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Leninist perspective (1979-1988) on the triumphant Irish national-liberation struggle

1. November 16, 1979
(Bulletin 12)

Irish premier Jack Lynch could be toppled following a series of misjudgments in how far he dare crawl before his US and British paymasters.

The capitalist class in Ireland must always pay careful regard to the spirit of national rebellion which put it in power after the Easter Rising and the war of independence against the Black and Tans at the end of World War I.

With ever-deeper political and economic crisis gripping the British-occupied north of Ireland due to the slump and inflation, and with the trade war and capitalism's international problems affecting the Republic too, nationalist feelings are easily aroused.

Only revolutionary socialism and a planned economy can offer a way out for the national aspirations of Ireland or any other country.

Neither Lynch nor his Fianna Fail Party can ever offer that, being

bourgeois to the core, but stirring up nationalist feelings against Britain, usually, and the other imperialist powers as well, has in the past kept things under control.

This has meant verbal opposition to some international capitalist alliances, particularly where British imperialism is involved, but in general has allowed the Irish ruling class to creep cosily into the Western camp and have privately good relations with the other monopoly powers including Britain.

But under pressure from this international imperialist mafia, Lynch was forced onto some thin ice after the recent Mountbatten assassination.

He agreed to some token British military overflights of the Republic's borders as a sop to wounded British self-esteem over its security helplessness against the IRA.

In reality the Thatcher government got virtually nothing out of the urgent talks in London with Lynch in

the wake of the Mountbatten debacle. Lynch even felt obliged pointedly to refuse to return to the British Isles from a trip abroad in the days immediately following the assassination, - a calculated snub widely recognised internationally.

But he also felt obliged to offer his British counterparts at least something to cover their nakedness with.

People closer to the scent of national aspirations in Irish politics, mostly in Lynch's own party, have been sniping at him ever since.

Dissatisfaction is now assuming open revolt proportions, with Charles Haughey and Sheila de Valera scarcely veiling their attacks.

Lynch added to his problems during his US trip from which he has just returned, by sucking up too close in public to UK-American interests in denouncing IRA fund-raising, popular among Irish-Americans.

To make things much worse, while he was aw-

ay his party lost two by-elections badly in Cork which is not only usually a Fianna Fail stronghold but is also Lynch's home ground.

The prime minister's sudden stumbles coincide with some generally damning evidence against the Irish capitalist state at the anti-IRA trial over the Mountbatten murder.

A prime witness who was to have identified the two IRA suspects told the court instead that his testimony had been bullied out of him by the Irish police, who threatened harm to his family if he did not cooperate.

The problems affecting British capitalism, in the north of Ireland and elsewhere, are the same problems at root affecting Irish capitalism, - the general world crisis of the system which has outlived its usefulness to mankind. The ruling class in such a twilight period, must inevitably stagger from one shambling disaster to another until it is swept away by the working class in all countries.

2. January 4, 1980
(Bulletin 18)

More proof that the British army of occupation in the north of Ireland re-

sorts to indiscriminate shooting whenever it feels the need was provided by the New Year's Day incident on the South Armagh border.

Paratroopers, allegedly out to ambush 'infiltrators' from the Republic, ended up shooting each other in the dark. Two were killed.

The implications of this latest fiasco are another open scandal.

They rank in outrage with the long series of reports, official and otherwise, which have proved systematic torture and brutality by the occupying forces and the police state run by the local Orange capitalist bigots.

It confirms all that has been suspected from a large number of previous incidents where innocent people have been shot down in cold blood by the British army.

The official explanation is always that 'an unfortunate mistake' took place due to people acting in a 'suspicious manner'.

The most notorious recent case was when a youth who had informed the authorities about an arms cache he had found in a churchyard, went back there to see what was happening only to be shot dead in broad daylight by waiting British troops.

Now the trigger-happy professional killers have mown each other down.

It proves that the soldiers could not care less what they shoot at when on ambushes or night patrol.

It confirms the fascist mentality that inevitably develops among such an army of occupation.

The troops quickly learn to hate all the Irish, without exception.

The general hostility to them by the majority of the nationalist-minded or class conscious Irish on justified political grounds, is quickly turned into a racial issue by the brutalised and simple military mind.

The 'Micks' are seen as responsible for the discomfort, danger, fear, and loathing which grip the troops when their turn for another three-month tour of duty in the occupied zone comes round again.

If the paras were in such a frame of mind to blast anything, even each other, that moved on this New Year's night, what would have been the fate of any innocent Irish civilians who might have been in the vicinity?

Clearly they would have been shot down without a moment's hesitation or thought, and cynically added

to the ever-growing list of 'accidental shootings due to mistaken identity'.

The authorities may now try to patch up some 'inquiry' or other, possibly taking the line that on New Year's Eve, some of the soldiers had taken a little more to drink than normally permitted when they go out on night patrol.

But such excuses evade the real question: What are the British military doing occupying a country where they are hated, not wanted, and getting nowhere in their attempts to terrorise the natives into submission.

The answer is they are propping up a bankrupt social, political and economic system, capitalism, whose ruling class is so deep in crisis that it must resort to armed dictatorship in at least that corner of the British Isles to maintain its power.

It tried the same tactics all over Ireland in an earlier economic crisis this century, - the period of the 1914-1918 war and the Dublin Easter Rising.

In the subsequent war of national liberation, the IRA could not be defeated despite all the brutality of the Black and Tans.

The Irish were cheated from full victory in that war by the trick of partition.

But with the return of the capitalist system to incurable slump and inflationary crisis, even that religious gimmick is collapsing.

It is capitalism that is bankrupt, whether protestant or catholic. Irish national aspirations can no longer be satisfied by it, in Dublin or in Belfast.

All workers now have only one future - the socialist revolution.

3. December 4, 1980 (Bulletin 66)

The Irish republican hunger strikers' 'fast unto death', - the seven men in Long Kesh concentration camp now being joined by three women held in Armagh gaol, - has helped spark off the biggest demonstrations ever seen against continued British rule of the occupied north of Ireland.

Despite the constant threat of rightwing terror reprisals from the sick fascist minds of the 'loyalist' fanatics or the professional killers of the British army's secret counter-revolutionary arm, the SAS, - nearly 50,000 republicans marched through

Belfast at the weekend, out of a population in the city of little more than four times that. (It is the equivalent, in terms of the population of London, for example, of a street demonstration by no less than 2 million workers down Oxford Street).

Despite all the frenetic propaganda lies of the British military dictatorship and the collaborationist bourgeoisie in the north of Ireland (and many in the South, too), the republican movement is just the opposite of 'dying', and 'losing support fast'.

On the contrary, the IRA, - in the absence of a revolutionary socialist alternative, - is currently carrying more of the nationalist and socialist aspirations of the Irish masses than ever before.

In spite of its incorrect terrorist methods against non-military targets, the IRA's legitimate fight against British army occupation and the local Orange order capitalist dictatorship is winning enough support among the republican masses to make its long-promised 'wiping out' by the military, the RUC, and the loyalist gangsters an impossible task.

So just as in Egypt, Cyprus, Aden, and other colonies before it, the Irish struggle for independence, however brutally repressed, is proving impossible to defeat.

The military occupation can kick down as many doors in the early hours of the morning as it likes, murder as many innocent people as it likes, falsely convict them at drumhead courts and detain them by the thousand in concentration camps, but the Irish national liberation struggle will go on.

The endless propaganda lies about the British occupation, the torture and the other barbaric illegalities of the decaying imperialist regime, the lopsided attempts to prop up the bankrupt capitalist economy, - all of this is marking the terminal crisis of the British ruling class rather than the 'eliminating' of the IRA.

The new surge in the mass movement of resistance, signalled by the hunger strikers and their huge support marches in every part of Ireland, brings the fresh intrigues and 'initiatives' of the new Tory Government to a complete halt.

It could mark the beginning of the end of British domination of Ireland for all time.

For the huge march in Dublin a few days ago in support of the same hunger strikers shows that the economic, social and political developments which are bring-

ing to a head the revolt against British rule in the north, are just as inimical to the rule of the 'Green Tories' - the British ruling class's loyal henchmen - in the South.

Increasingly, because of the capitalist world crisis, the appeal of the movement for Irish self-determination has to be towards a socialist solution.

The reactionary Catholic/capitalist ideology of the IRA has come under increasing pressure over the years from the movement's spontaneous, embryonic revolutionary socialist tendencies.

The heroic message of the Long Kesh hunger strikers, smuggled out to the Guardian newspaper, shows the same signs.

Written on a 2-inch square scrap of tissue paper, the declaration calls on the "conscientious people of England...to divert the Government from its present ignoble course."

Referring to the campaign by the blanket-men for political prisoner status, the statement says:

"The vanity of a bankrupt Tory Government dictates that rather than lose face on the H-Block issue, the seven H-Block hunger strikers must die.

"Of course, vanity is but one of the reasons that the Government refuses to grant political status to us. It is now generally accepted that the H-Block conflict is a manifestation of the overall conflict in Ireland. Furthermore, it is apparent that the Government is reluctant to antagonise Loyalist Ulster, preferring and preparing to follow the traditional path of putting down the nationalist population.

"The paradox of the entire issue is that the stability of continued British rule in Ireland rotates around the Government's assertion that we are criminals. The struggle for Irish sovereignty and self-determination in which we were willing participants, cannot ever be considered as criminal."

The message concludes:

"Our appeal is the appeal of the condemned. But condemned as we are, our condemnation is because we value freedom, justice and truth. We know that the working class people of England have the same values, and we pray that they defend them."

It follows the moving brief interview Granada TV were allowed to film with Ray McCartney, one of the young men hunger-striking to death in Long Kesh, and clearly affected by the occasion and the already five-week-long ordeal. In his one-question interview, he

managed to say:

"The whole system in northern Ireland, the special arrest system, the special court system, has proved to us beyond any shadow of doubt that we are not criminals.

"We are products of the political troubles in northern Ireland. We are prepared to go through with this, and prepared to die to prove that we are special prisoners."

Blowing hard to hide his fear and confusion, the twirpish Tory Minister of State for the north of Ireland, Michael Allison, told the same programme, concerning the IRA: "I think they are on the run."

A spokesman for the truculent 'loyalist' paramilitary (fascist) bands, also whistling in the dark, declared: "If the hunger strikes lead to a breakdown of law and order, the Protestant para-military organisations will have to go into the Republican areas and take out their leadership. Eliminate them. This is war."

A war the British ruling class and its fascist agents will lose.

4. December 11, 1980 (Bulletin 67)

The British ruling class is coming under overwhelming international fire to do something to end the festering sore of its military occupation of the north of Ireland.

In the recent debate in the American Congress, little publicised in Britain for obvious reasons, speaker after speaker - solid bourgeois from left, right and centre of the US ruling class - rose to denounce Britain's involvement and the catastrophic muddle over relinquishing its last colony.

This was only the culmination of years of growing disquiet among the imperialist NATO allies, - as their international position worsened because of growing economic crisis, - that the heroic Irish national liberation struggle against the brutal savagery and torture of the ultra-right police-military regime in the occupied north of Ireland was an embarrassment they could no longer afford.

In a deteriorating international situation for capitalism, where their only hope for avoiding the gathering momentum of the world socialist revolution was the propaganda smokescreen over phony provoked 'troubles' in Afghanistan, Poland, and elsewhere in the non-capitalist countries, the daily horrors of guerrilla war and

British military repression with Britain's continued occupation of the north of Ireland is a crippling liability.

Assassination of leading Republican activists by the secret SAS army murder squads, the extraction of false 'confessions' under torture at the hands of the fascist-minded RUC and army 'interrogators', the 'conviction' of Republicans at the fraudulent no-jury drumhead 'courts', and their incarceration in Long Kesh concentration camp - and all in the name of British capitalist ruling class domination over a slump-ridden colony with more than 16% unemployment, - all of this was a million times worse than even the wildest anti-Soviet propaganda lies the CIA could spread about what was supposed to be happening in the Afghan revolution to wipe out backward tribalism, feudalism, banditry, drug addiction, and religious stupor.

The approaching martyrdom at about Christmas time through death by starvation of the hunger strikers in Long Kesh concentration camp was a prospect which the hard-pressed manipulators of imperialism's worldwide anti-communist crusade could not cope with.

The British ruling class has been told to do something about the disastrous advertisement for the 'democratic' capitalist system that the continuing tragedy of the occupied north of Ireland represents.

Hence the hush-hush Thatcher, Carrington, Howe and Atkins talks with Haughey and the Green Tories in Dublin.

It was an unprecedentedly powerful delegation to send on a 'routine' meeting on Anglo-Irish affairs. The presence of the Foreign Secretary, the Chancellor, the north of Ireland political supremo Atkins, and the Prime Minister all at once shows how difficult and crucial were the matters in hand.

The total refusal by Thatcher in Parliament subsequently to say a single word about what went on in Dublin proves how serious the situation is.

All talk of the new 'initiatives' that the Tories routinely tried like all new governments before them, - in fact just a surface tinkering with the issues without any real intention to change anything, - all such bromide waffle has been dropped.

The rumours now are of genuine measures to try to get the British ruling class off the hook.

That is the reason for the

real alarm among the 'loyalist' bigots who run the north.

There is even talk of a rival hunger-strike by UDA fascist thugs, also gaoled in Long Kesh, to whip up again the reactionary 'colonial settler' spirit of the original Scottish and English colonisation of Ulster to declare 'No Surrender' again, this time to their Westminster protectors, probably going all the way to UDI, a unilateral declaration of independence on the Ian Smith lines in Rhodesia, - - and doomed to just as certain a failure. How quickly would depend on how greatly the imperialist NATO powers wanted to present 'clean hands', - free of the stain (of sanctions-busting) which tainted them throughout the inevitable slow death of the Smith regime.

5. December 18, 1980 (Bulletin 68)

The rightness or wrongness of the Irish national liberation struggle is the only criterion by which to judge the horrific hunger-strike-to-death by the heroic young Republicans in the custody of the British police-military occupation of the north of Ireland.

There can be no doubt of the justice of the 700-year long war of independence by Ireland against British domination.

Particularly graphic is the case for ending the criminal partition of Ireland 59 years ago by the hated military repression of the notorious British Black and Tans.

The Irish Republican Army which had won independence for great sections of Ireland from British military occupation was split by the savagery of the Black and Tan repression and by the treacherous diplomacy of British imperialism and Irish class compromisers.

The principles of the heroic Easter Rebellion of 1916 of James Connolly were betrayed and the great moment for full Irish national liberation lost.

Sections of the IRA fought on against the British and the newly-established Irish Free State.

But power remained in the hands of the ruling class, aided and abetted by the Green Tories now established in Dublin. Partition succeeded in frustrating Irish national ambitions and halting any advance towards an all-Ireland socialist republic.

The British justification for partition was a total fraud.

The 'loyalist' minority in the north east corner of Ireland were basically the cap-

ital and land-owning English and Scottish colonisers forcibly implanted in Ulster, - Ireland's most rebellious province against England, - in the 17th century. The Protestant religious rites of the local British establishment has maintained an artificial unity with every British settler in Ireland since that time, - based on blatant privilege.

The outrageous gerrymandering of the 'constitutional' occupation of the north of Ireland (so-called Northern Ireland), to give the 'Protestant' capitalist class the constant unchallenged ascendancy, has continued ever since that provocative and doomed partition.

The post-war generations' refusal to tolerate that perpetual injustice and permanent obstacle to the satisfaction of legitimate Irish national aspirations led eventually, with the return of capitalist economic crisis conditions first being felt at the end of the 1960s, to the revival of the IRA.

Neither Irish unity, nor the IRA's programme, can in themselves satisfy Irish national aspirations. Only the world socialist revolution can ever make that possible, - for Ireland or any other country.

But there is no way in which any changes short of the socialist revolution in Ireland will be able to end the struggle for full Irish national liberation and the dismantling of partition.

Therefore the IRA's armed rebellion against British police-military occupation is totally justified, regardless of the incorrect tactics of anti-civilian terrorism pursued occasionally in Ireland and Britain.

In which case the slow death by hunger strike is entirely on the hands of the British ruling class.

It amounts to nothing less than the murder by the most horrific method imaginable of heroic young Irish patriots by the capitalist system.

Although largely forced to quit its former empire, modern British imperialism has not changed its spots one bit. And the barbaric slow torture to death by starvation of the Irish hunger strikers is as vicious a piece of savagery as any villainy in British imperialist history.

Defence of British imperialist interests and injustices to its oldest colony - Ireland - have gone on just as unremittingly under past Labour governments as under Tory administrations.

It was under the 1964-70 Wilson government that the open military occupation of the north of Ireland was fully resumed.

Internment in Long Kesh

concentration camp without trial; the drumhead no-jury Diplock courts based on perjured evidence and enforced confessions; and the systematic torture, deliberate and illegal assassinations of Republican suspects, and all the other brutalities exposed by the Bennett report and proven at the European Court of Human Rights - all this and more has taken place under Labour just as under the Conservatives.

And much of it has continued under 'left' ministers at the north of Ireland department like Stanley Orme, - and under cabinets in which other 'lefts' like Wedgwood Benn have been leading figures.

The brutal truth about the imperialist reasons for hanging onto the occupied north of Ireland by hook or by crook has just been published in government papers under the 30-year confidentiality rule.

Cabinet Paper CAB 128/32 proves that the question of the 'wishes' of the Orange bigots, the British ruling class's stooges who run the occupied north, have never been the real reason for British imperialism hanging on.

Written after the 1948 Dublin government proclamation of the Free State as a Republic outside the Commonwealth, it declares:

"Now that Eire will shortly cease to owe any allegiance to the Crown, it has become a matter of first-class strategic importance to this country that the North should continue to form part of His Majesty's dominion.

"So far as can be foreseen, it will never be to Great Britain's advantage that Northern Ireland should become part of a territory outside His Majesty's jurisdiction. Indeed, it seems unlikely that Great Britain would ever be able to agree to this even if the people of Northern Ireland desired it."

This arrogant domineering pompous defence of British imperialist interest was drawn up under a Labour Cabinet. And not just any old Labour Government but the most famous one of all, the 1945-1950 Attlee government which enjoyed the biggest and most stable majority of any Labour government in history and was sensationally elected in a postwar landslide to enact socialism into Britain, - the very regime which the 'left' smokescreen of Wedgwood Benn says he would like to return the working class to.

They shocked the establishment by singing the Red Flag in Parliament on being elected. And then proceeded to impose some of the most scandalous imperialist dik-

tats in history - like the edict on Ireland; like the brutal suppression of the Greek Revolution; like the brutal suppression of the Malayan Revolution; and dozens more barbaric betrayals besides, plus the Cold War.

In getting away with this kind of Imperialist domination, selling out Labour's 'socialist' election promises was then simple. So it will always be. "No nation which oppresses another can itself be free".

All the time British imperialist repression of part of Ireland continues, workers cannot hope to build a sufficiently strong movement in Britain to end ruling class domination.

Unity between all workers in Britain and Ireland for the socialist revolution is the way forward. But meanwhile, only those who are conscious or unconscious agents of British imperialist domination of Britain and Ireland will decline to express solidarity with the Irish nationalist hunger strikers.

6. January 1, 1981
(Bulletin 69)

The Tory climb-down over the conditions for Irish Republican prisoners-of-war in the Long Kesh concentration camp suggests that even more dramatic developments are under way.

The reactions from Ian Paisley and Enoch Powell, leading Rule Britannia reactionaries for the continued British domination of Ireland, makes this even more likely.

They and the rest of the bigoted Orange Order for 'Protestant supremacy' (continued British capitalist rule) are grumbling about a major sell-out and hinting at unleashing the near-fascist 'loyalist' gangs onto the streets of Ulster.

'Paisley said he was "very seriously alarmed" about what had taken place on the hunger strike and that his worst fears on the Dublin summit had been confirmed. (Guardian).

'He said that he was still considering urging people in Northern Ireland to take to the streets because, he said, "there must be some form of protest if these studies are to go ahead" (the joint Irish-British studies on the 'totality' of relations in the British Isles agreed to by Thatcher and Haughey).

'Paisley repeated his claim that the communique issued after this month's Dublin summit was an "election manifesto" for the Irish Prime Minister, Charles Haughey.'

Describing his showdown with Thatcher in Downing

Street after the summit, Paisley said: "She didn't like it, one little bit. She said she was bitterly wounded. I said I was bitterly wounded, and so were the people of Northern Ireland".

The climb-down by the British ruling class over the persecution of the IRA prisoners was cleverly fudged

just like most of the retreats forced on imperialism by the still-swelling post-war tide of revolutionary national-liberation struggle.

Ever-mindful of the key relationship British imperialism's strength has to the continued successful domination of the working class at home, the bourgeoisie's main concern is to do last-minute deals to avoid the final deterioration into all-out revolutionary struggle against imperialist (capitalist) rule, and to win some piddling concessions for the notions of 'compromise' and 'democratic change' out of the terminal haggling.

In this way, the hope is to blunt the revolutionary cutting edge of any new regime being handed over to (both for the local and international effect such a blunting might have); and at the same time to avoid giving the impression that the British ruling class is totally bankrupt politically and economically and that it and its 'democratic capitalist' traditions are being booted out unceremoniously on their clapped-out ear.

All that holds the British capitalist ruling class together now is the mind-rotting effects on millions of workers of so-called British liberal democratic traditions, - parliament, free press, etc.

This idealist nonsense, - which accepts things at face value rather than analysing them from the point of view of which materialist class interest do they serve, - is greatly influenced by such hard-to-grasp and hard-to-define matters as the confidence the ruling class has in itself and the confidence it can deceive workers into believing it possesses.

The last thing the British capitalist class needs at the moment, facing its worst-ever economic and political crisis in history, is to be seen to be humiliated at the hands of a small group of nationalist guerrillas with a weakness for self-damaging terrorism.

But the enormous political movement that was developing in Ireland and internationally over the hunger strikers has succeeded in doing just that.

The corrupt British capitalist press can lie all it

likes about an 'IRA climb-down' but even if all the arguments about exactly what new conditions were conceded were resolved in favour of the Tory Government's supposed 'hard line', then the international sympathy aroused by the hunger strike would still have made it a resounding IRA victory, which the heroic sacrifice of the hunger strikers fully deserved.

But on the conditions themselves, there can be no doubt, as Paisley said, that by the very fact of the special discussions and the 32-page Atkins document delivered to each hunger-striker by the Government, then 'special status' has already been accorded in the eyes of the public.

The details of the settlement themselves only confirm this impression.

The IRA blanket-men never in fact asked for any declaration of 'political prisoner status' as such, the point the Tories made such a fuss over stressing that they had refused to concede.

Their demands were always concrete: - *the right to wear their own clothes and not convict's uniform; *no penal work (sewing mail bags, etc); *organising their own studies and recreation; *association within the prison with other Republican prisoners; *restoration of full rights to remission of sentences.

These five demands were by-and-large met by the 32-page Atkins document, which cleverly had not been widely publicised when first issued on December 4 but lodged in the House of Commons library instead under cover of a non-committal parliamentary reply to a government-planted routine question. This document was subsequently surreptitiously circulated until its full import finally became realised. By then the Government could claim that the hunger strikers were climbing down in response to a 'long-standing' list of concessions available to them and not because of any new concessions.

The Atkins document said: "Clothing provided by their families will be given to any prisoners giving up their protest so that they can wear it during recreation, association, and visits. As soon as possible all prisoners will be issued with civilian-type clothing for wear during the working day... Denim prison uniform becomes a thing of the past.

"They will also immediately become entitled every month to eight letters, four parcels and four visits.

"Prisoners who end their protest will be able to associate within each wing of

the prison blocks in the evening and at weekends....

"We want to work out for every prisoner the kinds of available activity which we think suit him best - work (including of course the work of servicing the prison itself), vocational training, and educational training....

"Provision already exists for lost remission to be restored after subsequent good behaviour. We shall immediately start reviewing each case individually."

In other words, all five Republican demands are met.

Some of the trickery of the Tory Government was also revealed in British capitalist press reconstructions of the events leading up to the end of the hunger strike.....

"Neither the Government nor the Republicans will say who presented the documents to the men. But it is believed that throughout the day a prison chaplain Father Thomas Toner was in attendance... It has also been suggested that some form of private assurances were given to the men in conjunction with the documents and that a guarantor for those assurances was also provided. If this is true, it is assumed that Father Toner and the hierarchy of the Catholic Church were again involved."

It remains to be seen if the British ruling class can hold together sufficiently to complete a final orderly retreat from Ireland.

The last such half-hearted attempt - the Home Rule moves in the 1911-1914 capitalist crisis which led to World War I and the Easter Rebellion of 1916 - was met by the most blatant mutiny by half the ruling class against the measures of the minority Asquith Liberal government.

This included astonishing calls by Tory leader Bonar Law and King George V that British army officers should not fight against the illegal Ulster Volunteer Force revolt organised by Sir Edward (later Lord) Carson and other big capitalist landowners in Ireland. The big British army base at the Curragh declared open mutiny in refusing to implement the Home Rule Bill. It was never implemented.

But that was a British ruling class of an entirely different epoch, one that still had all the ruthless confidence behind it of dominating the biggest empire in history.

Today, that ruling class is a moth-eaten decrepit relic of its former self. Any attempt by Paisley, Powell and Tyrrie to forcibly prevent a final withdrawal from the remaining occupied sector of

Ireland is likely to be a farcical shadow of that former defiance. And the demise of the British capitalist class itself at the hands of its own workers will not be far behind this last retreat from empire.

7. January 8, 1981
(Bulletin 70)

The unusual visit of Chan cello How to the occupied north of Ireland this week was for the sole purpose of giving a veiled but public launch to some of the ideas agreed at the recent secretive summit in Dublin between Thatcher and Haughey (see last issue).

It was no accident that Howe's speech urging closer economic, social and political links between the north of Ireland and the Republic coincided with a Tory Government announcement that it is deliberately axeing another 2,000 public sector jobs in Ulster.

Unemployment is already nearing 20 per cent in the province and part of the secret Dublin deal to wind up the 'British connection' is rumoured to be by forcing the north into the arms of the Republic by ending the costly British subsidy to the occupied zone, thus escalating their economic difficulties even more dramatically.

Howe's message could not have been clearer. He went all that way just to make one speech - at a lunch at the Stormont parliament buildings.

In the course of it, he said: "Economically, the close links and the interdependence between the two countries, and between North and South are obvious. Willy-nilly we are close together. It is in the interests of both that we should come closer, that we should reverse the tendency in past years to drift apart."

According to Private Eye, these loose all-Irish federation plans are to be got past the fanatical Orange-supremacy Ulster ruling class by on the one hand dressing it up as part of a wider closer cooperation between Great Britain and the Republic under pretext of a regional grouping within the Common Market. And on the other by allowing the Orange-

8. January 15, 1981
(Bulletin 71)

The Bulletin's suspicion that agents provocateurs may have been behind the recent bombing spate to divert attention from the ruling class retreat over Ireland proved unfounded.

But the deliberate confusion-mongering by the capitalist press over what deals have been struck to extricate British imperialism from its longest (700 years) and most criminally bloody colonial debacle is real enough.

While the parade of past

dominated Stormont to re-open as a provincial local parliament with virtually full sway over local affairs.

The broader all-British Isles alliance is referred to, for reasons of national Irish sensitivity as "Isles of the North Atlantic" and the Green Tories in Dublin are said to be willing to go along with it in return for the prestige, as they see it, of re-uniting Ireland again as a part of the broader loose alliance.

Some of Howe's words would seem to be not inconsistent with such a deal, if it is indeed to be tried.

"We need regular bilateral meetings with our partners in the European communities - and especially with our closest neighbour - on a range of matters of mutual interest....

"Of course there is more to the unique relationship between the two countries than is encompassed by economic cooperation. The joint studies are to look at citizenship and security matters, and at the possibility of new institutional structures - giving formality to the many contacts between various representatives of the two countries."

Whether the Irish Republican movement will swallow this fairly transparent anti-communist NATO stunt - "Broader security alliance within the Common Market" which will keep the whole of Ireland tied firmly to the imperialist crisis and thus further frustrate Irish national aspirations, while the specific Republican civil rights campaign in the north gets sold out, - remains to be seen.

There is an enormous distance between politicians plans in Dublin or London and how the class and national struggle works out on the ground, as the undermining by the local Orange mafia of the Tory concessions to end the Long Kesh hunger strike and blanket protest shows.

But whatever happens, all these plans and rumours will eventually be completely eclipsed by the capitalist crisis itself which will force the Irish working class to take the only road which can finally satisfy Irish national aspirations - a workers state ruling a united socialist Ireland.

British atrocities in Ireland continued in the two historical television series (ITV and BBC Monday and Tuesday - they should not be missed), the political futility of the last 12 years of that 700 years of brutal suppression is being covered up for all it is worth.

What the Tory ruling class fears is that too many far-reaching conclusions might be drawn by workers in Great Britain about the bourgeoisie's fitness to rule if the disastrous failure of their current policies on Ireland is too blatantly pointed out.

But what a devastating cat-

astrophe the modern policy on the military occupation of the north of Ireland has been.

After thousands more lives have been lost; after further enormous destruction and disruption of livelihoods; after being properly put in the dock internationally for its inhuman torture of suspects, its barbaric SAS assassination squads, and its NAZI-style internment-without-trial in concentration camps, and its midnight terror raids on Irish homes throughout the occupied zone; - after all this senseless mayhem, the ruling class is getting ready to pull out anyway, ig-



Belfast
- British oppression

ominously defeated in its final rotten attempt to hang onto a corner of Ireland at least, - by hook or by crook.

The ruling class is most sensitive of all to it being thought that its mighty police-military dictatorship has been forced out by a handful of IRA guerrillas, especially considering that the IRA is so politically handicapped by its insane policy of anti-civilian terror bombing.

But the facts are that the Republican movement's heroic struggle against the police-military dictatorship, - the enormous suffering and sacrifice that the IRA and the nationalist working class have withstood, and the fanatically courageous fight by the Republican military wing against overwhelmingly superior odds of the British occupation, - all this has won the sympathy of the international working class.

It has forced even the bourgeoisie in countries like the USA, the British ruling class's closest ally and support, to condemn the continued military occupation.

So the Guardian's very long sour grapes editorial this week beginning "The Provisional IRA now has very little going for it" was written because the remarkable turnaround now in sight in British policy on Ireland has touched on the rawest of raw nerves of the ruling class, particularly the IRA's part in forcing that turnaround.

The one thing the bourgeoisie cannot stand, having staked its survival on the illusions and tricks of "parliamentary democracy" and the "rule of law" which it has hypocritically built up over the centuries of unchallenged imperialist domination, is the example of a relatively small group of dedicated revolutionary nationalists openly "defying" the Crown's "law and order" and winning mass support for that independent stand, undermining British capitalist rule.

The British bourgeoisie fear that as things start to get rougher in Great Britain due to the slump, and workers begin to realise that the "parliamentary democracy" fraud is doing nothing (about their suffering, permanent mass unemployment, and falling living standards) but act as a bromide to divert anger from revolutionary channels, - similar moves for political mobilisation independent of the ruling class will begin in Britain.

But the degeneration of British capitalism proceeds rapidly and becomes more and more obvious whatever rotten propaganda smokescreens it puts up to hide its political catastrophes in Ireland, Rhodesia, and elsewhere, and

whatever lying humbug it spreads through the press, parliament, and its millions of reformist agents throughout the Labour and trade union movement about "preserving democracy".

The capitalist system is not about democracy but about power, the power of the ruling class to dominate the economic life of the country and as much of the outside world as it could through imperialism and colonialism, and to extract super-profits to enable it to live the life of a ruling class - dominating landowning, industry, the professions, politics, the civil service, the police-military hierarchy, the judiciary, press, television and publishing, and the academic world.

That domination is now crumbling because the capitalist system is bankrupt. It can no longer develop the economic resources sufficiently successfully (due to its repeated slumps and wars) to satisfy mankind's legitimately expanding aspirations

The failure and historical out-datedness of the system cannot be hidden by any amount of television propaganda - or any amount of brutal military suppression, as the 20th century history of Ireland has shown, the century of British imperialist decline.

Now the British ruling class is falling apart as its system crumbles beneath it.

Enoch Powell, the essence of Tory reaction, has now specifically denounced the concession by the Thatcher Government of political prisoner status to the IRA detainees and denounced the capitulation to the hunger strikers regardless of the press propaganda pretending this has not happened.

"The continuing concession of just that treatment (political prisoner status) to between 300 and 400 prisoner in Northern Ireland is unjustified and unacceptable," Powell declared. "It is an affront which cannot be defended".

But Powell has also denounced his fellow reactionary Ian Paisley as a greater threat to the Union than the Foreign Office and the IRA rolled into one.

The rats are falling out as they prepare to desert the sinking ship of British imperialist domination of Ireland.

9. January 29, 1981 (Bulletin 73)

The unprecedented Orange snub to a Tory Government in London by refusing to allow the Cabinet's political overlord for the province, Humphrey Atkins, to attend the funeral of local ruling class bigwig Sir Norman Stronge,

puts a new cloud over London's calamitous Ireland policy.

And Ian Paisley's continued probings about exactly what concessions have been made to the hunger-striking IRA prisoners in the Long Kesh concentration camp also threaten trouble.

The gestures and hints (the Dublin summit, the concessions to the hunger strikers, etc) of acceptance at last by the British ruling class that its remaining toe-hold on Ireland, - its military occupation of the north, - can no longer be maintained (a development already reported by the Bulletin), still fall far short of an agreement to actually get out, as we explained.

The Tories want to end the infamous history of London's 700-year attempt to dominate Ireland by quietly slipping away so that no one will notice, - and certainly without giving the impression of a complete humiliation and reversal of policy due to having its Orange police-military dictatorship undermined by a handful of IRA guerrillas, backed by the entire Republican working class.

The bigoted Protestant bourgeoisie look like making any such quiet withdrawal impossible for the Tories.

The Stronge family's refusal to let the Westminster government be represented at the ritual tribal funeral of the former Stormont speaker, gunned down by the IRA together with his equally-prominent son in a major assault by the IRA in retaliation for the uncontrolled murders of leading Republicans (Bernadette Devlin the latest attempted victim) by the capitalist state and its tolerated Protestant assassination squads, - was obviously the consensus of the whole northern Ireland ruling class.

It marks an unheard-of low in relations between the Tory ruling class in Britain and their "Ulster Unionist" imitators in the north of Ireland.

The Curragh Mutiny and Carson's 1911-1914 rebellion is generally thought of as the gravest-ever crisis in relations between Westminster and the "loyalist" capitalist class in Ireland.

But that was against the Liberal Party. The dominating sector of the British ruling class around the Tory Party openly sided with the Orange rebellion against London in that period. The infamous partition of Ireland in 1921 was the result.

But now it is the Tory Party, the voice of the ruling class establishment, itself which is preparing to abandon the province finally to Irish national liberation.

For this rift to have already degenerated to the point where the Tories are being virtually boycotted for their 'failure to protect Loyalist Ulster' implies that strong feelings of UDI - unilateral declaration of independence - are rife again.

It implies that the Tories' reluctant acceptance, under US imperialist pressure, that the spectacle of permanent armed rebellion against British military occupation in the north of Ireland was fatally tarnishing the West's "freedom and democracy" image, could finally force Britain to get out, as the Bulletin has explained.

The rift gives more credibility, therefore, to the understanding that deals were discussed at the recent Dublin summit for an elaborate cover-up of a British withdrawal from northern Ireland.

Paisley's continual prodding at the settlement with the Maze hunger-strikers and blanket-protest men gives the same impression.

He knows that a sell-out is being cooked up. He is probing away, - in this latest incident about the civilian clothing issue for prisoners, - to expose as quickly as possible a clearer and fuller picture of the London capitulation so as to mobilise more rapidly the fight against it.

He has just challenged Atkins on whether the issue of civilian clothing for use during leisure periods represented a privilege available only to conforming prisoners.

He also asked whether the doing of prison work and the wearing of prison-issue clothes were regarded as prerequisites to describing an inmate as conforming with prison regulations.

Paisley is all the time trying to force Atkins to admit that the Republican prisoners of war are in fact treated as a special category of prisoner instead of as common criminals, as the current Westminster policy demands.

The reversal back to political status, conceded so as to end the pre-Christmas hunger strike, is being hindered all the way by local Orange truculence in the prison service and by Tory nervousness at a major political embarrassment as represented by the continual challenges of Paisley and Powell to 'stop the sell-out of Ulster'.

The proof of how much capitalist state villainy is perpetrated under the insulting humbug about 'preserving law and order at all costs' has never been better demonstrated than in the ITV Irish history series 'The Troubles'.

Every time some particularly outrageous arbitrary violence, intimidation or unjust-

Use was imposed on the Republican working class by the B Specials, the RUC, the army, or the Orange fascist gangs, there always was the face of 'authority' (O'Neill, Chichester-Clark, Faulkner, Maudling, Callaghan, an army or police chief) droning on about "one thing is paramount: law and order must be preserved".

As the filmed evidence of the start of the present period of Troubles clearly showed, it was always the absence of any law and order worthy of respect (brutal assaults on Catholic areas by B Specials or other fascist gangs; blatantly one-sided harassment by the army in its house-to-house wrecking operations "searching for arms"; intolerable provocations of gerrymandering in local democracy, housing allocations, etc) that sparked off the unrest in the first place.

And despite the enforced acceptance by the British ruling class of plans to get out of Ireland at last (see above), the faroe of 'law and order' must be preserved to the last, even when it is the blatantly-biased 'Diplook courts' where a ruling class judge holds sole sway and trial by jury is abolished.

On the mere say-so of a convicted crook and army informer, an IRA man Martin Meehan is doing a 13-year sentence for allegedly heading a kidnapping of this informer despite the fact that another man told the court that he had been the driver of the Red Cortina involved.

The court accepted that this man had indeed been in possession of just such a Red Cortina at the time in question.

But the trial judge/jury said of this witness: "I have not the slightest doubt from where he sat and the way in which he conducted himself that he was very much a partisan witness and that he and Bridget McLaughlin (Meehan's wife) are on terms which certainly indicate that he was not an independent witness."

Dismissing the appeal, the Lord Chief Justice acknowledged however that the judge in the case had no way of knowing who the woman he referred to in fact was since Meehan's wife had not given evidence, nor been identified in court and was in no way part of the case.

Clever, these judges.

10. March 12, 1981
(Bulletin 79)

The Tories are being pushed to extraordinary lengths to try to carry out their attempted retreat from the military occupation of the north of Ireland without conceding

victory to the IRA and without causing an Orange bigots' revolt.

Thatcher herself visited the occupied zone suddenly last week to try to placate the ultra-right bourgeoisie around Paisley.

This followed an unsuccessful attempt earlier by Chancellor Howe to talk the Belfast ruling class out of declaring UDI.

If the British establishment were not planning to finally wind up the disastrous relics of British capitalism's 600-year long military domination of Ireland, then why the special visits to try to placate Paisley?

If the recent Dublin agreement with the Irish Republic to end British occupation (but conceal that fact under cover of the new IONA (Islands of the North Atlantic) loose confederation within the Common Market and NATO) is NOT a reality, then why not let Paisley and the rest of the sick protestant nationalist fringe blather on?

A full-scale rebellion is not going to slowly build-up and reach the full maturity of civil war just on the basis of a total misunderstanding.

The Carson rebellion of 1912 (at that time SUPPORTED by the Tory wing of the British ruling class) was only mounted to stop Westminster giving self-rule to the whole of Ireland, the very real plans of the Liberal Government (for tactical reasons of imperialist retreat).

It is precisely because the Tory ruling class are THEMSELVES now at last planning just such a tactical imperialist retreat that Paisley is up in arms and the Thatcherites are trying to talk him out of it.

If there was no intention of getting Ulster off its hands by a deal with Dublin, then what would be the point of the continuous pained reassurances to Paisley and the rest. Just let the master-race loonies see after a time that nothing is happening (if there really are no such pull-out plans), and the trouble will die down of its own accord.

What makes the Tories intentions hard to comprehend, - and what could force their abandonment (apart from Paisley), - is the ruling class's obsessive fear that they must not be seen to be 'giving in to violence', i.e. withdrawing under IRA pressure.

This was also the curious final message of the long television series on Irish history which ended this week with a studio discussion.

The series on BBC and ITV were clearly inspired by the British capitalist establishment after years of a total ban on televising such sensitive material, which clearly brought out the great injustice and brutality of Britain's long

domination of Ireland.

They could only have been given the go-ahead for the de-liberate purpose of conditioning British public opinion for the ignominious British military pull-out after recent years and previous centuries of vicious and ultimately futile repression and destruction.

But the safe petty bourgeois gang of journalists, politicians and academic historians gathered in the studio were by no means let completely off the capitalist establishment leash.

They had one last essential service to perform, - and that was to drum it into viewers heads that 'violence' is the real cause of all the intractable problems and the one impossible obstacle to a final solution of the Irish troubles.

The violence of the IRA, naturally. Not the violence of British rule which first CONQUERED Ireland and has hung on since by sword, bullet, and gallows. Not the violence of the gerrymandering Orange bourgeois cliques which tyrannously ruled the remaining occupied north of Ireland after British imperialism was forced to relinquish control of three-quarters of Ireland after the Rising and the bloody War of Independence against the Black and Tans, 1916-1921

Even the anti-partition Catholic nationalist John Hume, the sop to 'Irish opinion' on the programme, could not please his parliamentary circus-mates quick enough by declaring "violence is no solution" and condemning the IRA as much as anybody.

This fraudulent petty bourgeois conspiracy of journalists, politicians, and academics is not just aimed against IRA tactics and the class purpose of IRA violence (both of which Marxist revolutionaries also depart from).

It was aimed against the very notion of class violence as a solution to class oppression.

It was a message to the working class of Britain: "Violence is bad. It will never solve anything. Don't think that any British pull-out from the remaining military occupation of Ireland has got anything to do with the violent resistance of the IRA."

To the extent that IRA violence reflects a class war determination by Irish workers and intelligentsia to fight against British ruling class domination, (or that of its Protestant Orange petty bourgeois proxies), then it is precisely the IRA's violence which has finally forced Britain's hand.

The background to this is, of course, the steadily weakening world position of Brit-

ish imperialism and its growing economic and political crisis, - just as that was the background to the partial retreat from Irish domination in 1921.

But no dying ruling class has ever voluntarily let go its hold on power. The history of the world is the history of new emerging forces pushing the dying ruling class out of the way; it is the history of class struggle.

And that struggle has NEVER been peaceful. It has always been climaxed by a violent overthrow of the old order.

Unlike anarchists and nationalist-terrorists however, revolutionary Marxists do not make violence the starting point of the struggle.

Exactly the opposite. Only the revolutionary working class has the power to finally and completely end imperialist oppression and bring about real independence and national self-determination. And that is through the socialist revolution which alone, when completed at the higher stage of communism, can eradicate any basis for class or national oppression arising out of the unequal economic development of the world.

But the working class becomes revolutionary not through military or insurrectionary organisation, as necessary as that may ultimately be, (due to ruling class police-military dictatorship and civil war), but through POLITICAL organisation. And in many cases, even under autocratic tyranny let alone bourgeois democracy, terrorism can be an obstacle to revolutionary political organisation.

Many of the IRA's terrorist tactics have been just such an obstacle, confirming and cementing the IRA's bourgeois nationalist limitations.

But the IRA's purely military national-liberation struggle against the British police-military dictatorship has been all too painfully successful from a Tory ruling class point of view, from the beginning of this century to the present day, and it has now forced yet another retreat.

The petty tyranny of the gerrymandered Orange rule of Ulster would have gone on for ever if the Republicans had not grown rebellious by the end of the 1960s. And if the British army had met no resistance from the IRA and the entire Republican working class in the occupied north, that same petty tyranny would have eventually been installed back in power there.

The totally justified violent class revolt by the Irish Republicans in the north over the last 15 years now ensures that it won't be.

Despite some IRA political willingness to compromise, and despite all the sabotage

by the local Orange Order struggle to the prisoners status dispute, etc, the decaying British ruling class will be forced out.

11. April 2, 1981
(Bulletin 82)

The attempt by the British ruling class to slyly walk away unnoticed from its Ulster mess is still going badly.

Despite all Thatcher's finger-wagging, the Green Tory ministers in Dublin just will not keep their mouths shut over the prospect (opened up for them by the London concession) of appearing to be the authors of the final re-unification of Ireland.

Thatcher keeps insisting, to keep Ian Paisley quiet, that there will be no sell-out of the Loyalist domination of occupied northern Ireland.

But the truth is that London has finally realised that artificially hanging on to the northern counties is more trouble than it is worth.

It has been gravely damaging for the whole imperialist camp for a leading NATO and Western Alliance member to have concentration camps; interment without trial; drumhead no-jury courts; convictions by anonymous verbal evidence; 'legal' SAS killer death squads murdering Irish Republican suspects without even any pretence of a trial; midnight raids into Republican working class areas wrecking homes and terrorising the inhabitants at will; the beatings up and the proven torture (before the European Court of human rights, and admitted in the British Government's own Bennett report); the cold-blooded shooting down of innocent people like the Bloody Sunday massacre of the inhabitants of the Creggan Heights estate in Derry by the Paratroop Brigade; and endless other bloodshed and violence; committed by the British police-military dictatorship in the occupied zone.

At the same time, it has become a crippling financial liability for the bankrupt British capitalist economy.

The decision finally to pull out of Ireland has, of course, nothing to do with the Irish Tory jackanapes currently crowing in Dublin. It has everything to do with the heroic struggle by the Republican working class in the occupied zone who have refused to be cowed by the British/Orange bigot police-state terror and have defended the IRA men all the way.

But the Fleet Street and Whitehall propaganda lie-machine is keeping up its deceit and confusion-mongering right to the bitter end so that no one should get the idea that the militant str-

uggle by the Republican working class has really achieved the great victory of forcing an end to the British occupation of Ireland and the bigoted Protestant Orange capitalist domination of the north.

To discourage the IRA, the British lie machine is deliberately playing up and falsifying the scope of Paisley's 'Carson rebellion' re-run in which the middle class bigots hope to repeat the scandalous Tory-Ulster Unionist treason of 1912 when the lawful passing of Home Rule for Ireland at Westminster was met by a military revolt encouraged openly by the Tory section of the British ruling class.

Paisley drew a relatively derisory 10,000 only to his final rally on the 'Carson trail' at Stormont outside Belfast.

But the BBC television eagerly reported this as a huge 30,000 demonstration.

Even at 30,000, this would not have been nearly as large as the majority Protestant groupings would have liked. (The minority Republican population rallied more than 50,000 in Belfast during the first recent mass hunger strike in the H-blocks at Long Kesh concentration camp.)

But the reality was only 10,000, no basis at all for the devastating kind of armed rebellion against London that Paisley was promising, to repeat the 1912 Curragh mutiny and the 100,000 armed men Carson controlled.

The British and 'loyalist' interests face another humiliating setback in the forthcoming by-election to Westminster in the Fermanagh-South Tyrone constituency which has a Republican majority.

The nationalist candidate is leader of the current hunger strike in Long Kesh Bobby Sands, the senior IRA officer in the camp.

If he wins the seat, he will of course be debarred from taking it, thus giving the Republican cause another enormous international propaganda victory to the enormous embarrassment of the entire imperialist camp, particularly the USA with its powerful Irish lobby.

The cowardly British ruling class may soon be forced to speed up its current leisuredly plans (to get out of Ulster without betraying the infamous and illegal long-standing guarantee to the Orange capitalist bigots that they can rule on and remain part of Britain under the Crown's protection for as long as they like.)

The eventual plans to wear out or buy out the Orange capitalist ascendancy via some British Isles Federation stunt, including all-Ireland

sub-groupings, may have to be replaced by direct action to curb the fascist-minded Orange ruling circles, and give the Republican working class in the north a direct say in their victory, instead of excluding them as per the original plans hatched up at the notorious Dublin summit in December.

12. April 16, 1981
(Bulletin 84)

The British capitalist state's attempts to prevent IRA man Bobby Sands winning the Fermanagh by-election to the Westminster parliamentary seat did not stop at the brutal murder of census enumerator Joanna Mathers, a young mother.

Having staged the assassination to look like an IRA killing to appall the voters (the IRA had been advocating non-return of census forms as a way of protest), the capitalist state police in Belfast then put out an unsubstantiated statement that the murder bullet matched those used by the IRA in admitted knee-capping operations.

Without recovering the actual murder weapon (of which there was no mention) it is virtually impossible to match spent bullets to each other for lack of a perfect intact specimen fired under laboratory conditions.

Then on polling day itself, the capitalist state army announced the 'discovery' of a monster 300lb bomb allegedly planted in the constituency 'by the IRA to disrupt the election'.

The British ruling class's black propaganda department obviously makes up for its viciousness what it lacks in intelligence.

Why the IRA, who were about to win a historic propaganda triumph over the occupying British capitalist regime by deliberately entering an election contest in order to gain the widest possible voting support, would want to disrupt the election remained an unexplained British ruling class secret.

When all of this nonsense and savagery failed to stop the Irish Republican masses voting for Sands in rejection of the continued British occupation of their country, the police-military dictatorship had one more trick up its sleeve - the army vote.

Incredibly, the very occupying soldiers, against whose presence the whole history of Irish nationalist struggle and Sands's specific election campaign had been directed, were allowed a vote in the election, - on production of a certificate of employment.

Not surprisingly, members of the Ulster Defence Regiment, part of the British capitalist state forces, who do not even live in Fermanagh and South Tyrone, were seen to be not just voting but voting often during the polls.

At one polling booth in Coalisland, five soldiers from the UDR were seen to have voted on production of just one employment certificate between them, - and that a photostat copy.

These same British occupying soldiers were then the guardians and transporters of the very ballot boxes into which they had been casting their anti-IRA votes. 'Security work' suddenly took on an added clear meaning.

But perhaps the most nauseating aspect of the whole degenerate capitalist outrage was the unprecedented last-minute intervention by the Labour Party's spokesman in Parliament on Irish affairs, Don Concannon, to use Question Time in the House of Commons to urge the Fermanagh electorate not to vote for Sands.

It would be "a vote of approval for the perpetrators of the La Mon massacre (where many innocent people died after an IRA warning failed to clear the building), the Warrenpoint explosions (where 18 soldiers from the Paratroop Regiment which carried out the Bloody Sunday massacre in Derry, died in an IRA ambush), the murder of Lord Mountbatten, and all the other senseless murders".

Thus do the loyal Labourites, bought with the proceeds of empire in the first place, serve the ruling class by propping up one of British capitalism's most vicious stunts, - parliamentary democracy, and doing double somersaults to try to keep an IRA man out who would treat parliament with the contempt it deserves.

The Labourite spokesman Concannon's last-ditch service to imperialism may get him to a Garden Party or two, or even a Life Peerage one day, but it did not stop the Fermanagh Republican working class giving the British capitalist state the worst propaganda humiliation in years.

"No one in Ireland supports the IRA gunmen" Thatcher and others before her have been droning for years. Well now they know different.

And even that shoddy justification of parliamentary imperialism that says: 'At least opponents of the system are allowed to stand, campaign, and take their seats against it' can not be trotted out this time. Sands was forbidden to campaign; he cannot take his seat, being in a con-

contraction camp; and he could not in reality take it anyway since to enter Parliament requires taking an oath of loyalty to the Queen. And there might be even some Labourites who would find that a bit strong.

Nor have the Labourites and the rest of the stinking Parliamentary circus the guts to expel Sands.

Instead they hope to be able to just let him die quietly from his hunger strike for political prisoner status, - and get rid of their embarrassing problem that way.

The cowardly scum have another think coming. The Sands election is bound to explode into the greatest international humiliation yet for British imperialism and its hired parliamentary cretins.

13. May 7, 1981
(Bulletin 87)

Thatcher and the Tory ruling class will get nothing but justified contempt from the entire world for inflicting the gruesomely painful and needless death from starvation on Bobby Sands.

Because it is clearer now than ever before that the cruelly unjust continued British military occupation of north Ireland cannot go on much longer.

For having seen the insanely vicious lengths to which British ruling class arrogance and stubbornness will go to avoid 'loss of face', a furore of hostile world opinion will greet the next approaching hunger strike death, - and the next, - and the next.

At the same time, the total revolt by the Republican working class in the north will intensify, giving the British police-military dictatorship more and more difficulties and embarrassment.

Sooner or later, Whitehall's nerve will crack, and the damage that hanging on to Britain's last colonial outpost is causing will be viewed as greater than the strategic, or political 'face-saving' advantages to be gained from not being seen to be forced out.

In general, the British establishment has accepted that the last vestiges of the 700-year direct domination of Ireland must be ended.

But the very conditions of decline and decay of the British ruling class, inseparable from the overthrow of imperialism, make peacefully and sensibly giving up the empire impossible.

Loss of confidence, paralysis, conservative unwillingness to accept the inevitable, etc, have all

marked the collapse of the British Empire, forcing the most notable struggles for national liberation such as Malaya, India, Egypt, Cyprus, Kenya, Gold Coast, Aden, Oman, Zimbabwe, etc, to become bloody battles with much needless suffering and loss of life, and with the eventual leaders of independence invariably imprisoned by the British (or their stooges),-as with Nehru, Kenyatta, Makarios, Nkrumah, Mugabe, etc,-before the British were forced to give in.

Ireland itself provides the most startling and inhuman examples of this barbaric process.

Independence was finally conceded to the southern 26 counties in 1921 only after the most savage war of repression by the British Black and Tans special paramilitary police, who murdered thousands of Republicans and burnt down whole towns and villages in their crazed reprisals against the national liberation struggle.

The army and political authorities also carried out their share of executions, incarcerations and general bloody military reprisals.

In similar circumstances to Bobby Sands's needlessly wasted life, the British imposed a death through hunger strike in 1920 on Terence McSwiney, Mayor of Cork, just prior to being forced to get out of 26 counties.

The arrogant ruling class propaganda was just the same then. "No surrender to violence", etc, when in fact it was the British domination, just as now, which was imposing the violence on Ireland.

McSwiney's death was followed, just as Sands's will be, by an enormous upsurge in the Republican struggle and in worldwide hostility to Britain's vicious dictatorship. Within months, British imperialism had been forced out of most of Ireland.

But just to screw up the Irish and to retain a foothold, the capitalist ruling class held on to the north-east corner of Ireland, blatantly gerrymandering county boundaries to provide the maximum possible territory with a 'loyalist' majority.

That territory has been gerrymandered ever since, with the Republican Irish kept as second class citizens. It could not last, and despite the enormous odds against them, the Irish Republican minority has out-fought and outmanoeuvred the British dictatorship.

Soon the whole of Ireland will at last gain its independence.

The idea that the 'loyalist' organisations will over

the next 60 years stage a guerrilla war similar to the IRA's is a pernicious myth.

Their 'nationalism' is not nationalism at all but the remnants of imperialist jingoism which for the vast majority of 'protestant' workers has had its day. There are no longer the perks and privileges of empire which made following the Union Jack such an advantageous and lucrative business before.

The petty bourgeoisie who run the Ulster statelet are the ones who stand to lose most from state control there passing to Dublin, and some few sections of them of course will cause a fuss and even try armed provocations.

But it will get nowhere. Just as the promised white reaction to the black takeover in Rhodesia has got nowhere. Because there is no mass support for the dying order. Just as there will be no mass support in the north of Ireland for the dying British colonial order.

The chauvinistic British press and television have to the last kept up their amazing deceitful attacks on the IRA, pretending that British army killings represent 'law and order' but IRA actions are merely 'criminal murder and subversion'.

But the reality is clear to the whole world: a war of national liberation is going on in the north of Ireland, with casualties on both sides. Sands's hunger strike was saying: Admit it, and treat us as political prisoners of war, as we are.

But the British bourgeoisie, especially the jumped-up TV interviewers, just won't admit it. For they know that to admit that is to admit defeat. By pretending that Sands was merely engaged in armed crime, they can pretend that no war of national liberation is taking place in the north of Ireland.

But the rest of the world knows different.

And soon the British will be forced to admit the reality, and to get out.

The Tory bourgeoisie has as usual the Labourites as companions in its latest piece of imperialist infamy, just as it has had throughout the whole history of empire.

Merlyn Rees was on hand to boast that it was he as Labour's north of Ireland supremo who introduced the 'criminalisation' measure in 1976 which declared that the Irish national liberation struggle was no longer a political war, but 'armed crime'.

It was against this nonsense, designed to break the spirit of the hundreds of young Irish Republicans

interned in the Long Kesh concentration camp, that Bobby Sands sacrificed his life in the most heroically suffering way possible.

The present Labour spokesman on the occupied north of Ireland, Don Concannon, earned his lackey's notoriety by his remark in the Commons on the eve of the recent Fermanagh by-election that a vote for Sands and Irish independence would be a 'vote for murder'.

Leader Michael Foot followed these reptiles with his hypocritical comment on Sands's death: "Matters in northern Ireland should be settled democratically and not at the point of a gun".

Just one single Labour MP out of nearly 300 had the guts to speak up and denounce the cruel inhumanity of British domination of Ireland, Pat Duffy.

But even his intervention was marked by addled-brained reformism, condemning Thatcher for her hard and unfeeling intransigence but also for the "colossal and criminal incompetence of conservative governments of all kinds in their dealings in Ireland."

Duffy should have been specific and named all past Labour governments as being as guilty of Tory ruling class viciousness and dictatorship towards Ireland as any other capitalist regime in London.

And where has the great hero of the Labour 'left' and 'socialist self-determination for the people', Wedgwood Benn, been throughout Bobby Sands's ordeal?

Busily looking the other way.

Tens of thousands of people in countries all round the world which have little contact with Ireland, have taken part in remarkable protest demonstrations against Sands's death.

But in Britain, all the entire Labour Party can do, despite intimately knowing the full history of British capitalism's savage treacherous trampling on Ireland's justified struggle for full national independence, is mouth humbugging lies about "violence", which in fact in one word sums up the record of British meddling in Ireland, but is used by the two-faced Labourites to denigrate the Irish national liberation struggle.

The wretched Labour Party is even now deep in a conspiracy by all the bourgeois parties in parliament to prevent any new by-election in Fermanagh, thus showing their real contempt for the 'democracy' which Foot pretends is all-important.

The Labourites don't give a damn about the electorate of Fermanagh or about the

by-election requirements of their parliamentary game when it comes to defending the interests of the British capitalist state.

They will help the Tories try to bury illegally the question of a new by-election in Fermanagh to prevent any new IRA hunger striker standing in Sands's place - and winning again, to the further embarrassment of 'British democracy', - i.e. British capitalist domination.

The stunts Foot and company are helping Thatcher to dream up are to criminally prevent any writ being moved in the Commons for a new by-election until the bourgeois crooks have had time to fiddle the regulations again to prevent an IRA prisoner, like Sands, from running.

What a sordid little bunch of rats the Labour Party are.

What, for instance, have these great defenders of doing things the "democratic" way done about the ruthless slaughter in Derry just a week ago of two youths Gary English, 19, and Jimmy Brown, 18, by the British army?

Nothing at all. The Parliamentary cretins have deliberately turned a blind eye to the whole sordid affair.

But plenty of eye-witnesses including a BBC reporter Paul Clements, testify they saw two army landrovers deliberately drive into a crowd of protesting youths at 50 mph with no hope or intention of stopping.

Clements "saw a few people hurled into the air by the force of the impact," the vehicles "having made no apparent effort to stop".

Morris McCusker said "the speed they were going scared the life out of me. As they passed me, swinging from side to side, I thought I could see five soldiers in each. When I looked back, I saw the first landrover hit a boy, and then another was thrown up in the air. The landrovers stopped quickly. Then they quickly reversed. The second vehicle backed over the lad who was lying on the road. Then both cars backed rapidly up the hill."

Charlie Gallagher said: "I just couldn't believe what I saw. One lad was running fast down the road and I could see the jeep drive on to him. It hit him in the back. His face contorted with pain. He pitched forward. The jeep ran over him. I opened the front door and rushed out. I saw this lad - I now know his name is Gary English - lying limp on the road, face upwards, his hands and legs spread out.

"Then I looked to the right and saw another lad lying just near the lamp post on this side of the street. He had

his head resting on the pavement and was bleeding from the mouth. The jeeps were reversing. One ran over the first lad. Then the other one stopped near him. I saw a soldier hop out and grab the boy by the belt and haul him into the jeep. Then they backed up the hill."

The arrogant Tory Government spokesman David Mitchell, MP, said cynically: "There are a lot of road accidents in Ulster".

And there are a lot of slavish dogs defending the British capitalist state in Parliament, as many on the Labour side as on the Tory benches. For not a single Labour MP has yet spoken up for the murdered youths Jimmy Brown and Gary English.

14. May 14, 1981
(Bulletin 88)

The break forced in the bourgeoisie's notorious 'bi-partisan' parliamentary conspiracy over Ireland marks the beginning of the end for the British ruling class's military domination.

Tuesday's 'troops out' call from Wedgwood Benn reflects the growing irresistible pressure from world opinion for Britain to wind up the criminal and artificial partition of Ireland.

It signals the astonishing victory of the Republican working class and the IRA in the north over the vicious police statelet put into the hands of the bigoted Orange bourgeoisie in 1921 and maintained ever since by the most outrageous gerrymandering, discrimination, and judicial violence.

The heroic struggle of the IRA hunger strikers has been the culminating point in a long, long campaign of sacrifice and suffering by the Irish people for their complete national liberation.

Bobby Sands and now Francis Hughes have been made to die by the British ruling class in the latest round of troubles, along with many more wounded or killed daily by the British police-state terror.

And many more may yet be made to die, for the struggle is far from over.

But the clear determination of the IRA and the Republican working class to fight to the death to break the artificial British capitalist statelet, and the overwhelming international support it is getting, has finally undermined class collaboration in Britain to subjugate Ireland.

Benn's sheepish: "I do not believe there is any future in a policy which hinges on a pledge that leaves British troops in northern Ireland and prevents the Irish people

from coming together and finding a solution themselves" reflects at long last an acceptance by growing numbers of British workers that the bloody nonsense of the Ulster statelet and the 'pledge to the loyalists' cannot go on.

Proposing the temporary entry of a United Nations peace-keeping force to replace the British troops which were "a major part of the problem", Benn said that the partition of Ireland was "a crime against the Irish people." He believed that Britain should set as a clear objective of British policy that the Irish people of both north and south should solve their own problems without violence.

Although not spelled out, it clearly means the obvious solution to the festering sore of Britain's Irish statelet which could have been applied at any time during the last 60 years of the problem (which should not have been begun in 1921 in the first place): namely instructions from Westminster to reunite Ireland under the Dublin republican government, with strict orders to the Orange bourgeoisie to hand over power, pull in their horns, or face the consequences.

But as with the deposed white ruling class in Rhodesia, there would hardly be any consequences.

Irish nationalism inevitably has all of the Irish masses on its side. Imperialist 'loyalism' had support from 'protestant' workers in the epoch when the empire was rich and powerful, and the perks and privileges from following the Union Jack were considerable.

But that period is dead and gone. None but a handful of backward-minded fascists would fight behind Paisley for more than a month, there being no future now to empire loyalism.

The 10% of the people of Ireland who do not wish to live under the Irish Republic can either put up with it and quickly get used to it, retain their British citizenship and social rights, or get out.

This simple solution would have been applied much earlier but for the residues of imperialist chauvinism in the British Labour Party which in its periods in office has administered the colonial empire far more viciously than even the Tory ruling class which created it.

This imperialist class collaboration, fronted by the Parliamentary facade of 'bi-partisanship on foreign policy', has lasted longest on Ireland because of the patent fraud about 'British citizens there who want to live under the British flag'.

This chauvinistic nonsense

could have been artificially arranged to carve out little pieces of every single colony that Britain has ever been forced to get out of, particularly India, Rhodesia, Kenya, and Zambia.

It was done in Ireland because of the strategic concern of British imperialism at having an unguarded island rear in Europe.

But it is the anti-imperialist nationalist aspirations of Ireland that have to prevail eventually. The growing acceptance by workers in Britain that the Ulster statelet must go, and the limited reflection of this in Benn, can only increase, to the point where a British government in the near future - under Thatcher, or Foot, or Benn, whatever it requires, - will be forced to get out.

15. May 21, 1981
(Bulletin 89)

Thatcher's attempt to jeer at the IRA for 'cold-blooded cynicism' in regarding the hunger strikers as 'more valuable dead than alive' will bounce back badly on her.

The values and methods of nationalist liberation struggles are not necessarily shared by revolutionary socialists.

But to doubt the heroic suffering and self-sacrificing dedication to their cause of the Irish nationalists seems particularly stupid, and asking for more trouble.

It is no mere coincidence that the IRA statement (following their immediately going out and blowing up the armoured Saracen) pointedly declared that British politicians really "do not give a damn" for the loss of the five soldiers' lives.

It was a direct reply to Thatcher's sneer at the heroism of the hunger strikers, and carried far more weight.

What is the purpose of Thatcher's sneering at the bravery of all the Irish nationalists, leaders and led?

To challenge the IRA and the INLA to wage even more devastating and self-sacrificing guerrilla war against the British police-military dictatorship to prove her wrong?

What more blatantly cynical playing with the lives of soldiers dying in the war could there be?

The five who died in the Saracen at Altnaveigh are the responsibility of Thatcher and the British ruling class, just as all the other 600 who have so far been killed on the British side.

Even more pointedly, the IRA statement asked the British forces: "How many times have you been told the IRA has been defeated? You are fighting a war you cannot win."

In the era of dying imperialist, that has been true of every single colonial war against national liberation struggles that the British have ever fought, and there have been scores of them, - all disastrous defeats.

And every time, the ruling class politicians have always imposed a police-military dictatorship (just as in the north of Ireland now); declared 'no surrender to violence' hypocritically after deliberately escalating the violence themselves; repeatedly told the harrassed troops that they were defeating the enemy; and then after the losses in maimed and dead soldiers and lost prestige became too great to bear, handed over power to the very 'violent enemy' who had earlier been declared totally unacceptable.

What more cold-blooded, cynical manipulation of dead soldiers' lives could there be than that.?

The whole shoddy, shallow purpose of retreating British imperialist politics has been to pretend that what they were facing was not a national war of liberation, to which there was no answer, but just a few criminals and armed trouble makers who could quickly be sorted out.

That contemptuous dismissal of subject peoples has proved wrong every time - in India, Malaya, Gold Coast, Kenya, Aden, Cyprus, Zimbabwe, Oman, etc, etc.

It is now proving wrong in Ireland despite the unprecedented British capitalist propaganda campaign over the last 12 years to convince British workers that all Irishmen are too stupid, lazy, and dirty to wage a successful guerrilla war to defeat the British army.

But the nationalists struggle has survived everything the British police-military dictatorship could do to it, including systematic torture and forced confessions (see the British Bennett Report and the European Human Rights Court condemnations); concentration camps (internment without trial); drumhead court-martials (Diplock no-jury courts); mass night-time terror raids into Republican areas on 'arms searches'; SAS death squads assassinating prominent IRA suspects without even the semblance of a trial; unofficial death squads operated by the bigoted Orange imperialist gangs with the full knowledge of the British authorities; etc.

The entire British campaign, begun by the Labour Government in 1976, to end political status for the Republican prisoners is in fact the same old imperialist attempt to deny that a national liberation war is taking place and to pretend that the whole

imperialist problem is caused purely by a few criminals and armed troublemakers.

Bobby Sands's recent by-election triumph, winning the Westminster parliamentary seat of Fermanagh, provided the conclusive refutation of that nonsense, if it had not already been disproved by the unbreakable support the Republican working masses give to the IRA making the British Army's attempts to defeat it futile.

For reasons of pathetic prestige and sheer degenerate imperialist paralysis, Thatcher and the British ruling class seem determined to keep their heads in the sand and ignore the obvious, refusing to make concessions to the triumphant nationalist struggle in the north and trying to get out of their mess through some diplomatic stitch up with the Green Tories in Dublin to downgrade the status of the 'Northern Ireland' British capitalist statelet under cover of some broader 'Islands of the North Atlantic' (IONA) alliance - within NATO and the EEC.

This acceptance by the British ruling class, however reluctant, that it must get out of Ireland; plus the break-up of the bi-partisan conspiracy in Parliament to always agree on how best to trick and damage Irish national interests; plus the growing international pressure on Britain that has led to the bi-partisan break-up; plus the unyielding determination of the Irish nationalists to fight on to the death; - all of this makes British colonialism's defeat in the occupied north of Ireland inevitable.

Immediately after Wedgwood Benn's cracking under pressure of public opinion to at last say something against the continued slaughter and futility of British imperialist policy on Ireland, the opportunist Labourite renegade David Owen for the SDP at once proposed a slightly different way for Britain to extract itself from the Ulster morass, but amounting to the same message: Pull out.

Then Merlyn Rees for the anti-Bennite wing of the Labour Party straightaway followed suit, declaring that the guarantee to the colonial Orange bourgeoisie in Ulster, that they can always remain part of Britain, must be ended.

The capitalist press editorial writers on Fleet Street have been reeling under the strain of collapsing British policy, composing gibberish as they try to adjust to the approaching humiliating defeat for British capitalism without admitting that is what is happening.

Thatcher herself felt her

thick skin creep when leading US Democrats telegraphed her to "end this tragic and unnecessary crisis", replying apologetically and at great length, - a vastly different response to her snotty refusal to listen to Irish politicians, saying stupidly that the fate of 'British subjects' was not their business.

Only the booby Foot and the leadership of the Labour Party remain the shambling moribund touts of unadulterated British chauvinism, spouting 'no political status' as their bourgeois world collapses about them.

Local fascist-Orange truculence continues in Ulster with the Long Kesh concentration camp officials trying to manipulate the dying hunger striker Raymond McCreech for some anti-IRA propaganda, pretending he had asked to come off his fast-to-death, basing this wretched stunt on McCreech's incoherence in his dying comatose condition. McCreech's family vehemently repudiated this intrusion, demanding that some prison officials be removed from their jobs.

But not all the jingoistic colonialist gangsters in the occupied zone are as aggressively cocky. Boss of the biggest pro-imperialist group the UDA, Andy Tyrrie, astonishingly called on Thatcher to give in to the hunger strikers' political status demands.

"There are special courts, and special legislation, so why can't there be special prisoners," he declared.

These reactionaries are alarmed at the hardening of nationalist support for the IRA on both sides of the border. They fear that if the national liberation struggle is oppressed in the wrong way, it could lead to such a conflagration that the Protestant petty bourgeoisie in the north could lose everything.

"It's nice to be tough," Tyrrie told Thatcher. "But it would be better to be tough about other issues than this," he added, presumably referring to the Orangemen's wish to preserve their perks and privileges in occupied Ireland.

But the growing splits with



Bobby Sands

the British Tories are a disaster for the continuation of colonialist rule in north Ireland, produced by the resounding defeat of British imperialist policies at the hands of the Irish nationalists.

16. May 28, 1981
(Bulletin 90)

The exposure of social democracy goes on relentlessly.

Another cretinous parliamentarian to be told to get out of the way of the working class's real fight was Gerry Fitt, ousted after preaching 'peaceful coexistence' with Orange capitalist reaction for 24 years on Belfast City Council.

The local elections in the occupied zone of Ireland also gave some remarkable victories to leftwing candidates supporting an open guerrilla war struggle to bring down the British police-military dictatorship.

The election results continued the astonishing precedent of the triumph of Bobby Sands in the Fermanagh by-election to the Westminster seat.

The Long Kesh concentration camp hunger striker's victory shattered the British ruling class establishment's myth - begun by Labour and carried on by the Tories - that the armed fight for national liberation and Ireland's reunification was not supported by the mass of Republican workers.

It also destroyed the vicious propaganda campaign by the British occupation forces that the Republican guerrillas were merely armed criminals.

Following Sands's overwhelming support from the Republican Irish nationalists, an enormous international campaign has built up against British imperialism's paralysed intransigence over its last remaining colony.

The capitalist press and television in Britain tried to conceal the strongly pro-national liberation struggle outcome among the Irish voters by highlighting the success of Paisley among the 'loyalist' bourgeoisie (who run, and get the perks from, the British capitalist statelet) and their fascist hangers-on.

But even this hardly-surprising result was grossly over-exaggerated. Paisley's gang, although it got more votes than in the last local elections in 1977, actually got less votes than in the European elections in 1979, the last ones held in the occupied zone.

This is consistent with the very half-hearted support the fascist elements

gave to Paisley on his recent attempt to revive the 'Carson trail'. As the Bulletin explained, British imperialism is now a dying ideology, nothing like the powerful political and economic influence it was in 1911. Its last few 'loyalist' fanatics are a comic-opera joke compared to the vicious British ruling class thugs who forced the partition of Ireland in the first place and started off the tragic history of 'Northern Ireland'. Their remnants can still do damage. But their 'loyalist cause' is a hopelessly lost one.

Meanwhile the massive turnouts of over 20,000 for the funeral of Patsy O'Hara in Derry City, and another 20,000 for the funeral of Raymond McCreech in South Armagh, the third and fourth hunger strikers to sacrifice their lives for the national liberation struggle, confirm the election results' indication that the tide of opinion among the Republican Irish is still swinging strongly in favour of an all-out confrontation with the British authorities.

The dirty tactics of the Orange bigots running the death-bed hospital in the Long Kesh concentration camp in pretending they had a tape-recording of McCreech as he was dying asking to come off his hunger strike, has only inflamed nationalist opinion further.

Still further pressure may be piled up against British imperialism's continued stupid stubbornness if Welsh Nationalist MP Dafydd Thomas goes ahead with his threat to move the writ for a further by-election in Fermanagh following hunger-striker MP Bobby Sands's death.

The crooked conspirators in the Westminster Parliament, Tory and Labour, had cooked up a scheme whereby they would delay a new by-election until they had had time to bend the rules to prevent another IRA hunger-striker standing in Sands's place.

And the greatest arm-twisting pressure being put on Thomas not to move the writ has come not from the Tory ruling class but from their loyal Labour lieutenants who have helped British capitalism run its empire for the

Below: Patsy O'Hara - died after 61 days



past 80 years.

The press reported that Thomas made his statement "after intense pressure from the Labour Party leadership to dissuade him from getting involved in Northern Ireland politics."

These social democracy scum will disappear along with the overthrow of British imperialism.

17. June 4, 1981
(Bulletin 91)

In an unusual move at Whitehall's request, the full text was put out of Thatcher's speech on her flying visit to Ulster at the end of last week.

The pretence of continued support for the British colony and defiance of the national liberation struggle was maintained on the surface.

But between the lines, the clear wish to get out and be rid of the endless insoluble crisis could be discerned.

The ruling class establishment remains determined that the IRA's guerrilla war shall not be seen to have won anything. They want no precedent being set in modern Britain of a successful armed revolutionary struggle being carried out. Hence the continued extreme sensitiveness on how British capitalism's defeat is being reported to the working class. Hence the continued blatant and brutal censorship such as the banning at the last minute of this week's World In Action programme on the occupied zone.

And the Tories cannot bear the thought of having to eat their words and accept the guerrillas' defeat of their artificial British statelet in the north of Ireland.

So a great show of continued loyalty to 'our kith and kin' (i.e. the Orange bourgeois gangsters who ran the crooked statelet for 60 years growing fat off its perks and privileges) to whom the notorious 'guarantee' of perpetually remaining part of Britain, if they wanted it, was given.

But curiously, Thatcher's speech makes no reference to the continuation of 'Northern Ireland', the statelet, as such.

She referred to 'the future of the province' which could mean anything. Then she referred specifically to 'the well-being of all the people of Northern Ireland' which means anything but a commitment to maintaining the gerrymandered statelet.

Thatcher then admitted: "People say that something must be wrong when such things (as the violence and the hunger strikes) can happen. They are right."

She added: "I recognise that the present violence has its roots deep in the past."

Even more frankly, she confessed: "The Government cannot bring peace and tranquility. These things are not in our gift."

This is a far cry from all the past boasting about how the 'men of violence' were being beaten.

All Thatcher's references to the national liberation struggle were very muted, compared to past bombast.

She did say, in a somewhat negative, defeatist way: "The Government is not prepared to legitimise their cause by word or deed."

But then she defined the nationalist cause in such an unrecognisable and outlandish way that her promise is safe for all time - and meaningless.

"That cause is a dictatorship by force and by fear in Northern Ireland and in the Republic. These men deny democracy everywhere; they seek power for themselves."

It was the total and infamous denial of democracy to the Republican working people in the first 50 years of the gerrymandered Orange bourgeois statelet, -condoned and protected by every Tory and Labour Government in modern times, -that led directly to the present phase of the troubles, exactly the opposite of Thatcher's lies.

It has only been the determination of the Irish nationalists for armed struggle that has forced an end to that outrageous capitalist dictatorship, contrary to Thatcher's lies.

And despite the intolerable terror and pressures of the British police-military dictatorship which has replaced that Orange bigotry as the formal power, it is the national liberation struggle which has scored the most spectacular triumphs even at the British establishment's own 'democratic' game, winning the Fermanagh by-election to the Westminster seat with hunger-striker Bobby Sands, winning spectacular victories in the recent local elections, and now forcing the Green Tories in Dublin to accept the hunger strike, the national liberation struggle, and the reunification of Ireland as the main issue in the current election campaign in the Republic. All completely contrary to Thatcher's lies.

She also got a quick rebuff on another weird thing she said about the hunger strikes possibly being the nationalist guerrillas "last card".

As another irresponsible challenge to the IRA to do its worst, if that's what it was, it quickly backfired with the assassination of yet another RUC bully boy,

and the cryptic comment from the IRA: "This isn't the last card, Mrs Thatcher".

This week's Panorama gave Tory Supremo Atkins the opportunity to pour out more unchallenged dictatorship propaganda such as that the massive turnouts for the funerals of the dead hunger-strikers were the result of intimidation and coercion. (Then how about the secret ballot vote for Sands in the election, Mr Atkins.?)

Naturally such rude points can never be made to Ministers on the BBC. But he was forced to agree that only a completely new political set-up could end the crisis.

Some diehard apologists for the imperialist system are now punting the idea of a yet further re-partition of Ireland to still leave the decaying Orange colonial order with its own mini-statelet east of the River Bann. No chance. The partition racket is up for good. Ireland will be reunited.

So badly has British imperialism's international standing been vilified for its paralysed refusal to concede and organise this obvious way forward that the Catholic bishops in the north refused even to meet Thatcher on her recent flying visit, - an unprecedented snub from such a reactionary gang.

The revolt by the Republican masses to end the police-military dictatorship in the occupied zone can only grow, and with it this international pressure. Britain will be forced to get out.

18. July 23, 1981
(Bulletin 98)

The greatest stupidity of the utterly reactionary Labour Party support for Tory pig-headedness over Ireland is that clearly they are locking the stable door after the horse has bolted.

The backward toe-rag for Thatcher's Union Jack nationalism - Labour's Ireland spokesman Don Concannon - continues dully to mimic his ruling class betters: "There must be no direct negotiations with the H-Block hunger strikers which would confer political status."

The neanderthal Concannon is even more dense than his Establishment mentors on this.

It looks possible that the Tories will be forced by the increasing hostility of world public opinion (to their policy of branding the Republican national liberation fighters as common 'criminals') - to be seen to be giving the H-Block detainees what they want, in spite of all Thatcher's efforts to avoid 'loss of face'.

'No action under the duress of the continuing hunger strikes', the British keep on parroting.

But by the concessions already made to specific Republican demands and by the endless negotiations with the hunger strikers through third parties like the Red Cross, the Irish Church Commission, the European Human Rights Commission, various foreign politicians, the Pope's political secretary, etc, etc, the Tories are already regarded by the world as having been forced to talk to the IRA and INLA men and women.

So in substance, British imperialism is already seen world-wide as having been forced to the negotiating table by the remarkably successful and heroic hunger strike campaign.

Hence the continued head-in-the-sand attitude of the British capitalist Parliament, - Labour and Tory leaders alike -, of pretending that the inmates of Long Kesh concentration camp are just criminals like any of the tens of thousands of others in the rest of Britain's jails and therefore have no rights whatever for political negotiations with the Government, - only serves to make the British bourgeoisie (Tory and Labour Parties) look even more benighted and out of touch than events have already shown them as being.

Still more foolishly evil is the British Parliament's (all shades) cretinous pomposity in declaring that there "must never be political status for criminals and murderers" (Concannon).

The fact that the Republican campaign has already won world-wide political status for the nationalist guerrillas exposes Thatcher, Foot, Concannon, etc as being among the most degenerate derelicts that the rotting British capitalist system has yet thrown up.

The moronic Concannon actually believes that the Republicans' triumphant international campaign through their indomitable military struggle and hunger strikes, etc, is just to achieve some marginal improvement in prison conditions.

What a clown. And the British Establishment actually has the gall to make up endless jokes to disseminate about thick Irishmen.

Certainly the national liberation internees would like to achieve full prisoner-of-war status for the prestige it would bring, for easing their own survival, and for reducing some of the barriers to recruitment.

But does Concannon really not realise that the IRA and INLA have by their painfully self-sacrificing campaign achieved that anyway?

In their struggle against being denied political status, their international standing - their real political status - has soared higher than the Republicans could ever have dreamed of achieving.

American politicians queue up to denounce Britain's police-military dictatorship whenever Congress more and more frequently discusses Ireland's tortured situation.

Millions more dollars are now pouring into the IRA's coffers from North America as a result of the favourable publicity to the Irish nationalist cause.

Public demonstrations against British imperialist policies have become so bad in the USA that Prince Charles's last trip was turned into an embarrassing propaganda disaster for Britain; and Princess Piggy's ("the Irish are pigs") trip there had to be cancelled completely, due to have been taking place right now.

Common Market and NATO leaders have had to denounce Britain's brutal domination of the occupied north of Ireland because the 'free world' 'democracy' stance in their anti-communist propaganda would look silly if they didn't.

The Haughey Government in the Irish Republic was virtually brought down over its tame hesitancy to take up strongly with Britain the growing popular resentment in all Ireland with the barbaric British treatment of the Irish in the occupied north.

The weekend's demonstrations show that the new government of Garret FitzGerald will not last long either unless it really takes up the cudgels on behalf of the growing worldwide demand for the reunification of Ireland and the ending by British imperialism of propping up its bastard colonial statelet in the occupied north, routing the die-hard Orange bourgeois reactionaries as they should be routed before leaving Ireland for ever.

This weekend's coming demonstration in Dublin is likely to put even more pressure on FitzGerald to force Britain to act on these obvious and pressing matters.

And if the Tories, Marie Antoinette-style, refuse to be pushed into taking action to wind up its artificial statelet, then even more direct intervention from Ireland is likely to begin.

All of these matters, - and many more besides, - all

point unmistakably towards the FACT that the IRA have as good as won international recognition already.

In other words, the Republican national liberation fighters have already got worldwide political status.

The only place it apparently hasn't yet penetrated is the obtuse brain of Don Concannon.

But even Labour's chauvinistic pig-ignorance on Ireland doesn't look like lasting for ever, despite Concannon's knighthood-earning efforts.

The Labour Party annual conference is at last being forced to recognise the utterly intolerable out-datedness of Britain's last colonial bastion.

An unprecedented number of motions are down for debate in October demanding an end to the bi-partisan Parliamentary conspiracy over Ireland.

They call overwhelmingly for the reunification of Ireland and Britain's withdrawal at long last from the occupied zone.

These reflect a clear shift of opinion among people in Britain, -(another triumph for the IRA's campaign for national liberation movement political status) -, finally overcoming the reactionary "Ulster is British; the Protestant Orange bourgeoisie are our people" nonsense.

To try to stem this move towards a "united Ireland under Irish rule" policy, the Labour leadership wish to slip in (to a new outline policy document on Ireland) the wrecking notion of a referendum in the occupied zone only to approve any re-unification.

Clearly, a decision on whether Ireland should be re-united should be a matter for a referendum of ALL the people of Ireland, to be decided by simple majority, (if it is to be a matter for a reactionary instrument like a referendum at all), just as



Frankie Hughes

the original arbitrary British imperialist decision to partition Ireland in 1921 would have been DEFEATED then if put to an all-Ireland referendum.

If Concannon and the Labour reactionaries are not halted from this Rule Britannia chauvinism over the fate of British imperialism's wretched colonial statelet in the occupied north of Ireland, it will only speed up the nails which are going into the pro-capitalist, class-collaborationist Labour Party coffin anyway.

19. October 8, 1981
(Bulletin 109)

Even before the Irish Republican prisoners of war in the Long Kesh concentration camp called off their protest at being branded common criminals, they had already won worldwide recognition of their political status.

The overwhelming majority of mankind, even in the capitalist world, now understand about British imperialism's illegal police-military dictatorship over occupied north of Ireland and how the national liberation struggle is waging guerrilla war to defeat it.

But this phase of the fight for Ireland's reunification now ends with the Republican prisoners NOT having to wear British prison common criminal uniform.

The IRA and INLA men will henceforth wear their own clothes while in detention.

It was precisely over his refusal to don a British criminal prison uniform in 1976 that Kieran Nugent started the Republican prisoners' long protest after the Wilson-Callaghan Labour Government had introduced its new 'criminalisation' insult to end the prisoners' political category status.

At first the men went 'on the blanket', refusing to wear any clothes at all despite the suffering.

Then they launched their incredible 'dirty protest' to foul their cells with their own excrement to draw attention to their political protest.

Finally the heroic Republican prisoners began their deadly hunger strike which led to the pitiful suffering and death of ten young Irishmen in the most gruesome circumstances.

But that unprecedented struggle and sacrifice, without parallel in the whole history of this century's national liberation movement against imperialism, won for the Republican prisoners the awed admiration of the entire planet.

It totally transformed the 13

political struggle in Ireland.

The IRA hunger strike leader Bobby Sands, the first man to sacrifice his life, won international acclaim as the victor of the Fermanagh and South Tyrone by-election to the Westminster Parliament.

He won immortality for the bravery of his stand and the powerful stories he wrote about his struggle and prison life, and smuggled out of his death cell.

Then two other Republican prisoners won seats to the Irish Parliament, the Dail, in Dublin.

All the time, the depth and strength of support for the national liberation struggle continued growing rapidly among the working masses in the occupied north and in the Republic of Ireland as well.

Recruits began pouring in, ensuring the ultimate victory of the Republican guerrilla war (if it wasn't already assured by the very unanswerable-ness of Irishmen's demand for reunification and the end of British occupation.)

Abroad, the national liberation's gains were even more spectacular.

In the USA in particular, the large emigrant Irish community began pouring in funds to support the Republican cause as never before.

Massive political protests turned the North of America into virtually a no-go-area for the British monarchy. Charles had to cut short a visit there after repeated boing demonstrations against his presence. And Margaret was prevented from going there at all to avoid further public international embarrassment to British imperialism.

The pig-headed Thatcher cause, which has no policy but mortally fears to be shown to have been defeated by a guerrilla war, was exposed and defeated on every issue.

The prisoners won worldwide political status. The national liberation struggle was immeasurably strengthened in the process. And at the end of it all, the prisoners have won their case: no criminal uniforms; political levels of remission; unique levels of political association between cells and neighbouring wings; political levels of education and work training as opposed to punitive mail-bag sewing; and improved rights to visits and letters.

In the course of this historic struggle, the national liberation struggle learned as well valuable lessons about the enemies on its own side in the form of the Catholic clergy who did their best to help imperialism undermine the hunger strike campaign by working on the unfortunate parents and relatives to inter-vene to prevent death after

the coma stage had been reached.

Father Faul and the canting church hierarchy may have pulled a stroke this time in forcing an end to the hunger strike campaign before the prisoners had decided on it themselves.

But it will only have been at the cost of much of their insidious long-term reactionary influence over the Republican Irish.

Out of Ireland's inevitably victorious national liberation struggle for reunification in the not too distant future is bound to come the revolutionary socialist struggle which will be the only way, in the midst of capitalism's terminal crisis, to satisfy the legitimate national aspirations of the Irish people.

Those 'left' sectarian imbeciles in the British middle class 'revolutionary' movement who oppose the nationalist struggle in the name of 'socialism' haven't the first clue as to how real political development takes place.

There is not the remotest immediate prospect of an Irish revolutionary socialist movement defeating imperialism to form a united socialist Ireland as part of a British socialist federation. Nor is there any chance at present of a British revolutionary socialist movement achieving the same result through seizing power in London.

But there is every prospect of an early defeat to British imperialism in Ireland in its crude form of the occupation of the northern territory.

Such a defeat for British imperialism would be a colossal defeat for all imperialism, Ireland's Green Tories included. Such a revolutionary advance, won in the teeth of the most savage repression and viciousness from successive London regimes and in the teeth of hitherto total indifference by the great 'free world', would, - and is proving to be, - a mighty stimulus to revolutionary development in general.

The clear signs of revolutionary socialist political development within the broad Republican movement are obvious evidence of the deep politicisation that the anti-imperialist struggle has inevitably brought with it.

It is pointless to speculate whether a revolutionary socialist organisation will arise directly out of the national liberation movement, or indirectly.

But that the final victory of the national liberation struggle over British imperialism will give an enormous revolutionary boost to the politicisation of the Irish struggle is beyond any doubt.

Those who snipe at the nationalist movement from the

comfort of their academic arm-chairs in Britain, like the Spartacists, the Militant, Thornett's crowd, etc, etc, are not merely confused on this matter. Who cares.?

The only objective role their sniping plays is to help bourgeois ideological confusion try to defeat the Irish national liberation movement.

In other words, these vermin are simply playing imperialism's game.

20. October 15, 1981
(Bulletin 110)

Ireland's national liberation war for the reunification of their country will not stop until the British occupation of the north is ended.

Not only must the police-military dictatorship be dismantled by withdrawing all troops but the gerrymandered bastard bourgeois Orange statelet known as "Northern Ireland", artificially imposed by British military domination in 1921, must also be wound up.

Until the tiny Rule Britannia colonialist Protestant ruling class are knocked off their perches in the six northern counties, Ireland's war of independence will never be over. Ulster will remain a slaughterhouse for demoralised British administrators and local residents alike, and the nail bombs and such are bound to spill over onto the mainland.

It would only take the temporary detention of a few thousand extremist Protestant leaders for the disgraceful partition of Ireland to be abolished in a matter of days.

Restoring all 32 counties to the Republic of Ireland is the logical and inevitable solution.

The bourgeois Protestant hierarchy, - landowners and businessmen and local administrators - , will not even suffer under government from the capitalist regime in Dublin.

The reactionary emotional ties to British imperialism of the 'loyalist' colonialist ruling circles in Ulster can even be satisfied by allowing those that want it to retain full British citizenship.

Reunification will not solve any of Ireland's economic problems, of course.

As with every capitalist country caught up in the system's worldwide crisis and slump, only the socialist revolution will bring an end to that.

But the Irish national question continues to dominate the class struggle in Ireland, just as it was meant to do by the vicious British partition of 1921.

The class struggle in Ire-

land is inevitably dominated by the struggle against British imperialism.

It is partly to frustrate Ireland's reunification and the likely rapid development towards a socialist state in the wake of it that the British ruling class continue to stubbornly hang on to their Irish colony.

The recent shifts in the establishment's calculations on this score are the result of the increasingly revolutionary politicisation of the Republican masses as a result of that continued partition.

Because of the general advance of the world socialist struggle, the imperialists are now considering whether the revolutionary movement would not be more effectively delayed at this stage by allowing the reunification under a capitalist regime in Dublin in the hope that it would satisfy Irish national aspirations for a long time and not turn them towards socialist revolution for a real flowering of Ireland.

The British establishment is also counting the cost of the continued war of independence on political attitudes in Britain.

In such a period of rapid advance of the worldwide anti-imperialist movement, the poor international publicity the British ruling class is getting from its bogged-down vicious military mess in the north of Ireland, plus the damage to prestige that the hunger strikers have inflicted, is breaking up the traditional reactionary class collaboration between British imperialism and the British working class.

Public opinion in general and conference decisions inside the Labour Party are now firmly heading towards ending the British interest in the north of Ireland, abandoning the reactionary loyalist veto over any change there, and preparing for the reunification of Ireland.

Prior's speech to Tory conference on Tuesday was significantly all about this, - when he could have been making a meal of the bitter reality of Ireland's national liberation war come to the streets of Britain in the form of the Pimlico nail-bombing and its inevitably tragic consequences on innocent bystanders, (the like of which happens every day in the occupied north of Ireland.)

Prior didn't follow Thatcher's sick insincere sob-stuff about the victims of violence - violence which all stems from and was begun by Britain imperialist domination of Ireland, - but instead explained why closer links must be established between the Republic of Ireland and the occo-

It can be seen in part as a new version of an old imperialist trick: "If you can't beat the bombers, join them." Paisley has certainly got the message right, loud and clear. He knows he is being sold out, bit by bit. He is hostile to every London initiative now, and completely jaundiced over the capitulation to the hunger strikers over criminal prison clothing, the initial cause of the Republicans' powerful and irresistible worldwide political status campaign which has now seen them internationally recognised as a legitimate and unstoppable national liberation struggle.

The Republicans would have been better advised to set up a new no-go 'Free Derry' area or something of the kind as the next move in their continuing campaign forcing British imperialism out, rather

than renew the mainland bombing campaign.

A new 'Free Derry' or 'Free West Belfast' area would have electrified international news coverage as did the Bobby Sands election victory and hunger strike.

The massacre of innocent bystanders in the bombing campaign, even if it is limited to legitimate targets like the Irish Guards depot in London, inevitably confuses more British workers than it clarifies.

The idea that British workers "ought to know better" and that a taste of bombing on the streets of London "will bring home to them what THEIR government is doing to Irish people on the streets of Belfast" betrays the nationalists' well-known idealist illusions and tragic contempt for Marxist materialist philosophy.

British workers will desert imperialism when its operations abroad are finally clear-

ly seen to be an outdated, expensive, and unsuccessful savagery which can only brutalise and destroy the perpetrators. The odd bomb or two on British streets could only ever be seen (by even the most class-conscious bereaved worker) as a cruel irony and a tragic loss of innocent life.

The regime in London is not THEIR government any more than the Green Tory rats in Dublin are 'THEIR government' of the Irish people, or the appalling Gerry Fitt was 'THEIR representative' of the people of West Belfast. Do the IRA intend to bomb innocent Republican bystanders in West Belfast to 'bring home to them' the need never to return Gerry Fitt as MP?

The British ruling class and capitalist state remain a legitimate target for the national liberation war whether they are in London or the occupied north of Ireland.

And inevitably there will always be innocent victims of the war, among bystanders. It would also be outrageously incorrect to lend any credence to the vicious, racist Fleet Street campaign to brand the Republican forces as thoughtless, inhuman killer-maniacs. Just the opposite. The British public are lucky the indescribable suffering and brutality imposed on the north of Ireland by the British occupying police-military dictatorship could well have sparked off a really indiscriminate murderously vengeful extreme right-wing nationalist reaction. The IRA is not remotely like any such organisation. But the possible negative consequences of using the terrorist weapon and the need for the maximum possible caution cannot be stressed enough.

21. October 29, 1981
(Bulletin 112)

The Tory Government and every British imperialist regime before it are responsible for the bombs now going off in the capital.

Ireland's war of independence against Britain has gone on for 700 years and it will continue until the infamous partition imposed in 1921 is ended and final full independence granted to the whole of united Ireland.

The pro-Union Jack colonialist settlers in Ulster will either have to quit Ireland or put up with living under a Republican government in Dublin, just as the white Rhodesian settlers finally had to put up with living under the black republic of Zimbabwe or get out.

The fact that the Orange protestant bourgeoisie have been lording it over Irish land, commerce, industry, and political affairs for 300 years rather than the 100 years of the settler rule in Rhodesia makes not the slightest difference.

Ireland is one country and the Irish have every right, as does every other nation, to full independence and self-determination.

The national liberation struggle is a legitimate guerrilla war and the IRA have every justification in taking the struggle against military domination, which has turned the whole of the occupied north into a battlefield, onto the mainland of Britain.

Or as the Republican statement more starkly put it after the latest Oxford Street explosions, the fear and danger to Londoners from the bombs is something every Irish child has to live with hourly in the occupied north from plastic bull-

ets, small arms fire, runaway vehicles, and the rest of the death-dealing machinery of domination and destruction used by British imperialism to keep hold of Ulster.

It is a war British imperialism cannot possibly win.

On the other hand, it is a war the Irish Republicans can, and will, fight ceaselessly.

There is no way that the Republican Irish in the occupied north, or those in the South, will ever forget that part of their country remains under foreign domination.

It is utter nonsense to pretend that the obstructions that hardcore fascist 'loyalists' of the Union Jack-waving kind in the north would put up against any reunification of Ireland cannot easily be overcome.

It would take no more than the temporary detention of a few thousand bourgeois Orange bigots like Paisley and the winding up of the doomed bastard statelet of 'Northern Ireland' would be quickly over in weeks.

Those wishing to retain British citizenship could do so. Those wishing to live in the UK rather than the Irish Republic could obviously do so as well. The vast majority of Ulstermen would contentedly choose to stay and live in Ireland, a united Republican Ireland.

The national liberation struggle, and the enormous international support it has now won - especially through the hunger strikes and Sands victory in the Fermanagh by-election and his subsequent martyrdom, - is finally forcing even the die-hard British bourgeoisie to accept that its days of ruling over part of Ireland are at last numbered.

The Labour Party has already adopted

a vague policy of seeing a re-united Ireland as the only real long-term solution.

Public opinion generally is overwhelmingly in favour of British troops being pulled out immediately.

Other important large sections of the British establishment are becoming convinced that the stupid reactionary 'pledge' (to the 'loyalists' to allow them to veto for evermore any further solution of Ireland's 700-year torment by completing its independence) is out of date and impossible to justify in the modern world.

But the Thatcher clique has deliberately set its ridiculous stubborn neck against any 'capitulation under duress' to increasingly irate world opinion against the continued British occupation, and police-military dictatorship.

Solely because of this hopelessly moribund regime's paranoid fear of 'loss of face' in a raging slump which it cannot cure are the bombs going off in Oxford Street.

The British capitalist state authorities are naturally making a meal of the situation, sending in bomb disposal experts to get themselves blown up when there is not the slightest need since only capitalist property is at stake once a clear warning of bombs placed has been given.

But to protect 'property' - the basis of the whole capitalist system, - and to whip up the 'beleaguered capital' war atmosphere, the authorities are deliberately turning the commercial disruption of London into a 'no women and children are now safe' jingoistic atmosphere to continue the war against the Irish national liberation struggle and indirectly step up the pressure against all militant struggles against the capitalist state.

Bomb disposal experts are needlessly put at risk in order to give the entire police and military authority a spurious heroism in the eyes of the public at a time when workers suspicion and hatred of the capitalist state authorities is growing and is bound to grow further as social tensions increase (like the summer riots) as the insoluble slump gets deeper and deeper.

The authorities hope that hostile criticism recently of the police over their continued brutal and lawless conduct will disappear now that they are posing as 'heroes' in the front line fight against the 'terrorist menace'.

It is all bunkum. It is the Irish in Ulster who are terrorised. And the British capitalist state's role against the Irish national liberation struggle will in the end lose the establishment more support and toleration, not increase it.

Because sooner or later, the British working class will have had enough of the brutal consequences of imperialist war such as explosions in Oxford Street and will demand that the military occupation of Ireland be ended once and for good.

22. November 12, 1981
(Bulletin 114)

Inconsistency has been alleged against the Bulletin in its declared differences with some of the terrorist tactics of the Irish nationalists but its refusal to join in the general condemnation of the IRA for the recent London bombings and insistence instead in placing ALL of the blame SOLELY on British imperialism's refusal to get out of Ireland.

There is no inconsistency.

The Workers Party is totally devoted to the building of a vanguard, strong in Marxist-Leninist theory, and the political mobilisation of the working masses for the socialist revolution as the only solution to the problems of the slump-ridden imperialist system in Britain, Ireland, or anywhere else.

All nationalist movements are bourgeois-idealist in their philosophy. Bulletin 110 for example explained at some length a total disagreement with the tragic Republican illusion that bombs in Oxford Street "will bring home to British workers what THEIR government is doing to Irish people on the streets of Belfast," pointing out that London regimes are no more 'THEIR government' as far as British workers are concerned than the parliamentary traitor Gerry Fitt was 'THEIR representative' as far as the Republican supporters in West Belfast were concerned. Would the IRA deliberately bomb their own supporters in West Belfast because Fitt had

wangled parliamentary backing there.? Obviously not.

But having made clear the complete divergence between the philosophy and tactics of Marxism and those of nationalism, the fact remains that the conflict between Irish Republicanism's national liberation struggle and imperialism is one major feature of the totality of class struggle relations which is the British political scene today.

The realistic prospect of the final defeat of British imperialism by Irish nationalism, backed by world public opinion and growing disquiet in Britain, would unmistakably be a set-back for the imperialist-capitalist system as a whole and therefore of assistance to the anti-imperialist struggle as a whole including the socialist revolution.

Therefore, with the complete independence of the Workers Party from the philosophy and tactics of nationalism being clearly understood, the ONLY point to make when the national liberation struggle against British imperialism spills over onto the streets of London is to TOTALLY CONDEMN imperialism and REFUSE in any way to join in the claque against the IRA.

This amounts SOLELY to a refusal to in any way take the slightest part in the general British bourgeois nationalist criticism of the IRA for their terrorism.

To make ANY condemnation of the IRA's tactics at such a critical moment after the bombs have gone off is, willy-nilly, to join in this general bourgeois condemnation and therefore to take the part, however slightly and indirectly, of the British capitalist state.

Any tactical 'advice' to the nationalists that they would be better off abandoning certain methods and targets or pursuing other methods and targets entirely is clearly purely academic.

It is totally removed from any notion of a debate on tactics with the IRA. There could never be a basis for any debate on such matters between two such totally opposed philosophies as Marxism and nationalism.

Speculation about what tactics the IRA for example might choose next to further rout British imperialism over its continued illegal occupation of the north of Ireland arises solely as a normal legitimate part of the attempt to better understand and explain the movement of all forces in the complex class struggle. What the bourgeois do and what the nationalists do, and why they do it, are significant influences in that struggle.

There is no contradiction between last week's Bulletin saying: "Sooner or later, the British working class will have had en-

ough of the brutal consequences of imperialist war such as explosions in Oxford Street, and will demand that the military occupation of Ireland be ended once and for good" - at the end of an article acknowledging the nationalists' right to pursue their guerrilla war against the British police-military dictatorship onto the mainland itself, - and Bulletin 110 which derided their bourgeois-idealist illusions about bombing British workers into forcing 'their' government to end its occupation.

That 110 article also declared; "British workers will desert imperialism when its operations abroad are finally clearly seen to be an outdated, expensive, and unsuccessful savagery which can only brutalise and destroy the perpetrators."

The clear distinction is that bourgeois-idealist nationalists crudely think that propaganda alone, or terrorist tactics, will simply persuade British workers to 'decide' to abandon imperialist arguments over Ireland in favour of 'justice' for Irish nationalism.

Whereas Marxism sees the totality of material consequences of the class-struggle relations between the capitalist state and workers, (not excluding the political and economic consequences of a national-liberation war within those material consequences,) as finally providing the basis for revolutionary socialist consciousness (within which, naturally, the defeat of one's 'own' capitalist state in all its imperialist conflicts would be included.)

This completely different understanding of how and why British workers are finally breaking from imperialism could not make clearer the Workers Party's disagreement with terrorist tactics.

But when the next bomb goes off, whatever tragic damage it causes, the essential thing for revolutionary socialists will be to condemn imperialism as being WHOLLY responsible, and to declare again that British forces must get out of Ireland immediately, and the bastard bourgeois-colonialist Northern Ireland statelet be wound up forthwith, and Ireland reunited.

23. December 10, 1981
(Bulletin 118)

The Workers Party's longstanding confident assertion that British imperialism was slowly being forced to give up its Ulster colony is now widely echoed.

But every sector of bourgeois opinion, from far right to 'Trotskyist' left, ostrich-like tries to deny or ignore the obvious role the IRA's national liberation struggle has had in making 'Loyalist' dictatorship over the occupied north of Ireland no longer tenable.

The capitalist press are full of inspired

stories about bold new plans to 'reconcile' the two Irish traditions in various levels of confederation plans, the upshot of which is to quietly drop the outrageous provocative partition of 1921 which intended henceforth to pretend that part of Ireland would forever be part of Britain.

But they say nothing at all about how or why this dramatic climb-down has been made from the position adopted at the height of British imperial arrogance (1912) (which prepared a fullscale military coup within the British ruling class against the Liberal government in Westminster to scuttle agreed legislation to give Home Rule to all Ireland.)

The Carson rebellion including the Curragh army office mutiny and open encouragement of a putsch by the Tory Party, saved the day for the bastard Orange bourgeois-dominated statelet in a gerrymandered piece of territory carved out of six counties of the nine counties of the old province of Ulster.

But that powerful heyday of empire is now long since dead and buried.

Behind the greedy merchants and land-owners of the occupied north now, fearful of losing their tinpot local political and economic domination, are not the great imperialist families of Tory Britain with enormous confidence and influence behind them. These are only a shadow of their former selves now, and looking desperately to their own survival, never mind trying to pick the Ulster dynasties' chestnuts out of an increasingly dangerous fire of anti-imperialist revolt as well.

Behind the great Orange rebellion of today lies merely the seedy fascistic wind-baggery of bigoted, racist, small-minded jingoists who have lost their nerve and have lost any imperial cause worth following or sacrificing for.

How the social-chauvinist 'protestant' workers of the British enclave will react to the coming sell-out is still not certain.

But if the Orangemen lose their working class support because British imperialism is such an economically decayed system that it can no longer deliver to its 'loyal' workers the privileged existence that was once available out of imperialist booty, then the Paisley attempt to repeat the Carson rebellion will be one of the most ridiculous damp squibs in all history.

The capitalist press report Powell's exposure of the secret British-Irish agreement to create an all-Ireland state.

Reagan's spokesman William Clark confirms Powell's charge that the US imperialists are behind this abandonment of the embarrassing-to-the-West police-military dictatorship in the occupied north of Ireland by openly calling for reunification.

But all of this inspired press speculation

goes ahead with anyone once mentioning the Republican struggle in the north over the last 12 years (and for 700 years before that) which has dominated world headlines and transformed the position into an impossible one for imperialism.

They refuse even to acknowledge in the same breath the very existence of the armed Republican struggle.

They fear like the plague to acknowledge that the armed national liberation struggle against the impossible and unshakable gerrymandered dictatorship in the north coincided and grew out of the degeneration of British imperialism, finally forcing the political superstructure to reckon with the irreparable decay that has taken place underneath the surface.

On the one hand, British imperialist economic domination has been undermined by the postwar world of the liberation of all the colonies, the massive expansion of the non-capitalist world, and the resumed superiority of German and Japanese imperialism.

On the other hand, although the imperialist system still remains to be finally overthrown, it is already completely on the defensive and the Western world is forced to bend over backwards to avoid giving the slightest appearance of continuing colonial/imperial domination.

The Orange colonial statelet was doomed the moment the Republican movement relaunched its all-out campaign in the late 1960s to break the gerrymandered dictatorship the Orange bourgeoisie ruled by.

The early translation of that bourgeois dictatorship into an open police-military dictatorship in the occupied north of Ireland only cemented that position.

The conditions were created for the Republicans to resume the armed national-liberation struggle.

The influence of the IRA and INLA struggle against the police-military dictatorship and their growing mass support among the Republican workers - in the north and the south, cannot be denied.

The spectacular propaganda triumphs of the hunger strikes and the electoral sensations of Bobby Sands's victory and others which followed cannot be denied.

Yet middle class armchair 'Trotskyists' like the Spartacists and the WSL/Socialist Organiser continue to deny the undoubted blows nationalism has struck against British and world imperialism.

They bury their heads in the sand out of petty bourgeois fear and lack of confidence in the very thing they trumpet about the loudest - the socialist revolution.

They are driven into their sectarian refusal to deal with the reality of the class struggle by the ir difficulty in making headway with the working class and their

philistine inability ever to make a correct analysis.

These ivory tower dilettantes never escape from the bourgeois subjective-idealistic philosophy they grow up with in the middle class.

They end up joining the Daily Telegraph in refusing to acknowledge the role of nationalist armed struggle in helping to finally undermine British imperialism in Ireland.

And by their ludicrous refusal to objectively analyse the class struggle as it is, these sectarians of course are in no position to influence the working class towards the socialist revolution, the only final solution to the problems of imperialism and legitimate national aspirations, which these middle class poseurs claim to believe in but in reality get in the way of.

Their effective OBJECTIVE role is to aid imperialism by helping bourgeois ideology to confuse and conceal the reality of imperialism's difficulties.

Being aware of the damage done to imperialism by the Irish national liberation struggle, and refusing in any way to join in the bourgeois public opinion campaign against the nationalists' terrorist tactics, in no way implies any tail-ending of nationalism or retreat from the Leninist programme of building the revolutionary party to lead the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Academically refusing to realistically assess the damage done to imperialism by the national liberation struggle on the grounds of text-book abhorrence of sectarian nationalism, on the other hand, such as the Spartacists go in for, (artificially insisting that there can be no real development in the battle against imperialism until "protestant" workers are struggling jointly with "catholic" workers) is to totally abandon the real struggle.

24. January 7, 1982
(Bulletin 121)

The split in the RUC and the bigoted-'loyalist' Policemen's Federation over proposals to revive the fascist-extremist B-specials to 'take over' from the official British imperialist authorities, richly confirms the Workers Party's Marxist analysis of the collapse of colonialism in occupied northern Ireland.

The federation chairman Alan Wright has resigned in disgust at a defeated minority who were proposing virtually a semi-official police revolt against the now clear-cut plans of London (under pressure from the embarrassed co-leaders of NATO and the 'free world') to wind up the disastrous Orange colonial dictatorship and arrange the reunification of Ireland.

RUC chief Jack Hermon issued an aston-

ishing public condemnation of Federation leaders for planning to form an armed sectarian force which would be effectively outside the law and would therefore be a further encouragement to yet more terrorist destabilisation of the occupied north.

The moves amount to a further isolation of the near-fascist extremists in the Orange camp who are like Paisley calling for a Carson-type rebellion to prevent the whole of Ireland being handed over to an independent Republic.

But in one form or another, - (probably masked for a while by complicated federal proposals covering the British Isles as a whole,) - reunification and independence for all 32 counties of Ireland is what the West has forced London reluctantly to agree is the only way out of the insoluble IRA struggle for national liberation.

The Republicans' savagely repressed struggle for independence is a crippling propaganda handicap for the capitalist 'free world' in its efforts to secure, by hook or by crook around the world, the victory of 'democracy' against the attractions of communism portrayed as 'dictatorial tyranny'.

The harrowing daily 'liberation war' scenes and military clampdown in the occupied zone of Ireland are acknowledged by the West to be one of the major flaws in its 'free world' propaganda image.

British imperialism, for its part, is losing more money than ever propping up the artificial Orange bourgeois statelet and is also losing the propaganda struggle to the IRA (the hunger strikes, Bobby Sands' election victory, etc), and also, slowly, the national liberation war too.

The Tories' latest £90 million dole to the province is clearly just a token and deliberately framed to underline London's view that a long-term solution to the north of Ireland's appalling economic problems (nearly 20% unemployment) lies within the context of an all-Ireland approach.

As the Bulletin has repeatedly explained, the extreme Orange and imperialist bourgeoisie may not like this proposed virtual abandonment of the old Union Jack-waving 'guarantee' that Ulster would forever remain 'British', but their ability to fight against it as Carson, the Tory Party, and the British Army officer caste did in the pre-World War I period is only a farcical shadow of its former self.

That extremist colonialist wing of the British ruling class has lost its Empire and all its confidence in the subsequent half-century. The days of brazen imperialist domination, - of Ireland or anywhere else, - are fast dying and becoming impossible for the 'free world' to get away with any longer.

Thus Paisley's threatened revolt is already proving to be far less substantial than

shall have predicted here and there over the last few years. And Hermon's stand implies that the British capitalist state machine in the occupied zone may itself be in a position to successfully take on the job of routing the threatened 'protestant' backlash, i. e. the fascist reaction.

The New York-run Spartacists' hysterical defeatism about Paisley's threatened bloodbath (Spartacist Britain No 38 December/January) is in the first place, therefore, grotesquely out of touch with the real events in the class war.

But much worse is their utterly REACTIONARY reasoning behind their refusal to recognise the legitimacy of the Republicans' national liberation war.

The contemptuous fake-left remarks that "green nationalism is no less bigoted and reactionary than Orange" betray a lunatic confusion of nationalism and imperialism, a profound ignorance of Marx and Lenin, and a criminal siding with savage imperialist repression of that national liberation struggle.

Irish nationalism is as limited as any nationalism. But where nationalism becomes a genuinely mass movement with revolutionary implications in the fight against imperialism, Marxists have always acknowledged its justification and never crassly opposed it on sectarian abstract ideological grounds (which in practice would only amount to the most hypocritical material support for imperialism).

Orange 'loyalism' is nothing whatever to do with nationalist liberation struggle against imperialism. It is pure colonialism of the worst Rhodesia-white-settler kind. White workers in South Africa are among the most rabid wavers of the national flag. But that does not make their nationalism the equal of the black national liberation struggle.

Neither is the flag-waving of 'protestant' workers in the occupied north of Ireland anything to do with a national liberation struggle. It has everything to do with the politics of fascist colonialism.

Lenin's line, following Marx, was to support the petty bourgeois IRA all the way to full Irish independence.

Writing in 'The right of nations to self-determination' against Rosa Luxemburg (the Spartacists' spiritual inspiration although they take the name of her German revolutionary party in vain), Lenin explained how "the English working class fell under the influence of the Liberals for a fairly long time, became an appendage to the Liberals, and by adopting a liberal-labour policy left itself leaderless. The bourgeois liberation movement in Ireland grew stronger and assumed revolutionary forms. Marx reconsidered his view and

corrected it. 'What a misfortune it is for a nation to have subjugated another.' The English working class will never be free until Ireland is freed from the English yoke. Reaction in England is strengthened and fostered by the enslavement of Ireland...

"And in proposing in the International a resolution of sympathy with 'the Irish nation', 'the Irish people' (the clever LV would probably have berated poor Marx for forgetting about the class struggle!), Marx advocated the SEPARATION of Ireland from England....

"If capitalism had been overthrown in England as quickly as Marx had at first expected, there would have been no room for a bourgeois-democratic and general national movement in Ireland. But since it had arisen, Marx advised the English workers to support it, give it a revolutionary impetus and see it through in the interests of THEIR OWN liberty....

"The 'unpracticality' and 'impracticability' of the separation of Ireland (if only owing to geographical conditions and England's immense colonial power) were quite obvious....

"Both the Irish people and the English proletariat proved weak. Only now, through the sordid deals between the English Liberals and the Irish bourgeoisie, is the Irish problem BEING SOLVED (the example of Ulster shows with what difficulty) through the land reform (with compensation) and Home Rule (not yet introduced). Well then? Does it follow that Marx and Engels were 'utopians', that they put forward 'impracticable' national demands, or that they allowed themselves to be influenced by the Irish petty-bourgeois nationalists (for there is no doubt about the petty-bourgeois nature of the Fenian movement), etc?

"No. In the Irish question, too, Marx and Engels pursued a consistently proletarian policy, which really educated the masses in a spirit of democracy and socialism. Only such a policy could have saved both Ireland and England half a century of delay in introducing the necessary reforms, and prevented these reforms from being mutilated by the Liberals to please the reactionaries.

"The policy of Marx and Engels on the Irish question serves as a splendid example of the attitude the proletariat of the oppressor nations should adopt towards national movements, an example which has lost none of its immense PRACTICAL importance. It serves as a warning against that 'servile haste' with which the philistines of all countries, colours and languages hurry to label as 'utopian' the idea of altering the frontiers of states that were established by the violence and

privileges of the landlords and bourgeoisie of one nation.

"If the Irish and English proletariat had not accepted Marx's policy and had not made the secession of Ireland their slogan, this would have been the worst sort of opportunism, a neglect of their duties as democrats and socialists, and a concession to ENGLISH reaction and the ENGLISH bourgeoisie." (May 1914).

The English proletariat still remains weakened by its toleration of the reactionary repression of the national liberation movement in the occupied north of Ireland. The practical way forward for the final defeat of imperialism throughout the entire British Isles remains the defeat of imperialism through the final complete victory of Irish nationalism.

The hopelessly academic New York Spartacists exhibit all the crass insensitivity of 'oppressor nation philistines'.

Crudely, they try to equate the inclusion of religion on the official curriculum of Irish schools with the age-old imperialist-colonialist tyranny of British domination of Ireland.!

"When Paisley demagogically declares 'We prefer to die than give in to the bondage and tyranny of Dublin', he is appealing to an instinctive recognition among Protestant workers that what is posed in a forcible reunification is a reversal of the terms of oppression," the Sparts declare, virtually arguing Paisley's racist-fascist case for him. 'White' South African workers could argue just as persuasively against being forced to accept the domination of black society.

The comparison of religious education and 700 years of colonial domination is ludicrous enough. But the Spart armchair socialists are so mesmerised by 'Trotskyist programme' fetishism that they are obviously under the illusion that in 'enlightened' 'protestant' Britain, there is no compulsory religious education in schools! In reality, the entire working class throughout the British Isles is forced to suffer stiffing compulsory Christian religious education in all state schools. Workers in the occupied north of Ireland will be no worse off on that score under Dublin rule.

The concealed racism, incorrectness, and triviality of this major argument of the 'Spartacist International' is almost unbelievable.

Their very labelling of workers in the colonial occupation of the north of Ireland as 'protestant' workers is a farce and a fraud.

Any 'loyalist' workers in the north who go along with the infamous Union Jack-waving frustration of legitimate demands for the restoration of full Irish independence have only one label - 'reactionary'.

And their rotten line in support of nearly 70 years of something approaching military-fascist dictatorship must be fought and defeated in whatever way it takes, - not pandered to as the reactionary Sparts would like.

25. February 24, 1982
(Bulletin 128)

He faces being humiliated out of political history as Ian Kincora Paisley, for the Ulster bourgeois 'superman' is knee-deep in the scandal over the boys home of that name in East Belfast.

One prominent Orange Order 'Protestant' bigwig William McGrath is already behind bars for homosexual offences in the running of the Kincora boy prostitution racket.

But the even bigger fish running Britain's bastard capitalist state in the occupied north of Ireland who were in on the vicious homosexual exploitation of youths in state custody, or who helped cover up those big names for gain or political purposes, have so far been let off the hook.

A low-level inquiry (merely into why a known homosexual like McGrath was allowed for over 20 years to run a captive boys home, especially in view of all the rumours about the vice ring rife in Belfast,) - which was intended as a DIVERSION from further outcry over the huge cover-up of big names involved in one or other aspect of the racket, - collapsed on its first day when three of the 5-man committee resigned in protest.

They declared that the authorities could give them no satisfactory assurances that all criminal matters to do with the case had already been dealt with.

Having so publicly declared that they refused to go ahead with a low-level inquiry which would then only be used to complete the effective cover-up of major crimes and personalities by appearing to draw a conclusion on the affair without in fact having any powers to really investigate it, - the Tory Government had no choice then but to appoint an outside police investigation under the Chief Constable of Sussex to complete criminal inquiries and look into allegations of an official cover-up; and to appoint a full judicial public inquiry to meet when those inquiries and possible legal actions are completed, for an open examination of the whole affair.

People who have carried out their own investigations and are waiting to give evidence say that several leading figures will be destroyed entirely in Ulster when the full facts start to come out.

Paisley is already in a desperate plight, being accused by one of his own Free Pre-

sbyterian Church missionaries, Valerie Shaw, of doing nothing about her offering him (as a leading MP, churchman, and Ulster influence,) - full proof as early as October 1973 of McGrath's homosexual exploitation of boys in his care, including sworn evidence from victims and incriminating letters in McGrath's own hand, -

She eventually resigned her paid job with Paisley's church because of his refusal to get the authorities to take action. She is now part of the campaign which has been trying for years, - unsuccessfully, - to get something done about Kincora and the abuse of its boys-in-care by McGrath's highly-placed Orange circles.

One police excuse for taking no further action in 1975 after sworn evidence from one of the victims was their claim that his testimony against certain notables would never be believed.

Shaw insists that she pressed Paisley no less than seven times between October 1973 and June 1975 to take action over Kincora.

Paisley at first denied that Shaw mentioned the McGrath matter to him until 1975; but he immediately had to withdraw that statement at a subsequent press conference and admit that it may have been as early as 1974.

But Paisley still claims that he never knew that McGrath was running a boys home, which seems incredible since McGrath was a known figure and had even come to preach in Paisley's church. Paisley said he prevented him from preaching after Shaw told him about McGrath's homosexuality, but she told him nothing else, he still maintains.

The Orange Order Grand Master, Rev Martin Smyth, is also claiming that although Shaw approached him in 1975 about the McGrath scandal, she also failed to tell him that McGrath was in charge of a boys home.

Since McGrath's position is the key to the whole scandal, and since Valerie Shaw comes over in television interviews as a very intelligent, coherent person, - and since the evidence she was offering came precisely from youths who had been corrupted forcibly while in state custody at the boys home, - these 'Protestant' bigwigs' excuses sound remarkably lame indeed.

One orphan Hugh Quinn waiting to give evidence about being sexually exploited, explained how McGrath's colleague Joseph Mains (also now jailed) worked the racket which made it difficult to know who to turn to for preventing the abuses.

"Mains knew everyone, from the Lord Mayor downwards. What could I do? I had no one to turn to. Mains knew that, and he threatened I would be sent to borstal if I complained."

Before McGrath, the Orange Order activist and evangelical lay preacher, had even joined Kincora as a housefather in 1971, there was already a file of more than 30 complaints of homosexual abuses over the previous decade against Mains, lodged with another part of the Orange capitalist state structure, - the Belfast City Solicitor.

That file remained 'mislaidd' for more than five years.

It was not until 1980 that Peter McKenna, an Irish Independent reporter, wrote an expose, which finally set things slowly moving.

There will be reactionary attempts by some of the lunatic 'Trotskyist' lefts in Britain to lay off the Kincora scandal, or even defend it, - on the twisted grounds that the persecution of homosexuals is part of capitalist state repression against the working class, and that individual homosexuals must never be held up to scorn whoever they are and whatever they have done. Their 'gay rights' should be fought for instead. Many groups, including the SWP, took this line during the Thorpe scandal, defending the Liberal leader despite his blatant crookedness in abusing his public position for outrageous financial gain in order to pursue or protect his degenerate vicious personal exploitation of the pathetic male model Norman Scott. Scott's accusations of Thorpe's conspiracy to murder him to shut him up from publicly exposing the homosexual abuses by Thorpe, - only collapsed in court because of the self-destructive way the Crown prosecution deliberately presented the case against Thorpe and his gang of hired killers.

On the contrary, the frequency of these homosexual scandals undermining the hypocritical bourgeois establishment and destroying the smug image they project of themselves of a healthy virile class capable of leading society out of its slump crisis, - requires some comment.

This degenerate pattern is not incidental or accidental. It is a very telling reflection of the whole collapse of the bourgeoisie's dominant role, confidence, and creative drive.

Commensurate with its decline as a ruling class, capitalism can no longer throw up great leaders. Narrow-minded, uninspiring incompetents, like Foot, Thatcher, Callaghan, Wilson, Heath, Home, etc are the best it can do.

In many areas of the bourgeois establishment, the only people showing any drive or motivation at all, and therefore getting to the top with astonishingly increasing frequency, - are those with a very personal axe to grind, - like homosexuals.

Thus in the decaying pattern of capitalism in the 20th century, the instances of somewhat maverick attempts to halt the slide and save the system have come surprisingly frequently from groups or individuals with homosexual tendencies, - people finding themselves at the head of the only movements going because of the collapse of normal bourgeois society's drives with the decline of the system.

Bizarre groups from the notorious NAZI party homosexual circles around Ernst Rohm, to the queer Webster gang in the National Front, to the colonial Ulster fascists in the occupied north of Ireland at one ex-

treme, - to the Keynesian economic circles the Liberal 'revival' circles around Thorpe, and the wave of 'community concern' leaders now turning up as Labour MPs, or Liberals, at the other extreme; - the attempts to breathe new life into capitalism and anti-communism have an amazing number of links with homosexuals.

They are all frauds, one half of them strutting around posing as virility symbols like the NAZIs, the NF, or the Orange Order; the other half pretending their 'community concern' while in reality being very anti-communist.

None of which means that all homosexuals are necessarily reactionary. But neither does it mean that homosexuality is somehow 'progressive' of itself, just because there is persecution and discrimination against homosexuals under the capitalist state.

The notion of a stable homosexual future for any part of mankind is obviously self-contradictory, and militant gay rights campaigning only serves to divert attention away from the collapse of the dominating bourgeois driving forces. Like all reformism, including Women's Liberation, it is yet another brand of "reform of capitalism" which in fact only serves to conceal capitalism's revolutionary crisis, and to divide and confuse the revolutionary consciousness of workers to in fact do the ONLY thing that can be done about the problems of capitalism, - BRING THE SYSTEM DOWN.

Any 'left' defence of the Kincora scandal is counter-revolutionary, pure and simple.

26. March 25, 1982 (Bulletin 132)

The British colonial bourgeoisie in the occupied north of Ireland is falling apart.

Official Unionist leader James Molyneaux's startling denunciation of the US imperialist CIA as being behind the assassinations of Lord Mountbatten and the Tory spokesman Airey Neave uncovers astonishing splits, confusion and bitterness.

Neave and Mountbatten were in fact killed by the Irish national liberation struggle as the Orangemen and everyone else well knows.

Molyneaux's purpose in sensationally accusing his own Western imperialist ruling class side of such blows is to dramatically signal the Ulster ruling class's fury and implacable hostility to being sold out.

As the Bulletin has long been explaining, the 'free' world leaders are totally undermined by a brutal and bloody civil war for national liberation taking place within one of their senior countries - Britain.

All of the NATO bourgeoisies

have told the British ruling class that this daily exposure of police-military dictatorship in the heart of the 'free' world must not be allowed to continue.

Since the Irish Republican forces cannot be beaten, that means that Irish reunification must be granted some way or other.

The US bourgeoisie has put most pressure on Westminster to push ahead with the loose all-British-Isles confederation plan which would 'lose' British sovereignty over the occupied north, and 'lose' the Ulster Orangemen's 'independence' aspirations, - within a broader political alliance in which the whole of Ireland establishes some sort of 'British' connection.

At the same time, the imperialists hope to kill two birds with one stone and use this ruse to finally satisfy Irish Republican aspirations (and eternal hostility to Britain) and get Ireland to re-join the Western alliance against the 'Soviet threat'.

Molyneaux said that documents would be published shortly to show that the US State Department (foreign office)

and the Pentagon had been "working for years and years and years on plans to entice the Irish Republic into the Western NATO defence structure".

He added the names of assassinated Unionist MP Robert Bradford and Stormont Speaker Sir Norman Strong to those VIPs mysteriously assassinated by "outside" agencies, following this with a pointed claim that the CIA was busy operating in the province.

Molyneaux said it was more than a coincidence that when crucial political and constitutional issues were to the fore, prominent figures were assassinated.

He wants to imply that the most influential opponents (within British and Ulster bourgeois circles) of the dismantling of partition and the Union-Jack domination over the north, were eliminated at crucial turning points.

Molyneaux claims the latest one - requiring the CIA assassination of Robert Bradford recently - is the new 'devolution' proposals Westminster is trying to force on the reluctant colonial bourgeoisie.

He related the earlier outstanding assassinations to

other turning points in the long negotiations within the bourgeoisie to get out of the war of national liberation.

The British establishment in the occupied north of Ireland has clearly split all ends up over the proposed winding up of the colony and how it should be done, as is reflected in the splits inside the Ulster Unionists and the 'protestant' mafia generally.

Their sick anger, typified by Molyneaux's weird outburst, is certainly capable of great truculent mischief-making, as the Paisleyite 'third force', the UDA, and UVF etc try to boast about.

But the whole Tory wing of the imperialist bourgeoisie is no longer behind the Ulster rebellion as it was in 1911. And while some sections of the bourgeoisie still are for declaring illegal armed UDI, the whole of the British capitalist class is now nothing like the force it was in the early 20th century.

The bastard colonial Orange statelet is doomed.

The CIA is certainly capable of such 'dirty tricks' against its own side as Molyneaux complains of. And th-

ere is no absolute proof they did not do these jobs. But the Irish Republican national liberation forces claimed responsibility for all these blows against imperialism and there is every reason to acknowledge them as part of their triumphant struggle.

27. July 22, 1982
(Bulletin 149)

MPs indignantly denounced the Irish Republican Army bombings in London, sneering that the nationalists 'had no respect for democracy' and should 'try re-uniting Ireland by peaceful means.'

Faced with such arrogant hypocrisy, it is hardly surprising that Irish youth have been frustrated into the desperation of terrorism.

The ignorant MPs should explain how Ireland was partitioned in the first place in 1921, - by one of the bloodiest and most brutal reigns of terror by the Black and Tans ever imposed in the 700 years military domination of Ireland by England.

The town of Cork and other centres were put to the torch and the sword in a blitzkrieg of bloodletting and torture and imperialist hatred of the Irish for daring to rise up for their independence.

With the most cynical contempt for democracy, Ireland was split into two by the superior brute force of the British army - to the undying hostility of the overwhelming majority of the Irish people. The south was evacuated - to appease the Irish national liberation forces. But the north was held onto as imperialist booty and handed over to the bigoted Orange Order bourgeoisie to run for 50 years as the most notorious gerrymandered racket in the entire 'free' world, with Republican Irish being reduced to second class citizens.

The pot boiled over again in the 1970s with the civil rights outburst. But once again the British army moved in, - as a thousand times previously in Ireland's tortured 700-year struggle for complete national liberation, - to quell the independence movement, in blood.

Thousands more Republicans have been slaughtered, tortured, or locked in concentration camps since then, - to add to the millions of Irish victims of British imperialism before them.

The whole world supports the immediate reunification of Ireland under a majority government in Dublin, - except certain vicious vengeful circles in the British ruling class and their fascist-minded acolytes in the Orange Order.

No wonder that such futile, stupid, and criminal intransigence have driven some young Irish people back to the despair of the terror weapon, hoping to force British public opinion to force its ignorant Parli-

amentary humpugs to end English imperialism's police-military dictatorship over the remaining occupied zone of Ireland.

A political campaign among British workers for the socialist revolution in Britain and Ireland is the only correct policy. The clumsy weapon of indiscriminate civilian terror detracts from the political fight for the revolutionary Leninist party.

But despite such disagreements, workers sympathies in Britain can only be for the cause of Irish national liberation and reunification, - and against the lying charlatans of the British capitalist Parliament who created the problem of partition in the first place and who could end it tomorrow - and the bloodshed - if they wanted. The fascist-minded minority of the dying pro-imperialist Orange Order could be totally disarmed and isolated without any difficulty if London wanted it.

But Parliament is far too busy 'performing' to please the middle class voters, shedding crocodile tears over the nail-bomb casualties to the Horse Guards but having cheered the equally gruesome cluster-bomb carnage to young Argentines on the Malvinas/Falklands last month.

28. July 29, 1982
(Bulletin 150, reply
to criticism of 149)

The original article made no judgment on the appropriateness or otherwise of an armed struggle in general against imperialism in the occupied north of Ireland, and certainly made no suggestion whatever that the revolutionary party could in any circumstances always rule out the possible need for armed struggle, - in Ireland, Britain, or anywhere else.

The article simply stated that for revolutionary Marxists, the IRA nationalists' choice of indiscriminate civilian terror as a weapon to use to influence the British working class to oppose British imperialism's armed occupation of the north of Ireland had to be acknowledged as a bad tactic.

"A political campaign among British workers for the socialist revolution in Britain and Ireland is the only correct policy," it stated. "The clumsy weapon of indiscriminate civilian terror detracts from the political fight for the revolutionary Leninist party."

But that does not contain the slightest suggestion of blaming the nationalists for the existence of terror as part of the struggle. The British capitalist Parliament alone bears the responsibility for that through the imposition of the intolerable partition, the refusal to hand over the WHOLE of independent Ireland to the victorious Irish people's national liberation struggle in 1921, artificially handing

over a ridiculously gerrymandered portion of Ulster (parts of six of the nine counties) where there was a majority of reactionary pro-monarchy Orange bigots (the local British capitalist bourgeoisie), much in the same way that South Africa in reverse is today carving out odd-shaped so-called 'homelands' for the blacks.

Nor does it contain the slightest suggestion that the terror weapon, and least of all the armed struggle in general, has "impeded the building of the revolutionary party" as GS falsely charges.

It is down to the Leninists to build their party. The original article merely stated that THEY would not choose the terror 'persuasion' weapon on workers to do it. To young workers who might have been impressed by the IRA dishing it out to the British military and bourgeois establishment on their own home ground, real revolutionary socialists would say that the terror weapon detracts from the necessary political fight for Leninism (as the original article said).

The predominance of the nationalists in the present phase of the struggle against British imperialism, and their notable military exploits, may indeed be a major item in forcing the next retreat out of British imperialism. But widespread popular revolt will be the biggest single element in forcing such change. And the most decisive role the Leninist Party could play would be in that popular revolt.

Would a Leninist party in Ireland take part in the armed struggle against British imperialism regardless of its disagreement with civilian terror in London to influence British workers.?

If what is meant is the particular sporadic nationalist bombing campaigns of the period from partition to the late 1960s, for example, then probably not.

If what is meant is the spontaneous eruption of the conflict towards the dimensions of a popular rebellion, and large sections of workers and youth were under attack or harassment from the police and the military, such as the period of the civil rights campaigns and after, at the end of the 1960s, then certainly yes.

It would be a great mistake to regard a widespread popular revolt as somehow 'belonging to' a particular nationalist military grouping even if the rebellion may partly have been sparked off as a consequence of some actions involving that nationalist military grouping. In the first place, far from all of the broad revolt in the occupied north of Ireland has in fact been under the control of the Provisional IRA. Secondly, even if it had been, it would still have been the duty of the revolutionary party to plunge itself into the struggle and try to win the leadership

of it off the bourgeois nationalists.

The overwhelming concern of a Leninist party would be not just to participate in such a widespread revolt but to actually try to lead it - IN ORDER TO GIVE IT POLITICAL direction. It could be a diversion from the best use of the revolutionary party's time and resources to engage in specialised military guerrilla activities at a time when the general political rebellion was all important.

The essential question should not really be posed as 'armed struggle or not armed struggle'. The real issue for the revolutionary party is where possible to immerse itself in every popular political revolt against the established order so as to try to hasten the proletarian socialist revolution out of the experiences made and the leadership gained. The degree of involvement or not in purely military activities would depend in the first place on the general character of the liberation struggle under way or else on specific tactical circumstances.

The Bolshevik Party plunged enthusiastically into the heroic rebellions, armed rebellions, of the Russian people in 1905 and 1917, and carried out armed robberies and other types of militant activities in other periods. But it was always against bombings and other such acts of terror in general, despite living under a FAR MORE RUTHLESS AND SEVERE police-military dictatorship under the Tsarist autocracy than British imperialism is running in the occupied north of Ireland, and despite classic conditions for guerrilla war national liberation struggle by the many huge subject nations of Tsardom like Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, etc, all with language, culture and history FAR MORE separate from Russia than Ireland has been from England. But the Bolshevik target, while always sympathetic to the national element in the great liberation struggle, consistently remained an autocracy-wide socialist revolution.

29. November 18, 1982
(Bulletin 164)

At tragic cost, the brutal fascist-RUC police murder of three Republicans at in North Armagh at the weekend in cold blood once again demonstrates the perverted rottenness of the Trotskyist middle class 'revolutionary' hoaxers in Britain who in the name of 'pure' (armchair) socialism pour their deadly confusion into the workers movement to effectively help the Thatcher establishment limit mass support for Ireland's reunification and independence.

From the Socialist Organiser on the right to the Spartacists on the left, these dilettante 'anti-imperialist' poseurs deliberately set out to obscure the clear Marxist-Lenin-

ist understanding on the national question, and particularly as it concerns Ireland. (see below).

The latest (November) issue of the Sparts' occasional rag (Sp B 45) for example actually escalates their usual outrageous identification of the imperialist oppressors with the colonised oppressed with a demand for vigilantes to help the capitalist state's police-military dictatorship to 'combat sectarian terror, whether Orange or Green'.

Calling such vigilantes 'united workers militias' and suggesting that they can also "combat imperialist rampage" in no way can cover up the clear counter-revolutionary repression the Sparts now advocate on the side of the fascist-colonialist "Northern Ireland" statelet, artificially established by British imperialism and local capitalist-colonialist reaction in 1921 to deliberately slow down the inevitable leftward thrust of Irish independence, tie it up for as long as possible in frustrated struggle for reunification, and keep a military toe-hold on Ireland.

Ignoring the origins of Orange fascism in the deliberate 17th century colonialist 'plantation' of Ireland's most rebellious province (Ulster) by Scots and English landowners; ignoring the farcical carve-up of Ulster's nine counties into a lunatic winding artificial border through just six of them to give the Orange bourgeoisie a permanent gerrymandered majority over the Irish; the Sparts arrogantly churn out their Manhattan school-board version of Irish history.

"The call for a 'united republic' is in the case of Northern Ireland (sic) a profoundly anti-democratic slogan. The Protestants (sic) of the North are in no wise akin to a colonial caste like the Rhodesian whites... The loyalism which permeates the Protestant population is a derivative expression of this self-identification, separate and apart from the Irish catholic people."

All this garbage about supra-national vigilantes, taking up arms against the Irish national liberation struggle in support of the capitalist state police-military dictatorship, - and a new nationality called 'loyalist' which only began this century, - (the most miraculous national evolution in human history,) - is solely designed to cover up the reality of the British colonial occupation of the north of Ireland, and to oppose the nationalist fight against it.

Thus the judicial execution of the three Irish nationalists in Lurgan by the armed police of the British capitalist state is equated (by this organised anti-Leninist Trot lobby) with the execution by the IRA of the fascist thug Murphy who masterminded the Shankill Road 'butchers' death squad in support of imperialism but who had again been put back into circulation by the British capitalist state; - such is the logic of their above 'vigilante' arguments. What

a monstrous distortion of the heroic reality of Ireland's bitter centuries-long struggle for independence. What a perverse travesty of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary-socialist sympathy for the national question.

Certainly Marxists fight solely for the international socialist revolution, the only ultimate guaranteed fulfilment of the national aspirations of any people, and argue against the illusion of a solution purely through self-determination regardless of the social content of the state established.

But the fight for the socialist revolution will be fatally damaged if it tries to ride roughshod over nationalist sensitivities where historical circumstances have given the national liberation struggle a major role in the defeat of imperialism, as in Ireland, - pre-partition and now. Such was Lenin's position, as the Bulletin explained on a previous occasion in exposing Spart confusion-mongers.

30. December 2, 1982
(Bulletin 166)

The butchering in cold blood of 17-year-old Michael Tighe and 20-year-old Martin McAuley outside Lurgan continues the open judicial murder campaign in Armagh launched with impunity by the Royal Ulster Constabulary, forces of 'the British Crown'.

It followed the shooting to bits of another three young Irishmen the week before also near their homes near Lurgan. More than 60 bullets were poured into their defenceless bodies as they sat, unarmed, in their car at an RUC roadblock.

Each time the fascist state-police have offered an 'excuse'.

In the first instance, they said the car had 'gone through' the roadblock. If a car really had raced through a lightly-manned single checkpoint, it would have been possible to get two or three bullets into it at the most, not 60. And it certainly would have been IMPOSSIBLE to fire at the wake of a disappearing speeding car and get more than 20 bullets straight through the SIDE of the driver's door.

The 'excuse' over the latest Tighe and McAuley assassinations is an even more preposterous string of blatant LIES. The two boys were feeding the pets of an absent neighbour when they were shot to pieces.

The Nazi-RUC thugs did not officially 'report' the incident for over four hours.

In that time, they cooked up the story that the boys were 'armed'.

But the only guns they could plant in time on the dead and seriously wounded youths were two ancient pre-1917 rifles. And NO AMMUNITION at all. (All guns in the RUC possession, whether their own or captured, have to be logged with serial numbers, etc. So special illicit supplies have to be kept in reserve for such frame-ups. On this occ-

the fit-up arrangements went disastrously wrong, with only these ludicrous old blunderbusses available that weren't registered. And no ammunition for them.)

These 'unofficial' official killers are on the rampage in Armagh because of the death of three RUC men in an Irish national Liberation landmine booby trap a month ago.

The petty bourgeois compromisers between imperialism and the revolutionary/nationalist movement (the Labour Party, Militant, Spartacists, Socialist Organiser-WSL, WRP, etc) would all write these events off as another 'wretched example' of 'green and orange terror' being 'no better than each other' or else in some other way refuse to defend the right of the national liberation struggle IN PRACTICE to carry out its own campaigns with its own methods.

But these monstrous crimes (carried out with the deliberate aim of intimidating the nationalist population with judicial state terror in response to their daring to give a huge vote to the IRA/Sinn Fein candidates in the recent Assembly elections,) - are purely a notorious historical landmark in the decay and degeneration of British imperialist rule over Ireland, and nothing whatever to do with shallow middle class impressionism about 'tit-for-tat' terror between 'equally bankrupt' green and orange 'nationalists'.

The 'loyalism' of Carson's rebellion by Orange colonialist landowners, bankers, and 'protestant' petty bourgeois and lumpen camp-followers has NOTHING WHAT-EVER to do with 'nationalism'. It is purely a POLITICAL expression of backward BOURGEOIS mentality at the period of the break-up of the British Empire.

Before the rebellion against Ireland's independence at the start of this century by the Tory Party's landowner wing, the British Army officer caste (equally strongly traditionally connected to landowning vast estates in Ireland), and the Carson fascist political movement,--the Irish independence struggle had frequently been LED by so-called 'protestants'. But they were truly 'nationalists' in the only way it is possible to be a nationalist in Ireland, - they were staunch IRISH nationalists.

The Trotskyist oafs who have 'invented' a 'protestant' 'loyalist' 'nationalism' in the British-occupied zone of Ireland (see Spartacist Britain No 45, 38, etc, and Socialist Organiser ad nauseam) have invented a MONSTROUS COVER for the worst end-of-empire fascist POLITICAL REACTION.

What, for example, is the ultra-rightwing English imperialist Enoch Powell doing abandoning his safe Wolverhampton Tory seat with its legions of racist middle class and some racist lumpen working class support several years ago in order to build an even more reactionary base in County Down?

Because he is an ardent 'protestant' 'Irish' 'nationalist'? What unbelievable and TR-EACHEROUS nonsense. The Trotskyist middle class is finally coming into its own as the arch compromisers saving imperialism from collapse with their anti-Soviet, anti-workers-state vomit on the international scene, and their anti-nationalist vomit protecting British police-military dictatorship over occupied Ireland.

In Nos 121 and 164, the Bulletin has already repeated at length the crystal clear views of Marx and Lenin on the need for revolutionary socialists in Britain to staunchly defend the Fenian bourgeois-nationalist fight as a revolutionary blow against British imperialism without which the path to the socialist revolution in Britain and Ireland, for which the Marxists themselves fight, can never be cleared.

In another article in 1914 'The British Liberals and Ireland', Lenin expressed the same ideas in the following words. Substituting 'Labour and Trotskyist middle class compromisers' that the British working class are currently misled by instead of the 'Liberals,' and updating other historical references, it could be Lenin writing about today's continuation of British imperialist occupation of Ireland and landowning monopoly-capitalist influence on the South's Green Tories.

6... Marx went on to show that what the Irish needed was Home Rule and independence of Britain, an agrarian revolution, and tariffs against Britain.

"Such was the programme proposed to the British workers by Marx, in the interests of Irish freedom, of accelerating the social development and freedom of the British workers; because the British workers could not become free so long as they helped to keep another nation in slavery (or even allowed it).

"Alas, owing to a number of special historical causes, the British workers of the last third of the 19th century proved dependent upon the Liberals, impregnated with the spirit of liberal-labour policy. They proved to be, not at the head of nations and classes fighting for liberty, but in the wake of the contemptible lackeys of the money-bags, the British Liberals.

"And the Liberals have for half a century been dragging out Ireland's liberation, which has not been completed to this day. It was not until the 20th century that the Irish peasant began to turn from a tenant farmer into a freeholder, but the Liberals have imposed upon him a system of land purchase as a 'fair' price. He has paid, and will continue to pay for many years, millions upon millions to the British landlords as a reward for their having robbed him for centuries and reduced him to a state of chronic starvation. The British liberal bourgeois has made the Irish peasant thank the landlord for this in hard

cash....

"A Home Rule Bill for Ireland is now going through Parliament. But in Ireland there is the northern province of Ulster, which is inhabited partly by English-born Protestants as distinct from the Catholic Irish. Well then, the British Conservatives, led by Carson, the British version of our Black-Hundred landlord Purishkevich, have raised a frightful outcry against Irish Home Rule. This, they say, means subjecting Ulstermen to an alien people of alien creed. Lord Carson has threatened rebellion, and has organised gangs of reactionary armed thugs for this purpose.

"An empty threat, of course. There can be no question of a rebellion by a handful of hoodlums. Nor could there be any question of an Irish Parliament (whose powers are determined by British law) [read: "European, international law" in today's terms] "oppressing" the Protestants.

"It is simply a question of the reactionary landlords trying to scare the Liberals.

"And the Liberals are losing their nerve, bowing to the reactionaries, making concessions to them, offering to conduct a referendum in Ulster and put off reform for Ulster for six years.

"The haggling between the Liberals and the reactionaries continues. Reform can wait: the Irish have waited half a century; they can wait a little longer; you can't very well 'offend' the landlords.

"Of course, if the Liberals appealed to the people of Britain, to the proletariat, Carson's reactionary gangs would melt away immediately and disappear. The peaceful and full achievement of freedom by Ireland would be guaranteed.

"But is it conceivable that the liberal bourgeois will turn to the proletariat for aid against the landlords? Why, the Liberals in Britain are also lackeys of the money-bags, capable only of cringing to the Carsons."

In fact, the British bourgeoisie dragged Ireland's struggle for independence all the way to the Black and Tan war against the nationalists and then into the Civil War, and still deliberately mutilated Irish national liberation by using the British Army to prop up an artificial fascist statelet behind the successors to Carson's landlords and lumpen gangster-thugs.

If the question of Ireland's reunification and complete independence were put FAIRLY to the British working class today, it would unquestionably support it. And the ludicrous Paisleyite thugs would be just as quickly and certainly routed if a withdrawing British state presence were instructed by a workers government to round up the relatively few hardcore fascists.

But the petty bourgeois Labour and Trotskyist compromisers who stand between imperialism and the working class in Britain

joining the growing international socialist revolution, are still cringing behind the phoney ideology of 'democracy', the philosophy of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

31. December 9, 1982
(Bulletin 167)

The bomb blast at the army pub disco at Ballykelly is of course an argument for expanding and hastening the GLC's correct initiative in arranging public discussions with Sinn Fein, not cancelling them.

The Irish national liberation movement has been AT WAR with British imperialist military occupation of Ireland for 700 years and that WAR will not end until Britain gets out completely, leaving Ireland reunited and independent.

The artificial 'cause' of a handful of die-hard 'loyalist' fascist-reactionaries is an utter IRRELEVANCE to the INEVITABLE and UNANSWERABLE case for Ireland's reunification and complete independence, and everyone knows it bar backward Union Jack jingoists and rightwing troublemakers.

GLC boss Livingstone had a great chance to further ram this message home precisely immediately after this latest INLA military assault when the TV cameras were pursuing him over his earlier initiative inviting Gerry Adams and Danny Morrison for talks in London.

Initially ducking out of some interviews does not detract from Livingstone's Labour group's relative boldness in making the invitation (which exposes the totally spineless crawling behind the Tory establishment of the official Labour Party opposition.)

But although Livingstone later courageously made amends and gave excellent replies to very hostile and ignorant press interrogation, even 'left' reformism still lags behind Labour movement opinion, and will always be an inadequate leadership.

But as a reflection and barometer of the now-rapid MOVEMENT within the working class from reformist illusions in 'parliamentary socialism' towards revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, the antics of the Livingstoneite, Bennite, Scargillite, and Trotskyite centrists (half-way between reform and revolution) are very revealing.

Scientifically analysing their significance must in no way be allowed to interfere with proper critical support for such initiatives as the GLC's Sinn Fein invitation. But equally, defending Livingstone's actions must not be allowed to obscure the reactionary centrist role he will play IN GENERAL, IN THE LONG RUN.

The paralysis of the British capitalist state over its disastrous implication in Ireland knows no bounds, particularly throughout its petty bourgeois reformist sections.

The Labour Party leaders and the 'free' press have been beside themselves express-

ing outrage at the INLA attack on the British Army was off guard, at a disco.

But not a single voice so much as hinted at the obvious question which all class-conscious workers would want to ask: If the British Army was not occupying the north of Ireland, would not such tragic war casualties become a thing of the past?

It is self-evident that they would.

But the monstrously stupid and philistine Don Concannon (Labour official spokesman), Gerry Fitt, etc, continue to bleat utterly hypocritically ONLY about the terrible 'crime' and suffering, etc.

And since that is all that has been said after ten thousand earlier such "tragedies" etc (going back 700 years), are not such crocodile tears the most complete humbug?

If the British establishment want to stop suffering casualties in Ireland, then let the British establishment CEASE to colonise any part of Ireland.

The only alternative is the Paisley fascist one of swearing to WIPE OUT the Irish national liberation movement once and for all.

But the hypocritical British Labourites and Parliamentarians in general REFUSE to put this logical consequence of their crocodile tears into words.

AND FOR GOOD REASON.

For it was PRECISELY this 'determination' to 'wipe out' Irish nationalism that has been the REAL criminal shame of Britain's 700-year relationship with Ireland.

It is precisely this final imperialist illusion that the 'men of violence' can be beaten by the official British MEN OF VIOLENCE (the armed forces) that keeps Britain (and Ireland) dangling and suffering cruelly on the hook of its insane and unjustified Irish involvement.

Britain should have got out of Ireland COMPLETELY in 1921 when the IRA had fought the Black and Tans to a standstill and Sinn Fein had virtually UNANIMOUS support over all Ireland.

Instead the rotten Tory establishment, backed by all the rotten Liberal and Labour and other Parliamentary and reformist cretins and philistines, kept hold of part of the north of Ireland for strategic reasons and as a deliberate barrier to the independent Irish Republic progressing too far politically.

The rights of the fascist-minded 'loyalist' minority of landowners and bourgeois (whose Irishness was swamped by their ruling class fears over the general decline of British imperialism and the growing revolutionary socialist influence on all national liberation struggles) is merely a fraudulent excuse for Britain hanging on.

Before the clear degeneration of the imperialist-capitalist system had set in, Irish nationalism had purely been concerned

with establishing a self-governing geographical unit, and many of the leaders of the independence movement had themselves been protestants.

The notion that the modern official 'protestants' cannot survive in a united Ireland (with its likely catholic majority influence) is a deliberate modern fiction invented by the British capitalist-imperialist state (and played up to for all it is worth by the hard-line fascist 'loyalist' reactionaries) as an excuse to maintain London's interfering influence on Ireland's affairs.

Without British establishment toleration or tacit support, the fascist-loyalist 'protestant' gangsters, inside and outside the gerrymandered parliamentary circus at Stormont (which has never been anything more than a flimsy cover (lacking all credibility) for the ever-present incipient British police-military dictatorship,) - would evaporate.

The renewed outcry against the Sinn Fein men being given a proper hearing by the people of Britain is, of course, not just a mindless automatic crass bleat by the jingoists who feel obliged to lash out at anything Irish as a result of the fresh blows against the occupation forces.

The wish to stop workers hearing Britain's endless lying propaganda (about the Ireland question) exposed by the far more impressive nationalist arguments is a major preoccupation of the capitalist state establishment.

The ignorant outbursts this week about locking up Adams and Morrison as soon as they set foot in Britain; 'cancelling' the GLC's political authority (some democracy!); or letting those who want to hear the nationalists' arguments "buy An Phoblacht" or "go to Belfast"; - are prize expressions of this imperialist establishment fear of the decay and decline of the capitalist system, particularly as screeched by the petty bourgeoisie.

But continue to decay it will. And one of the inevitable consequences of this will remain the ever-growing obviousness that British imperial influence directly over any part of Ireland is a no-longer-sustain-



Paratroopers on the streets of Derry during Bloody Sunday, 1972

able relic of the past. Irish nationalism will not tolerate it. World opinion will not tolerate it. The remnants of the 'loyalist' presence are a sick, seedy, fascist farce of the once-strutting Tory-and army-backed Carson lobby.

The artificial northern Ireland British minority statelet is doomed. Bring it down before any more suffering and casualties are caused. Bring down any London government which refuses to get out of Ireland. Start with Thatcher.

32. December 16, 1982
(Bulletin 168)

Vanessa Redgrave's kept band of middle class anti-communists, the WRP, persist in lying to the working class about the Marxist-Leninist attitude to nationalist struggles against imperialism.

An outrageous distortion of a quote from Lenin is their latest pathetic contribution to the Bourgeoisie's campaign to put down the Irish national liberation movement (Labour Review No 5, 1982).

The silly Redgraveites then repeat their slanderous provocation made in July after the IRA bomb attacks on military ceremonies in London's Royal parks. "Who authorised this latest bombing episode and why?" implying that the IRA was in league with the British capitalist state.

"The Provisional IRA has come to Thatcher's aid. We denounce these bombings in the strongest possible terms. They serve Thatcher and the capitalist state..." the well-funded Redgraveite petty bourgeoisie declared, making their provocation explicit.

Fatuously, they try to recruit Lenin for this nauseating AGENT PROVOCATEUR work in the Labour movement, trying to finger the nationalists.

Their aim is to prove their contentions 1. that "thirteen years of armed struggle have exposed the infantile belief of IRA leaders that bombs in the UK could wring reforms from Whitehall and lead to a negotiated settlement in the north of Ireland."

2. That "the hunger strikes were a gruesome failure".

3. That "the armalite in one hand, the ballot in the other" is a "politically unviable policy".

4. And that terrorism has "strengthened the Tories resolve to continue the brutal repression of the north".

5. And that "defending the right of the IRA to fight imperialism "is a long call from actually defending the expediency of such actions". (A remarkably frank if accidental admission by the WRP of their TOTAL humbug in pretending to defend national liberation rights IN WORDS while opposing those rights to fight imperialism IN PRACTICE, - (especially when the go-

ing gets hot and the respectable Redgraveite petty bourgeoisie feel like running away from any possible Fleet Street taint of 'responsibility for violence').

But the quote they use from Lenin, to try to back up this confession of opportunist cowardice and COMPLETE anti-Marxist political bankruptcy, means exactly the OPPOSITE of what the WRP intend it to convey.

They quote from chapter 10 of Lenin's 1916 work "The socialist revolution and the right of nations to self-determination".

"To imagine that social revolution is conceivable without revolts by small nations in the colonies and in Europe, without revolutionary outbursts by a section of the petty bourgeoisie with all its prejudices, without a movement of the politically non-conscious proletarian and semi-proletarian masses against oppression by the landowners, the church, and the monarchy, against national oppression, etc., - to imagine all this is to repudiate social revolution."

This is immediately followed by an attempt (long-winded, feeble, and muddled) to elaborate Marxism-Leninism's CLEAR and well-known rejection of purely nationalist political struggle against imperialism, and rejection of the anarchist weapon of individual terror.

But this has nothing whatever to do with the quote from Lenin they give.

And the quote they give has nothing whatever to do with their attempted DENUNCIATION of nationalist armed struggle.

Just the opposite.

Lenin was attacking some German 'Marxists' who were trying to dismiss the 1916 Easter Rebellion in Dublin as nothing more than a 'putsch' with little social backing. (The WRP dishonestly omit any explanation of the purpose of Lenin's polemic).

The meaning of his remarks is self-evident: that ON THE WAY to a completed socialist revolution which will alone finally rout imperialism and allow the fulfilment of any people's legitimate national aspirations, the bourgeois political status-quo will be broken up by all manner of revolts and mass struggles led by all manner of political movements. And that for revolutionary socialists to STAND ASIDE from (let alone denounce) such popular struggles would be the height of REACTIONARY SECTARIAN STUPIDITY and tantamount to a stab-in-the-back to the eventual socialist revolution.

In other words, Lenin's quote is actually proving that IT IS THE WRP who are "serving Thatcher" by their middle class anti-Leninist HOSTILITY to nationalist revolt.

Lenin had no such hostility, as the above quote graphically demonstrates. Just the opposite. He welcomed any revolutionary movement against imperialism as helping

to break up the old political structures and open the way to Marxist-Leninist revolutionary socialist consciousness.

Lenin was for a Marxist proletarian dictatorship, a strong workers state, and the international socialist revolution as the final solution to the problems of imperialism, and not for merely national self-determination, or anarcho-syndicalist terror.

Of course Sinn Fein Irish nationalists are not Marxist-Leninists. Whoever said they were? Lenin's point is PRECISELY that the German 'Marxists' he was attacking were being "ridiculously pedantic" for "vilifying the Irish rebellion by calling it a 'putsch'".

Either side of the WRP's hilariously mis-chosen quote, Lenin explained that the "centuries-old Irish national movement, having passed through various stages and combinations of class interest, manifested itself in particular in a mass Irish National Congress in America which called for Irish independence; it also manifested itself in street fighting conducted by a section of the urban petty bourgeoisie and a section of the workers after a long period of mass agitation, demonstrations, suppression of newspapers, etc. Whoever calls such a rebellion a 'putsch' is either a hardened reactionary, or a doctrinaire hopelessly incapable of envisaging a social revolution as a living phenomenon....

"Whoever expects a 'pure' social revolution will never live to see it. Such a person pays lip-service to revolution without understanding what revolution is....

"The socialist revolution in Europe cannot be anything other than an outburst of mass struggle on the part of all and sundry oppressed and discontented elements. Inevitably, sections of the petty bourgeoisie and of the backward workers will participate in it. Without such participation, mass struggle is impossible, without it no revolution is possible. And just as inevitably will they bring into the movement their prejudices, their reactionary fantasies, their weaknesses and errors. But objectively they will attack capital....

"A blow delivered against the power of the English imperialist bourgeoisie by a rebellion in Ireland is a hundred times more significant politically than a blow of equal force delivered in Asia or in Africa....

"...an oppressed civilised nation has reacted to a military oppression unparalleled in ferocity by establishing an organ of revolutionary protest. The dialectics of history are such that small nations, powerless as an independent factor in the struggle against imperialism, play a part as one of the ferments, one of the bacilli, which help the real anti-imperialist force, the socialist proletariat, to make its appearance on the scene....

"We would be very poor revolutionaries if, in the proletariat's great war of liberation for socialism, we did not know how to utilise every popular movement against every single disaster imperialism brings in order to intensify and extend the crisis. If we were, on the one hand, to repeat in a thousand keys the declaration that we are 'opposed' to all national oppression and, on the other, to describe the heroic revolt of the most mobile and enlightened section of certain classes in an oppressed nation against its oppressors as a 'putsch', we should be sinking to the same level of stupidity as the Kautskyites.

"It is the misfortune of the Irish that they rose prematurely, before the European revolt of the proletariat had had time to mature. Capitalism is not so harmoniously built that the various sources of rebellion can immediately merge of their own accord, without reverses and defeats. On the other hand, the very fact that revolts do break out at different times, in different places, and are of different kinds, guarantees wide scope and depth to the general movement. "But it is only in premature, individual, sporadic, and therefore unsuccessful, revolutionary movements that the masses gain experience, acquire knowledge, gather strength, and get to know their real leaders, the socialist proletarians, and in this way prepare for the general onslaught. . . ."

Every single word of Lenin's here is alive with a real revolutionary's exhilaration at the "heroic revolt" albeit of petty bourgeois Fenian nationalists, just as every genuine revolutionary today will feel enormous sympathy for the masses of Republican workers and youth in the occupied north of Ireland who have been brought onto the streets to fight the police-military dictatorship by the savage imperialist repression of the Fenian nationalists.

What an enormous distance between Lenin's enthusiastic sympathy for nationalist revolt as part of the chaotic unplannable break-up of imperialism, and the middle class Redgraveites' HATRED of the nationalist revolt. As Lenin explained, in reality it merely proves that these petty bourgeois poseurs are OPPOSED to the social revolution.

In just the same way, these lunatic sectarians were OPPOSED and HOSTILE to the spontaneous anarchic revolts in Brixton, Toxteth and Moss Side last year. Who is really "serving Thatcher"? The WRP opportunist sectarian reformists.

33. January 6, 1983
(Bulletin 170)

The desperate 'shoot to kill' tactics being adopted by the British police-military dictatorship in the occupied north of Ireland are a direct result of Thatcher's arrogant

warmongering wrecking of establishment plans to get out of Ireland through a pro-imperialist deal with Dublin's Green Tories.

The British state has been under increasingly intolerable pressure for the past decade from Washington and its NATO anti-communist allies to wind up the sordid spectacle of a colonial liberation guerrilla war being fought by Irish nationalists within the formal frontiers of one of the leaders of the 'free' world.

The daily worldwide television pictures of British troops jackbooting into Irish homes, butchering unarmed civilians, being found guilty of torture at the European Court of Human Rights, and rounding up thousands of young Irish patriots behind barbed wire concentration camps like Long Kesh under the notorious detention-without-trial programme, - were (and still are) setting an appalling example.

The Western 'free' world is supposed to be fighting its anti-communist crusade precisely to prevent such (imagined) torments being inflicted on the capitalist countries by socialist revolution.

And here was the most ballyhooed 'parliamentary democracy' of them all inflicting the very police-state repression the West likes to pretend communism represents.

Thatcher skinhead Toryism was brought to power by the desperation of British capitalism's insoluble economic and political degeneration just at the moment when the British capitalist-state establishment was beginning to slowly implement a withdrawal from the occupied north of Ireland in favour of an 'Islands of the North Atlantic' loose federation which would give Dublin effective long-term sway over Ireland in return for British base guarantees and an IONA commitment to the West's anti-communist warmongering crusade.

Her instincts were against any such concession to the rebellious 'bogtrotters'. Her resentment boiled at the humiliating political defeat inflicted by the heroic hunger-strikers and the sensational Bobby Sands triumph in the Westminster by-election for the Fermanagh seat.

Having sneered at the hunger-strikers and the national liberation struggle by saying the IRA was playing its "last card" and that the prisoners deaths would still fail to give the Republicans "any community support", Thatcher was further humiliated when Owen Carron re-won the Fermanagh seat left empty by Sands's dramatic fast-till-death.

Her reactionary blind fury knew no bounds when Dublin found it impossible to do other than declare its traditional anti-imperialist 'neutrality' and refuse to back anti-Argentine sanctions over Britain's colonial aggression against Argentina's Malvinas Islands.

The slow attempt to find a way for eventual British withdrawal from the occupied north via the IONA ruse was virtually abandoned.

The exposure of the Thatcher Government's bankruptcy over its control of foreign policy (as well as domestic economic policy) was complete when the Irish community voted SOLIDLY for the national liberation struggle Sinn Fein candidates in the recent fraud-assembly elections.

With endless pressure on her to get out of Ireland still pouring in daily from Washington, Bonn, and other NATO capitals, Thatcher's malicious backwardness broke all bounds after this Republican slap in the face.

Out of aimless despair and sheer frustrated hatred of the Irish rebellion which continues to make British imperialism look utterly stupid, the vengeful destructive mood has slimed its way down from the top to the more vicious-minded openly-fascist units within the RUC police and the military.

The result is the demented 'shoot-to-kill' savagery which has led to the butchery in cold blood of seven young Irishmen in the past month, mostly in Armagh, making it now hard to distinguish between the British police-military dictatorship in the occupied north of Ireland and fascism in South Africa or NAZI Germany.

The hopeless dead-end of Thatcher's skinhead politics is beginning to cause a huge outcry throughout the West. The purposelessness of British imperialism's current official actions is beginning to communicate itself in all directions.

Only the devolution towards the vague IONA 'solution' is still on the cards, as wet and useless as that is likely to be (and likely to continue to appear to Thatcher). But 'free' world pressure is bound to mount steadily stronger for London to offer at least some progress out of the appalling mess British imperialism has got itself into, - neither wanting to stay OR get out; neither able to defeat the national liberation struggle OR give in to it gracefully.

When the Catholic clergy (Cardinal O Fiaich) feel forced to go on the stump against imperialist policy (a great rarity since it is basic Church policy to connive with imperialism PRECISELY in order to keep the Irish masses downtrodden - and therefore loyal to religion), - then the fires of national liberation revolt must be kindling up brightly indeed.

And if 'shoot-to-kill' does not cow nationalism, but on the contrary makes it boil over, - then Thatcher's dog-in-the-manger vindictiveness as a policy is doomed.

But Thatcher and her skinhead wing of petty bourgeois British imperialist reaction is now hooked on warmongering as a 'solution' to all British capitalism's crisis pro-

blems (see next article).

Which implies that this degenerate Tory Government might try even more desperate tactics against the national liberation struggle, including threats against the Republic of Ireland itself. And make itself even more of a pariah in the 'free' world camp (rapidly disintegrating) than it is now.

The heroic achievements of the Irish national liberation struggle become clearer than ever in the light of this catastrophic imperialist political crisis.

Trust Trotskyism precisely at this point to try to put its boot into Irish nationalism harder than ever.

The latest broadsides cover the entire Trotskyist petty-bourgeois subjectivism spectrum from the 'Militant' on the right to the 'Sparts' on the left.

To the applause of the Daily Telegraph editorial, the 'Militant' condemned in outraged tones the INVITATION by Labour lefts to Sinn Fein to speak in London, not the Thatcher Government's BAN on that invitation. In other words, 'Militant' backed the British Imperialist police-state repression of the views of Irish nationalism.

All the usual impressionist garbage about the 'sectarian divide' being the issue in the occupied north was poured out, utterly banishing any hope of a Marxist materialist analysis of the REALITY of British police-military dictatorship dominating an Irish national rebellion.

But along with the idiocies perpetuating the myth about a non-existent "Northern Irish Protestant Nationalism" when what is really being referred to is plain old-fashioned fascism in support of a dying empire, came the opportunist Militantites' real grudge, - their terror of NEVER getting to Westminster as MPs made for life.

"Labour CANNOT AFFORD (emphasis added) the slightest ambiguity or fudging of the issues. The labour movement must condemn without qualification the sectarianism that has plagued Northern Ireland, INCLUDING THAT OF SINN FEIN (emphasis added)...."

They cannot get their petty bourgeois democrat's fear and hatred of armed struggle out quickly and clearly enough.

The Spartans simply repeat their bankrupt fabrications about the existence of a 'Northern Irish Protestant Nationalism' as a cover for the fascist reaction at the fag-end of British colonial rule. Until Carson's fascism was given bogus 'nationalist' clothing by British imperialism in 1921 with its infamous partition of Ireland to thwart the political progress of Irish Republicanism after Sinn Fein's astonishing 86% electoral triumph OVER ALL IRELAND in the 1918 election and the IRA's triumph in the war of liberation, - Irish national independence struggles had frequently been LED

by 'protestants' such as Wolfe Tone, Parnell, and dozens of others.

The British fascist reality of the bogus 'Northern Irish Protestant Nationalism' is best seen by its Parliamentary leader being the English imperialist reactionary Enoch Powell drafted in from Wolverhampton (South East) to do the job of Union Jack-waving colonial reaction more effectively to prevent the final reunification and complete nominal independence of Ireland, from his adopted English imperialist seat of Down (South).

The Sparts, as the majority of the other Trotskyist petty bourgeois degenerates, choose to prop up fascist reaction's bogus 'Northern Irish Protestant Nationalist' cover in order to stab the REVOLUTIONARY content of Irish national liberation's struggle against British imperialism in the back, (hiding behind phoney 'Marxist' hostility to nationalism in favour of 'revolutionary socialism' to do it, -ignoring the entire Marxist-Leninist history of sympathetic SUPPORT for national struggles IN THE COURSE OF fighting for the socialist revolution, the only final guarantee of full realisation of all people's legitimate national aspirations.)

34. January 13, 1983
(Bulletin 171)

Thatcher's Falklands tour humbug about 'freedom and justice' (to cover up the criminal pointlessness and backwardness of her South Atlantic colonial warmongering bloodbath)- was made to look sick by the latest Belfast butchery.

Instead of another cold-blooded massacre of young Irish nationalists at a roadblock, - (the fate of eight young Republicans in the past month just for supporting the freedom of their country from British military occupation,) - it was an unmarked RUC car which got shot up by the soldiers.

Thus the murderous 'shoot-on-sight' tyranny now being imposed on the occupied zone, worse than anything taking place under fascist apartheid or NAZI Germany, led to predictable self-inflicted mayhem, a grim form of poetic justice.

The hideous farce of brutalised troops at a roadblock blowing to pieces their brutalised police colleagues without even giving them a chance to say who they were underlines one significant aspect of this new 'get tough' policy, - the demoralisation among the armed forces at their failure to defeat the national-liberation struggle.

Bitterly aware that the British imperialist establishment's pretence that the Republican guerrillas are just 'criminals' with 'no public support' is a ridiculous lie, the police-military dictatorship is beginning to despair at the political 'solution'.

The imperialist troops and the near-fasc-

ist RUC police know better than anyone that at the Irish nationalist masses HATE the British colonial statelet which was forced upon them by the infamous partition of 1921 to frustrate the astonishing 86% support Sinn Fein won ALL OVER IRELAND for independence in the 1918 election.

They know to their painful cost that the Irish will never rest until their whole country is free at last and reunited as one Republic.

That is the genuine 'freedom and justice' issue which Thatcher turns her back on, hoping to drown it in blood through the new murderous 'shoot-on-sight' tactics, while she parades her humbug around another illegal British colonial possession - the Argentine Malvinas Islands.

But this desperate military tactic of 'shoot-to-kill' without any warning or questions asked, is an abysmal futile degeneration in the British imperialist position which truly reflects the bankruptcy of Thatcher's politics (all-round) and can only lead to further disasters.

At one level, it is straining to the limit the already tattered credibility of the entire British capitalist state, - now caught out offering the most ludicrous, lame, lying excuses for this amazing outbreak of judicial killings at roadblocks. The 'explanation' put forward that the shot-up uniformed police were in an 'unmarked' car which was 'rapidly approaching an army roadblock' raises far more disturbing questions about the desperate murderous new tactics than it can ever possibly answer. It could become an even worse scandal than the humiliation for British establishment in the mid-1970s when the European Court found the police and army barracks in the occupied zone of Ireland guilty of systematic torture of detainees.

At another level, hostile worldwide criticism (far greater than the British capitalist TV monopolies allow to be shown) of this latest degeneration can only have renewed impetus on the already massive international support for the Irish national liberation struggle, particularly among the huge Irish-descent population of North America.

At another level, these tactics of despair can only deepen the already grave doubts tormenting the entire British political establishment over the endless sordid mess the rotten 1921 partition colonialist policy has landed them with. Humiliating political pressure from the rest of the embarrassed 'free' world to wind up the wretched fascist statelet and declare partition to have been a completely unacceptable and intolerable favour to a tiny handful of colonial reactionaries, - grows irresistibly. The myth of 'Northern Ireland protestantism' being a 'separate' and 'independent'

form of 'Irish nationalism' is a disgraceful political fraud stitched together to suit the imperial-fascist reaction of the Carsonites, the reactionary Tories, and the mutinous British Army officers who all unconstitutionally rebelled at the start of the century against majority national and Parliamentary support for Irish independence, starting with united Home Rule over ALL Ireland. Previous to this fascist political fiction of an 'Ulster nationality', - (itself a sick joke since the overall MAJORITY in Ulster's NINE counties had voted for Sinn Fein and Irish independence - leading to only SIX counties being ripped out for the Union Jack wavers - and with a gerrymandered border, at that, even for those artificial SIX), - the centuries of struggle for Irish independence had frequently been LED by prominent Irish protestants.

And at probably the most important level, the new 'shoot-on-sight' tactics will FAIL to rout or intimidate the national liberation forces and their mass support. If anything, the new murderous brutality is likely, as in the past, only to INCREASE the resistance, and SHARPEN the independence struggle.

The mess British imperialism has got itself into, by its paralysed inability to grasp the futility of its repression or to agree to get out via negotiated diplomatic grace, - can only deepen.

35. March 17, 1983
(Bulletin 180)

A series of hammer blows is rocking Thatcher's repressive paralysis in the British-military-occupied north of Ireland.

Sinn Fein is making startling political advances throughout the nationalist working masses in the police-military dictatorship.

The Common Market's enforced investigation of British capitalist misrule of its last colonial province has split the Tory Cabinet over how to react.

The Dublin 'Green Tories' all-Ireland forum initiative, rejected by the City of London's fascist stooges in the colony, is likely to receive widespread Western backing, further embarrassing Westminster.

The huge anti-Queen pro-Irish reunification demonstrations in the West Coast tour caused vast damaging anti-British-colonialist propaganda.

The militant tone of the St Patrick's Day parade preparations in New York, and the massive publicity it gave to Sinn Fein's Noraid North American fund-raising activities, is a further nail in the Tory-Orange diehards' coffin.

The latest barbaric gunning down of three men sitting in a car outside Queens University in Belfast, confirming the fascist shoot-on-sight policy, will further enrage international public opinion against the

monstrous Thatcher - colonial tyranny.

Sinn Fein's advance to the exclusion of the class-collaborationist SDLP Labourites signifies a lot more than just a nationalist Irish revival in the face of worldwide big-nation imperialist economic decline.

The IRA's armed national-liberation struggle is a revolutionary challenge to the capitalist status quo. The non-stop Tory press propaganda sneer that these 'criminals' did not have (and NEVER would have) any mass support looked true for a long while, - and was true in a certain limited sense that reformist illusions (courtesy of the capitulatory SDLP) were rife because of longstanding British parliamentary capitalist traditions, (even despite the obviously fraudulent joke of 'democracy' as it has always been denied to the Irish nationalist minority throughout the entire 62-year existence of the bastard fascist-Orange colonial statelet, deceitfully and disgracefully mis-termed 'Northern Ireland'.)

The enormous significance of the mass popular turn to open support for Sinn Fein in the occupied zone (and considerably growing sympathy in the Irish Republic as well) is that this terminal economic crisis of the international capitalist system is going to produce a REVOLUTIONARY political crisis everywhere.

The armed national-liberation struggle already launched out of the bourgeois-nationalist Republican tradition has been rapidly forced towards the socialist revolution arising spontaneously out of this international capitalist slump-crisis.

The peculiar colonial-liberation circumstances of the fight against the degenerate fascist-Orange statelet in the occupied north of Ireland will almost certainly continue to lend an armed guerrilla warfare character to the revolutionary struggle. But the mass revolutionary socialist movement will increasingly come to predominate.

Vital in this development will be the building of a theoretically strong Leninist-internationalist communist leadership in solidarity with the Soviet-led world socialist revolution, taking much further forward the tentative beginnings already made within the Republican movement.

The influences of the international class struggle have always been evident in dragging the decaying British bourgeoisie into the mire of the ludicrously outdated colonial repression in the occupied north of Ireland. The emergence of full-scale socialist revolution underlines the rapidly maturing international communist general features of the revolt against capitalist degeneracy, which will soon be seen clearly to be affecting Britain itself as much as Ireland, and affecting the whole rest of the 'free' world as well.

36. March 24, 1983
(Bulletin 181)

In immediate confirmation of last week's Bulletin analysis of the historic and international significance of the full-scale social revolution now brewing in Ireland as a result of the capitalist slump and the outdated British colonial occupation of the northern military dictatorship area, the IRA's political wing has gained an astonishing triumph in an openly electoral contest in Carrickmore.

Following a campaign which made no secret of the need for a complete revolutionary upheaval in Ireland to reunite the country and drive out the artificial British colonial enclave, all the other shades of Irish compromise with British capitalism were annihilated.

The SDLP which had always held the seat in the interests and traditions of the reactionary Catholic Church and the Green Tories in Dublin, got a derisory 654 votes compared to 2,289 for Sinn Fein. The rival compromise party, the Alliance, only got 907. A rival non-militant Republican group was wiped out by the Sinn Fein advance, - the Irish Independence vote falling from 1,572 to 123. Thus the IRA's political wing attracted such mass political support as to swamp all the other parties put together, an unprecedented development in the recent past.

It indicates how the armed national liberation struggle has merged irresistibly with the socialist revolutionary crisis being imposed on the Irish masses by the unending and incurable capitalist crisis and its foul colonial-dictatorship expression in the bastard Orange-fascist statelet artificially gerrymandered out of selected parts of Ireland's historic Ulster province. The writing is on the wall for the monstrous injury to the Irish nation that the infamous 1921 Partition imposed by British imperialist bayonets represents.

37. June 30, 1983
(Bulletin 195)

Sinn Fein's election triumph in winning more than 50% of the nationalist vote in Belfast, and more than 40% in the occupied north of Ireland as a whole, has shattered the British imperialist set-up in the colony.

If the devastating significance of the deep revolutionary upheaval behind this change (the preparations for which have long and consistently been analysed in the Bulletin) was not immediately evident, the scalded reaction by the capitalist authorities in broadcasting endless praise since then of the DEFEATED class-collaboration candidate Gerry Fitt has revealed the establishment's pain and bitterness.

Virtual total official silence has been dra-

wn over the sensational victory in West Belfast of the winning candidate Gerry Adams, one of the most consciously socialist leaders of the revolutionary nationalist movement.

His 17,000 votes there, despite a blanket propaganda dictatorship against Republicanism and the most hysterical non-stop vilification against the national liberation struggle, speaks volumes for the real CLASS feelings of the downtrodden masses in the occupied north of Ireland, at last finding conscious expression.

But all that the capitalist press will report on-(the BBC/ITV/Fleet Street lie machine)- is the treacherous obscenities of the discarded Fitt, exposed as a class collaborator who no longer represents anything.

"Gerry Fitt is a Brit" the Irish youth correctly taunt the Parliamentary has-been.

But instead of hearing from the 17,000 who threw him out of office, the panicking television authorities will only put on Fitt's rejected submissiveness.

Fitt's slander that the huge Sinn Fein support is merely a vote for "terrorist murder" and "sectarian killings" is an outrage.

Certainly the repressed Irish proletariat will no longer be terrorised by the British police-military dictatorship into NOT voting Sinn Fein just because both sides are now using bullets in the national liberation struggle.

But Sinn Fein's leadership of mass consciousness represents a lot more than that, - as the badly-stung capitalist propaganda response all-too-sensitively gives away.

The Republican masses, after all, have ALWAYS protected the IRA. There is nothing new in that.

What IS totally new, however, is that the mass of the Irish population in the occupied north has at last broken free of the ideological domination by the conservative forces of the Church hierarchy and Parliamentarism.

For the first time the Republican working class is supporting openly and consciously what it thinks and hopes will become the socialist revolution in Ireland.

How far the socialist wing of Sinn Fein will satisfy and lead these aspirations is another question.

But the British authorities are correct to react in the unconcealed alarmed way that they have to Fitt's overthrow.

Once the masses have historically moved on from the SDLP and Fitt-breakaway reformism and class collaborationism which has been holding the working class back until now, then there is no way of restraining them further with Parliamentarism.

Either Sinn Fein at last delivers something worthwhile for Ireland's future prosperity and united national flourishing by overthrowing the capitalist slump, - or the socialist revolution will move on to a leadership

which can satisfy such aspirations.

Ireland's national liberation struggle is coming to a climax in a historical period in which the powerful attraction and influence of the world socialist revolution (led by the USSR and the socialist camp) against imperialist intrigue and intervention is so decisive that left nationalists have quickly been won over to Leninism. The revolutions in Cuba, Nicaragua, and El Salvador are obvious and outstanding examples.

The Catholic Church showed it can clearly see the revolutionary tide by its unprecedented open canvassing for the SDLP. Several bishops, including Cardinal O'Fiaich himself, pleaded with the flock not to vote Sinn Fein.

One West Belfast priest, Father Des Wilson, felt obliged to comment on what he thought had been a tactical blunder by the Church.

"In advance of the General Election, some clergymen acted imprudently and almost with an appearance of panic. The keystone of the argument against revolution was about to be taken away."

(This was the Jesuitical hypocrisy with which the Church always gets round the masses natural inclination for socialist revolution by preaching that it would be "wrong" to support something which had no "popular mandate" and which had no "reasonable hope of success". In other words, an opportunist hope that Parliamentary democracy would always in the West be capable of hoodwinking the masses with reformist promises, and into always VOTING against revolution.)

"The keystone of the argument against revolution was about to be taken away," Wilson has written revealingly. "Many clergy felt they had a moral duty not to allow this to happen and so, against the policy of the church as it has been for many years, and against the advice of the Pope recently stated, the SDLP was helped and encouraged while people were strongly advised not to vote for Sinn Fein."

(As the Bulletin has frequently commented in other arenas of the international class struggle, the present Vatican leadership has often shown confusion and serious splits on tactics against the socialist revolution. Wilson's comments on the north of Ireland situation are not verifiable, but they at least again reveal serious divisions within the Church hierarchy).

Seeking to avoid too much pro-revolutionary propaganda, and still hoping to get the Church back into the leadership of the masses - but without any commitment to the socialist revolution, of course, - Wilson then tries to limit the significance (of the huge shift in popular consciousness) to the question once again of armed struggle and independ-

ence only, playing down the revolutionary socialist implications of Sinn Fein's support.

"No one, however, can be happy to draw the conclusion that this last vote for Sinn Fein necessarily commits us to war. It may, but it need not. There is, for the church, which has weakened itself considerably, one way out: to acknowledge the strength of the people's determination to end this problem in the north and to come in firmly and unequivocally on the side of the people against the government." By doing so it could help create a political movement of such strength "that the use of military means would be unnecessary," Wilson concluded.

It shows how far and how rapidly the situation for capitalism has deteriorated in the occupied north of Ireland that the Catholic Church should seek to CONSOLE itself with the mere (!) bringing down of the Belfast government and the enforced reunification of Ireland against British imperialism's wishes - as a last ditch attempt to forestall fullscale socialist revolution.

This is an enormous retreat from the pathetic pro-Fitt propaganda by the existing capitalist authorities, still trying to confuse the Irish proletariat via the SDLP into class collaboration with the Ulster fascist statelet, (which is ENTIRELY imperialist including its corrupted dominant working class influences. Any genuine revolutionary elements among so-called 'protestant' workers will either support Irish independence and reunification as Irishmen (as great protestant Irish revolutionaries did in the past like Wolfe Tone, Parnell, etc) or else as internationalists.)

Fitt's dying boast, that he got his miserable 10,000 votes as equally from the 'protestant' Shankill Road area as the nationalist Falls Road area, can stand as a fittingly useless epitaph to another disastrous collapse and failure of reformism.

Even if true (which is extremely unlikely), this old SDLP and Alliance trick of reconciling British imperialism and Irish nationalism WITHIN the framework of the



existing capitalist slump (Parliamentary democracy, so-called) remains a pointless and treacherous hope, condemning the proletarian masses to endless more years of suffering and exploitation within an insupportable capitalist crisis.

The capitalist system is bankrupt. Only its revolutionary socialist overthrow can end the slump. These revolutionary pressures will inevitably increasingly embrace and supercede the purely nationalist struggle in the occupied north of Ireland, but in no way can they possibly by-pass or go against the just national aspirations of the Irish people.

38. December 8, 1983
(Bulletin 218)

The spate of bad news for the British imperialist police-military dictatorship over the occupied north of Ireland has specific lessons for the worldwide struggle for national liberation and socialist revolution.

But even more important is the general picture they provide of a whole society heading towards total break-up. The dire implications are not just for the wretched Orange-fascist statelet ripped out of Ireland in 1921 at British bayonet-point along a ludicrously gerrymandered border taking just those bits of Ulster with a pro-British colonialist majority. They are equally grim for the capitalist Republic of Ireland, and for the Green Tories' nervous relations with Westminster (and vice-versa) and with the West in general.

The clear signs of a complete revolutionary upheaval in the nationalist population in the occupied zone, given expression by the vastly increased support for the national liberation war, is not something from which the working masses in the South can easily be kept immune.

Open backing in defiance of the Church for would-be revolutionary socialist tendencies in the Republican movements, particularly Sinn Fein, indicate that the whole of social relations in Ireland have reached a historic stage, - as a result of world developments and the still unresolved rasp of British military dictatorship, - where all-out Bolshevik Revolution is on the cards.

A convincing Leninist movement is yet to appear. But the independent revolutionary struggle of the nationalist population in the North, plus the enormous economic struggle by workers in the South against the increasingly-felt effects of the world capitalist crisis on Ireland, together show all the makings of

a revolutionary situation which will soon be crying out for a Leninist leadership to act upon.

The heroic triumph of Sinn Fein in exposing British imperialist futility with the dramatic hunger strikes and the subsequent sensational ballot box victories, - all dismissed as a 'defeat' by the lunatic 'lefts' in Britain like the RCG and all the rest, - has been the outward expression of the deep underlying inroads which revolutionary socialist insurrection has made into the consciousness of the ordinary nationalist masses in the north, - and to some extent already in the south as well.

On the other side of the class war barricades, the other essential ingredient for a successful Bolshevik Revolution, - the collapse and paralysis of the ruling class, - has also proceeded rapidly.

British imperialism's former local gauleiters, the Orange bourgeoisie, is now utterly demoralised and at odds with Westminster. The British establishment is hopelessly split over what to do next, the defeated futility of every policy in Ireland staring them in the face, and pressure growing relentlessly from world opinion to end the mess soon. The attempted deal with the Green Tories in Dublin to 'end partition' by some sleight-of-hand is fraught with dangers to Westminster, Dublin, and Belfast. The doubts about how it might all work out seem merely to continue the virtual paralysis in Dublin and Whitehall on the steadily deteriorating situation. Capitalist ambitions and intrigues have run full tilt into the insoluble problems of capitalist slump.

The futility of British imperialism's northern operation will continue to demoralise that sick statelet giving rise to further spates of revelations of police, judicial, and economic graft and corruption. The cowardly refusal of Dublin and the British Labourites to demand an end to partition will destroy them too.

39. December 21, 1983
(Bulletin 220)

The capitalist press (the BBC/ITV/Fleet Street lie machine) has worked overtime to extricate the Metropolitan Police from their astonishing and sinister lapse over the Harrods bomb tragedy.

For some unaccountable reason, Scotland Yard refused to clear the three small side streets around the Knightsbridge store despite an absolutely clear phone message, using the IRA secret code agreement with the police,

ice, a full 40 minutes before the blast, that a "car-bomb was outside Harrods".

Even more remarkable, the Guardian revealed on Monday that the IRA had even supplied the vehicle's registration number, - which is precisely why the police were standing right by it when it exploded.

Why were the side streets not cleared, a simple police operation which half-a-dozen cops could have done in just 5 minutes without the slightest danger to anybody? And why was the store itself not cleared via the huge front entrances on Brompton Road where there is no parking so there could have been no booby-trapped cars?

On the one hand, astonishing capitalist greed and freemasonry cliques between big businessmen and Met Police chiefs have possibly prevailed, reaching some sick secret agreement that bomb scares should be played down in the middle of such a lucrative shop-buying season, especially for such a big business store like Harrods.

The amazing off-hand laxity around Harrods contrasts starkly with other periods and other places, such as last Christmas when several areas of Central London were frequently rigorously cleared of all traffic and pedestrians when there had not even been any IRA bomb warnings.

But this warning could not have been clearer. "A car-bomb outside Harrods", even giving the registration number of the vehicle. In the three small side-streets around the store, it could not have taken more than two minutes to find the vehicle. But while coppers stood by the side of it, hundreds of shoppers were allowed to pass right alongside for half-an-hour before it exploded.

It is ludicrous for the police to give as an 'excuse' for taking no action the fact that another threatened bomb at Littlewoods in Oxford Street was also mentioned in the IRA message. What difference would it have made if 20 other suspected bombs had been mentioned? To help ultra-right Tory employer Eddie Shah smash working class organisation at Warrington, the police do not hesitate to have 3,000 highly-trained riot police on duty all night long to club the pickets into submission. Just 300 cops could have adequately cordoned off as many as 20 suspected bomb sites in London, let alone just two, while checks were made.

On the other hand, an even more sinister suspicion is that maybe certain political authorities in London wanted a real bomb emergency to blow up in the capital's faces to serve some counter-revolutionary purpose to do with Thatcher's warmongering plans as a 'solution' to the incurable capitalist economic crisis. The provoked Falklands War got the Tories out of a deep political crisis in early 1982 when Thatcher's popularity was dangerously low, - the lowest in modern history, bringing the danger of a general strike

to overthrow her. Are the capitalist state establishment now looking for an increase of warmongering drama to rescue Thatcher from the new political crisis she is sliding into? Are the authorities out to justify a stepped-up all-out war in Ireland?

Labour leaders were naturally the first to rush in to back up the ruling class hysteria against the Irish national liberation movement. Merlyn Rees, a former Labour Government gauleiter for the police-military dictatorship over the occupied north of Ireland and a man so conservative he would be too rightwing even for Thatcher's Cabinet, - declared insanely that "the whole name of Ireland had been besmirched" by what is principally Scotland Yard's criminal negligence. The opportunist worm Ken Livingstone squeaked: "I am horrified at this appalling crime. I hope those responsible will be quickly caught." Presumably so that they can join the dozens of innocent Irishmen and sympathisers who will now be dragged in and beaten to-death under the infamous Anti-Terrorist Laws. Kinnock added his reactionary twopenn'orth declaring total political ostracism of Sinn Fein, the revolutionary nationalist movement now speaking for the majority of the victims of the real 'crime', - the continued police-military dictatorship-colonisation of the occupied north of Ireland by British imperialism.

The feeble Kinnock is easy meat for yet more logical sophistry from bourgeois idealism on the subject of terrorism. "Do you condemn terrorist bombings, yes or no?". But once again, (see 'Freedom' story), a simple yes or no answer is the most misleading reply that can possibly be given, playing right into the hands of media-dominated impressionism which wants to ignore the fact that Harrods is just one tiny incident within no less than 700 years national liberation struggle against British imperialist domination (and repeated slaughter) of Ireland, still continuing 24-hour-a-day right now. "Reunite Ireland immediately, followed by the immediate withdrawal of all British forces and nationals who won't accept the authority of the Republic of Ireland over all 32 counties", - that is the only reply any civilised person can give to the question "Do you condemn terrorist bombings".

Nothing has stopped Irish nationalists fighting the British usurpers of their land for 700 years, and nothing ever will stop them. And there could be far less responsible foes than the IRA to deal with, who gave a gentlemanly 40-minute warning preceded by the correct secret code, and even supplied the car registration number, just to make possible an injury-free piece of traditional traffic and shopping disruption at the most awkward time before Christmas. Other, more frustrated or desperate nationalist elements might have been, - and might yet become, - less scrupulous.

The deaths of the innocent civilians are obviously a tragedy. They are dying because of a British imperialist state policy which

they are lied to about in history books and on the media and by the corrupt capitalist Parliament, and which they do not understand. But to call the deaths a 'crime' is a different matter, apportioning blame as to where responsibility for the 700-year war in Ireland lies. Obviously it lies with British imperialism alone. The British invaded Ireland, have tried unsuccessfully for 700 years to totally colonise and dominate it, and are still trying 700-years-later to still hang onto one last usurped corner of Ireland. On every occasion throughout that long history, it has always been the British occupying forces who have first resorted to escalated violence in response to increased pressure for political liberation by the Irish nationalists. This latest round of 'the troubles' is no exception. The civil rights marches in 1968-1969 were finally set upon by British imperialism's armed custodians in the occupied north, - the fascist RUC, - causing communal riots which a Labour Government sent British troops in to "quell" - on the side of Loyalism!

In exactly the same barbaric fascist way was the bastard Orange statelet of gerrymandered parts of just six of Ulster's nine counties ripped out of Ireland in 1921 at British Black and Tan bayonet-point to set off this whole latest saga in the long tragic history of Ireland, - caused entirely by British imperialist greed and savagery.

Revolutionary socialists would not choose to fight British imperialism with the tactics of bombs on the streets of London. But no one can deny the right of Irish nationalists to fight for the liberation of their country in any way they please. Anyone who opposes that right is nothing but a lousy cover for British imperialist fascism, and the worst enemy of revolutionary socialism, the only kind of socialism that will ever work.

Tragically, Sinn Fein still seem hostile enough to Leninism (and not just by their continued London bombings campaign) to stand little chance of introducing a revolutionary socialist solution to Ireland's justified national aspirations, - the only way they can be satisfied in the teeth of the greatest world capitalist economic crisis in history. But the ILWP, although disagreeing openly on tactics, would have no right to deny to revolutionary nationalists the justification to fight for their cause as they think fit.

40. January 19, 1984
(Bulletin 223)

Capitulating to the enormous pressures of the unprecedented revolutionary mass movement in the occupied north of Ireland in support of Sinn Fein's socialist programme, church leader Cardinal O Fiaich has shattered the Dublin Tories by refusing to morally condemn it.

"If a person joins Sinn Fein for positive reasons, - as an act of support for their involvement in housing, for instance, then he may be morally justified," the Catholic headman has conceded.

It would be quite wrong for a churchman to recommend one political party against another, he went on.

This is a bombshell retreat from the Catholic hierarchy's previous relentless campaign against the IRA and in favour of the SDLP reformist class compromisers around "Lord" 'Gerry-Fitt-is-a-Brit' and John Hume.

The capitalist establishment in the Republic are thunderstruck.

O Fiaich was speaking on Irish national radio when he refused an appeal from Irish Ireland's defence minister Patrick Cooney to declare membership of Sinn Fein morally wrong.

The furthest the Cardinal would go was in saying: "If a person joins Sinn Fein as an act of support for the violent activities of the IRA, then in my view that is morally wrong."

But he even softened that condemnation by saying that morality always depended on people's motives.

Then he followed up with his dramatic bet-hedging concession that ordinary membership of Sinn Fein could be blameless.

This opportunist retreat by the church will now put terrible strains on the stale old Republicanism of the capitalist ruling class in the south.

For decades they have been holding back the national liberation movement in the 26 counties by their pretence that they too, just as much as the IRA and 'with more effectiveness', were also for the reunification of Ireland.

The peculiar combination of religious backwardness and postwar capitalist boom, plus the novelty of the Irish Republic's new independence (from the Commonwealth and obviously threatened continued domination from London), bred widespread conservatism on the issue of the infamous and brutal partition of Ireland (by British bayonets in favour of the bastard Orange-fascist statelet in the gerrymandered parts of six of Ulster's nine counties, ripped out by the savage Black and Tan repression in 1921).

But the re-born revolutionary struggle in the occupied north against colonial dictatorship and imperialist decay has now coincided with the social pressures of slump in the south.

Signs have been growing for a long time that the old bi-partisan capitalist stitch-up in the Dail (parliament) was disintegrating under the strain, with huge strike waves and new leftwing political groups getting a look-in.

But now the unprecedented influences of the mass-movement revolution in the north behind Sinn Fein's virtual declaration of independence from the British colonial regime are beginning to be felt in the south.

A social revolution of such depth and unbreakable strength is vastly different from the mere propagation of a new socialist ideology.

The Irish remain one nation regardless of the differences imposed and claimed by the British colonial regime in the occupied north.

With slump and worldwide imperialist war - mongering pressures now beginning to break up existing capitalist social relations in the south too (as previously happened much earlier in the occupied north because of the particular pressures on decadent British imperialism and its hopelessly inadequate political and economic responses), the revolutionary experience of the Irish masses in the north is now easily transmitting itself to the south.

The virtual declaration of independence from the capitalist state in the north on such matters as rents, transport, communications, local law and order, information and education, etc. (on top of the decisive revolutionary revolt on civil disobedience and solidarity with the IRA), must irresistibly begin to influence the slump-ridden south sooner or later.

The catholic church's cunning instinct for survival, leading it to avoid any all-out confrontation with Sinn Fein's massive support in the north, can only weaken the barriers to the northern revolt's influence even more.

The obvious influence on the church's tactics of the social revolutionary movement in the north, filtering up from the grass roots through the parish priests who can see the danger to catholicism's hold if Sinn Fein's popularity is gone against, is clear from Cardinal O Fiaich's other damaging blow to the Westminster-Dublin Tory establishment when he condemned Thatcher's pre-Christmas visit to the UDR base in County Armagh where 8 members of the UDR are currently facing charges of unlawful death-squad murders of Irish nationalists. "In the circumstances, that was a very insulting thing to do," he scythed, nearly three weeks belatedly, having finally heard about the discontent among the masses. For good measure he added that Britain's lack of interest in the province would result in further bloodshed, murder, and torture.

Sinn Fein's new socialist orientation and the mass revolutionary movement in the north are still a long way short of a Leninist revolution. But enormous international pressures and influences are becoming increasingly concentrated on Ireland's peculiar national liberation/ class struggle conflicts, creating a potentially explosive situation which could have colossal revolutionary significance for Europe and the world generally.

41. April 5, 1984
(Bulletin 234)

British imperialism announced on Tuesday that any Irish nationalist is henceforth liable to be shot down in cold blood with the full approval of the 'legal' authorities.

The Belfast 'court' declared that the Occupation Zone forces were fully justified in stopping the car of two unarmed Irishmen, - Seamus Grew and Roderick Carroll, - and firing 20 revolver and rifle bullets into them from point blank range, killing them instantly.

This vicious, fascist assassination was justified, said the judge, because one of the death squad (composed of RUC men, Special

Branch secret police, and Army political police) was willing to lie to the 'court' that he thought he heard something like a shot being fired, or about to be fired..!

These uniformed fascist killers had already admitted to the 'court' that they had already been caught out in one monstrous lie in which they jointly agreed to fake fictitious 'evidence' that the Irishmen's car had been fired on while trying to escape.

(The ILWP Bulletin declared at the time of this incident in Armagh City at the end of 1982 that the official 'story' of the Irishmen's car having roared through a road block without stopping, and having been fired upon in a subsequent chase, 'unfortunately killing the occupants', was a lot of fascist-Goebbels lies and nonsense since all the 20 bullets had been fired at right-angles into the passenger's and driver's doors, - clearly done to a stationary car from point blank range. In other words, an obvious judicial murder. This was in a period of such brutal cold-blooded killings, and led to the ILWP's conclusion that official Death Squads were now in operation by the British imperialist police-military dictatorship in the colonised north of Ireland.)

The 'judge' - Justice MacDermott - ruled that this scandalous perjury was totally irrelevant to the case.

Equally irrelevant, he decided, was the admitted fact that the Death Squad had invented this completely fictitious 'evidence' on the instructions of the British Occupation's High Command.

But when it came to the equally fictitious 'evidence' from one of the uniformed butchers that "he thought he heard a shot" and that "he thought the car might be trying to reverse" (it was in fact stationary with its hand brake on when pumped full of bullets, actual evidence showed), - the 'judge' pronounced this cynical nonsense 'eminently believable'.

'Mr Justice' MacDermott made much of the 'fact' of Grew and Carroll's connections with the IRSP/INLA nationalist movement and the guerrilla struggle for the national liberation of all of Ireland from British colonialism's military occupation, and of the authorities' contrived hysteria about Dominic McGlinchey whom the Death Squad apparently thought they were setting an ambush for that night.

But all of this was in fact truly irrelevant. Grew and Carroll, though with nationalist connections (which Irishman hasn't?), were not armed, have not since been alleged to have been doing anything illegal at that moment, and were not wanted by the police-military dictatorship at that time for any specific suspicion or alleged offences. They were not even being sought by the authorities.

They were stopped, - and butchered, on the spot, in cold blood, - quite deliberately by a bunch of uniformed fascist official killers who did not give a damn for them or any other Irishmen. The Death Squad murderers were probably trigger-happy on booze or drugs at the time, as they usually are, - another matter that the 'court' was not concerned

with. The 'judge' used the usual criteria. Just because these thugs were the 'official authorities', then their actions were bound to be 'justified'.

Alongside the paramilitary police-state mobilisation against the miners to wipe out at a stroke 150 years of basic democratic trade union rights to picket, etc, this official condoning of a legalised Death Squad (operating on a far more serious level against the Irish national liberation struggle) confirms that the fight against Tory Establishment tyranny is just one fight, - the class war against the degenerate decay and savagery of the capitalist system in insoluble crisis which will go all the way to concentration camps in its barbaric determination to hang onto state power at all costs.

Two crucial lessons emerge.

1. The machinery of fascist repression, that British workers (misled by Labour and TUC reformist class collaboration) have allowed to be inflicted on the Irish national liberation struggle, is the same state bodies of armed men which will attempt to FORCE, by any means if necessary, the working class to knuckle under and accept permanent mass unemployment in Britain in a new endless 1930s depression.

2. The best way for the British working class to give solidarity assistance to the Irish national liberation struggle remains, as it has always been, the organisation of a Leninist movement of revolutionary socialist consciousness inside Britain itself.

Genuine supporters of Ireland's independence, plus the Irish national liberation movement itself, - are stabbing themselves in the back by taking no interest in the fight for Leninism (which is an international struggle) against Trotskyist and Eurocommunist-reformist confusion among British workers wanting to defeat imperialism (in Ireland and Britain.)

Worldwide anti-Sovietism and anti-communism is the bourgeoisie's one great weapon for keeping the workers movements divided (especially in the West), - and therefore utterly useless for anything, whether it is solidarity with Irish independence, anti-apartheid, or defence of their own economic interests. The lethal rotting corpse of the reformist Labour-TUC federation is now only being kept alive (to pollute the workers movement in Britain) by the lunatic Trots and Eurocommunists who are more venomously anti-communist than Thatcher and Kinnock themselves.

The Irish national liberation movement is correct to milk whatever diplomatic public support it can get from this reformist swamp (as is the socialist camp, in another context of trying to build up the maximum possible anti-imperialist coalition to halt the arms-race war drive on the purely diplomatic front of public opinion). But the only final end to imperialism (and its past or potential aggressive domination) is to overthrow it by socialist revolution by the working class in each imperialist country.

So simultaneously, the international revolutionary struggle against imperialism (the socialist camp, ANC, Ireland, etc) should also make no bones about declaring the correctness of the political line of the Leninist movement in Britain, the ILWP.

This will happen the sooner the international revolutionary struggle against imperialism (as above) reasserts its own determined struggle for revolutionary theory - Leninism, - which in turn will transform its own movements' abilities to fight successfully against imperialism. It means consc-

iously studying Lenin, - in the same way that the Bolsheviks relentlessly studied Marx, Engels and Lenin to build up such a masterful revolutionary cadre force as to win the power in Russia, (paving the way for the eventual defeat of imperialism in half the world, already).

42. May 3, 1984
(Bulletin 238)

Fitzgerald and the other discredited Green Tories, north and south of the artificial border, can suck up to capitalist imperialism for all they are worth with their smarm about justice for the 'British Irish' (i.e. the Orange fascist gangsters who have held down Britain's occupied colony in the north of Ireland by brutal gerrymandering ever since Black & Tan bayonets imposed the foul and inhuman partition in 1921).

But their Forum proposals will only make headway (if they do) because the heroic national liberation struggle led by Sinn Fein in the occupied north has forced London to look for alternatives to its failed police-military dictatorship there.

The fearless and brilliantly organised Republican battle has proved disastrously costly for London economically, militarily, and in lost international prestige, - particularly among NATO and EEC 'allies' who squirm at every horrific event of armed national-liberation struggle which the Irish have correctly been forced to fight on the very streets of a supposedly leading "free" world power.

The European Court's condemnation of Army and RUC torture, no-jury 'trials', and concentration-camp internment, plus televised street scenes of military dictatorship and RUC/SAS death squads within the very metropolis of the supposedly 'oldest democracy' (in reality a police state just like every other imperialist power) - - have made British colonialism's continued tyranny over occupied Ireland a diplomatic nightmare. The unbeatable military triumphs and political organisation and victories of the national liberation struggle have done the rest.

London may choose to entertain the Forum way out of its last colonial debacle rather than admit straight defeat at the hands of Sinn Fein. If so, then the fig-

ht for the final revolutionary socialist solution to Ireland's capitalist slump problems will be on in earnest. If not, the nationalist liberation struggle will continue to lead the way, and the fight for the triumph of Leninism within it will continue.

43. October 17, 1984
(Bulletin 262)

It is the Trot chorus condemning the Brighton bombing which is playing Thatcher's game, not the Irish national liberation struggle. Only the most cowardly traitors to the international socialist revolution would line up with the British capitalist press (the BBC/ITV/Fleet Street lie machine) to blame the IRA for Tory reaction (see Lenin quotes below). The despicable cringing opportunism of Labour-linked Trots from Militant to News Line is the real enemy of Leninism, not Ireland's guerrilla war of independence.

Until it is finally overthrown internationally, the imperialist system will always be solely responsible for endless nationalist revolts of one kind or another. It is capitulation to middle class defeatism (subjective idealism) and a reactionary waste of time to blame nationalism for this inevitable 'difficulty'. Marxism-Leninism (see below) could not possibly see it as a 'difficulty' but merely as yet another aspect of crumbling imperialist reality to be turned to advantage for the relentless advance of the all-out socialist revolutionary crisis. It is because the dilettante millionaire Redgraveite press does not really believe in the socialist revolution (it actually hates the dictatorship of the proletariat of the international Soviet-socialist camp, the only final historical counter-weight to imperialism) that it immediately condemns the IRA for 'spoiling everything'.

In addition to it being treacherous and defeatist idiocy to regard Irish nationalism's legitimate guerrilla war as providing Thatcher with an 'excuse' to bring in a 'Chile-type regime' (both are inevitable anyway, and the British capitalist state would create its own 'terrorist bomb campaign' if such an 'excuse' was needed, and no nationalist guerrilla war was forthcoming), - it is the Trot morons who are helping all Labour scum to line up behind capitalist press vilification of Irish nationalism via bogus 'left' insults like 'stupid outrage', 'plays into Thatcher's hands', 'one political misadventure to the next', 'creates conditions for police-military dictatorship', 'convenient for Thatcher'. It is this Newsline rot which will help Labour support Thatcher into murdering more Irish nationalists under a police-military dictatorship already here in the occupied north of Ireland, (and 700 years old).

Immediate working class response on the doorstep has firmly ridiculed Trot capitulation (see P 3-4). They want Thatcher out any way at all.

The only fault revolutionary socialists in Britain should find in all the ramifications, doubts, and political implications to do with the Irish nationalists determination to wage retaliatory war against imperialist government targets on this island as well as in occupied Ireland - is in Moscow's silly comment on the Brighton affair.

It is certainly legitimate for revolutionary socialists to point out that individual terror-bombings could never be the tactic for the Marxist-Leninist political mobilisation of the proletarian masses which alone can finally put an end to the capitalist state and all its works, including foreign colonialism.

It is an utter falsification of Leninism, however, for Moscow to claim as it has done that Marxism is hostilely opposed to

terrorism in principle. This is reactionary bourgeois-opportunist nonsense (see ILWP Books vol 6, chapter on Palestine).

Lenin contrasted the waste of cadres on terror-spectacles of uncertain effect with the certainly of bringing down capitalism if a mass party of Marxist revolutionary theory was built.

In the 1899 draft party programme, Lenin wrote: "The means of struggle should be.. agitation, revolutionary organisation, transition at a suitable moment to determined attack, not rejecting in principle even terror... This must be discussed from the standpoint of tactics, not principle, because the growth of the movement leads of its own accord to more frequent cases of the killing of spies, and to greater indignation among workers and socialists who see ever greater numbers of their comrades being tortured to death in solitary confinement and in exile.

"In order to leave nothing unsaid, we will make the reservation that in our own personal opinion, terror is not advisable as a means of struggle at the present moment, that the Party (as a party) must renounce it (until there occurs a change of circumstances that might lead to a change of tactics) and concentrate all its energy on organisation and regular delivery of literature."

In May 1901 in 'Where to begin', Lenin wrote: "In principle we have never rejected, and cannot reject, terror. Terror is one of the forms of military action that may be perfectly suitable and even essential at a definite juncture in the battle, given a definite state of the troops and the existence of definite conditions... Under the present conditions, such a means of struggle is inopportune and unsuitable; it diverts the most active fighters from their real task, the task which is most important from the sta-

ndpoint of the interests of the movement as a whole; it disorganises the forces of the revolution, not of the government.

"Under such conditions, there is the danger that as the most energetic revolutionaries go over to terror, the fighting contingents in whom alone it is possible to place serious reliance, will be weakened. There is the danger of rupturing the contact between the revolutionary organisations and the disunited masses of the discontented, the protesting, and the disposed-to-struggle, who are weak precisely because they are disunited.

"Yet it is this contact that is the sole guarantee of our success. Far be it from us to deny the significance of heroic individual blows, but it is our duty to sound a vigorous warning against becoming infatuated with terror, against taking it to be the chief and basic means of struggle, as so many people strongly incline to do at present."

(See ILWP Books vol 6 for fuller quotes (page 6)).

Lenin was equally sanguine about Irish nationalist violence specifically. In his work on self-determination in 1916 after the Easter Rising, he wrote: "The term 'putsch' may be employed only when the attempt at insurrection has revealed nothing but a circle of conspirators or stupid maniacs, and has aroused no sympathy among the masses. The centuries-old Irish national movement, having passed through various stages and combinations of class interest, manifested itself in a mass Irish National Congress in America which called for Irish independence; it also manifested itself in street fighting conducted by a section of the urban petty bourgeoisie and a section of the workers after a long period of mass agitation, demonstrations, suppression of newspapers, etc. Whoever calls such a rebellion a 'putsch' is either a hardened reactionary or a doctrinaire hopelessly incapable of envisaging a social revolution as a living phenomenon.

"To imagine that social revolution is conceivable without revolts by small nations in the colonies and in Europe, with-

out revolutionary outbursts by a section of the petty bourgeoisie with all its prejudices, without a movement of the politically non-conscious proletarian and semi-proletarian masses against oppression by the landowners, the church, & the monarchy, against national oppression, etc, - to imagine all this is to repudiate social revolution.. .

"We would be very poor revolutionaries if, in the proletariat's great war of liberation for socialism, we did not know how to utilise every popular movement against every single disaster imperialism brings, in order to intensify and extend the crisis... To describe the heroic revolt of the most mobile and enlightened section of certain classes in an oppressed nation against its oppressors as a 'putsch' would be sinking to the same level of stupidity as the Kautskyites."

44. January 30, 1985
(Bulletin 276)

The British colonials' fascist rule over occupied Ireland through their RUC and UDR stormtroopers (Royal Ulster Constabulary & Ulster Defence Regiment) is becoming untenable.

On the one hand, Britain's police-military dictatorship has failed to stamp out the Republicans' national liberation struggle despite the connivance of Dublin's 'Green Tory' traitors in every British counter-revolutionary outrage.

On the other hand, the colonists' terror-stunts themselves are becoming increasingly difficult to digest for anxious Western public opinion which dare not be seen condoning fascist dictatorship.

Even the capitalist press in the Edwards case, - the jailing last week of the UDR full-time soldier for a catalogue of Nazi thuggery against Irishmen including murder and attempted murder, - had to admit that:

"Within the UDR there is considerable support for his actions. A part-time officer said they were seen as "an act of war, a matter of pride", and morale had gone up when it was realised

that a UDR man might be responsible for the attacks.

"In the arrest of two UDR men accused of Adrian Carroll's murder (another case of cold-blooded slaughter-without-trial), it provoked a serious incident at the Drummadd barracks, - according to one source 'a near mutiny', when the two were asked for their resignations from the regiment.

"UDR soldiers threatened mass revolt and action against known terrorists; and messages of support came in from other UDR units. The trouble was defused only when the two men were reinstated.

"According to an Army officer, fears that intelligence material will be misused by the UDR have led to its being withheld from members of the regiment in Belfast. 'It would just end up on the Shankill Road' he said."

These Fleet Street comments came on top of the widespread outrage the week before at the brutal summary execution of Paul Kelly, a 17-year-old joy rider, at a UDR road block, and the maiming of his four teenage pals in the car with him.

These outrages in turn come on top of the still-unresolved scandals of the cold-blooded killings on the streets of occupied Ireland by the British colonial regime of Norah McCabe in Belfast; of Toman, Burns, & McKerr in Lurgan; of Grew & Carroll in Armagh; of the two scooter youths cut to pieces with 63 bullets at a hospital near Derry; - and countless other cases of blatant fascist terror by the capitalist state.

And now the UDR is being questioned for a Mafia-style kidnap for big money.

This fascist degeneration needs overthrowing by communist revolution. Support the national liberation struggle. Spread the fight for Leninism.

Only the ILWP has consistently exposed the anti-communist defeatism of Trotskyism and Euro-communism with their hatred of the world socialist revolution's proletarian dictatorship, or their tail-ending of the Labour Party 'anti-terrorist' reaction and refusal to unconditionally support the national-liberation war while maintaining Leninism

against every false outlook.

45. May 22, 1985
(Bulletin 292)

The hysterical bourgeois propaganda reaction to the Irish national liberation struggle will not secure the British imperialist province nor cure the incurable capitalist crisis which will feed the rebellion all the way to triumphant reunification of Ireland.

From Fleet Street to the middle-class CPGB (the joke 'Communist' Party, -all sections), the rotten hypocrisy of parliamentary idealism has belloyed futilely against the "pointless bloodletting" (Morning Star) of the IRA's latest ambush.

This follows their less-than-enthusiastic welcome for the dominating role played by Sinn Fein token participation in last week's local elections.

Easily winning a sizeable councillor presence in all areas where it stood candidates, the Republican movement indicated it would use the platform gained for further revolutionary propaganda - the only correct (Leninist) tactic towards parliamentary democracy and all institutions ruled by bourgeois ideology.

The British middle class (CPGB, Labour Party, etc) hate this as much as they hate the Armalite side of the Irish nationalists bomb/ballot strategy. It badly exposes their own permanent capitulation to capitalist dictatorship, -the scientific reality of Western parliamentary 'democracy' (see Marx, Lenin, ad infinitum).

Guerrilla war tactics (including so-called 'terrorism') are a matter for the Irish national liberation movement. They are not necessarily the tactics a Leninist revolutionary socialist movement would always follow.

But there can be no doubt that where it is a thousand times wrong to 'rejoice' with Thatcher at the brutal triumph of British colonialism (in the Malvinas, or in the occupied north of Ireland), it is a thousand times correct for any guerrilla war or national liberation struggle to defeat by military means any military occupation or repression such as in the Orange-fascist police state.

The gerrymandered boundaries of six of Ulster's nine counties

which were ripped out by Black & Tan bayonets in 1921 to set up the artificial colonialist majority of "Northern Ireland" are a doomed nonsense.

The Orange-fascist British colonialists and their working class 'protestant' stooges are no more Irish than the Rhodesian whites were African. They want to live under the Union Jack because they are British colonialists.

With the collapse of the gerrymandered Orange political supremacy in the 1960s (due to the irresistible avalanche of worldwide capitalist slump affecting competitively weak British capitalism's worst backwaters (like occupied Ireland) first) direct British imperialist police-military dictatorship became necessary to hold down the province once more, - imposed, - inevitably, - by a Labour Government (1968) in the same way that a remarkably large number of the worst British imperialist atrocities since 1945 have been imposed (see ILWP Books vol 7).

With no solution to the capitalist crisis, the armed revolt of the Irish national liberation struggle will sweep away the Green Tory regime in Dublin too, - as a fully-fledged socialist revolution, - if British colonialism does not end its direct occupation of the north soon.

But imperialist sclerosis and the empty boasts of the Orange fascists keep London in a paralysed dither of indecision.

Ireland must be re-united, the Orange fascist gangs must be disarmed, and all 'Irishmen' who prefer allegiance to the Union Jack must be disenfranchised as minimum interim demands.

Meanwhile, revolutionary socialists in Britain and Ireland should press on with building the Leninist movement.

46. July 3, 1985
(Bulletin 298)

The mystery of the Irish national liberation struggle's supposed 'seaside slaughter' campaign against working class holidaymakers at 12 resorts in England was shed important light upon by monopoly capitalism's own media.

Fleet Street revealed that the aim (of what the secret

police stumbled upon as a 'murderous blitzkrieg against the British public') was "to stretch the police and security services" in order to deliver a real guerrilla war assault on "prestige targets" (presumably British imperialist occupation representatives).

A senior IRA figure was quoted as saying: "We cannot afford to hurt civilians. It would be contrary to the movement's strategy. It is a calculated risk which we think we could control." The Observer reported that "an elaborate system of warnings was being prepared to avoid causing casualties."

The newspaper added: "The first phase was due to begin at the end of next month and was intended primarily as a diversion, causing maximum confusion, drawing in one police force after another, and taxing the resources of the Special Branch and the Anti-Terrorist Squad.

"The plan was to take advantage of weakened security and move against far more sensitive targets, possibly leading political figures."

But the British imperialist propaganda machinery was determined to squeeze the maximum possible 'anti-terrorist' hysteria out of the situation.

The largescale theatrical emergency operations against non-existent 'massacre threats' are designed to stir up flag-waving jingoism, love of the police-state, hatred of national liberation struggle, fear of revolutionary violence, and contempt for the Irish and all foreigners.

As expected, the Labour Party leaders were the first to leap in to chauvinistically help the secret police in these Goebbels objectives.

But as equally to be expected by those who understand the counter-revolutionary essence of Trotskyism, the 'left' Militant Labourite moles loyally defended Kinnock's reactionary position, just as they rallied round the flag over Thatcher's fascist Falklands warmongering, (defending the colonialist gunboat adventurism on the idiotic grounds that Argentina's legitimate nationalist claim to

their Malvinas Islands was represented currently by a hated military government, and therefore deserved to be defeated by NATO imperialist warmongering.)

This time, the Militant fake-'left' stooges for the Labour establishment stick their necks right out to declare that Sinn Fein's national liberation struggle is merely hopelessly doomed sectarian reaction.

Their Dublin correspondent sneered this week: "The Provisionals, they keep telling us, are advancing on two fronts. On the one hand their electoral campaign has brought them 60-odd councillors; and the military campaign has notched up another 'success' in the blowing up two days later of an RUC patrol in which four died.

"The truth of the matter is very different. Both events show in reality the severe limitations in their strategy, - indeed the total impasse they are leading their supporters into.

"It is widely acknowledged here, even by many of the Provos' own members in private, that the Sinn Fein vote has reached a plateau. It is unlikely ever to receive much more than the 11 per cent they received in the local elections, which roughly corresponds to the results of recent elections to the EEC and the Northern Ireland Assembly...

"They will probably never exceed the SDLP....

"No group in history whose support is so confined, with no potential for real growth, has even succeeded in transforming society, let alone defeating a major imperialist power in the process.

"If Britain is not to be forced to leave by a mass nationalist movement under the leadership of Sinn Fein, nor will they be worn down by a military campaign that periodically achieves a dramatic but very limited 'success'.

"If this war of attrition... were to be 'successful', the military campaign would not lead to a united Ireland but to the re-partition of the country (i.e. of the gerrymandered occupied zone within six counties of the old Ulster nine-county province), and the creation of

two warring and bitterly sectarian statelets....

"The twin strategy of the Provos, the famous 'Armalite in one hand and the ballot paper in the other', is a strategy for permanent war and division."

This cowardly sucking up to 'democratic' imperialist class-collaboration is an utter insult to Ireland's long national liberation struggle, and is tantamount to dancing on the graves of the Easter Rising heroes of 1916.

The phrasing of this sneer against "a strategy for permanent war and division" could be just as easily turned against the triumphant liberation guerrilla war of 1916-1921 which finally won Ireland's first limited independence and the establishment of the Irish Republic.

That heroic rebellion could be condemned too as "a strategy for permanent war and division" since British imperialism's fascist Black & Tans ripped a gerrymandered part of Ulster out of Ireland at bayonet point in order to set up Partition in 1921 and establish the colonial-fascist occupied zone of "Northern Ireland". (No one with a real Leninist grasp of anti-imperialism could possibly refer to this police-military dictatorship as a "country". It is an occupied zone gerrymandered by British colonists in which the Irish people have been butchered and suppressed for 64 years.)

But not even these Militant Trotskyite counter-revolutionaries would dare openly reveal their pro-Western imperialist class-collaboration to the point of deriding Ireland's triumphant War of Independence.

Equally, the sneers at Sinn Fein's minority support are just as oafishly offensive to the heroic history of Irish independence martyrs.

Lenin fought a huge campaign in 1916 to correct some equally oafish revisionist leaders of the Second International who derided the Easter Rising of 1916 as the 'putschist nonsense of sectarian middle-class nationalists'. But Lenin hailed

this heroic minority for having inspired colonised peoples all over the world with their bold blow against imperialist authority and warmongering, and for being in the same revolutionary spirit as the Bolsheviks own eventual overthrow of imperialist militarism.

Maybe truculent British imperialism will indeed try a yet further gerrymandered partition of bits of colonised Ulster to give the Union Jack-waving fascist-colonists a final stand. But the world would deride such another blatant imperialist racket. And that remnant too would one day be re-conquered by Ireland's national-liberation struggle.

There can be no sucking up to by-passed colonist remnants, as the fascist Ian Smith has truculently shown since 1965 in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and is still vengefully showing.

It is true that only socialist revolution can finally give all of Ireland true independence and flourishing. But Militant

Trots are pure hypocrites on this, - armchair revolutionaries. They hate revolutionary violence. They hate the national-liberation-struggle basis for much revolutionary socialist struggle in an imperialist-dominated world. And they hate the proletarian dictatorship which Zimbabwe is building, for example, which is the only possible guarantee of socialist construction in a CIA-counter-revolutionary-infested world, - as Allende found out in Chile, - too late.

Sinn Fein are not yet revolutionary socialists. But they are infinitely closer to becoming such than the Militant middle-class opportunists could ever be. How significant that Militant suck up in Ireland to the wretched Dublin Labour Party bourgeois class-collaborators-with-imperialism, and want to establish similar Parliamentary careerism in Belfast. What a sick farce.

Sinn Fein's national liberation struggle has rocked Western imperialism. Its forebears overthrew it in part. And it is only thanks to the 'bi-partizan' class collaboration by British Labour & TUC which has enabled imperialism

to hang on so long to the ripped-out occupied zone in the north, - the very trade unionist mentality which Militant now recommends to Ireland above all else as the real 'class war'. What revisionist arrogance and anti-Leninist ignorance.!

These middle-class 'Militant' frauds even have the nerve to openly identify themselves

47. August 7, 1985
(Bulletin 303)

The strike by newsmen in defence of the BBC's 'honour' is a useful split in the ranks of the establishment, but the most grotesque hypocrisy.

News has always been censored from Ireland. As well as a score or more programmes and news reports having been banned outright during the 17 years police-military dictatorship over the occupied north of Ireland, the journalists have always with utter servility obeyed the standing self-censorship instructions.

Every newsmen who has ever been to the occupied zone has always been totally aware of the brutal torture and shoot-on-sight methods used by the army and police systematically to try to terrorise the Irish minority into accepting the rule of the British colonial majority (Orange fascist).

But it took a successful legal action the European Court of Human Rights before the routine Gestapo torture to

48. November 20, 1985
(Bulletin 318)

The new treaty between London and Dublin is indeed the thin end of the wedge for one day extinguishing British imperialism's remaining colonial toe-hold on part of Ireland's northeast province. But it is the so-called 'Ulster Unionist' remnants of British colonialism whose die-hard racist reactions will bring that reunification decades forward and make it a now immediate near-certain outcome.

All Thatcher was doing, -with Fitzgerald's Green-Tory connivance, -was carrying out Washing-

ton, NATO, and Common Market instructions to get this damaging (for the West's image) colonial war off the agenda as soon as possible by whatever fudge possible (short of admitting outright victory to the IRA/Sinn Fein national-liberation struggle.)

extract 'confessions' from detained Irish nationalists was fully exposed. And still then the 'free' British press gave the scandal minimum publicity.

Regular roughing up of Irish 'suspects' continues unabated, however, -as does the monstrous 'legal trial' system of convicting Republicans to enormous jail sentences on the uncorroborated hearsay 'evidence' of official informers or prosecuting officers, usually given anonymously.

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A full-length TV documentary, including video film of the actual killing, has been shown of the Army's casual slaughter of unarmed housewife Norrah McCabe near her Belfast home. No disciplinary action has been taken or is likely.

During this same latest two-year period, the following have been slaughtered on the spot, all unarmed, just for being 'suspects' in the eyes of the RUC and Army dictators: Sean McIlvenna in Armagh 17/12/84; Colm McGirr, Brian Campbell, Coalisland 12/83; Charles Breslin, Michael Devine, David Devine, Strabane 23/2/85, shouting 'Don't shoot' as they died (the BBC gave loving and unquestioning reports to all the official fascist comments on the incident about 'The ends justifying the means' but no coverage of the nationalist view of the barbarism); Toman, Burns, McKerr in Lurgan; Greew and Carroll in Armagh; Paul Kelly, 1/85; Michael Tighe (17) on a Lurgan farm; Gerard & Logue in a stationery car 9/84; and so on.

It joined forces with to deny Irish national liberation the right to be heard in Britain.

Militant pretends that the 'angry protest' against the Brighton LP's invitation meeting was "from the ranks of the Brighton labour and trade union movement". Such is the subjective delusions and hypocrisy of Trotskyism.

Nothing has been reported in Britain of these atrocities. But these same 'principled' newsmen have made certain that everyone in Britain has heard of Father Popielusco, the only arbitrary death the Polish workers state has been responsible for despite five years assault on it by the reactionary Catholic Solidarnosc counter-revolution, -financed and organised by the CIA & the Vatican. And all the officers in the whole chain of command responsible for Popielusco's arbitrary death are now serving long prison sentences.

But as far as the British press is concerned, the Polish workers state and Popielusco are the byword for Gestapo terror. The above-listed Irish 'suspects' don't exist.

The lies by Thatcher, Kinnock, & Parliament about 'majority wishes in Ulster must prevail', -ignoring that the overwhelming majority in Ireland (including the Ulster colonials) voted by 5 to 1 in 1918 against the infamous 1921 Partition, -always go unchallenged by the Press, -as do Thatcher's lies that sanctions are 'not popular with the opponents of Apartheid in South Africa itself', and her fascist call for 'order to be restored first', -prevailing fascist order. But revolution will win.

ton, NATO, and Common Market instructions to get this damaging (for the West's image) colonial war off the agenda as soon as possible by whatever fudge possible (short of admitting outright victory to the IRA/Sinn Fein national-liberation struggle.)

The constipated new treaty, -promising Dublin some vague association in solving the difficult problems of 'Northern Ireland' (a colonialist-racist nonsense deeply insulting and permanently wounding to Irish nationalism) was the result.

But with the colony as such thus still intact, Paisley & Co could still have lorded it as regional British gauleiters for a

further generation or two (-until in fact the present 39% nationalist population overtook the 61% colonist population, a long-term threat to British imperialism's colonial guarantee to the 'Loyalists' in any case, even before this new treaty was written) -as far as the new terms go. Yet such is the devastating influence of the general historic forces which have steadily made British imperialism weaker this century, steadily given new purpose to revolutionary (socialist) national liberation struggle in Ireland (as throughout the world), and steadily undermined the ec-

onomic, social, and political class out of the Orange colonial bourgeoisie, --that the Paisleyites & Powellites cannot avoid sticking their own heads in the noose in a pointless final defiant gesture, just like the Smithites and Bothaites in southern Africa.

Paisley's screech about 'an intolerable derogation of British sovereignty' is a piece of monstrous, racist, colonial arrogance.

And such historical forces ultimately know no reasonableness, -as they have amply proved in occupied partitioned Ireland since 1921, and as they equally showed before then, in Ireland and throughout the colonial world, -even when imperialism was still a progressive economic force.

That reactionary political treacherousness, vindictiveness, and brutality has not left the main body of the British imperialist ruling class either, despite the fact that the Thatcherite tendency will now come into bitter and bloody conflict with the Paisleyite/Powellite colonial tendency.

But there are now far more powerful imperialist sharks than Britain ruling the waves in the West. They have other fish to fry. The orders to London (to get rid of this colonial embarrassment), are not due to sympathy with Irish nationalism or concern for the suffering in the occupied north. It is merely that NATO's warmongering arms-race interests in clobbering worldwide proletarian revolt as a whole (as the 'solution' to the revolutionary-crisis problems created by capitalism's insoluble economic crisis) think they can handle all their political-credibility difficulties better if bloody suppression of national-liberation struggle is no longer so obvious inside Britain itself, the senior Western partner.

Therefore, to the extent that the hopeless Thatcherites do not make as ludicrous and incompetent a mess of this policy as of most other things they have tried, the Paisleyites' last-ditch stand will now be the brief target of British colonialism's last repressive acts in Ireland.

But in provoking such conflict, the Paisleyites will of course inevitably create conditions of

chaos which only Dublin (and sentimental/self-interest Congressional aid) will not be totally reluctant to help clean up and take advantage of, -thus speeding up the longterm effects of the new treaty (in giving Dublin a say) dramatically.

Thus Paisley & Co will bring about the very thing they are screaming dread of as if it was hellfire, -Ireland's reunification.

The difference in the outcome of Paisley's revolt to that of Carson's (Orange - colonial big bourgeoisie plus British army officers and the then -Opposition British Tories) to Asquith's Liberal government's Home Rule Bill in 1911 (the Curragh mutiny, etc) is nothing to do with Thatcher (as the more stupid newspapers are saying) The difference is the historical one between a British imperialism (plus all its hangers-on and self-interested flunkeys) of enormous power and wealth in 1911 (including in its Irish colony, -especially in Belfast's big industries), -and the slump-ridden defeated condition of British imperialism today, - (where even the bourgeoisie have lost heart and are sending all their capital to Switzerland and New York or the Bahamas, and where the flag-waving working class dupes in Belfast, say, are more interested in trying to emigrate than to risk their lives any more for the moth-eaten Union Jack.)

(The 1974 Ulster workers strike was very nearly a disaster for Paisley. Only naked gun threats stopped people going in to work, and only the spineless Labour Government in London allowed the colonist-fascist thugs to get away with this intimidation, (refusing to use the police-military dictatorship against them.))

And at the same time as the guts have dropped out of the British colonial resolve (not before time), the fighting spirit of the international national-liberation movement has been inspired by postwar triumphs in Vietnam, Cuba, Angola, Algeria, Aden, Zimbabwe, Nicaragua, etc to unprecedented heights.

Bobby Sands and the other heroes of the IRA/Sinn Fein national liberation struggle are in the tradition of a long line of

chaos which only Dublin (and sentimental/self-interest Congressional aid, -but that mighty history is now further lifted by having at last become the essence of all mankind's greatest modern triumphs, - revolutionary independence from imperialist sway. Historic conditions have finally come right for Ireland's long heroic fight for its national aspirations to be realised.

That it comes at a time when nationalism alone can solve nothing (in the slump-ridden capitalist West) takes nothing at all away from the triumph of the Irish independence struggle, -or from the undoubted achievement of modern Sinn Fein/IRA in that final push.

But it does immediately set the scene for the revolutionary socialist aspirations of the national liberation struggle to assert themselves, at once.

Ireland's reunification is now almost all over, bar the shouting.

But Ireland's poverty, exploitation, and frustrated national ambitions - are still only just beginning, -as far as the general collapse of the capitalist system is concerned.

The legitimate, fulfilled aspiration of Ireland's reunification will of itself do absolutely nothing to halt the appalling economic and political crisis which is deep-down poisoning all social relations throughout Ireland. Only the revolutionary socialist overthrow of capitalism can do that.

Revolutionary socialists in Ireland now face the problem of what tactics to adopt if & when the Paisleyites and British imperialist forces start clobbering each other.

Some nationalists are saying they will continue to wage war against the new treaty and the continued British presence. But that would mean in effect assisting the Paisleyites in their armed reaction, and to hopelessly misunderstand the nature of the epoch and the international balance of class forces.

Where capitalism is still relatively secure (as Dublin is for the time being, -especially, it is thought in the West, if revolutionary Sinn Fein has less to agitate over if the colonial occupied zone is extin-

guished), the NATO ruling circles prefer to adopt an anti-colonial pose where they safely can. Otherwise there will be even less hope of stemming the revolutionary socialist tide that is steadily sweeping away imperialism's hold on the 'free' world.

Some would-be 'revolutionary socialist' voices are saying continue the armed struggle against (British) imperialism because that is the only realistic political future for all people.

While generally correct in principle, that would be a bad error of tactical timing and judgment. The revolutionary forces, backed by widespread national aspirations and the climate of world opinion, have forced the beginning of the end to colonial military oppression. But they are far from adequate at this stage to win sufficient support yet to topple the capitalist state and the Western imperialist economic structure in general, (-not in Ireland overall, -nor in the occupied zone in particular, even if the worst possible fouled-up Thatcherite conditions prevailed for still some considerable time.)

It would be an adventurous waste of revolutionary resources to fritter them away on untimely terrorist isolated incidents. Far better to conserve and build up the revolutionary-military potential, -and devote all resources meanwhile to the political revolutionary struggle to win a majority of the proletarian and intelligentsia vanguard to Leninist perspectives. Such was the Bolsheviks policy even when, for years, suffering total Tsarist oppression and then German imperialist invasion. Their policy was for the defeat of their own outdated ruling class first, -and then to do what they could against the German imperialist outsiders (in fact sign a robber-peace-treaty with them, out of unavoidable weakness at that time, temporarily conceding Ukraine regions).

Having properly fought established British imperialism up to now, the circumstances have suddenly dramatically changed

if the Paisleyites begin a serious conflict with the British forces. Tactics should change just as dramatically. Wait for the defeat of their 'own' ruling class (i. e. the Paisleyites), and then complete their overthrow (if the British don't complete it themselves and hand all authority to Dublin), only subsequently taking on either London again, or Dublin, if that is what is required to complete the downfall of the Orange bourgeoisie. And in those complex circumstances, military methods should be used with great tactical caution and astuteness, always subservient to revolutionary political considerations.

The revolutionary overthrow of the Dublin bourgeoisie remains very high on the immediate agenda, -but such a military struggle could become mere adventurous putschism if not part of correct and successful political struggles and circumstances.

Sinn Fein have immediately adopted very correct tactics over the Paisleyites' threats of parliamentary by-elections. A correct revolutionary line on capitalist democracy frauds is not always to boycott them, and a "No to Paisley's warmongering UDI" around a single candidate would be a good propaganda tactic in the forthcoming ballots.

Revolutionary socialists in Britain and elsewhere must expose the petty-bourgeois defeatism of the Trots who have either treacherously and opportunistically opposed the national liberation struggle (Militant, WRP, etc) because of its "terrorist excesses" or else have constantly written it off as a failure (RCG, SWP, etc) -dominated by their own philistine ignorance in failing to see the triumphant Soviet-led world socialist revolution, or in failing to grasp the role of revolutionary theory and the dictatorship of the proletariat in that triumph, -and intimidated from applying the lessons to British conditions.

Their ignorant middle-class pessimism and hostility to Leninist science made these subjective Trotskyite sectarians sneer destructively and treacherously at the colossal historic triumph of the IRA's hunger strike in 1981, writing it off contemptuously as a "defeat". The Lenin-

ist Bulletin alone was able then to explain how the seeds of British imperialism's political defeat were being sown by the hunger-strike triumph and the huge nationalist movement around it.

Even well before the dramatic climax of Bobby Sands's death-fast, the Bulletin was explaining on April 23, 1981 (Bulletin 85):

"The relative failure of Paisley's 'Garson trail' stunt since then, plus the colossal propaganda defeat for British imperialism of Sands's election victory has made a further retreat by the British ruling class almost inevitable.

The fierce struggle unleashed by the Republican working class in Derry City since Sands's election only intensifies the pressure on the British ruling class to quickly make the best compromise deal they can cook up.

But whatever good sense might dictate to the ruling circles in London, a million and one subjective problems get in the way of taking the simple quick way out.

The last thing Thatcher and company can bear to contemplate is being seen to be forced to give way by revolutionary mass resistance such as has developed out of the IRA's stand against domination by the British capitalist state.

This terrified stance against political 'loss of face' is a real enough problem and not some small issue of personal vanity easily resolved by putting someone more mature in Thatcher's place.

Exactly how the ruling class's political leadership hangs together is an infinitely complex question...

Meanwhile the overall position of the British capitalist establishment continues to deteriorate inevitably.

The unsolved mess of its policy on the occupation of northern Ireland is symbolic of the senile stupidity and insensitive paralysis of a dying class. Thatcher's clumsy, shallow haughtiness is as appropriate a representative of this incurable decadence as anything.

But even in such a moribund condition, the British ruling class will still react to intolerable pressure - and this is what it is now getting over Bobby Sands and its whole police-military occupation.

The 'free world' leaders want the entire northern Ireland business ended once and for all, for the enormous international damage it is doing to the 'free world's' image. Something will have to be done whether Thatcher wants to be seen giving in to revolutionary pressure or not.

Britain must get out is the only long-term solution, putting Paisley and company

in firmly in their place as they leave. Under pressure, the British establishment began this process, - a painful admission of failure, - at the Dublin summit before Christmas whose secret agreements envisage reunification of Ireland under cover of some looser all British Isles alliance. The deals are secret, once again, to save British loss of face.

In the shorter term, the British ruling class have been trounced by the IRA and the Republican working class in every respect...

Despite Thatcher's thick-skinned arrogance in pretending to be too important to listen to any outside pressure over the case of IRA hunger-striker and Westminster MP Bobby Sands, the British ruling class may feel obliged to climb down.

As the Bulletin has already explained, Sands's victory in the Fermanagh by-election has demolished the entire British capitalist propaganda myth that the IRA national liberation struggle did not enjoy the support of the majority of ordinary Catholic people in the occupied north of Ireland.

This in turn has virtually demolished any remaining excuses in bourgeois circles around the world for refraining any longer from putting the strongest possible pressure on London to get the whole bloody military dictatorship question, so embarrassing to the rest of the 'free world', off the agenda as rapidly as possible."

On April 30, 1981, the Bulletin added (Bulletin 86):

"Pressure is growing irresistably to force the British capitalist state to give up its bankrupt military occupation of north Ireland.

An enormous international campaign against Britain has been unleashed by the hunger strike to death for Ireland's national liberation by Bobby Sands.

The capitalist press is under strict instructions from Whitehall to play down their reports on this explosive issue.

But heads of state from Reagan to Mrs Gandhi are being forced to make statements condemning the Tory Government's stand against giving political prisoner status to the captured men of the Irish Republican Army.

The state legislatures of New York, New Jersey, and Michigan, representing nearly a quarter of the American population, have passed motions denouncing the British ruling class's provocation of treating the IRA men as 'criminals', and even demanding the closure of local British consulates. More such decisions will follow. A priest is fasting on the steps of the White House in sympathy with Sands.

Thatcher hasn't a leg to stand on. If Sands does die because of the British ruling class's arrogance of not wish-

ing to be seen to 'lose face', it will only be followed by other Maze concentration camp hunger strikes coming to their climax and by increasingly violent assaults by the Republican masses on the British police-military dictatorship in the occupied north. "

49. November 27, 1985
(Bulletin 319)

Through philistine ignorance of Leninism on the national question, the bogus middle-class 'revolutionary' swamp in Britain has plunged ultra-left confusion to new depths over the London-Dublin treaty.

Banda's WRP remnants have taken over from the Sparts and Militant on this occasion to prop up imperialism's myths about a "protestant working class" who are allegedly 'justifiably' opposing Ireland's reunification.

There are only Irish workers in Ireland, and everyone who refuses to consider himself as such is clearly an agent of the British colonist bourgeoisie.

Similarly, there are only Irish nationalists in Ireland, -frequently led by "protestants" (Wolfe Tone, Parnell, etc) to use the imperialist/Trotskyist, divisive, religious/racial sectarianism, - and no such thing as "protestant Northern Ireland nationalism" as the Spart and Militant stooges for British colonialism have tried to argue (see past Bulletins).

The Trots' latest defence of fascist-colonist sabotage of even the laughably-small steps towards Irish nationalism's legitimate reunification aspirations comes in the following WRP mishmash (16/11/85) of lying hypocrisy, racist arrogance, and contemptible armchair-socialist impotence:

The police in the north have now been used brutally against protestant workers in Portadown and protestants face the same problems of unemployment and insecurity as do Catholics.

This is the reality of capitalist Ireland. And there is one other factor. The protestant working class is understandably totally opposed to a bourgeois 'united' Ireland. Make no mistake!

We support them totally in this. Why should protestant workers throw off the shackles of Paisley's form of religion to embrace the no less obnoxious religious repression

in the south.

We have just seen how the police and the judiciary hounded a young woman from Kerry and falsely brought in a verdict that she strangled her baby and the Church in the south continually sticks its nose into the private and personal lives of couples and young people. Who wants that?

The republican movement has tried everything in the north over the past 16 years — civil rights protest, armed struggle, prison struggle, hunger strike, electioneering, bombs — and now it is time to sharply review just what has been achieved.

We propose a turn to the working class and youth and that means primarily the protestant working class. The republicans should drop all references in their programme to a bourgeois republic and fight only for a Workers Republic, which will be organised on a strictly secular basis.

The "protestant workers in Portadown" were the mob of Orange-fascist thugs who tried on July 12 (the colonists' Union-Jack-waving day of racist ritual) to terrify an Irish housing estate in that town by staging a provocative drum-banging march through its heart. Under a 'liberal' (opportunist) instruction from the authorities (bearing the delicate state of Anglo-US-Irish treaty negotiations in mind - see yesterday's Guardian and last week's Bulletin (318),) --the RUC put a half-hearted block on that particular route, and some punches were thrown. The "protestant workers" staged several private bullying provocations against Irish people in reprisals.

The assurance that British colonialism's Orange-fascist "protestant working class" thugs are "understandably totally opposed to a united Ireland, make no mistake" borders on a sick farce of the most depraved Goebbels fantasy.

National aspirations for independence (and in Ireland's case over the last 64 years for reunification)-- which have always been fully supported in principle by Marxism-Leninism from the very beginning of the revolutionary socialist struggle,--can be nothing else but 'bourgeois' aspirations.

To justify the opposition by

British colonialism's Orange-fascist thuggery to a united independent Ireland on the grounds that it will be a 'bourgeois' Ireland is to cover up near-Nazi ignorance and hypocrisy with the most degenerate anti-Leninist ultra-left posturing.

What disgusting lies to imply that these Union Jack-waving thugs are for a united Ireland provided it is a workers socialist state! What foul twisted Trotskyite mind could dream up this moronic nonsense?

These Orange-fascist "protestant working class" thugs are the backbone of the National Front all round Britain. Only social elements as demented as Hitler pretended that Nazis wanted socialism.

To cover up this Orange-fascist truculence to Ireland's legitimate reunification on the grounds that the colonists are holding out for 'real socialism' is to parallel Botha's resistance to black majority rule on the pretence that he prefers 'democracy' to 'violence'.

These criminal distortions about the true colonial bourgeois-fascist nature of "protestant working class" Orange thuggery are smuggled in by rotten deceptions and half-truths that "protestants" face the "same problems of unemployment and insecurity" as do "catholics", and that "protestant workers" want to "throw off the shackles" of Paisley.

It was Orange-fascist "protestant working class" thugs in the trade union bureaucracy who viciously implemented the racist discrimination against Irish workers throughout the entire stinking 64-year history of this miserable imperialist-occupied zone. It was the same scum who systematically backed the 'B' special and RUC pogroms against the native Irish, --and all the monstrous gerrymandering and exploitation of native Irish rights that were the essence of this wretched colony.

There are poor whites who are suffering slump unemployment in South Africa now. They frequently make the worst racist thugs, just as Hitler built up a multi-million fascist army out of similar elements. Only the rapid collapse of Paisleyite bombastic fascism (forced down

by British bullets out of the US/NATO/EEC fear of a continuing national-liberation struggle being seen to continue endlessly in the heart of the 'free' West), --will inhibit too large an armed fascist reaction developing among the "protestant working class" (i. e. dupes of imperialism) on this occasion. In other words, only thanks to the historic achievements of Sinn Fein's sneered-at 'bourgeois republicanism', --& no thanks at all to the WRP's treacherous class-collaborating Trotskyism, -- will "equal unemployment and insecurity" of the "protestant working class" not turn into embittered fascist reaction (rather than the idiotic "protestant working class" socialist revolution which the impotent Trots misleadingly and irresponsibly twitter about to gain a cheap opportunist 'left' effect).

The entire working class in Ireland will soon, in fact, be forced onto the revolutionary socialist road as the only way out of incurable worldwide capitalist slump and warmongering. But never will this be possible all the time that British imperialism's vicious divide-and-rule partition policy can continue to keep the majority Irish masses frustrated by unfulfilled (legitimate) national aspirations (bourgeois, by definition), --and a minority of people tied to the now-illusory perks of British colonial superiority.

The anti-communist WRP Trots can scarcely conceal their own racist swagger as they sneer: "Who wants the Church in the south to continually stick its nose into the private and personal lives of couples and young people?". The reformist anti-Marxist implication that genuine revolutionary socialist workers should have some preference for the rotten capitalist state in Belfast to the rotten capitalist state in Dublin is coupled with the racist slander that enlightened workers in the south are somehow less wholly opposed to capitalist state monstrosity than people elsewhere.

The issue, however, (by now well lost sight of in such a welter of vicious reaction and philistine confusion) is the total na-

tional independence (bourgeois, by definition) of Ireland from the British crown. It remains a legitimate aspiration which Marxist-Leninists could not possibly oppose.

As it happens, genuine Leninists have enthusiastically supported the IRA/Sinn Fein national-liberation struggle as the cutting edge, in practice, of the initial completion of Ireland's national independence, to be quickly followed by the struggle for open Leninist revolutionary socialist consciousness to make Ireland's flourishing realistic,--in the only way possible in the midst of worldwide imperialism's terminal crisis, --by the socialist revolution.

The national revolution will be transformed into the socialist revolution (see Bulletin 318, and ILWP Books vols 4, 5, 6, & 7).

The impotent armchair-socialist Trots have never ceased writing off Ireland's national-liberation struggle, --and the WRP slyly puts the boot in again now: "The republican movement has tried everything in the north over the past 16 years. . . now it is time to sharply review just what has been achieved", --i. e. "nothing", because there immediately follows no list of achievements at all, but instead the bald crass ultra-left sloganising of which the Trots are past masters. "We propose a turn to the working class and youth", and that means primarily the "protestant working class", it adds, contemptuous of Ireland's national-liberation struggle.

And just to make this reactionary, insulting, racist, anti-Marxist message absolutely clear, --the Trots add: "The republicans should drop all references in their programme to a bourgeois republic" by which they mean an Irish republic, of course.

Their call for a 'workers republic' as a complete substitution for Ireland's national-liberation struggle is, of course, pure puppet-theatre socialism, with the strings pulled by the long-rotten tradition of 'British socialism' (i. e. class-collaborating, pro-imperialist, Labour-entrism reformism).

The Trotskyite 'left' Labourite middle class have never stopped sneering arrogantly at Ireland's

national-liberation struggle.
The WRP, along with the rest, could not wait to cuddle up to Fleet Street and the British bourgeoisie to denounce in horror the La Mon House restaurant bombing in the early 1970s, -blaming the Irish national liberation struggle instead of British imperialism for the accidental deaths, -and they have never stopped cringing since, -as over the Harrods bomb, etc. This is nothing whatsoever to do with Leninism. It is the purest left-Labourite reformist treachery.

The entire Trotskyite circus with their dismal subservience to British imperialist bourgeois-idealist philistinism, wrote off the heroic 1981 hunger strikes as another 'failure' (see Bulletin 318) ignoring Leninism's analysis that the Sinn Fein revolutionary surge of consciousness throughout the Irish masses in the occupied zone was the death-knell of British imperialism's continued colonial rule.

These sectarian WRP Trotskyite worms give the lie to their own anti-liberation prejudices (and inadvertently identify their own treacherous role) when they observe elsewhere in the same issue:

These politicians have always relied on loyalist chauvinism and sectarianism to keep the working class divided.

They fear that even a hint of British collaboration with Dublin will loosen their grip.

But who is trying to whip up chauvinistic hatred of 'collaboration with Dublin' so that the timid treaty, imposed on Thatcher by Washington, should be sabotaged? Who tries to sneer at the national liberation struggle's united Ireland (bourgeois) aspirations which alone, -through the unbeatable heroism of the hunger strikers and the Sinn Fein/IRA fight, -have finally forced British reaction to retreat from its colonist-partition immovability? The Paisleyites on one side, -and the confusion-mongering Trots on the other, who could not bring down Paisley's washing line, let alone the Orange establishment, the British military occupation, and the Dublin Tories all in one go in favour of an as yet, in the immediate term, unachievable 'workers republic'.

This ultra-left bragging by Trotskyism throughout the West is not just a substitute for their philistine ignorance of Leninist scientific analysis of the international balance of class forces but also the cover for Trotskyism's real role in history, -the giving of a 'left' face to bourgeois-idealism's demented anti-communism.

Lenin characterised Trotsky as the epitome of the "everything is rotten" school of bourgeois cynicism and ultra-left posturing (see ILWP Books vol5)

On the basis of Trotsky's middle-class subjectivism which wrote off the USSR and the world socialist revolution as irretrievably betrayed and as irreparable disasters, subsequent generations of intellectual pessimism have continued this reactionary ivory-tower idealism by denying the colossal advance for mankind of the socialist revolution in China, Vietnam, Cuba, Angola, Nicaragua, etc, and the defeats these entailed for imperialism; by sneering in at the revolutionary process in El Salvador, South Africa, Philippines, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, etc, because of their pro-Soviet leaderships; and by dismissing as 'failures' other great setbacks to imperialism such as the 1981 hunger strikes, the retreat from Rhodesia at Lancaster House, the enforced retreat of Thatcher's treaty with Fitzgerald, etc.

Subjective petty-bourgeois sectarianism in the West screams loudest with its ultra-left shallowness, -but deep down is utterly treacherously subservient to imperialism's imagined 'invincibility', -the same rotten anti-communist prejudice against the achievements of the dictatorship of the proletariat which in practice saw Trotsky agree to be exiled from the USSR and live again under capitalism, covering up this defeatism with a torrent of ultra-left posturing.

But the real world socialist revolution is now fast catching up with Trotsky's treacherous renegacy from the Soviet Union (to become the West's favourite exiled voice preaching doom & destruction for the Soviet work-

ers state (see ILWP Books vol3)). The now-rapid collapse of Trotskyist pretence in the West (WRP, Militant, IMG, WSL, etc) is the inevitable consequence of the steady advance of the Soviet-led world socialist revolution from China, to Korea, to Vietnam, to Eastern Europe, to Cuba, to Angola, to Mozambique, to Zimbabwe, to Nicaragua, to El Salvador, to Philippines, to Ethiopia, to Afghanistan, to Yemen, to South Africa, etc. The Trots' middle-class misery will die with imperialism.

50. December 4, 1985
(Bulletin 320)

The paralysed schizophrenia of the British establishment's attempt to decamp from its embarrassing Ireland colony is plunging the entire political spectrum into rare confusion, -from the Trots to yet another discredited minister whose brains cannot keep up with his briefs.

London is under instructions from US imperialism to get out of Ireland, -quick.

Thatcher knows it, of course, but can't say anything other than that 'majority wishes' (i.e. the British colonist minority in the remaining occupied north-east tip of Ireland) must prevail for their natural lifetime; the Paisleyites know it instinctively, and will fight.

The minister Tom King may or may not be fully in the picture, -but in any case can only say what he is told to say, -and he clearly has not got his understanding completely around the contradictory situation yet.

There is a formal concession to 'majority wishes' still. But the real whole essence and thrust of the London-Dublin treaty is to move as rapidly as possible to an all-Ireland administrative solution to partition (and therefore, it is hoped, to the national liberation struggle) guaranteed by Parliament and the Dail.

London's real dread is of too bloody a colonist backlash. Which is why all the most painstaking and nervous emphasis has to be on the 'continuing pledge of UK union for as long as the majority want it', and which is allegedly "what we want too".

But in reality, the fine print of the treaty spells out just the opposite, - as the Paisleyites & anyone not wholly dominated by their own pessimistic subjective 'political' outlook, can easily see, - is for the reunification of Ireland with all possible speed.

Certainly it is a deal to dish the Sinn Fein/IRA national-liberation struggle to the extent that this was becoming a revolutionary socialist struggle as well, - exactly why the US imperialists decided that enough was enough following the colossal political triumph of the hunger strikes led by Bobby Sands, the election triumphs, and most important the mass surge of revolutionary consciousness among the Irish proletariat alongside those tremendously heroic campaigns in 1981. (See Bulletins 318 & 319).

But such reactions entirely miss the colossal historical point that this Green Tory way of extricating themselves from proletarian danger nevertheless represents a major turning point, - the ending at last of the deliberate partitioning of Ireland and therefore of the deliberate exacerbating of frustrated Irish nationalist feelings in a British civil war context with such disastrous racist results on the British proletariat, corrupted by Union Jack warmongering.

Revolutionary socialism in Ireland can continue its struggle as it thinks fit (see Bulletin 318). But the nationalist antagonism which has so poisoned all politics in Britain (as noted by Marx in his observations about the corruption of British workers by imperialism "all the time that Ireland is not free",) will no longer be so easily stoked up on such an obvious stitch-up as the "British" occupied zone of Ireland.

This gigantic retreat by British imperialism, - (forced on it by the Sinn Fein/IRA national liberation struggle in an epoch of growing difficulty for the international imperialist system as a whole from increasing loss of political credibility as the world socialist revolution exposes and batters down one corrupt capitalist-dictatorship stronghold after another,) - has been entirely missed by the 'left' swamp, covered as it is by the defeatist muck of

its own anti-communist prejudices and pessimism.

The 'Next Step' RCP loonies are the latest to clumsily stamp all over the issue, obliterating any glimmer of comprehension with their ingrained idiocies about "protestant" Ulster, deliberately instilled by a century of British imperialist divide-and-rule communal sectarianism.

There is only Irish Ulster, six of whose nine counties, -with borders farcically gerrymandered to enclose the best ratio of "protestants" (i. e. British colonists) to "catholics" (i. e. Irish nationalists) were ripped out by British imperialism, - including by Catholic British imperialists, and even including many Catholic British colonists in the occupied zone (just as there were many Protestant Irish nationalists fighting British imperialist rule for hundreds of years).

The remaining die-hard British colonists talk about going back to Scotland now, - not because they are progressive 'Irishmen' who dislike the state religion of the Irish Republic, - but because they are British nationalists. So let them leave.

Thus all Trot/RCP talk of "paramilitary organisations which have close links with working class Protestants" is such a misleading treacherous gift to imperialism's divide-and-rule tactics which have held onto an Irish colony for the past 80 years beyond any unchallengeable situation of British imperialist rule.

This cowardly reactionary ignorance of the Trots distorts even basic facts, as when the RCP assert that "there was mass support (in 1974) for the Ulster Workers Council strike". This is lying nonsense put out by the corrupt capitalist press and middle-class public opinion around the rotten Labour Party to cover up the Wilson government's retreat from halting the armed intimidation, which alone prevented workers from ignoring the reactionary strike call then.

The truth is that the imperialist perks which have kept the British colonist workers loyally fighting for the Union Jack for centuries are no longer worth it. And as workers faced with the slumping-collapsing capitalist-colonial system, many of them

(most of them) would have ignored the call-to-arms and to further sacrifice as not being worth it.

But the fascist element is still powerful among them, -and must be faced down. They certainly are not yet ready to make a socialist revolution. So the Irish national liberation struggle has historically become the first main hammer of decaying British imperialism.

That is what revolutionary socialists must support, critically but unconditionally. It is correct for Irishmen to fight for their independence however mistakenly sometimes they tactically choose to do it.

The RCP conclusion:"The reality of the Anglo-Irish agreement is that Thatcher has conceded nothing of any substance to the nationalists, North or South. That is why the so-called Loyalist backlash is no real threat to Britain" could not be more wrong on all counts.

The backlash may not get far if British military resolve stands firm. But that mess is what Thatcher fears most in the peculiar egotism of political face-saving which so motivates bourgeois politicians. To be seen too bluntly to be tearing up the colonists "guarantee" would look bad after so many centuries of promises, and would demoralise the troops (literal and figurative).

And too bloody a backlash might crack Thatcher's resolve. It may only not get that far because of the rotten decayed condition of British imperialism generally, plus the firm healthiness of the revolutionary-socialist resolve in some of the Adams-Morrison Sinn Fein wing's better moments.

The firmness of the mass proletarian nationalist movement has transformed the whole relations in Ireland, and internationally to some extent.

Paisley remains a real threat to a real retreat by Western imperialism. But these conditions of triumphant worldwide national-liberation/socialist revolution could finally render that threat a damp, spent historical squib.

But no thanks to the insular, bourgeois-propaganda-dominated British Trot confusion-mongers like the RCP.

51. December 11, 1985
(Bulletin 321)

Sinn Fein have come far closer than the Trots, naturally, to correctly analysing the crisis for imperialism of the international balance of class forces which has finally forced London to retreat from colonial domination of the occupied north of Ireland.

The middle-class anti-communist sectarians of the British 'left' (see last 3 Bulletins) can never see further than their own subjective misery, pessimistically writing off one advance after another against world imperialism as a "defeat".

But as a genuine revolutionary movement, Ireland's national-liberation struggle has inevitably drawn ever-closer to a Leninist scientific understanding of the world socialist revolution and the insoluble capitalist crisis, and the effects of these plus their own Sinn Fein/IRA development on Western policy.

The ILWP Bulletin, however, has discussed implications of London's new moves which go much further than even Republican News has been ready to grasp.

RN's latest comments make much of a Tory establishment study group report on 'Britain's undefended frontier:A policy for Ulster' circulated in October last year (1984).

But RN's conclusions that this report (and the subsequent Treaty) are solely designed "to stabilise British rule in Ireland" is not supported by the quotes they offer, which reveal more die-hard rightwing British confusion than anything.

RN's analysis becomes even more shaky in view of their claim that the reactionary target of the October study-report was actually "surpassed" by the Treaty itself. So how come that the report's principal authors, -Tory hard-line MPs John Biggs-Davison and Nicholas Budgen,-led the group of twenty Tory MPs who joined Paisley, Powell, & Co to vote against the Treaty in the Commons on November 20?

The key to the confusion about what is happening, -and what is going to happen, -lies in the response of the Paisleyites and the class/colonial position they historically repres-

ent, -as the ILWP explained from the beginning (see Bulletin 318).

RN themselves realise the apparent contradiction of Paisley's militant UDI-reaction against a deal which the entire anti-Leninist 'left' swamp claim is "nothing but" a rotten sell-out of the national-liberation struggle. Formally, of course, the Treaty signed by the Dublin Tories is an insult to Irish nationalism's legitimate aspirations, as the Bulletin explained in detail. But behind the Treaty, in the clauses giving Dublin an official say in all matters affecting the occupied zone for the first time in history, is the unmistakable evidence of the enormous retreat forced on British colonialism by Washington and the rest of the West as a direct result of the world-shattering triumphs of the Irish national-liberation struggle, -culminating in the colossal political victories of the hunger-strikes, the electoral gains, and the dramatic shift in mass revolutionary consciousness, -a threat to capitalism in the whole of Ireland, - which these brilliant successes revealed.

So RN's attempts to explain away the bilious Paisleyite response to the Treaty are interesting as far as they go, -but they still do not go far enough.

Having made so much of the Tory 'Undefended Frontier' report at their press conference on November 18 on the newly-published Treaty, Sinn Fein glaringly made little of one key paragraph in that report (quoted by RN):

"The danger of a massive Protestant rebellion, however, does not at present seem great and is not likely to become so unless some action by the British government is seen to signify an intention to abandon Ulster or actively to promote the cause of a united Ireland."

Even allowing for the elapse of 12 months from the report to the Treaty, the warmongering explosion by the Paisleyites should have alerted everyone to aspects of the Treaty which were more than they seemed. Certainly, the authors of the report's recommendations, - Biggs-Davison and Budgen, saw

that the Treaty is not the same thing at all, -and voted against it.

RN's explanation for the apparently contradictory Paisleyite behaviour concentrates on the Treaty's affront to how the rulers of "Ulster" are now expected to behave towards the ruled:

↳ Despite the statements of unionist leaders, however, their confrontation with Britain is not about any threat to the union - indeed the union has been strengthened by Dublin's support for the unionist veto - but about protecting their supremacist position within the six counties. They refused to accept that their supremacy must be eroded, to some extent, if middle-class Catholics are to be 'bought off'. British attempts at normalising the situation in their closest colony, especially the Sunningdale agreement in 1973, have always involved an effort to shift some power from the unionists to a docile and friendly Free State government - bypassing the border to strengthen the old colonial link - the corner-stone of British policy in Ireland.

The question now posed is whether unionists in 1985 have the stomach for what may be a long and drawn-out confrontation with London. The hitherto shaky OUP-DUP unity has been cemented by the recent events, and public criticism of the agreement from middle-class Protestant elements such as the Presbyterian clergy suggests a large degree of unionist unity.

Nationalists might well settle down in their armchairs to enjoy the fight, but for the fact that in the North such conflicts usually trigger spates of sectarian assassinations of innocent Catholics by the like of the UDA and UVF. As for the British government, they seem convinced that the unionist threat can be successfully contained. ¶

But RN itself comes close to stressing the key international aspect of the Treaty which enforces the changes which Paisley correctly sees as the writing on the wall:

↳ Also ranged behind the agreement - although more discreetly - are the Irish Catholic hierarchy, the Federation of Irish Societies in Britain, the British churches, the inevitable Father Faul and, of course, those whose public support the agreement was also aimed at - the American government and the EEC countries. By Monday, words of support had arrived from Reagan and Tip O'Neil in Washington, Helmut Kohl in Germany, French president Francois Mitterand and a few others. For one of the aims of the agreement, by no means the least, was to refurbish Britain's image tarnished by the hunger-strikes, years of military occupation, and accusations of imperialistic views over Ireland.

Having made the Dublin government an official accomplice of its actions in the North, the British government can now look forward to an easier time on the propaganda front. ¶

RN also itself states (though not stressing it sufficiently) that the Green Tory timidity and treachery has not really altered what has in effect been the reality of Dublin's submission to British imperialism since 1921:

↳ Thus the *de facto* recognition which existed in the past (as the report correctly observed) has now been strengthened to become a *de jure* recognition of partition. ¶

RN also comes close to capturing the colossal historical implications of the Treaty giving Dublin a say in the north (occupied) zone in adding:

↳ If loyalists are rebelling against the deal, despite the strongest possible guarantees from Thatcher and FitzGerald that the constitutional position has not changed, this merely shows their inability to recognise that the days of their blatantly triumphalist rule over the nationalist community are over. Britain has refined its occupation of the six counties, which is a far cry from relinquishing its control, as the unionists allege. ¶

But the "blatantly triumphalist" aspect of British colonialism is a much deeper issue than just a question of style or show.

It is the historic economic/political substance itself of British imperialist supremacy, - now irrevocably under permanent threat of total decay & disaster - in all spheres, - which is precisely the matter shattering British bourgeois to the core.

It seems silly having to remind Sinn Fein that Paisley & Co are not Irishmen but British colonists, which must never be forgotten.

And as good British imperialists in the very front line (and the very first front line) of defending nearly 600 years of emerging, then maturing, then decaying British capitalist supremacy, - the British colonists in Ireland sense the eclipse of the entire historical role of the entire British bourgeoisie more keenly than anyone else.

'No Surrender' represents the final triumph of the British capitalist state over its own overthrown feudal rival power, over landed reaction throughout the territories of Britain and Ireland, and over rival capitalist intrigues of all kinds, -even while itself being the product of compromise.

The Paisleyite mobs do not necessarily have all that history clear in their heads as they vomit up their benighted and outdated tribal chauvinism. But neither can British colonialist nationalism simply disappear, - or change its mind about its historical role. Its history is its role. Imperialism is the British

bourgeoisie's only existence. For 300 years it has known nothing else. And with the advent of the epoch of the world socialist revolution, there is no further place in history for the British bourgeoisie as a class. It is done for. But its existence as a class is its only essential historical nature. It cannot give it up, it cannot cease to be what it is. It can only fight.

The essence of British colonialism in Rhodesia has gone down fighting. Smithites can never change. The essence of British colonialism in Ireland will go down fighting. Paisleyites can never change.

Nor Biggs-Davisonites, Budgenites, Powellites, Carsonites, Bonar Lawites, etc. Thatcher represents British imperialism too, of course. But much more does her Poujadist-shopkeepers mentality (shallow hysteria) despairingly kid itself it is representing the last great hope of world bourgeois interests before the great Red flood sweeps everything into oblivion.

Thatcher is acting as an agent for US imperialist domination in the matter of the new Treaty, - just as Powell astutely explains she is doing; but just as she dreams she is doing (-however hamfistedly it is turning out) -in laying British capitalism open to crucifying market competition (from now-bigger and more efficient imperialist powers) -"in the best interests of the 'free' world and 'free' market competition, - and ultimately of the British people themselves".

In these splits in the British establishment, there is no question of any section of them abandoning their imperialist/colonialist stance, or changing their arrogant, domineering national-chauvinism. It is just that in these very splits, -which tell of deeper decay and disintegration, - some of their bitter, defiant despair sees the writing on the wall and says 'No further' sooner than others .

Powell, for instance, has so clearly seen and felt the decline of British imperialism for so long that he bitterly attributes the 'last hope' for capitalism's survival (expressed by other bourgeois in the dir-

ection of the EEC and the US-NATO alliance) as being the very cause for justified despair about the West's future. Powell sees Thatcherism in the same degenerate & treacherous category.

Paisley & Co do not really object so much to collaborating with the SDLP and Dublin Muzorewas. It is the Mugabe/ZANU proletarian dictatorship which inevitably follows (soon after such belated cosmetic concessions) that British colonial power will die fighting against. For such popular rule sooner or later must mean an end to the colonists' sweet domination and privileges.

Residual anti-communism & anti-Leninism still prevents Sinn Fein from yet reaching quite the heights scaled by ZANU's national liberation struggle, even though it remains the most outstanding political movement in Western Europe.

But Leninist understanding can only forge ahead in every part of the capitalist world from now on. The nationalist triumph over British colonists will quickly be established, - and lead directly to the struggle for the socialist revolution in Ireland, ousting the West's Green-Tory stooge rule for good.

Spread the ILWP Bulletin.

52. March 5, 1986
(Bulletin 332)

The British colonists occupying the north of Ireland have performed exactly as the Bulletin explained that their historical class/ideological position would force them to (in an analysis of how the new treaty would prove to be the thin end of the wedge for Ireland's reunification (see Bulletins 318, 319, 320, 321 last November on the published text and the hopelessly muddled misreading of it from the Trots to Sinn Fein).)

Ireland's national liberation struggle has won a spectacular, if indirect, victory over British imperialism. And the final vehicle for that victory will be the very same bourgeois-colonist intransigence so foully and viciously used by London in the past for continuing its colonial

military occupation and partition.

As explained, the deal forced on London by outraged public opinion throughout the Common Market and the USA over the brutal imperialist repression by Britain's police-military dictatorship, is for a phased hand-over of government authority to a re-unified 32-county Irish Republic during the next 25 years or so, -the time it would take for anti-Orange votes to outgrow Orange-fascist votes in the occupied zone.

But equally obviously, Paisley & Co would never agree to going quietly, however long drawn out the reunification with Dublin, and however much their class would be assured of a continuing share of power by the Green Tory traitors in the south.

As discussed, the die was finally cast yesterday at the very first serious political confrontation between London and the colonists when Orange leaders' half-heartedness and dither about how far to avoid alienating British opinion and how far to march towards UDI led to the predictable ugly fascist chaos.

This worst possible outcome from the colonists' point of view was also to some extent inevitable, being a doomed species.

Molyneux and Paisley might have pulled back from a complete break with London and collective NATO opinion, -as they tried to do after last week's Downing Street talks.

On the other hand, the colonist (mis-named 'Ulster Protestant') community might have seen the writing on the wall for their nationalist-fascist ascendancy and staged a massive united show of armed intransigence, defying EEC and US public opinion to themselves come and do something about the occupiers 'no surrender' stance (in circumstances where London just might have been able to get away with 'opting out' from an 'impossible situation' just as London did (under the cowardly Labour Party) when Smith declared UDI in Rhodesia, in 1967, another British colonist minority declaring

permanent 'no surrender' dominance over an occupied land.) But the colonists ended up taking no firm stand either way, -neither a political climb-down to make the best of their last 25 years promised ascendancy, -nor an all-out military stand defying the rest of the world to take them on (not an easy or pleasant prospect). Time is rapidly running out on both 'might have beens', and chaos is now the big threat to Orange domination.

All the colonial reactionaries succeeded in doing in Ireland yesterday, however, was tripping up over their own nastiness. Worse still, the Unionist political bosses compounded their obvious creation of confusion (instead of having given a clear political lead) by then running away from any frank discussion of their weakness, cancelling an intended press conference, thus effectively leaving the last word to the mindless fascism of the shadowy thug-gunmen and arsonists whose sole accomplishment is cowardly sectarian terror.

Molyneux has bottled out. Even Paisley is wavering. If the best that colonist UDI can do for a leadership is Robinson, McCusker, Tyrie and McMichael, it seems certain that the British capitalist establishment will honour the London deal and the secret pledge to Washington, and commit state forces to curbing the Orange revolt.

This sudden paralysed uncertainty by the colonist hierarchy is not so strange. It exactly reflects their historical position as an economic and political colonial force which has outlived its time and has been left high and dry by the twilight of the imperialist epoch, just as Ian Smith's UDI Rhodesia was, and just as Botha's apartheid South Africa is going to be.

It is this dither, plus lavish US aid for the treaty process (the first \$250 million proposed yesterday to Congress by Reagan), - all to the background of the heroic national-liberation struggle by the Republican movement and Sinn Fein, -which might persuade the British military and police hierarchy to go against their grain and take on the fascist-colonist revolt, -a task

the British officer caste muted against in 1911-1912 backed by the then Tory Opposition, sabotaging the Liberal Home Rule Bill. A war against the entire 1.2 million colonist community might have brought the fascist sympathies of the British army and police hierarchy to breaking point, on the other hand.

The half-cocked indisciplined mess of the Monday night/Tuesday morning disturbances, however, leading to embarrassed apologies or even hostility by large sections of the 'Ulster Protestant' population, has probably left the police/military hierarchy with little choice but to 'enforce the law', - the new law imposing the Anglo-Irish treaty.

Even if the colonist political leaders do now crawl back off their UDI limb, their authority and historical mystique has been fatally weakened and compromised by the indisciplined chaos, and London will now want to move all the more rapidly to fuller and speedier implementation of the very flexible arrangements for involving Dublin increasingly in control of affairs in all 32 counties of Ireland, -not least in order to cut the crippling subsidy costs of the insolvent colonised province and its security nightmare as fast as possible, -and hand the burden on to Dublin, to US Congressional aid, and to anyone else who wants to help sort out the sordid mess that dying British imperialism's divide-and-rule rotten traditions are leaving behind in the occupied portions of Ulster.

53. April 2, 1986
(Bulletin 336)

The bloody clashes in occupied Ireland between Orange reaction and London's police-military dictatorship are further proof that Thatcher's treaty, forced out of Britain by the Irish national-liberation struggle and worldwide sympathy with it, will be the thin end of the wedge for ending partition. (See ILWP Books vol 8).

As the Bulletin explained in November when the Treaty was published, its feeble concessions to some Dublin consultation in how the colony is administered, -a stunt to try to undermine

the decisive growth of Sinn Fein's appeal based on the IRA's heroism, -will prove fatally indigestible to the outdated imperialist-epoch essence of British colonist mentality.

It is one thing for London to have its arm twisted by Washington and the Common Market into accepting a less blatant Western imperialist domination of Ireland via international market-finance control of Dublin (as of everywhere else outside the socialist camp) rather than direct British partition/colonisation.

But it is another matter entirely for the 400-years-entrenched British colonial community to accept this. Their whole culture and philosophy is that of direct 'no surrender' armed domination of the land and the Irish nationalist people.

Like the Rhodesia colonists, and like the whites in South Africa now, their historically-determined class being refuses to accept any other way of doing things. "We built this land. It is ours," is their only understanding, no matter how moth-eaten, impoverished, and futureless such a stance is.

In resisting the Treaty's provision of feeble 'consultation' rights for Dublin, the British colonist die-hards will blunder their way into all-out bloody conflict with London, -and the rest of the West, -thereby greatly speeding up London's wish to hand over to Dublin all responsibility for the whole embarrassing mess of the occupied zone as soon as possible, -letting Washington and the EEC pay some of the colossal bills.

The degenerate fascist mentality inevitable in all actively colonist communities (the occupied zone is still ruthlessly gerrymandered through racial discrimination against the Irish by employers and 'unions' alike) seems bound to predominate over the less materially-based and belated 'reasonableness' of some Orange politicians to at last discuss some 'power-sharing', now that they dimly perceive the writing on the wall.

The capitalist-colonialist community in British-occupied Ireland are not, therefore, more backward than Thatcher & Co, 43 or much different from any oth-

er ruling class at any other place or time throughout the entire history of the capitalist/imperialist system. Their doomed stubbornness merely shows up in advance, -as with Rhodesia, South Africa, Tsarist Russia, Marcos, etc, --because the conditions for their overthrow, --terrifying and paralysing to them, --have ripened in advance of those for Thatcher & Co, (though not by much).

Sadly, Sinn Fein's analysis of this tremendous defeat that their own national-liberation struggle is about to inflict upon imperialism, -has been infected by the defeatism of the anti-Leninist 'left' swamp in Britain, whose narrow-minded petty-bourgeois 'shopkeeper' mentality makes it impossible for them to see more than one side of a question at a time, contemptuously ignoring Marxism-Leninism's scientific theory of examining all social conflict in the light of how all classes are affected and react.

The Workers Press remnant of the collapsed WRP sect of moribund Trotskyism has just 'cleaned up' its filthy Healyite record of cowardly opportunism by now only half-heartedly denouncing IRA 'terror' (instead of wholeheartedly, as before), -seeing significance only in Trotsky's discredited scholastics, but noting nothing else around them.

First they record that the Treaty has changed little of the Orange thuggery/British 'judiciary' double-act which fraudulently holds down occupied Ireland under the guise of 'justice' and 'democracy'. Sarcastically, they report that "Loyalist terror leaves state forces 'powerless'", with the brutal RUC "apparently unable to meet appeals for help from those who objected to being forced" by road-blocks to go on strike, and with the "even more interesting very low-profile approach of the British army. In spite of bands of masked and armed men patrolling the streets, the army was nowhere to be seen... in spite of the much vaunted Anglo-Irish accord, there was an unspoken agreement between the army

top brass and the Tory government to let the Loyalists 'take over'."

This prejudiced refusal to see the retreat imposed on London by the national-liberation struggle was then explained subsequently in the WRP's 8th Congress resolution which makes a hopelessly mealy-mouthed mess of trying to apologise for the WRP's cowardly opportunist treachery to Ireland's national-liberation struggle during Healy's tyranny.

These 'born again' Trot moralising charlatans begin sneakily with: "We unhesitatingly renounce all public or editorial statements which have carried any trace of social-chauvinist arrogance. In particular we renounce the 'News Line' editorial of October 13, 1984, which attacked the IRA bombing of Tory leaders at Brighton as a 'stupid outrage' and blamed the IRA for 'creating the conditions for Thatcher to escalate the police-military dictatorship over the working class'."

But their new-found 'principled support' for the armed struggle quickly turns out to be the same hypocritical cant as in their days of pimping for Healy. "Our attitude to such acts of individual terrorism (Brighton), however, is the same as Trotsky's: while we have every sympathy for the valiant individuals involved, we consider this method inexpedient in the tasks of the liberating struggle of the proletariat as well as oppressed nationalities. . . . the struggle against the British state is furthered neither by the bombing of civilians nor the futility of hunger strikes".

Just as they found it 'inexpedient' to even say boo to Healy's degenerate tyranny for 40 years, this paralysed sectarian timidity is incapable of even seeing the hugely obvious, such as the shattering political humiliation for the West of the triumphant hunger-strike sacrifice by Bobby Sands and his heroic comrades, the one great symbolic blow to assert Ireland's national determination which finally helped force Washington & NATO to tell Thatcher to find a solution, -to end the embarrassing national-liberation struggle right in the heart of the 'free' West.

Confirming their middle-class anti-Marxist philistinism to the hilt, the WRP remnants then pile up confusion upon confusion by falling for British imperialism's oldest propaganda trap by referring to the conflict between British colonialism and Irish nationalism as "divisions between Protestant and Catholic workers". In Ireland, there are either Irish workers or else British imperialist fascist-colonial dupes, nothing else.

But ever more ignorantly, the WRP stumbles on from one anti-scientific pitfall to the next, even describing British colonial exploitation of the occupied zone as the "northern Irish economy, the material basis for loyalism among Protestant workers" as though 'Northern Ireland' (an imperialist invention by rampant British colonialism 64 years ago as a treacherous fascist stunt) really existed as a country.

British imperialism's Orange colonial stooges in the occupied north get further support from the SWP wing of middle-class Trotskyite opportunism in the latest 'Socialist Worker' conclusion that: "nationalism and republicanism can in the end offer no solution" because such "sectarian violence" reflects "the impossibility of reforming the Northern Irish state . . . A few hundred IRA volunteers" cannot win.

But precisely because Sinn Fein and the IRA refused to accept the bogus "Northern Ireland" as reality, their national-liberation struggle precisely has won, - as far as the present campaign towards reunification goes. London is being forced out of its colonial guardianship. Ask Paisley.

Sadly, Sinn Fein itself, -raised on 'left' swamp anti-communism like everyone else in the West, --has failed to pursue a persistent Leninist re-education in order to replace one-sided single-issue 'logic' with scientific dialectics.

Gerry Adams himself declares (in a November 15, 1985, speech reproduced in 'Ireland's War' No 16): "The reaction of outrage from loyalists is as predictable as it is stupid given Thatcher's assurances and Fitz-

gerald's agreement that their veto over Irish re-unification remains and is to be copperfastened in a 'Treaty' at the United Nations."

But it is obvious that however 'stupid' the British colonist reaction to the insult of Dublin's consultation rights in the north, that reaction is becoming a dominant political factor with enormous consequences which will alter the whole outcome of the national liberation struggle, -however 'predictable' (i. e. insignificant?) it is claimed they were originally.

"Thatcher's cast-iron guarantees to loyalists show that Fitzgerald has capitulated" Adams added. But it is the other way about completely. It is British imperialism which has finally capitulated to Irish nationalism and reunification, -thanks to Adams's own tremendous political achievements.

FitzGerald, nor any other Green Tory, could not capitulate any further than Fine Gael and later Fianna Fail eventually did in the 1920s and 1930s. It is only possible to agree to coexist with British colonial domination of the occupied north of Ireland once, and that had already been done long ago by the bourgeois political circus in the south (and north, around SDLP).

Far from the "formal recognition of the partition of Ireland being a disaster for the nationalist cause", the de facto recognition was already that. Playing opportunist treaty diplomacy with Thatcher doesn't alter the already existing reality of southern bourgeois capitulation. If the de facto recognition never stopped the heroic national-liberation struggle from being rekindled in the occupied zone, formal recognition by all the Dublin opportunists can make no difference at all.

Equally, claiming that "Today's agreement amounts to the total abandonment of SDLP, Fine Gael and Fianna Fail assurances that they would not accept any internal six county arrangements" amounts to crying 'wolf' long after the livestock had been well digested. For more than 60 years, the opportunists had

already in practice agreed to class-collaboration with the 'internal six county arrangement'.

Worst of all, Adams adds to Foreign Office propaganda-department confusion by talking of the "loyalists coming to terms with the rest of the Irish people".

As Paisley makes clear, the essence of his fascist class politics is summed up in his insistence that he is 'British' and will remain so. Certainly the colonists can agree to become honorary Irishmen, but in that case they would have no more objections to Ireland's united independence, -no more than such famed 'Protestants' as Wolf Tone, Robert Emmett, Charles Parnell, etc, who, of course, regarded themselves as Irishmen, the key question. It does not help clarity to accept the British colonist Paisley's own arrogant-fascist boast as being "as Irish as anybody. We built this land, it is our country."

This is outdated imperialism of a vanished epoch. It is in no way compatible with the legitimate aspirations of "the rest of the Irish people", and it is down for defeat, and with it a defeat also for another large part of Western imperialist arrogance, & anti-communism.

With the struggle against the effects of collapsing imperialist crisis having taken the form in Ireland of a national-liberation struggle at this stage, - a completion of that national-liberation struggle will be a brilliant achievement on the way to a revolutionary socialist solution to the continuing impossible economic problems of the whole of Ireland, -the only final guarantee of fulfilling Ireland's legitimate national aspirations.

Crucial will be the development of a political movement based exclusively on scientific Leninism, -the deliberate building and training of a "party of a new type" as the Bolsheviks became. Mere gestures towards Leninism and communism will not be sufficient in such a complex, sophisticated and cynical Western society as Ireland.

If Thatcher sticks to her 'consultation' treaty with Dublin as the NATO and EEC powers have urged on her, then the fascist-military revolt threatened by Robinson, Paisley, & Powell is doomed.

All-out British military and RUC confrontation of Ulster colonist intransigence will transform the theoretically impotent 'conference' arrangements from just a talking shop into a rapidly-expanding thin end of the wedge for fullscale Irish reunification, as analysed in the Bulletin when the Treaty was first published in November.

In violently rejecting the showy but insubstantial London-Dublin ploy for cutting the ground from under Sinn Fein's feet, the colonial diehards will turn it into its opposite. They'll ensure that Sinn Fein's pressure on Thatcher (via the national liberation struggle's tremendous propaganda impact on the rest of the West) is in fact crowned with sudden and spectacular reunification triumph at least 40 years before it could have become inevitable through demographic growth of the nationalist minority in the occupied zone.

Powell came dramatically close to speeding up London's withdrawal symptoms drastically when he belligerently told BBC's Newsnight yesterday that 'democratic' resistance to wrong government decisions could justify a revolt against the British state machinery.

Senior Tory MP Bill Benyon voiced certain strands of British bourgeois opinion when he referred to the colonist attacks on the RUC as forcing reconsideration of whether "the expenditure of lives and money in keeping Ulster within the UK" was justified.

The open conflict between different wings of bourgeois reaction has brought the BBC fascists into their element temporarily, -biasedly egging on the reactionary camp as blatantly as they dare risk.

The British imperialist stooge Lord Gerry Fitt was allowed 10 minutes uninterrupted pro-

paganda on today's BBC Radio 4 breakfast time peak listening hour to deliver hypocritical special pleading for his Orange-bourgeois peers, urging Thatcher to abandon the Treaty in order not to put the colonist fascists under "such painful pressure".

This humbug justifying the nazi revolt on the streets of the occupied zone by its longtime British colonist masters, refusing to end their domination, is repayment by Fitt, an 'Irish' colonised subject of Orange capitalist domination, -for the British master-race having given him a plush luxury pension for life in the House of Lords.

It is a common, if disgusting, phenomenon of all history of colonialism and slavery that the colonised slaves are so used to being servile that they are more hostile to ending the domination than the colonisers themselves.

Similarly there are millions of blacks depravedly serving Botha's white fascist apartheid in South Africa today, acting as soldiers, policemen, etc, to kill their fellow blacks who 'dare to revolt' against white domination. Other black Uncle Toms, like Fitt, become 'respectable' political spokesmen for the blacks, admitted as such into leading white circles, like the treacherous Zulu chief Gatsha Buthelezi, or like the would-be traitor Archbishop Muzorewa in Rhodesia previously, helping the fascist Smithites to prevent black majority rule.

The BBC's nauseating promotion of Fitt's disgusting treachery to the Irish people is an interesting aspect of reactionary bourgeois behaviour when the decadent British imperialist state is in paralysed crisis.

The hidden BBC fascists think they might stand a chance of bouncing uncertain ruling class opinion away from the Reagan-Thatcher line of accepting the victory of the national liberation struggle in Ireland and acceding to reunification (as a way of undermining Sinn Fein's revolutionary appeal) by the slow 'consultation' process awaiting a nationalist voting majority in the occupied north in about

40 years time to end the partition 'painlessly' and without too much violent bloodshed against them for having "betrayed the pledge to the union with Britain".

The fascist wing of crumbling British bourgeois opinion hopes that Thatcher might now be a spent force in establishment Tory circles, that the vast majority of ruling class opinion might not care too much about any solution in Ireland, and might just prefer a quieter life on the issue, -however it is achieved, - - and that an anti-Thatcher revolt in Parliament and public opinion in Britain generally might be organised around Enoch Powell, the resigned minister Ian Gow, the pro-Orange Tory gang around Biggs-Davison, etc, and around prominent fascist opinion-formers in Fleet Street and the BBC.

Even the Archbishop of Canterbury has been recruited to plead for 'understanding' of the 'poor' Orangemen who have been made 'so unhappy' by the Treaty that they feel 'forced to behave badly about it'.

This was Fitt and Powell's line lovingly allowed to run unchallenged by the mixture of fascist reaction and dimwitted paralysis at the BBC.

The Guardian was so alarmed that Powell was being allowed to get away with murder in his unchallenged radio and TV interviews that it wrote a specially pained editorial on the subject, - as usual missing the main point by a mile in order to avoid having to get off the fence itself.

The issue posed by Powell's challenge to the bogus 'rule of law' of Parliament is not one of Powell's allegedly phony use of the alleged 'inevitability' of Orange fascist reaction. That is not necessarily a false philosophical concept.

Powell is wrong because the 'inevitable' Orange violence is reactionary and doomed to the rubbish heap of history.

The BBC should have challenged Powell for his ludicrous hypocrisy in demanding for years that all IRA violent resistance to British military dictatorship be declared "illegal" and "criminal" and be crushed with "the utmost vigour of the law"

but UVF violent resistance to imposition by London was merely "understandable" and its 'technical' illegality was much less important than the Orange men's "right" to resist "wrong law".

Powell's philosophical argument that only Thatcher's stubbornness in imposing wrong politics was really 'criminal', - and 'responsible' for the UVF fascist violence, - was tantamount to open encouragement of escalating attacks on the RUC and escalating law-breaking generally on the grounds that all of that reaction was merely "inevitable" and "understandable".

The Guardian fence-sitters not only got it wrong about Powell's use of this concept; they also get it wrong in suggesting the UVF could in fact behave differently, if Powell would only give them a peaceful lead.

This is confused nonsense. Fascist reaction will have its brief day in the occupied zone after nearly 400 years of jingoistic colonist drum-beating to assert their dominance over the natives. Fascist counter-revolution was inevitable whatever lead Powell, Paisley, or Molyneux gave. They will simply be eclipsed by Robinson or Wright or Barr or some other die-hard if they don't go along with the revolt.

The inevitability of the Orange fascist reaction is a key element in the ILWP's material understanding of the balance of class forces over the collapse of colonialism in the occupied north of Ireland, forced out by the heroic Sinn Fein/IRA national liberation struggle.

The 'left' swamp in Britain continues to philistinely turn its back on Marxist-Leninist science (which is impossible unless the effects on all classes of material development are considered, and also the subsequent counter-effects from all classes.) The role of the communist proletarian vanguard is finally the decisive one. But only if its leadership party can correctly analyse the balance of class forces making correct programme, strategy, and tact-

ics possible.

Yet still the SWP insists as late as their April 5 issue that as far as anyone suggesting "that the new Anglo-Irish agreement guarantees change, - nothing could be further from the truth".

If these morons cannot see the Communist Manifesto handed over by Thatcher as the new law for the occupied zone of Ireland, then they will tediously insist that "nothing has changed".

The entire swamp is correct to grasp the obvious, - that the Reagan-Thatcher 'discussion treaty' initiative is designed to cut the ground from under Sinn Fein's feet.

But since their criminal ignorance of Marxism-Leninism fails to grasp that a national-liberation struggle can be a revolutionary struggle, then their sectarian treachery towards that struggle in Ireland prejudices them to conviction that nothing but their own idiot academic Trotskyism can ever bring real change anywhere, including Ireland.

So despite all the evidence that Thatcher has been blown off course by the worldwide impact of the national-liberation struggle, and has been forced to clip Orange fascist wings in order to try to rescue Dublin's decrepit 'republican' reputation as a counter to Sinn Fein's revolutionary appeal, the SWP ivory-tower reactionaries still insist "sectarian processions, aimed at intimidating Catholics, continued unhindered".

This is simply not true. The British imperialist state forces are being asked to impose the 'consultation conference' provisions against the fierce fascist revolt by the Orange die-hards. That changed relationship was bound to mean a changed relationship on sectarian marches too.

So far out of touch with reality is this April 5 SWP nonsense that far from there being any further doubts about the hopeless split in British imperialist ranks, the question is already uppermost about whether Robinson will lead a real fascist movement openly, - against Paisley's

immediately switching his more timid (!) hesitancy, - and which way Powell in the wings will jump. These are major changes in the balance of class forces.

A Leninist analysis indicates that if Reagan does not retreat from accepting a limited national-liberation struggle victory, - to get the Irish embarrassment off the Western agenda, and does not decide to recruit the Orange fascist die-hards for his growing army of reactionary last-ditch stands in Nicaragua, Angola, Afghanistan, etc, for promoting US-backed counter-revolution, - then the 'consultation' deal will go through, and its leisurely reunification provisions will be dramatically speeded up by London intolerance at the Orange fascist reaction. The whole Ireland mess will be handed over solely to Dublin responsibility at Thatcher's earliest opportunity.

55. April 23, 1986
(Bulletin 339)

While permanently meriting unconditional support for its liberation struggle, Sinn Fein has to be criticised for its political confusion.

Disorientation over the London-Dublin Treaty, - (failing to grasp the extent and nature of British imperialism's retreat towards reunification, forced on it by NATO pressure because of the uncomfortable (for the West) triumph of the IRA/Sinn Fein military and political revolution, - see previous Bulletins), - is now producing ludicrous contradictions.

The Easter Rising anniversary speech in Dublin by Sinn Fein organiser Pat Doherty tried justifying the opportunist nonsense of sending genuine condolences to the fascist hoodlums of the British colonist community who have been hit by plastic bullets during the UVF/UDA's new terror campaign against the RUC to try to get the Treaty withdrawn.

Calling the fascist clashes with the RUC a 'provocation' against the 'loyalists', Doherty laughably insists: "There is not enough real substance within the 'agreement' to justify the provocation of loyalists. "

Immediately switching his

class-collaborating political sympathies from the colonist fascists to the equally obnoxious British imperialist state, Doherty then adds: "They (the 'Loyalists') should be confronted on a real issue, the issue of the loyalist veto, rather than on a treaty which actually reinforces that veto. "

Finally, Doherty straddles halfway between seeing things from a fascist colonist or a British state imperialist point of view: "If the loyalists were being confronted on all or any of these issues, then whatever arises from this confrontation would at least be justifiable. "

Revolutionary philosophy can only begin to be developed once it is grasped that nothing is for consideration as 'justifiable' or, equally, as 'non-justifiable' as far as the imperialist bourgeoisie is concerned. Marxism can only start from the total conviction that the bourgeois period of history has run its course and that henceforth, only the bourgeoisie's overthrow is alone a scientific attitude to have towards all of reality.

Even more so concerning the fascist aggressive right wing of the decadent bourgeoisie, the only interest is for their earliest possible political destruction, by whatever means, - never committing the fundamental confusion of calling upon the capitalist state to deal with fascism (thereby creating illusions in bourgeois 'justice', or 'law & order', etc), but also not making the ridiculous error of decrying conflict between fascists and their bourgeois state as an illusory opportunist way of trying to expose that hated dictatorial power.

Revolutionaries may choose to oppose a fascist putch aimed at toppling capitalist state establishment. But never on the fraudulent opportunist basis of 'supporting democracy as opposed to fascism', but only on the basis of wanting to wipe out the more aggressive blatant threat to socialism, and only incidentally being in 'support' of the bourgeois state as the rope 'supports' the hanged man, - waiting the opportunity to bring it down just the same --- but in the name of socialist revolution.

The confrontation between the RUC and the fascist colonists is to be taken advantage of, not taken sides in, -just in the same way that inter-imperialist war gave the Bolsheviks the opportunity to call (alone) for the defeat of their own government, -but without, obviously, being in any way for the victory of German imperialism, no better than Tsarist imperialism.

The declaration that 'there is not enough real substance' in the treaty to 'justify' the RUC/UVF conflict is even more woodenly sectarian and petty-bourgeois subjective idealist.

The decisive reality is that the bitter fascist-imperialist confrontation is taking place (and

with good reason, -see Bulletin analysis last November of the Treaty's first publication), and should immediately be taken advantage of for the national-liberation struggle, -not waste time with lunatic mystical pravers that the conflict 'should not really be taking place'.

Sinn Fein's ideological bog-up springs from the rotten 'leftist' traditions in British politics of philistine hostility to theory, incarnated by the entire modern spectrum of Eurocommunist and Trotskyite groupings.

Their petty-bourgeois hatred of the dictatorship of the proletariat and their conceited opportunist ignorance of even the ABC of Leninism has washed off in Sinn

Fein's modern political origins. Republican News still insists on describing the population of the occupied zone of Ireland as either Catholic or Protestant (or Loyalist) instead of Irish nationalist or British colonist, -thus surrendering without a fight to a crucial imperialist propaganda weapon, undermining a vital emancipation weapon, and helping to confuse generations of workers in Britain. All of the Trots and Euros embellish this with 'clever' posturing demanding unity between 'Catholic workers' and 'Protestant workers', -which perpetuates the confusion and makes it worse with the monstrous workerist nonsense that fascist British colonists and

can as 'workers' ignore their differences. Such muddle-head Trotskyism could end up sympathising with the National Front (the allies of the 'Protestant loyalist workers') since both hate Thatcher, US imperialism, and the Soviet Union. Such is the bankruptcy of anti-Leninism.

Sinn Fein has also joined the Trot/Euro swamp in trying to prop up the discredited TUC bureaucracy's pathetic stunt of a boycott of Murdoch papers in a pretence of 'leftism'. But why only now? And why stop at Murdoch? Any worker falling for these opportunist frauds wants his head examining.

56. August 27, 1986
(Bulletin 357)

Strange case of the dog that didn't bark

The famous Sherlock Holmes mystery could never have matched the criminal silence of Kinnock & Co over the Stalker scandal.

There could never have been a more blatant fit-up in the whole history of the British capitalist state.

For doing absolutely nothing in terms of 'normal' senior police behaviour, Manchester's deputy chief constable has had his reputation destroyed by a most cynical establishment 'dirty tricks' campaign.

Stalker has been humiliated by a bogus 'inquiry' in order to rubbish his nearly-complete report into the notorious British state/RUC death squad activities against the Irish national Liberation struggle.

But throughout these farcical 'investigations' into Stalker doing no more than be driven around Manchester to hobnob with the local bourgeoisie (as his boss Anderton does and as all police chiefs do all the time), including meetings with the same Tory Party chairman Kevin Taylor who has been Anderton's dinner guest at police headqu-

arters, etc.,--the Labour Party has kept a straight face, pretending that such 'investigation' is normal.

The pillorying of Stalker, however, is in fact the most abnormal event in the entire history of the British police state.

Never has such a high-ranking officer been held up to such ridicule even on very serious charges of criminal and even murderous corruption of which there has been endless incidence since policing (official protection racketeering) began.

Deliberately choosing only the most juxtaposed occurrence of routine police villainy proves the point amply.

On the very same day of Stalker's 'acquittal' (by the comatose Manchester Labourites) appeared the story in that morning's papers of the London police officer (whose speciality is forcing immigrant women to have sex with him under threat of bogus 'passport irregularity' investigation), -allowed to continue unchallenged on his police 'duties' by the DPP (Department of Public Prosecutions) in their familiar stance of 'not sufficient evidence for prosecution'.

Why no huge public song-and-dance, -submitted to local authority councillors, -in that copper's case?

Despite the appalling

criminal gravity of the charges, -fully detailed with corroborative evidence by witnesses, -the London police rapist is not challenging the British capitalist state as Stalker is, -but merely kicking the most defenceless people around --which, after all, is what the filth are paid to do.

But Stalker, -for doing no more than attend a local rugby club dinner with the chairman of the local Tory Party (among other bourgeois scum present) --scum that his own boss Anderton (who set the dogs onto Stalker) is completely familiar with, --and an activity for which senior police officers after 30 years or so of such 'duties' would normally be expecting an MBE or something, --- is fitted up with the biggest high-ranking hoax purge in the entire police history.

The oddest thing of all is that Stalker is apparently close to being that rare breed of 'honest' cop whose notions of justice have not been completely poisoned by the counter-revolutionary anti-communist dictates imposed on the police from the beginning by the capitalist ruling class.

Even more paradoxically, he was framed for doing the very thing he normally gets paid for, --being political.

But instead of sticking to harassing eth-

nic minorities and witch-hunting 'red agitators', etc, in line with the normal prejudices of political policing in the West, it was Manchester's turn to 'inquire into allegations' about the latest police brutality scandal, -this time over the RUC's death squads in the occupied north of Ireland, --and Stalker got the job.

And where a routine 'not sufficient evidence for prosecution' report was expected at the DPP, Stalker balked at the rotten atrocity committed knowingly by an MI5/SAS/RUC hit squad against 17-year-old Michael Tighe on his farm near Lurgan in 1982, laying in wait for hours for him to come to a barn and play with an old WWI rifle, as was his wont, which had no ammunition and not even a firing pin & bolt, without which it is just a toy, -as the British authorities well knew.

Particularly obnoxious for Stalker was that for some weird reason or other, the colonial authorities tape-recorded the entire cold-blooded murder operation, -for some 'educational' purpose or other.

Stalker said that this was going too far and insisted that some token heads should roll, -the way such scandals are sometimes disposed of, -for this particular incident, -even if he may, apparently, have been will-

ing to turn a blind eye to several other murders carried out in the same way by the MI5/SAS/RUC death squads.

Sections of the British imperialist establishment took fright at this proposal though it is not clear whether or if all did.

Whitehall had a motive in not wanting the RUC to be too compromised in view of the painful job it was being asked to do in firmly policing the Paisley-fascist objections to the Anglo-Irish Treaty (imposed by Washington to woo Dublin into NATO on the longterm promise of eventual Irish reunification. See past Bulletins).

The RUC hierarchy itself had a motive in not wishing to sustain any individual casualties in view of the prospective forthcoming Dublin-NATO gravy train.

The true-Brit colonists themselves (Paisley, Molyneux, & Co) had a motive in their crazed fraud of resisting the Treaty as 'the most wronged yet the most righteous people on earth, -God's chosen people of British Ulster'. Reports proving dirty death squad acts are hardly the holiest of scriptures.

However it came about, Stalker was asked to tone down his allegations. Astonishingly he refused. Subtle hints & pressure were put on him, such as re-

fusing him interviews, denying him forensic evidence, destroying the tell-tale tape-recording of the Tighe incident, blatantly delaying consideration of his interim reports etc, and commencing the slanderous whispering campaign against Stalker on his own Manchester patch; etc. Even bogus IRA death threats were manufactured against Stalker, -there- by obliging him to rely more than ever on police-chauffeured transport to avoid risks --the very thing his in-the-know superiors later decided to 'investigate' him for, -- for 'excessive' use of police transport.

Remarkably, Stalker still refused to take the hint and back down.

Ultimately, suspension and an official inquiry were slapped on Stalker, -virtual death to his future police career, -and certain death to his RUC investigations, now taken out of his control.

But while this was a devastating blow against Stalker, it was a desperate stunt by those establishment sections responsible.

Despite the idiot Sampson doing his plodding best to bury the death-squad affair and pretend that Stalker's rugby watching is the real scandal facing Britain, disturbed questions are being asked by some elements of public opinion generally, - including the bourgeoisie itself.

But not, of course, by

the stinking servile Labour Party.

They swallowed whole Sampson's wretched bait, --the pretence that there was anything to inquire into at all about Stalker's behaviour, -at any time, but most peculiarly into the Manchester police chief's friendships going back several years at a time when he had in that period twice been positively vetted for promotion and then selected for the important RUC investigation.

Tory Party chairmen are indeed the scum of the earth, but they also rule the earth in this part of the West, and it is absolutely routine for all local and national police chiefs to have such social acquaintances. They get medals for it normally.

Belatedly some Labour leaders have been permitted to voice timid criticisms in the wake of louder protests at what is going on from interested bourgeois like the Dublin Tories and the SDLP and some more adventurous capitalist press circles.

But what Labour will not touch with a barge pole, - ever -, is any serious challenge to the British capitalist state's secret police tyranny while it is actually being imposed.

To do so would be to break capitalism's golden rule: Never must the authority of the state itself ever be challenged. Only in re-

trospact can there be talk of 'reforming' its constant criminal mistakes, omissions, misdemeanours and repression.

The result is perpetual domination of the working class by capitalism's press & TV monopolies and parliamentary political fraud. Mass indignation at capitalist stilate racketeering is constantly fobbed off with retrospective 'reformist' inquiries. Home Secretary Hurd has immediately promised a full investigation into 'all the circumstances and fears' surrounding the strange Stalker affair.

But as always, the corrupt establishment has already got away yet once more with its rotten intriguing. Stalker's reputation is effectively sullied. A smokescreen has been thrown over his thorough report on death-squad activities in the occupied zone of Ireland. And nothing in the 'democratic' system will stop the imperialist establishment getting away with such stunts again & again.

How successfully the reactionary circles' broader purposes will be achieved on this occasion is a different matter entirely.

That is governed by the much wider considerations of history.

Continuing colonial dictatorship over the remaining part of Ireland is relentlessly being forced out by

the heroic national liberation struggle led by Sinn Fein & the IRA.

So fast is British imperialism losing its grip worldwide, - now one of the weakest competitors in the ominously escalating cut-throat trade war and inter-imperialist arms race, -that catastrophically humiliating failures will be its general political lot henceforth, -no matter how dirty the intriguing and police-state corruption becomes.

Stalker & the Labourites may have been frightened off on this occasion from seeing justice done over the death-squads inquiry.

But overall, the decaying British imperialist legacy in Ireland can only continue going from bad to worse.

Now required by the weightier imperialist influence of Washington & the Common Market to force its mad-dog Ulster colonists to toe the line for longterm snail's pace reunification of Ireland under the Anglo-Irish treaty, the British establishment only faces more painful humiliating blows however things turn out.

If it stays to do its duty by NATO's 'respectable' public image requirement of preventing an obscene fascist bloodbath on the streets of northern Ireland by the demented Paisley & Co, it will suffer materially --and then still be asked why this boil of

diehard colonist reaction was not lanced decades ago, -e.g. in 1921 itself when the rotten farce of partition was first imposed under threat from Carson's bully-boys and a Tory British officers revolt, -poisoning Ireland's full independence in the interests of a gerrymandering bunch of racist thugs fraudulently claiming to be 'Ulstermen'. Thereby the people of Ireland would have been spared more than 60 years intermittent bloody civil war and national liberation struggle.

If the London establishment runs away from its responsibilities to tame its own UVF monster that it created deliberately in the first place, it will justifiably earn the contempt of most bourgeois public opinion worldwide, -and yet still suffer more painful military & financial blows.

Either way, national liberation struggle, arms-in-hand, will have won another famous victory, and will have finally fully triumphed in Ireland at last (although with the battle for full socialist emancipation still to come).

And the greatest humiliation, deservedly, will be for the cowardly 'democratic reformist' British political system, typified above all else by the degenerate British Labour Party & TUC.

57. November 19, 1986
(Bulletin 369)

The shop-looting shambles which brought Orange fascism's first big 'Ulster Resistance' weekend to such a pathetic close is rich confirmation of the ILWP's Leninist analysis of the balance of historical-class forces in Ireland.

The lumpen-imperialist gangs like the UVF are still capable of pointless nazi terror-revenge in their sick 'no surrender' despair, but the phony 'Northern Ireland' nationalism they try to wrap around themselves in the occupied zone, using Union Jacks, is collapsing in ruins.

There will be no genuine mass 'national independence' movement building up around the Orange freemasonry to create a 'guerrilla-liberation war' in reverse by so-called 'Protestants' against Ireland's republican reunification.

If Washington & Common Market intentions hold firm to insist London ends its embarrassing colonial occupation of the north of Ireland at the earliest possible moment, and if Whitehall acquiescence under 'bi-partisan' Parliamentary class-collaboration is not disrupted by a National Front landslide in the next General Election, - then the Anglo-Irish Treaty will proceed ever

more rapidly all the way to ending partition for good.

Whatever huge problems could remain for Ireland after reunification (depending on how exactly the internal political class struggle turns out), - it would be colossal stupidity to undervalue the monumental historical importance that the enforced ending, by national-liberation struggle, of Britain's direct colonial role in Ireland will have for Ireland itself, for Britain, and for the whole international class struggle.

Sinn Fein's Leninist decision to take its brilliant armalite-ballot box strategy directly into the Irish capitalist parliament in Du-

blin is potentially an enormously encouraging further step forward towards a revolutionary socialist solution (the only one possible) to Ireland's miserable share in the Western world's general imperialist-economic crisis.

Until Sinn Fein adopts an openly outright Leninist policy on all matters, the danger of an opportunist slither towards parliamentary reformism will be greater than it otherwise might have been.

But on the one hand there is no need at this stage to doubt that the enormously impressive process of self-education, which has taken Sinn Fein to such a prominent world-ranking posi-

on in revolutionary leadership skills & understanding, - will come to a halt.

And secondly, even if there were some unexpected further lengthy confused delay in Ireland's advance to the socialist revolution due to not quite sufficient Leninist leadership, - the final defeat of British colonialism's direct meddling (at long last) would remain, as stated, a staggering political landmark and crucial historical watershed.

To have successfully completed through armed struggle in West Europe towards the end of the 20th century such a heroic longstanding fight for full national independence against such a key pillar of historic world imperialism will have an incalculably profound effect on the entire international class struggle and national-liberation movement, - however much Western confusion-mongering tries desperately to conceal this basic reality behind hypocritical rubbish about 'Thatcher's bold Treaty initiative', etc.

To have brought to an end Britain's oldest & most corrupting and race-hate fuelling colonial domineering by severing its last direct interference in Ireland is going to dramatically help in the revolutionary disruption and re-education of the deeply and powerfully established class collaboration between British workers and imperialism.

And to have brought such a talented and culturally-renowned, - & historically so well-connected, - West European country (the first) to the brink of socialist revolution will hold great promise of further inspiring development for the advance of international Leninism.

Criminal Trotskyite muddle continues to hold back the left in Britain from any understanding of these vital matters.

Socialist Organiser & Workers Press have recently exchanged the most abysmally unenlightened polemics, - hurling chunks of useless abstract 'socialist principles' at each other but hopelessly failing to lay a finger on the real core of British colonialism, -- the so-called but ludicrously mis-named 'protestant working class', -- and utt-

erly missing, of course, the entire historic significance and reality of what is taking place under their noses but which they cannot see at all, - British imperialism on the brink of catastrophic defeat at the hands of revolutionary armed struggle.

It is a tragedy that Sinn Fein itself has still not educated its movement out of ridiculously misleading references to a so-called "protestant working class", - while, however, correctly explaining that the so-called 'loyalist' problems or interests cannot even begin to be tackled or taken into account until imperialism is overthrown.

In addition to this 'protestant working class' obviously & inevitably being nothing but a bribed tool of British colonialism all the time that the imperial connection lasts, - and never possibly a potential 'Leninist proletarian ally' for the Irish national liberation struggle/revolutionary socialist struggle - as the sterile academic Trots in Britain deduce from their barren 'Trotskyist theory' guides to idealist 'socialist principles', -- this historically misleading notion also plays havoc with possible British working class support for Ireland's national-liberation fight.

All the time that Labour, the TUC, and other middle-class-mentality props of British imperialism (i.e. "parliamentary democracy") can muddy clarity by wittering about "some Irish" who "want to retain their British identity"; (-backed by diseased Trot academic 'Marxism' spreading confusion about 'rights to self-determination', etc), -- the irresistible and unmistakable historical-materialist basis for Irish national-liberation struggle will not be easily accepted, - in spite of all Sinn Fein's dramatic & heroic military & political demonstrations that Ireland's full independence will eventually have to be conceded one way or another.

Criminal confusion is sown by the above-mentioned British Trot polemics asserting that "the Protestants (sic) were in Ireland for centuries before the epoch of imperialism, and made up the backbone of the original repub-

lican movement. To call them settlers comparable with, say, the white South Africans is completely ahistorical and untenable from a Marxist point of view."

From this endless muddle, some central points of sanity must be rescued.

The main point is that Leninist dialectics has always contemptuously vanquished all such idealist Trot sterility about static political 'absolutes' (see ILWP Books vol 5).

So-called 'Protestants', (-in itself a hopelessly imprecise & misleading categorisation,)- were in fact a constantly changing entity with a constantly changing role.

The deliberate Scottish-English Plantation colonisation of parts of Ulster in the 17th century which now chooses to assert its 'Britishness' remains exactly like the white South Africans or Rhodesians or any other colonial dominating settlers. The native Irish sections who began to adopt the Protestant form of religious faith (along with the English language) in order the better to prosper in the British colony of Ireland and who indeed, along with the rest of their Irish kith & kin, played prominent roles in the Republican independence tradition, -- are a different historical understanding entirely, -- even if parts of that 'protestant' tradition might be pointed to today as being indistinguishable from the Orange bigots.

Similarly, some sections of the British Plantation 'protestant' tradition, like colonials everywhere (and particularly following the British Plantation colonial revolt in America in 1776) joined Republican independence demands from the late 18th century onwards. But as in the Americas, some British colonials chose to assert their 'Britishness' and oppose the Republican revolt.

In the case of the USA in 1776, it would be ludicrous to assert that "some of the Americans" "wanted to retain their Britishness" and insisting on a misunderstood and misplaced 'self-determination right' for them to do so, thereby denying the far more important, vital,

and progressive historical need for the USA to insist on its total national liberation, without any partition. And in that revolutionary war, and the hugely crucial questions of international support that it raised, it would have been backward historical nonsense to witter that many of the pro-British colonials had "far longer & better pedigree as Americans than the so-called 'American revolutionaries'".

That was certainly true in strictly narrow cultural terms. But it was utterly false & misleading in the far more important question of historical revolutionary-political advance. In the international political struggle, those so-called 'americans' opposed to the 'American nationalists' should properly have been termed 'British colonial stooges' and nothing else.

Much more to the point, all past judgments of the role and 'rights' of any sections of the so-called 'protestant' traditions in Ireland are now completely eclipsed by one consideration only, -- where do they stand on the crucial new revolutionary-historical advance now facing Ireland. ? If for the national-liberation struggle, then they are Irishmen. If against, then they are nothing but British colonial stooges.

To further clarify Trot-idealist corruption of Marxist analytical methods, this mandatory progressive political stance on Ireland currently, in favour of the national-liberation struggle, does not arrive through any one-sided absolute 'principle' (in this case of self-determination) as such. Such absolute thinking is hopelessly inimical to dialectical-materialist thinking.

Sinn Fein's national-liberation struggle became the decisive arbiter for judging all things Anglo-Irish because their struggle materially made it so. No national question has any absolute right to pre-eminence. In the case of Wales for instance, Welsh nationalism might well enjoy much sympathy from Leninists. But it will need to tend towards becoming the decisive material political ingredient in Anglo-Welsh affairs before a Leninist analysis of the class struggle would need to reorientate

around it. And if that did happen, then it would be pointless for Trot idealism to assert that "the South Wales proletariat feel totally part of the British working class now, and it would be a backward step to pretend kinship now with mid-Wales middle-class Welsh nationalism". That will be a matter for the strength (or otherwise) of Welsh nationalism to decide.

This dominant practical reality of what is going to happen (the precise details being ultimately decided somewhat randomly but to a background of strict historical necessity along Marxist laws of class struggle) is equally illustrated by the negative phenomenon.

While Sinn Fein has made ever more brilliant progress towards blistering Leninist enlightenment (as its guerrilla-war key to defeating British imperialism proved to be in tune with the mainstream international revolutionary-socialist process),--so has the 'protestant working class' tradition (misleadingly so-called) degenerated ever faster towards open collaboration with the fascist scum of the National Front.

Becoming a complete dead-end from a historical point of view with the approaching final collapse of British imperialism, the so-called 'protestant' 'loyalist' tradition is both dwindling fast and at the same time becoming synonymous with everything reactionary in the anti-communist line. And out of the same anti-communist addled-brained confusion, the British Trots are there to cover up this 'protestant working-class' bankruptcy, & the misleading notion itself.

Sinn Fein's weakness remains precisely its slowness to consciously complete the spontaneous world-revolutionary identification it is already making with parts of the socialist camp (or shortly to become so, e.g. South Africa, central America, etc).

It must scale the miraculous dialectical heights of being able to identify with the Soviet camp in the communist-led anti-imperialist struggle while at the same time making allowances for (but never ceasing to combat) the foul revisionist confusion in Moscow which has

ignored or even condemned Sinn Fein's brilliant achievements so far. Leninism is the only way forward for all mankind. Spread the ILWP Bulletin.

58. January 21, 1987
(Bulletin 377)

The humiliation of the Orange-fascist thug Robinson in the Dublin courts must be chalked up as another huge victory for the Sinn Fein/IRA struggle, as also must be London's decision to retreat from its frame-up of the 'Birmingham Six' innocent 'pub-bombers'.

To a lesser extent and more indirectly, the fall of the Fitzgerald government yesterday can also be credited to aroused Republicanism/socialism resulting from Sinn Fein's dramatic successes over British imperialism. The entire crisis of the Western monopoly-capitalist system in Ireland has been exacerbated by the implacable uprising, masterminded by Sinn Fein, -against slump-dominat-ion by imperialist guns, and by Orange British-colonists

The armed-fascist UDI potential of the 'Ulster' colonist rump took another fearful hammering when Robinson capitulated to Dublin law -and-order so as to protect his own miserable skin. Despite all his ostentatious 'non-cooperation' with this 'usurping foreign power' by having his own food brought down to him from the north and other insulting acts of 'refusing to accept Dublin hospitality' etc, Robinson quickly took fright at the court's stern tone against his nazi hooliganism in Clontibret, -finally pleading guilty (to one general charge) in order to avoid antagonising the court with non-guilty pleas (to a string of specific accusations), -hoping thereby to get a reduced sentence. Even in spite of this apparent plea-bargaining stitch-up, Robinson still 'blanched' when the judge mentioned long imprisonment as a potentially suitable punishment. And Robinson was delighted to agree to pay the huge fines quickly to avoid the further humiliating threat of six years' jail if he did not cough up immediately. The bogus 'bold revolutionary' Robinson equally

meekly accepted his long hanging-over period without a murmur. Which means he will not be posturing his sick bogus-Ireland extremism again in the liberated 26 counties for a long time.

All of which has registered colossal damage, almost certainly irreparable, to the dying phony 'British-Irishness' of the vicious Ulster colonists. The bogus 'two traditions' of the 'Northern Ireland' fascist-imperialist remnants has always been exposed by the ILWP as a hollow threat as far as the "no surrender-UDI" armed resistance moves against reunification were concerned, - undermined by the incurable decay of British imperialism itself.

In particular, the Bulletin has explained in detail ever since the magnificent triumphs of the Sinn Fein/IRA/INLA hunger strikes and election victories that the embarrassment to the West of a successful national-liberation struggle, -arms-in-hand defying British military occupation on the streets (and on the TV Screens) daily, -was forcing Washington & the EEC to instruct London to wind up its colonial scandal and seek reunification with Dublin; -and that this would provoke a final armed display of futile impotence by the Orange fascists, and then curtains, --the end of the colonial infamy of Partition.

The Anglo-Irish treaty has continued taking events exactly in that direction. And although Sinn Fein has by this fraud been denied its rightful politically-acknowledged national-liberation victory, direct colonial domination will itself have finally been overthrown, - a huge stimulus to the further revolutionary socialist struggles that are henceforth to come.

The likely Appeal Court squashing of the 'Birmingham Six' frame-up is a further concession to the international pressure on Britain (caused by Sinn Fein's triumphant independence struggle), consolidating the Treaty's encouragement of Dublin. Fitzgerald's fall is less clearly in line with the Treaty's expectations, -aroused Republicanism having 'condemned' its com-

promise language (which accepts a Dublin say in the occupied zone in return for a public relaxation of Irish constitutional intransigence against London's continued meddling). Exacerbated by class-struggle implications of Ireland's appalling capitalist slump troubles, some bogus 'Republican' posturing around the Dail might just disrupt the Treaty too in their theatrical despair & frustration. But it is unlikely to derail the Treaty's leisurely reunification provisions completely. NATO faltering respectability still insists on a decent burial to formal British colonialism in Ireland, - by one means or another, provided the actual capitulation to Sinn Fein's revolutionary armed struggle is well concealed.

The Paisleyites were dreaming of their own Adolf Hitler/imprisoned martyr (early 1920s vintage) to set up their hopes for a later fascist-colonialist military resurgence of all-conquering British imperialism. Virulent German bourgeois nationalism just made it in the 1930s thanks to Nazi help from treacherous cowardice from the rest of the 'Western free world', and to the weakness of the Soviet Union. But British bourgeois nationalism is now a dying historical force. Last-ditch fascist gestures are not completely ruled out. But the Robinson-Paisleyites do not look as if they even have the stomach or the wit (!) to successfully degenerate even as far as Ian Smith's pathetic nasty UDI dictatorship in Rhodesia. They look like failures before they have even started, and cannot even find one single prison martyr for the ignoble 'cause'.

This, of course, is by no means the end of all fascist aspirations in the decaying British capitalist state in general. The imperialist establishment may be resigned to an ignominious retreat over their Nazi-style 'Birmingham Six' prison frame-ups. But the equally foul stitch-up of the Cherry Groce shooting affair shows that the armed dictatorship of the bourgeoisie has no intentions of giving up everything it has without a fight.

The outrageous 'court' proceedings at the Old Bailey got

the gun-happy copper off with-
out punishment through the usu-
al Public Prosecutions racket of
charging their own servant with
a much harder-to-convict-on-of-
fence than was necessary; plus

treating the monstrous planning
of the Groce residence raid, -(the
real crime, sledgehammering in,
guns blazing, without the slightest
knowledge if their 'quarry' was
anywhere in the vicinity), --as

if no such lunatic nazi-style
eration had ever been conducted
or even prepared.

The forces for fascist dictator-
ship in Britain are still alive, -
and even have a direct line to

the class struggle yet. And the
major defeat British reaction has
suffered over Sinn Fein's colossal
national-liberation struggle vic-
tories, still piling up, is a very
serious blow to a very sick org-

59. April 29, 1987
(Bulletin 391)

The national-libera-
tion struggle against
Orange colonial fasc-
ism and British milit-
ary dictatorship over
the occupied zone of
Ireland has done more
than settle scores by
bombing Judge Gibson
for approving RUC dea-
th-squad killings of
Republican detainees.

It has again driven
the stinking Labour
'opposition' right out
into the open as noth-
ing but the most obsc-
ene front for continu-
ed imperialist repres-
sion of Irish self-
determination.

Why do we never hear
from all the 'left' La-
bour & black 'national-
ist' posturers on these
occasions, -from Benn,
Banks, Scargill, Boateng,
Bellos, Grant, Abbott, Pr-
ofitt, & Co, -opportun-
istically fresh from em-
pty bullshit about La-
bour being 'the best
guarantee of proletar-
ian & minority inter-
ests' whose return to
government must be sup-
ported 'at any cost'.

Tell that to the Ir-
ish national-liberation
struggle. Spell out the
cost in the lives of
Irish Republicans ruth-
lessly slaughtered by
MI5-RUC covert dea-
th-squad activities, -all
made 'legal' by the non-
elected court dictat-
orship of Gibson & Co
praising the uniformed
killers for bringing
the IRA suspects 'to
the final court of ju-
stice' without the bo-
ther & expense of a
trial.

Ireland was first
subjugated by British
military terror. After
hundreds of years of
the most justly celebr-
ated & heroic national-
liberation struggles in
history, the tiny Irish
population, decimated by
decades of famine and
enforced emigration to
find work, at last dr-
ove the military colo-
nisers into near-defeat
following the 1916 up-
rising and armed stru-

uggle against the degr-
adations of WWI imper-
ialist warmongering.

Only the illegitimate
might of the British Em-
pire enabled bribery and
Black & Tan truculent
armed-fascism to split
the national-liberation
struggle, and retain a
gerrymandered occupied
zone under British Or-
ange colonists, -the cr-
iminal farce of so-
called 'Northern Ire-
land'.

Every vote asking
Ireland if it wanted
to be outrageously and
artificially partition-
ed, and denied its ri-
ghtful aspirations to
full national independ-
ence & self-determi-
nation, -was overwhelm-
ingly won for Irish
Republican unity, and
lost by the fake 'Br-
itish-Irish' interests.

But by carving out
an artificial 'British'
enclave by use of Black
& Tan terror, it then
became possible for the
British to pretend that
the 'democratic elect-
oral process' had given
legitimacy to the bas-
tard 'Northern Ireland'
colony.

With no chance of
ever winning a vote ag-
ainst the gerrymander-
ed artificial British
Orange-colonial major-
ity within six distor-
ted county boundaries
ripped out of Ulster
province's original
nine counties, -the Ir-
ish were once again
forced to resume their
national-liberation str-
uggle.

Again, against all the
odds, their heroism has
succeeded against the
guilty-sickly shallow-
ness, lack of confiden-
ce, and lack of motivat-
ed belief by the Brit-
ish-Orange occupiers.

But once again, the
fraud of British milit-
ary-police terror, -plus
the Goebbels-propagan-
da lies of the 'democ-
ratic' argument, - are be-
ing whipped up to try
to stave off yet another
humiliating defeat
for decadent British
colonialism.

It was Labour which
reimposed police-mili-

tary dictatorship back
on the occupied zone
in 1968. Now it is Lab-
our again acting as
first prop to the dec-
adent British ruling
class to comfort it in
its moment of greatest
embarrassment, -incred-
ibly donning the man-
tle of Churchill to do
so, -one of the most
bloodthirsty imperial-
ist-warmongering cre-
tins ever to disgrace
Western 'civilisation'.

Labour's Northern Ireland
spokesman, Mr Stuart Bell,
also gave an outright condem-
nation of the new campaign of
terror by the IRA. He said
Lord Justice Gibson was an
Irishman through and through
and the lesson for the whole of
the island of Ireland was that
"the IRA killed Irishmen and
Irishwomen."

"It seeks to be its own
judge and jury and execu-
tioner and it seeks by violence
what it cannot achieve by
election. This House of Com-
mons has often been described
as the mother of democra-
cies," he said. "How long,
therefore, will it take, by those
who perpetrate violence, to
understand that this House
and this country will never
bend the knee to terrorists."

"To paraphrase Sir Winston
Churchill: What kind of people
do the IRA think we are?"
demanded Mr Bell.

Sneering at Sinn Fein
for failing to win vot-
es in the recent 26-
county elections is de-
spicable hypocrisy. No
self-sacrificing mass
revolutionary struggle
has ever been fought in
history other than by
people driven to the
limit by repression, fr-
ustration, & injustice.
The whole point of buy-
ing off the population
of the 26 counties by
the 1921 Partition rak-
et was to splinter
the Irish national lib-
eration struggle. It re-
mains splintered. But
the excluded minority
people of the occupied
zone, -denied their leg-
itimate Irish national
aspirations under a Br-
itish colonial regime, -
have demonstrated not
only a willingness to
vote Sinn Fein to spe-
ctacular victories in
parliamentary & local
elections against ev-
ery conceivable trick-
ery, treachery, bribery
and pressure, --but ev-
en more importantly
also a willingness to
sustain a guerrilla-
war national-liberat-

ion struggle which ev-
en the most savage po-
lice-military dictat-
orship, -complete with
torture regimes, death
squad killings, concen-
tration camps, Gestapo-
terror raids, and Star
Chamber no-jury 'cour-
ts' (such as Gibson de-
lighted in), -has been
unable to subvert, tyr-
annise, or bludgeon in-
to defeat. To crow, as
the Labour cretins do,
that the people enjoy-
ing partial independ-
ence in the South, have
opportunistically, for
now, elected not to th-
emselves join in such
a bitter suffering st-
ruggle, -is as cheap &
nasty as any fascist
propaganda rubbish cou-
ld ever descend to.

The Labour 'lefts' and
black nationalists urg-
ing a return to govern-
ment of this degener-
ate Kinnock establish-
ment are nothing but
open & knowing stooges
of fascist-imperialist
reaction, as disgustingly
displayed in parlia-
ment over the question
of colonised Ireland.

Even more disgrace-
fully, Labour is dishing
out these obnoxious
sneers against the Ir-
ish national-liberation
struggle at a time when
their own filthy record
of paralysed ineptness
covering up fascist con-
spiracies & crimes by
MI5 secret police, -
even stunts directed
against their own stu-
pid selves, -is just be-
ing revealed.

No wonder Labour are
so keen to outdo even
Thatcher in demands
that ex 'security' off-
icers like Peter Wright
should be physically
prevented from ever ut-
tering a word about th-
eir conspiratorial act-
ivities in the secret
service, -even to expose
illegalities, as Wright
is now doing.

No wonder the cretin-
ous Labour ministers
all declared at the
time that 'nothing at
all was going on', -
even though their own
government was being
undermined.

Although he was then the
recipient of a stream of leaked
confidential army and govern-
ment documents, his allegations
were treated with derision. Mr
Merlyn Rees, the then North-
ern Ireland Secretary, issued a
statement saying that "no
special unit with the aim of dis-
crediting anyone has been set
up in the Northern Ireland
Office." Mr Rees has since
maintained that he was un-
aware of the army's informa-
tion policy of black propaganda.

The Labourites didn't
want to know about the
secret workings of the
capitalist state dicta-
torship, -the permanent
machinery of bourgeois
rule, -just as they don't
want any more to come
out about it now.

Because every single
shred of evidence prov-
ing that the permanent
dictatorship of the bo-
urgoisie rules Britain
(as it rules every cap-
italist country, -as
Marxism has always ex-
plained could only be
the case), -is a dagger
against the credibility
of Labour's pretended
'parliamentary reform-
ist management' of the
capitalist system when
in office in the Comm-
ons and in local govern-
ment.

The fraud that Labour
regimes are ever any-
thing but toe-rags for
the capitalist system
is fast collapsing in
the eyes of the previ-
ously credulous prole-
tariat. Thus the joke
'opposition' is more
terrified of 'Zircon
affair' televised do-
cumentary exposures,
Australian court rev-
elations, and secret
service spy memoirs -
about the corrupt rea-
lity of British police-
state dictatorship in
a supposedly capitalist
democracy, --than is
the ruling class Tory
government. At least
the hypocritical Bri-
tish bourgeoisie and
middle class will still
vote for their own class
government, -however
badly exposed its fas-
cist-dictatorial reali-
ty. But independently-
minded workers will re-
ject with contempt any
further illusions in
the Labour 'democratic
alternative' (and also
the Alliance bogus 'al 51

ternative' to Labour before much longer).

Even the fascist crook Paisley was prepared, for his own devious ends, to rant about the psychological warfare, innuendoes, subversion stunts, and black propaganda-confusion run by MI5 (even though he benefitted hugely from the 'Ulster Workers Council Strike' bogusness which the nazi-minded MI5 spooks ran to thwart the Heath & Wilson governments' timid de-colonisation efforts).

But Labour has absolutely nothing to say about this stream of appallingly incriminating revelations against the entire 'parliamentary democracy' fraud now shown up as nothing but the tool of the permanent bourgeois police-state dictatorship interests. No wonder, -because these electoral-opportunist cretins all live & profit by this corrupt system, -including the MP hopefuls like the Militant gangsters, the Blunkett frauds, and the Grant-Bellos-Profitt posturers.

But the handy diversion of ranting on, Churchill-like, against the 'terror' of the Irish national-liberation struggle when it justly bombs one of its worst murdering persecutors, -the 'left' depravity sees no humbug in sudden outspokenness on matters such as this. For heroically waging a national-liberation revolutionary struggle against the tyranny of illegal gerrymandered partition and the death-squad, torture-regime, concentration-camp, secret-police state & MI5 spooks which administer that disgraceful partition, -the Irish Republicans get contemptuously slandered by the Labourites. But for being the dumb, class-colaborating stooges of that bourgeois dictatorship, and the silent tools of those secret police nazi dirty tricks and giving them a loathsome parliamentary 'legitimacy', -the Labourites earn the 'undying support & devotion' of the 'lefts' and the Black Nationalists like Grant, Abbott, Profitt, Boateng, &

Co. And the cretinous CP revisionists, -with Moscow's shameful approval, -at Marxism Today urge workers to go even one worse than dumb electoral support for these Labour charlatans, -and give support too, where appropriate, for the even slimmer bourgeois opportunists in the Alliance.

Voting for any of this bourgeois-democratic crap would be an admission of shameful paralysis & stupidity by any self-respecting worker. Instead, build revolutionary consciousness for the overthrow of capitalism. Spread the ILWP Bulletin. Build Leninism.

60. May 6, 1987
Bulletin 392)

The remarkable confirmations of the enormous strength of character and political maturity of the Republican movement, detailed in the publication of the concealed prison correspondence governing the Hunger Strikes, -coincides with fresh evidence that the back of Orange colonialism has been broken.

Far from the book's stupid conclusions that the test of wills over political prisoner status ended in defeat for Sinn Fein, the non-stop military & propaganda blows to the British police-army dictatorship prove exactly the opposite.

Not only are the 'iron-fist' tactics of the MI5 death squads, the kangaroo courts, the RUC brutality, and the military-occupation terror raids and torture routines repeatedly ridiculed and discredited. But most damaging of all, the fake 'Irish'-British Orange colonial population, -on behalf of whom the imperialist tyranny is allegedly alone continued, -is now a hopelessly divided & demoralised opportunist ragbag, and a total liability to London.

The more fascist-minded gangs of 'Ulster' settler-usurpers are now declaring they will 'fight anyone', -including the British occupying regime, -in

utter despair that London's manipulation of affairs in colonized Ireland is going to lead anywhere but to total loss of Britain's pirated enclave.

The bogus 'political legitimacy' legateses of the forced retention of the gerrymandered parts of just six of Ulster's nine counties, -the posturing Unionist bigwigs, -are now at each others' throats all the time over who is to blame for the failed Orange dream of permanent land, wealth, and power.

Some sections of the Lodge mafia were asked to stay away from Judge Gibson's funeral, -so bitter are the feelings of weakness & betrayal. Even the fierce little soldier Harold McCusker has denounced his own 'capo' Big Jim Molyneux for 'bowing to middle-class pressure' & being conned 'by parliamentary debate'.

Robinson's sniping at Paisley in a rival 'family' has long been hotting up. And Paisley just hates & despises everybody.

But the colony's best 'hanging judge' has just been 'wasted' (to use their best SAS death-squad jargon). And all the recriminations and back-stabbings in the world are not going to provide greater security, -never.

"So we'll fight" Paisley finally concludes with a limp unconvincing rasp, and a blue nose.

But the bully-boys have just had one of their 'top guns' gunned down on the streets of Belfast, -again without any useful or meaningful reprisal in sight for the beleaguered Orange colonists. If the system cannot protect its most aggressive 'justice' Judge Gibson, -he who so droningly commended RUC death-squad uniformed killers for despatching murdered IRA suspects to the 'final court of justice' - without a trial, -then what can be done for the lumpen-proletarian thugs of the UVF?

The British colonial regime certainly needs an inquiry into why the whole Gestapo system is too scared to have any

patrol duties on the 400 yards of 'no-man's land' near the 26-county border. This breakdown in 'security' is undoubtedly a glaring advertisement of the basic fraudulent futility of the bogus 'Northern Ireland' bastard-statelet pretence. This criminal deception and imposition on the people of Ireland does not work, will never work, and cannot work as a supposedly 'viable community', -either as 'part of Britain', or as an 'independent state'. It is a gerrymandered colony, pure & simple, and it will be overthrown by the Irish national liberation struggle.

Paisley's sick attempts to win some belated British lumpen appeal with his pretence of having been a prime target of MI5 subversive dirty tricks in the 1970s (see lead) should fool no one. His colonial-fascist kind were as deeply into Gestapo propaganda & skulduggery as any in the British regime. The fact that the colonialists used to spy & snipe on each other (as they still do) is proof of nothing but the bourgeois-capitalist system's fundamental viciousness, and of the occupied zone's basic untenability & insecurity. Before leaving the sinking ship, the rats attack each other. (N.B. Just as with the Rhodesia colony before it, and as with the South African colonial regime now, the growing emigration rate of settler families is a sure indication that the national-liberation struggle is relentlessly marching towards ultimate triumph).

The traditions of Paisley & Co now have nothing left in them but the rottenness and uneasy guilt of the condemned thief reluctant to give up his ill-gotten gains. Their bogus 'community' is absolutely no match for the inspired vigour, determination, and genius of Irish nationalist wisdom fighting for truth & justice.

The heroism, self-sacrifice, inventiveness and discipline revealed in the tragic but tri-

umphant correspondence smuggled in & out of the British concentration camps, - (despite the most savage 'security'), -to demonstrate a strength of will and firmness of conviction for the national-liberation struggle, -has moved the whole of mankind's revolutionary anti-imperialist cause forward by a huge leap.

There is little in the great literature of independence fights and other progressive battles to compare with the giant achievements of these modern Republicans. More's the pity that they handed this epic work to a 'liberal' prat from the Guardian, eaten up with his own kind's petty-bourgeois misery, and hopelessly misled into 'proving his point' about the Hunger Strike's alleged 'failure' by the unavoidable occasional temporary pessimistic and disoriented notes of isolated young men starving themselves to death for the cause.

It is the most philistine ignorance of the real forces of world politics, & the international historic class struggle between the masses and imperialism, to talk of that Hunger Strike as anything but the most devastating indictment of British colonialism - an undoubtedly crippling death blow to any lingering hopes of London's imperialist circles of being able to hang onto to its Irish colony.

The whole struggle against Britain's police-military dictatorship and the Orange colonial-fascist regime has won the war; -but a watershed battle was unquestionably the Hunger Strike. After that harrowing drama, there was no way that the rest of the Western 'democratic' system could ever again adopt any policy other than urging & arm-twisting their British 'allies' to accept defeat and to give up the occupied zone as soon as decently possible and as soon as a safe anti-communist method of pulling out could be arranged. To talk of the Hunger Strike as a defeat for Sinn Fein

and the IRA is ludicrously superficial, betraying a grotesque innocence of the deepest influences on modern history.

In measure with the greatness of the Republican triumph, the individual Volunteers themselves were transformed towards superman status. The personal heroics, the capacity for suffering, the bitterness of decisions to be made, the crushing responsibilities borne, and the courageous leadership that had to be given changed ordinary young men into revolutionary giants.

There can be no greater sacrifice than to give your life for the people you love, for the comrades and their cause; and to do so in the fearful conditions of the Hunger Strike marks out these Irish national-liberation fighters and Republican socialists as some of the most outstanding persons in world revolutionary history.

Sadly, Sinn Fein is not a movement of Leninist theory, and the typically deceitful confused mess British imperialism chose to impose as its swan-song for getting out of Ireland, -the Anglo-Irish Treaty, has left even the victors of the Hunger Strike unclear about exactly what they have achieved.

Once again on the surface, it looks as if the British have conceded virtually nothing. The Orange colonists' veto ostensibly remains in place. The British continued presence seems secure for as long as it is 'wanted'. Even worse, both these criminal imperialist impositions have now been accepted by Dublin in a treaty, in defiance of its own 'Republican' constitution. All that has been conceded is the apparently wishy-washy uselessness of half-hearted 'consultation rights' by Dublin on some occupied zone affairs, and further desultory measures of 'border collaboration' and the like, -which if anything could be viewed as downright counter-revolutionary treachery by Dublin, play-

ing into the hands of the SAS death squads and the hanging judges. But as the Bulletin insisted from the very first instants of the Treaty, to see its real significance it is necessary to follow the knee-jerks of Orange reaction. It is the one thing the crazed Paisley & Co are correct about, -the feeling in their bones (and in their corrupt power & possessions) that the 'slight concession' of giving Dublin some say, -of accepting that the affairs of the zone are the rightful concern of the whole of Ireland, -is the thin end of a very long, broad, and irresistible wedge, -Ireland's ultimate reunification.

There is only one logical thing that the Orange tradition can do, - and that is to fight this Treaty to the death. And that is what they are being forced towards.

And (as the Bulletin explained) by the very forces of history which made the Hunger Strike a triumph in the first place, - these outdated despairing attempts by British Orange colonialism to defy & defeat the implications of the Anglo-Irish Treaty will paradoxically themselves become the apparent 'cause' for rapidly transforming this Treaty into much more openly conscious, deliberate, and speedy moves by London towards handing over to Dublin (and to the anti-British arm-twisters in the Western alliance) the entire responsibility for the whole degenerate colonial mess in the occupied zone.

The Treaty was of course maliciously designed to avoid any hint of conceding victory to the revolutionary forces of Sinn Fein & the IRA, - (the strict arm-twisting conditions of the anti-communist hysterics ruling the NATO-EEC alliances who forced London's hand.) And reunification with Dublin, of course, hands the prize to pro-West Green Toryism, -as bitterly anti-communist (and anti-socialist) as British colonialism itself.

But to have at last

solved the formal part of Ireland's national-liberation aspirations after 700 years of struggle, and particularly in the last difficult conditions of partition and the rise of fascism, -is no mean achievement.

Admittedly the even greater fight for real national flourishing -under revolutionary socialism- remains ahead. But that degree of Leninist political content in Sinn Fein's brilliant organisational and propaganda achievements and in the IRA's military conviction, -now having demonstrated the irresistible strength of its revolutionary consciousness, -is there to be built upon to complete the job.

Spread Leninism. Spread the ILWP Bulletin.

61.
November 11, 1987
(Bulletin 419)

The indiscriminate bomb-deaths in Enniskillen are hardly a matter for the British imperialist bourgeoisie to get self-righteous about, internationally condemned as it is for non-stop terror-repression against Ireland's national-liberation struggle.

Recent exposures of MI5's "death squad" system of assassinating without trial many 'suspected' Republicans is only the latest in a series of imperialist outrages including the Gough Barracks torture regime, exposed in Britain's own Bennet Report and denounced at the European Court of Human Rights; the internment-without-trial concentration camps (Long Kesh, etc) also only suspended after worldwide outcry; the plastic-bullet tyranny against any & every political protest march; the sledgehammered-door midnight terror raids against widespread Republican areas; the 'supregress' fit-ups; the endless anti-Irish job discrimination; the fascist-state collaboration with such reactionary stunts as the 'Ulster workers strike', organised by MI5 to place the whole proletariat under Orange-

nazi bullying; etc. Most attacks on British colonists in this latest period of Ireland's centuries-long war of independence against British occupation have been carried out against specific reactionary targets closely connected with the police-military dictatorship.

The real record of indiscriminate terror belongs entirely to the British colonial side. But never is any attention at all paid by the imperialist lie machine (BBC, ITV, Fleet Street, etc) to the unending atrocities against the subject Irish population in the colonised zone, - never mind the saturation melodramatic coverage the Enniskillen bombing received.

While such tactics in the guerrilla war would not necessarily be a policy Leninism would pursue, the chief point to make this week is to expose the stinking humbug of the British establishment reaction.

Will the loathsome jingo-opportunism of the Guardian henceforth report at the top of its front page every death of an innocent Irish person at the hands of Orange fascist butchers (over a hundred a year of such killings) in the same provocatively maudlin style as its disgraceful gutter-journalism this week about 'Flowers for the harvests she will never see'. The Fleet Street mercenary phillistines couldn't care less about Marie Wilson or any other casualties of indiscriminate war. How many scores of young nationalists have died in the occupied zone, innocently killed by fascist-imperialist violence, who have equally pressed their mothers or fathers hands as their life ebbed away, but without a single-line mention of it in the entire British press the next day (not to mention no lavish television coverage). This stinking hypocrisy is poured out now because everyone else is doing it on Fleet Street, and because it is a good opportunity to slander the Micks again, and to have another routine bash at 'all men

of violence' (i.e. provided they are on the revolutionary side of the barricades and not on the 'law-&-order' side conducting all the bloodshed). The middle-class scum in Britain have poured out far more 'concern' and 'sympathy' for the drug-running crook army officer Hayward, himself a paid assassin of Republicans and now properly in jail in Sweden for his criminality, -than they ever have for the endless stream of Irish people murdered by Brits in the occupied zone of Ireland. Adams was very naive to be so taken in by all the Fleet Street humbug and join in with his own 'regrets', only inevitably to be immediately attacked for this as hypocrisy. Armed struggles inevitably have tragic innocent consequences. All war does, -as does all imperialist colonisation, -particularly Britain's unparalleled record of military conquest and subjugation. For revolutionaries to seem to be regretting armed struggle can only create hopeless confusion, and only plays into the hands of the hysterical humbugging capitalist media campaign. It is not for people opposed to the rotten imperialist system to express 'regrets' for inevitable constant tragedy which the system itself, -based as it is on permanent inter-class and inter-state warfare, -is alone responsible. Let all the supporters of 'democracy', - the apologists for capitalism, - spew up their hypocritical 'regrets'. Let communists get on with the job of overthrowing imperialism.

At this very moment of well-rehearsed ministerial 'horror' that anyone could commit such 'dastardly crimes' etc, the High Court in London has at last been forced to listen to the real story of the British capitalist state's own monstrous barbarism in knowingly inflicting 13 years living death on six innocent working men just because they were Irish, -first beaten to a pulp to make them 'confess' to the Birmingham pub bombings

in 1974, and then framed by ludicrous 'forensic' evidence, and kept entombed ever since despite irrefutable evidence of the men's innocence.

Such are the real standards set by the sanctimonious dominant power throughout the long tragic history of British aggression against Ireland.

But as always in the course of this poisonous colonisation, the British capitalist state chooses only now in the aftermath of the Enniskillen guerrilla action (part accident) to emotionally assault the British public with highly provocative material about how 'brutal' the 'men of violence' are, etc.

By these cheap chauvinistic stunts, British imperialism has hitherto been able to dragoon its own mass public opinion constantly behind the continuing military-colonial aggression & occupation.

It is inevitable that such hypocritical intransigence will only drive Ireland's national liberation struggle to conclude: 'The fight must go on to force British imperialism to get out of Ireland; More blows must be struck to convince London to get the troops out.' The war of independence will continue. And Ireland will definitely finally gain its legitimate national aspirations over the whole of its 32 counties once more, and not just 26 of them. The British colonists in the gerrymandered remnants of old Ulster can choose to become real Irishmen under the Tricolour or else leave with the departing Union Jack militarism (or stay on, if really stubborn, as non-citizen 'economic immigrants' if the Republic is disposed to treat them generously).

It is the systematic domineering dishonesty as typified in MI5's infamous 'death squad' activities and their Stalker-affair cover-up, and in the Birmingham Six frame-up, -which has always been the starting-out point in all Britain's relations with Ireland, -an unparalleled record of colonial vindictiveness,

aggression, and brutality. It stands reality completely on its head to blame 'violence' on the national liberation movement's decision to press on with the armed struggle. British colonialism's permanent dictatorship tyranny over either the whole of Ireland (up till 1921) or over the wrenched-off gerrymandered parts of Ulster under the evil of Partition (after 1921) has either been replied to by the Republicans with predominantly political means, or military means, or a combination of both. That is for supporters of Irish independence to decide. The matter for the people of Britain to decide is to end at last British colonial domination over any part of Ireland.

The immediate reunification of Ireland, independent of Britain, has always been an immediate solution to 'Ireland's Troubles' had London ever wished to end them, and always has been the only solution. It is consciously arrogant racist nonsense to pretend that armed Orange reaction to full Irish independence could 'never be risked', -but that armed Irish reaction (to continued British colonialism) by the much bigger Republican population (in Ireland overall) could be fought, literally for centuries, with literally millions of casualties (when the final tally of the British imperial domination of Ireland is finally counted up).

As the Bulletin has repeatedly explained for the last two years (and in perspective before that), -the outstandingly important & dramatic significance of the Anglo-Irish Treaty is not its cheap & obvious attempt to deny armed national-liberation struggle its victory in the future liberation of Ireland, -as blatant, reactionary, and intransigent as that aspect is, -but in the way that the merest acknowledgement by London's of Dublin's legitimate present & future role in governing an eventually-to-be-unified Ireland has devast-

ated the Orange 'no surrender' bluster at a stroke, and pricked the balloon of its threatened 'UDI-armed independence' boasts.

Without a shot being fired so far (against any potential Ian-Smith-type rebellion by Orange colonists opposed to the occupied territory being handed back its full independence), -the bombastic Paisleyite, UDA, UVF bullies have shown themselves to be historically played-out men-of-straw, -all puffed-up with outdated illusions of British imperialist might and influence. 'Ulster will fight, and Ulster will be right' may yet prove to have a destructive, sour, murderous sting in its tail, -like the defeated Somoza Contras in Nicaragua, or the Renamo ex-Portuguese stooges in Mozambique. But all the degenerate efforts by Orange fascism to whip up colonial resistance to a Dublin-linked future for a reunified future whole of Ireland have hitherto been miserable failures.

The big story out of Ireland in the last 24 months is not the diplomatic jockeying between London & Dublin politicians over 'face' about Diplock Courts, extradition treaties, & the like; or about the IRA allegedly losing ground; or least of all about the pretended 'setbacks' for Sinn Fein. The big story remains the catastrophic collapse of Paisleyite Orange bluster, not leading a rebellion but revealed as nothing more than the nasty embittered stench of unresurrectible colonial bullying.

And the biggest story to be anticipated out of Ireland in the coming period is, once again, not the collapse of the Treaty; or any triumph for 'Northern Ireland power sharing'; or the collapse of Sinn Fein or the IRA. Despite the bilious Rule Britannia chauvinism whipped up over Enniskillen, the likeliest next dramatic development in partitioned Ireland is terminally vicious confrontation between the British imperialist interests and Orange-colonial extremism.

Basically, the 'prot-

estant supremacy' bluff of the fake 'British-Irish' colonial posturers has already been called. There are no serious perspectives left for the so-called 'country of Northern Ireland', - a supposed 'community' with a sordid, dubious & unstable past, a bastard legitimacy, and zero future.

It is now clear that the phony, arrogant, imperialist imposition of 'British-Irishness' effectively died when London was forced to concede independence to the bulk of Ireland (26 of the 32 counties) in 1921, ripping out just part of Ulster (the most Irish of the four ancient provinces of Ireland) to create an artificial gerrymandered refuge for the domineering colonists under the hated Union Jack.

So-called 'Northern Ireland' has made no serious community response to all of the Paisleyite 'No surrender' historical gimmickry, -in spite of much near-fascist symbolism such as the torchlight military parades, the attempted court-appearance martyrdom stunts (not paying TV licences, car tax, and the like -or driving into Ireland to throw stones, etc), and bloody provocations against the state forces, against the border, or against nationalist communities or symbols.

Orange efforts to create provocations to try to drive the colonist population into a white South African 'laager' mentality or into an Ian Smith-type UDI-independence armed rebellion have in fact read like a catalogue of Three Stooges catastrophes. Several attempted general strikes failed completely, (now no longer organised by MI5 as was the notorious 1972 Ulster Workers Council racket using force people to stay away from work to wreck the Sunningdale power-sharing agreement). A theatrical midnight rally for mass support for a new 'Covenant' in the style of Carson's Tory-backed posturing against Home Rule in 1911-1912 was virtually rained off for lack of interest. The fracas created by Robinson in

the Irish Republic to demonstrate his 'contempt' for Dublin rule ended up with him tamely paying up a huge fine with his tail between his legs after a mere bedraggled handful of Orange thugs turned up to back his intended 'defiance' of the Irish courts.

More recently, things have even gone from bad to worse on the 'no surrender' front. First the three Orange 'young political firebrands', - Millar, McCusker, and Robinson, - all bottled out when craftily handed responsibility for drawing up a new 'tactical campaign' by Paisley & Molyneux as accumulating failures were beginning to earn only the cold blast of criticism & ridicule. The trio toyed with a return to 'power-sharing', -in turn daring the old leadership to either personally reject it, or carry the can for the climb-down.

Then the collapse became a rout as first Millar resigned from his key job as secretary of the Official Unionists Party, - to opportunistically take up a wretched flunkey's job as a researcher at London Weekend Television. Even more startlingly, the mighty Robinson himself then resigned as deputy leader of Paisley's Democratic Unionists.

All of the Unionists had meanwhile crept back into the Westminster Parliament after vowing 'never' to return there until the Anglo-Irish Treaty had been torn up, - and Paisley & Molyneux gracelessly slid back into talks with Tom King after equally loud earlier bombast that this 'traitor' who had 'capitulated to Rome rule and to the men of violence' would never be acknowledged again as having any role in 'Northern Ireland', etc.

To cap it all, Sinn Fein won two recent key by-elections to Belfast City Council despite a huge Establishment campaign against them, and just when 'armalite & ballot box' Republicanism was supposed to be 'on its last legs' following the few votes Sinn Fein gained in the last elections in the

Irish Republic (easily explained by the political backwardness of Dublin Green Toryism and past Republican sectarian-nationalist-anti-communism, plus by the complacency widespread throughout the West until circumstances force revolutionary socialist consciousness onto people).

Paisley was immediately on the scene at Enniskillen, of course, to try to breathe fire into the dying embers of 'Ulster will fight, and Ulster will be right', openly calling for an armed rising against the Anglo-Irish Treaty, - milking the unplanned bombing for all it was worth.

Tory backwoodsmen and old Empire establishment interests in Britain will also be in full cry against the end-of-colonialism capitulation implicit in the Anglo-Irish Treaty, (-signed by London under the enforced pressures of Washington and the Common Market due to the enormous embarrassment caused to the NATO 'freedom' posture by having internationally-televised scenes of colonial repression nightly from the streets of one of its principle 'democratic' leading states. See other articles ILWP Books vol 8).

Prior to the Great Crash of 1987, there was little cause to think that London might be deflected from its slow-speed final withdrawal from Ireland (under the Anglo-Irish Treaty) once that decision was finally agreed to in the broader interests of the West's degenerate 'Crusade against Communism', - the worldwide masterplan for imperialism's attempted survival overall.

In view of such a 'compromise' retreat from Ireland going against the whole grain of Thatcher's personal petty prejudices, and in view of the obvious scornful contempt British jingoism really has for its 'great American ally' (-as shown in London's cocky-venomous demands for Washington to 'do something at last about the US deficit crises'), - the circumstances of the international balance of class forces may become

sufficiently confused or disturbed for the whole Anglo-Irish Treaty withdrawal perspective to be reconsidered.

But the first indications are that the Thatcherites intend to stick to their wider international counter-revolutionary obligations and continue to

get the 'Irish question' off the agenda as quickly as decently possible (in the light of the damage such an enforced retreat does to the already-shaky imperialist resolve and perspectives).

London used Enniskillen to naturally denounce all 'violent struggle' and to further try to ensure that Sinn Fein are ousted from any share in the undoubted national-liberation victory their brilliant independence fight and guerrilla war have so famously won. But the first signs are that Thatcher & Co will not be deflected from their present withdrawal course, and have themselves immediately become the greatest target of Orange & backwoodsmen hatred, - not the IRA.

Even if the Anglo-Irish Treaty does become a casualty of changed conditions, the entire modern epoch of the conflict with British imperialism remains a colossal historic triumph for the national-liberation and guerrilla war. Just as in the first great modern war of independence from 1916 to 1921, Ireland is again winning the final part of its self-determination arms in hand.

It is precisely this revolutionary triumph which is the most lacerating pain for all the class-collaborating anti-communist elements ranged against Sinn Fein including London & Dublin, the Orangemen & SDLP, and all the various capitalist state police & military forces determined to uphold Western 'democratic' imperialism's degenerate prejudiced illusions about 'law & order'.

Not a single one of these elements gave a damn about the endless tyrannical abuse of 'democracy' in the occu-

pled zone of Ireland from 1921 to 1968 when the permanent and law-enshrined Partition-gerrymandered persecution of the Irish minority there by the 'B' Special, Orange-thug rule finally exploded in mass revolt and armed struggle.

Only after 19 years of the IRA/Sinn Fein refusing to be beaten, tortured, death squad-ed, or concentration-camped into submission are all the class-collaborating pro-'democracy' elements now pretending that every reasonable resolution of Ireland's ancient 'troubles' is readily available. But in reality, if the battle had never begun in 1968, no more would have been heard about the 'agreed injustices which need remedying in Northern Ireland' than had been heard from 1921 to 1968.

The holier-than-thou 'disgust' by a church which has lived for centuries off corruption, treachery, and murderous feudal-exploitation and land-grabbing, is concerned really only at the implications of Sinn Fein's determined independent thinking on the future of mumbo-jumbo religious backwardness ignorance, keeping the masses stupid and in the hands of the church.

The opportunist howls of hypocrisy raised against the IRA/Sinn Fein this week have nothing whatever to do with the victims of the Enniskillen bombing but everything to do with trying to rubbish revolutionary struggle in principle.

The cretinous social-democracy of the Daily Mirror summed up these petty-bourgeois fears with its monster headline 'The IRA will NEVER succeed', - ignoring the reality of the Anglo-Irish Treaty's capitulation (to the Irish reunification struggle) to try to make an idiotic whistling-in-the-dark wishful thinking point about how victories should never be seen to be won (i.e. by revolution), - regardless of whether they have in fact been won or not.

Infamously, even the class-collaborating cretins in Moscow (currently seeking to impose

'peaceful road to socialism' suicide on the world proletariat just in order to get a worthless 'arms reduction' symbol (from the relentlessly warmongering (and bankrupt) Reagan administration) which will not be worth the paper it is written on as the insoluble Western economic crisis crashes headlong towards inter-imperialist World War III - see ILWP Books vol 11), --even Moscow felt obliged to stick the boot into the Irish national-liberation struggle and join the bourgeois jeers of hatred against the Republican 'terrorist violence'. This revisionist backing of Western colonial hypocrisy against Sinn Fein has no connection at all with the merely inter-state diplomatic tactic of disarmament talks introduced to split apart the superior-strength imperialists by Lenin, who famously rejoiced in the Easter Rising armed siege unleashed by the Republicans in the middle of Dublin, in 1916, which saw hundreds of deaths, -beginning six years of anti-colonial bombing.

The anti-revolutionary elements eagerly put themselves out to condemn the IRA's misdirected activity and error of judgment in Enniskillen so as to dance to the tune of the Western bourgeois media.

But not a word will be heard of remotely similar real campaigning from all these anti-revolutionary elements, not even from Moscow, making a song & dance about the truly monstrous events of 13 years living death imposed on six innocent Irishmen by a hate-filled vengeful British imperialist court over the Birmingham pub bombings, - including it is now revealed systematic thug-terror by the British police against their own members to force them to keep quiet about the frame-ups and the illicitly beaten-out 'confessions', etc, - a known fascist state of affairs which will profoundly threaten the future civil rights of all 50 million people in Britain until socialist revolution begins to put things right.

Other articles (ILWP

Books vol 8) have analysed the disastrous damage to working class consciousness in Britain from class-collaboration with imperialism in general, and in particular from the longstanding immediately exploitable racist-chauvinist contempt towards Ireland (anti-Irish jokes go back over a hundred years), - the perennial victim of British colonial vengeance, and never so hated as when the 'bog-trotters' dare to strike back against their huge domineering neighbour which has never ceased interfering in Ireland's affairs, - even insisting for centuries that they were 'London's affairs', and even renaming Irish cities like Derry as 'Londonderry', etc.

The sport of baiting the 'dirty, ungrateful, violent, ignorant foreigner' is still being played by the British capitalist state in general (& against the Irish) to keep alive the warmongering-jingoist political weapon so essential for the British ruling class in a crisis (as the Falklands adventure showed) for diverting the British proletariat away from its own discontent against the government (in 1982 Thatcher's was the most unpopular this century) into flag-waving imbecility behind the Union Jack and the 'national interest' as grotesquely distorted by Government & Opposition alike.

And all the time that London chooses to play up this 'hate the mad foreign bomber' atmosphere, there is no chance at all of reasoned anti-colonialism being 'democratically' imposed on British imperialism's relations with Ireland (or anywhere else the Government chooses to arouse jingoistic fervour against).

For British workers, the only possibility for sane future British policies towards Ireland (or anywhere else) lies with overthrowing the capitalist state in Britain. The building of a Leninist movement here is the only serious 'solidarity' action that can be taken towards the Irish victims (or all the other overseas victims) of Briti-

an imperialist policy (and of Western policy in general).

Building a Leninist movement here is also the only real path for influencing the Irish national-liberation struggle towards a more Marxist revolutionary-socialist orientation, and ever further away from its sectarian anti-communist past. Spread the ILWP Bulletin.

62.

November 25, 1987
(Bulletin 421)

If the IRA really are now in a position to storm & capture the major prison-fortresses in Ireland and the occupied zone to free their prisoners-of-war, - as Dublin/London press gossip claims, - then a totally new dimension is added to considerations of strategy for the defeat of British colonialism.

The Bulletin briefly mentioned in its analysis of the Anglo-Irish Treaty retreat by imperialism two years ago that the bitter recriminations the pro-Dublin concessions would unleash (between Orange fascist diehards and the majority British establishment decision for a slow reunification of Ireland under Green Tory/Catholic/Orange capitalist stitch-up) would give the victorious national-liberation struggle the chance to consolidate politically while its immediate enemies fell apart and destroyed each other.

The fiasco of Enniskillen and, even worse, of Adams' naive 'regrets', seemed to underline that great political opportunities were simply not being seen for dramatically strengthening the national-liberation struggle while the heroic but costly armed fight, - crucial to the triumph over colonialism but more greatly damaging on the Western international political front than in local military ascendancy, - was being bravely kept going but almost routinely.

But something like a Tet offensive, - if it is truly possible, - would be a different perspective entirely to contemplate.

Pitched battles with

the police-military dictatorship in the occupied zone or with the capitalist state forces in Ireland would imply many things, - not least of all another changed light on the international balance of class forces (such as that which so guided the ILWP's analysis of the Anglo-Irish Treaty two years ago as a serious defeat for, and retreat by imperialism).

Ability to sustain & get away with a Tet offensive (like that which destroyed US imperialist & Saigon stooge military & political morale at Hue in the 1960s marking the beginning of the end for the West of its Vietnam war anti-communist crusade), - would mean that the incredible bolshevisation of the nationalist population in the occupied zone, - the real key to London's enforced decision to end the colonisation of this last corner of Ireland, - had deepened even more remarkably.

Only the most disciplined outright revolutionary spirit & conviction could enable the hopelessly outnumbered IRA & nationalist population to inflict such a military humiliation on the British/Orange colonial forces.

If and when such a development takes place - then much more will have to be discussed along these lines. Also reams more will have to be said about the equally important shift in the international balance of class forces external to Ireland which would have made it possible for whichever international anti-imperialist forces who are allegedly supplying the IRA (with their important new weaponry to match any important new class strength Sinn Fein has won) - to have done so.

If such startling military escalation plans are really going ahead, it would be naive to think that it is just the result of a chance shipment of arms or two, or a one-off piece of revenge by Gadafi for the Anglo-US bombing blitz on Tripoli. If it happens, it would imply that much more substantial international anti-imperialist forces

have approved the development, - indicating a change in the standing of the Irish national-liberation struggle in many eyes, as well as a considerable increase in hostility to pacifist bullshit and to bourgeois-imperialist ideology and the West in general.

If however the whole thing does turn out to be nothing but bizarre Dublin theatricals put on for imperialism's benefit, - then attention can re-focus on the hitherto-existing circumstances of London's pained slow retreat from Ireland; Orange biliousness; and Dublin/SDLP creeping-catholic opportunism, as reviewed in the light of the hysterical reaction to Enniskillen by the diehard British imperialist establishment and its attendant stooges (Labour Party, Fleet Street, Catholic Church, Dublin Tories, etc - all who are most terrified that the eventual national-liberation victory ending British colonisation of the occupied zone will still finally be seen as a triumph for revolutionary armed struggle, - no matter how much the Anglo-Irish Treaty has deliberately obscured matters by so far getting away with denying Sinn Fein any part in its real achievement).

The Enniskillen 'regrets' plus a recent heavy toll in IRA casualties underlines the huge costliness in cadres, organisational efforts, cash, and materials demanded by military struggle.

Having forced Britain into the Anglo-Irish Treaty retreat, the national-liberation forces could have had a routine military breather for regroupement, retraining, re-equipment, and re-orientation (pauses of a year or more have been normal in the past) and an even more important intensified political offensive to cash in on precisely the really dramatic breakthrough in the bolshevisation of the nationalist population, - the appearance of which phenomenon in the early 1980s around the heroic Hunger Strike campaigns and Bobby Sands historic election victory was the final danger signal

of possible future revolution all over Ireland which made Washington & the EEC twist London's arm to 'get the Irish question off the agenda as quickly as possible' (see ILWP Books vol 8).

Sinn Fein has taken a completely non-Leninist defeatist view of the Anglo-Irish Treaty as a setback, not a victory. But the most depressingly wooden part of their reaction has been their seeming indifference to learning any political lessons from the rich material of the Treaty, - which was an undoubted major event, however it is finally assessed. It is poor political education of the nationalist mass movement to make no pause at all to consider the advantages & implications of the startling Orange conflict with London. Correctly interpreted, the farcical catalogue of miserably failed attempts by Paisley & Co to re-create the myths of Carson's 1911 'No Surrender' rebellion could have provided Sinn Fein with endless victory material with which to keep the national-liberation struggle still roaring forward politically. The exposure of London's wretched retreat from its infamous colonial 'guarantee' to the Orange occupation gerrymandered over parts of Ulster could have offered daily propaganda triumphs over decaying imperialist intransigence.

Instead, - up to & including Enniskillen, the national-liberation struggle seemed excessively pre-occupied (with demonstrating its determination to correctly keep both military and political strategies in the sharpest state of readiness) to notice the giant propaganda gains which the very existence of the Treaty was daily putting Sinn Fein's way, - letting British retreats, Orange despair, and Dublin cowardly opportunism all off the hook, - to some extent.

But while all these things remain true, of course, whatever the real situation prompting Dublin's 'arms search' theatricals turns out to be, - they will be totally overshadowed if

Dublin fears of a Tet offensive become reality.

63.

January 13, 1988
(Bulletin 426)

Last year a speculative, informal, private discussion among ILWP cadres about exactly how British imperialism might complete its outlined withdrawal from occupied Ireland in favour of a 'safe' re-unification power-sharing lash-up with the Dublin Green Tories, the SDLP, and the tamed Orange colonials under the Anglo-Irish Treaty in the face of continued 'revolutionary' determination for total victory by the national-liberation struggle, - ventured towards the perhaps surprising conclusion that some sort of accommodation with Gerry Adams would be needed, - and that the non-Leninist nationalist weaknesses in Sinn Fein's political philosophy might just make such a strange outcome possible.

What might be needed, it was added in slightly less serious detail - was some acceptable go-between to lend an air of 'principle', 'progress', and 'credibility' to the development so as to guard Adam's back, - someone like Ken Livingstone!

Lo and behold, comes January 1988 and remarkable talks open between Gerry Adams and John Hume, - acceptably arranged 'at the suggestion' of some anonymous interested third party. Could these after-dinner speculations all be true?

What is certainly true is the collapse into bitter, futile, impotent, back-stabbing, disintegration by the so-called 'Ulster British-Irish community'. The Orange colonial fascists were always all wind & piss since the collapse of the British Empire post-WWII. Their historical *raison d'être* has disappeared.

With little further moral, strategic, economic, or politically acceptable justification, it was only a matter of time before the Orange men's threats to drench Ulster in a blood-bath of 'No Surrender' rather than 'give up their birthrights', etc, would be put to the

test by fast-moving patience in Washington, the EEC, and London at this insoluble violent colonial spectacle (nightly on TV) in the heart of NATO's supposed 'free world', - forced to the crunch by the indomitable Sinn Fein/IRA national-liberation struggle and political tour de force (see ILWP Books vol 8).

Maybe the anti-communist compromise of 'power-sharing' will be able to convince Sinn Fein that enough of a victory has been won over the Orange die-hards but without inflaming Sinn Fein's incomplete & inconsistent 'revolutionary' understanding too much into insisting on pressing to a fullscale socialist republic under the dictatorship of the proletariat all at one go.

Leninism would hail the defeat of British imperialism and Orange colonial fascism as a brilliant triumph for the national-liberation revolutionary struggle, - arms in hand, - but would then declare immediate revolutionary war (not necessarily fought initially by guerrilla struggle or terrorism) against whatever capitalist fake 'democratic republic' was set up in place of Britain's occupied colony.

The anti-communist compromisers will be hoping to steer Adams & Co away from any such conclusion.

But capitalism can no more work in Ireland, - even in the glow of reunification triumph, - than it can anywhere else in the crisis-ridden 'free' world. The development of a fullscale Leninist revolutionary struggle throughout the whole of Ireland is only a matter of time. Spread the ILWP Bulletin.

64.

January 27, 1988
(Bulletin 428)

The secret-police 'judicial' murders of nationalists in the occupied zone of Ireland have now sparked off two simultaneous nightmares to terrify the British establishment.

London is appalled at the prospects of the

unified killers implacating the entire British establishment in the cold-blooded assassinations.

At the same time, the Tory Government is even more appalled at the possibility that once one group of state agents decides to "reveal all" in order to escape responsibility for crimes committed in British imperialism's name, - then such exculpatory confessions could spread like wildfire throughout the nervous & rickety establishment.

Whitehall's pathological stubbornness over the Peter Wright affair is only explicable in this light.

Despite the fact that everyone now knows what is in the sensational "Spycatcher" revelations, the establishment are desperate to try to reestablish the 'principle' that its leading figures and valuable agents should "never tell" about what really goes on in government and in high affairs of state, - no matter what the sense of grievance or enforced sacrifice being suffered.

It is obvious that the RUC officers who carried out the 'judicial' killings of untried nationalists on the British state's behalf were asked to bite their lip and accept some form of 'discipline' or 'trial' or other once it became clear that the blatant murders were too much even for the servile British 'free' press and battered 'public opinion' to take.

It is equally obvious that these policemen said "No", and have threatened to describe in detail exactly how they were given their murder assignments, precisely by whom, and explicitly how far up the British imperialist establishment chain of command went the responsibility, knowledge, or approval of this illegal assassination strategy.

It is for these direct & pressing reasons that Chief Judge Donaldson is simultaneously warning (in the case for more Government injunctions halting "Spycatcher" revelations) that a blanket ban on all revelations about everything to do with British imperial-

ism's secret service is what is really needed, - particularly to suppress, - "in the national interest", - any information or suspicion of 'judicial' assassination by state agents of persons regarded as 'enemies' of Britain's "real welfare".

In other words, the permanent (concealed) British bourgeois dictatorship is now asking openly for a licence to kill anyone they choose - and the unchallenged right to stifle anyone who tries to talk about such assassinations.

So much for all the Western crap about "human rights" that all the petty-bourgeois and labour movement masses so fall for in their anti-communist stupour.

Donaldson's words were: "There must be a public interest in that not being published, whether it is true or false" referring to Wright's revelation, - called a "hypothetical allegation" by Donaldson, - that the secret service were asked by the Foreign Office to assassinate the president of Egypt, Nasser.

In the case of the RUC killings, - once the unassailable evidence could no longer be hushed up, or wished away, or whitewashed by 'official inquiry', or even suppressed by joke "not guilty" verdicts in the bent "courts" in the occupied zone, --- then the establishment's decision is to risk the dangers of a "no further action" cover-up rather than risk the dangers of the death-squad men revealing all about the state's sordid assassination policy, - and the appalling murderous implications going right to the top of the British Establishment in London.

Not surprisingly, there was uproar when Ken Livingstone, - in his populist-opportunist role, - dared to suggest that the Attorney General was "an accomplice to murder", and got booted out of the Commons for five days.

But even more significantly, it was a majority of Labourites who also voted to exclude him, - by 166 to 19, - total vote, - of which just under half were

Labourites.

The "official opposition" posturing "protest" at the "government of gags" put up by the official spokesman McNamara & colleagues is just a circus show, just a token "opposition" for the record. The Labourites have absolutely no intention at all of disrupting the "bi-partisan approach" on such delicate & dangerous high matters of state such as foreign assassinations, - least of all in the midst of a British colonial war "against the men of violence which the Labourites back wholeheartedly.

The entire rotten bourgeois parliamentary racket knows exactly the general character of dirty tricks got up to by the British capitalist state. The Labourites have tamely administered this filthy imperialist business themselves during eight periods of government lasting more than 60 years of modern colonial history.

The Labourites' first vicious counter-revolutionary crime in office, in 1924, was to approve the secret mass terror-bombing of Iraqi villages, massacring thousands, in the interests of BP/Shell profits & domination, - equally unreported to the world or the British people, - just as endless criminal deeds against occupied Ireland and other territories have been approved by Labour Governments subsequently.

This cover-up is particularly delicate & dangerous however.

The effective British decision to at last concede defeat to the Irish national-liberation struggle (while doing everything to hide that victory for the IRA/Sinn Fein rebellion, arms in hand) via the tortuously obscure & convoluted tortoise-pace hand-over to 'devolved' government involving Dublin, the SDLP, and the tamed Orange-fascist die-hards under the Anglo-Irish Treaty, has placed more than just the Green Tories in the Republic on their toes to pretend that they are not condoning any residual 'colonial villainy' or

capitulating to 'British imperialist intrusiveness' (which is exactly what they are doing by helping the Tories act out the Hillsborough circus).

Inspector Stalker of Manchester Police also unexpectedly decided to kick the discredited outgoing colonial regime up the backside by making his "official inquiry" into the death-squads actually expose some of the illegal wrongdoing.

In the most astonishing "dirty tricks" cover-up yet, Stalker was sabotaged with some phony "criminal connections" charges, and taken off the death-squads inquiry just as he was about to expose the entire RUC hierarchy (& by implication the entire British colonial establishment) for interfering with the course of justice.

'Left' Labourites like Livingstone feel the need to posture their "incorruptibility" over the Anglo-Irish Treaty stitch-up attempt (against Sinn Fein, denying them, hitherto, any say in the re-unification which their struggles alone enforced on Britain).

A whole array of assorted liberals, journalists, civil rights campaigners, Labour MPs, etc have suddenly discovered what a monstrous police-state frame-up was imposed in 1974 to "get" six Irishmen for the Birmingham pub bombings regardless of the ludicrously fabricated or exaggerated "evidence" plus the murderous illegal beatings to force "confessions" out of them. Similar "conscience" is spewing now from various "democrats" about the Guildford pub bombings case as well.

There is even a "civil liberties" lobby at work now questioning whether the whole emergency PTA (Prevention of Terrorism Act) giving the police Gestapo powers of arresting-without-charge, etc, just for having an Irish accent, etc, is "any longer a wise measure", - including the very Labourite wretch who bulldozed the Hitlerite measure through a comatose & servile Commons in just 12 hours with no votes 57 against back in 1974, -

Roy Jenkins, then Home Secretary.

Dublin is inevitably now squawking loudly about this latest humiliation, demanding an urgent Hillsborough summit over the non-prosecution decision for the death-squad killings.

But whether or not it will insist on exposing the explosive RUC blackmail threat to "reveal who gave the orders for the killings" etc, remains to be seen.

This is dynamite for the Dublin bourgeois police-state, just as it is for London; their relationship is just a much larger version of that between the murdering RUC officers and the British colonial state officials who put them up to it or condoned it. Dublin too obviously has its own secret-police dirty tricks department, and vicious crimes to cover up as well. If it pushes London too hard over these delicate exposures, it could find its own complicity in the colonial stitch-up exposed in return, -and to hell with the Treaty.

And too much exposure of London's imperialist savagery would not be in Dublin's interests either if it hopes to go on with its Treaty easy-pickings of reunification without having to fight for it (all done by Sinn Fein and the IRA).

But Gerry Adams himself is also now in the murky picture of the Hillsborough circus, recently approached (via John Hume of the SDLP, and the same Livingstone, more than likely, as the go-between) over a possible role for Sinn Fein in the 'power-sharing' stitch-up to protect British colonialism's retreat and its Orange-fascist stooges from complete (and possibly vengeful) humiliation. The dirty mess of who knew what, and who condoned what, -oozing putridly out of the RUC's British state-terrorism role, - is threatening to point its finger at more & more 'accomplices', - whether really guilty or not. It is a very treacherous, tried-and-tested method by British imperialism for trying to ensure that the power hand-over

does not get into the 'wrong' hands which might 'betray' the fraud of 'Western freedom' by exposing its real fascist-dictatorship essence.

The hope will be to work on any anti-communist ignorance or prejudice they can discover or manufacture in Adams, hoping to exploit his anti-Leninist scepticism.

The answer to all this stench of criminal cover-ups and class-collaborating 'power-sharing' deals must ultimately be the dictatorship of the proletariat, even if national reunification is provisionally accepted meanwhile (-whatever Britain's mealy-mouthed terms for getting out-) as correctly completing the 'independence' stage of the 'liberation' struggle at least. Build the Leninist party. Spread the ILWP Bulletin.

65.

February 3, 1988
(Bulletin 429)

The farcical outrage of the Appeal Court's decision (to perpetuate the police frame-up of the Birmingham Six), coming on top of Whitehall's refusal to prosecute the RUC death-squads & their cover-up, has given the Republic of Ireland an unparalleled opportunity to expose British imperialism's tyranny over the illegally partitioned & colonised Occupied Zone.

But the Green bourgeoisie is far more worried about the potential revolutionary socialist implications of Sinn Fein's bolshevisation of the nationalist population in the north than it is about monopoly-capitalist persecution of the Irish both in Britain and the colonial enclave dividing Ulster.

The grasping millionaire spiv Haughey knows that his bread is buttered on the side of the Western imperialist alliance continuing to keep even the slightest threat of communism at bay throughout the "free" world.

Some of the socialist rhetoric of the "men of violence" (actually completing Ireland's national-liberation struggle against British col-

onialism) frightens the striped pants off the Green establishment in Dublin whose age-old posturing about "re-unification" and "the Republic", etc, is pure election bluster so as to keep their snouts in the gravy of office.

Haughey, Fitzgerald & Co will gladly turn out the entire army & police in the Republic to hunt down the organisers of Ireland's heroic national-liberation struggle or to seize their hard-won weapons, - some on the very day of the latest Appeal Court imperialist arrogance.

But when it comes to lifting a finger to help six Irishmen imprisoned for life by the colonial masters on a police frame-up based on ludicrously contradictory & unbelievable "confessions" beaten out of them with barbaric brutality and backed up by the most laughable "forensic evidence" in the whole history of bent "British justice", -the opportunist Dublin bourgeoisie will only unconvincedly bleat "unfair" while licking their lips at the next spoils the relationship with London might bring them.

The Anglo-Irish Treaty is unlikely to be abandoned by Dublin in protest against the Birmingham Six scandal, or against the even more sinister death-squads cover-up in the Occupied Zone, -even despite the explosive publicity that is now receiving from Stalker's astonishing revelations in the press & in his book.

The Treaty promises eventually to make the bourgeois grubbers (on the Dail merry-go-round) political bosses of all 32 counties of Ireland once again, -eventually, -provided Sinn Fein's bolshevik organisation of the nationalist population in the north, and its socialist agitation, can somehow be either suppressed at last on the strength of the "re-unification" fraud, -or bought off in some way under the same Treaty measures.

Either route, the Dublin stooges of British imperialism see the national-liberation struggle as the real obstacle to their further political & financial ambitions; - and their standing in the eyes of

London & Washington as their best bet for an even richer & longer meal-ticket, -for life if they play their cards right.

Haughey & Co's intentions will be to be seen to be "kicking up a huge fuss" in the Treaty conference discussions about Stalker, Birmingham, and other humiliations for Irish national independence, -to keep their Republic-an credentials green, -but to withstand the real pressure from below in Ireland to actually do something about these latest British colonial outrages.

But even if they get away with it this time, the Dublin establishment is still in a deep mess. The international capitalist economic crisis is hitting Ireland harder than most of the 'free' world. And whatever filthy deals the Green bourgeoisie do with London (or the Washington overseers) to betray the national-liberation struggle, -the very upheaval itself of the revolt in the north is going to remain an endlessly threatening influence to the staid middle-class political circus in the slump-ridden South.

The outstanding self-sacrifice, principle, and political far-sightedness of the national-liberation struggle will yet stand in triumphant scorn over the cowardly, class-collaborating treachery of the renegades in the South.

If not through the present Sinn Fein/IRA leaders (who have yet to ditch nationalism for Leninism), then at some certain future stage, -not too far distant, -the revolutionary struggle for materialist solutions (communism), arms-in-hand, will prevail over the decadent greed & opportunism of the capitalist police state, -whether Green, or Red White and Blue. Build Leninism.

66.

February 24, 1988
(Bulletin 432)

The longterm NATO and EEC fears that crisis-ridden Ireland (both the Republic and the militarily-occupied colony in the north) might be collapsing towards a communist takeover pro-

vide the background to the peculiar humiliations, hoaxes, and tortuous negotiations of the past fortnight.

The key to understanding the frequently haphazard but occasionally suspiciously conspiratorial goings-on is the perpetual theme that whatever else may happen or be striven for, the one constant requirement is that revolutionary Irish communists should continue to be wiped out or hunted down as rapidly and on as wide a scale as possible.

This paramount preparation for preventing Ireland from sliding into not-too-distant revolutionary socialist turmoil requires both a steady stream of deaths or incarceration of specific 'dangerous' individuals as well as an established pattern, if possible, of frame-up mechanisms or death-squad killings in general.

This tall order is especially difficult to put through at a time when the Anglo-Irish Treaty is attempting to clean up Dublin's tattered 'Republican' posture via Hillsborough's "reunification" elements, while simultaneously not damaging Britain's broader "free-world" (i.e. anti-communist & anti-national-liberation struggle) "security" stance, and all to the background of the need to overcome the resistance (to all these changes) by the Orange fascist bourgeoisie but without either totally destroying them in the process nor encouraging too much "No Surrender" intransigence.

This astonishing intrigue & balancing act has all been made necessary by the remarkable bolshevisation of the nationalist population in the occupied zone achieved by Sinn Fein and the IRA, - a spine-chilling factor which has kept Washington and the Common Market powers in a growing state of mesmerised alarm for years.

An ultimate revolutionary triumph in the occupied zone, arms-in-hand, for the independence struggle was bad enough to contemplate in a colonial war which British imperialism could never win and would

eventually be forced to abandon by a combination of world public opinion, battlefield humiliation, and unsustainable cost.

But the thought of a then victorious, -and increasingly Leninised, -Sinn Fein subsequently having a catalytic effect on the slump-hit Republic on the crest of triumphal reunification admiration was too terrifying for the NATO capitals to bear.

From the mid-1970s onwards, increasing pressure began to be put on London by its "free-world" allies to get this humiliating national-liberation struggle (constantly undermining the pretence at the very heart of "Western democracy") off the world's television screens once & for all.

This could only mean effectively giving in to the Irish independence movement (over relinquishing Britain's colony and reuniting Ireland), -but without appearing to concede anything to the Sinn Fein/IRA revolutionary struggle for that national-liberation.

The cowardly Green-Tory opportunists in Dublin plus the equally class-collaborating SDLP traitors in the occupied zone, backed by the sordid Catholic Church, were the only possible salvation.

These "free-world" anti-communist stooges had to be somehow propped up as worthy recipients of Ireland's independence and reunification (not having lifted a finger to fight for it) while still maintaining their sanctimonious "anti-terrorist" (i.e. anti-communist) humbug but without alienating the plainly pro-Sinn Fein core of the Irish (nationalist) population in the occupied zone, bolshevised by such long heroic struggle and the soviet-type mass organisation that was developed to sustain the fight and to prepare development independently of British (capitalist) repressive rule.

The vital role of the capitalist-state security & police forces in the counter-revolutionary crusade against communist influences was the most crucial feature of life in the British colony which the

Green Tory stooges had to ensure was maintained, -namely the RUC, Special Branch, and MI5 networks, contacts, and expertise. The Gardai bourgeoisie have been keen to polish up their anti-communist methods to please London & Washington in honour of the new responsibilities inherent in the Treaty's implications, -but the RUC's "counter-terrorist" experience is considered far too valuable to play anything other than the most prominent role in what could soon be very dangerous revolutionary circumstances all over Ireland.

It is these considerations which made Stalker's singlemindedness in his routine 'investigation of complaints' whitewash such a humiliating threat to the entire establishment plans for Ireland, -insisting that while the general anti-communist conspiracy by the RUC, Special Branch, MI5 and Home Office was completely normal & acceptable, - that there should be no cover-up however of individual 'wrongdoers' within the police & security services.

It is the menace to imperialism's broader anti-communist purposes from Stalker's arbitrary line-drawing over 'legitimate' and 'illegal' activities by the inherently fascist police-state forces of capitalist "law-and-order" in the delicate circumstances of the reunification exercise in Ireland (in the face of real revolutionary developments) that has brought out the curiously restrained accusations & frame-up attempts against Stalker, keener to bury the issue rather than provoke too much debate or reaction.

Hermon is still insisting mysteriously this week by way of "rebutting" Stalker that: "Security is a very sophisticated thing which strikes at the heart of a nation's security", -which sounds more like tautological mumbo-jumbo for calming the Freemasonry Brethren rather than anything sensible, -especially in the continuing absence of any writs to deal with "Stalker's

lies".

The Labourite establishment worm McNamara was quick to do his bit for 'national security', -and homework for future Privy Council privileges, -with his ill-disguised support for Hermon and stab in Stalker's back when adding: "This slanging match between senior policemen has got to stop in the public interest". What a miserable moron!

The partially-revived Orange-fascist bourgeoisie, completely flattened by the Treaty but possibly now warming to their preserved though diminished role, came close to exposing the anti-communist intrigue of the 'reunification' exercise when crowing that the Garda's so-called 'independent' inquiry into the latest death-squad killing of an Irish rebel was pure hoax (although an 'insulting' one to the 'dignity' of 'British Northern Ireland', etc).

If Haughey & Co were really keen to kick all the furniture over in outrage over British domineering injustice, there has been an avalanche of truly monstrous colonial scandals to take up over the past month if Dublin really wanted to assert its 'independence' and show Britain to be 'in the wrong'.

As tragic, provocative and typically Nazi as the latest Monaghan-Tyrone border shooting is, -the scandals of the Birmingham Six frame-up and Appeal Court humiliation of Ireland's national dignity; of the continuing death-squad cover-up and framing of Stalker; of codifying the PTA (Prevention of Terrorism Act) Gestapo law for emergency arrest of anyone with an Irish accent or connection; etc, are matters much closer to the fascist essence of British imperialist domination, and much more crying out for a Dublin 'revolt', - (even if the Garda's 'independent' investigation does, - against the odds, - do a 'Stalker' and insist that the 'wrongdoers' for the latest shooting do get brought to account).

But Haughey has already really said his piece on all of this. He has publicly come down four-square on the side of the West's anti-

communist crusade when declaring, albeit in code, that it would be 'unprincipled' to cease cross-border cooperation "against terrorism" as a way of getting back at London for Britain's shoddy behaviour, on any issue. In other words "Kill All Communists" remains the watchword, north & south of the border.

Within hours, the capitalist-colonialist state forces had taken him at his word, and another young Irish rebel was shot dead in cold blood on the Monaghan border.

But the complications & difficulties only grow for this counter-revolutionary Treaty exercise, -all springing from the essential sickness of the capitalist system itself which is crucially supposed to survive, north & south of the border, as a result of all this intriguing & conspiracy.

The devastating economic effects of imperialism's international trade-war/slump competitiveness (arising out of incurable 'surpluses' of profit-hungry capital in a world starving of essential goods) are already well known, -particularly in the crisis-ridden Republic, but significantly too, already, in the occupied zone since the first shock-waves of creeping mass unemployment first sparked off the renewed national-liberation struggle at the end of the 1960s.

The disasters for British Empire's north of Ireland colony as a result of lost inter-imperialist competitiveness have also been documented (see past Bulletins & ILWP Books vol 8) as the social & political basis for the old Orange-fascist supremacism relentlessly fading, eventually making "Northern Ireland" no longer viable either as a 'British province' nor as a UDI 'independent' nazi-colonial statelet on the model of Smith's Rhodesia. On its own, the Orange bourgeoisie would be toppled by the IRA/Sinn Fein mass national-liberation movement in no time at all.

The detailed strategic & tactical problems (bugging London's Treaty 'solution' pl-

ans) as a consequence of these historic slump-induced changes in the balance of class & national forces are another well-established phenomenon, -but the further possible complexities of this are endless, -and also hard to predict.

The splits between the Orange fascist bourgeoisie and London are the obvious example of this complication, and the difficulties over the Stalker-Hermon affair are one specifically vivid instance. Stalker's routine whitewash 'inquiry' into RUC wrongdoings stumbled on his legalistic singlemindedness (see above) partly also because of the over-sensitive reaction of Hermon & Co arising precisely out of, -not the clumsy crookedness of the death-squads rogues & cover-up, -but something much more difficult to accommodate for, - out of the shattering of the 400-year-old confidence of the Orange bourgeoisie due to the catastrophic decline of Britain's imperial position.

As already referred to, -renewed cockiness-display by the Orangemen (in getting their own back by a sly sneer or two at Dublin for its 'hoax' or 'stunt' investigation into Aidan McAnespie's shooting this week) is another sample of potentially explosive unpredictability in these contradictory relations.

Perhaps hardest of all to fathom are the postures Dublin will adopt in turn, -all potentially even more fateful, -as the Green Tories slither & slide to conceal their imperialist-stooge status in one new 'Republican' pose after another.

The Dail worms themselves will never turn. London & Washington have made correct & careful calculations there. But the Dail bogus 'democracy' is itself sitting on a powder-keg of frustrated Irish nationalist aspirations, -now getting dangerously close towards revolutionary socialist upheaval as the longed-for (700 years) 'independent republic' clumsily fails to fulfil its ambitions.

London's merciless humiliation of Dublin's

protections in recent weeks peculiarly risk provoking the Green Tories too far in their tortuous efforts to preserve their 'Republican' posture in front of mass opinion in the South.

Which in turn raises the suspicion that the Foreign Office might yet still be keeping its options open about not in fact going through with the Anglo-Irish Treaty after all, --in order to keep the conflict going with Ireland as a possible future war opponent if Argentina will not play ball again next time round that jingoistic conflict abroad is required to prop up a shaky capitalist regime at home, or if a suitably weak alternative to the Galtieri regime cannot be found elsewhere such as in Spain over the festering Gibraltar sore, e.g. Such deliberate sabotage by Britain itself of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, --as well as the scarcely credible prospect of consciously provoking the conflict in the opposite direction towards war with Ireland, -- must remain very long odds against, and very speculative, at this stage.

But huge upheavals are afoot inside the Western imperialist camp in general as the lethal trade-war cut-throat competition to survive the slump begins to hot up in earnest internationally. It is certain that every ruling bourgeois regime throughout the tottering 'free world' is keeping as many options open as possible, -- and nothing can be ruled out in such a period of tumultuous change and decay.

67. March 9, 1988
(Bulletin 434)

Even after a full trial & conviction, there is no death sentence in Britain for "being part of an IRA active service unit". There are jail sentences if guilt is proved beyond reasonable doubt.

Still less is there any legal provision in Britain for people to be shot on sight by uniformed mercenaries on suspicion of intentions in that direction. There

is arrest, interrogation, and possible charges of planning to cause an offence, or, --(to get a bigger jail sentence), -- of 'conspiracy' to cause an offence.

What took place in Gibraltar was the 'judicial' murder on the streets of three unarmed persons (nominally British citizens) by armed & uniformed representatives of British colonial fascism because of the victims' allegiance to the cause of the Irish national-liberation struggle.

This is fascism. This is not one iota different from that phase of bourgeois-imperialist class rule when the dictatorship becomes openly expressed as a nazi or police-state regime. Fascism is merely the glorification of ruling-class uniformed domination & thuggery as opposed to its more usual discreet concealment (behind the 'democratic' facade of Parliament, etc, and all the quieter class-discrimination & race-discrimination hypocrisy that always goes with such 'rule-of-law' & 'liberal' systems).

A very frequent component of a trend towards open fascist rule in a period of profound crisis for the bourgeois-imperialist system (worldwide) is the lingering on of a tame discredited 'parliament' of class-collaborating stooges too terrified & too petty-bourgeois-corrupted to dare raise a single voice against the authoritarian bullying being rehearsed by the Big Bourgeois Establishment.

In the Commons this week, the Labour, Liberal, SDP, Tory, and bourgeois Scots & Welsh reptiles were more than a match for their Central European predecessors of the 1930s whose cowardly degeneracy saw one fascist regime after another come to power there.

Not one single challenge was made to the monstrous depravity of gunning down IRA suspects in cold blood.

Not a single penetrating question was posed to the nauseating Goebbels-speak dished up by the Tory mini-nazis about the victims having "made movements" which "necessitated" them being riddled with

bullets in the head & body in broad daylight on an open pavement by a gunman standing right on top of them.

What filthy loathsome lies. And not one peep out of the entire assembled Labour ranks opposite.

The Tory Goebbels putting out that contemptible cynicism had no knowledge of any "movements" or anything else.

The victims were unarmed. They were crept up on and killed without warning.

Even the cowardly capitalist press, while inevitably using its "freedom" to completely & deliberately conceal the fascist death-squad implications of this criminal British imperialist aggression (and to protect the servile House of Commons accomplices to the judicial murder), -- had to admit a hint or two of this official nazi atrocity:

An account of the deaths at variance to that provided in the Commons was given by Mrs Pepi Celecia, a housewife in Gibraltar, who said that the three had been shot "in cold blood" by a man presumed to be a member of the British security forces.

Mrs Celecia, who lives near a petrol station in Winston Churchill Avenue, was looking out of her window at about 3.30pm on Sunday afternoon. "I was watching a couple walking down the road in the direction of the border," she said. "when I saw a blond man come up behind them and, without any warning, he shot at them. The woman, who was carrying a large shoulder bag, fell to the ground immediately.

"The young man, who was in a white tracksuit and running shoes, staggered towards the service station. The man fired at him four or five times more and he collapsed with blood all over the place." She said that a police car had roared up to the gunman, who immediately jumped in. The car did a U-turn and sped away.

"It was quite a while later before other police cars and ambulances arrived."

But these Fleet Street monopoly 'guardians of democracy' were naturally careful not to probe too deeply into how the carefully-controlled hysteria/propaganda mechanism was cranked up, Goebbels fashion, to deliberately enflame hatred, panic, and every kind of irrationality by mention of "deaths & casualties running into three figures having been narrowly averted" etc, -- when no car bomb had even been discovered at all. These 'free press' gutter-hounds of the bourgeois-imperialist system have their own lav-

ished lifestyles resting on the survival of Western colonial-fascist warmongering to like the idea of too much honest reporting.

Not only was all the blatant deception, half-truths, double-speak, and lying innuendoes about this story, --(which reeked from start to finish of a depraved stunt), -- ignored completely by Press & Parliament, -- not even asking if the crucial warning "Armed Police" had been shouted, etc; or why the lone killer had been spirited away against all the police rules (see Stalker's complaints about the death squads in the occupied zone of Ireland); or who he was; or how it could be asserted that the victims had "made movements" when there was just one lone gunman who had now disappeared; etc, etc, etc, -- but the Labourites were complaining that the atrocity had not been inflicted on the Irish nationalists viciously or violently enough!

"Can you reassure us that all the suspects involved have been shot?" asked the disgusting obese oaf George Robertson, the joke 'foreign affairs' spokesman for the ludicrous Labour Party, inviting the fascist death squads to round up some more Irish accents for summary killing on the streets.

"These people must be dealt with," Robertson urged on, getting his vicarious lynch-mob thrills from the nazi atrocity, and adding his "congratulations" to all concerned in the cold-blooded murders.

With a "labour" party like this, --and with an armed capitalist state fully conscious of the brutal lessons of imperialist/colonialist history of the need for total ruthless brutal repression once the "necessity" for crushing the enemies of capitalism has been decided upon, --fascist tyranny against the proletariat in Britain (as the incurable crisis of permanent mass unemployment & poverty deepens) could be achieved without the need for an overtly nazi-party takeover.

The anti-Leninist swamp is kidding itself if it insists that no fascist tyranny can be

suffered by workers in Britain until the whole scene of burned Reichstag, swastika armbands, crazed master-race theory, and concentration camps for communists & non-Aryans has been restored. They were merely the trimmings peculiar to German imperialist history. If 'shoot-on-sight' becomes the law against all 'enemies of democracy', then all the essentials of police-state rule are there already.

Why burn the Reichstag (parliament) when the Commons is in any case already a total stooge instrument for every last scrap of Western imperialism's postwar anti-communist hysteria, arms-race warmongering, and secret-police/CIA intriguing against the national-liberation struggles & revolutionary movements (- with Labour having initiated most of the more degenerate stunts such as the invasion of Greece to prevent the partizan liberation and restore the fascist monarchy; the massacring of the Malayan socialist national-liberation; the invasion of Korea to restore capitalism; the founding of the NATO counter-revolutionary forces which have propped up reaction in more than 200 acts of postwar colonial intervention by the West; the slaughter of Aden's liberation movement; the imposition of the Zionist-fascist colonisation of Palestine; the reimposition of police-military dictatorship over the occupied colonised zone of Ireland in 1968; the introduction of the Long Kesh concentration camp detention-without-trial system there and the Gough Barracks torture regime, etc; the establishment of Smith's nazi tyranny in Rhodesia; the offer of military help to the US nazi occupation of Vietnam; the deliberate creation of communal divisions & violence to keep the Indian sub-continent weak, backward, and away from socialist revolution after independence; the conscious nuclear escalation of the anti-Soviet arms race post-1945 etc, etc.)

Why bother with swastika armbands (which German bourgeois history needed for greater re-

ditionary dedication, loyalty, cohesion, and mystification) when the British bourgeoisie has already perfected over hundreds of years the far more cabalistic, secretive, disciplined, and ruthless private 'Brüderboend' in the widespread Freemasonry brotherhood?

Why would British imperialism need to artificially bolster up any 'master-race' illusory theories to breed greater arrogance when the British bourgeoisie has already lived in practice more than 300 years of actual world domination to cement its own unparalleled delusions of superiority, snobbish exclusivity (& racism), and domineering contempt for all 'lesser breeds'?

And why the need for special anti-communist or anti-non-Aryan concentration camps to instil the ideas of relentless iron discipline and fake rule-of-law discrimination when the joke Diplock Courts and Long Kesh persecution of the Irish, and the sus-law ghettoisation & victimisation of the blacks have already created exactly the same unchallenged atmosphere of racism, witch-hunting, vindictiveness, and anti-'terrorist' (i.e. anti-communist) panic in their place?

The British labour & trade-union movement could hardly be more afflicted than it currently is by mindless racist chauvinism against any 'alien' influences that the mass-circulation gutter capitalist press & TV cares to pillory, or by warmongering jingoism against any 'foreign treachery, threat, or foul play' which media hysteria declares is responsible for the industrial collapse & worldwide economic & military decline of British imperialism, -(the results, in reality, of failure in the cut-throat inter-imperialist competitiveness, and of the triumphs of the national-liberation struggle & socialist revolution postwar).

Unlike in the traumatically defeated & demoralised circumstances facing the curiously half-fledged German bourgeoisie of the 1930s, the incurably arrogant & aggressive British

its wretchedly servile 'reformist' labour movement which has never come anywhere near the revolutionary ruptures which shattered German society in the 1920s, - can easily launch into a new fascist warmongering diversion (whenever it needs one to keep ideas of socialist revolt at bay) without any recourse to a Nazi party coup, as German bourgeois imperialism needed.

Only humiliating defeats for the Union Jack will wake the British working class up to the wretched folly of British imperialism's warmongering chauvinist pretensions. The prolonged tragedy of this twilight period of British colonialism's last days is that Argentine national independence strength & pride had been so debilitated by the ridiculous military-junta debauchery from Peron onwards that it was incapable of inflicting humiliating defeat on Thatcher's outrageous provocation of hanging onto Argentina's Malvinas Islands by gunboat diplomacy, (a challenge Thatcher widely avoided when forced to give up Hong Kong in exactly similar circumstances by Communist China which is too big to fight).

A defeat by Argentina in a further round over the Malvinas Islands would do nicely. Or more blows against the British military dictatorship over the occupied zone by the Irish national liberation struggle would be just as good, -at least as far as the general character of the processes needed to break British workers from their subservience to imperialism are concerned, (even if they could not match a defeat in the Falklands in sheer size of humiliating impact).

These latest British colonial outrages will put enormous new pressure on the treacherous Green-Tory reptiles in Dublin, the SDLP, and the Catholic Church who are all helping British Orange-fascist imperialism to try to save face over its slowly-enforced withdrawal via the Anglo-Irish Treaty, handing over shared authority in Ireland to the

'reunification' provisions of the Hillsborough agreement.

Such a stench of fascist decay now hangs over the Treaty unity with Britain that the Dublin class-collaborating stooges for Western anti-communist (anti-terrorist) propriety could run the danger of being overthrown by the potential revolutionising of the masses in Ireland (one of the worst sufferers of the international capitalist incurable slump), especially as influenced by the bolshevisation of the nationalist proletariat in the occupied zone, -and even more especially now that their dramatic soviet-type mass organisational commitment to Sinn Fein's revolt will have received new inspiration from the now-so-clearly demonstrable correctness of the national-liberation struggle in remaining determined to fight arrogant British colonial intransigence, and in refusing to class-collaborate with it or be taken in by the Treaty offers of 'guaranteed future security prosperity, and self-determination under the Western anti-communist alliance', etc.

Britain's latest imperialist aggression, -linked as it is to a much wider determination to impose Rambo shoot-on-sight fascist supremacism on all the West's relations with the rest of the world, -especially in Zionist-occupied Palestine, in the white fascist dictatorship over southern Africa, and in US nazi-bullying intervention & intrigues against Central & South America and the Far East, -signals a greater need than ever for workers to turn to fullscale Leninist revolutionary understanding & organisation as opening the way to the only possible solu-

tion to imperialist slump-ridden warmongering backwardness by its revolutionary overthrow everywhere. Spread the ILWP Bulletin.

68. April 6, 1988
(Bulletin 438)

The main final effect of all the recent hysteria, upsets, and chauvinism over the Irish question has been paradoxically to speed up the pressures for ending partition and restoring full responsibility for all Ireland to a government in Dublin.

Far from the Anglo-Irish Treaty being put 'in cold storage' or 'on the back burner' as the bourgeois swamp, -from the Guardian to the Trots, -has been muddling in deep confusion, - the Hillsborough agreement (acknowledging joint authority for what goes on in the occupied zone) has really come into its own with the latest troubles.

Many of the dramatically conflicting and contradictory activities of the past few months have been as much to do with incompetence, splits, and indecision among the protagonists, -and with the sheer raw hatreds, frustrations, & complexities of the situation, as with any conspiracy to abandon the Treaty.

Dublin is at sixes & sevens, the Orangemen are degenerately all over the place, and London in particular appears to be still being drawn in different directions by a fascist-imperialist 'Kill them' lobby, and an end-of-empire 'Let us get out' lobby.

But clearer patterns may be emerging.

As the ILWP explained from the very first moments of Hillsborough, the Treaty's ugly, deformed, and post-imperial purposes of finally

conceding reunification at a snail's pace but without appearing to have made any capitulation at all to the 'men of violence' in the Sinn Fein/IRA national-independence struggle (who in reality have won a huge liberation victory) -is still London, Dublin, & Washington's basic devious plan. (See ILWP Books vol 8).

But greater urgency has suddenly been injected from a variety of sources, -leading to the possibly highly paradoxical outcome that the recent mess has only made firm progress towards reunification all the more certain.

The least reported but probably the most important influence may have come from the USA.

The latest barbaric attacks on the nationalist population by the British fascist-colonial tradition through the SAS death-squad atrocity (shooting three dead in cold blood on the streets of Gibraltar), the nazi-Rambo grenade & bullet killings (of mourners at the Milltown Cemetery), and the crazed attempted hit-and-run or shoot-out murders by the undercover soldiers (on the Andersonstown Road funeral cortege), -have stirred new waves of loathing for the British military occupation among 40 million Irish-Americans, (-not loathing for the IRA' as the servile British capitalist press (the Fleet Street, BBC, ITV lie machine) has been pretending).

Such outrage at this outdated British-colonial fascism will quickly be being translated into vast new financial collections for the IRA and urgent new pleas from terrified US bourgeois politicians for London to act more rapidly towards reunification and an end to the military occupation.

Maze concentration camp



Washington (plus the NATO capitals) will be echoing these sentiments in pursuit of their outline strategic plan for recruiting Dublin to the Western warmongering anti-communist cause as a price for cash aid to Ireland, as a surer check on the revolutionary implications of the IRA/Sinn Fein national-liberation struggle, and as a salve to the injured pride of London and the Orangemen.

The correlation of this American influence (and from world opinion generally) towards Ireland's independence lies in the latest defiant confirmation of its undying source, - the unbeatable resistance of the Irish to British domination, no matter how vicious, bullying, or humiliating.

The bourgeois swamp (from Parliament & Fleet Street to the Trots) could not possibly have got the boot more on the wrong foot with their outraged, squeamish, middle-class sanctimony & humbug about the "futile & criminal terrorist violence" of the national-liberation struggle "which cannot possibly hope to win, and which can only alienate everybody, and play into the hands of reaction", etc.

It is British colonialism which cannot win. And by denying British colonialism its victory for the past 700 years no less, - and in particular since the scandalous fascist fiction of 'Protestant Northern Ireland' was invented in 1921 by ripping parts of six of Ulster's nine counties away from Ireland, - the Irish national-liberation struggle has indeed finally come closer than ever towards winning.

By defying, without flinching, British colonial brutality once again, - at Milltown, on the Monaghan border, in Gibraltar, in the crazed Andersonstown attack, etc, - Ireland's nationalists will have again convinced everybody that no matter how big an advantage British intelligence, bribery, or colonial thuggery may temporarily gain over them, the liberation struggle will not only continue but will advance ever closer towards

outright communist revolution the longer independence is denied.

It is this clear confirmation of the threat of further bolshevisation of the proletariat in the occupied zone, - contained in the barehanded tackling of armed gunmen by ordinary crowds at the Milltown and Andersonstown funeral gatherings, - that will have startled new urgency from another source of influence on London, - the Catholic Church, already so crucial for trying to keep the Irish masses backward.

"Much more revolutionary stimulation on Ireland from seeing unarmed masses take on their armed fascist-colonial class enemies barehanded, - and it will not be abolition on the agenda so much as the dictatorship of the proletariat", - is the terrified priestly view.

Playing for the long-term perspective of another 1,500 years in the saddle, the land-rich feudal clergy only balk at signs of communism, and cunningly try to ride the currents of 'mere' revolutionary nationalism, (-as uncomfortable as it sometimes makes their imperialist-mercenary souls at too accurate a scientific political materialism by Sinn Fein with all its anti-obscurantist dangers).

Surprisingly, it is possibly the Catholic Church which might be the keenest advocates for capitulating to Sinn Fein's "British troops out" demands before the nationalist proletarian mass movement is driven even closer towards bolshevisation by the military dictatorship and the Orange fascist-colonial outrages.

Just as desperate (though of lesser influence) for faster progress with the reunification Treaty (so as to spike Sinn Fein's guns) are the 'constitutional' stodge-nationalists, the SDLP, who are having the 'Catholic voter' ground cut from under them by the revolutionary-proletarian class appeal of the IRA/Sinn Fein national-liberation struggle against British imperialism.

Their eagerness for a quick compromise (for fear of their petty-bourgeois reformist illusions being wiped out for ever by revolutionary war) is reflected in their now open willingness to be seen to be the message carriers between Sinn Fein and the British Establishment.

Perhaps the surprisingly least obstacle to the full participation of Sinn Fein/IRA (in the historic reunification negotiations which their national-liberation struggle has brought about), - may be raised by the colonial-fascist Orangemen.

But as the Bulletin pointed out from the beginning, the Treaty's albeit snail's pace 'reunification' implications nevertheless represented a colossal historic undermining of the 'No Surrender' guarantees to 'British Ireland'. Although the fraudulent 'majority-decision' humbug (within the ripped-out gerrymandered artificial borders of 'Northern Ireland') was still spun out, its unsupportable bogusness had never been more glaring with the Treaty's authorisation for a legitimate Dublin say in how the affairs of the occupied zone should henceforth be managed.

And as the ILWP correctly analysed in advance, the threatened Orange-fascist UDI 'revolt' to make the colony 'ungovernable' would not only prove to be a hoax but would also force Britain's hand over withdrawing even faster, - once it was seen that the pretended 'British Ireland' so-called 'community' was nothing but outdated end-of-empire hot air, (even if individual colonial-fascist thugs could cause isolated acts of terror).

The Bulletin's chronicling of the Orange-colonial disintegration (in step with the decline of British imperialism's relative international strength) can now be brought up to date with the most remarkable climb-down of all as the 'protestant' leaders have, in code, now effectively admitted that not only can they no longer expect to hold back the

reunification implications of the Treaty (while still pretending that all they are doing is reiterating their 'longstanding support' for some form of 'devolved government'), - even themselves proposing direct talks with Dublin; - but that they even no longer make it an absolute condition for cooperation that the 'criminal Sinn Fein terrorists' be excluded from all the talking. Their insistence now is only that 'good will' be shown on all sides.

An oddly bigger threat to the Treaty's constipated & hypocritical 'reunification' process still comes from British imperialism itself (which introduced it in the first place), - from the continuing divisions in Whitehall about the entire retreat from empire.

Some of the more venomously counter-revolutionary sections of the secret service, the police, the military, the judiciary, the foreign office, and the home office are still dreaming of the final great anti-communist showdown which will rid the world of the national-liberation and bolshevik menace once and for all.

The reactionary elements around MI6 & MI5 and the Special Branch (which organised the phony 'Ulster Workers Council' strike in 1973 which sabotaged Heath's Sunningdale devolutionary plans so that the imperialist establishment could continue its Gestapo police-state experiments on the occupied zone (of torture barracks, concentration camps, midnight blitz-terror raids on housing estates, no-jury hearsay 'courts', 'supergrass' perjury & bribery systems, death-squad assassinations, other methods of judicial killings, -etc), - are still hard at work sabotaging the Stalker inquiry into the shoot-on-sight methods, lobbying successfully against any reprieve for the framed Birmingham Six and Guildford Four, and generally manipulating British capitalist press propaganda to

prepare for possible war hysteria against the Irish Republic as well as for a renewed onslaught against the nationalist population in the occupied zone.

The less fascist-minded 'compromisers' in Whitehall are almost just as worried that the spectacle of yet another long-running bloody & costly counter-revolutionary campaign in the colonies ending in negotiated settlement with the anathematised 'terrorist enemy' (as was finally conceded in Kenya Aden, Cyprus, etc) might prove to be the last straw for dying British imperialism's weakened back, - especially capitulating so close to home, and to the Irish of all people, after 700 years of contemptuous humiliation of them. (All of which considerations illustrate what a powerful position Gerry Adams has been placed in by the circumstances of British colonialism's final demise, - (see below). The crisis shows signs of moving towards "How little will Adams settle for?" for its resolution).

Does Whitehall (and Thatcher) dare capitulate to Gerry Adams after all the racist aggression that has been said & done against the 'men of violence'? But does it dare not to capitulate in view of the desperate mess its Treaty 'solution' is in; the impossibility of breaking the nationalist proletariat from supporting the IRA and becoming increasingly bolshevised in the process; and the panic-ridden bad reaction in the rest of the slump-haunted 'free West' (losing the fight against the world socialist revolution) to the propaganda nightmare of brutally repressive colonial war daily on world TV screens from the 'Mother of Parliaments' democracy?

The fascist reactionaries in Whitehall slaver over prospects of wider warmongering on the international fronts of inter-imperialist trade-war (and conflicts over resources, markets, and political influence like the Falkland gunboat dipl-

step forward as the prize-gathering 'heroes' of the reunification provisions, but they already feel almost naked and justifiably vulnerable under the spotlight's glare. Their cowardly acceptance of the infamous gerrymandered 'Northern Ireland' border ripped out of the Republic at the point of Black & Tan bayonets, (acceptance in practice whatever hostility in words their snivelling 'constitution' pretended),--has left these Green Tory mercenary opportunists incapable of adequately defending the Irish Republic's legitimate national aspirations (from British domineering arrogance & brutality) after generations of fat bourgeois office-seeking and profiteering.

After just a handful of major incidents under the Treaty's new 'joint authority' provisions, the Dublin political circus has only richly confirmed the contempt in which it was rightly held since 1921 (by Ireland's real revolutionaries) by its pathetic reluctance to stand up to British bullying. But what makes this exposure of bourgeois spinelessness more dangerous than ever for the Green Tories is that it now augments the contempt in which the Dail circus was already held by the disillusioned masses in the 26-county Republic itself at the chronic failures of so-called 'independence' since 1921 to make any impression at all on the general economic & social malaise of Western capitalism.

There are precarious economic problems in the South, and massive unemployment, as well as a rapidly maturing militant labour movement which is one of the most threatening in the entire Common Market. It is Washington's longer-term fear of what impact the unresolved revolutionary national-liberation struggle in the occupied zone might eventually have on the insoluble economic difficulties of the South (under the worldwide imp-

erialist slump) that has persuaded Congress to press Britain to find a way of ending the running sore of military occupation and the hated Partition once & for all.

These fears worry Dublin even more, but from a slightly different angle of being directly scared about their own miserable survival politically. They fear revolution in the South, but they fear almost as much having to see the genuine Sinn Fein republicans being lionised as the real heroes of Ireland's long-awaited reunification.

There could be circumstances in which Sinn Fein don't choose to play a minor role as despised 'revolutionary socialist' opposition in a reunified Ireland but instead insist on their right as nationalists to a prominent & public participation in the reunification arrangements for government. This is presumably the kernel of what is being discussed with the SDLP and relayed to Gauleiter King.

Sinn Fein's interesting political record of basic nationalist ideology verging towards Leninist clarity on broader anti-imperialist tactics as well as a growing interest in Leninist revolutionary socialist philosophy as well,--makes the precise outcome hard to predict,--(assuming that these tentative feelers towards such an astonishing reunification deal involving Sinn Fein do go ahead, and are not spiked by imperialist reaction for one reason or another).

It would be a colossal and properly claimed victory for the national-liberation struggle even if Sinn Fein settles for just a phony 'democratic' structure (concealing continued international monopoly-capitalist domination) under the 'reunification' flag. The ending of Partition and the infamous British colony after prolonged armed national-liberation struggle would, after all, be correctly seen as one of the great revolutionary

triumphs of all time. Nor would such a halfway-house deal (which still left Ireland firmly in the imperialist market-economy camp) in any way prevent Sinn Fein from honourably pursuing its revolutionary socialist interests subsequently in any form it chose,--the national-liberation formal element of its struggle having been triumphantly completed.

But the glaring incompleteness of Sinn Fein's adherence to Leninism, however, must place the odds very highly on Adams & Co entering into a full-scale 'democratic' capitalist arrangement after reunification,--if such a deal is ever in fact offered them.

All of which, as pointed out above, puts Adams in an amazingly influential position if all of this works out as indicated. And it is this consideration which must be giving London & Dublin, in particular, nightmares.

Sinn Fein & the IRA will not be fooled or intimidated by the belated fascist-aggression Rambo burst by the reactionary British imperialist circles. They have been through all those sinister threats and savagery before. Nor will Adams & Co easily be conned or flattered into underplaying their own achievements once it is clear that London is desperate for a deal. They have an astute understanding of the mechanics and political difficulties of dynastic colonialism.

But Sinn Fein is almost certainly still insufficiently Leninist to hold on firmly to a completely revolutionary perspective of letting the occupied-zone cancer degenerate all the way into total collapse by the capitalist authorities, and the revolutionary seizure of power for building a workers state by Sinn Fein's bolshevised mass movement.

But if a deal does emerge from these dramatic latest shifts in the negotiations, it will be fascinating to see exactly what sort of deal, and to try to

gauge how long a 'reunified' Ireland can stagger on under capitalist crisis before its once-more unfulfilled national aspirations crash into the glaring need for the socialist revolution to finally make possible the building of a flourishing Ireland to complete the age-old dreams of all its people. Build Leninism. Spread the ILWP Bulletin.

69. May 4, 1988
(Bulletin 442)

The Thatcher-backed reactionary frenzy against TV's exposure of the SAS murders of Irish nationalists in Gibraltar is a clear warning of things to come.

So far advanced is the general warmongering crisis of capitalism that already on such occasions, the issue for the most rabid imperialist circles is not reason, logic, or the details, but the simple screech of "Whose side are you on --Ours or the enemy's?"

The frustrating difficulty for the right wing in this instance is that the British capitalist state has already been waging all-out war against the IRA for the past 20 years,--so the mindless fascist response of "Now let's get really tough" raises far more awkward questions & problems than it solves.

But such maddening impotence in this particular case will only underline the general ruling-class trend towards increasingly frank Nazi aggressiveness in both form and content over the entire political spectrum.

The longstanding Whitehall plans (see ILWP Books vol 8) for an eventual 'solution' to the Irish national-liberation struggle by finally agreeing to (under strong US & EEC pressure) a snail's pace reunification of Ireland under the Anglo-Irish Treaty provisions (or an extension of them) may still survive this bilious jingoist outburst from the Thatcherite circles.

But the poison of Ramboism would only be made more rampant, not

made more rampant, not

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tamed, by such an enforced climb-down as Ireland's reunification...

The TV censorship didn't work this time, -that is all that can be said.

But the racist & inflammatory imperialist hypocrisy poured forth unchecked out of 90% of the British printed press and other national media.

Howe's Goebbels-size humbug about "not interfering with inquest-jury impartiality" when the entire capitalist media monopolies have non-stop been justifying & praising the SAS murderers, and rubbishing the unarmed Sinn Fein nationalists (as well as the 'Spanish whore' witnesses to their cold-blooded assassination), -went completely unchallenged by the whole of British 'democracy' and

British nazi terror- 70.May 18, 1988 ists massacre Irish (Bulletin 444) in Belfast bar

This headline was absent from reports in the 'free' press (the BBC/ITV/Fleet Street lie machine) about the latest colonial outrage against Ireland.

The remnants of the English & Scottish colonists imposed by British imperialism on Ireland (in the 17th century and subsequently) to pacify it, -only get called 'British' when capitalist propaganda wished to stress the "kith & kin" relations argument which pretends that Ireland cannot be reunited until the "majority population" wish it, -"and

not just the tame 'free' press.

The Gibraltar killings were the work of a fascist death-squad, and their accomplices (both before & after the fact) are the entire British Establishment.

As valuable a windfall as it was, the "Death on the Rock" whistle-blowing was still a very timid and very feeble peep against a swamp-tide of fascist-jingoist warmongering filth which in recent years has begun flooding out of every Fleet Street & broadcasting sewer without exception.

Whether the Anglo-Irish Treaty's proposed retreat over Ireland's reunification also faces drowning in this surge of reactionary British nationalism is, as stated, still not clear....

they choose" to remain "British", etc.

And the fraud of this further deception, created by the artificial partition of Ireland in 1921 to deliberately manufacture a 'British' majority inside the gerrymandered borders of six counties ripped out of Ulster's nine counties at the point of Black & Tan bayonets, -cannot of course "be gone in to now" as the TV question-time always puts it, because it would expose imperialist humbug even more plainly.

So the hoax of 'Northern Ireland', -inven-

ted so as to accommodate this bogus 'British majority' stunt, -continues to be used to perpetuate the 1921 partition crime against Ireland; and the real majority over the whole island, which voted 80% for Sinn Fein's independence programme in the Irish general elections after World War I (easily dwarfing the 'loyalist' union-with-Britain manifesto presented & fought for by the Orange colonists), -continues to be ignored.

But when it comes to the armed struggle for national liberation (now 700 years old), the Republicans are clearly termed "Irish terrorists" or more likely "Irish animals". Yet when the fascist colonists renew their pogroms to try to cow total independence aspirations once again, their "Britishness" is suddenly forgotten. This phony "majority" who allegedly "wish to remain British" are suddenly merely a "loyalist" majority of "Northern Ireland", -so that mainland philistinism can then go back to sleep muttering "what could anyone do with these Irish who are always killing each other over religion", etc.

But the colonial-nazi backlash, -despite the truly mindless terrorist outrage at the weekend when Union Jack lovers sprayed a bar full of people with bullets just for being Irish, -is only a feeble echo of the vicious Carson rebellion by the British imperialist establishment in 1912 which

used fascist-putsch ta-Sinn Fein any victory, ctics to halt the Liberal Government's Home Rule for Ireland Bill. The Orange capitalist mafia is now split into endless lumpen-nazi factions, -their "united Empire" spirit now crushed and hopelessly out of date due to the real terminal crisis of British imperialism's worldwide position compared to 1912.

The Unionist politicians and the 'Unionist community' are similarly now just a sick anachronism with no future, -their domineering role already a thing of the past, rapidly fading from memory, and use, and no longer with any agreed fighting spirit on anything.

The British imperialist officer caste, which mightily backed the mutiny in 1912 against Home Rule, is as reactionary as ever, but with little sense of imperial power any more (with the exception of one or two Gestapo-minded MI5 officers, and the odd deranged police chief or two).

And the Tory Party grandees, who were behind Carson's illegal blackmail-revolt to the hilt in 1912, are still just as contemptuous of any real democracy, but with the Empire almost gone have lost much of that feeling of "a divine right to rule" which so inspired past British imperialist intransigence and bloody aggression.

Molyneux's grubby little plea to Haughey for talks to soften the blow to Orange pride of the Anglo-Irish Treaty provisions (for a Dublin say in the affairs of the occupied north of Ireland), -is much more symbolic now of the dwindling colonialist ascendancy than are the stray madmen assassins of the Avenue Bar, Milltown Cemetery, Andersonstown Road, or Gibraltar massacres, or attempted massacres.

The reality of the Unionist collapse, plus the degenerate mindlessness of renewed nazi terror by some pockets of demented British colonials, -will together potentially turn the hypocritical Treaty into real moves for Ireland's reunification, -despite the mealy-mouthed attempt to deny

or any say in the new arrangements their struggle has forced onto the West's maintenance of capitalism in Ireland. (See ILWP Books vol 8).

If Washington and the EEC manipulate Western public opinion into demanding that the British imperialist forces really go after the Orange-colonial fascist terror gangs, -then the final vestiges of the "privileged community" prestige around Unionism could disintegrate completely, - leaving behind nothing but a sour wish to emigrate from some prejudiced die-hards, bitter endless squabbling among others, and a general resigned acceptance that Ireland should at last be reunited, and independent.

The UVF thuggery, - which has needed bolstering from National Front fascists in Britain in recent months to put on any kind of show of force in the occupied zone, - could be wiped out in weeks by the kind of sustained total military-police-intelligence-propaganda campaign mounted against the IRA over the last 20 years by virtually the entire might of the British imperialist state.

And the pressures for this to happen could be enormous from the USA in a presidential election year with 40 millions claiming Irish-American descent.

If the West is not dragged into generalised war earlier than expected (inter-imperialist World War III) by its insoluble economic crisis (of competing capital 'surpluses') which would immediately transform all shortterm perspectives, -then the Sinn Fein/IRA national liberation triumph is still on course to achieve full (if totally begrudged) independence for Ireland (under reunification), -via the Anglo-Irish Treaty which the movement's political & military victories imposed on Western sensitivity to brutal British imperialism.

And the wretched British nazi terrorists at the Avenue Bar are a fitting degenerate symbol of that defeat.



The truly fascist terror of imperialist pogroms (against anyone Irish) are never labeled "British" when they happen. But when Ireland's national-liberation movement fights back, they are immediately termed "Irish terrorists", or "Irish animals", etc.

How can we corner the IRA?