

**UNITY AND  
FREEDOM  
TO THE  
IRISH PEOPLE !**

**Freedom and  
Lasting Peace to the People  
of the World !**

*Against the  
Fascist 'Divide and Rule'  
Anglo-Irish Agreement*

COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRELAND (MARXIST-LENINIST)

*Workers of all countries, unite !*

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## Contents

<b>Introduction</b>	4	Collaboration of labour aristocracy, social democracy and revisionism	56
<b>PART ONE :</b>			
<b>Fascist terror in north to conjure up bogey of 'civil war'</b>	7	Loyalism is the fascist tool of British colonial occupation	52
Religion could never be the issue	12	Bourgeois democracy in Ireland -- to promote fascism and national subjugation	66
To 'give the Agreement a chance' is unacceptable	17		
The necessity which faces us now	19		
<b>PART TWO:</b>			
<b>The Promotion of the illusions and the taboos of bourgeois 'democracy'</b>	22		
British imperialist 'logic' on 'Northern Ireland conflict'	24	The 'Irish Dimension'	79
Fraud of bourgeois 'democracy'	27	The 'International Dimension'	102
Fraud that peaceful methods are the issue	30	British imperialists resort to anti- communism in desperation	105
British imperialism's 'law' and order'	33	Integral part of the world proletarian socialist revolution	114
'Playing the Orange Card'	35		
Unionist 'knee jerk reaction?'	39	<b>PART FOUR:</b>	
The Irish bourgeoisie as national traitors	41	<b>The necessity facing our generation - revolution</b>	117
How British 'democracy' works in Ireland.	45	The real aspirations of the Irish people	120
		The Irish people's struggle ... could never be imported	122
		It is the right of the Irish people to choose their own social system in the new, liberated Ireland	126
		The task on the agenda today	127

## INTRODUCTION

This pamphlet is being released for publication by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) in order to expose the savage and all-sided ideological, political and military offensive being waged against the Irish people by the foreign aggressor, British imperialism, under the current Anglo-Irish Agreement. This is a criminal attempt to snuff out our rights as a nation to national independence and re-unification by crushing the ongoing heroic patriotic resurgence against the illegal British colonial occupation of the northern 6 Counties of Ireland. This offensive of British imperialism is being waged with the active connivance of the national traitors of the Irish monopoly bourgeoisie, and with the sinister backing of U.S. imperialism, one of the two superpowers, and the E.E.C. powers, members of the warmongering U.S.-led N.A.T.O. bloc (and partners in crime of our national enemy, British imperialism) in contention with the Warsaw Pact bloc led by the other superpower warmonger, Soviet social imperialism.

The Anglo-Irish Agreement 1985 is an unjust and lying attempt to denigrate and deny the inalienable rights of the Irish people to national independence and re-unification on the basis that: (a) the Irish people do not constitute a true nation, but only 'two separate communities' and 'two separate traditions', instead of a unified national entity, and therefore cannot be due the rights of self-determination and sovereignty which are due to any valid nation, and which in Ireland's case means re-unification as well; (b) the Irish people's patriotic armed struggle, consequently, cannot be a legitimate national liberation struggle with a democratic mandate from the people of Ireland; and that therefore (c) the Irish people's just patriotic armed struggle is an act of so-called 'international terrorism', which must be 'eradicated in the interests of safeguarding international order and world peace', i.e. in order to eliminate a potential breach in the U.S.-led N.A.T.O. bloc, which would be provided by the removal of British imperialist occupation of the north and domination of Ireland as a whole and the emergence of a new Ireland in genuine sovereignty and independence.

The Anglo-Irish Agreement is another great crime against the Irish

people, perpetrated in the first place by the age-old national aggressor, British imperialism; in the second place by the Irish monopoly bourgeoisie, operating through their dual tactics of collaboration with the foreign aggressor, as fascist unionists and constitutional 'nationalists', the first assisting the British imperialists in a campaign of beatings, burnings, assassinations and pogroms to divide and set the Irish people at loggerheads with each other on the age-old fraudulent racist and religious basis through the complete hoax of 'opposing the Anglo-Irish Agreement', whilst the second instructs the Irish people to lie down in the face of this colonial fascism and put their trust in the foreign aggressor, British imperialism, for 'protection', when the British imperialists are actually the organiser of the unionist fascists in the first place. This is all organised by the British imperialists themselves to provide the scenario for the British government to send in their foreign army to 'save life and property, and uphold law and order by keeping the two sides apart', but actually carrying out the suppression of the Irish people's patriotic movement itself.

At the same time, the Anglo-Irish Agreement is another cynical and sinister attempt, in repetition of 1914, to submerge Ireland's rights to freedom and independence by placing it in the balance of the criminal imperialist rivalry and the superpowers' truly Hitlerite preparations for another world war in our time, and to strengthen the grip of N.A.T.O. over Ireland as a whole, and to whip the Irish people in their entirety into line behind the chariot of U.S. imperialism in the war preparations.

The exposure of this sinister conspiracy against the Irish nation, posed by the Anglo-Irish Agreement, is an integral part of the work of the proletarian Party to politically organise the working class and unite and mobilise the masses of the people of Ireland for the revolution, which is the necessity facing our generation, the necessity which we face as Irish people to achieve our nation's ancient and just cause of national freedom, and the necessity which we face in common with the working class and all the nations and people of the world to avert world war by making our contribution to the overthrow of the system of world imperialism, headed today by the two superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, which is the only basis

for such wars.

The overthrow of British imperialism would be of the greatest possible assistance to the working class and the people and nations struggling everywhere for national liberation, for social emancipation and a world of lasting peace against this aggressive system of imperialism and social imperialism, capitalism and fascism, including the working class of Britain, as well as of the United States of America and the Soviet Union, since British imperialism is one of the leading allies of U.S. imperialism and one of the most aggressive imperialist powers.

This pamphlet is to address this necessity facing our generation and help to prepare the revolution in Ireland by drawing together all the manifold struggles of the working class and the Irish people for their rights and their complete emancipation, and helping to broaden and deepen the participation of the masses of the workers and people in the glorious ongoing patriotic and anti-imperialist mass movement, including the heroic, just and essential armed struggle against British colonial occupation of the north, thus creating the basis for the people's national united front, irrespective of any secondary differences of region, background, nationality or race, personal faith or party allegiance, occupation or social status, men and women, young and old.

The necessity facing our generation is to bring to fruition the centuries of struggle and the sacrifices of generations of the Irish people, in particular the heroic sacrifices and struggles of the people of the north over the last 18 years, in the final conflict - the insurrection of the entire Irish nation for the complete military defeat and wholesale expulsion of the foreign aggressor, British imperialism, from the northern 6 Counties and from Ireland as a whole, achieving national liberation and establishing the new Ireland, the **IRISH REPUBLIC**, in which the masses of the Irish people hold state power as laid down in the solemn and binding declaration, the historic **PROCLAMATION OF 1916 OF POBLACHT NA H EIREANN**, and thereby for the first time are in a position to decide their own destiny, including the form of their society and government, freed of foreign interference and its internal agencies of native betrayal.

### Part one :

## FASCIST TERROR IN NORTH TO CONJURE UP BOGEY OF 'CIVIL WAR'

People throughout Ireland have been watching the ongoing events in the north with an ever-growing sense of apprehension this year as, week by week, the situation has been deteriorating.

In particular, with the annual so-called 'commemorations' of the victory of William of Orange at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 in the July 12th period extending through the Derry Apprentice Boys on August 12, the litany of beatings, arson attacks and assassinations has reached a new crescendo in wholesale invasions of local communities, such as the cold-bloodedly planned, vandal assault on a community in Rasharkin, County Antrim in July. Such events clearly point to the danger of a return of the sectarian communal pogroms in the British colonial north on the very worst scale of the past, such as in the 1919/early '20s period and in 1969.

At the same time, although the greatest terror is focussed against the people in the north, the loyalist invasion of Clontibret just south of the border in August and the subsequent provocation of the unionist fascists at the time of the court case of the D.U.P's Peter Robinson in Dundalk shows that the people in the south are under threat as well.

People are saying that, not only are conditions NOT being improved by the Anglo-Irish Agreement since it came into operation on November 15th last year, but they are actually getting rapidly worse under this agreement, despite the fact that it was hailed by its authors, the governments of Britain and the southern 26 County Irish Republic, as 'the most important political initiative to bring about a peaceful resolution of the conflict in Northern Ireland since it began 17 years ago in 1969'.

And the people are right.

Instead of 'peace' being ushered in on the basis of 'reconciliation

between the two communities and two traditions' - which was the avowed objective of the Anglo-Irish Agreement - the situation has all the appearance of being driven towards the 'civil war' about which Paisley and his fascist unionist brethren take such delight in 'warning' us.

Is it simply the case - as the signatories to the Hillsborough Accord, the British and Irish governments, are trying to make out - that it is a question of 'giving the Anglo-Irish Agreement a chance to work'? Is it true that 'given enough time', the two governments will be able to 'convince moderate public opinion in both communities' of the benefits of co-operation between the British and Irish governments and thereby in fact bring the violence in the north to an end, precisely by persisting in their determination to implement the Anglo-Irish Agreement?

There is not one shred of truth in these claims of the British and Irish governments for the alleged 'benefits' of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, or for it being well worth the waiting for these 'benefits' to emerge.

And the reason for this is that the Anglo-Irish Agreement is an entirely unjust and illegal imposition on the Irish people by a foreign aggressor, British imperialism, and this remains the case regardless of the fact that a government which claims to speak 'in the name of the Irish Republic' is also a signatory.

The British government claims that its objectives with the Anglo-Irish Agreement are 'democratic'. But were a British government to be really democratic in its policy towards Ireland, its first and last act would be to remove its illegal colonial regime from the north of our country. It would then be entirely up to the Irish people themselves to make any internal settlement of affairs, without any outside interference.

But since the British government is persisting in the age-old policy of all British governments heretofore in claiming that it has 'a duty to help resolve the Irish question' - i.e. interfere in the affairs of a country in which it has no right to interfere - therefore this Anglo-Irish Agreement is framed on the basis of an entirely fraudulent presentation of the problems in Ireland, and with an objective quite the opposite to the claimed intentions of 'peace through reconciliation'.

## British imperialist distortions of the 'Irish Question'

It does not matter how much the British imperialists (and the southern 'Free' State government) preach about their 'good intentions' with the Anglo-Irish Agreement, no good can come of it for the Irish people, but only more harm, only more destruction and more deaths. Because the whole premise on which the Hillsborough Accord is based is a deliberate lie - that the Irish people do not in fact constitute a single nation with the inalienable democratic rights of a nation to independence and sovereignty, but instead two inherently different, separate and opposed 'communities and traditions', i.e. where there is no real Irish nation at all, where there are no democratic principles or standards by which the rights and wrongs can be established, and where, therefore, the Irish people are denied their own democratic rights, and are left with only such rights as 'Her Britannic Majesty' is prepared to bestow.

This lie is an essential ideological and political weapon of fascism, in this case of British imperialism's age-old policy of colonial and neo-colonial 'divide and rule' in Ireland.

On the basis of the lie that the Irish people do not constitute a single nation, the British imperialists are attempting to justify their continued colonial annexation of the north-eastern 6 Counties, which is the cornerstone to their continued interference in and domination of the life of the Irish people and their continued exploitation of the resources and the labour of the Irish people throughout Ireland as a whole. As well as this it is the cornerstone to the ever-increasing domination of the Irish economy, north and south, by other world imperialist powers and their multinational monopoly capitalist companies and banks, in the first place U.S. imperialism, but also the E.E.C. powers and Japan, with also some penetration by the capitalist powers of the Soviet social imperialist bloc, where capitalism has been restored since the betrayal of the genuine socialism of Lenin and Stalin by Krushchev in the 1950s.

First and foremost, the British imperialists are determined to maintain their colonial occupation of the north of Ireland at all costs,

because of the super-profits which the British monopoly capitalist class plunders from the labour and resources of the Irish people. And this is from the whole island of Ireland, since, by virtue of the fact that they have annexed the north-eastern 6 Counties, this has enabled them to maintain their economic interests intact throughout the rest of Ireland with the connivance of the national traitors of the southern 'Free' State. Not only did the British ownership of factories in the south continue intact after partition, but also the ancient dispossession of the Irish people by the English or Anglo-Norman feudal aristocracy continued virtually intact, with many of these 'Irish Lords' still maintaining their palaces and country-seats and vast estates in Ireland, but also ownership of vast areas of real estate on which the Irish people still pay ground-rent as 'tenants' in their own country to foreigners sitting in the British House of Lords at Westminster. And this includes the Irish government paying ground rent to a British Lord for property and the actual roadway on the main street, O'Connell Street, in the capital city, Dublin. Not only this, but in the last decade British finance capital has actually moved into the southern 'Free' State in massive force in real estate development, property development, the construction of office blocks and supermarket shopping complexes. At the same time British finance capital continues to rule the roost, despite various cosmetic measures to ensure 'Irish banking' and 'Irish insurance', and still has considerable control in the financial system in the 'Republic', in banking and the stock market, insurance etc., despite the apparent 'change' which took place with the break with Sterling which took place in 1979 and the entry of the Punt into the European Monetary System whilst the British Pound stayed outside.

There is a lot of talk about the British imperialists being interested in Ireland - and British governments themselves arrogantly talk about 'their right to have an interest in Ireland' - from a strategic point of view, from the point of view of Britain's national security, defence against invasion etc. But this is a complete fraud. For a start, no state has the right to interfere in another state on the grounds that the independence of that state might prove the means for another power to occupy it as a base for attack on Britain. But for another thing, these British governments are not concerned about the 'protection of British

sovereignty' in any case, since they themselves have sold out the sovereignty of the British people to a foreign power, U.S. imperialism, which has been a virtual occupying colonial power with its military and nuclear bases, since the British Labour government of the day handed these over gratis in the late '40s. And U.S. imperialism certainly has no benevolent interest in the 'defence' of the British people, indeed just as it has no interest in the well-being of the American people. All these masses of people under the NATO bloc are simply so much cannon-fodder to the U.S. superpower monopoly bourgeoisie and the preservation of their world power and exploitation.

The real significance of the British imperialists' 'strategic interest in Ireland' is that foreign conquest of Ireland was the base for their expansion of capitalist development within Britain, and their base for colonial expansion further abroad, and the British imperialists are fighting a rear-guard action to defend what is left of the 'British Empire' today, all the more vicious because it is a rear-guard action. The 'strategic interest' of the British imperialists in Ireland is also, in the final analysis, as Karl Marx pointed out, as a corner-stone to their maintaining their class rule, their class dictatorship and whole system of exploitation within Britain itself, over the British working class and people. The British imperialists have always placed the utmost importance on the defence of their Irish conquest because Ireland was England's first colony and the means by which reaction could be fostered within Britain itself and the British working class could be held down in wage slavery.

But at the same time today, the British imperialists, that is the British ruling class, the British monopoly capitalists - as an integral part of the world bourgeoisie - act as the gendarme for the world system of imperialism and social imperialism in Ireland today. With this Anglo-Irish Agreement the British imperialists are seeking to snuff out the current, ongoing heroic anti-imperialist struggle and reduce our nation and the working class to subjection to their colonial and neo-colonial domination once again, so as to force the burden of the crisis of world imperialism upon the backs of the working class and other sections of working people, such as small farmers. And, as an integral part of

their imperialist solution to the crisis, they are trying to force the Irish people under the yoke of the imperialist war preparations, headed by both superpowers - U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism - through strengthening the grip of NATO over Ireland as a whole.

The Anglo-Irish Agreement is a weapon of fascist deception - raising the 'promise' of progress towards peaceful re-unification of Ireland in national independence - to provide a smokescreen to the most vile and sinister use of British colonial force to launch a reign of terror to intimidate the Irish people with the bogey of a fratricidal 'civil war of Irish against Irish'.

The Anglo-Irish Agreement has been the current means by which the British imperialists have brought into play their age-old gambit to defend their unjust and illegal colonial annexation in Ireland - the notorious 'Orange card'. This is the colonial fascist force of Unionism; but which the British imperialists present as though this is simply 'one of two communities and traditions in Ireland' as a deception to actually create the division by driving a wedge between ordinary Irish people of protestant background and Irish people of catholic background; whilst at the same time the British imperialists and their foreign army of colonial occupation and colonial paramilitary and police forces are sent in to crush the genuinely democratic movement of the Irish nation on the grounds of 'keeping the two sides apart'.

### Religion could never be the issue.

This whole concoction of 'two communities and two traditions' is nothing but a fraud. The question of religion can never be a determining factor in whether a nation exists and is due the rights of a nation or not. Nation states exist in which there are a number of religions or sects. But does this mean that the people of such a state do not have the unity of a single nation? Clearly not. In another case, there is the fact of several or a large number of nations proclaiming this or that particular religion in common, even as part of the constitution of each state, but the fact that all these nations might have a common religion does not mean these are all part of the one nation. Then again,

what about the case where religion has died out in a nation? Does the fact that the people of Socialist Albania decided to close all places of religious worship, with Albania becoming the world's first atheist state, mean that the Albanian people became something less than a nation from 1967 onwards? Far from it.

Religion as such has absolutely no bearing on the national question, in terms of the factors which define nationhood, and this is regardless of other well-known facts where people of what are real nations may happen themselves to regard their religion as a crucial constituent of their national character. In these cases this is simply a matter of their subjective outlook, rather than objective and scientific analysis of the fundamental features which define the existence or non-existence of people as a nation.

In the case of Ireland, this question of religion was resolved as long ago as the heroic Rising of the United Irishmen in 1798. The leader of the United Irishmen, Wolfe Tone declared that, as the means to achieve the objective of national independence, the United Irishmen were ....

*"To unite the whole people of Ireland, to abolish the memory of past dissensions and to substitute the common name of Irishman in place of Protestant, Catholic and dissenter ...." \**

And the United Irishmen did indeed forge these means for the national liberation struggle, which has proceeded constantly with every generation since then, precisely on the basis of this achievement, namely on the basis of the unity of the Irish people as a nation.

But although Wolfe Tone did abolish the religious factors for British colonial 'divide and rule', the real significance of the achievement of Wolfe Tone and the United Irishmen was that they abolished the issue of material substance which the British government had played on as the actual basis for inciting these religious differences. The United Irishmen abolished the real division between native Irish and those people descended from the colonial plantation, the descendants of the

\* From the autobiography "Life of Theobald Wolfe Tone", excerpts in "Freedom The Wolfe Tone Way", Page 100



British colonists. The unity of the Irish people as one nation was sealed for all time in blood in the major revolutionary contributions made by the mass risings in Antrim and Down by these people, shoulder to shoulder with the native Irish, proving that the division between the native Irish dispossessed of their land and those who had been planted on this land in their place - but only as tenants themselves, subject to exploitation and eviction by the English landlords - had been overcome. From then on they were all Irishmen and women, all the dispossessed of the Irish nation, fighting together for the re-possession of the land of Ireland from the foreign colonial power which was the usurper of the rights and the freedom of all the people of Ireland, whether of native or of planter stock.

The Irish people constitute an indivisible unit as one Irish nation. To raise, at this late stage in history, that the Irish people do not constitute a single nation is simply a fraud and a deception, perpetrated for one sole objective, to deny to the Irish nation the rights which are rightfully due to any nation, to deny to the Irish people their right to re-unification, self-government and sovereignty.

To proclaim the division of the Irish nation on the basis of religion could never be anything other than a fraud, but today it is increasingly so. For it does not even matter to the British imperialists and their collaborators in Ireland, the Irish monopoly bourgeoisie, whether the individual actually is religious or practices religion or not - and this is less and less the case with today's generation - that individual is simply lumped as one more statistic into one or other category as a 'protestant' or a 'catholic'!

Equally, to proclaim that there is no single all-Ireland nation on the basis that a section of the people are descendants of British colonial plantations and that these are therefore 'British' people is absurd. For one thing it is a very long time in the history of the world's nation states for such a question to have been settled as long ago as the 1798 Rising of the United Irishmen. How can the well-known fact that Wolfe Tone, Henry Joy McCracken and other leaders of this, the first of the great insurrections of the modern Irish nation, the mother and father of every insurrection since then, were themselves of protestant planter stock be explained away? How can the still more glaring fact

that what was perhaps the spearhead of this national uprising took place in the colonised north itself, in Antrim and Down, amongst the masses of the peasants and cottage workers of this same planter stock be explained away? Is someone going to dare to deny that the United States of America constitutes a nation on the basis that the descendants of George Washington and many of the American revolutionaries must be of British descent? But that is the question that would have to be asked by those who are now - at this late stage - trying to make out that the ancient historical fact of British colonisation violates the right of these descendants to be regarded as Irish, a right which, as a matter of fact, their own forbears won with their own blood.

For another thing, were the British government consistent on this hoax of a section of people in Ireland, or at least in 'Northern Ireland' being 'British', why is it then that the British government has an entirely different policy to the so-called 'British, United Kingdom citizens' of 'Northern Ireland', compared to those in England, Scotland or Wales? Why do the people of 'Northern Ireland' deserve the 'privilege', which has been bestowed upon them alone by the British government since the foundation of this 'province' (itself a term foreign to any other part of the 'United Kingdom'), a privilege denied to any other citizen of the 'United Kingdom', the 'right' to be expelled from Britain, i.e. from anywhere in England, Scotland or Wales back to 'Northern Ireland', whilst the poor natives of Scotland, Wales or England have no such privilege of 'repatriation'?

All those who put their faith in the possession of a British passport to provide proof that they are 'British' should remember previous precedents, such as a very large number of people who had such passports in Kenya.

This whole 'analysis' of British imperialism, the pseudo-scholarship of their hack historians, and the echo of these same anti-historical liars by the opportunist, social democratic and revisionist agents of British imperialism, is nothing but the most cynical and hideous distortion of the facts of Irish history, in an attempt to add the authority of history and science to the horrendous concoctions of the fascist bigots of unionism, the made-up horror stories and nursery tales slandering the Irish people as 'anti-protestant catholics', which are systematically fed

to people of protestant background to conceal their own true historical background, that is of the masses of the ordinary working people of protestant background, in the patriotic Rising of the United Irishmen, and brainwash them with the fascist lie that the triumph of Irish freedom and re-unification would result, at the very least, in their expulsion from their homeland in Ireland, or at the worst, their physical extermination.

Contrary to these lies, the people of protestant background have absolutely nothing to fear from a united Ireland. In fact it is the dearest and the deepest wish of the masses of the Irish people, north and south, that they take up the only true and democratic cause, the patriotic cause of the motherland of us all, Ireland, shoulder to shoulder with the rest of the Irish people, who are their dear brothers and sisters.

The unionist fascists, the capitalists and landlords and their lackey clergymen, who are indoctrinating the people of protestant background with these scare stories, are the exploiters and oppressors of these people, not the 'natural leaders of the community'. And what swindlers they are! Whilst Paisley prates about 'being British' he lines his pockets with the silent collections he extorts from people and purchases estates in Canada as his private bolt-hole from revolution in Ireland (but in vain). What is the future of the masses of ordinary people of protestant background? The landed aristocrats, the squierarchy and their factory-owning cousins - all the 'captains', 'majors' and 'colonels' - for the most part have never been anything other than foreign English landlords and capitalists in Ireland, with their British public schools, their family regiments in the British Army, their London clubs and seats in the British House of Lords. But what is the attitude of the British government and the British ruling class to all these people in 'Northern Ireland' who are supposed to be 'British'? This is aptly expressed by the soldiers of the foreign British occupation troops in the north of Ireland: the 'protestants' are 'only so many more Irish so-and-so's!' and all the same filthy pejorative names they call the rest of the Irish people. This sums up, though in a negative way, the common sense of national identity and unity as Irish people which is felt positively, regardless of background or region, when it comes to the playing field, travel abroad and common pride in

our beautiful ever-green island, our pride in the warm, generous, hospitable, humorous and hard-working people, and the sparkling culture and music of Ireland.

In a nutshell, contrary to the claimed intentions of the British imperialists and the southern 'Free' State bourgeoisie, that the Anglo-Irish Agreement is a measure of 'democratic reform of Northern Ireland', for instance to encourage the 'reconciliation' of the 'two different communities and different traditions', the 'protestant unionist British' and the 'catholic nationalist Irish' - even opening the path to a united Ireland (by constitutional means!) - it is simply the instrument of a foreign aggressor - the application of the slogan of Julius Caesar and the ancient Roman Empire: "Divide et imperia", 'divide and conquer' or 'divide and rule' - in order to maintain its unjust and illegal colonial occupation of part of someone else's country and the colonial and neo-colonial domination of that country as a whole for the future, where it has had no democratic rights to be in Ireland at all.

### To 'give the Agreement a chance' is unacceptable

Clearly, the conclusion must be, that to 'give the Anglo-Irish Agreement a chance to work', to 'give it enough time to produce results' is not favourable to any kind of 'reconciliation' or 'peaceful constitutional progress towards a united Ireland'. Quite the opposite.

It would be to passively accept the continuance and further dangerous escalation of the most rabid campaign of British-organised sectarian fascist 'divide and rule'. It would mean to stand idly by in the face of the rising wave of beatings, arson and murder of innocent people, and in the face of the fascist communal pogroms which the British imperialists are striving to organise to spread a climate of total fear and terror throughout the whole community and the whole Irish nation, regardless of people's religious background (so-called) or the region in which they live, whether in the north or in the south. This is what the British imperialists are organising by means of their fascist terrorist colonial gangs, now orchestrated in the broad coalition of the Ulster Clubs, and quite fraudulently in the name of the ordinary protestant people of Ireland.

To passively allow the British imperialists and the national traitors

the free hand which they want to implement the Anglo-Irish Agreement, would mean to refuse to face up to the truth, to reality: that it is British imperialism which is, as it has always been, responsible for every suffering of the people of Ireland, including sectarian religious divisions, which they have entirely artificially incited as their sinister tactics to maintain their national subjugation and exploitation of the Irish nation, the whole nation, by 'divide and rule'.

It would mean, instead, accepting the right of this foreign imperialist aggressor, who has wreaked unbelievable torments and disasters on our people for so many hundreds of years already, to continue to inflict this suffering, but now on the basis of this whole lie which is the entire basis and foundation of the Anglo-Irish Agreement: namely, that the only authority that actually has a 'sincere interest in solving the Irish question', or is competent or able to give 'law and order' to Ireland and provide the foundation for a prosperous future by bringing about the so-called 'reconciliation' between these allegedly 'different' sections of people in Ireland (judged on this utterly fraudulent religious and racist basis), is British imperialism itself!

For Irish people to accept the Anglo-Irish Agreement as the solution to the problems of our long-suffering country, would mean to refuse to face up to the responsibility which faces any freedom-loving and democratic people: that it is only we, the Irish nation ourselves, who can solve our own problems, indeed who have the right to rule our own country. And the reality is that the first and essential step we must take is to organise and unite to throw British imperialism out of Ireland as the only basis for establishing true democracy in our own country, instead of the charade of colonial and neo-colonial parliaments (talking-shops). Since without national independence and re-unification in an all-Ireland sovereign nation state, there can be no thought of running our own affairs.

To accept this reign of terror in the name of the so-called 'Anglo-Irish process of reconciliation and peace' would mean to give up on our sacred and inalienable democratic rights as a nation, and even to give up on the very basis of our just demand for independence - our character as a single Irish nation. It would be to give up on our unity as a nation which gives us the essential competence to act as a true

nation, and give up on the very juridical basis of our rights to nationhood in terms of the recognised attributes of nationhood; and as a matter of fact, even though the existence or non-existence of such laws themselves cannot determine national rights - it would mean giving up on the recognised terms of nationhood under international law. All this would signify giving up on our rights as a nation to decide our own destiny ourselves, free from foreign intervention.

### The necessity which faces us now

Since the Irish people do constitute a true nation, and always have done, ever since the heroic Rising of the United Irishmen of 1798 vindicated in blood the existence of the modern Irish nation at the very onset of the emergence of nations in the democratic epoch, ( being herself recognised internationally by democratic public opinion at that very time of the great French Revolution) - then it is utterly impossible for our nation to accept such a treaty as the Anglo-Irish Agreement, which fundamentally violates our rights and even our very identity as a single nation.

The Irish people will never accept this treaty, the Anglo-Irish Agreement, forced on our nation by a foreign imperialist aggressor with the connivance of national traitors, just as they have never accepted any such previous foreign impositions in our history, and have never accepted the right of any foreign power to dictate the destiny of our nation, or indeed the right of any individual or group claiming to speak 'in the name of the Irish nation' to sell our destiny out to such foreign aggressors.

But the question facing the Irish people today is not merely a question of non-acceptance, of simply defending our national integrity which has always been the ever-living and healthy patriotic tradition underlying every generation. The question today is to finally resolve the problems in Ireland at their very basis. This means to bring to a successful culmination the many centuries of heroic struggle, but most particularly bring to a final culmination the current phase of this heroic struggle, the patriotic mass movement including the essential armed national resistance struggle centred in the north over the last 18 years,

in the insurrection of the entire nation, in the revolution through which foreign imperialism will be destroyed in Ireland for ever.

As James Connolly, the heroic patriotic martyr and militant revolutionary leader of the Irish working class, pointed out: whilst the preservation of the patriotic traditions is of essential value, traditions by themselves

*"can never be strong enough to ride the storm of a successful revolution. If the national movement of our day is not merely to re-enact the old sad tragedies of our past history, it must show itself capable of rising to the exigencies of the moment. It must demonstrate to the people of Ireland that our nationalism is not merely a morbid idealising of the past, but is capable of formulating a distinct and definite answer to the problems of the present and a political and economic creed capable of adjustment to the future" \**

The problems of the present are not, as the British imperialists and all its collaborators in Ireland make out, in particular with this Anglo-Irish Agreement, problems of sectarian division and the necessity for reconciliation between these so-called 'two traditions and two communities'. The problem is to organise, mobilise and unite the entire Irish nation in the just patriotic struggle to **THROW THE FOREIGN AGGRESSOR, BRITISH IMPERIALISM, OUT OF IRELAND!** For this is to address and resolve the source and basis of all oppression and division amongst the Irish people.

We must broaden and deepen the participation of the masses of the Irish people in the glorious ongoing patriotic and anti-imperialist mass movement, including the heroic, just and essential armed struggle for national liberation. We must draw together all the other democratic and progressive movements in the country, including the struggles of the

\* Article, "Socialism and Nationalism", Shan Van Vocht, January 1897. Sign of the Three Candles, Fleet Street, Dublin, 1948 edition of selected writings of James Connolly, "Socialism and Nationalism", page 22.

workers and the masses of unemployed workers and youth to **MAKE THE RICH PAY FOR THE CRISIS!**, into the one movement for the revolution.

This insurrection of the entire Irish nation is - at one and the same time - essential to muster the full force of the nation necessary to actually militarily defeat and expel this foreign aggressor, and to place state power in the hands of the masses of the Irish people themselves, which is the only basis which can enable them to solve all the manifold problems which people are struggling to solve, which are focussed today in the crisis of the imperialist system. This is a crisis of foreign dependence, as the foreign imperialists and the Irish bourgeoisie strive to impose the burden of the crisis onto the workers and people of Ireland with factory closures, dispossession of the land of small farmers, mass unemployment, government cutbacks in education, housing, social welfare and health benefits, north and south, and the return of mass emigration, especially of the youth, the future of the nation. This is a crisis which can only be resolved by the masses of the Irish people, holding state power under the leadership of the working class, ending foreign dependence and building the new Ireland on the basis of self-reliance without domination by or being indebted to foreign monopoly capital.

To build up and draw together all the existing struggles of the people and unite the masses of the people, north and south, one and all, regardless of any so-called 'differences of background', one thing that is essential is to arm the entire Irish people ideologically and politically to fight and **SMASH THE FASCIST 'DIVIDE AND RULE' ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT !**

## Part two :

### **THE PROMOTION OF THE ILLUSIONS AND THE TABOOS OF BOURGEOIS 'DEMOCRACY'**

The Anglo-Irish Agreement 1985 - to give it the full official title - which was signed at Hillsborough Castle in the north of Ireland by Margaret Thatcher for the British Conservative government and by Garret FitzGerald for the Fine Gael-Labour Coalition government of the southern 26 County Irish Republic on November 15th 1985, was enacted, according to its authors, with the most enlightened and especially 'democratic' of motives for the benefit of the people of the north and the people of Ireland in general, as well as for the benefit of good relations between the people of Britain and Ireland.

The Agreement has a three year term, lasting till November 1988, but the proviso has been made for its working to be 'subject to review' - (query: dropped?) - at any intervening point, if requested by either government, as well as at the end of the three years.

With this agreement the two governments declared their mutual concern to bring peace and prosperity to 'Northern Ireland', and indeed to Ireland as a whole. The claimed objective was to bring to an end the 'conflict in the north' which has been going on since 1969, and re-establish 'law and order' etc., as the essential basis to 're-establishing democracy in working order', as well as the basis for economic development.

However, long before the agreement was signed, in the months and years since negotiations first began in 1982 between the then Taoiseach, C.J.Haughey, in the Fianna Fail administration of the day and Margaret Thatcher, it could be clearly seen in the whole approach of the two governments that such high-sounding 'democratic' sentiments were merely the cover to the most sinister conspiracy to thwart the realisation of genuine democratic rights for the Irish people

once again - in the first place, the democratic right to the unity and freedom of our nation.

The reason why it could be seen from the first that the Anglo-Irish Agreement was inspired by the most hostile intentions against the Irish people, instead of real concern for their best interests, was because it did not start from democratic principle.

Let us summarise the 'logic' used by the British and Irish governments to promote the Anglo-Irish Agreement, with of course the British imperialists always the prime mover and the 'Free' State regime as their junior partners.

According to the Anglo-Irish Agreement, the kernel of the problems of conflict in 'Northern Ireland' are the

*"divisions there", with these divisions arising out of the fact that "two major traditions.....exist in Ireland, represented on the one hand by those who wish for no change in the present status of Northern Ireland and on the other hand by those who aspire to a sovereign united Ireland .....". \* 1*

According to the analysis of the authors of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, repeated in countless speeches, in the New Ireland Forum etc., the cause of these "divisions", has nothing to do with foreign occupation by British imperialism; the sole cause is 'extremists, men of violence and terrorists in the two communities and two traditions'. Thus the clause in the Anglo-Irish Agreement, in which the two governments state this position:

*"Reaffirming their total rejection of any attempt to promote political objectives by violence or the threat of violence and their determination to work together to ensure that those who adopt or support such methods do not succeed,". \* 2*

What is the reasoning behind this analysis of the authors of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, the British and 'Free' State governments?

\* 1 ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT 1985, PREAMBLE, Page 1

2 ibid. page 2

## British imperialist 'logic' on 'Northern Ireland conflict'

The British imperialists, ever since the present democratic and patriotic upsurge began in the north in 1969, have generously 'admitted' - or rather have been forced to admit - that the Stormont regime was sectarian and oppressive (as though this was not the system of their own creation in 1921 designed to keep the Irish people in subjugation, and as though they knew nothing of the vicious anti-democratic character of that regime which even denied large sections of people the vote etc. for over fifty years!). As a result, they 'admit', there had existed a basis for the so-called 'alienation' of people of what they choose to call the 'catholic, nationalist minority' from the system of government and law and order in 'Northern Ireland'.

But the problem now - so they claim - with the emergence of patriotic armed resistance since 1969, is that this has created a 'vicious circle', with the creation of the basis of popular support for 'extremism and terrorism' in the 'other community - the protestant unionists'. The consequence of this 'vicious circle' is that 'constitutional politicians and parties in both communities' are under such pressure from the existence of popular support for 'extremism and terrorism in both communities' that it has been proving impossible to structure the situation in 'Northern Ireland' so that what they call 'democratic' politics, which is equated with bourgeois parliamentary politics - 'readiness to compromise', ministerial horse-trading, allocation of contracts and all the other pragmatic bourgeois democratic 'principles' - can be carried on as it is in Britain or the southern Irish Republic or 'other western democracies'.

If these 'extremists and men of violence on both sides' can be exposed and isolated and stopped - so the British and 'Free' State governments argue - by the development of new forms of 'security co-operation' between the British and Irish governments (another way of saying: to put as many patriots as possible behind bars), at the same time as 'reforms' in the north can overcome 'nationalist alienation' and 'unionist opposition to power-sharing', then the way will be opened to these same two communities to proceed in struggle for their separate

and opposed 'aspirations', but this time solely by electoral and parliamentary means, by peaceful means.

This is the 'democratic solution' to the ongoing conflict in the north according to the Anglo-Irish Agreement and its authors. Whichever way the electoral will of the people goes, say the two governments, they will respect their will.

But these 'assurances' and 'pledges' are not even worth the paper they are written on, because there is no genuine democratic principle in any of this. And neither does this 'historical analysis' of British imperialism - of the origins of the present 'conflict in Northern Ireland' - honestly explain or account for the facts.

The real question about the origins of today's conflict in the north is: who was responsible for the truly fascist character of the Stormont regime set up by the Government of Ireland Act of 1920, which partitioned Ireland, and what was their motive?

It was Lloyd George and the British imperialists of the day. They deliberately had set out to create that type of fascist colonial state. And ensuing British governments knew full well what type of a state they upheld in the Stormont regime, whether these governments were Liberal, Labour or Conservative. These British imperialist governments committed these crimes and maintained Stormont in order to maintain British colonial occupation of the north of Ireland. There was no question of 'not knowing about sectarian religious discrimination, denial of democratic rights, the vote, housing' etc.etc.

And when the patriotic armed forces re-organised themselves and came into action in the democratic mass movement which was already under way, this was not any kind of 'terrorism'. It was absolutely a matter of life and death that the patriots get armed in order to defend the people against the vicious attacks of the British colonial regime, their R.U.C., their 'B'Specials and their British Army.

It was not this so-called 'extremism in the nationalist community' which inspired 'loyalist reaction'. The historical facts were quite the opposite. Actually, the fascist front runner of British colonial reaction, Paisley - a 'graduate' of the Bob Jones University in the U.S.A. a well-known centre of C.I.A. subversion - had already since the early '60s, as the representative of British colonialism's triumphalism over

the ending of the previous phase of patriotic armed struggle - the Border Campaign of 1956-62 - striven to whip up the most fascist sectarian movement with his so-called 'Protestant Telegraph'. And it is known that it was this 'Reverend' 'Doctor' Ian Paisley - this fascist thug in a dog-collar - who actually re-organised the Ulster Volunteer Force, with one of the U.V.F. fascist gangs led by Gusty Spence carrying out the most brutal murder of an innocent individual, a barman, on the sole basis that he was a 'catholic', back in 1966.

And in any case, the facts about these so-called 'loyalist extremists' are that they were never - and neither are they today - 'separate from the forces of law and order'. 'Loyalist extremism' could never have been what the British imperialists say, 'reaction to the armed struggle of the I.R.A.'. This unionist fascism had come out from the first against the democratic movement for civil rights together with the official law and order forces, the R.U.C. and 'B'Specials with guns and clubs against defenceless people in ordinary political demonstrations. They had launched pogroms into the civilian community to crush the patriotic people and their just democratic demands right from the first, before any armed resistance began against them. The armed patriotic resistance was organised in the situation where the people were under armed attack. And who, in any case, would provide the forces for the so-called 'loyalist extremists'? It was none other than the R.U.C. and especially 'B'Specials, and still is today with the Ulster Defence Regiment formed to replace the exposed B'Specials (but taking on recruits from the 'B'Specials in any case).

It is the official forces of British colonialism who provide the information and the manpower and the weapons for the murdering undercover fascist gangs of the U.V.F., U.D.A. etc. In fact, it would be closer to the truth to say that the undercover fascist colonial gangs are simply the plain-clothes extension of the uniformed fascist state forces of the British colonial regime, manned by serving British Army soldiers (especially S.A.S.), serving R.U.C. and U.D.R., with the inclusion of ex-policemen, ex-U.D.R. and ex-British Army soldiers. They are not, nor ever were, the 'reaction to nationalist terrorism'. And as to this so-called 'nationalist terrorism' this was not terrorism in any case, but the legitimate and necessary armed defence of the Irish nation.

## Fraud of bourgeois 'democracy'

The British imperialists could never be truthful in any 'analysis' of the facts about the origins of the 'Northern Ireland conflict', because their illegal foreign colonial occupation is a complete violation of all democratic principle, and it is this truth that they want to keep hidden. The 'democracy' of their system of elections and so on in 'Northern Ireland' had always been the most blatant fraud, involving even the denial of the vote to large sections, whilst arming leading unionist capitalists and landlords with multiple votes on the basis of property qualifications. In other words, in the colonial situation the fraud of British 'democracy' was simply even more blatant than the fraud of this bourgeois 'democracy' as it operates within Britain itself, as the deception to cover up the real class dictatorship of the monopoly bourgeoisie over the working class and people.

For instance, what is this nonsense anyway about the unionist or the constitutional 'nationalist' politicians and parties being 'under pressure from extremists within their own communities'?

This is nothing other than the usual bourgeois 'democratic' fraud that it is the electorate itself which determines the bourgeois politics, the existence of bourgeois parties and the character of their policies, who actually determine the government and the form of society under the rule of capital and the bourgeoisie.

But it is even more patently a fraud in the case of a colonial situation like Ireland. Let us look at the facts. In the first place, no one could pretend that the unionist parties of Paisley and Molyneux are fascist in their politics because they are 'under pressure from extremists'. They are the fascists themselves, and these fascist gangs are of their making. Then again, look at the S.D.L.P. Has the existence of armed patriotic forces made Hume and the S.D.L.P. into some kind of 'militant nationalists', i.e. more militant than they would be if such forces did not exist? Not at all. In fact, the more the patriotic forces keep fighting, the more Hume and the S.D.L.P. denounce their just armed struggle as 'extremism' and even 'fascism', and increasingly the S.D.L.P. become exposed as real unionists themselves, i.e. talking in terms of 'devolved government within the context of

Northern Ireland', as this Anglo-Irish Agreement is planning for.

No, none of this concoction about 'extremism on both sides putting pressure on the constitutional political parties', this whole fraud of bourgeois 'democracy', has even the remotest connection with the truth - and this goes for any capitalist society, let alone a colonial situation of foreign oppression as in the north of Ireland.

Bourgeois 'democracy' is simply one form of government of capitalist society, in this case where the bourgeoisie find it expedient to adopt 'democratic forms' of government the better to facilitate the subjugation and exploitation of the masses of the working class and other exploited sections to their class dictatorship, in this case the subjugation of a foreign nation in its entirety, the Irish people, by the British monopoly capitalist class. The bourgeois political parties, their policies and the selection of governments bear no relationship to the real interests of the masses of the electorate or their actual views.

For one thing there is the well known phenomenon of 'electoral promises' by which parties achieve majorities and abandon these when they get into power. There is the fraud of 'opposition', when the opposition takes over power often pursuing the very same policies they attacked when in opposition. There are the great obstacles to the ordinary people, especially the working class, organising and popularising parties which genuinely serve the interests and needs of the people, most particularly obstacles against the advance of the Marxist-Leninist communist party, but also any genuinely democratic and patriotic party in Ireland.

There are the methods of the wall of silence, including today the official censorship of patriotic and revolutionary parties by the southern 'Free' State media under Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act. There is the harrassment and victimisation of such parties by the bourgeoisie and their state forces, and the introduction of laws to forbid the democratic right to even advocate the overthrow of the bourgeois state, which is actually a state of national betrayal in violation even of its own Constitution. This is to make it illegal to even advocate what are in fact the only means to provide a solution to all the problems in the country, namely the revolution, including, it should be added, the only means of making a reality of the all-Ireland

Republic of the Constitution of the state, Bunreacht na hEireann.

Then there is the immense wealth stacked behind the bourgeois parties, the ownership of the big newspapers by the bourgeoisie, their control of the media and ownership of most halls and meeting places, as well as the milking of state funds paid for by the working people out of their taxes, in order to finance these bourgeois parties to the tune of millions.

These bourgeois parliaments are only talking-shops to present a fraud of 'debate' about the interests of society, while the real decisions are taken in the boardrooms of the big financiers and monopoly capitalists.

And this real character of bourgeois 'democracy' is especially clearly exposed in the case of Ireland, where, whenever the Irish people have overcome the deceptions and the frauds and have elected genuine fighters for their interests, what has been the consequence?

For instance in 1918, on the last occasion where a general election took place on a 32 county basis, some 73 seats out of the total 105 seats were won by Sinn Fein candidates committed to separation from Britain and genuine national independence in an all-Ireland nation state. In fact this represented some 80% of the total vote. But did the British imperialists respect this clear majority decision?

No, they waged a remorseless colonial war with their 'Black and Tans' to subjugate Ireland; and, having failed to crush the Irish people, then resorted to the most criminal scheme and imposed partition on Ireland by military force and by the connivance of national traitors amongst the leadership of the patriotic movement to maintain their imperialist domination, but now by a combination of colonial and neo-colonial rule. Thereby they changed the whole electoral situation to exclude all further possibility of the Irish people expressing their views as a nation at the ballot box.

It is the same today in the north, where the election of Bobby Sands as Member of the Westminster Parliament whilst on hunger strike in 1981, was quickly followed by the British parliament rushing through a bill to disallow prisoners to stand as parliamentary candidates.

The British imperialists had long been saying that the armed patriots were 'extremists and terrorists without any base of democratic support



in the community, with no electoral mandate for armed struggle' etc.etc. But when the election of Bobby Sands completely exploded these myths they simply changed the 'democratic rules'.

So this is the reality, the real context of British imperialism's talk about 'creating new structures in order to restore democratic politics'. This is the real situation where the Anglo-Irish Agreement is to facilitate expression of democratic public opinion on the hoax of 'reducing support for extremism in both communities', the means to 'achieve their aspirations through constitutional, peaceful means, including even a united Ireland'.

### Fraud that 'peaceful methods' are the issue

What the British imperialists are claiming is that it is really a matter of indifference to them whether the one or the other option is to be implemented. They are an entirely 'disinterested outside party' to the problems of 'Northern Ireland'.

The only issue, which the British imperialists claim they are concerned about, is how either policy might be effected - by violent means or through peaceful, constitutional means, which, they constantly repeat, are the only democratic means. Since it is a fact of historical development that the British government holds authority in the north of Ireland - so their argument goes - they have a responsibility to uphold law and order and ensure that people's property and lives are not put in jeopardy nor the democratic and civil rights of anybody violated.

However, all this promotion of the so-called 'democratic' objectives of the Anglo-Irish Agreement is completely idle talk on the part of the British imperialists: because the facts are that the north of Ireland is in reality simply a foreign colonial possession of British imperialism, is treated by them as such, with religious division quite clearly, both in history and in present day facts, an instrument of 'divide and rule' policy to maintain Britain's unjust and illegal colonial annexation of the 6 Counties and thereby national subjugation of the Irish throughout Ireland as a whole. Therefore there can be nothing truly democratic in British imperialism's alleged 'interest in defending democracy'.

The British imperialists claim that, with the Anglo-Irish Agreement, a constitutional framework has been created, by means of which these aspirations can be pursued by these peaceful means, through elections, parliament and so on. Thus the objective of the Hillsborough Accord is another devolved government of Northern Ireland at Stormont, in which it is possible in the future for these "constitutional" politics to advance, i.e. the politics of both communities, of nationalism and unionism, peacefully by constitutional means, with the result that if the existing majority remains for staying under British rule, then this continues and is not opposed by armed force, or,

*"if in the future a majority of the people in Northern Ireland clearly wish or and formally consent to the establishment of a united Ireland, they (the two governments) will introduce and support in the respective Parliaments legislation to give effect to that wish". \**

What the British imperialists constantly advocate for 'Northern Ireland' is simply the very same principle they established in South Africa and which the later Republic of South Africa systematised in the notorious racist 'theory of separate development' - apartheid; in this case using religion as the basis for delineating two communities and two traditions with separate aspirations.

The question of 'stopping the violence', which is one of the major arguments used to make out that British imperialism is defending democracy, is likewise as hypocritical as this argument which is used as the current defence of their fascist 'State of Emergency' in which the most massive violence is being deployed against the oppressed Azanian people by the fascist Botha and the racist South African regime.

In fact, the main thrust of British imperialism's ideological and political offensive in the Anglo-Irish Agreement is to distort the issue of what democracy means in Ireland so as to disarm the Irish people from resistance against the real violation of their democratic rights - national subjugation by British imperialism and its fascist system of

\* Anglo-Irish Agreement section A. Article 1 Clause C. Page 3 .

colonial and neo-colonial 'divide and rule'.

Whether democratic rights are upheld by so-called peaceful means or by violent means can never be the issue of principle. The question is simply: 'do the people have their just democratic rights?' If the issue is that the people - in this case a whole nation, the Irish people - are being denied their just democratic rights - rights which should themselves be recognised as inalienable rights to any nation, including supposedly also by the British government as one of the founders and signatories of the Charter of the United Nations Organisation - then the discussion must proceed as to how to secure these rights, what means are necessary. And this question is decided, in the final analysis, by the means used by the oppressor who is denying the rights. The question comes up that violence is necessary, that is to say, just violence in defence of democratic rights, because these are denied by the unjust violence of the oppressor. In that case, where violence is necessary because peaceful means are of no avail, then recourse to a violent solution is not only just, it is one's right and even the duty of the people and the nation, and this is even attested in existing international law, including the Charter of the United Nations where it is the recognised right of a nation to defend itself by armed force in the case of the armed invasion of one's country, which is the situation in Ireland, and has been ever since 1169.

Of course, the British imperialists are quite well aware that this issue of violence is really irrelevant to the question of democracy, that is if this violence is to defend a just democratic cause and actually has mass support amongst the people. Therefore, the major concern of British imperialism is to give the patriotic armed forces the character of being 'terrorists', i.e. armed gangsters who are detached from the people, and who are therefore no better than common criminals or bandits, at worst, or at best, the remnants of some long-dead and forgotten cause which was formerly popular, but which has now been relegated to the museum because it has been superseded by new, wider and more important issues in a new situation. Or else, the situation where the cause itself may still be valid, but where the necessity for violence to uphold it has been removed by the introduction of such democratic procedures that can enable this popular cause to be pursued by

peaceful means. This, especially now with the Anglo-Irish Agreement, is the claim of British imperialism.

Thus the whole thrust of the Anglo-Irish Agreement on this question of 'alienation', especially amongst 'nationalist youth', is to win over people from support for the patriotic armed struggle, on the basis that there is now the political means for peaceful change, i.e. to pursue the national aspiration, if only the 'nationalist violence' is brought to an end, because this will prove the means to isolate and discredit the 'loyalist extremists' as well, and therefore usher in a new era of peaceful, parliamentary pursuit of these different aspirations of unionism and nationalism. Because now unionists will no longer be 'intransigent' and refuse to participate in power-sharing etc.

The British imperialists, who are the deniers of the Irish people's democratic rights, are simply trying to cover up the issue of principle - the question of Ireland's democratic rights - by their claiming that the existence of violence in 'Northern Ireland' means the denial of democratic rights, therefore they are working for 'peace' by the 'suppression of terrorism'. They are trying to cover up the historical and present-day facts, that it is British imperialism, as a foreign power, without any right to interfere in the affairs of a separate nation, without any right to interfere in another country; it is its violent colonial aggression in annexing part of Ireland in 1921 to maintain its subjugation of our nation as a whole, by a combination of colonialism and neo-colonialism, in continuation of the previous many-centuries-long subjugation of Ireland since 1169; and it is its constant violent, fascist violation of Ireland's right to national independence and sovereignty by partition, which has always been and still is responsible for all violence in Ireland right up to this day, in particular by this sinister 'divide and rule' system.

### British imperialism's 'law and order'

The British imperialists are trying to claim that their constant use of violence, their breaking in and destruction of people's homes, their murders by plastic and lead bullets, their brutal assassinations and attacks on democratic demonstrations are not violence at all, but

'preserving law and order' and even 'defending the lives and rights of the people in Northern Ireland against the men of violence and extremists and terrorists in both communities' etc..

However, the facts are that the 'law and order' of the British government in the north of Ireland cannot be equated in any sense with anything other than the unjust and illegal maintenance of colonial oppression.

What else can explain the role of the foreign British Army? The 'justification' that this is used as 'support to the civil power' is utterly threadbare and convinces no one. There is the use of a clearly colonial militia, the Ulster Defence Regiment (always under the command of British officers), and colonial police, the Royal Ulster Constabulary, which is nothing other than an armed para-military force itself, not even remotely a civilian constabulary at all. For instance the R.U.C. has had little resemblance to the police forces in Britain (though nowadays the resemblance is increasing, as the British monopoly bourgeoisie adopts more and more fascism at home to put down the British working class, to force them to pay for the crisis, and to crush their militant strike struggles, as for instance in the heroic miners' strike of 1984/5). The R.U.C. is like all the colonial police forces of the old British Empire, an armed force used as the force of first instance against the people, overtly maintaining national subjugation of the colony. This colonial character has been further emphasised in the conditions of the revolutionary crisis since 1968/9, where the R.U.C. has actually been stiffened through and through with ex-British Army, ex-British Military Police and also personnel from police forces in Britain.

But not only this; the facts are that British imperialism also wields violence in Ireland directly itself by undercover means, such as the British Army S.A.S. Regiment (Special Air Services) and various similar and S.A.S.-trained RUC units, which even in the British colonial courts have emerged as trained gangsters and assassins, as real terrorists. By these means and indirectly through the various fascist colonial gangs, the British imperialists carry out their 'divide and rule' policy to incite a climate of terror, striving to bring the situation to the verge of an apparent 'civil war', especially when their

colonial role is becoming exposed and their continued rule is reaching crisis.

This is just what they are orchestrating at present with the Anglo-Irish Agreement, so as to cover over the fact that they are trying to defend their unjust and illegal colonial occupation of another country and are facing a just struggle of patriotic forces for national liberation, and present themselves instead as the impartial third-party who can step in to impose law and order and save the people from the civil war bloodbath.

### 'Playing the Orange Card' British 'democracy' in action in Ireland

This question of where the issue of principle is to be found on this question of democracy vis a vis violence in a colonial situation, has been made even more vividly clear - because it is so concrete - with the period of implementation of the Anglo-Irish Agreement itself, in the nine months or so of state-organised fascistisation since it was enacted in November last year.

For with the development of the most vicious anti-Irish and really fascist Unionist onslaught under the hoax of a 'democratic, constitutional campaign against the Anglo-Irish Agreement', it is clearly demonstrated that the whole 'political initiative' of the British imperialists in 'promising more rights and equality to the nationalist community - with 'promise' as the operative word, since nothing concrete is ever done - power-sharing and introducing the Irish dimension' has been simply another cynical and deliberate fascist manipulation by British imperialism - to pave the way for still more aggressive police, military, judicial and penal tactics by providing the age-old pretext for them, the foreign aggressor, to intervene on the hoax of 'defending democracy and keeping the two communities apart'. This pretext is the emergence of the so-called 'loyalist backlash'. But the British imperialists - far from being interested to 'protect the catholic nationalist minority' or 'uphold law and order impartially' etc. - actually intervene solely to crush the just demand of the Irish nation for British colonialism to get out of the north, to get out of their country, to get out of Ireland.

The Anglo-Irish Agreement has been British imperialism's current method of playing their notorious 'Orange Card' - the fascist colonial suppression of the Irish people and their patriotic rights, but achieved by sleight of hand, through the unionists. Whilst the British government itself actually contrives the 'democratic' appearance of being 'willing to concede Irish independence', but is actually 'forced to stay in Ireland by the will of the majority in the north', or, more deceptively as in 1969, 'to protect the catholic minority against the unionist backlash', 'to keep the two communities apart and to prevent a bloody civil war' etc.

But the facts are there, plain to be seen on the streets in the cities, towns and villages of the north. They can even be read between the lines of lying British government statements, and the confusion-mongering chorus of the obliging lackey journalists in the bourgeois media.

It is clear that from the first, while organising this Anglo-Irish Agreement, at the same time as they were mounting on the surface all the ballyhoo about 'overcoming both nationalist alienation and unionist intransigence', the British imperialists were organising behind the scenes the Unionists' 'Say No!' campaign.

Of course, they could not afford to openly be seen to organise the burnings, beatings and murders and now the planning of pogroms. This would not be politically expedient.

The whole point was to achieve this climate of terror (which is aimed to engulf all the people, regardless of their religious background or whether they live in the south or the north, although it is the people in the north who are most directly under attack) without the British government being seen to be the instigator of this fascist colonial terror.

The British imperialists therefore chose to work by means of their age-old tactics, and their main colonial reserve and supplement of physical, armed force to the British Army for the subjugation of Ireland, by means of 'the loyalists', the unionists, and to present this as the activity of one of the two so-called communities in Ireland - nothing to do with British imperialism! - so that no blame for this fascism could be ascribed to the real author of all fascism in Ireland,

the British imperialists, nor could it be recognised as the means to uphold an unjust and illegitimate foreign colonial annexation.

In this context it is most revealing to examine what has been the attitude of the British imperialists - who claim to be so solicitous of the safety of both communities - to this fascist unionist campaign to allegedly 'smash the Anglo-Irish Agreement'.

The British government are saying that - although they 'disagree' with the 'Unionists Say No' campaign, in the sense that it is 'misguided' and based on 'groundless fears about the threat of a united Ireland' - they 'understand the concerns felt by the Unionist community', and recognise their 'democratic right' to oppose the agreement! In fact, Tom King, the current British colonial Secretary of State for Northern Ireland has made his main job the constant 'reassurance' of the Unionist 'community', saying, for instance, that in fact, to all intents and purposes the southern Irish Republic has, in signing the Anglo-Irish Agreement, 'recognised that Northern Ireland would remain a part of the United Kingdom in perpetuity' and that, in his view, 'there would never be a united Ireland'!

As to the beatings, burnings, assassinations and pogroms, the British government says, yes, it is 'determined' to stop these, but - taking the fascist unionist politicians, such as Paisley and Molyneaux, at their word - they ascribe these fascist outrages, not to these 'constitutional' unionist politicians and their 'constitutional' parties, who are the direct (though thinly concealed) leaders and organisers of the fascist unionist campaign, but only to this propaganda invention of the British imperialists and the unionist fascists themselves - 'the extremists in the unionist community outside the control of the constitutional unionist politicians and parties'.

Thus the British imperialists are 'criticising' this unionist campaign, not because this campaign is truly fascist in the Hitler mould, but because this is 'as reprehensible as nationalist terrorism' and is 'a diversion from the main security task and making the fight to suppress the main enemy, the nationalist terrorists, more difficult'!

Thus, the sole interest of the British imperialists is to make as much mileage as possible for their whole anti-Irish offensive for national subjugation, using the fascist colonial reaction of unionism - which

from the beginning has been their own creation in any case - to attack and blacken ordinary Irish people, and to parade their own fascist colonial forces as the only upholders of civilisation and law and order in Ireland, and attack the just right of the Irish people to organise their own patriotic armed resistance to British colonial aggression.

Thus the British imperialists have even exploited the attacks of unionist mobs on the R.U.C. - which their own military intelligence without doubt has a part in organising - as a means to condemn the ordinary people of Ireland as a whole, on the basis of condemning 'this extremism and violence by one of the two communities' and to boost the credibility of the R.U.C. as an 'impartial force who have the unenviable job of enforcing law and order and the Anglo-Irish Agreement' - such as the re-routing of 'traditional' Orange marches and so on - 'in the face of the community in which most of the R.U.C. have to live because of the needs of their security and because they are co-religionists of the protestant community for the most part'.

At the same time as this, the British imperialists have given acres of media space and air time to the leaders of the fascist unionist campaign - of which the British government claims to 'disapprove' - so that Paisley and Molyneaux and all these fascists can promote their 'claim' that this so-called 'constitutional' campaign, which they are leading, and which has already gone from a token general 'strike' (with nothing genuinely proletarian about it) towards communal pogroms, leaving a trail of burnt-out homes, wounded and mutilated victims, with the number of these innocent people actually murdered climbing into double figures, is actually 'democratic'!

The British imperialists are giving full coverage to these most blatant of fascist lies of the unionists, that this is 'democracy' at work, the right of opposition and so on; and, moreover, that this campaign is particularly 'democratic', by virtue of the fact that it is opposition to 'imposed' government, i.e. against a measure brought in over their heads, 'without the consent of the majority in the north', namely the unionists. Nay more, it is a campaign against a 'foreign imposition', the unionists even cry, referring both to the involvement of the southern Irish Republic and - with unblinking hypocrisy - to 'perfidious English politicians', the masters whom they so zealously

serve and who are the moving force under whose instructions they have organised the unionist campaign 'against' the Anglo-Irish Agreement, as well as being the authors of this same agreement!

The British imperialists especially give maximum coverage to the claims of the fascist unionist politicians, that without their giving leadership to this 'constitutional campaign', then 'the extremists' and 'men of violence' would take over the leadership of the loyalist opposition to the Anglo-Irish Agreement and to the Republic's role in 'Northern Ireland' affairs, as if their campaign had not yielded already so many arson attacks, beatings and assassinations; and as if they had not themselves directly organised these fascist outrages and the fascist thugs and gangs who have carried them out! So they are leading this opposition to the Anglo-Irish Agreement in fulfilment of their role as responsible, constitutional and democratic and peace-loving politicians!

### Unionist 'knee-jerk reaction ' British 'capitulation' ?

Is it the case, as the so-called 'constitutional nationalist' parties and politicians, such as the SDLP as well as the 'Free' State political parties are saying (plus their sidekicks, the variety of opportunist, social-democratic, Trotskyite and revisionist splinter groups), that the 'Ulster Says No' campaign is simply the 'typical unionist knee-jerk reaction to any advance by the nationalists, including any reform by Westminster to give them more equality with the unionists in the north'?

Is it the case, as these various political forces try to make out, that the only problem is 'whether the British government has the bottle to outface the Unionists' or 'whether the British government is prepared to withdraw the unionist veto'?

Is it the case that the constant pattern of decisions of the Northern Ireland Office to facilitate the promotion of unionist fascism in the name of 'controlling Orange commemorations' etc, for instance the decision of the R.U.C. to re-rout the recent Orange march in Portadown from one catholic street to another, instead of avoiding catholic areas altogether, is British imperialism 'capitulating' to

Unionist pressure?

No, and again NO! These are all lies. This is the deception that the British imperialists want public opinion in Ireland and abroad to swallow - that they are involved in some kind of 'democratic' balancing act between 'two opposed communities and traditions' which have their own basis and self-motion within Ireland - i.e. which the British imperialists have no responsibility for fostering - with the problem that 'no balance can ever satisfy both of the communities at once' etc.

And in repeating these lies, which they are doing in various different and deceptive ways, the totality of all the political forces of the Irish monopoly bourgeoisie, whether these parasites fly the colours of constitutional 'nationalists' or unionists, proves how deeply they are involved in this great conspiracy of British imperialism against the true interests of their own countrymen and women in league with the foreign oppressor.

And the fact that these lies are also being repeated down the line by the opportunists, social-democrats and revisionists of all hues - from one angle or the other, depending on which variety of revisionism, either 'defending the right of protestant workers to remain British', the 'two nations' theory, 'opposing bourgeois nationalism' and opposing the just patriotic struggle as 'fascist' etc. or else, from the other angle, contributing to the 'analysis' about 'unionist knee-jerk reactions', 'the unionist veto', 'British imperialist capitulation to unionism', i.e. equally consistent with the whole analysis of 'two communities' of British imperialism as in the 'two nations' theory - shows that these are indeed the henchmen of the Irish bourgeoisie (i.e. of unionism and sham 'nationalism') and the foreign aggressors, operating within the ranks of the working class and the nation.

The fact that all these forces are constantly repeating the lies of British imperialism and substantiating the British imperialist 'analysis' of 'two communities, two traditions' shows that they are all the allies of British imperialism within Ireland, whether open or disguised. Because they are all out to cover up the truth - that the Irish people are one nation and this 'analysis' about the existence of 'two communities', 'two nations' etc. is simply the fraud of British

imperialism's 'divide and rule' methods in Ireland, and in fact assist British imperialism in achieving this 'divide and rule' from within Ireland.

### **The role of the Irish bourgeoisie as national traitors Dual tactics of Unionist fascism and constitutional 'nationalism'**

The internal basis of colonial and neo-colonial reaction, on which the British imperialists depend in order to operate their fascist system of 'divide and rule' in Ireland, is the existence of the Irish monopoly bourgeoisie. This is a single class of monopoly capitalists, which has been channelled, groomed and fostered as an internal support to their rule in Ireland by the British imperialists over the decades and centuries as British rule transformed from the feudal system to the capitalist system and imposed capitalism on Ireland.

With the imposition of capitalism on Ireland the bourgeoisie emerging within Ireland during the 18th Century had inevitably come into conflict with the foreign occupier, the British colonialists, as their own class interests to fight for the home market had inevitably come into contradiction with British colonial policy to exploit the colonies for maximum profit as simply sources of raw material and markets to buy their industrial commodities produced in Britain. The Irish bourgeoisie fought to extend their own commodity production for the Irish home market and expand their markets abroad, just as the emerging bourgeoisie in Britain's colonies did in America, thus coming up against the restrictions which the British government imposed on trade by the colonies under the Navigation Acts and so on. With the onset of the American Revolution in 1776, the Irish bourgeoisie, encouraged by this example - and tactically exploiting the issue to raise their own arms in the name of 'defending Ireland against invasion' - began a Volunteer movement and worked through the Irish parliament which then existed in Dublin to extend their own political control in Ireland as the means to break down British commercial restrictions and extend their own production and trade - the period of the Dungannon Convention and Grattan's parliament. Then, the most

radical and genuinely democratic, genuinely patriotic and, consequently, revolutionary wing of the bourgeoisie, led by Wolfe Tone and organised in the United Irishmen, now further inspired by the great French Revolution of 1789, came out in revolution for national independence and complete separation from British rule as a sovereign nation in the heroic Rising of 1798.

The British colonialists endeavoured - with eventual success - to tackle the national movement in Ireland piecemeal. On the one hand they worked to crush the revolutionary national movement by use of every trick, agent provocateur and spy and by brute military force, concluding their defeat of the United Irishmen with mass reprisals and extermination. Whilst on the other hand they managed to bribe the parliamentary wing, who were quite amenable in any case having been badly scared, as landlords and capitalists, at the emergence of the ferment for social emancipation, of the peasantry for land etc., unleashed through the genuine democratic, national movement, which they saw threatened their own class interests. At the cost of some £3 million and the granting of titles of nobility etc. - the British government 'persuaded' the Irish bourgeoisie to vote their own parliament into extinction, bringing Ireland under the Westminster system in the Act of Union which came into force on January 1, 1801.

Finally, the British colonialists shifted their system of religious oppression of the Irish people, by redressing the demand of the dissenter sects for religious liberty and increased political rights as citizens by the repeal of the Penal Laws in their case, whilst maintaining these as discrimination against the catholics. This move was aimed to split the ranks of the people, which had been previously united by Wolfe Tone and the United Irishmen, for it was to enable the British colonial landlord gangs of the Orange Order, formed in 1795 to counter the United Irishmen, to extend their control over the protestant people as a whole, where previously a large section had been actively patriotic and laid down their lives for Ireland in the United Irishmen, especially in the major rebellions in the north in Antrim and Down.

But at the same time, this tactic of the British colonialists proved the means to provide a false issue to mislead the catholic people, the question of catholic emancipation. Cynically exploiting the natural fact,

that the masses of native Irish people had defended the Roman Catholic religion as part of their native heritage, correctly regarding the religious persecution and attempted imposition of the Reformation on Ireland as another element in subjugation by the foreign usurper, the British government, the British colonialists discovered, in the question of catholic emancipation, a useful substitute or decoy to divert the democratic movement away from its true objective - away from the struggle for national liberation. And the British colonialists found in Daniel O'Connell - to become the hero of 'constitutional nationalism' as 'the Liberator' - just the type of political leader for this catholic emancipation movement, a lackey who had already proved loyalty to them as a member of their colonial Yeomanry, who had had the specific job as a tout in pointing out the homes of United Irishmen and arms caches at the time of the Emmet Rising of 1803, but also a demagogue with the ability to deceive the people as a 'leader of Catholic Ireland'.

Of course, the demand for emancipation of the catholics from the Penal Laws was an entirely just and essential democratic demand. In fact, this had been one of demands of the United Irishmen and Wolfe Tone. But the point was that to put this democratic demand as a substitute, indeed in opposition as it emerged, to fighting for the freedom of Ireland, which would be the only basis for a true Irish democracy, was entirely counter-revolutionary. But this, indeed, was what O'Connell, 'the Liberator', did himself, with his notorious phrase, that 'the freedom of Ireland was not worth one drop of blood'.

Thus the dual tactics of combining so-called 'protestant loyalism' - or unionism as it was called later in opposition to the Home Rule movement - together with 'catholic nationalism' - now called 'constitutional nationalism' - had been fashioned by British imperialism and the Irish bourgeoisie, who had now betrayed all former loyalty to the nation and come out, in their own class interests, as most active and deceptive agents of British colonialism in Ireland, deceivers and splitters selling out their own people.

This role the Irish bourgeoisie took up out of their own class interests, in order to advance their commercial interests now under the wing of British domination of the world market, having failed in direct

conflict with the British colonialists. At the same time, they now saw this as a means to divide the working class and small farmers whom they exploited themselves in Ireland and stem the advance of agrarian revolution and of proletarian and trade union struggle (of which O'Connell was one of the most virulent opponents at the time). These had become major ferments in the democratic nationalist revolutionary movement against British occupation, with agrarian revolution becoming the main social, class content of the revolution during the 19th Century, with the social emancipation of the proletariat in the 20th Century coming to the fore, but at the same time with the small farmers just demand for land still occupying an important place in the revolution today.

Today this Irish capitalist class, now a monopoly bourgeoisie and tied in with the international bourgeoisie, even exporting capital and investment in its own right, and, in the case of the southern 'Free' State, advancing neo-colonial interests in the countries of Africa with an 'aid development programme'; this class, in which the capitalists sit together on the boards of the same companies and banks, regardless of any so-called religious difference between them (because they all worship profit in common together before all else), have fully developed the system of 'divide and rule' which they learnt at the knee of their tutor, the British imperialists, with 'protestant unionism' and 'catholic, constitutional nationalism' as their weapon to divide the working class and the people whom they exploit in common, regardless of religion, and whom they sell out to British imperialism and foreign monopoly capital in general, on the basis that they, the capitalists and their bourgeois parties, are the so-called natural leaders and represent the interests of the working people of Ireland as two separate communities and traditions.

Of course, this is not to deny that the Irish bourgeoisie is not divided itself, in the sense that all capitalists are, in life and death competition for the market. As Karl Marx pointed out, 'one capitalist kills many'. Indeed, in Ireland this competition has always been particularly savage, precisely because of the domination of the country by a more powerful neighbouring bourgeoisie, the British bourgeoisie. Thus the scramble for markets, contracts and, especially, for political power,

for the patronage that goes with political office, in the conditions where these primarily depend on extorting these from the foreign overlord, even coming into contradiction with British ruling class politics over this very issue (but never over the fundamental democratic question of national sovereignty, genuine national sovereignty and independence), has been particularly intense. But the point is that even this competition, especially as it emerges in the rivalry of those sections of the bourgeoisie most directly dependent on the British bourgeoisie and their market in the old British Empire - the bourgeoisie in the main, old industrial centre in the north - with those with more U.S.imperialist and European connections in the south, between the colonial and the neo-colonial bourgeoisie, is always at the expense of the masses of the working class and people of Ireland as a whole, whom they cynically mobilise as 'unionists' or as 'nationalists' purely as voting fodder and, if necessary, in more violent confrontation to further the competition of capitalist group against capitalist group in order to extort the deals and favours for their particular section from British imperialism, but whom, actually they exploit themselves together as a single class, and against whose revolution they are all united in implacable opposition in alliance with the foreign colonial power and national enemy, British imperialism.

### How British 'democracy' works in Ireland

A whole deception of bourgeois 'democracy' has been constructed in the two separate states in Ireland, the British colonial regime in the north and the southern, nominally 'independent' Irish 'Republic' in the south, but this is a system of bourgeois 'democratic' deception which operates across the border, since the whole point is that the politics in each state is the determining factor of the politics in the other. Thus the parties of the Irish bourgeoisie attack and defame each other in two major contending blocs and between the two states, but each acting as the foil of the other, each giving the other credibility, when both are deceptions.

In the case of the southern 'Free' State the old unionists found it expedient to abolish their party, thereupon merging into the first 'Free'



State party, now Fine Gael (although now the remnants of the same force of - formerly unionist - political reaction circulate throughout the system in the south, in all the bourgeois parties and also as part of the labour aristocracy controlling the trade unions in the interests of the bourgeoisie and foreign imperialism). Thus the politics of the so-called 'catholic nationalist Republic' attacked the state of 'Northern Ireland' as violating national unity, whilst within the 'Northern Ireland' colonial state a permanent majority was established for 'protestant unionism' and attacked the southern 'Free' State as a reactionary feudal catholic society, with backward economic development etc., and attacked the 'catholic nationalist' parties in the north as 'fenian' agents of this reactionary catholic united Ireland.

All this was nothing but a confidence trick to reduce the national question to a religious issue and deceive patriotic people into identifying Irish nationality with the catholic religion and offering the illusions of 'peaceful constitutional advance towards re-unification and national independence' (but in the context that this 'constitutional nationalist' bourgeoisie had themselves first suppressed the genuine patriotic and communist movement, which remained loyal to the necessity to continue the national struggle against British imperialism, in the most vicious Civil War 1922-23 to establish the neo-colonial 'Free' State of national betrayal with British imperialist backing and at loss of even more life than the War of Independence 1919-21). Killing two birds with one stone, this identifying of the national identity with the Roman Catholic religion has proved useful in helping undermine support amongst people of protestant background for a united Ireland on the basis that this would be submitting to 'rule by Rome'.

The southern 'Free' State neo-colonial bourgeois ruling class have obligingly played their role for British imperialism's policy of 'divide and rule'. They have built an entire army and police force, the gardai, on the basis of defending British partition and holding down the patriotic people in the south. This was the 'achievement' of Cummann na nGaedheal, the Treatyite 'Free' State traitors - the forebear of today's Fine Gael, formed out of the union of Cummann na nGaedheal with the openly fascist Blueshirts. Then the sham 'republicans' De Valera and Fianna Fail have completed their work, by furnishing the

southern state with sufficient political deception to cover up this betrayal of the nation. This was done in the shape of a constitution which had the deceptive trappings of a real democratic national constitution, including the just statement that this Republic consists of all 32 counties. But carefully tacked onto it was the statement that the Roman Catholic faith was the official religion of this 32 county Irish Republic, thus betraying the genuinely republican principle of the secular republic. Although latterly in the '70s, to make the deceptions more sophisticated, this clause was removed from the constitution, nevertheless the damage was done. This was the fly in the ointment of the Irish republic, to which the unionist fascists could point, and still do, as signifying that the achievement of an Irish Republic would mean the triumph of catholicism and 'Rome rule' over protestants.

However, the political deceptions could not be left at this level. Because in fact, the Irish people have never accepted these deceptions, and once they have seen through them they have fought against them.

With the democratic and patriotic upsurge of 1968 onwards, the bourgeois 'democratic' deceptions have had to be made much more sophisticated in the attempt to achieve credibility with the people in the north and on a national basis. Now increasingly as a feature in the political situation, in addition to the main plot of the contention of the 'protestant unionists' with the 'catholic nationalists', there is competition of bourgeois parties within each bloc (increasingly with contention by social democratic and revisionist parties of national betrayal and foreign imperialist collaboration, such as the Irish Labour Party and the Workers Party). This is especially designed to cater for the real desire amongst people for an end to the division, for 'reconciliation' etc., and at the same time to scare people with this bogey of 'two communities' all the more, whether in terms of some parties being the most overtly sectarian or whether they are more (at least verbally) 'for reconciliation'.

The 'hardliners' and the 'reconcilers' simply act as foils for each other. Thus the work of Paisley and the 'Democratic Unionists', Craig and other most overtly fascist politicians is to create parties in order to present the 'Official Unionists' as some kind of 'moderates', whilst

at the same time dragging unionism in general into ever more overtly fascist positions, for instance compared to the positions of Terence O'Neill and Brian Faulkner (in his latter phase). Whilst on the other hand, in order to revamp 'catholic nationalism' the SDLP was formed to give this treacherous line a more 'socialist' and therefore less overtly sectarian image, whilst still at the same time promoting that this party 'represents the catholic community'. Then there was the addition of Alliance, which is supposed to represent the demand of both 'catholics and protestants to unite for the benefit of both communities in Northern Ireland', but actually it is another thoroughly sectarian and in reality another unionist party, though with the twist that it is not based on 'protestants' alone. Finally, we have the much promoted 'Workers' Party, which operates on the hoax of putting forward 'class politics to oppose sectarian bigotry on both sides', but which actually throws its whole weight - quite small in the north - into the scales on the side of British imperialism and against its former comrades, the patriots, as 'fascists'.

Although since the Stormont parliamentary system of 1920-1972, there have been only the failures of two assemblies for short periods in '73/4 and '83/6, and the only parliamentary politics have been at Westminster, where only approximately 90 minutes in any parliamentary year is devoted to 'Northern Ireland', this has proved no obstacle to the bourgeoisie in promoting their deceptions of bourgeois 'democracy' in the north, since there is nothing to stop their endless talking going on even if the provincial 'talking-shop' is shut. Through their media, especially the so-called 'news', they orchestrate a veritable Tower of Babel of bourgeois 'democracy' of press conferences, press statement and counter-statement with all of these bourgeois parties attacking each other and commenting on events in order to confuse and disorient the masses of the people and the working class, whatever their background, and to confuse the people of the south as well.

In the south it is the same story, but with Fine Gael and Fianna Fail both competing with each other, both claiming to be heirs of 1916, both 'republican parties for a united Ireland', but with a different mix on the 'tactics' for constitutional progress, peaceful advance to a

united Ireland, with the 'Labour' party and the 'Workers' Party, and now 'Progressive Democrats' entering the fray to confuse matters still further.

And, lest the pretense of these parties in the south and the SDLP in the north as being 'nationalist' flag and their true role as neo-colonial agents of British imperialism be exposed, there is the constant obliging denunciation of these 'nationalist' parties by the fascist unionist parties of 'Northern Ireland' to give them credibility as real nationalists, including the absurd lies to make out that the SDLP and Fianna Fail in particular, but even also Fine Gael and Labour, are somehow the actual, secret backers of the patriotic armed struggle in the north. Thus the absurd concoction of John Hume, Charles Haughey, Garret FitzGerald and Dick Spring as some kind of 'shadows of the nationalist gunmen', when they are real gunmen, political swindlers and thugs, national traitors, criminals and gaolers working for British imperialism, shoulder to shoulder with the unionist fascists, Paisley, Molyneaux, Cusnahan and co.

This is the system of bourgeois 'democracy' as it has been developed in Ireland under British imperialism to confuse the masses of the working class and the people, and make them lose their own bearings on the crucial questions - i.e. where their own true interests lie, all part of the one Irish nation - on which they should all unite instead. This system is to keep the working class and Irish people subjugated to the illusions and the taboos of bourgeois 'democracy' and to their own exploiters, who thereby divide them and sell them out to the foreign aggressor.

For all these bourgeois parties of 'nationalism' and 'unionism' are united in support of 'law and order' and in opposition to the revolution to free Ireland and free her people. Each of them plays a role in helping provide a basis for the promotion of the illusions of bourgeois 'democracy', that this particular party is the best for this individual voter, for instance this is the most nationalist of these 'nationalist' parties, this the most realistic of the unionist parties, or this is the party which is against sectarianism on both sides, this is 'the party of the workers' etc.etc. At one and the same time this system provides the taboos of bourgeois 'democracy' against

revolution as the solution, on the hoax of 'opposing the extremists and terrorists on both sides', 'keeping the two sides apart' and 'promoting reconciliation', whilst also facilitating the fascisation of society and the states, north and south, more openly in the case of the north (the fuelling of the unionist fascist colonial reaction), and more deceptively in the south, through the promotion of the 'Free' State bourgeoisie as the 'responsible leaders of the nation' fighting against the 'disruption of the constitutional, peaceful advance of national reunification and independence by terrorists, who are every bit as much real opponents of the national cause as the unionist fascists'.

All this bourgeois 'democracy' is a total deception of British imperialism to fascise the situation in Ireland, in which the Irish bourgeoisie, both 'nationalists' and unionists, and all their bourgeois and allegedly 'constitutional' parties are involved up to the hilt. The British imperialists and the Irish bourgeoisie are the creators of unionist fascism as a weapon to terrorise the Irish nation and divide it. They are all, both unionists and constitutional 'nationalists' in support of unionist fascism - whatever verbal disclaimers they may make - and are all, both constitutional 'nationalist' as well as unionists, fighting to suppress the just patriotic struggle of the Irish people in order to suppress the revolution in Ireland in defence of British imperialism.

### **Criminal role of collaboration of Labour aristocracy opportunists, social democrats and revisionists**

At the same time a host of social-democratic and revisionist parties fulfil a similar role within the ranks of the working class and people, exploiting the increasingly widespread popular sentiment for socialism and the unity of the working class, but then interpolating this with fundamentally the same divisive politics - 'divide and sell out', as it were - in terms of sectarian division. Thus they promote the existence of the 'catholic' working class and the 'protestant' working class etc., twisting the ruth about the national question in various ways in order to promote confusion and reaction.

The labour aristocracy - the bought-off and bribed strata of the working class, controlling the trade unions in the interest of the

bourgeoisie and foreign imperialism, and providing the main social basis for the promotion of bourgeois ideology and politics within the working class movement in the form of social-democracy and revisionism (sham 'socialism' and 'communism') - often promotes the line of 'no politics in the trade unions' on the hoax that this is the best means to 'avoid sectarian division and preserve the unity of the all-Ireland trade union movement'. Thus, once more at this time, precisely when the fascist pogroms are being launched against working people, instead of coming out to denounce British colonialism, the Irish Congress of Trade Unions is talking of reviving the 'Better Life for All' 'campaign' which they 'waged' to oppose 'sectarianism', during the British-organised assassination campaign against patriotic people in the mid '70s. But this actually facilitates British imperialism's fascist 'divide and rule' of the Irish working class, by leaving their imperialist politics in possession of the field to poison the minds of the workers.

But then, at the same time, by means of the opportunist, social democratic and revisionist splinter groups and parties, the imperialist politics are actually promoted amongst the workers and in seemingly 'socialist' and 'Marxist' terms and in very contradictory ways; sometimes posing that the principle of proletarian internationalism means that the workers should not take a stand on the national question, and therefore should not take up the patriotic struggle for fear of 'splitting the working class'; sometimes advocating alliance with the national movement, but on the narrow nationalist basis of identifying patriotism with catholicism and denouncing all protestant workers as 'fascist' or actually 'British'; sometimes claiming in private that they agree with the necessity for national liberation, but 'socialists have to unite the working class across the sectarian divide first of all on the basis of their class interest, on economic questions, before the national question can be raised'..... as if national liberation was not in their class interest, when it is this democratic principle that must be explained to workers before ever they can become real socialists.

All of these opportunist, social-democratic and revisionist parties have underlying unity beneath their splintering competition against

each other (which is simply to confuse the workers, disorganise them as a class and alienate them from socialism) and that is their common opposition to organising for revolution. In particular they are in a common front of opposition to uniting the working class under its essential unified and monolithic leadership, under its single party, which must be based on the unified, integrated and only genuinely scientific theory of dialectical and historical materialism and its world outlook - Marxism-Leninism - the crucial revolutionary ideology of the working class in all countries without exception.

This has its crucial significance because today's world epoch of imperialism and world proletarian socialist revolution is one in which the democratic struggles for national liberation, such as the struggle in Ireland, are an essential and component part of the world proletarian socialist revolution.

Thus these various kinds of opportunists, social-democrats, Trotskyites and revisionists seek to confuse the working class and all people with sincere revolutionary and democratic sentiments with their '78 Varieties' of spurious 'Irish' brands of 'socialism' and even 'British in Ireland' brands of socialism, tailored to the bourgeois and imperialist methods of 'divide and rule'. This is to fulfil their most important mission for British imperialism and the Irish traitor monopoly bourgeoisie - to prevent the working class from getting politically organised and entering the revolutionary movement, the national struggle, organised as a class itself under the leadership of its own Marxist-Leninist communist party.

For this is the essential condition for the working class fulfilling its historic role of our day, as the leader of all the oppressed, in forging the unity of the Irish nation, especially through their alliance with the small farmers, but also with all the other strata exploited and revolted by foreign imperialism and national sell-out, small producers, small shop keepers, progressive intellectuals and professional people. This means the unity of the working class and its party, therefore, with all the democratic and patriotic people of Ireland and their organisations. It is this role that the opportunists and revisionists attack with all their bitterness - to thwart the proletariat organising under its Marxist-Leninist party and achieving the hegemony of the working class in the

people's revolutionary movement which is the essential basis to forge the unity of the nation in the revolution.

This is clearly a question of paramount importance to British imperialism and the national traitors, for it is in the uniting of the Irish people under the hegemony of the proletariat that they see the spectre of the complete collapse of their whole system of colonial and neo-colonial exploitation by which capitalism and imperialism are defended in Ireland, in particular the final downfall of British imperialism's system of 'divide and rule'. For it is through the emergence of the proletariat in leadership of the national movement, it is through the influence of the revolutionary politics and ideology of the working class - Marxism-Leninism - that the politics and ideology of the bourgeoisie, in particular their illusion-mongering and taboos of bourgeois 'democracy', are exposed for the fraud they are, and this is essential to explode the deceptions of sectarian 'divide and rule'.

The parties of the Irish bourgeoisie and their agents within the working class and people's movement all have in common their opposition to revolution, in particular working to ensure that the working class is split and unable to get organised for its revolutionary role under its own class leadership, its Marxist-Leninist party. They are all united in opposing the revolution necessary to rid Ireland of foreign occupation and domination by British imperialism and other foreign imperialism. They are hostile to the democratic struggle for national liberation therefore, and hostile to the working class getting organised to enter this democratic struggle organised as a class - a condition which is essential to forging the unity of the entire nation in the revolution, ensuring the achievement of national liberation and its consolidation in carrying through the revolution to the end, to the establishment of socialism in Ireland, where there is no internal basis of capitalism left still remaining for foreign imperialism to insert its hold once again.

It is the existence of this class, the Irish monopoly bourgeoisie, with its own class interest to defend the system of capitalism within Ireland by maintaining Ireland as part of world imperialism, the world system of monopoly capitalism, that is the internal basis by means of which

British imperialism operates its system of 'divide and rule'. The politics of 'divide and rule', especially the incitement of religious sectarianism (with its promotion of anti-Irish racism as well), which British imperialism implanted in Ireland, receive their physical embodiment in the role of the Irish bourgeoisie operating as the so-called representatives of the two so-called communities. Social democracy, revisionism and all the varieties of opportunism act as the adjunct of this Irish monopoly bourgeoisie, and thereby of British imperialism as well, although like the bourgeoisie who also have ties with other imperialist powers, such as U.S. imperialism and the EEC powers, some of them have sinister links with the rival superpower, Soviet social imperialism, as well as some being direct police agencies actually set up by British military intelligence or their 'cousins', the American C.I.A.

All of these opportunist, social-democratic and revisionist sects echo the analysis of British imperialism and the Irish bourgeoisie that the basis for conflict in Ireland, particularly in the north, is the existence of 'two communities' and 'two traditions'. From time to time to lend the credibility of pseudo-Marxist analysis they even talk about the fascist paramilitary gangs as having some 'socialist tendencies within them', just as the fascist gangs sometimes talk about this concoction themselves, especially during the 1974 Loyalist 'strike'. But this is simply to bolster the whole lie of British imperialism and the Irish bourgeoisie that these fascist unionist gangs actually arise out of the 'protestant community'.

But there is absolutely no basis for this assertion.

### **Loyalism does not arise from any community in Ireland, it is the fascist tool of British colonial occupation**

The truth is, that the so-called 'loyalist extremists', the Ulster Volunteer Force, the Ulster Defence Association, the Ulster Freedom Fighters, the Protestant Action Force and now the umbrella organisation of them all, the so-called Ulster Clubs - these are all

directly organised by British military intelligence as fascist terrorist gangs and colonial death squads, working hand in glove with the secret undercover 'official' death squads of the British Army S.A.S. (Special Air Services) and R.U.C. Special Branch undercover units. They are not organisations which develop from the masses of the ordinary people or which act in the interests of the people.

These colonial fascist gangs are mobilised and organised through the fascist Unionist parties and politicians, such as the Official Unionist Party and the Democratic Unionist Party, which are nothing but self-proclaimed and open fascist tools of British colonialism in Ireland. They and the fascist colonial gangs themselves have the closest possible relations with the open nazi organisations internationally and in Britain, such as the National Front, most clearly represented by the actual importation of one of the leading and most notorious of British fascists and racists, Enoch Powell, into the 'Northern Ireland Official Unionist Party' for which he has now been an M.P. at Westminster for the last ten years. If there is anything 'constitutional' about these unionist parties and politicians - which is what they like to claim - this is only because as far as Ireland is concerned it has always been an integral part of British imperialism's famous 'unwritten constitution' to wage remorseless war for the subjugation of the Irish.

These fascist gangs have been organised as British imperialism's undercover weapon of colonial terror against the Irish people and to divide the Irish people, fashioned on the lines of the now globally-notorious British 'counter-insurgency' tactics, as elaborated and actually published by General Sir Frank Kitson and other British military theorists.

These loyalist fascist gangs are disguised as sectarian extremists from within one of the so-called 'two communities' precisely in order to actually divide the people into these two communities, which they keep on pretending exist despite their wishes.

This is to facilitate British imperialism's colonial occupation in Ireland all the more effectively, by presenting this as the peace-keeping role of some impartial outsider, who has just happened to be saddled with a responsibility in Ireland simply as some legacy of history, as

a result of some division amongst Irish people, or people in Ireland themselves.

But this is to conceal the fact that these gangs are direct instruments of British colonial rule themselves in order, in the first place, to terrorise people of protestant background, in the 'protestant' community, especially to dissuade any people of this background from uniting with the nation as a whole in the patriotic struggle.

First of all, these fascist colonial gangs are given a ground base of fear amongst people of protestant background which they can work on, in order to carry out their despicable sectarian activities.

Literally from the cradle, through Sunday school, chapel and church, in the school and the playground and finally in the work place, even in the trade unions, the British imperialists have systematically organised, themselves directly and by means of their fascist unionist bourgeoisie and the client labour aristocracy they have groomed, the most rigorous fascist indoctrination and training, which inevitably then is passed on by the so-called 'peer group' pressure - the term so beloved of the fascist manipulators, the bourgeois 'social scientists' and 'educational psychologists' - the social climate of anti-communism and anti-Irish chauvinism, where any progressive individual can be labelled and tarred as a 'Lundy', a traitor, or a 'Fenian', an Irish patriot, or a 'commie'. All this is nothing more than the terrorising of protestant people into submission to British imperialism, including submission to the whole racist concoctions that the Irish people are lazy, dirty and dishonest; their worst enemies are these neighbours and fellow countrymen and women of Ireland, their fellow schoolmates and workers, whereas they themselves are actually 'British' with all their virtues, the opposite of the Irish, but living in an Ireland which is fundamentally hostile territory, surrounded by a sea of reactionary Roman Catholicism, the threat of being bred into submergence by a higher 'rival' birthrate or by inter-marriage, if not actually exterminated in revolution, and not only a national revolution, but a bloody red revolution as well. And this problem of division is given added effectiveness by the actual planned, physical separation of people, discrimination in jobs and housing, a kind of apartheid, where not only the unionist bourgeoisie, but also the so-called 'nationalist'

bourgeoisie and reactionary Roman Catholic hierarchy play their own obliging role by their historical opposition to secular education and therefore to non-denominational schooling.

These filthy lies are literally beaten into ordinary protestant people - in the north - on a wide scale, notwithstanding the genuine democratic elements, including even clergymen, who do exist at all levels, and who have done at all stages, who have bravely stood out against this anti-Irish hysteria, even at great personal cost, and who have even provided some of the greatest enthusiasts for Ireland's rich native culture and national language, Gaelic. For this patriotic and anti-imperialist tradition has never been completely crushed, and never could be, since the United Irishmen, whose memory is still treasured by their legions of descendants, even if it can only be spoken of in private circles of trust and confidence, in these oppressive conditions which are truly nazi, which have been imposed on people of protestant background by the British imperialists and their lackeys, the unionist colonial fascists and their terrorist gangs. For every single generation, the protestant people have borne forth their best sons and daughters as patriots and as communists for Ireland and for revolution.

But the most sinister thing of all, which is done to provide the fascist colonial unionist gangs with the climate of terror in which to carry out their own work, is the activity of British imperialism's own undercover forces, such as the S.A.S., who - and this is now well-proven and exposed - have carried out the most frightful atrocities against protestant people and publicised that this was 'claimed by the I.R.A.', or by some surrogate 'liberation' gang of their own which is actually the S.A.S. or other British agents, as in the Kitson tactics of counter-subversion, such as the 'Catholic Reaction Force'. An example, recently, of this technique of the British imperialists was the 'warning' to firemen and corporation workers in Newry that they were now considered 'legitimate targets by the I.R.A.'. This was nothing but another (vain) attempt of British military intelligence to scare workers and alienate people from the patriotic struggle on the basis that this struggle is 'against protestant people'.

Then, in the conditions where ordinary, decent protestant people have been widely intimidated with the idea that their own very

existence is tied up with defending British colonialism, the fascist gangs carry out the most barbaric activities against other perfectly ordinary Irish people on the basis that these are 'catholics' and 'nationalists', who are out to take away the rights and the liberty (and, of course, the jobs) of the 'protestants' - these colonial fascist terror gangs carry out these beatings, arson attacks on homes, murders and pogroms claiming that these are in the name of the 'protestant community'.

All this, these horrific crimes are carried out with the deliberate intention of creating in the minds of the masses of catholic people the idea that 'all protestants are the enemies of Irish freedom', whilst at the same time sowing the fear in the minds of the masses of protestant people that, indeed, catholic people are bound to regard them all with enmity because of the foul atrocities which have been carried out allegedly in their own name, i.e. in the name of the 'protestant community'.

But these have actually been carried out, not by ordinary protestant people, but by these fascist hirelings of British imperialism; or if by some larger groups these are where misled people have been swept up in the reactionary mob hysteria, sometimes including some sections of youth, who are driven to blind desperation by the mass unemployment, poverty and oppression which they also live under, along with the 'catholics', especially in the current and ever-deepening crisis; and then are cynically manipulated, organised and actually led by these fascist unionist colonial gangs and thugs to put the blame for their own real sufferings and deprivation on 'catholics', on 'the nationalists', on the 'Fenians', instead of on the real source of their own oppression, the same oppressor which oppresses and exploits all the people in Ireland regardless of religion - namely, British imperialism, and together with British imperialism, the national traitors who carry out the filthy deed of sectarian incitement for the British imperialists, to uphold their own position as exploiters as well.

For the British imperialists, even the confrontations between their own colonial forces and these unionist mobs is profitable to them. They are not concerned should any of their police or soldiers get hurt, their houses burnt out by petrol bombs, their families hurt, or even for

some of them to get killed. These in any case are only so much expendable cannon fodder for them, such as the British private soldiers dragooned into the British Army from the slums of Britain by the recruiting sergeant of mass unemployment which they themselves have created with their rotten system in the first place.

These confrontations are the means to mislead the sentiment of these unemployed youth especially, who obviously hate the police as the forces of the state and society which oppress them, just as the youth who are taking up struggle for Ireland as patriots. But in this case, the 'rebellion' is struggle in the cause of British colonialism itself. Whilst at the same time, these utterly fraudulent 'loyalist rebellions' give the British imperialists every opportunity to parade their 'impartial' role in Ireland. They can arrest and sentence some to jail and generally confuse these young people's instinctive class sentiment and stamp out the latent genuine spirit of rebellion against the system at the same time.

Two of the objectives of British imperialism with its fascist sectarian loyalist gangs are: firstly, to mislead patriotic Irish people into seeing all protestants as their oppressors..... even more their enemy than the foreign colonial occupiers themselves, so as to misdirect the democratic, patriotic movement into struggle against 'protestant' people as if they are the real oppressor, not the British government; and, secondly, to drive protestant people into a siege mentality of guilt by association, and therefore 'loyalty' to British colonial occupation out of fear of retribution in the event of the revolution to free and reunite Ireland.

Furthermore, one of the now well-known objectives of such fascist gangs (the 'counter gangs' of Kitson's counter-insurgency tactics) is to discredit just, revolutionary violence, and blacken the legitimate patriotic armed forces of the nation as so-called 'extremists on the nationalist side', the 'real terrorists in Ireland'. But the patriotic armed forces, who have sprung once more into action in this generation as they have always done in every previous generation, are not any kind of 'extremists on the other side of the sectarian divide', as is made out. These forces are simply the product of the Irish people themselves getting organised - as is entirely necessary and entirely their just right -

to fight in defence of the people, their homes and the lives of their families, and to uphold our democratic rights as a nation to national independence and to re-unification in the face of the most vicious and unjust foreign colonial aggression.

Our nation's genuine patriotic forces have never, right since the time of Wolfe Tone and the United Irishmen in 1798, had as their objective to wage war against people of protestant background as such, as the British imperialists through their lackeys, the Unionist fascists, try slanderously to make out (and the same is true of the so-called constitutional 'nationalists' today increasingly). In fact, right up to the struggle of our day they organise to unite all the Irish people, consciously, on the basis that the Irish people assert their democratic right to nationhood and sovereignty, oblivious of all the differences so carefully fostered by an alien government in the past, putting aside all secondary questions such as religious difference or historical background, social status or occupation, sex or party, and recognising only the name of Irishmen and Irishwomen, recognising only Irish people, Ireland's people.

It is therefore only by deliberately flying in the face of the plain historical and current-day facts, by flying in the face of the truth about the problems in Ireland, that the British imperialists (with the complicity of the southern 'Free' State) have engineered the Anglo-Irish Agreement on the basis that the problems in Ireland are due to the so-called 'divisions' between 'the two major traditions that exist in Ireland, represented on the one hand by those who wish for no change in the present status of Northern Ireland and on the other hand by those who aspire to a sovereign united Ireland' - as if 'protestant' people are all unionist fascists, and as if patriotic nationalist people could only be 'catholics' and are fighting their just patriotic national struggle against 'protestant' people as such.

But then there is nothing new or strange in this. The British imperialists themselves know full well what the facts are. They know full well that the Irish people are a nation, and that they have the rights to their national independence and sovereignty. Their whole concern is to conceal these rights and these facts from the Irish people and from the British people and public opinion internationally, in order to put a

mask of 'curbing civil disturbance and upholding law and order' on their real illegal and criminally unjust colonial war of foreign occupation.

There is nothing new or strange in this, because the British imperialists have operated such methods of 'divide and rule' in every single colony they siezed around the world. As a matter of fact, in these colonies they applied the very tactics of 'divide and rule' which they had first developed in Ireland, England's first colony.

English colonial policy was expressed as long ago as Elizabeth I in the 16th Century as a conscious policy .....

*"to keep Ireland in a state of division and strife. "Should we exert ourselves," the English government averred, "in reducing Ireland to order and civility, it must soon acquire power, consequence and riches. THE INHABITANTS WILL THUS BE ALIENATED FROM ENGLAND; they will cast themselves into the arms of some foreign power, or erect themselves into an independent and separate state. Let us rather connive at their disorders, for a weak and disordered people can never attempt to detach themselves from the Crown of England." \**

As the centuries and decades unfolded, the British ruling class constantly developed these colonial tactics in Ireland and elsewhere. For instance, in the conditions where they faced the emergence of a serious revolutionary national movement, the United Irishmen, they organised to set up armed landlord gangs, with the peasant tenantry being forcibly enrolled in these gangs by their own landlords on the basis that they were protestants and the descendants of the planters. This was the Orange Order, founded in 1795. In his report to his military superior, just before the 1798 Rising of the United Irishmen,

\* Sir Henry Sidney and Sir John Perrot, successive Lord Deputies of the English government in Ireland, quoted by Frederick Engels in his 'Material for "History of Ireland"', collection of writings, Marx and Engels, 'Ireland and the Irish Question', Progress Publishers, 1971 edition.



one of the British military commanders, General Knox, wrote:

*"I have arranged ..... to increase the animosity between Orangemen and the United Irish. Upon that animosity depends the safety of the centre counties of the North."*

Such were the British colonial tactics of 'divide and rule' to be applied to their colonial possessions throughout the world, and even now, in the case of the achievement of only nominal independence, these methods have often either been continued indirectly by means of British neo-colonial overlordship through the 'British Commonwealth' etc., or these methods have been carried on by the new ruling classes of exploiters who have betrayed genuine independence and who originally learnt these sinister methods from their British colonial masters and patrons in the first place.

If we take one example, India,

*"Regarding the British colonial policy of "divide and rule", Sir John Malcolm declared in 1813 in the British Parliament: "In the present extended state of our Empire, our security for preserving a power of so extraordinary a nature as that we have established rests upon the general division of the great communities under the government and their subdivision into various castes and sub-castes; while they continue divided in this manner no insurrection is likely to shake the stability of our power". This was mainly accomplished through the revamping and strengthening of the Brahmanical order and communalism of Muslim, Sikh and other religions all over India. Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, in a minute recorded May 14, 1858, said: "Divide e Imperia was the old Roman motto, and it should be ours. I might perhaps hesitate to express my convictions so decidedly if I was not able to show my views upon this subject entirely in accordance with those of the Duke of Wellington."*

*The British writer Carnaticus wrote in the Asiatic Review of May, 1821: "Divide et imperia should be the motto of our Indian Administration, whether political, civil or military." The same*

*views were presented by Lt. Col. Coke, Commandant of Morabad, who arrogantly stated: "Our endeavour should be to uphold in full force the separation that exists between the different religions and races, not to endeavour to amalgamate them. Divide e Imperia should be the principle of the Indian government." According to Sir John Strachey, "The truth plainly is that existence side by side of these hostile creeds is one of the strong points in our political position in India".\* •*

The British colonialists were also able to achieve the same policy of grooming native classes of national betrayal to serve their colonial system of 'divide and rule' in other countries as well as in Ireland. For example again in the case of India:

*"The First War of Independence in 1857 had shaken the very foundations of British colonial rule and brought forth what was best in the fighting tradition of the Indian people. It had united the Indian people, irrespective of religion, caste, region or sex, for a single, supreme objective: the lofty ideal of liberation. The British colonialists drew the lesson that disunity among the Indian people was the only way they could perpetuate their rule, and they set out on a deliberate and planned course to systematise and enforce every kind of division." (ibid. page 147)*

For example,

*"The British colonialists gave the Hindus the title of "representatives of the majority community", implying that they were the natural representatives of the Indian people. The Arya Samaj and other reactionary, anti-people and anti-national societies were established, ostensibly to safeguard the interests of the*

\* Quotations from original sources in *"The Call of the Martyrs - On the Crisis in India and the Present Situation in the Punjab"* by Hardial Bains, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin Institute, Toronto, 1985, pages 146-147.

Hindus and, by implication, the interests of the people of India. These communalist societies concocted the fable that the British colonial government was favouring the "minority" communities and that their role was therefore to safeguard the interests of the "majority". It was in fact the colonialists themselves who gave birth to such societies, provided them with educational facilities and money and carried propaganda promoting them as representatives of the "majority community". In the Punjab, where the Hindu communalists were extremely rabid, the colonial rule had greatly benefited the moneylenders and other exploiters. These parasites styled themselves as great defenders of the "ancient Aryan religion" (Hinduism), and they took oaths to protect both their "ancient" religion and the British colonial rule. They were hated by the masses. Through their newspapers, such as the *Arya Messenger*, *Arya Gazette*, *Arya Patrika*, they spewed communal poison and fomented communal hatred. The vibrant, healthy literature of the 1857 period, full of patriotism and demands for revolutionary social change, was replaced by the most treacherous anti-people propaganda, carried out in the name of religion and of loyalty to "ancient" India. Lala Lal Chand, one of the founders of the Hindu Mahasabha, wrote: "The ideal, the predominant factor ought to be communal rather than the geographical interests, communal love in fact is the root of the majority of the sentiments which we love and cherish, not excluding even religion. . . We must organise political associations with the sole object of strengthening and advocating the Hindu interests whether these be special or common. . . The Mohammedan community is taking vigorous measures to assert and constitute its independent existence, it is our duty to do the same for the Hindus." The Punjab Hindu Mahasabha in 1907 set itself the task of being "ardent and watchful in safeguarding the interests of the entire Hindu community". The "Hindu" voice was also raised repeatedly in favour of the British colonial government. On July 6, 1909, the representatives of the "Hindus" sent a "humble memorandum" to Lord Minto, stating: "It is scarcely necessary to speak of the tradition of loyalty of the Hindus. But the existence of anarchist designs in some parts of India most certainly demands that we should assure your Excellency that these designs are viewed

with utmost abhorrence by the Indian community in the Punjab and that they will always be ready to put down anarchism and lawlessness of every description". ( *ibid.* pages 149-151)

Thus was the British Empire built, on blood and lies and corruption, from Ireland to India and right around the globe, and only blood and lies and corruption could keep it together (for a time). Words can hardly express the horrors that were systematically committed by the British bourgeoisie to build that empire. But one of the most heinous crimes of British colonialism was this system of 'divide and rule', where the British imperialists did not stop at merely dividing people within a country, but where they transported entire populations from their own homelands, across whole continents and oceans, to the other side of the world, either by brute force as slaves (including incidentally Irish people in the 17th Century to the West Indies), by brute force as convicts for transportation for the most trivial 'crimes', or by the more disguised but often equally brutal force of imposed economic necessity, such as the system of 'indentured labour' and 'emigration'. Thus the means were created for the wholesale policy of 'divide and rule' by colonisation, with Ireland as the first such example, the plantations of the 16th and 17th Centuries, where, in terms of the masses of the colonists - i.e. not the rich English landlords - these were mostly unfortunate peasantry who themselves had been forcibly torn from their own land in Scotland and other parts of Britain by the capitalist landlords' policy of clearances and eviction.

Thus in the West Indies, in the many African colonies, in Malaya, in Sri Lanka and in so many other places, ordinary working people were systematically set at each other's throats as so many different ethnic and religious groups, where all of these groups in fact had been dispossessed, and still today the people and nations, and the working class, are fighting to overcome this 'divide and rule', and against all the more 'modern' political deceptions, the 'modern-sounding' questions of 'democracy', the 'rights of minorities versus majorities' etc.etc. But no matter what 'hip' jargon of this or that colour of 'liberation' is insinuated into these situations today by the bourgeoisie and their lackeys, the opportunists and revisionists, they boil down to

this same filthy policy of British imperialism - 'divide and rule' - built solely on blood and lies and corruption, and never on the objective realities and the true interests of the people in any of these countries, including our country, Ireland, to unite in the interests of the emancipation of all the people.

### **Bourgeois 'democracy' in Ireland is to promote fascism and national subjugation**

The claim of the British imperialists and their Anglo-Irish Agreement that they are 'impartially' striving to 'keep the two sides apart' is a complete concoction. Actually it is plain for anyone to see, despite a few token arrests to give the R.U.C. some credibility as an 'impartial force of law and order', with what kid gloves the British authorities, the British colonial police and the British Army are handling the 'Ulster Says No' campaign, especially when compared against the consistently vicious attacks of these same forces of 'law and order' to suppress the democratic and patriotic movement in the north over the last 18 years.

Whilst in public the British imperialists have occasionally slapped the Unionists' wrists, and gently chided their 'intransigence', their frequent promotion - in the mass media they own and control - of the possibility of complete 'British capitulation' and the 'effectiveness' of the 1974 'Loyalist General Strike' in bringing down the Sunningdale Agreement and power-sharing with it, plus the fashion in which they use their 'news' bulletins to advertise the planned actions of the Paisleyite fascists to actually mobilise support for them, demonstrates the real interest of the British imperialists in supporting the 'Ulster Says No' campaign. But in making their support the more effective by concealing the fact.

This is the very same true interest of the British governments of the 1970s, both Conservative and Labour (always with the support of the Liberal and Social Democrat Alliance parties as well): namely, to provide ammunition for the fascist demagogy of the unionist parties in the form of ensuing British governments' alleged support for power-

sharing with 'the catholic nationalists' and their imposed 'solutions'; in order to whip up public hysteria and assist the unionists whip the people into line and divide them into the so-called two communities. Having achieved this in the 1970s - with the succeeding phases of Sunningdale power-sharing and the loyalist strike to bring power-sharing down - the British governments, both Conservative and Labour (always with the support of the Alliance parties, the Liberals and Social Democrats) entered into one of the most savage phases of the persecution of the just patriotic and genuinely democratic movement - the most cruel attempt at suppression of the patriotic prisoners of war in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh, in Armagh and other concentration camps, the criminalisation policy to deprive them of political prisoner status; the Diplock courts system of trial by concocted 'confessions' and 'confessions' imposed by force, through the most brutal tortures and so on.

The Anglo-Irish Agreement is nothing but the current weapon of British imperialism's age-old policy of colonial fascism to achieve their objective of national subjugation by 'divide and rule', but employing the whole hoax about how 'democratic' their interests are in Ireland, how 'democratic' are 'the (promised) reforms to overcome nationalist alienation' whilst at the same time 'understanding unionists' opposition to the Anglo-Irish Agreement' etc.etc.

On the one hand, the Anglo-Irish Agreement is designed to arouse all manner of illusions amongst patriotic people in the north and the nation as a whole as to the possibility of peaceful change and reform by constitutional means, through power-sharing, parliament at Westminster and devolution in a new Northern Ireland Stormont parliament; whilst on the other hand the Hillsborough accord is to reinforce all the taboos of bourgeois 'democracy' against taking up the path of revolution, in fact the only path to a decent future, on the grounds that 'violence is not necessary with this constitutional framework being built through the Anglo-Irish Agreement', 'armed struggle of the nationalists is a violation of the democratic rights of the protestant unionists' etc.etc.

These illusions and taboos of bourgeois 'democracy', which the Anglo-Irish Agreement is trying to resurrect and give new life to, are

simply the instrument of fascist deception to disarm the Irish people against British imperialism's use of the most fascist colonial force to intimidate the people, together with the same force being applied by the southern 'Free' State to assist the British imperialists maintain their illegal colonial occupation of the north of our country.

Whilst this system of bourgeois 'democratic' deception is being super-imposed on the age-old methods of colonial 'divide and rule' - the incitement of religious sectarianism - actually it is this, the deception of bourgeois 'democracy', which is the crucial issue to be grasped at this time. Because it is the bourgeois 'democratic' deceptions which have become essential to maintain any credibility to these 'divide and rule' tactics, which are increasingly being regarded by the people themselves as totally anachronistic, since the religious issue itself gets weaker and weaker in effect, not only because religion itself - as with all feudal and bourgeois ideology - is giving way before the advance of the scientific world outlook and Marxism-Leninism with the inevitable rise of the working class, but also because ordinary, sincere working people who happen to be religious, and even priests and clergy who retain their connections with the people but are also democratic and progressive, are increasingly opposed to this manipulation of religion themselves, including by the various hierarchies which are the authorities in their own sects. Thus today the whole thrust of British imperialism is to turn discussion to the existence of 'two communities', 'two traditions', 'majority and minority' etc., i.e. a more credible and modern-sounding justification for 'divide and rule', and one which most caters to the cultivation of the illusions and taboos of modern bourgeois 'democracy'.

This offensive on this front of bourgeois 'democracy' amounts to the most active promotion of fascism in the north and on a national scale. In the north it is to act as a smokescreen behind which the fascist forces of British colonialism advance to carry out their pogroms and their 'law and order to keep the two sides apart'. In the south, with the organisation of such public meetings as the series in Buswell's Hotel, Dublin, in June 1986, to allegedly 'debate' the Anglo-Irish Agreement in the context of the promotion of the Glencree Reconciliation Centre's ecumenical work to 'bring protestant and catholic together', the

opportunity is being afforded for putting these fascist unionists on public platforms in the south to spout their fascist and racist hatred of the Irish nation and their support for British imperialism - something which had been practically impossible for decades before; whilst on the same platforms the so-called constitutional 'nationalists' preach their 'reconciliation' message to force ordinary people of Ireland to take the unionist fascists' provocations lying down, in the name of 'freedom of speech to discuss the Anglo-Irish Agreement'!

In August the very same type of programme was staged again at the Merriman Summer School, showing that the promotion of this fascism in the south as well as the north is a definite policy of British imperialism and the Irish bourgeoisie under the Anglo-Irish Agreement. Let no one forget the threats of the unionist fascists of 'taking the 'Ulster Says No' campaign south of the border', as the Clontibret and Dundalk incidents show. The British imperialists are prepared to stop at nothing in their terror campaign against the Irish people. The bombs which their undercover agencies placed in Dublin in 1972, and in Dublin and Monaghan in 1974, killing 2 people and some 30 respectively, are a reminder of the reality of such threats. And the fact that these actions were carried out with the connivance of the 'Free' State bourgeoisie without a doubt, to facilitate their passing of the Offences Against the State Act in 1972 and the Criminal Jurisdiction Bill in 1974, offers little confidence to the proclamations of the 'Free' State government today, that they are 'going to take all security precautions to protect the people in the south'. For a fact, the 'Free' State regime has only ever exploited the situation of colonial terror in the north and its spill-over into the south in order to justify still more fascism against the patriotic movement in the south, harassment, jailings etc., and now extradition.

If we take the Glencree-type public meetings on the Anglo-Irish Agreement, what these meetings prove is that the Irish people do not have true democracy and freedom of speech to discuss the problems in Ireland with a view to solving the problems and uniting the people in the context of this Anglo-Irish Agreement 'debate' and this whole political climate of bourgeois 'democracy'. For at these Buswells Hotel meetings, anyone who seriously challenged this 'logic' of the

discussion, i.e. the premise that there are two communities and two traditions in Ireland, and exposed the fact that the whole basis for such 'debate' was the fascism imposed on Ireland by the colonial aggressor, British imperialism, was told to be silent or be removed forcibly by the gardai!

Thus contrary to the 'theory' of the Anglo-Irish Agreement and the claimed interests of the British imperialists and 'Free' State traitors in 'strengthening' what they call 'moderate public opinion in both of the two communities', the whole intention and effect of the Anglo-Irish Agreement to date has been to polarise divisions amongst the Irish people, on the entirely fraudulent basis of religious background and so on; and make it increasingly virtually impossible for people from protestant and catholic background in the north even to meet, socialise and discuss together in ordinary life, let alone for such people to meet between north and south.

This is made absolutely clear by the current life of terror which British imperialism is striving to create in the north, where even the simple fact of 'mixed' marriage between individuals of 'different religious backgrounds' - (this is the utterly absurd and racist description regardless of whether they are religious or not) - becomes a matter of life and death, and where at least two such couples have been subject of assassination attempts in the recent period, with two of the individuals being tragically murdered.

The only 'dialogue between the two communities' permitted to be carried on is not between ordinary people, but between their so-called elected representatives and other so-called community and religious leaders, i.e. through those very reactionaries, whose entire political stock-in-trade is the most filthy sectarian wrangling, these most hardened colonial and neo-colonial lackeys of British imperialism, the most skilful demagogues and deceivers, the fount of all communal religious and racist bigotry, regardless of whether they speak as so-called representatives of 'catholic Irish nationalists' or 'protestant British unionists'.

So what is this 'moderate public opinion' which the British imperialists and the national traitors of the Irish monopoly bourgeoisie claim they are creating?

This issue of 'moderate public opinion' is a complete fraud of bourgeois 'democracy'. What is this 'moderate' kind of bourgeois politics in any case? Let us look at Margaret Thatcher, one of the signatories of the Anglo-Irish Agreement and advocates of 'moderation'. She claims that her Conservative government's position on South Africa is 'moderate', in that it claims to 'condemn with abhorrence the continuation of apartheid', whilst on the other hand it is also 'opposed to violence and economic sanctions' as 'extremist solutions to the apartheid problem'. But the facts are that Thatcher's policy is one of actual support for apartheid. Whilst 'condemning' apartheid, Thatcher actually praises the open fascist and open administrator of apartheid and every fascist injustice against the Azanian people ..... as a 'moderate' himself!..... by comparison with the more open nazi parties in the wings, who are clearly nothing but the allies of Botha in any case. So where is the 'moderation' in Thatcher's politics, the 'moderation' in deeds of someone who preaches 'moderation' in words every day?

But look again at this question in the Irish context. We have all the bourgeois political parties of Britain and Ireland, north and south, talking about 'moderate, constitutional politics'. We have Paisley and Molyneaux as 'constitutional unionists'. They say that unless their 'moderate, constitutional politics' are acceded to, then, they warn, 'other men, men of violence' will replace them. They condemn 'extremism against the R.U.C.' etc., but they have actually led the mobs themselves personally, even if they try to make out they were only present 'as observers'! These 'moderates' keep shouting themselves, that 'the time for talk is over', and say that 'we will take up arms for the protestants' etc. Where is the moderation in all this? Then you have the S.D.L.P. who say they stand for Irish freedom and against British colonial occupation and the crimes of the British Army and who even, at times, condemn the unionist politicians as fascist, but when patriotic people fight against the British colonial occupation the S.D.L.P. calls these 'the real fascists' and 'enemies of Irish freedom more than the unionists'! If, for instance at the Buswells Hotel type meetings, some democratic person protests against the presence of unionists on the platform and their speeches spewing

hatred at the Irish people, then these S.D.L.P. politicians condemn this as 'fascism to deprive unionists, who are one Irish tradition, of the democratic right of free speech!' The S.D.L.P. describe their politics as 'moderate'. Where is the 'moderation' in their position which actually facilitates British colonial occupation of the north and unionist colonial fascism to help maintain this?

This talk of 'moderation' is all the deception of bourgeois 'democracy'. Where can there be 'moderation' in a system of society which is founded on brutal class exploitation, on the brutal invasion and colonial exploitation of foreign countries, on the truly Hitlerite preparedness even to go to war on a world scale with devastating conventional and catastrophic nuclear weapons? Are Reagan and Gorbachev 'moderate' compared to Hitler because they favour wearing lounge suits and the fire-side chat approach to public opinion? Are the British imperialists so much more 'moderate' than Hitler, for that matter? Hitler foully exterminated some 9 million people in gas ovens. The British imperialists forcibly stole as slaves perhaps as much as 15 million Africans over some 200 years and transported them to their colonies in America and the West Indies, with at least a third being killed in passage across the Atlantic and the average life expectancy of these slaves remaining being 7 years because of death by overwork and torture. The British colonialists committed legions of other crimes too. The British colonialists actually halved the Irish population, by fire, famine and the sword, and latterly emigration on two separate occasions in history - in the 1650s and the 1840s. Does the well-known suave Etonian manner of the 'British gentleman' mean that they are 'moderates' compared to Hitler? So the British imperialists would have us think.

The fact is that, contrary to the lies of the bourgeoisie (to which the opportunists, social democrats and revisionists add their support), capitalism is capitalism, imperialism is imperialism, and fascists remain fascists however 'moderately' this fascism is dressed up. How could there possibly be 'political moderation' in an Ireland in which the British imperialists retain even one square inch of colonial rule?

The point is that there is a qualitative difference between sham bourgeois 'democracy' and real democracy for the masses of the

people. Bourgeois 'democracy' actually gives democracy only to the bourgeoisie. Primarily this system has a value to them as a means to deceive the working class and people they exploit, and the people of the colonies they occupy, into supporting 'their own' exploiters and oppressors. Thus the 'different' bourgeois parties, the two and three or more party parliamentary systems, government and 'Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition' - (this is how they actually and accurately call the British opposition, e.g. Labour now) - this is simply to confuse the people, whilst at the same time it is a handy means by which the bourgeoisie and their competing financial and industrial groups of monopolists can carve up the spoils of office, government contracts etc. But the bourgeoisie is ready at the drop of hat to drop even this 'democracy' if it is expedient. For its main purpose is to deny real democracy to the working class and people. Once the deceptions are threatened by exposure and real opposition, in five minutes they can introduce martial law. But in any case, even under their bourgeois 'democracy' there is no real liberty for the masses, and the bourgeoisie always are using their other weapons of fascism alongside their political deceptions, and are striving to fascise society and the state to increase their exploitation and oppression. This Anglo-Irish Agreement is really a model of the combination of the tactics of bourgeois 'democratic' deceptions with fascist force.

There can be no true freedom of speech and real democracy except by fighting against this bourgeois 'democracy', which is really to help create the political climate of acceptance of fascism and national subjugation in Ireland.

There could never be true democracy and freedom of speech in Ireland until foreign colonial occupation itself is expelled and national betrayal suppressed, for these alien forces only use 'freedom of speech', i.e. their own real monopoly on the means of mass communication, their ownership of the public halls, the cinemas etc.etc., in order to spread their lies to set our people at loggerheads.

In other words, in order for true democracy to be created for the working class and people of Ireland, it is essential to deny democracy to the bourgeoisie, which in the first place in Ireland is constituted by the British and other foreign monopoly capitalists, and in the second

place by the Irish monopoly bourgeoisie who use their 'freedom' - you can say - purely for the purpose of class exploitation, which means selling out Ireland and the Irish people to foreign imperialism.

In order to prepare for that day of freedom we must fight now under the slogan: **FOREIGN IMPERIALISTS, FASCISTS AND NATIONAL TRAITORS HAVE NO RIGHT TO FREE SPEECH OR TO ORGANISE IN IRELAND!** The Irish people must fight to suppress 'debate' within the context of such fascist ideology as the Anglo-Irish Agreement, in order that the ideological and political conditions are created for real debate about real problems with a view to uniting the Irish people in action to overcome these problems, refusing to accept the bourgeois 'democratic' hoax, that it is better to leave matters in the hands of the powers-that-be, namely, British imperialism and the national traitors, and their pernicious talking-shops, which is the source of the problems and the divisions in the first place.

Such is the real qualitatively different and genuine democracy, proletarian democracy, where the bourgeois 'democratic' dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is replaced by the dictatorship of the proletariat, where the divisive talking-shops of bourgeois democracy are replaced by the genuine forums of the masses of the working people of Ireland, led by the working class, where not only for the first time is there serious - i.e. honest, problem-solving discussion, but the people are able, above all, to unite in action to solve their problems and meet their needs.

The Irish people must take their destiny into their own hands and out of the hands of the foreign oppressors and the native exploiters. Smashing the illusions and the taboos of bourgeois 'democracy', especially this fascist 'divide and rule' Anglo-Irish Agreement, is integral to creating real democracy for the Irish people and organising for the basis of a genuinely democratic Ireland, an Ireland which is sovereign and independent and united, with Irish people united and masters in their own land, because the masses of the people hold state power. This will be the new Ireland, where there is real freedom for the masses of the Irish people for the first time, by virtue of the fact that there will be no freedom for national traitors or foreign imperialists, since they are only interested in depriving the Irish nation and the working class of the freedom which is their inalienable right.

### Part three :

## **THE ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT IT'S 'IRISH DIMENSION' AND IT'S 'INTERNATIONAL DIMENSION'**

The main line of political argument used by the British imperialists over the decades to defend their indefensible violation of the sovereignty of a foreign nation, Ireland, from which they have annexed a very considerable (and the most highly industrialised) section of territory, and deflect all questions about the struggle of the people of Ireland against this injustice - including in the arena of international affairs and the diplomatic field - has been that these matters are 'the internal affair of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland'.

Of course, when we talk of British imperialism 'defending' its colonial occupation and annexation by this argument, this is only to say that for the purpose of public opinion, in Ireland, Britain and internationally, the British imperialists deploy such arguments as the smokescreen of deceptive propaganda to cover up the true character of the colonial war of aggression they wage to suppress the Irish people and the patriotic movement, and to justify this barbarous illegal interference in the life of another nation with the justification of 'restoring civil order, saving life and property' etc. This is the real defence by which British imperialism maintains its colonial occupation of the north of Ireland - the armed aggression of their British Army and Ulster Defence Regiment and the para-military police of the R.U.C..

According to the principles agreed as the basis for the United Nations Organisation (of which Britain was one of the founding states), all nations have the democratic right to sovereignty and independence; and, where nations have not yet achieved this, for instance in cases where these are still held as colonies, including by member states of U.N.O., then a process of decolonisation must take

place. One example of this process in action (although properly speaking it is more another example of the ability of imperialist powers to use the facilities of U.N.O. and the principle of the peaceful resolution of international questions for endless procrastination and as yet another weapon to defend their colonial annexations) has been the issue of the return of the Malvinas to Argentina from Britain, which was the subject of negotiation under the decolonisation commission of the United Nations for some 17 years, before the British government broke these off and waged its illegal and criminal war against Argentina in protection of its illegal occupation of the Malvinas in 1982.

But, while the British government has officially agreed to the principle of decolonisation, it has never been prepared to address the question of its occupation of the north-eastern 6 Counties of the 32 County territory of Ireland under the heading of this principle of decolonisation.

According to the British government the question of 'Northern Ireland' is not a colonial issue, because the settlement by which partition of Ireland was established, with the annexation of 6 Counties to remain under British colonial occupation, was the result of negotiation and 'freely reached' agreement with a government representing the Irish nation - the Free State Treaty signed by representatives of the Irish national movement on December 6th, 1921, which achieved 'the subsequent approval of the Irish people' as a matter of 'historical fact', in the Irish Parliament, Dail Eireann, and every election in the south since then and which furthermore has been the basis for all subsequent dealings between the British and Irish governments since that time, including the negotiations leading to this Anglo-Irish Agreement 1985.

Of course, this is a total distortion of the real historical facts, the facts that these 'representatives' of the national movement had turned national traitors to the Irish people and agents for British imperialism, cowed and suborned by the threats of 'immediate and terrible war' by Lloyd George and the promise of immediate British financial support in return for crushing their comrades and the Irish people in the subsequent Civil War. Of course, this is a total distortion of the

reality of those rigged debates in the truncated Dail (with the separation of the north) and the massive conspiracy of lies and corruption between the open Treatyites and De Valera, who having set up the terms of the Free State Treaty contrived to avoid the blame for its signing and emerge as the 'leader' of the anti-Treatyite and genuinely patriotic forces - actually a traitor and saboteur to them as well. No matter the total distortion of the real historical facts about the subsequent elections, held under the barrel of the 'Free' State traitors' British-supplied guns in the first place, and the lies, deceptions and fascist force of the State of Emergency ever since, by which genuinely democratic and patriotic politics are made outlaw.

But of course the British governments do not care about the truth. All they have been concerned with has been to use the de facto concurrence of Irish governments - these neo-colonial agents of theirs and traitors to the Irish nation - as one of the key pillars in the argument by which they justify their 'argument' that the question of 'Northern Ireland' is not a colonial question. And the facts are that, whilst it has been the 'declared - (entirely hypocritical) - policy' of all the ensuing governments and governing parties of the 26 County state - first known as the Free State until 1949 when the 'republic' was declared - that the 1921 settlement has not been accepted as a final settlement and the national claim for re-unification as a 32 County Republic still remains on the agenda, actually no Irish government has ever seriously pursued this question as a colonial question, even with the eventual admission of the Irish Republic to membership of the United Nations in 1956 (incidentally, after years of opposition to the Irish application by the British government), where such a claim could have been pursued under the decolonisation principle in the United Nations Charter from a position of much greater diplomatic strength.

And now, with this Anglo-Irish Agreement, the Irish Republic has formally accepted, de jure in addition to the already long-established de facto recognition, that the question of changing the status of 'Northern Ireland' is entirely a question for the population within the northern 6 Counties. Consequently it is a question on which the rest of the single all-Ireland Irish nation, who happen to live in the 26



Counties, have absolutely no rights except consultation through their government with the British government, but certainly not the right to participate in making any decision about the future of 'Northern Ireland'. Thus, according the Anglo-Irish Agreement,

*"The two Governments affirm that any change in the status of Northern Ireland would only come about with the consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland". \**

Thus the Anglo-Irish Agreement is the strongest possible formal statement of British imperialism's denial that the question of 'Northern Ireland' is a colonial question, with the still greater weight of authority to the British imperialist position accruing from securing the formal consent of the 'democratically elected' government which speaks in the name of the Irish Republic.

However, precisely at this point, where it would appear that the British government has made its defence of its illegal violation of the Irish people's national rights impregnable, and rendered their colonial annexation inviolable in terms of international law and diplomacy; precisely at this point, where the British imperialists have, in the guise of their alleged 'democratic open-mindedness' to an independent united Ireland - 'should a majority of the people in Northern Ireland clearly wish for and formally consent to it in the future', ensured the absolute impossibility of such a development - at least by the 'constitutional' means they impose - by limiting a decision to the area where British colonialism has an inbuilt majority; precisely at this point of seemingly impregnable strength the position of the British imperialists in Ireland has been irreversibly thrown down the slippery slope towards political extinction.

For in reality the Anglo-Irish Agreement stands exposed as the most criminal act - an act of foreign interference by the British government and an act of national betrayal by the Irish government - to deny to the Irish nation as a whole the right of the people, the nation as a whole, to determine their own destiny in unity together as a nation. This is a violation of all democratic principle.

\* *Anglo-Irish Agreement* Section A, Article 1, Clause (a) p.3...

Thus, instead of strengthening their illegal colonial annexation of the northern 6 Counties and neo-colonial domination of the rest of the 32 Counties through the 'Free' State, the Anglo-Irish Agreement marks the beginning of the end for British imperialism in Ireland.

### **The 'Irish Dimension' -- chickens come home to roost British 'divide and rule' tactics rebounding**

The major political development - in terms of the political stand of British governments on Ireland - which has emerged since the crisis of British colonial rule in the north began in 1968/9, has been the 'principle', first elaborated in the Sunningdale Agreement of 1973 - the now notorious 'Irish Dimension'.

The sole reason why the British imperialists have had to resort to this 'new' slant on the 'Irish question' has been out of their weakness in the face of the renewed patriotic upsurge of the Irish people and the increasing exposure of their 'Northern Ireland province of the United Kingdom' as an illegal foreign colonial annexation, both in Ireland, in Britain and throughout the world. It has not been any kind of 'democratic' response of British imperialism. It is just the same reason that forced the British imperialists, through their Liberal Party, to introduce the same kind of 'Irish dimension' in the last century - the Home Rule angle - in the face of the renewed struggles of the Irish people and growing support by the working class and people internationally in the period of the Fenians, the International Workingmen's Association and the Land War.

According to this, not only are the 'nationalists' to be given a formal role, as in the 'power-sharing' of the Sunningdale Agreement, which they had been given through participation of the Social Democratic and Labour Party (S.D.L.P.) as the so-called 'representatives of the nationalist community in the north', but now even the southern Irish 'Republic' is to be given a role, itself as the 'representative of the interests of the northern nationalists' in the Intergovernmental Conference, established by the Anglo-Irish Agreement, where questions regarding 'Northern Ireland' are the subject of formal discussion

between the British and 'Free' State governments.

Of course, the whole purpose, for which the British imperialists introduced the 'Irish Dimension' in the first place, was as a 'new' device of British imperialism to stem the rising tide of the Irish people's struggle by releasing the flood-containment gates of the 'unionist backlash' for the purpose of 'divide and rule' once again. This is just how they 'played the Orange card' back in 1912 - in the context of their 'promise' to introduce Home Rule. But these manoeuvres, however deceptive, have only deepened the crisis for British imperialism.

Firstly, because the admission by the British imperialists that there is such a thing as an 'Irish dimension' - namely the existence of an Irish nation on an all-Ireland basis - does mean the erosion of the British axiom, upheld since 1921, that 'Northern Ireland' is simply the 'internal affair of the United Kingdom'. This breach has now been broadened into the most conspicuous and unconcealable contradiction by this sequel to Sunningdale - the Anglo-Irish Agreement, which has taken this 'principle' - the so-called 'Irish Dimension' - still further.

Secondly, because the British imperialists have been forced to expose the role of one of their strongest cards, in terms of political deception - the 'green card', the constitutional 'nationalist' card, which acts as the foil to the Orange, unionist card, but with the past strength of the deception consisting in the appearance that these constitutional 'nationalists' are real opponents of unionism and British colonialism in Ireland.

And, thirdly, because the actual use of the fascist weapons of 'divide and rule' are having the result that the Irish people, especially the workers, are uniting against British imperialism and 'their own natural leaders', the Irish bourgeoisie, as the source of all division, because people, especially the workers, but also people on a wide scale are seeing ever more clearly that only these social and political forces, the foreign aggressors and native sellouts, have any interest in keeping the Irish people divided.

The British imperialists have been forced to bring out into the open the relations which they (and the Irish bourgeoisie themselves, of course) have preferred to keep hidden for so long, because this was

the secret of this weapon of deception of 'divide and rule' - the concealment of the ties of British imperialism with the Irish bourgeoisie as a class, a class of native collaborators of British imperialism, national traitors and sell-outs to the Irish people, both unionists and constitutional 'nationalists'.

The ties of the British imperialists with the unionists were notorious and completely open. These fascist parties were overtly 'loyalist' to British imperialism. But the deception was that these parties represented some 'community' in Ireland, some 'national minority' of 'British/Irish', 'British in Ireland' etc., not an integral part of the one all-Ireland class of exploiters of the Irish bourgeoisie (speaking of those that are not actually foreigners, members of the British bourgeoisie or British aristocracy, which is also the case in Ireland as well).

The strength of the deception of constitutional 'nationalism' was also that this represented some 'community', 'catholic, nationalist, Irish', and a community which was therefore, by definition, 'against protestants and British rule' - thus therefore 'nationalist politicians' were supposedly 'critics' and 'staunch patriotic opponents of British rule in Ireland' and 'opponents of unionism and the unionists' - as 'representatives of one community in Ireland', not an integral part of the one all-Ireland class of exploiters of the Irish bourgeoisie and actual class brothers of the unionist fascists.

But now the British imperialists have been forced by events which have got out of their control to put back their lackey constitutional 'nationalists' in an open and exposed role - that of openly defending British imperialism and its 'Northern Ireland' state, and defending its foreign colonial forces as 'the security forces keeping law and order', 'protecting the nationalist minority in the north' and 'keeping the peace and upholding democracy in Ireland', more openly intensifying collaboration with British imperialism, throwing over their own past deceptions, such as refusal to extradite patriots accused of political offences to British jurisdiction. Now the 'Free' State is extraditing patriots, and is even to try patriots in the southern courts under the Criminal Jurisdiction Act for so-called 'crimes' committed in defence of our national rights against British colonialism in the north, i.e. in

territory allegedly Irish under the Constitution. At the same time, the 'Free' State are openly co-ordinating their gardai and army on the border with the foreign British Army and colonial R.U.C. The bourgeoisie and their politicians in the southern 'Republic' are inviting unionist fascists onto platforms in the south to spout their hatred of the Irish nation, something which is clearly an innovation directly part of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, defending unionist colonial fascism as 'democratic right to free speech' and even as 'one of the two major Irish traditions', 'a legitimate perception' etc.etc..

Of course, the British imperialists with their long experience of handling tricky colonial situations, in particular manipulating the situation in Ireland, have unbridled arrogance about their ability to retrieve difficult situations as the legacy of this colonial past. They have had to put the constitutional 'nationalists' in this kind of front line position before, for instance in the 1914 period, when the Redmondite Home Rulers collaborated in the partition scheme, split the Irish Volunteers and betrayed Ireland's cause by the manipulation of diverting tens of thousands of young patriots of the Irish Volunteers to become cannon fodder in the mass slaughter on the fields of Flanders for the national enemy, British imperialism, on the 'promise' that the First World War was a war 'for the freedom of small nations'. This is precisely the sinister role of the Anglo-Irish Agreement again today - to subsume and swallow up the whole principle of the right of nations to their freedom in the 'wider interests of peace in the world' etc.etc., i.e. to swallow up the interests of the Irish people in the interests of the imperialist preparations for a Third World War, being organised out of both collusion and contention by the two superpowers U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, and in which our national enemy, the British imperialists, are deeply involved as one of the most bellicose allies of U.S.imperialism.

But the 1980s are not the same as the 1910s. The working class and people of Ireland have learnt from the past as well. In particular, the Irish nation is not going to lightly see reversed all kinds of things they fought for and which the British imperialists and Irish bourgeoisie were forced to concede in the past. But this is what the British imperialists and in particular the 'Free' State bourgeoisie are being

forced to attempt under the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

Take the question of extradition from the southern Irish Republic. For decades the 'Free' State bourgeoisie had used, as one of their defences and deceptions that they actually were safeguarding the Republic, their refusal to extradite patriots for military action against British colonial rule in the north. Sure, they took severe action against them for any activity in the south, but they used their refusal to act against them for 'offences in the north' as public relations policy to show that they were not against patriotism as such, as long as this was actually against the British occupier and unionism and 'not against fellow Irishmen in the Republic who were nationalists too'. But now under the Anglo-Irish Agreement especially, extradition has been introduced and people in the south are increasingly seeing through the 'patriotic' deceptions of the 'Free' State because they are seeing it as unionism in another form, a neo-colonial form, but every bit as pro-British imperialist. People widely are writing to the newspapers, participating in democratic actions against extradition and against the 'Republic' signing the European Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism, which is to bring the 'Republic' into line with imperialist policy in general against the rights of oppressed nations and people to resist injustice, denying the existence of political struggle and condemning all such struggle as 'crime' and 'terrorism'.

The 'Free' State ruling class and system is up for increasingly widespread public criticism and denunciation also for another rider which was attached to the Anglo-Irish talks and agreement - increasing union of the Irish 'Republic' with the NATO warmonger bloc of U.S.imperialism, in which British imperialism, Ireland's foreign enemy, is a leading partner. The compliance of the southern government, without the slightest ceremony, certainly not the holding of a referendum as in Denmark, but hardly even a Dail debate, in signing the new EEC Foreign Policy Treaty for the unification of the foreign policy of the member nation states in the Common Market on a supranational basis has offended many people and opened the eyes of public opinion in the south on a wide scale. This has broken down all past illusions so carefully cultivated by the 'Free' State bourgeoisie about 'Ireland's adherence to neutrality', which was one of the main

claims to sovereignty to cover up the reality of neo-colonial sell-out of the southern regime.

People on a wide-scale are extremely worried about the implications of these manoeuvres, and are increasingly aware of the concrete steps which are being taken to harmonise the 'Free' State army with NATO, in weapons, ammunition, training etc., which is going on with the direct participation of the 'Free' State with the actual members of NATO, in preparation for the formation of NATO battlegroups and unified command. People in Ireland, like democratic and peace-loving people and nations throughout the world, are opposed to the war preparations of the imperialists, headed by the two superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. But in the Irish 'Republic' they thought that at least 'their own' government was expressing their abhorrence of world war and were actually opposing it in action by the policy of 'neutrality'. Now this illusion has gone up in smoke too.

People were brought up in the Republic's education system to believe that the 'Free' State, while not being the realisation of the dream of the 'Irish Republic' of the 'great idealists' of 1916, at least exemplified a really independent nation-state in the making, pending re-unification which these governments and the constitution alleged was the policy. But now, with the Anglo-Irish Agreement the whole illusion of the constitutional 'nationalists' is falling asunder. This is the peril which the British imperialists and the national traitor Irish monopoly bourgeoisie face in applying the tactics of 'divide and rule' of 1912/14 to the Ireland of the 1980s.

For as in the 1912 period, the British imperialists, with the connivance of the Irish bourgeoisie, both constitutional 'nationalist' and unionists, have sought to 'play the orange card', that is to use the fascist forces of unionism indirectly, presenting this as 'one of two Irish communities, or communities in Ireland', which is opposing the policy and best intentions of the British government itself in Ireland, and which is itself out of its own 'democratic' will, the will of this allegedly 'protestant community', obstructing all movement towards this 'Irish dimension', on the basis that this 'Irish community or community in Ireland' is what is opposing a united and independent

Ireland. This, the 'majority' in the north, wishes to 'stay with Britain'. So it is no doing of the British imperialists if they are 'intransigent against the national - Irish dimension'. In fact, the unionist campaign against the Anglo-Irish Agreement - would you believe? - is a 'rebellion against Westminster' itself!

However, this lie of British imperialism - that 'it is the unionists who oppose a united Ireland, not the British imperialists' and that 'the inevitable penalty in persisting in the national struggle is a bloody civil war' - is cutting less and less ice as a deception these days. And now the British imperialists are trying to 'play the Orange card' once too often, because now the Irish people are seeing ever more clearly that it is British imperialism which is the moving force behind unionism, which itself has no real basis amongst any people in Ireland, except by fascist manipulation and terror by a foreign colonial power and colonial lackeys.

Firstly, there is a change in the objective situation for British imperialism. The economic crisis has proved to be one of the most obstinate features of the general crisis of British colonial rule in the north of Ireland. For despite providing every possible incentive to foreign monopoly capitalist investment out of the pockets of the taxpayers, the working class, who are to be exploited by this capital, the British government is totally failing to stem the crisis. And now even the policy of 'divide and rule' on this front, the discrimination in jobs, employment, wages etc. between 'catholics' and 'protestants' is being eroded by the elimination of the whole base of industrial employment in the north of Ireland which had placed this weapon in the hands of the British government in the first place. The economic rug for the British imperialists' policy of 'divide and rule' in the north is being pulled from under their feet, whether they like it or not.

But at the same time, other chickens are coming home to roost for the British imperialists. The 'divide and rule' system is developing a tendency to rebound. For in order to maintain their deception of being 'the impartial peacekeepers, keeping the two sides apart', they have to arrest and imprison some of the unionist fascists and the ordinary people whom they incite into action through their agents; and they have to apply the same fascist colonial system of 'justice' to them in

at least some token cases. Thus, in order to provide cover to the system of paid perjurers as a means of putting patriots behind bars with a semblance of a 'trial', they have had to balance their 'nationalist' Christopher Blacks with their 'loyalist' Budgie Allens (even though striving to make sure they abort these 'unionist' cases eventually in the courts). The ordinary people, relatives of the accused who have been held unjustly under the fabricated 'evidence' of the paid perjurers, are grasping the fact that they are only being used by the British imperialists and have actually been coming together, consciously opposing the so-called 'sectarian divide', as fellow victims of British injustice in Ireland, in united 'relatives for justice' committees.

The Irish people are fighting back and are striving to unite in the struggles. They are seeing through the British imperialist tactics of 'divide and rule' increasingly, at the same time as the British imperialists - as today's 'Sick Man of Europe' - are finding it more and more difficult to afford to maintain their deceptions in the conditions of their increasing bankruptcy, both economic and political, in the ever deepening crisis of their whole system, and in the situation in the north of Ireland which has unfolded increasingly over the last 18 years as a chronic type of revolutionary crisis.

Yet it is for this very type of reason, coming up in the context of the most profound patriotic resurgence against their colonial occupation of the north - i.e. because the Irish people are increasingly uniting against 'divide and rule' - that the British imperialists are actually being forced to resort to using this weapon even more, and are having to intensify their fascist 'divide and rule' still further, and have had to go to such lengths to set the people at loggerheads with each other, as they have done with this Anglo-Irish Agreement and with the complementary 'Unionist Campaign Against the Anglo-Irish Agreement', even at risk of still worse exposure. Because once again the tendency of the Irish people, reflecting their every-day experience in class struggle and in the situation of colonial oppression, and therefore their increasing political consciousness, sense of necessity and dearest wish, is to unite against their common oppressor and exploiter.

The British imperialists have been forced to set in motion their tact-

ics of 'divide and rule' to try to reverse the process, just as they had to in the past against the United Irishmen, against the growing unity of the working class and revolutionary movement in the time of James Connolly and later in the 1930's under the leadership of the then revolutionary Communist Party of Ireland, before the revisionists criminally liquidated the Party in 1941 and adopted the Krushchevite line in the 1950s.

But now, the people, especially the workers, are increasingly fighting back at each effort at 'divide and rule'. One example recently was the unity of all the workers, regardless of the so-called 'differences in background', going on strike in the the Department of Health and Social Security in the north, protesting against the attempts of the unionist fascists to intimidate workers of 'catholic' background.

The working class and Irish people are fighting back on every front, both north and south - on the economic front against the crisis, against closures, unemployment, forced emigration, government cutbacks in education, health and welfare, against social degeneration; and in defence of our healthy national values and culture and the Irish language, Gaelic, against the cosmopolitan Anglo-American imperialist culture of decadence by means of which the bourgeoisie encourages drug addiction and sexual depravity; against the preparations of the two superpowers for war, and against the nuclear industry these preparations have spawned and which threaten the lives of the world's people in addition to the weapons themselves, as shown by the Three Mile Island nuclear plant 'accident' in the U.S.A. and the more recent and still more deadly Chernobyl disaster in the U.S.S.R., and which directly threatens the Irish people from Sellafield in Britain, just a few miles across the Irish Sea.

All this struggle is reflecting the deep desire of people, especially the working class, but also other exploited strata to unite regardless of any of these 'differences in background' within Ireland (which the British imperialists and the Irish bourgeoisie so love to emphasise and to incite), but also with the working class and people of all countries. The whole perspective of the working class and Irish people is continually broadening out.

These struggles are bringing people together, because they are all

actually and objectively struggles against the same system, the system of imperialism and capitalism in Ireland and on the world scale, whether people are conscious of this initially or not. And the point is that through these all-sided struggles the working class and the Irish people are becoming ever-increasingly politically conscious and better able to see their own difficult situation in a partitioned Ireland objectively, in the context of the wider world, and this is smashing down the age-old British imperialist mystification that the problems in Ireland are particularly 'Irish', the 'legacy of a uniquely unfortunate history in the relations between two neighbouring countries', 'unique to Ireland' and so on.

In fact, there is ever-increasing conscious struggle for the unity of the people. There is the struggle of the working class for the unity of the class in the struggle against capitalism, exploitation and the crisis. There is the struggle for the unity of the Irish people, encompassing all genuine patriots and the masses of the working class and the people for the unity of the Irish people in the anti-imperialist movement. And then, in all kinds of other democratic struggles, we can see the same determination to unite the people, such as in the Anti-Amendment Campaign against the sinister 'pro-life' - and reactionary anti-women - lobby; then again in the Divorce Amendment Campaign - struggles waged by people in the southern 'Free' State which genuinely reflected the desire of the Irish people for a secular society without the tyranny of religious 'differences', as well as progressive concern to advance the rights of women and people in society.

At the same time there have been a host of struggles which reflect the conscious desire of the working class and people of Ireland to unite against world imperialism together with all the world's people, in support of the struggles of people for national and social liberation, for instance the spirited struggle of the Dunnes Stores workers in support of the Azanian people fighting for their rights against the fascist and racist South African regime; the protests against the visit of the Israeli Zionist leader, Herzog, and in support of the heroic Palestinian people; the massive campaign of protest against Reagan's visit and the warmongering policy of imperialism and the two superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism; support for the rights of

the Nicaraguan people and the people of the Philippines; the protest against U.S. imperialism's recent barbaric aerial bombardment of Libya etc.etc.

All these struggles are so closely interlinked that they act as catalysts and react with each other, with the struggles of the working class and small farmers against the crisis, against unemployment and bankruptcy, against rotten housing and social conditions constantly fuelling the patriotic struggle itself, in fact providing the detonator to the initial democratic movement for civil rights against the Stormont despotism in the north in 1968.

And this is the case as well with the mutual interaction with struggles in other countries, for instance with the great support of the workers and people throughout Ireland for the British miners in their heroic struggle inspiring an added sense of confidence and conviction to our own revolutionary movement, including the patriotic struggle. It was most significant that the unionist fascist. Molyneaux, made a specific point in his speech on July 12, 1984, of 'warning' of the 'cancer on the mainland which threatens us here in Northern Ireland too' - referring to the British miners strike, i.e. 'warning' of the danger of the class struggle, the unity of the working class through this struggle, and 'warning' against communism and Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary ideology of the working class.

Whilst in the case of the British miners and their families, they have spoken for themselves and frequently emphasised how much they learnt in the course of their own struggle about the justice of the Irish people's struggle, both because they appreciated the support and collections sent from Ireland, and because they now appreciated what a ruthless and unprincipled enemy the Irish people are fighting in the British ruling class and British imperialism, and themselves were seeing through the political deceptions of 'British democracy', i.e. bourgeois 'democracy', 'British law and order' etc.

It is these kind of developments, the struggle against British imperialism, not the acceptance of slavery to the British ruling class as the Anglo-Irish Agreement advocates, which is contributing to building healthy, fraternal relations between the British and Irish peoples - the relations of proletarian internationalism, struggle

shoulder to shoulder against the common oppressor, the monopoly bourgeoisie, imperialism and the capitalist system - not the operation of the fascist 'divide and rule' Anglo-Irish Agreement itself, as its authors claim.

Today, the democratic national struggle is ever-increasingly being leavened by the proletarian ferment of the class struggle against capitalism, the perspective of the patriotic struggle is ever increasingly broadly anti-imperialist and characterised by the spirit of proletarian internationalism, carrying forward still more strongly and with ever broader social involvement these factors in the development of the revolutionary movement in Ireland from the time of the International Workingmen's Association led by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in the 1860's and '70s (which had extensive branches in Ireland as well as the closest possible unity with the patriotic Irish national movement of the day, the Fenians; in fact the Corresponding Secretary of the Irish Branches and member of the General Council of the First International, John Patrick McDonnell, an Irish worker in England, was an old Fenian himself). This anti-imperialist and internationalist perspective is carrying forward the same spirit from the turn of the century, the time of James Connolly, who continued the work of the First International in the period of the Second International as the militant leader and organiser of the working class for socialism, who as a true patriot and internationalist, helped forge the national united front of the Irish people's forces, in the union of the proletarian Irish Citizen's Army - which Lenin referred to as 'the first Red Army in the world' - with the patriotic Irish Republican Brotherhood and the Irish Volunteers, which led to the epoch-making Rising of 1916 - the foundation of the same democratic, national struggle coming to fruition once again and now finally in this generation. All these struggles today are following on these past achievements and are contributing increasing enlightenment and raising the level of political consciousness and broadening the objective and militant outlook amongst the masses of the working class and Irish people today.

Reflecting, and actually arising out of this whole history of struggle and these most profound aspirations and sentiments of the working class and the Irish people - the purest and most integrated sentiments

and principles of patriotism and proletarian internationalism, raised to the level of proletarian class consciousness by being informed by the science of Marxism-Leninism - the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) was founded in 1970 out of the heroic, path-breaking work of the Internationalists in Ireland from 1965, thus overcoming the criminal revisionist betrayal of the Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and patriotic anti-imperialism of the former Communist Party of Ireland. Thus the essential factor, the revolutionary political party based on Marxism-Leninism, was restored to the proletariat in Ireland. And this has still further contributed to the spread and strengthening of these sentiments ever more widely since.

It is the existence of such a party, based on and applying the revolutionary ideology of the working class, Marxism-Leninism, in the class and patriotic struggles that provides the basis for the complete exposure and thereby explosion of British imperialism's fascist 'divide and rule' tactics in Ireland. For it is only Marxism-Leninism, as the only scientific theory of historical and dialectical materialism, that can strip away the bourgeois political deceptions and the demagoguery of religious sectarianism to expose the real class motives which underly the confusing and divisive slogans of unionism and constitutional 'nationalism' and the two 'communities' and two 'traditions'.

The British imperialists have historically sought to exploit the issue of religion to turn the internal politics of the Irish nation into a Gordian knot, where every attempt to unravel and untie the contradictions between 'protestant' ('British') unionists and 'catholic' (Irish) nationalists only succeeds in binding the knot which holds the Irish people in thrall to British imperialism still tighter.

But having themselves in the first place implanted the question of religious differences, in the modern period the British imperialists have even made the contradictions still more sophisticated by themselves actually promoting that it is only religious division which holds up the solution of the national question and Ireland's independence, i.e. not British colonialism itself!

Allegedly in the interests of 'the unity of the Irish people' they have

even encouraged, through their various agencies, especially in these days of alleged 'reconciliation' under the Anglo-Irish Agreement, as well as the confusing do-gooding of the ecumenical movement, all kinds of nonsense about 'overcoming religious sectarianism, ending the bigotry' etc., as well as through their pernicious imperialist agencies of social democracy and revisionism and their diversions of 'uniting workers - (even against British imperialism!) - on the basis of their economic, class interests, in the trade union struggles against sectarian division'.

The British imperialists have encouraged this precisely because this capitulates to the fundamental deception that religious division is the basis of the problems in Ireland, including the basis of division in the face of a national aggressor. They have encouraged the 'opposition to religious division' precisely because this keeps winding the Gordian knot of 'protestant' ('British') unionist against 'catholic' (Irish) nationalist ever tighter.

But neither religion, nor religious bigotry, can be the source of division of a nation any more than it can be a determining factor in whether a nation exists or not.

Take the case of Albania, where there had been three main different religious groups, a fact which had been exploited to help keep the nation in foreign servitude by 'divide and rule'. Was it the case that something changed in the relationships between these religions that united the Albanian people to throw out the foreign fascists, the Italian and German occupiers? No, it was simply that the patriotic and progressive forces of the working class and people of Albania forged a leadership, in the Communist Party of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, which united the people against the foreign fascist aggressors. The question of someone's religion did not come into it, for, as in the saying of the Albanian people themselves, 'the religion of all Albanians is Albania'.

As communists, possessing the scientific world outlook and opposed to religious obscurantism, feudal and bourgeois ideology and their philosophical idealism in all its forms - referring to the theory of the primacy of ideas over matter, not to the upholding of progressive and revolutionary principles as ideals - the communist party knows

that religion can never be the determining factor in human affairs any more than in the working of nature, since there is no such reality as the existence of a god or gods, and humanity cannot strive for or come into conflict over things which do not exist. But, whilst it is the fact of possessing this scientific world outlook that enables the communists to come forward as the only force which is capable of cutting the Gordian knot, which is the only solution to smash the imperialist and ruling class system of 'divide and rule' by which the people are held in thrall to the oppressors; and whilst the communists do not conceal the scientific analysis of Karl Marx that 'religion is the opium of the people', an instrument of class subjugation, in the struggle of the Albanian people for national liberation, just as in any other such comparable situation, there was no question of 'war against religion' as such. In fact, it was by calling on people to unite, regardless of all such secondary questions, in order to wage the real war to defeat the common enemies which oppressed all Albanian people, the foreign aggressors and national traitors, that brought about the unity of the people. And, as a matter of fact, this was unity against the only forces which had ever stood to gain from raising the question of religion as a matter of division.

The truth is - and this is also the case in Ireland, or any other country, such as India where religion has been used as a factor to split the people - that the real motivation of those forces which raise religious questions to intimidate and divide the people is class exploitation and national subjugation (which itself is for the exploitation of the colonial country by the ruling class of the imperialist power).

Whatever some political force might say about its own motivation - that it is 'for this or that religion' - this can never be the real motive. And neither can the alleged motive of the British imperialists be any more honest and real, when they say they are 'in favour of religious reconciliation'. Religion is not the issue. As a force in politics, religion can only ever be the unwitting mask - or else simply the cynical deception - for class interest. And nowadays, the 'modern' variant on the same line, 'opposition to religious division', is simply another mask for the most base and venal of motives. And this is shown graphically in the case of Ireland.



Right at the time when the British imperialists originally hatched up the partition scheme together with the Irish traitor bourgeoisie, both unionist and Home Rulers, James Connolly, the patriotic martyr and militant working class leader, applied Marxism - as he expressed it -

*"the Socialist key to the pages of history", "The proposition, or key to history, as set forth by Karl Marx, the greatest of modern thinkers and first of scientific Socialists" 1*

and exposed that partition was a scheme which was to.....  
*"help the Home Rule and Orange capitalists and clerics to keep their rallying cries before the public as the political watchwords of the day."; 2*

and Connolly had explained the crucial role of the working class as.....

*"the incorruptible inheritors of the fight for Irish freedom" 3*  
 showing that it would be a question of .....

*"whether the working class agitation cannot succeed in frightening these vampires from the feast they are promising themselves upon the corpse of a dismembered Ireland....." 4*

The history of the whole intervening period since Connolly has been a history of this very 'working class agitation', an agitation which is always aimed to combat the divisions imposed by partition in the context of the struggle against the enemy, British imperialism and its native accomplices of the Irish bourgeoisie - for a free and united Ireland. But this is a struggle which also encompasses every other

1 James Connolly: *"Labour in Irish History"*, 1910. Sign of Three Candles edition, volume title *'Labour in Ireland'*, page 20.)

2 *The First Hint of Partition'*, Forward, March 21, 1914. Sign of Three Candles edition, volume title, *"Socialism and Nationalism"*, page 109).....

3 *Labour in Irish History*, 1910. Sign of Three Candles edition, volume title *'Labour in Ireland'*, page 9)

4 *The Exclusion of Ulster"*, Forward, April 11, 1914, Sign of Three Candles edition, volume title *"Socialism and Nationalism"*, page 115)

aspect of national and international affairs as well, just as Connolly himself fought, since this is the scope of the working class - for freedom and unity on the world scale. It is no wonder that James Connolly and his writings themselves have become the most influential of all of the nation's thinkers in Ireland in this century, precisely because they do reflect the interests of the proletariat, the most revolutionary class and the natural leaders of the nation in this epoch. It is precisely for this reason also that the great international leaders and teachers of the proletariat, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and the revolutionary theory of the working class, Marxism-Leninism, have constantly advanced in popularity, the scientific socialism which Connolly himself acknowledged as the authority and inspiration for his own revolutionary work.

All these factors - the deepening of the all-sided, objective economic, social and political crisis, the most profound crisis of British colonial occupation in the north in the face of a heroic and uniquely persistent patriotic resurgence - when combined with the emergence and steadily developing revolutionary activity of the class conscious vanguard of the working class, organised in the Marxist-Leninist communist party - the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) - is generating the most profound credibility crisis for British imperialism. This is an all-encompassing crisis in the realm of the political, ideological and cultural superstructure, an increasing crisis of their entire system of colonial and neo-colonial domination and the fascist system of 'divide and rule' on which they depend. This is the herald for the still greater crisis even now coming to its culmination - the final conflict between the Irish people and the foreign aggressor, the British government, and the whole system of foreign imperialism, the system of monopoly capital - the insurrection of the Irish nation, the people's revolution.

For these days, both in terms of the national conditions and the international conditions, such as the further decay and desparation of imperialism in the face of the mounting tide of struggles in Ireland and throughout the world against this system, combined with the existence of the means which are essential to actually wage such a 'working class agitation', and which constitute the most crucial subjective factor

for revolution - the Marxist-Leninist communist party, the revolutionary party of the most revolutionary class of this epoch - have now created the situation where the contradictions have matured to the point where this whole method of British imperialist 'divide and rule' - the alliance of the foreign aggressor with a class of internal exploiters and traitors who help keep the nation divided - has been divested of the last shreds of the deceptions of the national traitor bourgeoisie of unionism versus 'nationalism', the existence of 'two communities' etc., by which the British imperialists try to justify their continued illegal interference in Ireland.

For once the workers are armed with their own revolutionary communist party and their own proletarian ideology of Marxism-Leninism, the working class becomes a political force in its own right, challenging and defeating the political hegemony of the bourgeoisie and imperialism over the people and the nation, in particular capable of exploding all the political deceptions of British imperialism, such as their bourgeois 'democracy', and putting forward in their place the genuine democracy of the proletariat. This replaces the 'democracy' of the bourgeoisie - which boils down to exclusive rights for the bourgeoisie, to make profits from exploitation of the working class and the Irish nation with no thought even to the democratic right for national independence, let alone any other rights to working people - with the democracy which satisfies the needs of the workers and the Irish people.

Notwithstanding the military aspects of the situation, which become the absolutely crucial question at the end of the day, in order to achieve the people's revolution itself - namely, the fact that the British imperialists can only be removed from Ireland by military force through their military defeat and expulsion, the very real remaining military power and technology which the British imperialists possess, as well as their reserves in world imperialism and in the native traitor Irish bourgeoisie, the capacity of their undercover fascist forces to foment division and generate a climate of terror, confusion and intimidation by their murderous and diversionary activities etc. etc. - the Anglo-Irish Agreement exposes British imperialism's Achilles heel in the increasingly threadbare deceptions of bourgeois

'democracy'. Since without this means of deception to maintain their system of 'divide and rule', the British imperialists are unable to maintain their colonial regime in the north and the partition of Ireland and national subjugation of the Irish people as a whole by military means alone.

This situation - the complete exposure of British imperialism in Ireland - has been the glorious achievement of all these decades of heroic patriotic struggle and 'working class agitation' against the most difficult and complicated situation which partition has posed for the unity of the working class, the revolutionary movement and the realisation of the sacred rights of the Irish nation. It has been by persisting in the all-sided struggle, on the national and international fronts against imperialism, and on the fronts of struggle against revisionism (including modern Krushchevite Soviet revisionism from the 1950s and '60s, Euro-'communism' and Chinese revisionist Mao Zedong Thought from the 1970s, against Trotskyism and anarchism and all other forms of the bourgeoisie's anti-communism, narrow 'nationalism', national exceptionalism and anti-Party liquidationism at all periods); as well as fighting against social democracy, opportunism and national betrayal in all their forms, to build the proletarian party and the patriotic forces of the nation, that the working class and the Irish people have brought British imperialism to the fundamental crisis it has now fallen into, especially with this Anglo-Irish Agreement.

For British imperialism is left standing with their military occupation in an increasingly untenable position militarily and politically, striving vainly to cover up the naked fact that criminal foreign aggression and alien military force is the sole basis for their continued illegal interference in Ireland with a threadbare attempt at reviving their 'democratic' deceptions in order to incite their fascist 'divide and rule' policy.

Previous revolutionary experience has shown how the situation can unfold in such conditions. There was the trail-blazing achievement of Wolfe Tone and the United Irishmen, who were the first to smash British colonial 'divide and rule'. It was this that led to the first great national insurrection of the modern Irish nation. The next such major

development was the work first taken up by the International Workingmen's Association to organise and unite the working class in Ireland in the 1870s, carried forward under the leadership of James Connolly from 1896. This created the conditions where the 'divide and rule' deceptions of British imperialism and the Irish traitor bourgeoisie, in particular the deceptions of 'Home Rule' and the 'Orange Card', were completely exploded in the heroic 1916 Rising. Within a couple of years, by the time of the 1918 general election, the political influence of the formerly unassailable Irish parliamentary Home Rule Party and the blackmail bogey of the 'unionist monolith' - i.e. actually the political influence of British imperialism holding back the Irish people - were completely destroyed, and the path thrown open to the mass insurrectionary movement of the Irish nation in the War of Independence 1919-1921.

Today in a similar way the conditions are being created, and thus the path is being thrown open for the Irish people to turn the British imperialist offensive of the Anglo-Irish Agreement right around and launch the struggle against British colonial occupation of the north with redoubled force and with the perspective, not just of national resistance, but of waging the final conflict - for victory. The exposure of this political charade of bourgeois 'democracy' of British imperialism is the means to facilitate the intensification of the patriotic armed struggle by the mobilisation of the masses of the people increasingly in the struggle, to culminate in the insurrection of the entire nation and the total military defeat and expulsion from Ireland of the foreign aggressor, British imperialism, and the extinction of all internal forces of foreign collaboration, national betrayal and sellout.

The British imperialists embarked on this 'Irish dimension' as the means of bourgeois 'democracy' to dupe patriotic people and 'play the Orange card' in order to patch up their colonial annexation in the context of the complete collapse of the Stormont fascist dictatorship by 1972, a despotism which they had set up in 1921 to keep the Irish people in subjection and divided by partition. However, instead of retrieving this decidedly exposed situation for British imperialism, since Sunningdale and now increasingly with the Anglo-Irish Agreement, the 'Irish Dimension' has become the source of still

greater political crisis for British imperialism in Ireland, by the ever greater exposure of those things which had formerly been kept hidden as the secret of the effectiveness of British 'divide and rule' in Ireland.

But in truth there neither was, nor is there still any other path that British imperialism and the Irish bourgeoisie could take. In order to stifle the revolutionary movement, it has been too risky and not politically feasible, at this historical stage, for the British imperialists to wage the bare-faced, open type of colonial war which they had waged with the 'Black and Tans' back in the War of Independence 1919-1921. What had to be done was to create the climate of political deception, in which the reactionary colonial and neo-colonial forces could be deployed to do the same dirty job, but under the guise of 'restoring civil order', 'suppressing terrorism' etc., i.e. where the revolutionary and patriotic forces had been sufficiently politically isolated and discredited by the deceptions of bourgeois 'democracy', so that the British imperialists and national traitors could take them on and defeat them in the name of 'protecting the ordinary people' themselves and 'protecting democratic rights'.

But every attempt of British imperialism and the Irish bourgeoisie to present themselves as 'democrats' in Ireland, whilst their criminal actions, the deeds of the S.A.S., the assassinations and pogroms, extradition and cross-border collaboration are becoming more exposed: this is all digging them deeper into the hole - their grave - which their 'divide and rule' system is designed to dig them out of. In particular, with the heroic hunger-strike of the patriotic prisoners in the H-Blocks, led by Bobby Sands, and ending in the martyrdom of himself and nine more of his gallant comrades, the offensive to 'criminalise' the Irish people's patriotic struggle for national independence and re-unification exploded in their faces.

Here, in the H-Blocks, the concentration camps of Long Kesh, in the gaols of Armagh, Crumlin Road, the Magilligan concentration camp, as well as in the southern 'Free' State prison at Portlaoise and the gaols in Britain itself, were young men and women, whose whole standpoint on life - as real democrats - with their profound sense of justice and their righteous indignation at the injustices to the Irish

people and the people and the working class throughout the world oppressed by imperialism, defied the capitalist and fascist 'logic' of British imperialism and all bourgeois - that 'every individual or nation have their price' and 'every individual or nation have their breaking point'. They stood absolutely unassailable to all pressure, intimidation, torture and to the defamatory lies of British imperialism. Here was a whole generation, **today's risen people of Ireland**, just like the workers, nations and people rising up for justice and for emancipation throughout the world, whose profound democratic, patriotic, anti-imperialist and internationalist convictions, and faith in the people and their cause, revolutionary political consciousness and spirit of self-sacrifice, whose firm hold on the imperatives of continuing the struggle of the past martyred generations of the Irish people and grasp of the necessities facing today's generation made them impervious to every attempt of the British imperialists to deny our nation's just democratic rights to national independence and re-unification.

What is British imperialism's 'democracy' - the 'democracy' of the Anglo-Irish Agreement - in comparison to this!

The 'Irish Dimension' is exposed as nothing other than the most sordid alliance of the foreign aggressor, British imperialism, with the Irish monopoly bourgeoisie, on the most corrupt and mercenary of bases - the cash nexus - devoid of all principle and all real democracy. It is a class alliance for the sole purpose of money-grubbing exploitation, founded on the subjugation and deprivation of the masses of the working people of an entire nation - the Irish nation - of every single democratic right for the benefit of a single class, and dominated by foreigners at that, the handful of the super-rich, the monopoly bourgeoisie, and to maintain imperialism and the capitalist system in Ireland. This is a system in which the British monopoly capitalists have their economic and strategic interests, and where the Irish bourgeoisie have their own class interests, and where these are class interests in common. This is where a foreign occupier is robbing our nation, whilst native exploiters assist the foreigners carry out this expropriation in order to receive their cut from the impoverishment of their own fellow-countrymen and women. This is all their 'democracy' - the 'democracy' of the Anglo-Irish Agreement and the 'Irish

Dimension' - consists of when it comes down to it.

The Anglo-Irish Agreement has been British imperialism's totally bankrupt answer to the H-Block hunger strike, another totally futile attempt to put a mask of 'democracy' on the situation in 'Northern Ireland' - (which is simply another way of saying, terrorise the Irish people) - but once again the British imperialists are being hoist with their own petard. Because if the 'divide and rule' rule tactic had any power to inspire fear and disorganisation in the past, it was because the masses of the people could not yet see clearly through the deceptions of British imperialist 'divide and rule'. They could not in fact see clearly that the British imperialists were behind every sectarian assassination and pogrom; people could not see through the bogey of 'the threat of civil war' and grasp the underlying unity of purpose and of class interests of the various forces of 'their own' Irish bourgeoisie - i.e. 'their own' unionist parties and 'their own' constitutional 'nationalist' parties, 'their own' 'democratically elected representatives' etc. - in collaborating one and all with the foreign tyrant, British imperialism. The contention of the constitutional 'nationalists' and unionists has been a fraud from the first, but now it is being seen through for the fraud it is. In particular, the constitutional 'nationalists' are being seen for the real unionists which they are themselves, whilst the unionists are being seen to represent no ordinary people in Ireland, but only organised fascist forces of British colonial reaction.

British imperialism's 'Irish Dimension' is being seen through for the reality that it is - not some concession to our all-Ireland Irish nation, but a sinister attempt, once again, to 'Ulsterise' the illegal British imperialist violation of our nation's democratic rights and paralyse the resistance of the Irish nation as a whole with the bogey of 'the unionist backlash and the threat of a bloody civil war'.

### The 'international dimension' - Another exposure of British imperialism's weakness today.

In another way we can see that the Anglo-Irish Agreement was undertaken by British imperialism out of weakness: the 'International Dimension'. This 'International Dimension' consists in the new turn of British policy on the question of Ireland, where the Anglo-Irish Agreement has been registered at the United Nations as a treaty between two sovereign states - Britain and the Republic of Ireland.

This is another exposure of the threadbare argument that the 'problem of Northern Ireland is the internal affair of the United Kingdom'. This new turn was designed to give added credibility to the effectiveness of the 'Irish Dimension' in the Anglo-Irish Agreement over the previous effort, the Sunningdale Agreement. It was to make a more convincing display to the so-called 'nationalist minority' in the north, as well as to the nation as a whole, that the British imperialists really would create 'democratic' conditions for people in the north and end the practice of fascist unionist dictatorship in the future.

As well, the 'International Dimension' was designed to cope with international public opinion, in particular Irish expatriates and people of Irish descent abroad, in the United States, Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, as well as the vast proportion of democratic and progressive people and the working class of all countries, who are well aware of and sympathise with and support the heroic struggle of the Irish people against British colonial occupation and partition.

An important ingredient of the 'International Dimension' has been the promise of economic 'aid' and investment from America and the EEC, which also Canada has pledged itself to, so that not only in terms of 'democratic rights' but also in material terms, in terms of jobs, it could be seen that the British imperialists were seriously concerned to improve the lot of the masses of the people of the north, in particular the 'nationalist minority' which hitherto had born the brunt of unemployment through the system of discrimination operated under the British-organised unionist despotism for the last 60 years.

However, in reality this is simply to strengthen the illusions of more

capitalism and more foreign investment as the solution to the problems in Ireland, and cover up the fact that these are the very source and foundation of all the problems, the reason for foreign subjugation and the crisis, mass unemployment and emigration; and it is to cover up the fact that foreign monopoly capital, 'aid' and 'investment' must be banished in their entirety for the new Ireland to be built in freedom and genuine sovereignty, as well as undertaking the expropriation - without compensation - of all foreign monopoly capital, companies and industry in Ireland, which constitute only the tiniest fraction of the wealth already expropriated - i.e. robbed and plundered - from the Irish people over centuries, just as this has been the basis of the building of the new Albania, Socialist Albania, and must be the case with all countries.

The 'International Dimension' is another proof that the British imperialists undertook the Anglo-Irish Agreement out of desperation at the crisis in their colonial system in the north of Ireland. It shatters the remaining pretence that this is 'an internal affair of the United Kingdom'. In fact, this demonstrates that the Anglo-Irish Agreement is not so much the product of British policy, but of the bourgeoisie as a class on a wider scale, the international scale. The Anglo-Irish Agreement clearly marks the fact that the 'Irish question' has been subsumed as a question of international significance, in which the British bourgeoisie is no longer the sole arbiter. This is clear from the fact that, integral to the Anglo-Irish Agreement, the government of the southern Republic has undertaken the obligations of signing the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism. And, coinciding with the making of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, the EEC states have undertaken a major re-orientation of their approach to foreign policy, with the new foreign policy Treaty of the EEC committing EEC states to the development of a unified supra-national European foreign policy on unified principles.

The Anglo-Irish Agreement has been to strengthen the involvement of the southern Irish Free State in the offensive of British imperialism to stifle the anti-imperialist and revolutionary movement in Ireland, and to enrol the support of one of the two superpowers, U.S. imperialism, in this offensive, as well as the EEC.

In fact, it is a moot point, whether the Anglo-Irish Agreement is the result of British imperialism's initiative, or whether it reflects that the initiative has been taken out of the hands of the British imperialists by the bourgeoisie as an international class, and by the EEC consortium of monopoly capitalists and the superpower which presides over the western camp, the so-called 'Free World' overall, even if the solution of the problem has not (yet, at least) been taken out of the hands of the British imperialists, for instance by the U.N.'peacekeeping force' so favoured by Wedgewood Benn and other plausible and wholly treacherous 'left' social democrats in Britain, who are themselves mooting this option as a neo-colonial back-stop and as representatives of the British monopoly bourgeoisie themselves.

The Anglo-Irish Agreement is another case where a colonial crisis for British imperialism, formerly left as the 'domestic affair' of the British bourgeoisie has been taken up on the international scale by the bourgeoisie and the 'great powers', particularly by British imperialism's overlord, U.S.imperialism, because the British imperialists have proved incapable of resolving their 'domestic colonial crisis' on their own.

But the fact that U.S.imperialism, one of the two superpowers, as well as the EEC, are involved does not reflect any real strength in the Anglo-Irish Agreement either. Instead it reflects the weakness and increasing exposure of imperialism as the enemy as a system itself as whole in Ireland, and will further fuel the anti-imperialist and revolutionary movement and the mass mobilisation of the working class and people of Ireland in the struggle. For the deployment of the forces of imperialism, the deployment of these against the Irish people on an international scale only reveals more clearly to the Irish people what they are in fact up against - not only the interference of a particular foreign government, but the offensive of a whole alien imposition, an alien social and economic order, whose basis in Ireland is solely foreign conquest and partition. This exposes still more clearly the deception of British imperialism that the 'conflict in Northern Ireland' is simply some anomaly of an ancient injustice continuing into modern times through no illwill of present-day British governments, but only through 'the bitterness left as the legacy of past history',

internal conflict amongst the Irish people or people in Ireland.

This is one of the most serious developments, which is hastening the ruin of British imperialism in Ireland, exposing more and more that the division of Ireland into 'two communities' etc. has no internal basis, but only a basis in capitalism, in the tactics of the bourgeoisie, employed throughout the colonial and neo-colonial countries. It puts Ireland firmly into the same context as all the other peoples and nations plagued with so-called divisions - Cyprus, India, Sri Lanka, South Africa etc. It helps smash the illusions cultivated by British imperialism, that the Irish situation is unique to the Irish people and their 'inherent desire to quarrel with each other', their 'inherent sectarianism, bigotry' etc. It is no different to any of the other internal disputes fostered by the imperialists and colonialists, to incite regional, linguistic, religious, or ethnic divisions to subjugate the oppressed and exploited people and nations.

### **British imperialists resort to anti-communism in desperation, to denigrate the Irish people's democratic rights**

With every attack the British imperialists are exposing their hand and therefore the fundamental weakness of their gamble with the Anglo-Irish Agreement. Thus representatives of the British government, such as Tom King, have begun to launch the attack that the 'danger of the situation in Ireland is that it should become a second Cuba, only this time on the shores of Europe'.

People in Ireland are asking: what is the point of this comparison with Cuba?

In the first place, is there anything wrong with the principle that a nation should fight against foreign domination and subjugation, as the Cuban people did? Surely, the heroic deed of the Cuban people in ridding Cuba of the U.S. despotism of Batista was only of the utmost benefit to the people of Cuba, ridding Cuba of rule by the American Mafia, ridding the Cuban people of the scourge of drugs, prostitution and every kind of vice, ridding the economy of the gambling casinos and brothels, on which Havana had been made dependent, with

complete domination by the vice and drug trade and sugar, fruit and tobacco monopolies of the U.S. bourgeoisie and their class brethren from the other side of the blanket, the Mafia.

This accusation of the British imperialists that Ireland 'could become another Cuba' is made with the most sinister of purposes. It is to confuse and bury the significance of the democratic issue - that Ireland as a nation has a right to its sovereignty and independence and its unity. It is to confuse this issue by sinking the 'Irish question' in the quicksand of superpower rivalry, the 'balance of power', the 'balance of terror', the 'equilibrium of deterrents', and the so-called rivalry of 'democracy against communist tyranny'.

It is the most sinister attack because it is to disorient people in Ireland as to their own rights, by making out that it is not legitimate for the Irish people to fight for their rights 'if this is at the expense of the security of the western bloc, the defence of the free world' etc. It is to conjure up the whole bogey that the patriotic struggle is not being waged by the Irish people themselves at all, but by some 'communist agitators', alleged 'Marxists' and even 'Marxist-Leninists', 'terrorist godfathers in command' of the patriotic forces, i.e. these are manipulators and agents of the rival superpower, who have no interest in Ireland's freedom or the rights of the masses of the people of Ireland. They are people who are only agents of Soviet social imperialism, out to manipulate the patriotic sentiments of Irish people in order to prise Ireland away from 'the Free World' and put it under the 'eastern communist' dictatorship as a pawn in their offensive against democracy.

This is all the most cynical manipulation of the real issues of the superpower rivalry going on in the world today, in order to bury the rights of the working class and the peoples and nations to national independence and social emancipation. For the essence of this rivalry is that both U.S.imperialism and Soviet social imperialism are imperialist superpowers, not the leaderships of two 'opposing systems of democracy and communism'. Both, whilst they compete with each other, are in alliance in implacable opposition to the rights of the working class and nations to national liberation and social emancipation. Just like Hitler before - (whose rise, incidentally, was

financed by big British and U.S.capitalists, such as Lord Nuffield and Henry Ford, as well as the German bourgeoisie, to attack the genuine socialism of Stalin's U.S.S.R.) - are even prepared to launch a still more frightful world war to prevent the advance of this world proletarian socialist revolution. It does not matter what either superpower proclaims it stands for. Both are fascist, anti-democratic and anti-communist to the core, both are opposed to the rights of nations and the rights of the working class.

Since the 1950s and the treacherous coup d'etat and the counter-revolution organised by the criminal Krushchev, the 'communist' who proclaimed his 'friendship' with Eisenhower and Kennedy; since this counter-revolution by which Krushchev and his revisionist henchmen, as agents of U.S.imperialism, overthrew the genuine socialism of Lenin and Stalin, the U.S.S.R. has become a new capitalist power and imperialist rival of U.S.imperialism for world hegemony and monopoly of the world imperialist market, but at the same time the class brother and ally of U.S.imperialism against the working class, the colonial and neo-colonial nations and the proletarian socialist revolution. Yes, today in Gorbachev, here is 'a man whom Mrs.Thatcher', the close ally of Ronald Reagan and U.S. imperialism, 'can do business with', another imperialist and fascist just like themselves, even if calling himself a 'communist'!

Of course it is in the interests of both U.S.imperialism and Soviet social imperialism to maintain the illusions of the Soviet Union as being 'socialist' and 'communist'. For the Soviet revisionists this is useful to maintain the deception over the people in the Soviet camp that this is socialism in order to maintain the loyalty of the working class and people. The revisionists continue therefore to parade themselves as 'the heirs' of the great revolutionary past of Lenin (with occasional mention of Stalin these days, after Krushchev's foul betrayal and repetition of every filthy slander of the Trotskyites and their masters, British and U.S.imperialism). They want to keep the deception that they are continuing the heroic role of the Soviet Union in the victory over fascism in order to prevent revolution and protect imperialism themselves. Whilst for the U.S.imperialist bloc the advent of revisionism in the Soviet Union has provided the best ammunition for

anti-communism yet, to attack the working class and their Marxist-Leninist ideology and system of socialism and communism which the bourgeoisie fear most of all. Because now with the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet bloc there has been the return of every vice, from crime, alcoholism and prostitution to the revival of every feature of the old former Tsarist despotism, the unbridled chauvinistic Russification policy, the racist discrimination against national minorities, the restoration of the old Tsarist colonial policies, but now in wider and stronger forms than ever the Tsars could have dreamed of.

Now U.S.imperialism can redouble its McCarthyite crusade against communism, but all the more effectively because they can attack - in the Soviet bloc - 'communism' that is not communism at all, but capitalism and imperialism with all their evils, but a capitalist and imperialist system which still continues to call itself communist. No greater Aunt Sally has ever been set up to be knocked down.

Whilst for the Soviet revisionists their mask of 'socialism and proletarian internationalism' is grist to the mill of their colonial ambitions, for the U.S.imperialists and the bourgeoisie as a whole, including the Soviet revisionists, who are part of the one and the same world bourgeoisie, this is handy means of linking the preparations for world war with the crusade to save the world from real, genuine communism, from the proletarian socialist revolution; it is a handy cover to putting the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations and the struggles of the working class in their own countries into the balance of their confrontation for world hegemony. They use this to demand that the working class and peoples give up their struggles for national liberation and social emancipation lest this 'threaten to upset the balance of power' and prove to be the flashpoint to a world conflagration.

The point about Cuba is not that it has become a neo-colony of the Soviet Union, except in this way. The struggle of the Cuban people was just, for the overthrow of U.S.imperialism and the Batista dictatorship. Their struggle was heroic. The lesson to be learnt is the lesson that the Cuban people are themselves bound to learn - perhaps have learnt already, for instance from the bitter experience of losing so many of their youth in the neo-colonial wars which the Soviet Union is

waging in Africa, in Angola etc. in the pretense of 'proletarian internationalism' - that the Soviet Union of today is not the genuine friend and ally of the anti-imperialist struggle, the genuine socialist homeland and reliable base area for revolution. It is another base for counter-revolution, the ally as well as the rival of U.S.imperialism. The Cuban people are bound to realise that the situation today is not the genuine national independence and social emancipation which they fought for. The lesson for all the nations fighting for emancipation is that genuine national independence by liberation from one imperialist power or from one superpower cannot be achieved in alliance, or with the 'help' of a rival imperialist power or superpower. The heroic people of Cuba, who have fought for genuine national and social emancipation, are bound to continue their struggle as the new oppressor and exploiter becomes unmasked and until Soviet social imperialism is thrown out itself. And, indeed, this is a lesson which is being taken up, for instance by the heroic people of Afghanistan against the savage Soviet colonial occupation, colonial war and genocide today.

But the attacks of U.S.imperialism, Soviet social imperialism and the world bourgeoisie, including these attacks of British imperialism and the Irish monopoly bourgeoisie, i.e. these attempts to make out that nations cannot fight legitimately for national liberation and the working class for socialism because this will shift the balance of power between the two superpower blocs and open up the danger of provoking world war, are a dangerous gamble for the bourgeoisie. Because the whole world, including the Irish people, can see that it is they and their two superpowers who are the aggressors and warmongers and it is they who are striving to whip the nations into line under one or other of these two 'nuclear umbrellas', and who are striving to grab spheres of influence from each other and destabilise the world situation. It is not the wish or the will of the nations and people of the world themselves, including the working class and people of America, Russia, Britain and the other imperialist countries, and certainly not of the Irish people. The Anglo-Irish Agreement is testimony to the fact that it is the imperialists who are escalating the preparations and who are increasing the danger of world war, not the people.



This linking of the suppression of the just national rights of nations, such as the Irish people, with the anti-communist crusade of the bourgeoisie is fraught with danger for them, precisely because it exposes the reality that in the era of imperialism the national liberation struggle, and the cause of the working class in these nations fighting for national liberation, are linked as one in the world proletarian socialist revolution in which they are a component part, along with the revolutions in the big capitalist countries themselves which are for the immediate objective of socialism. It is this world proletarian socialist revolution itself which, by overthrowing world imperialism and the capitalist system, will abolish the basis for national oppression, class exploitation, national wars and world imperialist war.

These attacks by the bourgeoisie, to make out that communists and Marxists are somehow manipulating and exploiting the national question and the people's patriotic sentiments for 'other' objectives, are actually going to help expose the truth of what Stalin pointed out:

*"Leninism has proved that the national problem can be solved only in connection with and on the basis of the proletarian revolution, and that the road to the victory of the revolution in the West lies through the revolutionary alliance with the liberation movement of the colonies and dependent countries against imperialism. The national problem is a part of the general problem of the proletarian revolution, a part of the problem of the dictatorship of the proletariat." \**

The sinister attack on the Irish people's right to national independence on the grounds that this might be led by Marxists and for the objective of communism and a socialist Ireland is a particularly dangerous gamble for the British imperialists in the light of the actual development of world history during the 20th Century as well.

For with the Great October Socialist Revolution, not only was the proletariat emancipated from class exploitation and socialism

\* J. V. Stalin, *"The Foundations of Leninism"*. Works, Volume 6, page 146. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1953.

established as a system, but also the oppressed nations of the Tsarist empire were liberated by the revolution under the leadership of the Bolshevik Communist Party. And this example has been further confirmed, with new unique contributions, by the brilliantly successful story of Albania's liberation from centuries of foreign domination and from the most massive and frightful occupation by Italian fascism and German nazism during the period of the 2nd World War. For the most significant thing about this struggle was that its success was due to the fact that it was waged under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania (now called the Party of Labour of Albania); and, furthermore, this enabled the revolution to be carried through to the end without falling into the trap of abortion half way, and national independence was consolidated, with the achievement of socialism under the essential dictatorship of the proletariat.

Today the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist party, the Party of Labour of Albania with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, is continuing on the heroic road of Comrade Enver Hoxha, in direct continuation from the Great October Socialist Revolution and the genuinely socialist system of the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin, on the heroic road of Marxism-Leninism and the classics, Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, V.I. Lenin and J.V. Stalin.

Today, consequently, Socialist Albania stands as the brightest beacon of inspiration, not only to the working class, but also to all the oppressed and exploited colonial and neo-colonial nations. Socialist Albania is the source of the most profound anxiety for the world bourgeoisie, for both imperialist superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, even though it adheres to the scientific and correct Leninist and Stalinist policy of peaceful co-existence with states with different social systems and in no way flounders with adventurist 'export of revolution', which is a complete violation of Marxism-Leninism in any case.

For Socialist Albania has refused to go the path of Krushchevite and Maoist revisionism, the so-called 'peaceful co-existence' which is actually complete sell-out to and collaboration with imperialism and capitalism. Socialist Albania's staunch, principled, revolutionary and

anti-imperialist internal and external, foreign policy of self-reliance and independence and opposition to the imperialist war preparations and to both superpowers is making Socialist Albania friends the world over.

This is a terrifying indictment of world imperialism and social-imperialism. It is an inspiration to the working class and nations which spells death to world imperialism and the rule of the bourgeoisie. It is a source of exposure for opportunists, social democrats and revisionists everywhere, who are peddling their concoctions and lies about socialism and communism in service of the bourgeoisie and imperialism and their own cushy careers. It is a complete exposure of all the political swindling which is perpetrated by the bourgeoisie and these agents, in order to prevent the link being made between national liberation and socialism, in fact to set socialism and national liberation at loggerheads with each other, made in order to prevent the development of the revolution at all costs, and alienate the working class and the people from the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat which is the essential means to consolidate the national liberation struggle with the establishment of socialism.

For Socialist Albania has smashed all the dogmas and taboos of the bourgeoisie, imperialism, social imperialism, social democracy and revisionism - the dogmas that it is impossible for nations to be really self-reliant and independent in a 'world of interdependence' (read: nations must be under the subjugation of western imperialism or eastern social imperialism). It has smashed the dogmas that capitalism is the most efficient possible form of economy and society, and that 'pure socialism does not work'.

Here in Socialist Albania is a nation and a state and a working class and people which has disproved everything the bourgeoisie and the new bourgeois, the revisionists in state power, and the revisionists in the capitalist countries, preach as gospel. Here is a nation which has marched unscathed through the conditions of the deepening world economic crisis of imperialism, with no unemployment, no price rises and inflation; where the scientific technological revolution is also advancing (supposed to be impossible without the profit-motive, selfish careerism and foreign investment and technology from the

advanced imperialist powers), but is unleashing still greater work and creative energies of the people, whilst in the capitalist west and revisionist (actually capitalist) Soviet bloc it is used to explain the 'reduction of employment and increase in leisure'.

The great danger of the imperialist attack on the Irish people's just struggle - for the imperialists and the bourgeoisie themselves - these attempts to defame Marxism-Leninism and communism and the necessity for the revolution and for socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, is that we are living in the same world where there is the living and advancing reality of socialism and genuine national independence under the dictatorship of the proletariat in today's Socialist Albania, as well as the invincible ideology of Marxism-Leninism which has always demonstrated the inevitability of this future for humanity and all the nations theoretically, i.e. with the certainty of science, on the basis of the actual laws of motion, change and development in society and history, the working out of the inexorable contradictions which are constantly eating away the very foundations of capitalist society itself.

Socialist Albania shows the only genuine road to a decent future to the world's working class, to all the nations and to mankind itself. It shows that it is not necessary for a country to be either aggressive against others or subservient to others, Socialist Albania shows the path to world peace through the revolution and through opposition to all imperialism and revisionism and to both superpowers.

British and world imperialism and their friends, the revisionists, can launch their filthy anti-communist hysteria against the just patriotic struggle of the Irish people all they like..... that it marks 'the danger' - or 'the glorious prospect' as the revisionists put it - 'of the creation of another Cuba' etc.etc.. They can try to make play with the concoction that such a struggle is to join the 'communists' and the Soviet bloc. They can keep up the wall of silence and condescension about 'little', 'isolationist' Socialist Albania all they like. They can put about their slanders about 'communist manipulators' and the 'foreign ideology' of Marxism-Leninism all they like. But this only goes to show what utter enemies of progress and enlightenment these foreign imperialists, revisionists and native reactionary forces are them-

selves, what enemies they are of genuine national independence and socialism, which is the only path of social development to the future for the working class and for all countries and for humanity itself - the future of world communism. It shows how determined they are (though completely in vain) that no country should follow the tremendous example of Socialist Albania in being genuinely self-reliant and independent and against the war preparations and both the superpower blocs.

### **Proof that Ireland's struggle is an integral part of the world proletarian socialist revolution of this epoch**

These attacks of British imperialism, the international bourgeoisie and the Irish bourgeoisie expose the fact that the Anglo-Irish Agreement is nothing other than a component part of the offensive of the world bourgeoisie to make the working class and the colonial and neo-colonial nations pay for the crisis of their world imperialist system, and to suppress the growth of the world proletarian socialist revolution which threatens the very existence of world imperialism, in which the escalation of rivalry for world hegemony, the preparations for another world war play the role of blackmail and of subversion to blot out the rights of the working class, nations and people and the means to drown the revolution, which is necessary to achieve these rights, in the blood of a fratricidal world war.

This is shown graphically in the elements of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, where the southern 26 County 'Free' State has now signed the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism, which is nothing other than an instrument of the international bourgeoisie against the revolution that threatens their existence. This is part of the U.S.-led campaign of preparations for world war under the hoax of 'combatting international terrorism', and this has its counterpart in the policy of Soviet social imperialism. The two play the role of foils to each other. The U.S. imperialists attack every just movement for national and social liberation with the hoax that this is 'communist inspired from Moscow'; while the Soviet revisionists

attack anyone within their own camp who raises the just struggle against Soviet social imperialism as 'organised by the C.I.A., headquarters of U.S. imperialist terrorism'. Thus U.S. imperialism attacks the people of South Africa, Nicaragua, El Salvador etc.; while Soviet social imperialism attacks the people of Afghanistan and Poland etc.

Of course, it is true that U.S. imperialism does seek to get its teeth into the anti-Soviet movement wherever this occurs, as part of its contention with Soviet social imperialism, to weaken the alliances and spheres of influence of its fellow imperialist rival, and to grab chunks in rivalry for markets and for strategic advantages, for military bases etc., from Soviet social imperialism. Equally it is true that wherever a chink appears in the armour of the U.S. imperialist empire, whether in Asia, Africa, Latin America or Europe (including us here in Ireland, it should be said), the Soviet social imperialists try to impress themselves on the anti-imperialist forces as 'their best friends and allies', in order to themselves win advantages against U.S. imperialism on the global chessboard of the nuclear strategy, seize new colonial territories etc.

But these facts alter nothing in terms of principle. The working class and people of Poland, of Afghanistan, of South Africa, Nicaragua etc. deserve their right to national independence and social progress. Of course, the people in those countries are not fighting to go from the frying pan into the fire, from U.S. imperialist domination to Soviet social imperialist domination or vice versa. If some elements come forward within the ranks or the leadership of such movements, but to act as the agents of the rival superpower in the course of their liberation struggles, or even out of sinister ambitions of their own, then this is a matter for the people of those countries to sort out, and is not a question to justify interference by the superpowers in their rivalry.

Such treacherous elements, who are nothing but agents of the bourgeoisie, imperialism and one or other superpower (or both together), will be sorted out by the people, just as today the Irish people are sorting out their national traitors, the Irish big bourgeoisie and their agents, the opportunists, social democrats and revisionists of

all persuasions. Because the people in Ireland and every country are fighting for liberation, not new forms of enslavement, not to transfer from one superpower bloc to the rival. They are not interested in boosting the power of one aggressive warmongering bloc against its rival, because their struggle is against these blocs and their domination and their war preparations as such. The people are fighting for the freedom of their own countries and for their social emancipation from class exploitation as part of the struggle for a world of free and genuinely independent nations, for a world without class exploitation and without imperialism and without the colonial and world wars which arise inevitably out of this rotten system.

For the British imperialists to utter these threats now - that the Irish struggle 'creates the danger of another Cuba' etc.; and for U.S. and EEC imperialism to get involved in suppressing the Irish people, especially at this point after 800 years of heroic and just struggle against the most unbearable and unjust national enslavement, is only fuelling the determination of the working class and people in Ireland to further intensify the struggle for national and social emancipation against imperialism as a system, which means against the overt imperialism of the U.S.-led western bloc and against its partner in crime, the social imperialism of the revisionists of the Soviet bloc, and against any other imperialist power which might emerge, such as China, as well.

For the British imperialists to utter these threats now, at this stage of history, is only leading to ever-deeper crisis for British imperialism itself as well as for the whole system of imperialism in Ireland, heralding the final and complete overthrow of imperialism itself - as an entire system - exposed as it is as entirely an unjust foreign imposition, in the first place of British imperialism, but now increasingly as part of the criminal and most dangerous imposition of this system on the working class, the nations and the people of the whole world, with the two greatest enemies and the most dangerous threats in all human history heading this system, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, which have together donned the mantle of Hitler today.

#### Part four :

### THE NECESSITY FACING OUR GENERATION - REVOLUTION

These days the workers and other sections of the working people of Ireland are on the move in absolutely every sphere of life and struggle. You could not find one field in which there are not vigorous, healthy developments emerging.

The workers and people have been fighting hard, in the most adverse circumstances of the ever-deepening crisis of the economic system, especially in the depression of the '70s which has escalated at still more rapid rates in the '80s. People are fighting to defend their jobs, wages and living standards and are striving to raise their whole level of existence so that they, their families, in their homes and throughout society at large, and so that their children and the future generations can live on a level of civilisation which truly befits the dignity and reflect the culture of the nation, a nation - the Irish people - which is the proud inheritor of one of the oldest and richest civilisations and cultures in Europe.

It is not a question that this vigorous life is occurring as it were simply against the backdrop of the world crisis and its extra severe burden on countries like Ireland, which are colonies or neo-colonies under the heel of the big imperialists and at the mercy of their multinational companies and banks, or where like Ireland we have both these features at once, in the context of the nation itself divided by partition. And it is certainly not the case, as the bourgeoisie and the British imperialists make out, that the Irish people are reaping the 'benefits' of modern capitalism and foreign investment.

These vigorous developments are taking place, because the working class and the masses of the people are fighting against the crisis, against the foreign domination of Ireland by imperialism and the

multinationals which is the cause of the crisis in Ireland as throughout the world. This is a struggle against the whole system of exploitation, against the degradation of society by the parasitic imperialist bourgeoisie and their class brethren, the native monopoly bourgeoisie. And most of all this whole struggle is focussed in the remarkable mass patriotic resurgence, centred in the north, but with the sympathy and support of the nation as a whole, which is against national subjugation and the colonial and neo-colonial partition of Ireland by British imperialism.

The working class and people of Ireland have fought hard over the decades to end the grinding poverty and the constant haemorrhage of the life-blood of the Irish nation, especially the youth, in emigration. But the advances in living standards which they achieved, by comparison with former times, including the provision of greater state welfare against unemployment and on the fronts of education and health care, are under the most savage attack by the British governments in the north, in particular the vicious monetarist government of the Conservatives since 1979 headed by the notorious Margaret Thatcher, as well as the governments both of the current Fine Gael-Labour Coalition and by Fianna Fail in the south.

This proves once again that any advances which ever were made were not the product of the benevolence of imperialism and the bourgeoisie, nor of the so-called 'wealth-creating' system of monopoly capitalism.

No, they never were. Only the class struggles and the labour of the working people have won them any advance, and even this was only a fraction of the wealth they have created, left to them after the expropriation of the foreign banks and multinationals. Any improvement in social welfare and other features of the so-called 'welfare state' have only been the insurance policy, to which the British imperialists and Irish bourgeoisie themselves have been forced to accede - just as the British imperialists themselves were forced to relinquish their colonial occupation of the southern 26 Counties - in fear that otherwise their power and wealth will all be swept away in the revolution for national and social emancipation.

The struggle in the past, that is the genuine liberation struggle, goes

forward today against the very same enemies, against the same rotten system of exploitation, foreign domination and national sellout by British imperialism and the Irish bourgeoisie.

Is it the case that the vigorous renaissance in Ireland's national culture in all spheres, in our national language, Gaelic, in our music, dancing and literature are the product of the patronage of the bourgeoisie and British imperialism?

This has been the absurd claim, in the first place, of the national traitors in state power in the south, and now, with the Anglo-Irish Agreement and the cosmetic 'promises' of 'reforms' 'recognising' the Irish language and culture, this patronage is also being claimed by British imperialism.

Nothing that the Irish people have ever achieved could have ever been the benefits of such a system itself, nor could they be today.

It took armed struggle to throw the British imperialists out of the part of the country which is nominally independent today. How could it possibly be the case, as the constitutional 'nationalists' (and the British imperialists themselves!) try to make out, that anything other than armed struggle could remove them from the final 6 Counties in the north?

These days the British imperialists and the Irish bourgeoisie are on the offensive against the working class and people of Ireland, and are unmasking themselves on all fronts. The Anglo-Irish Agreement amounts to the broadest possible offensive being mounted to make the working class and people of Ireland pay for the crisis and to snuff out the revolutionary movement which has emerged against the whole system and against the cornerstone to the whole system in particular - foreign colonial occupation of the north by British imperialism. And the Anglo-Irish Agreement, as the act of the bourgeoisie also internationally, in particular the western bloc headed by U.S. imperialism, is part of the world-wide offensive of the imperialist and social imperialist bourgeoisie to whip the working class and the peoples and nations into line behind the chariots of the two superpowers in the preparation for another world war for redivision of the world market as their solution to the crisis, and to drown the world proletarian socialist revolution, i.e. all the struggles for national

and social emancipation, in the blood of a fratricidal world conflict.

The British imperialists and Irish bourgeoisie have bared their truly fascist features increasingly, and have cut back every aspect of the living standards and 'welfare state' for the working class and people, as well as the British imperialists themselves waging a savage colonial war themselves in Ireland, and having the open collaboration of the neo-colonial bourgeoisie in the south. This is because the fear of the bourgeoisie and British imperialism of the anger of the people - the only factor which made them make any concessions in the past - is increasingly being outweighed by the gravity of the crisis in their system of monopoly capitalism and imperialism, which threatens them with bankruptcy, and threatens the very existence of imperialism and the capitalist system in Ireland.

### The real aspirations of the Irish people

The authors of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, the British imperialists and the Irish bourgeoisie, are constantly preaching about how they want to facilitate the realisation of the aspirations of the people in Ireland, of 'all the people' etc.etc.. But the aspirations of Irish people are not to be 'protestants' or 'catholics', 'unionists' or 'nationalists' as they are trying to make out. This is no more true than the lie of the U.S. and British-backed South African racist and fascist regime, that the 'aspirations of the peoples of South Africa are for separate development as blacks and as whites'. The working people in Ireland, just as in all countries, aspire for a life of freedom and the prosperity which rightfully should be theirs, because all the wealth is the product of their own labour. They aspire to live in a country which is free because without the freedom of the nation, how can there be freedom for the people living in it? They aspire for a world of free nations, where there is no more the domination of one country by another, or the dominion of all the people and nations by a handful of big imperialist powers, today headed by two superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, whose whole reason for existence is their life and death competition for world monopoly and world hegemony, whose whole development lies in the direction of world war as the inevitability arising from their economic

competition (except it is averted by the revolution).

The Anglo-Irish Agreement is further proof of the absolutely implacable opposition of world imperialism, the bourgeoisie and their whole parasitic and aggressive system of monopoly capitalism to the realisation of the real aspirations of the people to a decent future for themselves, their children and for the people throughout the world, for freedom, prosperity and lasting peace.

The realisation of the real aspirations of the working people of Ireland today therefore, can only be realised in struggle against the Anglo-Irish Agreement and the whole rotten system which it is designed to prop up with its deceptions of bourgeois 'democracy' and the fraud of its 'reforms of Northern Ireland', foreign 'aid' etc.; and in struggle against the authors of this criminal scheme, who are using this to float the most vicious onslaught and pogroms in the fascist unionist 'Ulster says NO' campaign, and send in their troops and police with their plastic and lead bullets to 'keep the two sides apart', but actually to attack the Irish people's patriotic movement and snuff out national resistance.

The realisation of all the real aspirations for economic and social progress in Ireland, and for a world of free nations and lasting peace, can lie only through the revolution for the overthrow of imperialism as a system in Ireland and the world, and the elimination of the class that has spawned this rotten system, the bourgeoisie.

The question of the revolution in Ireland turns on the struggle for national liberation, since the achievement of national independence and re-unification is the essential democratic political foundation without which the Irish people are in no position to determine their own future, let alone what social system they should live under, how they can end exploitation and crisis or make their contribution to a world of lasting peace and international harmony. National liberation is the foundation for the new Ireland, opening the door to the realisation of the aspirations of the working class and people for social emancipation and the eradication of wage slavery and class exploitation, achievements which are the only basis for building a new Ireland in which the people are genuinely free.

The realisation of the genuine aspirations of the working class and

people is therefore a matter of the masses themselves rising in the national insurrection, because it is only through the mass insurrection of the nation that these savage enemies and national traitors, the British imperialists and the Irish bourgeoisie, can be defeated. It is only through the masses of the people taking the destiny of the nation into their own hands that they can win the victory, achieve state power and build the new Ireland as masters in their own country.

### **The Irish people's struggle is just - It is their own struggle and could never be imported**

Today the revolutionary movement is increasingly consolidated and stands on the brink of new, major advances to take the level of the anti-imperialist struggle still higher and bring it to final fruition in the revolution itself.

The Anglo-Irish Agreement with its massing of every force of the British bourgeoisie, the national traitors and the bourgeoisie on an international scale against the Irish people, gives the necessity for the preparation of this revolution additional urgency.

The Irish people are facing an all-sided offensive of the bourgeoisie and imperialism. It is tantamount to the securing of the future for our people that every tactic in the strategy of national subjugation and exploitation is met head on and defeated, with the perspective of militarily defeating and expelling British imperialism from the north and overthrowing imperialism itself as a system in Ireland.

The struggle of the Irish people is a just struggle for a democratic objective, for the freedom of our nation, the freedom of our land and our people in the genuine Irish Republic, in which the masses of the people will hold state power, just as the Provisional Government, led by Pearse and Connolly, outlined in the solemn and binding undertaking of the Proclamation of Poblacht na hEireann in the heroic Easter Rising of 1916, and for which the generations have fought ever since and are still fighting for this very day.

In the first place it is a struggle of the people themselves, it is not the manipulation of some 'extremists' and 'terrorists' who are out for their

own ends. For such a struggle of the masses of the people of Ireland, as is going on today, could never be the product of such manipulation. Neither can this struggle be a manipulation - as the British imperialists are trying to divisively insinuate - for some seemingly 'more progressive' or 'more revolutionary' objective, such as attempting to make the national liberation struggle a struggle for socialism as such, for a 'Socialist' or 'Workers' Republic as the immediate goal. This is only the malevolent and mischievous activity of the opportunists, social democrats and revisionists of various brands, including the Trotskyites and anarchists, who are trying to impose such a super- r r r revolutionary objective on the revolutionary and patriotic movement for their splittist objectives as the agents they are of British and world imperialism, cynically exploiting the widespread and sincere sentiments of all patriots for socialism today, especially with the inspiration of Connolly and Marxism-Leninism.

But the point is that this 'socialism' they prate about, the alleged socialism of James Connolly, this invention of 'Irish or green socialism' has in any case got absolutely nothing to do with real socialism. It has certainly got nothing to do with the socialism of James Connolly. It is simply social democracy and revisionism, the whole illusion of class collaboration of the labour aristocracy (and cultivated systematically by imperialism and the bourgeoisie today). It is the bogus illusions of 'nationalising the high points of industry, leaving private capital otherwise intact, including foreign imperialist investment and industrial ownership, but with a Yugoslav-type of limit on the proportion of foreign capital' etc.etc., i.e. the direct continuation of imperialism in a purely neo-colonial situation.

No, the Irish people's struggle is not the product of such manipulation, and it is certainly not a struggle to use the Irish people as cannon fodder to achieve the objectives of some alien foreign power or other, to achieve a base for attack against Britain or any other country.

None of these things could be further from the truth. The Irish people's struggle is a struggle simply to free Ireland and the Irish people. This is a just democratic objective in its own right, and has no need of any 'more revolutionary' justification, such as that it is to

achieve national independence purely 'in order to achieve socialism', as though there is something 'not sufficiently revolutionary enough' in fighting for national liberation itself. Neither does the Irish people's democratic struggle need some label that sounds 'really internationalist'. What could be more revolutionary and more profoundly internationalist than fighting to free Ireland and the Irish people?

The goal and aim which the masses of the Irish people have set themselves is, in any case, the only objective and principled approach to the actual situation and stage of the Irish people's struggle itself, where, of course, with the achievement of national liberation, when the Irish people are for the first time in a position to make a democratic decision, no doubt it will be a natural step for the Irish people themselves, under the leadership of the working class, to carry forward the revolution still further, and consolidate national independence itself by the establishment of socialism.

But only those who aim to frustrate the achievement of the unity of the nation for the democratic objective, the unity of the working class and people of Ireland; or those who have been (temporarily) disoriented by such opportunist and revisionist troublemakers, could be interested in imposing the objective of 'socialism' - (which in this case is only a label, without any connection with scientific socialism, with Marxism-Leninism) - on the democratic movement in this mechanical fashion and violating the unity of the nation which is essential for the revolution. Only those who are also out to frustrate the working class and Irish people achieving socialism itself, or who have been (temporarily) misled by such elements who are really anti-communists and national traitors, but masquerading as 'socialist nationalists' or 'nationalist socialists' (national socialists), could be interested in violating the unity of the nation in the struggle for the democratic objective of national independence and re-unification. For it is clear that the democratic objective is the surest guarantee of establishing the basis upon which the socialist revolution itself can unfold in Ireland. This democratic struggle has no need of being gilded with the name of 'socialism' as if thereby it becomes 'more revolutionary' and 'more internationalist', because this democratic,

national struggle of the Irish people is already a component part of the world proletarian socialist revolution, and is therefore already the basis for real fraternal, internationalist relations with the working class, the people and nations of the world, including the British working class and people, as well as contributing to a world without national antagonisms and imperialist warmongers.

The Irish people's struggle for freedom is not a struggle which has been exported to Ireland from any other country, from any so-called 'base of world terrorism', or 'world communism'. The Irish people have no need to import revolution - even if such a thing were possible, which it is not - since the basis of the revolution is here. It is the necessity which we, the Irish people have faced day in day out for centuries, to fight for our freedom. If this is happening too in other countries, it is no wonder. They are faced by the same oppression and exploitation of imperialism and social imperialism, just as we are. If Marxism-Leninism comes forward as the ideology of the working class and increasingly of the Irish people and their anti-imperialist movement as a whole, this is no wonder either. It does not come from anywhere but the character of the workers in Ireland who are an integral part of the world's working class. This is their own ideology and does not need importation. And the increasing popularity of the Marxist-Leninist ideas amongst broad strata of the people simply derives from the fact that these ideas are the truth and the working class constitute the most revolutionary class and the natural leaders of the Irish people in their democratic revolution for national liberation in this epoch, a development which is happening naturally throughout the world today.

These accusations of manipulation by outside forces, this accusation about some import-export business in revolution and subversion etc., is simply the British imperialists doing the usual trick of imperialists everywhere: crying 'stop thief' to distract the people that they are the criminals themselves. It is they who export violence and aggression to Ireland with their British Army. It is the Irish bourgeoisie who import British imperialism and its aggression to protect the system of capitalism and foreign imperialist domination on which they depend as part-payment for their sell-out of the Irish people's land, resources



and labour to British and world imperialism. It is British and U.S. imperialism and the Irish bourgeoisie who are in the import-export business in drugs and imperialist culture to wreck and waste the lives of our youth and disorient people against facing up to the realities and responsibilities of life as free people, who are out to enslave the people as mid-Atlantic degenerates aping this lumpen bourgeois life-style - the life-style of the super-rich jet-setters themselves. It is British and U.S. imperialism and the Irish bourgeoisie who are spreading their filthy foreign, cosmopolitan ideas and lying propaganda about 'the western way of life' and are trying to discredit and eliminate the culture, the national language, Gaelic, and the genuine values and traditions of our country and our ancient and cultured people. And this is the same with the opportunists, social democrats and revisionists who prate about the need for 'Irish socialism', not 'Albanian communism', who are the importers of every filthy distortion of Marxism-Leninism and the political situation in Ireland and the world from the Soviet revisionists, Chinese revisionists, or from the Trotskyite stables of British Intelligence and the C.I.A.

### **It is the right of the Irish people to choose their own social system in the new, liberated Ireland**

While the national liberation struggle of the Irish people is aimed to achieve the democratic objective, which is our right, it is equally the right of the working class and the whole nation, united around the working class, to take up the struggle for socialism in Ireland on the liberation of the country. For it is up to the Irish people to determine what type of society this should be.

They will determine, at the achievement of national liberation, to build a society, and an economic and political system, which will defend national independence as the pre-condition to all else.

What is this slander that the Irish people have no right to build socialism in the new Ireland because this will open the door to the Soviet Union?

That is the last thing that would happen. For with socialism, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, under proletarian democracy, rule of

Ireland by the Irish people and for the Irish people, the door would be closed to the re-establishment of imperialism in Ireland, and this goes for imperialism in any shape or form.

The Irish people are not fighting and making countless sacrifices in order to be put once more under the yoke of national subjugation and capitalist exploitation. The Irish people, led by the working class, would be armed to defend the country against all interference whether these imperialists come with the flags of the so-called 'Free World', (including any so-called 'United Nations peacekeeping force') or the Soviet Union's 'proletarian internationalism' (read: social imperialism and social fascism, socialist in words, but imperialist and fascist in deeds).

It would be the same as has been the case of heroic Socialist Albania, which has defeated every attempt at invasion and subversion from whatever quarter it was launched, whether from Britain and the U.S.A., or from Tito and the Yugoslav revisionist agents of the British and American imperialists; or whether from U.S. imperialism's next agents, partners in crime and then rivals, the Khrushchevite revisionists and Soviet social imperialists, or whether from U.S. imperialism's new acolyte, the Chinese Maoist revisionists.

### **The task on the agenda today**

The task of today, the preparation for the revolution, means to build, broaden and deepen the participation of the nation in the revolutionary movement to free Ireland and free her people. The mobilisation of the masses depends to a great extent on smashing the illusions and taboos cultivated to defend the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and British imperialism's colonial and neo-colonial subjugation of Ireland - the illusions and taboos of bourgeois 'democracy', the illusions and taboos of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, especially the blackmail and bogey of 'the danger of a bloody civil war' as the alleged 'inevitable consequence' of the patriotic struggle for Irish freedom.

This struggle to prepare the revolution necessitates the advance of ALL the struggles of the working class and the people - on the economic and social front, against lowering wages, mass un-

employment, dead-end prospects for the youth and the return of the scourge of mass emigration to **Make the rich pay for the crisis !** On the front of struggle in defence of all manner of democratic rights including the right of the workers, small farmers etc. to organise and defend their livelihood in trade unions, the struggle against the vicious state repression of people, in particular of the youth, on the hoax of 'combatting crime', such as the British Police Act and the parallel legislation in the southern 'Free' State, the Criminal Justice Act.

It means also to advance the just struggle for women's rights and for the complete emancipation of women, for equal pay and job opportunities, against discrimination, low pay and unemployment and all the propaganda to deny the rights of women to work, especially married women. It means to fight against the whole anti-women offensive of foreign imperialist culture of degeneration, pornography and violence against women. The mobilising of women in the general political and revolutionary movement, including the democratic struggle for national liberation, is essential to the struggle for women's emancipation, which cannot be reduced to 'women's issues' alone, but depends on the achievement of social emancipation of the working class from class exploitation. Thus the struggle for women's emancipation can only proceed in the closest possible connection with the class struggle of the working class, under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist party, as opposed to the diversion of the women's movement into capitulation to the anti-women capitalist and imperialist offensive through the diversions and sabotage of bourgeois feminism and its allies and exponents, the opportunists, social democrats and revisionists of all hues. At the same time the participation of the masses of the women is one of the basic pre-conditions for the realisation of the revolution itself. And this line is a reality of the struggle today, with participation of women in the heroic patriotic struggle as one of the most important examples. One struggle which is essential to advance in this connection is the struggle to **Stop the strip searches !**, this vicious and specially anti-women policy of the British imperialists against the patriotic movement, against the women patriots now in Maghaberry Prison since the move from the notorious Armagh gaol.

Preparation for the revolution also necessitates - as is widely grasped

and implemented, including within the prison camps - the struggle to uphold, advance and develop our native culture and our national language, Gaelic, which is the cradle of Irish culture, to **Smash the foreign imperialist, anti-national and cosmopolitan culture of degeneration !** Preparation for the revolution, in particular the struggle to **Smash the fascist, 'divide and rule' Anglo-Irish Agreement !** means to take the offensive against all the ideological and political pressure and onslaught of British imperialism, U.S. and world imperialism, Soviet social imperialism and revisionism, the whole ideology of submission to the imperialist dictate, to the blackmail bogey of 'civil war in Ireland' and to the blackmail of world nuclear war. This offensive is being waged, hand in hand with the most vicious and ruthless war of colonial occupation of the north, under the fascist 'divide and rule' Anglo-Irish Agreement to channel all political discussion and debate about the problems facing the Irish people into the logical quagmire of the 'two nations', 'two communities and two traditions'.

Thus to fight the Anglo-Irish Agreement means to fight, in the first place, the British imperialists and their foreign colonial occupation and all their fascist military and police forces and their whole oppressive colonial regime in the north. The necessity for the ideological and political struggle is to mobilise the masses of the Irish people to participate in and support this just patriotic struggle. Essential to this ideological and political offensive is the actual suppression of the promotion of the pernicious anti-Irish ideology of the Anglo-Irish Agreement. It means to organise for the Irish people to suppress the attempts to promote discussion within such anti-national, anti-scientific and a-historical terms. And it means to fight for the exposure and suppression of all the bourgeois and opportunist politicians and parties of foreign imperialism and national betrayal, social democracy and revisionism, which are upholding this whole fascist analysis to divide and set at loggerheads the ordinary people of Ireland as 'protestants' and 'catholics'. This means that the democratic and progressive forces and the masses of the working class and Irish people must take up and implement the democratic and revolutionary slogan: **Foreign imperialists, fascists and national traitors have no right to speak or to organise in Ireland !**

We must smash the anti-Irish ideology of the foreign aggressor, the British imperialists, and of the national traitors, their promotion of their own mentality of slavishness to the foreign aggressor and world imperialism and to everything foreign - that is, slavishness to everything foreign that is bad, whilst hostile to the progressive achievements of world humanity and to proletarian internationalism.

We must smash the lies and deceptions of foreign 'divide and rule' so that we - the Irish people - can for the first time talk freely ourselves and **Unite in action** to achieve our rights and our needs. We must stand up for what we are - all the children of the one nation, the Irish people - it is irrelevant what is our region, our background or any other secondary 'difference'.

At this hour of real need for the heroic people of the north, facing the fascist colonial pogroms of British colonialism, **All Ireland must unite against the renewed colonial fascist menace organised by British imperialism !** We must fight the attempts of British imperialism and the Irish bourgeoisie and all their political parties to preach that the people in the north must rely for their salvation on British imperialism and its 'law and order', and rely on the Anglo-Irish Agreement and the Intergovernmental Conference, representations by the 'Free' State government to the British government 'in protection of the rights of the nationalist minority' etc. **Self defence is the only way ! People must organise to defend themselves and their homes against pogroms being organised by British imperialism !** We must unite as one nation in the struggle for the freedom of our land and the freedom of her people and support all those engaged in this sacred struggle. We must **Support the heroic struggles of the patriotic prisoners ! Smash the system of paid perjurers and the British colonial kangaroo courts !** We must ourselves, one and all, north and south, **Support and participate in the patriotic war to throw British imperialism out of Ireland !**

The heroic struggles of the Irish people, all the heroic fighting generations of 800 years of struggle, the legions of martyrs, and today's generation of people risen once again - all this has brought Ireland to the turning point today. The British imperialists and the national traitors of the Irish monopoly bourgeoisie have launched their

offensive in the Anglo-Irish Agreement. But this, whilst a serious threat, is a measure of their desperation and their guilt in the face of their own exposure, the exposure of their weakness and failure to stem the patriotic resurgence of some 18 years duration, and the exposure of their whole rotten and illegal foreign imposition of imperialism.

In the turbulent, complex and confrontational situation today, both the national situation and the global situation, in this epoch of imperialism and world proletarian socialist revolution, there can be no room for either euphoria or pessimism, but only objective, fearless facing up to the necessity of our time - **The necessity for revolution** - to meet the needs of the people, the people of Ireland and the world, imbued with the most profound confidence in the justice and the invincibility of the people's cause, the inevitability of victory for Ireland and for the world proletarian socialist revolution.

The struggle of the Irish people is sure to win victory because it is a just struggle and it is a component part of the whole revolutionary process on the world scale. Ireland's struggle, ancient though it is, is part of the forces of the future of humanity to bury the dead hand of the oppressive past. We must throw our weight militantly behind all the struggles of the working class of all countries, including the struggles of the British proletariat who are our allies. We must support all the nations and people rising up for their own national and social emancipation against the oppression and aggression of the imperialist powers, just like us; and oppose the criminal aggression and incitement for world war of imperialism, headed by the two super-powers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. We must oppose the criminal activities of both N.A.T.O. and the Warsaw Pact, including the current attempts to whip the Irish people into the N.A.T.O. alliance. We must demand the removal of the illegal imposition of the British nuclear base at Bishops court in the occupied north, and demand the same action on the communications and early warning installations in the south and the use of 'Free' State troops to further the policy of U.S. imperialism in the name of United Nations' 'peacekeeping', in particular at this time their active role in the Lebanon in support of the criminal U.S.-backed Israeli Zionist aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese people.

But the greatest possible support which we, as a nation, can give to the working class and to all the oppressed and the nations and people of the world is to overthrow British imperialism in Ireland ourselves. Then Ireland too can stand shoulder to shoulder with Socialist Albania and with all the other people and nations as they take the path of genuine freedom and independence, the path of revolution, and uphold the foreign policy of those who are not slaves to their own greed, driven by the sordid imperatives of life or death in the capitalist market place, who are prepared to stop at nothing, even the destruction of humanity itself, to save their profits and their parasitic existence. It is the existence of such free nations, the existence of socialism, that will put imperialism and the bourgeoisie in their graves for ever, and leave mankind and all the nations free at last to develop in harmony and co-operation and socialist internationalism towards world communism and lasting world peace.

The necessity facing our generation, both as oppressed Irish people and as citizens of the world, is to bring to fruition all the sacrifices that our long-suffering nation, the Irish people, have made. The deepest will and desire of our people is to be realised by every democratic and patriotic individual of whatever personal convictions or politics, of whatever background, group, party, strata or class, both men and women, young and old, rallying to the cause of the people, regardless of any secondary differences, and uniting in the Irish people's just cause and national united front for the insurrection of the entire nation to militarily defeat and expel the foreign British colonial regime from the north of our country, crushing and rooting out for ever all forces of foreign imperialism and national betrayal and sell-out. For this people's revolution is the realisation of the dream of all the generations of Irish people - the new Ireland of genuine sovereignty and national independence, in which the masses of the people hold state power; with our ancient land and her ever-young people forever reunited, no longer aliens in their own country at last; living in peace and equality, free and armed to defend freedom; with neither ambition for nor submission to foreign conquest; a free nation amongst free nations, a free people in a world freed of all exploitation and tyranny.