish people will never agree that British imperialism has the right to interfere in the affairs of Ireland or any other country. The whole possibility for the British monopoly capitalist class to maintain its rule in Ireland hangs on its ability to turn truth on its head and present completely false issues and false terms of reference as to what should be discussed in Ireland and what is going on there. So the British ruling class have produced the Green Paper, the White Paper, they have held a Border Poll etc. After presenting the "issues" then they tell people "This is your last chance; if you don't take this we're not going to help you any more." In Westminster you can hear the representatives of the monopoly capitalists saying that this is the 'last chance' for the Irish people, that if they aren't sensible enough to accept the proposals of the White Paper the British ruling class can't do any more for them and will pull out. The social democrats, the so-called friends of the people, with leader Harold Wilson, and followers Gerry Fitt etc. try to use the politics of desperation to get people to accept the imperialists' terms of reference. They say that this is really it, this is really the last chance, if people don't take this chance there is going to be bloodshed, murder, war and terrible things are going to happen. What they mean is, if the people don't accept their terms of reference they are going to make sure that bloodshed, war and violence is escalated against the working people. Because it is their class which holds the guns, controls the state armies, the state apparatus in England as well as in the north of Ireland, and it is the British Army, whether under the Government of Harold Wilson or Ted Heath who have been responsible for over 90% of all the killing in northern Ireland. Investigation shows that it is the British imperialist army and all their underground units which are responsible for the large majority of the killings in northern Ireland under one hoax or another, whilst the bourgeois press does its best to create the smokescreen of "senseless, sectarian murders". So it is the monopoly capitalist class who are threatening violence on the people when they say that bloodshed is going to break out or that the people of Ireland will have to live with bloodshed forever if they don't accept the White Paper. It also reflects their own fear that the struggle of the people of northern Ireland as well as of the whole of Ireland for national liberation, the armed struggle of the people against the British imperialist mercenary troops is going to conti-

nuce and escalate unless the monopoly capitalists can appease the people and deceive them into some sort of temporary "solution" in order to mislead the national struggle. It is very indicative that the day after the Local Government elections in northern Ireland The Sunday Times ran an article that the British Government was very worried because not too many people voted in the local Government elections and not only that, but not too many people voted for SDLP or Alliance. The article said that this smashed up the hopes of British imperialism to have a Coalition ruling northern Ireland, because if only the Unionist Party is restored and the Alliance, SDLP and the other puppet parties don't get a share of the votes, then the same old situation will exist as it did with Stormont and British imperialism will not be able to prattle about having something new for the people. The dreams of the monopoly capitalists for the future rest on the fact that they have concocted some parties, e.g., SDLP and Alliance merely to try and create an image that there is some democracy in northern Ireland, and their hope for the future rests on getting some SDLP and Alliance Party members into this new Assembly and then saying that this is democracy, with representatives of the minority, "power sharing" etc. and that the problem is solved. Clearly, the bourgeoisie can share power between as many divisions of the bourgeoisie as it likes but it still doesn't mean anything for the proletariat, it just means more deception. So the main attempt of the British monopoly capitalist class is to turn the issues upside-down in Ireland and to present the White Paper as the only feasible way forward. To this end they use violence, and use not only direct violence but also use sectarian propaganda and carry out innumerable so-called "sectarian" murders and then in what they term this "terrible" situation of "mystery" killings, "terror" and fear they introduce the White Paper telling the people that if they all vote for the "Northern Ireland Assembly" everything will be fine.

The Irish People are One People!
The Theories of "Two Communities"
and "Reconciliation" are Bogus
Imperialist Theories

According to British imperialist propaganda on northern Ireland there are "two communities" in northern Ireland; these "two communities" are at war, and in between these two "mad", "warring" and "bigoted" communities are the glorious and honourable British imperialist troops standing there trying to keep everybody apart. All the bourgeois parties, from the south to the north of Ireland, and from

England, all give the same line, whether its the "official" Unionists led by Faulkner or whether it's Craig or Paisley or whether it's Fitt and the SDLP or the Alliance Party or Fianna Fail led by Jack Lynch, Fine Gael/Labour Coalition led by Cosgrave and Corish, that is that there are "two communities" in northern Ireland. The only differences between the different bourgeois parties, is on the issue of whether there should be reconciliation between the "two communities" or whether there shouldn't be. For example, the directly fascist groupings like Craig's say that there are "two communities" and the answer is to wipe out the "Catholic community". E.g. Craig and the Vanguard Movement say that if the "Catholic community" go on hiding the IRA or providing defence for them then it is 'inevitable' that the whole "Catholic community" will get wiped out in the course of wiping out the IRA. SDLP on the other hand calls for reconcilia-

tion between the "two communities", Fianna Fail also calls for reconciliation between the "two communities", whilst Faulkner says there should be "power sharing" but with certain provisions, and the Alliance Party's basic platform is to claim to be the party with a foot in "both camps". The Alliance's whole programme is a programme of "better community relations", having "communities" and not "collections of individuals", integrated education etc. All the bourgeois parties take a stand on this basis, they agree with British imperialist propaganda that there are "two communities" and then they either start talking about reconciliation between the "two communities" and how it could be brought about, or the extreme fascist wing talk about eliminating the minority community.

It is starting from this basic myth and non-scientific upside-down logic of "two communities" that British imperialism introduces all its proposals. It justifies all violence by saying that it is violence between the "two communities" or that it is violence against the Army when it is trying to hold the "two communities" apart and that if they pull their troops out there will be a massacre and the "two communities" will kill each other. The revisionist CPGB echo this in their document entitled "Britain and the Irish Crisis: A Communist View of the White Paper" in which they are so bold as to say that British troops should get out of Ireland, but "not too soon" or according to them everybody is going to fight one another.

The British imperialists introduce all their "solutions" on the basis that there are "two

communities" in northern Ireland and the problem is to find some middle ground. The main proposal of the White Paper is "power sharing" and the institutionalisation of divisions between the so-called "two communities" in northern Ireland. The imperialists plan to institutionalise the division between the "two communities" by introducing the concept of "power-sharing" between the two, equal housing for the two, equal rights for the two, integrated schooling for the two. The whole attempt of the White Paper is to institutionalise two things :-

1. that Ireland should be partitioned,
2. that there are "two communities" and these should be institutionalised, making them permanent, and institutionalising talk about how to reconcile them. The crux of the matter is that starting from the point of view that there are "two communities", debates can go on for the next 100 years in Westminster and the "Northern Ireland Assembly" between all different hues and colours of bourgeois politicians, about how many bridges we should build between the "two communities", how we should go about it, whether the power is "shared" fairly or not etc. The basic thing which the White Paper attempts to institutionalise is that people should talk in terms of "two communities", which means that it should be assumed that northern Ireland belongs to the British ruling class, that the Irish people have no right to claim their own territory, that the Irish people have no right to self-determination and sovereignty in their own country. Thus the imperialists dictate the terms of reference; now all the bourgeois politicians have taken up the false terms of the imperialist masters and are discussing "power sharing" and bringing the "two communities" closer together etc. They are not discussing the question of the rights of the Irish people to national liberation and self-determination, they are not discussing the fact that the partition is an imperialist manipulated and illegal partition, they are not discussing the fact that the basic problem in northern Ireland is not "two communities", ie. Catholic and Protestant but the domination over the people's lives by British imperialism. They obscure the point that the basic division is a class division and not one between "two communities". So the idea of the White Paper is to create these completely false terms of reference for discussion. The Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) believes that in the interests of the national liberation struggle of the Irish people, in the interests of mobilising overall public opinion for the just principle that a people have the right to self-determination, have the right to determine their own affairs and have a right to sovereignty and independence, it will be entirely wrong for the Marxist-Leninist Party to support in any way the "Northern Ireland Assembly", in any way to collaborate with British imperialism to impose this Assembly, or in any

way to provide a programme which helps to reform northern Ireland. All of the election programmes of the other parties provide platforms for the reforms of northern Ireland which will make it better, and this is not better for the working people, it is better for the British monopoly capitalist ruling class. So our Party stands for complete opposition to the "Northern Ireland Assembly", and for recognising the right of the Irish people to self-determination, at the same time recognising the particularity of the struggle in northern Ireland.

The "Two-Nations" Theory is a Fascist Theory which Distorts the History of the Irish People

The theory of the "two communities" is the king pin of British imperialist propaganda, and historical analysis shows the theory to be totally unscientific. The crudest, most backward advocates of this reactionary position are the directly fascist groups in the Unionists - that is Paisley and Craig. Their platform openly states this and makes out that a "Protestant man" and a "Catholic man" each have inherent, genetic and unchangeable characteristics which make them different, whilst the Catholics are also ipso facto supposed to be "inferior", "less cultivated" people. These fascist theories are crudely presented in a series of fascist rags which are produced by this section, all being openly anti-Catholic, anti-people, anti-communist, aiming to divide the workers into two irreconcilable camps - Protestant and Catholic, trying to make out that the characteristics of people have nothing to do with their social conditions, environment and class, e.g. Paisley tries to show "genetic" and "basic unity" between himself (a representative of the capitalist class) and the Protestant workers and inevitable disunity between Protestant and Catholic workers. Clearly workers, of whatever religion, have most in common, as their social, political and economic position is basically the same and all are oppressed and exploited by the capitalist class. Paisley, Craig and their like thus preach the straightforward fascist logic of the external enemy and the need for the workers to unite with their masters. Today, however, British imperialism cannot afford to rely solely on such crude propaganda as justifications for their "two communities" theory, so they have created some new ideologues who have come up to sophisticate the theory that there are "two communities" in Ireland. These ideologues are social-

democrats (like Conor Cruise O'Brien) and a particularly hardened brand of Trotskyites (who call themselves communists) whose whole existence in life is to prove that there are "two nations" in northern Ireland. According to these metaphysicians, there is a "Protestant nation" and a "Catholic nation", and thus they justify British imperialism's role in Ireland, saying that British imperialism is entirely correct in giving the right to the so-called "Protestant nation" to stay with England. The metaphysical "two nations theory" distorts history entirely, and suggests that the people who came into Ireland from Scotland, mostly Scottish crofters, peasant folk, brought with them "Protestant" culture and a "Protestant" economy of their own, and somehow this gave rise to a "Protestant nation" in Ireland which is entirely separate economically, politically, and in every other way from a "Catholic nation" in northern Ireland. Now for a nation to exist, one of the criteria is that it is an integral economic unit, as England is an integral economic entity. According to the "two nations theory" the peasants who came from Scotland, who started tilling the land in northern Ireland, somehow or other constituted a nation separate from the indigenous population who they were mixed into. The "two nations" metaphysicians try to make out that there were two economies growing side by side and this gave rise to two nations, and not just side by side, but what is even more unscientific, that two nations and economies grew up from the so-called Catholic "race" and the Protestant "race" whilst both were tilling the same land side by side with one another. Contrary to what these metaphysicians say, the actual analysis of Irish history shows that it is because of the rise of national liberation struggle in Ireland and consistent attempts on the part of the people to unite to liberate Ireland from British colonial domination, that the present situation has arisen. The English colonialists were not only oppressing Ireland but they were also engaged in the ruthless colonisation of Scotland and Wales and all this colonisation of Ireland, Scotland and Wales and later of other countries was used by them to maintain their class dictatorship over the English proletariat. In the process of colonising Scotland they made life unbearable for the crofters, threw thousands off the land, forced many to emigrate or become wage-slave labour in the big industrial towns. Then the English colonialists used these peasant folk to set up plantations in Ireland to try and prevent the Irish people from revolting, to divide the people and to make sure that they had some people to till their land for them as the

Irish peasants so frequently resisted. The colonialists needed the planters as a "loyal column" i. e. "loyal" to the aristocracy in times of revolt by the indigenous Irish population and "loyal" to till the land of the aristocracy. British imperialism also granted land in northern Ireland as well as in other parts of Ireland to landed gentry, aristocrats, businessmen and successful soldiers from England, Scotland and Wales. In this way Scots peasantry were brought into Ireland, especially into Ulster where the revolutionary tradition was very high, and aristocrats and other representatives of the ruling class were given large areas of land, or towns. So there were two entirely different sorts of people sent into Ireland: one the ordinary Scots peasantry who the English colonialists had forced off their own land in Scotland, planted them in the middle of Ireland, not of their own free will but by force and by necessity, and the second the landed aristocrats. There was absolutely no unity between the Scots peasantry who were planted in Ireland and the lords and ladies and other representatives of colonialism who were granted lands and estates. Even their religions were different, just to expose the colonial myth that the Scots peasants and the aristocracy were united on the basis of religion. The Scots peasants were Presbyterians, and the representatives of English colonialism who were granted lands were Church of England Protestants, and there is a lot of difference between the Presbyterian religion and Church of England Protestant religion historically. The second point is that all the Scots peasantry who were brought into Ulster were not all put into one area, and a separate area created, but they were scattered across the whole area and mixed in with the indigenous Irish population. Even today in many places in northern Ireland the people who are farming in the valleys are descended from the Scots peasantry and the people who are farming on the hill tops, the most barren land, are the descendants of the ancient Irish peasantry, because when the Scots peasantry were brought in the landlords forced the Irish peasantry up onto the most barren parts of the land and tried to give the Scots peasantry the better parts of the land in order to endear themselves to this new force and win their support. This was all part of an attempt to break the resistance of the Irish peasantry, undermine their spirit and make it difficult for them to exist economically - for them to live. The landed gentry lost no time in trying to get the support of the Scottish crofters and peasantry in their struggle to keep the Irish peasantry down. With the Scots peasantry completely

mixed throughout the countryside, and later in the industry there are not two separate economies. How can you have two separate economies and 'nations', for instance when you walk down a piece of road and you find a Scots peasant here and an Irish peasant next and a Scotsman again etc. ? All this means that the actual situation in Ireland is that a Scots national minority exists in Ireland which has been entirely integrated in the economy of Ireland. It is not a nation existing within Ireland, it is a national minority. The Scots peasants became completely integrated, they were part of the same economy, of the same politics, and more and more adopted the same culture and same characteristics as the people already existing in Ireland. The integration of the planted national minority with the indigenous population was shown by the growing unity to resist their class enemies. There are a large number of examples in which the peasantry united to oppose the landlord, because it does not take very much to correlate that even if you may be on a marginally better tract of land than the man next to you, the landlord has tens of thousands of acres more than either of you. The peasants united many times in peasant associations and they won quite a lot of rights in northern Ireland through their struggles. Then the national bourgeoisie also united. There was no "two communities" of "Catholic" and "Protestant" or anything else like that in the national bourgeoisie. The United Irishmen by its very name and by its leaders shows you this. The United Irishmen leaders were Wolfe Tone and Henry Joy McCracken. Wolfe Tone himself was a Protestant businessman, and son of a businessman in Belfast. So each class united. The peasantry united, against the landlords. The national bourgeoisie united, and tried to stage revolution against English colonialism. Later on the workers started uniting massively. One of the things that British imperialism does is that it only popularises that history that reflects disunity between the people, it never popularises the history that reflects unity between the people, and the history of unity between the people of Ireland is far more prevalent than the history of disunity. In the 1920's and 30's the people united massively, e. g. massive demonstrations were held against unemployment led by the communists, despite the sectarian propaganda, despite all the attempts by the bourgeoisie to bribe the Protestants not to unite with the Catholics. The British imperialists' reply to the massive demonstrations of the workers of Belfast in the 30's was to put snipers on the roofs of the buildings in Belfast and to put agents inside the demonstration, so that the snipers would fire into the demonstration and the agents inside the demonstration started

shouting IRA! IRA! in order to try to split the demonstration. Every attempt the people made to unite, this sort of vicious reply came from the British imperialists and they made direct attempts to buy off certain sections of the labour and use them as armed force to keep on dividing the people. It is significant that during the war Belfast was extremely badly affected; British imperialism was using it to store large numbers of its troops, large amounts of equipment and ammunition and carry out repairs and so on, at the same time it refused to give Belfast any defence of its own. One night in 1941 when the city was attacked by German bombers, the people had nothing to fight back with and the fire brigade had to come all the way from Dublin to Belfast to try and put out the fires in the centre of Belfast. The people were really furious, and a mass movement began amongst the people of the Falls and the Shankill that the workers would unite against the government. An MP for the Shankill then broke down in tears inside parliament saying what should we do? People are uniting, and the Shankill and the Falls are together - the people are united against the government, he said. The history of Ireland is the history of attempts by the people to unite against the common enemy, countered by the attempts by the British monopoly capitalist class to disunite the people. The prevalent history of the people is the history to unite and not to disunite, because they have quite heroically united despite attempts of the colonialists and the British monopoly capitalists to get them disunited.

"Cultural National Autonomy" is Used by the Imperialists to Divide the People.

By the early part of the century, the Scots national minority was nearly fully integrated in the whole economy and politics of Ireland. Comrade Stalin pointed out that all the national minorities of Russia when they first came brought with them all the characteristics of the country which they had come from, and that gradually as they worked and lived and passed from generation to generation in Russia they started acquiring the characteristics of the country, people and the class they were now part of. Comrade Stalin pointed out that the national minorities gradually and gradually started reflecting all the characteristics of the country they were living in which was Russia. He pointed out that it was just at the time when the national minorities were becoming completely integrated with

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the mother country that they were living in, that the most reactionary elements of that national minority arose to try to prevent this process. Comrade Stalin pointed out that the Jewish Rabbis became quite hysterical because the Jews were getting integrated in Russia and staged a programme to try and have a comeback for Jewish culture. This was in order to keep the Jewish people separate from the Russian people so that they (the Rabbis) would have an existence in life. At this stage an organisation called the Bund arose to advocate "cultural national autonomy" for the Jews. This was a reactionary theory which was advocated inside and outside communist circles, and advocated that nationality could be determined by some abstract cultural characteristic. This theory held that a Jew anywhere in the world should be a member of the Bund and his allegiance should be to some international Jewish Government and his principal characteristic should be taken as that of being a Jew in itself irrespective of what country he exists in, what class he exists in, what work he does, who he mixes with and how long he has existed in the conditions of another country etc. The Jewish Bund and various other organisations including certain Communist

Parties who followed this theory advocated autonomous Government for all the people of one characteristic race or culture within a country. As Comrade Stalin pointed out, this line served only to divide the workers; for example, in Russia there were workers of many nationalities, including Jews, working side by side and the principal feature was that they were workers working side by side who were jointly oppressed by the Czars, whilst the national minorities were even more oppressed by the Czars on racial, national and religious grounds. The concept of "cultural national autonomy" was introduced in order to divide the workers, saying that this worker is inherently this sort of nationality and this worker is inherently another sort of nationality, so this worker should have his primary allegiance to an international government for people descended from his nationality and that this worker who is right beside him at the place of work should have his allegiance to another international government of his nationality. Various organisations were completely broken up in the communist movement at that time because in fact this is a completely racist line which can only disorganise the broad masses of the people. Comrade Stalin said that the national minorities should organise to defend their rights, but that they should so not to disunite the proletariat but in order to further unite and advance the proletariat. For example, on the question of the right of national minorities to preserve their language Comrade Stalin pointed out 1) that the national minorities had a right to their own language and the Czars had no right to suppress it and 2) that the language was important in as much as it facilitated the workers of that nationality to become educated, grasp Marxism-Leninism and thus become proletarian fighters. It was not progressive to fight for a national minority to retain its own language in order that it create "differences" between workers or try to disunite the workers of one nationality from those of another. It was the experience of Comrade Stalin and the Bolshevik Party that a region, whether it historically constituted a nation or not, could call for regional autonomy on the basis that it had various particular problems with various particular characteristics, but that the Bolsheviks would never grant "cultural national autonomy" to a whole scattering of workers of one race or nationality scattered over a country.

If there is any claim for autonomy for northern Ireland, for Ulster, inside Ireland, it has to be a claim for regional autonomy and cannot be a claim for cultural national auto-

nomy. The "two nation" metaphysicians are actually talking about cultural national autonomy. What they advocate would in practice mean that all Protestants from Belfast, Derry and Armagh etc. would all constitute one nation, and all Catholics from Belfast, Derry, Armagh etc. would constitute another nation, both would be separate and autonomous. Apart from being a theory merely to divide the working class it is not a practical reality because there is no separate economy between the "Protestants" of Derry and the "Catholics" of Derry. It is possible however for the people of Ulster to claim regional autonomy within Ireland on the basis that they have particular historical problems and that within the context of a socialist Ireland run by the people of Ireland itself they would like a large degree of autonomy and self government in order to be able to deal with their particular problems. As communists we are not opposed to regional autonomy if it is advocated for these reasons and not to divide the workers. The bourgeoisie have also used regional autonomy to form bourgeois breakaways from the socialist state and there were such attempts in the Soviet Union in which various reactionary elements tried to stage a comeback on the basis that they should have regional autonomy. Stalin and the Bolshevik Party actually opposed a number of these attempts; these attempts were in fact attempts by the Western imperialist powers to back reactionaries inside the small countries in Russia, in order to divide the workers of those small countries from the Russian workers as a whole. Craig is calling for Ulster to be separate from the rest of Ireland purely in order to divide the workers of northern Ireland from the workers of southern Ireland, and in this sense the bourgeoisie does put up a claim for regional autonomy which the British imperialists have answered, but which we as communists would not recognise. At the same time if the working people wanted regional autonomy, because of the particular characteristics of the area, then this is a good thing. Comrade Stalin pointed out that in some regions where there are very particular and peculiar problems characteristic to that region or area, it is a good thing if the people of that region can take the general line of the Party and the government and implement it in their particular conditions.

The "two nations" theory is the metaphysics which has been used to sophisticate the British imperialist propaganda that there are "two communities". The propaganda of the social-democratic and trotskyite "two nation" metaphysicians rests on the myth that there is such a thing as a religious nation, but there is no such thing as

a 'Hindu nation', or a 'Catholic nation' or a 'Protestant nation' or any other such nation. Nations are determined by a number of characteristics and nations are not primarily characterised by their religion. This Trotskyite group resorts to the most base racist arguments to prove that people who came from Scotland had a certain characteristic, a 'Protestant characteristic', that they developed in their work, such that they actually developed a different nation in northern Ireland. Quite contrary to the myth that there are "two nations" and "two communities" in northern Ireland, there is in fact one people in Ireland, the Irish people, and within that context there is a Scots national minority which is largely integrated with Ireland, but which is being encouraged not to integrate by the British imperialists and the most reactionary section of the comprador bourgeoisie. Craig, Paisley, Faulkner etc. do propaganda that the people of northern Ireland are British which is an outright distortion because nobody in northern Ireland is British except a few of the landed aristocracy and businessmen. Everybody else is either Irish or is descended from the Scots peasantry over a long period of time, and have become part of the Irish nation and people. The historic situation facing the people of Ireland is therefore the winning of national liberation for the Irish people at the same time as giving full rights to the national minority and if necessary supporting regional autonomy in various areas. The issue in Ireland has got nothing to do with "keeping the British connection", "defending the Ulster constitution", "power sharing", institution of the "Northern Ireland Assembly" and all these sorts of things. These issues are attempts by British imperialism to try and prevent the last stage of the integration of the Scots national minority with the Irish people and in order to keep this division alive they're going to keep on talking about "two communities", keep on talking about "power sharing", keep on suggesting that there are "two nations".

History reveals that it is only the communists who have ever handled the question of nationalities or national minorities in a democratic fashion. No other class ever did it. The feudalists never did, the capitalists never did, and the monopoly capitalists never did. The feudalists wanted to have racial and religious divisions where they needed them, in order to be able to recruit people for their armies. For example when James and William of Orange went to war in Ireland (reflecting the whole power struggle going on in Europe; James was fighting for one power bloc and William was fight-

ing for the League of Augsburg, of which the Pope was a member) the only way they could get the peasants to fight for them was for James to say to the Catholics "I'll give you more religious liberties", and William to say to the Presbyterians "I'll give you more religious liberties", and so forth. On account of this the feudal monarchy were never able or never willing to solve the problem of giving full rights to national minorities or nationalities or peoples of different religions because it was not in their interests. Then with the rise of capitalism and then imperialism it is completely against the interests of imperialism to have the workers united, so they would never try and assist the national minorities to unite with the oppressed people of the mother country. Neither is it in the imperialists' interests to have the national minority people considered equal because they want to use the national minorities as a cheap labour source. Neither is it in the imperialists' interests to have nations free, because without the oppression and exploitation of other nations imperialism could not exist. Whereas the proletariat under the leadership of its conscious vanguard the Communists has always taken the policy that all nationalities and national minorities have the right to self-determination, the right to their own culture and heritage, right to be equal and not racially discriminated against, and genuine communists have never suppressed but always defended these rights. At the same time the communists encourage all nationalities or national minorities to unite together with the workers and peasants of the whole country in order to achieve success in the socialist revolution.

In Ireland the basic underlying problem is the national oppression due to British imperialism, and underlying the national oppression the class oppression due to the class system exercised by the British monopoly capitalists. The only way forward is that the people of Wales and the people of Scotland have the right to national self-determination, that the people of Ireland have the right to national self-determination, that the people of Ireland grant to any national minority within their territory the right to stay or to come or to go and their rights to their own national culture. At the same time not to agree to such things as "cultural national autonomy", condominium (which is based on cultural national autonomy), institutionalisation of "two communities" etc. The only future for Ireland is the future of national liberation and self-determination. This is a necessary step in order to advance proletarian socialist revolution in Ireland,

and the establishment of socialism is the only way to ensure equality for all working people, an end to capitalist created divisions and the unity of all working people to build a socialist country. Also the only future for our four peoples of England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales is that Ireland, Scotland and Wales must be granted full rights to self-determination, national minorities must be granted full rights to go where they wish and not to be nationally oppressed and it is only by supporting these rights to self-determination that the interests of the proletariat of the four countries can be served and the proletarian socialist revolution in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales advanced.

The White Paper and all the "solutions" of British imperialism are attempts by British imperialism to present what is going on in Ireland in completely distorted terms. Examining the simple facts of Irish history, the intervention in Ireland of the English colonialists and now the British monopoly capitalists, the division of Ireland by British imperialism, the creation of sectarianism by British imperialism, it is clear that the British imperialists ignore every basic fact of Irish history and turn all truth on its head. The British imperialists have no solution to offer in terms of resolving these historical problems which are problems which face the people and are problems which can only be shouldered by Marxist-Leninists and genuinely patriotic people. The British monopoly capitalist class and its colonial and neo-colonial lackeys are going to end up in the final analysis getting thrown out of Ireland and all the hurdles that they are trying to put in the people's way, i. e. trying to disunite the people, the people will take these in their stride bit by bit. Because if British imperialism tells people to disunite, they may temporarily believe it but once they overcome that propaganda they will be even more vigorous for unity. This is bound to occur, and this force is bound to solve the historic problems facing the Irish people.

Down with the Collaborators of British Imperialism

There are a large number of organisations contesting the elections in northern Ireland and all of these organisations have their demands; demands that the "Northern Ireland" Government do this; that the British Government do this etc. The Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) is totally against this idea

of presenting demands and suggesting that British imperialism can do something for the Irish people, that it is possible to reform the system there. To suggest such a thing is to confuse the broad masses of the people about the basic and clearcut issues which exist in Ireland, i. e. the right of the Irish people to national liberation, the necessity for the working people of all Ireland to unite, and the necessity for the Irish people to unite with the workers of England. This division - between those who suggest that British imperialism can do some good and that the rotten capitalist, colonial and neo-colonial system can be reformed in the interests of the working people - and those who oppose this is a reflection of a major division occurring at the moment in Irish politics. This division is on the issue of national liberation, that is basically a division between those organisations and trends that stand for national liberation and those organisations that are willing to compromise on or completely give up on or who stand against the issue of national liberation. All the bourgeois parties stand against national liberation. There was a time when Fianna Fail had some nationalist element in it, and actually stood for national liberation in Ireland, but those days are long gone, and they are now very much a sold-out party. All the bourgeois parties stand for collaboration with British imperialism and rationalise this by saying they are uniting with Britain to help reconcile the "two communities" and so on. The stand of the bourgeois parties - of the colonial and neo-colonial bourgeoisie - is not surprising but some so-called progressives stand, not on the side of supporting national liberation, but on the side of opposing national liberation and supporting the various spurious theories which are advanced to oppose national liberation.

Trotskyite B & ICO are the Closest Friends of British Imperialism

A very clear-cut division is occurring in Irish society, between those who support the right of the people to wage armed struggle, who support the right of the people to fight British imperialism, and those who oppose this. The opposition comes in various forms but the most clearcut opposition is represented by Mr Conor Cruise O'Brien, (Labour T. D. and Minister of Posts and Telegraphs) and the British and Irish Communist Organisation. Conor Cruise O'Brien and this organisation fully support the stand of British imperialism, and oppose the Irish people. The extreme faith ex-

pressed by this clique in their imperialist masters and their counter-revolutionary mentality is shown by the following quotation from them: "The development of working class politics in northern Ireland is conditional upon the ending of the national conflict. In the White Paper and the Constitutional Bill the British Government has provided a framework in which a marked lessening of the conflict can take place. The working class interest will be served by returning to the new Assembly those Parties who are prepared to work within that framework. The most important features of the new institutions is the political and social involvement of the Catholic community in the administration of the state, and that involvement will signal the end of Catholic nationalist disruption and the consolidation of the union with Britain on a basis firmer and more lasting than at any time in the previous history of the Northern Ireland state."

This speaks for itself. According to this clique of British imperialist agents the White Paper is a good thing, it is a "democratic proposal" on the part of British imperialism. They bend over backwards to support British imperialism and they are the most active propagandists against the people's right to self-defence, self-determination, and to take up arms for this just cause and against any organisation who advocates this. They say the main problem in northern Ireland is that the southern bourgeoisie is an expansionist bourgeoisie, trying by armed force to take over Ulster and that the republicans and patriotic people are mindless killers acting on behalf of this expansionist state in southern Ireland. This is completely turning truth on its head and this clique is responsible for leading propaganda in support of British imperialism, providing some sort of rationale for supporting British imperialism, and leading propaganda that the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist), the republicans and anyone who supports the national liberation struggle (what they call the "one nation dogma") are the enemies of

the people of northern Ireland. They advocate that the "Protestant nation" should have the right to stay with British imperialism and at the same time civil rights should be granted to the Catholic minority. So first of all they have divided the working people on a completely religious basis, then they say that this mythical "Protestant nation" has a right to stay with British imperialism. Firstly, this nation, the so-called "Protestant nation" is mythical; secondly if such a nation existed and wanted to unite with British imperialism rather than the Irish workers it is a reactionary and not revolutionary nationalism that it is advocating, and thirdly no matter how many nations there are in Ireland the imperialist economic plunder and political and cultural domination means that all nations are oppressed. So under the guise of standing for "unity of the working class" and opposing national divisions these trotskyites - true to the nature of all trotskyites - oppose the revolutionary nationalism of the Irish people to self-determination - the necessary step towards unity amongst all working people in Ireland and support reactionary nationalism of making religious differences primary and supporting the Unionist position (started by the most reactionary aristocracy in Ireland) of unity with British imperialism.

How the Revisionists Try to "Improve" British Imperialism

Collaborating with these trotskyite agents are the revisionists, and the main plank of revisionist propaganda in Ireland is much more subtle. They oppose the idea that there are "two nations" in Ireland, and they say that they think the partition is an imposed partition, and that the people of Ireland should have the right to reunite and the right to solve their own problems. However after saying this they sneak in their revisionist solutions which objectively align them with imperialism and all the people who oppose national liberation. For example after making

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a statement that British imperialism is the main problem they start issuing programmes and statements which say that if the British troops get out too soon there'll be sectarian warfare, and they say that sectarian warfare is going on in northern Ireland, and this has ruined the struggle in Ireland, has completely dampened the struggle in the south, and that it should all be stopped and then started again on a "proper class basis". As Chairman Mao says, "A revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another". So after theoretically blaming British imperialism they give a whole platform which is based on the myth that sectarianism is the main problem. In essence the revisionists and social democrats are advocating reform of the capitalist system in the same way as the fascists are. For example, in the National Front programme for Britain (they stood one candidate in the "Northern Ireland Assembly" elections) they say "stand by Ulster; firm measures against Republican subversion; capital punishment for IRA killers; support the Loyalists against the Labour-Tory sell-out". In Northern Ireland they call for "strong local government; tough action now against terrorists; full employment; major increases in pensions; interest-free loans for municipal housing schemes; profit-sharing for workers in industry; withdrawal from the EEC; maintenance of the farm subsidy structure; Commonwealth trade preference; control of foreign investments; establishment of integrated youth clubs in every town". This whole programme is to reform the capitalist system and make it work better in northern Ireland. The programmes which the revisionists are advocating either directly or through the organisations which they have predominant control in, e.g. the Official IRA and the NICRA, are nearly identical programmes to that of the National Front for reforming the capitalist system in northern Ireland. The only two points on the National Front programme which are not on the revisionists' are - the Commonwealth trade preference and tough action against terrorists. The revisionists do not advocate the latter but they have been responsible for doing considerable propaganda against armed struggle in favour of the peaceful platform of civil rights, that is opposing the issue of the RIGHT of the Irish people to self-determination and advocating begging the imperialists for "better rights". The revisionists miss no opportunity to agree with the imperialists that the people should only engage in non-violent struggle. Since the early sixties the revisionists have been trying to get the republican movement in Ireland to lay down its guns, they organised a programme which was call-

ed "making the IRA socialist" and tried to deceive people that to have a socialist platform means putting down their guns, but they did not succeed and the people demanded guns. The revisionists suggest that if the people laid down their guns, sectarianism would go away and the British imperialists would grant civil rights. This is turning truth on its head and actually takes the blame for sectarianism and violence off the British imperialists. The revisionists say that the civil rights movement, led by the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association is fine but that the armed struggle for national liberation is no good, and is dividing the people. Looking at the programme of NICRA it is clear why the revisionists like it because it is a completely reformist programme, epitomised by the fact that the leader of NICRA is frequently pleading with the British bourgeoisie to give the people a "British standard of justice" in northern Ireland. The English proletariat knows full well what this "British standard of justice" represents when Communists in England are being planted with petrol bombs, ammunition and drugs to get them into jails, and with the daily harassment of the working people by the police and courts - this is the so-called "British standard of justice". The NICRA programme stands for: - "dismantling Unionist domination; establishing a democratic and autonomous parliament for northern Ireland based on proportional representation; severing links between sectarian organisations and political parties; introducing fool-proof legislation against sectarian incitement; passing laws to end discrimination; abolishing the Special Powers Act and all repressive legislation; taking action against the Unionist gun clubs and para-military forces." Apart from it being totally idealistic to think British imperialism will do this, this programme is just a way to make northern Ireland more functional for British imperialist exploitation and control. The revisionists ask their masters for proportional representation and now they are beating their breasts that they got proportional representation and who is it going to serve? It is going to serve establishing this "Northern Ireland Assembly" with the created parties like Alliance and SDLP "power-sharing" with the Unionists, and talking about "two communities", and institutionalising that for the next fifty years. The basic platform of the Irish revisionist party is to vote in the Labour Party in the south of Ireland, the Northern Ireland Labour Party or SDLP in the north of Ireland, and the Labour Party in England, and then have faith in these sold-out social democrats and agents of the monopoly capitalist class to unite Ireland and establish freedom for the working class. That speaks for itself because it was Harold Wilson and the British Labour Party who brought the

troops to Ireland in 1969. Other revisionist influenced programmes advocate - "repressive legislation must be abolished; British troops must be withdrawn to the barracks; the judiciary must be reformed; a new police force must be established under local civilian control etc." These things are written in Unionist Party documents, and some of them in Craig's speeches. It is clear that all these programmes are attempts to reform the capitalist system, to reform not only the capitalist system, but the system of the national oppression of the Irish people, through the division of Ireland and through the creation of a false status for northern Ireland within Ireland and with England. It is on this basis that the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) is totally opposed to these sorts of policies and to any policy which in any way acknowledges the right of British imperialism to do anything for Ireland and for the Irish people. History has shown that no cure can come from the gods of plague and nothing good can come of the intervention of a foreign imperialist power in the internal affairs of another country.

"If there is to be a revolution, there must be a revolutionary party"

The influence of revisionism in Ireland as well as in England was very stifling in the 40's and 50's and into the 60's and revisionism, led by Khrushchevite revisionism, was totally dominating the Communist Party of Great Britain as well as the Irish party. Revisionism spread an atmosphere of collaboration, of peaceful co-existence; an atmosphere of expecting some good from imperialism, and misled the people on many occasions. Now the situation in Ireland has markedly changed in 1973 and that change has been due to a number of factors; one is the intensifying international situation, the difficulties in the imperialist economic system, and the contradictions which that has brought to the fore. Another is the growing consciousness of the world's people about international affairs especially against the rights of imperialist powers to intervene and for the policies advocated by the People's Republic of China on the rights of nations to self-determination etc. Lastly, a crucial internal factor in terms of defeating the revisionist atmosphere has been the rise of the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) from the Internationalists in Ireland. When the Internationalists began organising in 1965 in Trinity College Dublin, Ireland, revisionism was completely prevalent and there was nobody standing up against it, or against imperialism throughout Ireland. The

internationalists rose with the spirit of the youth and students of the 60's, the spirit of daring to rebel, daring to stand up and say down with imperialism!, daring to look reactionaries in the face and daring to start disseminating and organising on a Marxist-Leninist basis. Over a period of time this broke the deadlock of the revisionists and social democrats, liberated a lot of initiative and class struggle in the anti-imperialist movement and encouraged people to stand up, and start getting organised against imperialism. As a result of the Internationalists' work a mass upsurge came about in Trinity College Dublin in 1968 in which several thousand students participated. Shortly following on this upsurge, the upsurge in the struggles of the people in northern Ireland erupted again. Northern Ireland is where oppression is most acute in Ireland, it is the most backward, most colonially oppressed, most fascist controlled part of the country because of the direct colonial rule there. On account of this the class contradictions there are very acute. As a direct result of the opposition to revisionism which was led by the Internationalists and youth and students, large numbers of people all over Ireland started coming forward to participate in struggle.

The Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) holds that the most important task facing the Irish people's struggle is the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideas among the broad masses of the people, the arming of the people with a scientific world outlook and in the course of the consolidation of the conscious element of the proletariat - the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist). Only by arming the people ideologically can the present struggle be turned into a protracted people's war against British monopoly capitalism. Only this will qualitatively change the situation in Ireland, that is by bringing about the overthrow of British imperialism's colonial and neo-colonial puppet states. Otherwise a large amount of harassment may be given to the British monopoly capitalists in Ireland but their economic and political control will never be overthrown. To initiate such a situation means protracted struggle to disseminate Marxism-Leninism amongst the people and this is the principal task the Party is engaged in.

At the same time the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) holds that this situation can only be resolved by the unity of the proletariat of England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales. The English proletariat must fully support the right of the Irish people to national liberation as a necessary step forward in the proletarian socialist revolution of the Irish people. Without the national liberation

struggle, the Irish working class will not be able to liberate itself from the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It is not possible to achieve socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat without first achieving national liberation and independence.

This is the era in which Chairman Mao has said that "revolution is the main trend" and to the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) this means that it is necessary to organise even more vigorously, to unite with all progressive and patriotic elements in order to move the struggle forward and in order to prepare the broad masses of the people for the struggles which will be gone through in the coming years. The fact that revolution is the main trend in the world does not mean that British imperialism is going to slip off the

north of Ireland of its own accord but it means that it is going to initiate even more desperate measures to maintain its control. The only answer to this is to work to build the vanguard Party and to build unity between all progressive people for national liberation in Ireland and for the Irish people to unite more closely with the English, Scottish and Welsh people. The close unity between our two sister parties - the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) and the Communist Party of England (Marxist-Leninist) represents the aspirations of our two peoples to unite against the common enemy - British monopoly capitalism and in this sense the fate of the British monopoly capitalist class is already sealed.

End Item

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