

WORKERS' ENGLAND

DAILY NEWS RELEASE

- A QUOTATION FROM CHAIRMAN MAO -

Whoever sides with the revolutionary people is a revolutionary. Whoever sides with imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism is a counter-revolutionary. Whoever sides with the revolutionary people in words only but acts otherwise is a revolutionary in speech. Whoever sides with the revolutionary people in deed as well as in word is a revolutionary in the full sense.

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NO COLLABORATION WITH BRITISH IMPERIALISM'S WHITE PAPER!

Analysis of the Stands Taken by the Political Parties in England and Ireland on the British Imperialist White Paper on Northern Ireland

A WORKERS' ENGLAND COMMENTARY

London, Jul. 26th, 1973 (WEDNR) -

On March 20th this year, the Heath government released its White Paper on northern Ireland. The White Paper: "Northern Ireland Constitutional Proposals" is the latest in a whole series of measures taking the form of both force and deception which have been carried out by the British imperialists and their forerunners to enslave the Irish people and to exploit their land and labour over several centuries. Since the recent upsurge in the struggle of the people of the

north began in 1968 the British imperialists and their puppets have successively used the fascist RUC and 'B' Specials in campaigns against the people, introduced British imperialist mercenary troops in August 1969, internment in August 1971, created armed, fascist para-military gangs, carried out so-called 'sectarian murders', invaded whole areas with tanks, etc. and carried out large-scale fascist atrocities such as the murder of 13 unarmed people in Derry on January 30th, 1972. All these have been designed to suppress and intimidate the people, and have been carried out along with a series of measures including the abolition of 'B' Specials, granting of so-called 'civil rights', abolition of Stormont, Conference of Northern Ireland Parties, border poll, the 'Green Paper' and now the 'White Paper', all designed to deceive the people. The issu-

ing of the White Paper is an admission by the British imperialists that all these measures have failed to suppress the struggles of the people. The Times admitted this on March 21st when its editorial stated: "The White Paper giving constitutional proposals for Northern Ireland comes as the fruit of the Government's Irish experiences. These experiences, disheartening as they have been, have not extinguished hope in the efficacy of reason and moderation." In other words, despite the failure of all their other attempts over the last five years, the British imperialists will make their second major attempt in the last fifty years to reshape northern Ireland in their own interests.

The Heath government issued the White Paper amidst frantic clamouring from themselves and from the bourgeois press for "moderation", "careful consideration", "time to consider" etc., in order to suggest to the Irish people that if they study it long enough they might find something in their interests! Yet the constitutional changes in the White Paper do nothing to alter the colonial status of northern Ireland, nothing to alter British imperialism's direct colonial rule, but merely change very slightly the form of that rule in order to give slightly more power to certain sections of the Irish bourgeoisie (that represented by SDLP) in exchange for their support for British imperialism, and set out to consolidate even more firmly British imperialism's rule. By altering the form of the colonial domination, and in particular, by the introduction of a 'Northern Ireland Assembly' (which has no power to legislate over anything important) based on proportional representation, the British imperialists are trying to institutionalise the divisions they themselves created among the Irish people - creating a permanent 'majority' and 'minority' in the Assembly based on religious denomination; further, through their 'Council of Ireland', they hope to institutionalise the partition of Ireland.

The White Paper is fundamentally for the purpose of maintaining British imperialist economic control of Ireland, and maintaining its political and cultural control. The propaganda machine of the monopoly capitalists - the bourgeois press etc. continuously tries to portray the issue in northern Ireland as being between 'minority' and 'majority' representatives, right-wing and "left-wing", Protestant and Catholic, Unionist and SDLP etc. in order to cover over the basic issue of the British imperialists' exploitation and domination of Ireland. They label people as progressive or reactionary according to arbitrary criteria and heresay and not according to whether they stand for or against the continued colonial domination of northern Ireland the most important question facing the people there. With the publication of the White Paper and the election of the 'Northern Ireland Assembly' all political parties have

come out to take a stand on these issues and have thus clearly revealed where they stand. This has clearly exposed all the bourgeois parties as being for the colonial domination of Ireland with a squabble only on detail, e.g. how much power for the 'new' Assembly, and has shown a clear demarcation between those organisations claiming to be progressive, nationalist or communist who in fact are willing to negotiate on the terms of the White Paper and the 'Northern Ireland Assembly' and those genuinely progressive, nationalist and communist organisations who refuse to negotiate on the terms of the imperialists and who stand clearly against British imperialist exploitation and colonial domination. The stand of the various parties divided into five main categories -

- 1) bourgeois parties
- 2) social democrat parties
- 3) social fascist parties
- 4) bourgeois nationalist parties
- 5) Proletarian Party

1. Bourgeois Parties

Ulster Unionists

The apparently 'monolithic bloc' of the Unionist Party has totally divided in the face of the recent rising upsurge of the people's struggle in the north of Ireland. The Unionist Party has split into the "official Unionists" led by Faulkner and the "Loyalist Coalition", consisting of representatives of Paisley's "Democratic Unionist Party", Craig's "Vanguard Unionist Progressive Party", the "Orange Institution", the "Ulster Loyalist Council" and the "Ulster Constitution Defence Committee".

Faulkner's stand is that of the chief supporter of British colonialism in Ireland. He has shown himself prepared to bend over backwards to serve British imperialism. Because of his totally subservient attitude to British imperialism and its representative Whitelaw, he has had difficulty in keeping the support of the right wing of his own party. For instance, on the release of the White Paper, Faulkner like a true puppet immediately welcomed the White Paper as a constructive document, but since then has claimed that many things in it are "unworkable" and in need of "clarification". More recently, in order to placate his own opponents inside the Unionist Party he has begun to make more militant noises about refusing to share power with anyone who advocates a united Ireland. Yet all this is reactionary bluster on Faulkner's part because he has shown in practice that he is prepared to drop any of his demands in order to go along with British imperialism. For instance, he has consistently stated that the "terms" of the "Official Unionists" are that the 'Northern Ireland Assembly' must control security but now he is going

to accept a 'Northern Ireland Assembly' with less powers than this in order to keep in with his masters. Furthermore, Faulkner has said that he is prepared to talk to Cosgrave, the Prime Minister of the Irish Republic, which shows that he is prepared to collaborate with the neo-colonial lackeys of the south of Ireland against the Irish people, and that the false divisions which Faulkner and other agents of British imperialism try to foster between north and south are purely secondary when it comes to defending their class interests against the Irish people.

Democratic Unionist Party and Vanguard Unionist Progressive Party

These two parties led by Paisley and Craig respectively are the main components of the Loyalist Coalition. Despite the differences between them, i. e. that DUP wants total integration into the United Kingdom with no regional government and that VUPP claims to want to break away from the UK with a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI), the two have opportunistically united in a coalition which claims that its aim is to wreck the Assembly. Both parties differ from the "Official Unionists" in that they are fighting for a better deal from their masters the British monopoly capitalist class and are prepared to stick their necks out in order to get this. They are looking for support from the most fascist sections of the British monopoly capitalist class, that is, the section represented by Powell and others, the section which traditionally supported the Unionists. At this time, that section is in a minority and so their support is limited.

The leaders Paisley and Craig make much noise and bluster about their demands to Whitelaw, but do not have the power to do anything about their demands. Both have made loud noises about "wrecking" the Assembly, but have now changed this into a pathetic call that the Assembly should be an "elected conference table" instead of an Assembly with powers. The parties take openly fascist stands, for instance, Craig's call for "blood and thunder" to be launched against the Catholic population. Craig frequently has fascist Enoch Powell on his platform which is sufficient in itself to show the fascist nature of his platform. Both Paisley and Craig claim to be 'workers' and representatives of the "working people of Ulster" and are making large scale attempts to win over the working class, particularly the Loyalist Association of Workers and the U.D.A., behind them.

The Loyalist Coalition, before the release of the White Paper, made four demands which it said must be satisfied. These were: 1. the to-

tal defeat of the IRA, 2. rejection of a Council of Ireland, 3. increased parliamentary representation at Westminster and 4. control of the Royal Ulster Constabulary to be given to the 'new' Assembly. When these conditions were not met, they gave the call to wreck the Assembly. One of the obvious reasons why the Coalition has failed to win more support from even right-wing Unionists is because of the totally idealist nature of the demands put forward by the Coalition. Even the British monopoly capitalist class is aware that the total defeat of the IRA is impossible, and that the "blood and thunder" advocated by Craig has only succeeded in accelerating the struggle of the people of the north.

Paisley and Craig are fighting for the 'preservation of Ulster' in the old style, i. e. with direct colonial rule from British imperialism and with their section of the Irish comprador bourgeois class totally as the colonial lackeys. Historically it is this part of the compradors, the pro-Unionist section, which have tried to completely control the north of Ireland. Now that British imperialism is reshuffling and expanding its colonial puppet regime in the north, the Craig-Paisley sections will not be able to monopolise power but will have to share it with other sections of the bourgeoisie. ... Official Unionists, Alliance, SDLP etc. This is not however because British imperialism has grown nice and wants to change the situation in northern Ireland but because it knows that Stormont was so unpopular and so anti-democratic and bigoted that the only way to maintain its control was to replace the highly unpopular, anti-democratic and bigotted Stormont with the 'Northern Ireland Assembly', i. e. make the puppet regime more varied and thus try to give the working people the idea that the colonial regime has become 'sensible' and 'fair' and 'democratic'. Paisley wants to remedy the declining influence of the sections of the bourgeoisie he represents by Ulster being completely integrated with Britain, whilst Craig is willing to use the threat of UDI and support from other imperialist powers (e. g. U.S. imperialism) in order to pressurise the British monopoly capitalists into giving him and his sections more say. This is the same tactic used by the Unionists earlier this century when they were planning to declare UDI backed with the help of German monopoly capitalism if they did not get what they wanted from the British monopoly capitalists. In the final analysis, with some concessions granted from British imperialism they admitted that UDI was practically impossible for Ulster and gave up.

National Front Loyalist

One candidate stood in the 'Northern Ireland Assembly' election as a supporter of the fascist National Front on an openly fascist platform which was noticeably similar to that of the various 'loyalist' organisations. He called for "strongest possible action by the security forces against that insane, immoral and treasonable organisation, the Irish Republican Army", "reinstatement of Stormont", "rearming of the RUC and the revival of the B-Special Constabulary" etc. which are the same as the platforms of the loyalists. What is also noticeable is the similarity between this fascist's demands and the demands of the social-fascists. Both offer incentives to the workers and claim to act on behalf of the workers. For instance, this fascist candidate called for: "full employment", "major increases in pensions", "profit sharing for workers in industry", "control of foreign investment". The National Front Loyalist candidate opposed the White Paper for the same basic reasons as Craig and Paisley and talk of the "degenerate Labour Party and Conservative Party" which had sold out Ulster unionists. This stand is exactly the same as that of Enoch Powell and Paisley and Craig and reflects the fascist groupings occurring in the British monopoly capitalists.

Alliance Party

This is a new party which has been floated by the British monopoly capitalists behind which they put a large amount of capital in order to try and win rapid support for it. Its efforts have for a period of time been devoted to winning over the professional classes, for which attempt it adopted the "non-sectarian" platform. Fine Gael, the ruling party in the south was prominent in doing widescale propaganda for Alliance and giving Alliance speakers a platform at the Fine Gael Ard Fheis just before the election victory this year, which means that the comprador bourgeoisie in the south has joined the British monopoly capitalist class in backing the Alliance. It promotes itself as a "new", "people's" party calling on the Irish people to "vote for new politics with the new people". The monopoly capitalists have attempted to float it as a middle-of-the-road bourgeois party, but have won little support for it and had difficulty getting it off the ground.

As a consequence of its backing, Alliance immediately came out to welcome the White Paper and thank British imperialism, passing a resolution reading "That this conference welcomes the White Paper proposals which can lead to a peaceful, just and democratic society in Northern Ireland". It

further exposed its stand by claiming: "Alliance intends to co-operate with the Westminster Parliament to achieve lasting peace with justice and new prosperity in 'Northern Ireland'. It presented a flimsy programme of reforms for its election platform to the Local Government elections in May, such as creating "real communities instead of mere collections of people", campaigning "for more democracy on Area Boards" and being "constantly available to all the people in their area".

The Alliance Party is descended from the pro-O'Neill faction of the Unionist Party and has received into its ranks several members of the Unionist Party who are in support of O'Neill's policy. Thus it represents the more liberal wing of Unionism, i.e. advocating that the best way to maintain colonial rule in northern Ireland is through answering as many of the demands of the people as possible. The necessity for its creation came out of the disintegration of the Unionists in the last few years and the control of the party by more and more right wing sections of the Unionists, i.e. Chichester-Clarke and Faulkner. The Alliance platform is essentially the same as the Official Unionist platform with one or two minor differences but in order to give itself the 'new look' it promotes the platform of 'community relations', 'more local government', being a 'Party of the people' etc.

All the northern bourgeois parties present as the main issues either "security" or housing, jobs etc. All are presenting reforms of the imperialist system and obviously none of them presents the issue of the political and economic control of Ireland by British imperialism.

Fine Gael Party

This party is the main component in the ruling Fine Gael/Labour Coalition in the south of Ireland. It descends from the landed aristocracy in Ireland, is now heavily backed by monopoly capital and next to the Unionists has always represented the most backward trend in Irish politics. At the time of the civil war it was Fine Gael which called for an end to the fighting, supported the treaty with British imperialism to partition Ireland and then turned to suppress the Irish workers and peasants who continued to fight. After losing power, it was Fine Gael in the early 30's which gave rise to the fascist Blue Shirt movement, and today it is Fine Gael along with the Irish Labour Party which has stepped up its suppression and harassment of progressive and patriotic organisations, including the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist), and which has presented a fascist programme of social reforms under the guise of 'nationalisation' etc. Since coming to power in March it has been heavily backed by monopoly capital and has shown it-

self prepared to support any anti-people, anti-nationalist and anti-communist gesture.

Fine Gael is totally in favour of and subservient to British imperialism and came out immediately with support for British imperialism's White Paper, claiming that the Irish government saw in the White Paper proposals which could help towards a solution. Cosgrave, the Fine Gael leader, said that all parties should be allowed to take part in the elections, welcomed the decision not to have a one-party executive and said that new institutions should be flexible. The Council of Ireland, he said, must have seeds of evolution. Since then, and particularly on his recent visit to London he has presented an even more subservient stand to Heath. Making a big play on the idea of new institutions allowing for 'growth', as if this is a brilliant 'new' idea, he presents entirely the same line as Heath in a modified form. Despite its sell out nature Fine Gael is forced to adopt a sham 'nationalist' position in order to gain any credence and at its Ard Fheis a year ago put forward as the main slogan "A United Country, A United Party".

Fianna Fail

The stand of the main opposition party in southern Ireland, Fianna Fail, has been virtually identical to that of the governing coalition, Fine Gael/Labour. This is a clear indication of just how sold out the Fianna Fail section of the Irish compradors is. Fianna Fail descends from the national bourgeoisie which after the division of Ireland increasingly sold out under the leadership of DeValera and Lemass. By the 1960s it had given up all appearances of being 'nationalist' and become totally a comprador party. However, sham nationalism is still the main platform of the Fianna Fail Party. Fianna Fail is most fond of making statements in support of the 'minority' in the north but known for its unwillingness to do anything in case it might offend British imperialism.

Lynch's statement was so similar to that of Cosgrave that the Irish Times said that it "accords almost completely" with that of the Fine Gael/Labour coalition. Lynch said that the White Paper "contains the basis for a move towards reconciliation between the Northern communities". He said that the White Paper contains a basis for fair representation of the "minority" in the Assembly, welcomed the Charter of Human Rights proposal and called for the "expansion" of the "Irish dimension". The Fianna Fail Party consciously spreads confusion on the question of the north by spreading theories of "two communities" and "reconciliation" which promote the same sectarian terms of reference as British imperialism. At particular times, Fianna Fail promotes a far more

militant 'nationalist' line than others in order to spread confusion.

Fianna Fail and the Fine Gael/Labour coalition are totally comprador (i.e. totally dependent on foreign imperialism). They have no interest in a united Ireland in which they face more competition from other sections of the comprador bourgeoisie, and claim to support it purely in order to gain credibility among the people. This however, is why they are totally unwilling to take any action whatsoever in support of their 'nationalism'.

The stand taken by Fine Gael and Fianna Fail respectively are totally in line with their past history and present nature. During this century the Irish bourgeoisie has divided into various camps. The first and most basic division was between those who supported the union with British imperialism led by Carson etc. and those who took up the fight for independence. During the struggle the section later to become the Blueshirts and later Fine Gael called for a halt to the struggle as early on as possible and accepted the treaty with British imperialism. The third section had some interest in continuing the struggle for the unity and independence of Ireland but took a comprising stand on many issues and when they came to power gradually assumed the position of comprador bourgeoisie i.e. of being willing to sell out Ireland's resources to the highest imperialist bidder. Both parties are now entrenched pro-imperialist parties, and desperately hope that the armed struggle against colonial domination of the north will not spread to similar opposition to the neo-colonial régime in the south.

British Labour Party

Formed in the early 1900s as the party representing the labour aristocracy in the trade unions, the Labour Party was promoted by the monopoly capitalists as the 'alternative' to the Conservative Party at the time of great revolutionary upsurge after World War I. But it has never carried out any policy in the interests of the working people of England or any other country, and has increasingly sold out to monopoly capital. Today the Labour Party is a tool of British monopoly capitalism which is totally against the working people.

When in power the Labour Party has always introduced the most fascist policies under the guise of 'socialism', policies which the Conservative Party would never get away with. Thus it was the Labour Party which was responsible for the imperialist policy of sending British imperialist mercenary troops into Ireland in 1969. Callaghan is promoted as a 'friend' of the Irish people because he went walking around Belfast in 1969 talking to people whilst behind their backs he was plotting fascist, anti-people manoeuvres. This is the role

of the Labour Party- to carry out the same fascist and imperialist policies as the Conservative Party under the hoax of 'socialism' and 'democracy'. The interest which the Labour Party actually has in 'democracy' is shown by their total support for the Heath government's policies in Ireland, their total support for the White Paper. For example in a speech made by Merlyn Rees, the Labour Spokesman on Ireland in the House of Commons, advocating that Provisional Sinn Fein candidates should be allowed to contest the elections, Rees did not advocate this on the basis that the British imperialists were meant to be giving the Irish people 'democracy'. Rees knows what a lie this is, and so advocated it on the basis that it would show how strong Sinn Fein's support is. "The man with the gun looks big, but at the ballot box he reverts to his true size," said Rees.

Despite the prattling of the revisionists and trotskyites that the Labour Party is better than the British Tory Party the practice of the Labour Party shows it to be a good servant of the British monopoly capitalist class and a consistent enemy of the working people. As a servant, a representative of the monopoly capitalists it stands for the continued colonisation and neo-colonisation of Ireland knowing that without the free access to labour, resources and markets in Ireland, British monopoly capitalism will be even more in trouble at home. According to the revisionist 'Communist' Party of Ireland if the people vote in the British Labour Party in England and the NILP or the SDLP in northern Ireland and the Southern Irish Labour Party in the south of Ireland the problems of the working people will be solved and the three 'Labour' parties will agree peacefully to reunification of Ireland, independence for Ireland and will voluntarily liquidate themselves in favour of a socialist state. The trotskyites of various hues and colours advocate something similar by suggesting that people should 'move the Labour Party to the left' and thus bring in 'socialism'. Clearly these revisionists and trotskyites are going against the facts of history by suggesting that the Labour Party is today a party of the working class and that a peaceful solution to the problem of the national subjugation of the Irish people and the class subjugation of the working people of Ireland and England could be obtained from Harold Wilson and the Labour Party.

2. Social-Democratic Parties

Irish Labour Party

The Irish Labour Party of the south of Ireland which is at present participating in the coalition government with Fine Gael has never supported the national struggle in Ireland and instead advocates its support for 'labour' in the abstract. In the 1920s the Irish Labour

Party took the treacherous stand that the civil war was irrelevant to the working class. Yet to date they arrogantly claim they are the descendants of James Connolly who advocated the correct principle that the working class must participate in and lead the national struggle, organise separately but also at times unite with other forces. The Labour Party today is rabidly inviting more imperialist exploitation of Ireland whilst at the same time supporting the fascist programme of reforms of the coalition government. The Labour Party is extremely vocal also in advocating suppression of 'terrorists'. The Labour Party's spokesman on Foreign Affairs is Conor Cruise O'Brien who is so determined to lick the boots of British imperialism and oppose the people that he has written a book backing the notoriously fascist "Two Nations" theory. Not surprisingly, the stand of the Irish Labour Party has been one of total support for British imperialism's White Paper. The Labour Party gave a joint statement with Fine Gael and specifically pointed out that there were no divisions between the two parties over the White Paper.

Social Democratic and Labour Party

The formation of the SDLP signalled for the first time the joining together of the fragmented opposition to the Unionists into one party. SDLP represents the last hope for British imperialism to dupe the nationalist and progressive sections of the people in the north into supporting a programme of total subservience to British imperialism. SDLP represents that section of the bourgeoisie which has been given more power due to the changes embodied in the White Paper and therefore its stand has been to support the White Paper, claiming that "Rejection of the White Paper, in England or Northern Ireland would mean continuation of the violence, bloodshed, heartbreak and despair" (Fitt, leader of SDLP). The SDLP has for some time been calling for British imperialism to grant an Assembly elected by proportional representation and a 'Bill of Rights' and so welcomed the inclusion of these reforms in the White Paper. However, they expressed their "reservations" and "disappointments" at some details including retention of internment, too small 'Irish Dimension', too small 'economic dimension'. This is a typical procedure followed by Social Democrats everywhere in order to pacify and confuse the people. They present a totally subservient platform of reforms which they request from the imperialists, and when they are granted they claim that they actually wanted a bit more than that. Thus, they totally distort the nature of imperialism, suggesting it to be some benevolent force which grants reforms to the people and never do they point out that British imperialism is the principal enemy of the Irish people and

that without overthrowing it no progress can be made. The social democrats use their sham 'opposition', i. e. their "reservations" and "disappointments" in order to pretend that they really oppose British imperialism because without taking that stand they would rapidly lose all credence among the people.

At every stage since the upsurge of the people's struggle began in 1968, the SDLP has come forward to mislead the people and ask them to have faith in British imperialism. When the British imperialists wanted to disguise the one-party bourgeois dictatorship then SDLP was created as the "opposition" party to play this role. When the people wanted to fight against the attacks of the British imperialists, then SDLP told the people to wage peaceful sit-down strikes etc. After internment was brought in in August 1971, SDLP was forced by public opinion to refuse to talk to British imperialism, but in fact carried on secret talks behind closed doors with representatives of both bourgeois parties in England. They withdrew from Stormont because of internment but are now returning to the 'Northern Ireland Assembly' despite the fact that internment still exists. The SDLP is not in fact opposed to British imperialism at all. Their sham opposition to some details is purely in order to dupe the people and pretend to give them leadership.

Northern Ireland Labour Party

The NILP has betrayed the working people in the north for many years primarily by its betrayals in the trade union movement where it has a large influence. The British imperialists have used the counter-revolutionary tactic of using sectarianism to divide the people on a national basis and the social democrats in the trade union movement to confuse the people on class questions. The NILP is totally in favour of British imperialism and welcomed the White Paper, saying that the "measures against discrimination" were of "greatest importance". Thus the NILP perniciously supports British imperialism's attempt to institutionalise sectarianism by welcoming proposals against sectarianism! The NILP has increasingly lost support during the recent upsurge of the people's struggle because from the beginning it took the counter-revolutionary stand of opposing the people's struggles as adventurist and unnecessary.

3. Social-Fascist Parties

"Communist" Party of Ireland and "Communist" Party of Great Britain

The revisionist parties in Britain and Ireland present a similar social fascist position. Both present a generally correct analysis

of the problem in Ireland, but then use that to divide the people. They present British imperialism as the cause of the problem, but when they call on the people to fight against it, that fight is merely a fight to beg various reforms from British imperialism instead of uniting the people in a programme to drive British imperialism out of Ireland totally. For example, the revisionists say that: "British Communists, in common with others opposed to imperialism and colonialism, have always demanded the withdrawal of British troops from colonies... But this should not lead anyone to ignore the special features of Northern Ireland." (Our emphasis - WEDNR). The "special features" of northern Ireland according to the revisionists, are the 'sectarian' people, and because of this it is not correct to call for British imperialist troops to get out of Ireland right away or to organise to drive them out. The revisionists totally distort the nature of British imperialism and suggest the same as the British imperialists, i. e. that the troops are 'keeping the two sides apart'. Thus a leading Irish revisionist Edwina Stewart writes that: "We need a change in the role of the British Army; they must be returned to barracks at once, and only used to prevent sectarian outbreaks". Thus, despite their theoretical acknowledgement that British imperialism is the cause of the problem, the revisionists perniciously promote the same line as British imperialism when it comes to giving the people leadership. The revisionists also distort the nature of British imperialism by suggesting that imperialism can be equated with 'the Tories'. Thus, they suggest that if the Labour Parties are returned to power in England and in north and south of Ireland, then a friendly solution will emerge. Do the revisionists think that the English working class and the Irish people have forgotten that it was the Labour Party which first launched British imperialist troops against the Irish people?

The revisionists further distort the nature of the 'new' 'Northern Ireland Assembly' by suggesting that proportional representation and a so-called Bill of Rights, both of which are used by the imperialists to perpetuate sectarianism, are "concessions" to the civil rights movement. The revisionists in fact think that the 'Northern Ireland Assembly' is extremely democratic, because it gives the people so-called 'proportional representation', which is praised by the revisionist (CPGB) manifesto as follows: "With proportional representation the electors would operate their choice fully in contrast with the present unrepresentative, and in effect, two-party system". The revisionists in Ireland claim that the 'Northern Ireland Assembly' can be used in the interests of the working people, stating that "The CPI calls upon all democratic organisations to use the election machinery in order to pursue the interests of the working people." The CPI also suggests

to British imperialism a number of measures to help ease its crisis in northern Ireland, e. g. "End discrimination in employment, not by taking jobs from Protestant workers and giving them to Catholics, but by large scale provision of new jobs through massive injection of finance" (i. e. CPI wants to invite more Soviet social imperialist exploitation of Ireland). Further, CPI suggests that British imperialism should "de-escalate" the present situation by releasing internees and scrapping the Diplock recommendations and the Special Powers Act.

The revisionists present to the people a thorough-going social fascist programme of fighting for jobs and housing, opposition to EEC, defeat of the Heath government's economic policy etc., and try to trick the people into reforming the capitalist system.

Various organisations in the north of Ireland which are dominated by the revisionist political line have also given sham opposition to the White Paper. One of these organisations comes out to oppose the White Paper, but at the same time says that it will contest the elections to the 'Northern Ireland Assembly'. Despite its claim that the only solution is a 32-county Democratic Socialist Republic and its demands that British imperialism give a specific and early date for withdrawal from the north, renounce all claim to sovereignty over any part of Ireland, and end all repressive legislation, its programme for the broad masses to support is a series of social fascist reforms of the capitalist system through nationalisation, tenants' control of communities, establishment of a National Health Service, comprehensive education, nurseries etc. What is most noticeable is the similarity between the programme of these social fascists who are dominated by the revisionist line, and the line of the open fascists as represented by the National Front Loyalist whose proposals for profit-sharing, control of foreign investment etc., were even more "left" than those of these social fascists. This fully exposes the role of social fascists. The revisionists seek to cover over the crucial question of which class controls state power and contribute to preparing the conditions for fascism to come to power.

Another organisation dominated by the revisionists, the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, presented a critique of the White Paper which it criticises because "it does not go far enough", "does not have enough teeth", "is inadequate to its task", "only contains proposals which will improve our situation some measure". This organisation presents British imperialism as being basically benevolent but not quite prepared to go far enough and thus distorts its nature in precisely the same way. This organisation presents the 'Northern Ireland Assembly' as being democratic and says that it has "fought for too

long to win one man one vote and the proportional representation voting system to ask electors to now throw away those gains by not exercising their democratic right to vote for the public representatives of their choice".

British and Irish "Communist" Organisation

This pernicious trotskyite clique has come out with full support for British imperialism and its White Paper, total support for British imperialist troops in northern Ireland and a series of slanders against the Irish people and their just aspirations for a united, genuinely independent and democratic Ireland.

These trotskyites present the theoretical justification for British imperialism's presence in Ireland under the name of 'communism'. They talk of uniting the working class, but instead promote the fascist 'two nations' theory, i. e. that there is a 'Protestant' and a 'Catholic' nation in Ireland and use this theory in order to promote sectarianism among the people. They present the bogus view that there are "two communities" in northern Ireland, one of which is part of the 'Catholic Nation', yet this cannot be the case since there is only one economic unit in northern Ireland, and so Marxism-Leninism teaches that there can only be one nation there.

These trotskyites claim that British imperialism's motives are perfectly just and democratic in Ireland. They claim that British imperialism's "only interest (her responsibility in the North) is to see stability, be it in a united or a partitioned Ireland", and "a democratic settlement by the bourgeoisie, if they can achieve it, is to be welcomed, as it must create more favourable conditions for the development of working class unity in Ireland North and South". Thus under the guise of being 'communist' these trotskyites promote that British imperialism's aim is not to divide and rule, to enslave and exploit the people of other countries, but rather to "achieve" a "democratic solution" in order to "create more favourable conditions for the development of working class unity". Further, according to them, British imperialism is not the root cause of all problems facing the Irish people, but rather "The British and Irish Communist Organisation have consistently maintained that the South's claim to rule over the North was the root cause of the present troubles and that only by the South taking a democratic attitude to the North could the conflict finally be resolved and the two nations in Ireland come closer together and hopefully to a democratic unity."

The trotskyites claim that the problem is that nationalism is dividing the people, but support the reactionary nationalism of those sections who want union with the United Kingdom. They claim that "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 which are prepared to work within that framework. The most important feature 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 a consolidation of the Union with Britain on a basis firmer and more lasting than at any previous time in the history of the Northern Ireland state." This fully sums up the social fascist nature of the trotskyites - praise for British imperialism, giving a call to the Irish people to be subservient to British imperialism and vote for those parties which are most servile, support for British imperialism's right to direct colonial rule over northern Ireland, and denigrating the just aspirations of the Irish people as "Catholic nationalist disruption". Not only does this clique support British imperialism, but they praise the right wing Unionists, and in particular praise Faulkner for maintaining "a fairly coherent pro-White Paper stance throughout the election campaign".

4. Bourgeois Nationalist Parties

The bourgeois nationalists have opposed British imperialism's White Paper and called on the Irish people to boycott the British imperialist 'Northern Ireland Assembly'. The Provisional IRA pointed out that the White Paper is not the basis for a lasting and just solution, and that it is the latest application by British imperialism of the policy of divide and conquer. The Provisionals pointed out that a solution to the problems in the north of Ireland requires recognition by British imperialism of the following points: -

1. Recognition of the right of the Irish people to rule Ireland,
2. A date for the withdrawal of British armed forces from Ireland, and
3. An amnesty for all political prisoners.

At the same time, the bourgeois nationalists held that British imperialism's White Paper leaves no choice for the people but to fight on. This is a just stand and represents the positive aspect of the national bourgeoisie in the revolutionary struggle in the colonial and neo-colonial countries, that is, their opposition to imperialism.

5. Proletarian Party

The Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist)

The Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) has consistently pointed out that

there are no short-term solutions to the problems facing the Irish people, but that the only solution lies in uniting all sections of the Irish people under the leadership of the working class for the national liberation struggle against British imperialism as the first stage in establishing a socialist People's Republic of Ireland. The line of the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) on the 'Northern Ireland Assembly' represents the advanced and concentrated experience of the Irish people.

The Call of the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) "Don't Vote for the 'Northern Ireland Assembly'" of June 11th, 1973, pointed out: "The imperialists wish to make out that the war is a war between 'English people and Irish people' and between 'Catholics and Protestants' but they can never succeed. The war in northern Ireland is a national war and a class war. It is not a war between races or religions but a war between a nationally oppressed country and a foreign imperialist ruling class, and as such is part of the class war between the proletariat of Ireland, England, Scotland and Wales against the main class enemy..... the British monopoly capitalist class. The British imperialists can provide no solutions to our problems! The White Paper and the 'new' 'Northern Ireland Assembly' are just attempts on their behalf to drag us working people into the mire of reforming and propping up their imperialist system and giving it a new lease of life. According to the imperialists the problem before 1969 was the "one-sidedness and religious bigotry" of the Unionist regime in Stormont. Now they say that Catholics and Protestants can have equal chance of fair representation if they stand for the local elections and the new 'Northern Ireland Assembly'. They do not tell the people that the Unionists were not religious bigots but primarily the class allies of the British imperialists who provided a lackey colonial bourgeoisie for the imperialist masters to act through. Now that the people have become outraged against the Unionists the British imperialists are trying to groom a "Coalition" of Unionists, Alliance, SDLP and others to be "fairly representative". In other words the new class of colonial lackeys will be a coalition of the various different parties. We as working people are asked to vote for these parties who parade themselves hypocritically as representatives of the "majority" or "minority" or as "non-sectarian" in order to assist British imperialism and vote in a new regime who are going to act as the agents of the imperialist domination of Ireland, the agents of the British ruling class in the north of Ireland, the agents of the institutionalisation of the division of the working people of northern

Ireland. The British imperialists are also trying to encourage the working people into voting for this new assembly so as to institutionalise the partition of Ireland, which means the partition of all anti-imperialist forces and working people north and south. In this way they are trying to keep the working and oppressed people of the north of Ireland divided amongst themselves and cut off from the bulk of the Irish people and the English proletariat and people.

Fellow working people of the north of Ireland!

Oppose the policies of the British imperialist ruling class!

Oppose the illegal and anti-democratic 'Northern Ireland Assembly'!

Oppose the division of the working people on religious or racial grounds!

Oppose the so-called representatives of the people who put the backward slogans of religion and race forward whilst in fact acting as agents for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie!

Unite with the anti-imperialist, progressive and democratic forces of the working people of all Ireland to throw British imperialism out of Ireland, north and south!

Unite with the English proletariat as well as the people of Scotland and Wales to defeat the British monopoly capitalist ruling class and establish voluntary and equal union in the United Socialist States of England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales!

DON'T COLLABORATE WITH BRITISH IMPERIALISM!

DON'T AGREE TO REFORM THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM!

DON'T VOTE FOR THE 'NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY'!

BUILD THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRELAND (MARXIST-LENINIST)!

SUPPORT THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ENGLAND (MARXIST-LENINIST)!"

End Item.

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