

ONLY HE IS A MARXIST who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the touchstone on which the real understanding and recognition of Marxism is to be tested.
V.I. Lenin

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E-MAIL: contact@epsr.org.uk

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More clues from the dog not barking

[*LWP Bulletin* No 450 29-06-88]

Pieces continue to fit together revealing British imperialism's plans to finally quit its colonial enclave in the occupied north of Ireland, - driven out by the unbeatable national-liberation struggle (climaxed by Sinn Féin's Bolshevisation of the Irish proletariat inside the colony), - and to try to hand over a snail's pace reunification under Dublin rule.

The crass military misjudgment by the IRA in planting a bomb in a school bus with apparently a tilt-mechanism detonator (which not too surprisingly failed to go off with just its UDR driver-target on board but did explode once the bus was loaded with British and Irish schoolchildren)

again showed up the limits of philosophical, political and cultural emancipation of the bourgeois-nationalist ideology (as compared to the historically-proven all-round transformation of liberation struggle when led by the dialectical-materialist revolutionary theory of Leninist proletarian-dictatorship organisation).

But it was a far more remarkable event for the indirect evidence it provided that a deal is in the offing for a new constitutional conference for the whole island of Ireland in which Sinn Féin will be invited to play a major role (representing the indomitable liberation struggle in the north, and representing Irish sentiments

far further afield, particularly in the Republic and in the huge North American Irish-descent population).

Some key sections of the British capitalist state media deliberately held back from this prize opportunity handed them by IRA clumsiness to crucify once again the "evil men of violence", etc, in the usual one-sided way in which the casualties of the national-liberation war are exaggerated when caused by guerrilla action, but completely whitewashed or covered up when the result of SAS death squads, indiscriminate RUC baton-rounds, or systematic army night-raid terror or torture barracks treatment, etc.

But remarkably, this time, some of the coverage was almost self-consciously **fair** to the IRA, carefully pointing out that the target the UDR-regiment

driver (representing Britain's police-military dictatorship), and that the IRA itself intended to hold an inquiry to reprimand those responsible for such an ill-judged attack, plus well-recorded apologies (for the casualties to innocent by-standers) expressed by Sinn Féin and the IRA.

Channel Four's *News at Seven* even added a postscript to its hour-long nightly bulletin that its coverage of the Fermanagh border incident should have made it clearer that the target of the IRA attack was the UDR bus driver, and not the children inside the bus.

All of this smacked of deliberate Whitehall news management.

Why? Because the deal is coming up in which Sinn Féin will be accepted as having earned a legitimate role in the devolution-reunification convolutions which will fundamentally end up with Ireland at last getting its full independence from British imperialism, - just as the national-liberation struggle has been demanding and fighting for, - ending at last the British colonial enclave in the gerrymandered portions of six of Ulster's nine counties which were ripped out of Ireland

by Black & Tan bayonets in the shameful Partition in 1921, (– denying that earlier heroic national-liberation struggle the full fruits of its outstanding guerrilla war victory over British imperialism.)

Whitehall 'get-out-of-empire' circles still have a bitter fight on their hands against the colonial-reactionary/political police circles who insist that appalling consequences for capitalism will follow if Britain is seen to be "giving in to the men of violence", etc.

Hence the ruling group's wish to deliberately NOT inflame public opinion against the Sinn Féin national liberation groupings on this occasion.

Another interesting sign of clearing up difficulties with Dublin Green Tories for their

important role in pretending to be reclaiming full Irish independence under the proposed new deal (but in reality staying very close to the West's counter-revolutionary general interests, – in particular, fear of the Leninist-leaning of part of Sinn Féin; and determined to help London head it off by doing this new snail's pace reunification deal) – was Hermon's half-strangled announcement that he would probably step down from running the RUC next year, – 5 years before compulsory retirement. Today, the background to this strange announcement was revealed, – the decision by the police committee in the zone **NOT** to prosecute Hermon over the death-squad SAS/killings investigated by Stalker.

J.H.

British colonial community in occupied Ireland kicking the bucket

[*ILWP Bulletin* No 451 06-07-88]

British imperialism's furtive scuttle out of Ireland is gathering pace. Although complex and contradictory, some aspects of it are almost turning into a rout or a stampede.

The proposed abandonment of age-old UK government subsidies to the Harland and Wolff shipbuilding giant in Belfast represents a massive blow not just at the entrenched Orange-colonial employment sectarianism which has kept the Irish proletariat as second-class citizens trapped inside the British enclave - discriminated against for jobs in favour of the Rule Britannia bully boys of colonial-fascist so-called 'Prot-estantism'.

But even more is it a conclusive undermining, once and for all, of the greatest symbol of imperialism in the occupied zone of Ireland.

Harland and Wolff has always typified the superior industrial and military might of the United Kingdom against the small-nation republican nationalism of Irish independence struggle.

All the time that London was prepared to keep on paying the bills for the hugely costly workshop of British imperial and commercial power, then the symbolic implication was that little Ireland would never be in a position to really challenge Britain's military dominance or its overpowering economic might and influence.

Those days have been relentlessly disappearing in reality for the past 80 years. Now the few remaining symbols of imperial power are tottering too. For

Harland and Wolff read Britain's colonial enclave in Ulster, and vice versa.

A contradictory impression to the reality of British imperialism's capitulation to the unbeatable strength of Ireland's national-liberation struggle, led by Sinn Féin and the IRA, may appear to be given by London's vicious intransigent determination to protect its SAS death-squad assassins at all costs from being found guilty of cold-blooded murder of three unarmed Irish republicans on the streets of Gibraltar by the Mickey Mouse local inquest (which has declared in advance it will refuse to allow any attempted implication of the British unformed killers in any criminal liability).

But as *ILWP Books* (vol 8 & 15 – *Ireland*) has explained, part of the international Western deal imposed on Westminster for at last getting out of Ireland is that the propaganda war against the "men of violence" should be continued on into whatever new reunified or devolved constitutional arrangements are made for Ireland (after an expansion of the Anglo-Irish Treaty provisions for handing sovereignty for the whole of the island at last back to Dublin).

London fears terrible revolutionary repercussions, - in Ireland and in Britain itself eventually, - if it is seen to be in any way "giving in to the men of violence" (i.e. capitulating to revolutionary struggle), - especially the subversive MI5 counter-revolutionary wing of the Whitehall establishment, backed by some die-hard colo-

nial sections of the Tory Party.

So the implacable murderous supremacy of the 'rule of law' must be made to stand out supreme even as the political framework is being transformed solely as a result of that unbeatable national-liberation **struggle**.

There is also a firm wish to see the boasted-of 'excellence' in secret-police counter-revolutionary ('anti-terrorist') regimes in the occupied zone being maintained "for the benefit of the anti-communist struggle" for the whole of Ireland, whatever the political colouring of its final devolved or reunified constitutionality (probably a mixture of both).

Although the SAS will probably not have any official jurisdiction inside any new all-island Ireland, its methods and experience are very much embodied in the RUC which it is hoped will be continued as the leading force of 'law and order'. It is the whole history of 'counter-insurgency operations' which monopoly-capitalist interests wish to see preserved in reputation in Gibraltar, not just the individual assassins. But this aspect of preserving the RUC's reputation is going very badly. The whitewash of Hermon's death-squad role (see last *Bulletin*) while 20 junior officers are to face 'obstruction of justice' disciplinary investigation stinks to high heaven, And worst of all the scorned Orange colonial hardman Paisley is vengefully stirring the stench as hard as he can, - demanding Thatcher and Hermon go on trial if trial there has to be, - not their loyal underlings.

As the *ILWP* has explained, diehard Orange 'loyalism' was

British retreat hides behind Irish Shorts sell-off*

[*ILWP Bulletin* No 455 04-08-88] [*See note in No 458 p4]

Tom King's off hand 'free market' justifications for the enormously significant Shorts Brothers sell-off in the occupied zone of Northern Ireland further confirm the *ILWP's* analysis that Thatcher is being forced towards pulling out of Britain's oldest colony (*ILWP Books*, Vol 8 & 15 *Ireland*).

American and other Western "democracies" embarrassment (and nervousness) at the continued exposure in Ulster of the essentially brutal nature of all imperialist rule has been pressuring the British government for some time now to get the messy shoot-to-kill policies and their cover-ups, the no-jury Diplock courts, H-block

always going to be a poisonous relic for British imperialism to divest itself of. The armed UDI Carson campaign failed miserably (and predictably - see *ILWP Books* vol 8 & 15 – *Ireland*), but Paisley's powerful propaganda slander remains nearly abandoned now by the whole ex-colonial community (apart from handfuls of National-Front-type thugs), and so ready to do nothing but kick the bucket of slops over as the vicious imperialist dream of a gerrymandered 'British Ireland' fades for ever.

Hermon is already being quietly eased out, - to avoid his prosecution, and appease the Dublin demands that justice in the Occupied Zone must at least 'be seen' to be cleared up - a little before respectable reunification can - take place (which still leaves the capitalist establishment intact in Ireland, north and south).

But Paisley's savaging could badly easily taint the whole RUC yet.

And there are added dangers from the victimised 20 officers, or from Paisley-type vengeance, of spilling even more of the mouldy rotten past of Britain's police-military dictatorship in Ireland.

Simultaneously, news is now freely admitted of the steady exodus on one-way tickets of much youth (especially from the old disillusioned supremacist colonial community) out of the Occupied Zone for ever.

The 'British Ulster' farce, viciously born by Black and Tan bayonets in 1921 ripping gerrymandered parts of this province out of the newly-won independence for the Republic of Ireland, — is dying a death.

Good riddance. Gerry Mole

concentration camps, anti-Irish discrimination, etc, etc, - right in the middle of the 'free West' - off the agenda as quickly as possible: before the message makes too many lessons for all workers still living under capitalism, as they increasingly suffer the same fascist dictatorship imposed by the exploding imperialist slump.

Hot on the heels of the Harland & Wolff privatisation plans, the Shorts sell-off completes the British state's end to its promised 'commitment in perpetuity' to Orange fascism: not only because they are the two major employers of the proxy British in Ulster, but more significantly because

the two industries themselves, representing the epitome of imperialist warmongering dominance, have been propped up by massive state subsidies for years on end despite phenomenal financial losses. The purely political decision to call a halt to these subsidies now is displayed by the purely political decision previously to maintain them: Tory policies of free market self-sufficiency 'such as the Short brothers lived by' are nothing more than a thinly veiled convenient excuse for the British state's U-turn.

Those free market self-sufficiency sections of the British bourgeoisie which currently with the upper hand, are pushing through the withdrawal process, see that this time they can go all the way (unlike in 1921, when the Tory Lord Carson and other diehards whipped up the rebellion that resulted in the false partition of the country) by the pathetic resigned response from the Orangemen, with even the hysterical fire-and-brimstone Peter Robinson only mumbling about 'adequate compensation' for the abandoned workforce.

The tricky bit for the British state is not deflated Orange resistance, nor even protestations and obstruction from the entrenched right wing among themselves (the likes of Ian Gow, BBC establishment reactionaries, etc), but how to try and stitch up a deal including all and any political groupings to dilute Sinn Féin's role.

British politicians know better than anyone that the armed struggle, supported by the increasingly bolshevised masses, led by Sinn Féin/IRA, is what has beaten them and broken the will of the degenerate Orange diehards. And it is precisely the strength and success of that national liberation struggle that has forced Irish American support to be so outspoken against its 'special ally' Britain - brilliantly displayed this week by the arch reactionary New York mayor Ed Koch's forced retraction of a statement that British troops were keeping the peace on the streets of Belfast.

It is because of this over-riding need to keep Ireland under the control of pro-Nato, pro-Western alliance, capitalist lap-dogs like the Dublin greens, that the British government is still (seemingly contradictorily) stitching up Sinn Féin as much as possible. The reluctant permission for SAS men to appear at the whitewash 'inquiry' in Gibraltar (providing the outcome is tolerably acceptable to the British government), and

the continued insistence of the extradition deal with Dublin, confirms only that Sinn Féin is to be marginalised and denied the fruits of its victory against British imperialism.

The British also have to balance Sinn Féin/IRA's significant support base, which could give their chosen stooge representatives trouble if they were too contemptuously dismissed: hence the talks between the SDLP and Sinn Féin (backed by SDLP/Tom King discussions which in effect means communication between London and the lately reviled 'men of violence').

Consequently the normal hysterical cries of 'terrorism' against the Irish side of the war from the stooge British media have been toned down lately to attack method rather than motivation (a wholly hypocritical stance since it is British aggression that forces the Irish to self defence, and is responsible for all violence in the province). And this is even after the unfortunate series of mishaps acknowledged recently by the IRA (swimming pool bomb, Hanna family deaths, etc (although IRA success in penetrating such a heavily patrolled stretch of road must not be forgotten).) Significantly, press comments following the latest attack on a North London barracks concentrated on criticism of lax army security rather than the IRA.

As this general intention of the British state to pull out is increasingly confirmed by its every move (notwithstanding any future twists that may occur as the anarchic demise of dying capitalism forces the ruling class to adapt its needs and tactics to unpredictable lurches), the obtuse petty bourgeois RCP is still trotting out its old worn phrases, now looking distinctly out of date to say the least.

Omitting any mention of the pullout implications of the Anglo-Irish accord, the related imperialist industry sell-off, the toning down of British media reporting on Ireland etc, etc, the special all-Irish issue of TNS adopts a tone of berating the British working class for not minding enough about the occupation of the gerrymandered six counties, emptily repeating that the Irish question is crucial for British workers but without saying why or how such solidarity can be achieved.

These petty bourgeois pessimists talk of the 'permanent' absorption of Northern Ireland into the British state, a situation which is strengthening and stabilising despite the heroic struggle of the republicans (RCP opportunism doesn't miss the

opportunity to gain 'left cred' by jumping on the bandwagon behind someone else's hard-fought real struggle, even if it contradicts its own petty bourgeois politics) largely because the British working class is not showing enough support.

Betraying their natural craven capitulation to imperialist aggression, they see the cornered dog fascism of the ruling class as a sign of strength rather than its real weakness.

Britain was forced out of its long-standing Irish colony in 1921 by the armed national liberation struggle and only gerrymandered the artificial 'Northern Ireland' zone to prolong its occupation. Contrary to the RCP's admiring talk of clever bourgeois talents for adapting to circumstance and strengthening their hold, they have done so only by the skin of their teeth and are now being forced out by the renewed strength of the armed national liberation struggle again - this time for good.

The viciousness of its continued campaign of attempted annihilation against Republicans shows its weakness in retreat, and the shallow pretence of Hillsborough cementing London/Orange relations fools the RCP easily.

Their middle class pessimism makes them easy dupes for bourgeois bullying and their disappointment that reality has failed to fit neatly into their idealistic dreams leaves them blaming the English working class for failing to give the Irish solidarity without even explaining why they should.

As Marx and Engels explained in detail, no working class can itself be free while it still supports oppression by its 'own' ruling class of a smaller nation.

Insistent 'pull yourselves together' style demands from the RCP will never explain this contradiction, nor inspire revolutionary action in support of Sinn Féin among the English

working class.

Only scientific class analysis of developments by Leninist leadership (both woefully absent from the middle class RCP pessimists) can ever achieve this. (In any case, the Irish revolution can only truly be won by the Irish themselves, and ultimately could not be prevented from reaching a successful conclusion by anything the British workers may or may not do.)

The entire left swamp in Britain - of which the RCP is an integral part, despite its nit-picking 'differences' with other elements - exposes its own pessimistic petty bourgeois subservience to imperialism with its endless lamenting over the establishment 'move to the right'. Along with the most perfidious Labour Party, - most craven and most unsubtle of all the so-called opposition to the increasingly open dictatorship of capital under the Tories - the left swamp exposes its bottom-line faith in imperialism and its fear of fighting it, in its insistence that imperialism is now strong.

Imperialism has never been weaker, tottering from one crisis to another in its terminal economic slump, cranking up the arms race, inter-capitalist rivalries, warmongering, etc, etc. Its difficulties in Ireland spring directly from the imperialist crisis, hitting the Ulster economy, as one of the weakest links in the weak British chain, especially hard.

The armed national liberation struggle of Sinn Féin/IRA is forcing its way to victory. Desperate British imperialism will have to find a weaker adversary for its ever more brittle aggressive domineering.

But it is nearing the end of the road. The balance of class forces across the planet is tipping irreversibly in favour of the working class. Leninism is the only future for humanity.

Evelyn Lowe

Irish liberation triumphs as Ulster fascism is once more shown the gate

[*ILWP Bulletin* No 456 10-08-88]

Thatcher's rejection of a second round of internment to meet the IRA's massive show of strength shows that British withdrawal is now closer than ever.

The London government's cold water for the sustained fascist clamour for the reintroduction of concentration camp imprisonment for 300-400 leading Irish nationalist revolutionaries is another crushing blow to the pro-colonial ultra-right

circles of Whitehall and the secret police/military forces.

If for all the Thatcherites' fearful reactionary hatred of the Irish armed struggle the present ruling group cannot be deflected from its course to a speeded-up version of the Anglo-Irish agreement, leading to the ending of Partition, then preparations for the constitutional settlement must be very far advanced.

This told in Thatcher's instant



No capitalist press outcry when fascist killers gun down Irishmen - only when IRA wages its struggle against British imperialism

“no” in interviews in Australia when fascist press reporting of the IRA’s wave of military actions was digging out every Orange cop and hardliner it could find to scream for internment.

The response is likely to have been well rehearsed. The British imperialist state knows from long experience that the IRA are determined fighters for Irish freedom, who will not stop their armed struggle until the British occupation of Ireland is driven out.

Intelligence advice would be bound to warn Thatcher that IRA attacks on crown forces and collaborators could yield a string of successes, and a frenzy of demands for draconian counter-measures.

Hence for all Thatcher’s vicious hypocrisy in Australia about the IRA “men of violence who use the bullet because they fear the ballot” (when it was the British ruling class who have occupied Ireland for 400 years of non-stop violence and oppression, and they who forced an armed liberation struggle on the Irish by tearing up the all-Ireland vote of 1921 which was won overwhelmingly for a united Ireland) the rejection of internment (and the near-liberal sounding niceties by Thatcher rebutting the outlawing of the Sinn Féin political wing of the Republican movement by distinguishing it from the armed wing) told the real story – that the ruling group is still set on the course to a constitutional settlement, and doors must be left open for Sinn Féin.

Clearly, the British bourgeoisie might **contemplate** the

reintroduction of internment, taking in a sprinkling of Orange fascist killers as well as leading Republicans.

But it knows that such a move, though compatible with its class interest in driving home the ‘rule of law’ against ‘terrorism’ (its ‘right’ to suspend all ‘democratic’ practices for the sake of counter-revolution) would destroy all its plans for a speedy enforced retreat from its ‘Ulster’ colony.

The reintroduction of internment at this stage of Sinn Féin and the IRA’s burgeoning popularity in the nationalist community could only result in a more ferocious repeat of the blistering response given by the northern Irish republican masses to the earlier fascist clampdown.

That turned the 1971 internment move into a fiasco for the colonial occupiers, with massively increased support for the Irish armed struggle.

Instead, the British bourgeoisie’s dominant “get us off the Ireland hook” wing sees only all the factors which convinced it on a retreat in the first place.

The Irish republican armed struggle has never been so capable and confident. The republican masses have never been so bolshevised and supportive of the fight for freedom. The forces of Orange reaction have never been so cowed and shaken.

Tough talking by the RUC thug cops could never be enough to keep this embarrassing civil war off the world’s TV screens.

The British ruling class also knows that its economy is shot – with only balance of payments

crises and financial panic to add to its overall rotten collapse since the heyday of empire.

The massive Noraid visit to Ireland by a 40-strong delegation of Irish-Americans this week also just emphasises that the US political interest in seeing an end to the British occupation of northern Ireland will not go away either.

The mauling Thatcher took in Australia from pro-IRA demonstrators should also serve as a reminder that Britain risks creating no-go areas for its government ministers if it does not quickly end its colonial tyranny over Ireland.

Similarly, the pro-IRA London demonstration was rubbing in the lesson that the public opinion stink around the police-military dictatorship in the occupied zone can only get worse.

(BBC News coverage of the march was sickly slanted, describing the mob of National Front fascists who attacked the left-wing demonstrators with missiles as “English nationalists making a protest”. This should further convince proletarian-minded British workers that their interests lie with the break from support for the colonial occupation of Ireland.

The fascist card of the British bourgeoisie is the only cause helped by going along with such whipped-up anti-Irish jingoism.)

Dublin’s calculated snubs to the London government over the extradition of Irish revolutionaries this week also shows Dublin’s Green Tories know they would be destroyed politically if they supported any internment measures in the occupied zone.

British colonialism tottering

[ILWP Bulletin No 458 24-08-88]

London’s tricky policy of trying to finally get out of Ireland in order to hand responsibility to a Green Tory/Protestant Colonial coalition but without appearing to have capitulated to the armed Irish national-liberation struggle, – is being badly shaken by the sheer ferocity of the Sinn Féin/IRA resistance to the continued British police-military dictatorship in the Occupied Zone.

Opponents of the ‘End of Empire’ faction in Whitehall either insist that the ‘terrorist gunmen’ will never be tamed if the British Army does not remain and ‘reimpose firm order’; or else that the very stability of the British capitalist system itself will be fatally damaged if the ‘men of violence’ are remotely perceived to have ‘got away with it’ in the winding up of the Irish colonial ‘province’.

The latest rubbish in the capitalist press about a ‘Protestant backlash’ after the wave of IRA actions – inflating wildly the sick fascist slaughter of two Catholics in a random sectarian attack into a general loyalist fightback – is not likely to fool London either.

No wonder the ruling Tory group has been as dismissive of the calls for internment as it has been for reprieves from state sell-off for the major ‘loyalist’ industries Harland and Wolff and Short Brothers – instead only adding the Ulster Electricity Board to the hit list.

Channel 4 News last week was at last perceptive enough to note that the sell-offs “could mark the beginning of Britain’s economic withdrawal from Ulster”.

And the penny should drop with sullen Orange colonial “trade unionists” showing only total gloom and doom at announcements about “Ulster having to face the same market forces as elsewhere in the UK” from the robotic Tory industry minister. The whole point about Britain’s guarantee to Orange privilege and power in the province has been based around giving the ‘Protestant’ workforce a share in oppressing the nationalist ‘Catholic’ minority.

Now the TV broadcasts are also more clued in to the ruling Thatcherites’ desire to let the fascist internment clamour blow over. News coverage is now more careful to show that internment was a disaster in 1971 and could only be a failure a second time around.

Chris Barratt

But at the same time, factions of the British establishment which accept the pressures of Washington, NATO, the UN, and the Common Market that the time has come to end British imperialism’s remaining colonial toe-hold on its former Irish possession (because of the appalling image it gives of the real meaning of NATO ‘freedom’ to see nightly on TV the bitterest national-liberation war imaginable being forced to be waged by the Irish against the supposed ‘mother’ of Western democracy, – the British parliamentary government), – are arguing that the snail’s pace pull-out (under the Anglo-Irish Agreement) must be handled better to avoid Britain looking bad and suffering grievously anyway.

The catastrophic weakness of both these “do something”

schools of thought is their continued arrogant assumption that the despised “Republican criminals” could easily be “defeated” if only the “correct tactics” or the “right amount of determination” was shown, etc.

But this is the exact **incorrigible** colonial attitude which landed British imperialism with this final humiliating ‘End of Empire’ mess in the first place (based on the British bourgeoisie’s own lying propaganda which has always presented the ‘Micks’ (like all native colonial subjects) as dull-witted, lazy, and hopeless.)

True to form, the decadent imperialist establishment is yet again failing to call a halt to yet another colonial disaster **long after** the writing was clearly on the wall for yet another retreat from empire.

The worst aspect of the Irish question, – Britain’s oldest and most endlessly rebellious colony, – is that the British bourgeoisie pretend that Britain is not in an imperialist relationship to the Occupied Zone at all.

The fiction still persists that so-called “Northern Ireland” or “Ulster” (to use the two phony titles regrettably repeated by oversight in an otherwise excellent article in *Bulletin* 456 and in need of correction) – are in fact “part of Britain”, and that the so-called “Irish” who “wish to remain British” in the Occupied Zone are **anything but** the remnants of British colonialism, (little different from the British colonists who were left to rule Rhodesia by London and had to be defeated by the Zimbabweans; or from the whites who claim to be the real “South Africans” and wish to exclude the blacks from any say over most of their own country.)

The BBC once again this week organised an entire ‘phone-in’ so-called ‘discussion’ of the issue without allowing-on even one voice to explain this fundamental factual base of Britain’s colonial relationship to Ireland, --without which understanding all other talk remains circuitous nonsense.)

Even the ‘End of Empire’ faction (which basically accepts that the direct-rule game is finally up) still nevertheless chooses to pretend that the bogus “British Irish” have to be consulted, and reached agreement with, all the lengthy way to the final snail’s pace shadowy ‘reunification’ proposals hinted at in the Anglo-Irish Treaty.

The reality, of course, is that Ireland is at last to be reunited and become wholly independent of British imperialist control for the first time in over 700 years.

But paranoid fear of allowing any remotest sign of “victory” to be claimed by the IRA/Sinn Féin requires that the British imperialist retreat be presented as **anything but** that.

The most bilious of the die-hard colonial community in the Occupied Zone, of course, understand full well that they are at last being sold out by London – (Paisley & Co); – and the damaging effect on that community of becoming virtually orphaned or abandoned, (– especially at the climax of such vociferous demented clamouring by them that they will ‘never surrender’ and that they will never bow the knee to Rome’, etc, etc, in all the mindless gibberish of colonial fascism and racism,) – is already one of the major political phenomena of the emerging constitutional rearrangement.

But still the London-led conspiracy to deny or ignore this reality goes on, and much of the pressure which should be being put on the ‘Loyalist’ community to speed up the transfer arrangements towards Ireland’s reunification is not being put on, resulting in more long and painful delays in apparently making any progress whatever towards a ‘solution’ to the ‘Irish troubles’.

The decrepit British imperialist establishment is in this way to some extent repeating its cowardly treacherous failure to do anything about the last-ditch stand by the Smithites in Rhodesia which inflicted such appalling bloodshed unnecessarily on the people of Zimbabwe.

If London had grasped the nettle firmly from the start (as well as grasping the logic of its own retreat from colonialism in Rhodesia), Zimbabwe could have been spared 14 long years of needless suffering and destruction.

The same is happening now (in totally different circumstances) in Ireland.

By its paralysed refusal to confront the fascist-minded die-hard colonialists in the Occupied Zone who refuse to do anything but totally obstruct the painstaking snails-pace efforts to organise an ‘unnoticed’ and humiliation-free withdrawal at last by British imperialism from all control over Ireland or any part of it, the London establishment is condemning Ireland to years more bloodshed and suffering than would otherwise be necessary.

The remarkable phenomenon of the rapid cultural and political (and economic) collapse of the “British-Irish” no-surrender colonial spirit (with one or two Paisleyite exceptions in isolated

backward pockets of resistance), means that if the ruling British police-military dictatorship was to turn its full force against threatened Paisleyite Unilateral-Declaration-of-Independence(UDI) violence and sectarian killings in an open acceptance that Irish nationalism had triumphed and that Ireland was finally to be reunited and independent at last, then the entire ‘emergency’ could be wrapped up in a matter of weeks, once and for all.

As it is, true to its despicable historical blinkered form, the British imperialist establishment will continue using its force mainly against the Irish national-liberation movement (to which it is in effect eventually going to concede absolute victory, (– and will be seen in historical hindsight to have ultimately done so.))

The Sinn Féin IRA struggle of today is only exactly the **same** national-liberation struggle of 1916 to 1921 which liberated 26 of Ireland’s 32 counties **in the first place** only denied total independence by the criminal and vicious racist nonsense of creating (by Black and Tan bayonets) the artificial fiction of “British Northern Ireland” by ripping parts out of six of Ulster’s nine counties and by gerrymandering a completely fictional ‘border’ to create an apartheid zone in reverse (decades before the South African fascists tried it for themselves.)

Every time the words “Northern Ireland” and “Ulster” are used, they perpetuate the most infamous colonial-imperialist fiction of all time, – the hanging-on to a zone of Ireland by British reaction to frustrate Irish independence for ever, and to perpetuate Britain’s former strategic-imperialist domineering perspectives.

Most farcically and damagingly of all is that the Sinn Féin/IRA national-liberation struggle itself continues to allow these historically confusing phrases to be regularly repeated in its propaganda, – lacking the Marxist-Leninist clarity and determination to insist on a strictly historically-materialist scientific analysis of the tortured and insoluble **class** relations muddying the national question at the twilight of British imperialism’s connection with its Irish colony.

Sinn Féin are 100% correct to stress that no progressive role can be expected of the so-called ‘protestant working class’ in the Occupied Zone until the problem of British imperialism has finally been solved.

But they are lax not to further

explain that this ‘protestant working class’, so-called, can only be first and foremost seen as the **lumpen-colonial stooges** of British colonialism who play a reactionary class role **inside British politics** as well as their die-hard role behind Orange bourgeois fascism, – and will continue to do so for as long as British capitalism’s imperialist illusions (and corruption of its working class by imperial profits) remain to be overthrown in London itself, – **regardless** of what crafty new constitutional arrangements are set up with the Green Tories in Dublin (for keeping Ireland out of the hands of socialist revolution for a while longer yet).

Defeat of the London establishment in revolutionary war is properly the task of the British masses themselves, Sinn Féin will point out. But it is less than the whole scientific Marxist-Leninist truth for Sinn Féin’s propaganda of the defeat of British imperialist troops occupying Ireland’s colonial zone to step short of a full explanation of the entire class and national position of the ‘protestant working class’ in the Occupied Zone.

There is much pernicious muddle-headed Trotskyite influence which only helps set up an entirely reformist-nationalist ‘solution’ (i.e. the maintenance of capitalism and the links with the West and the required anti-communist prejudices of the ‘left’ anti-Leninist swamp in the British Labour movement) by pretending that the ‘protestant working-class’ (so-called) can be ‘won over’ to join the anti-imperialist ‘revolutionary’ struggle if Sinn Féin/IRA would only cease being so ‘nationalist-sectarian’, etc.

Sinn Féin’s own anti-Trotskyist propaganda is either weak or non-existent, and this weakness opens the door for possible confusion of the national-liberation-struggle-ranks at times such as the present British-Irish talks initiatives around the Treaty with the dangled carrot of some ‘devolved’ deal or other **which would be used to disintegrate Sinn Féin’s revolutionary socialist tendencies.**

Subsequently as individuals, as many “British-Irish” as want to become fully Irishmen (in a reunited and independent Ireland) will be fully welcome to do so.

But as a historic **class**-national phenomenon **at present**, it will only create potential confusion to label the so-called ‘protestant working-class’ as anything other than the lumpen colonial worker-stooges of the British imperialist occupy-

ing ruling class, (– the Orange fascist bourgeoisie and their British army protectors.)

The different British establishment factions upset at the humiliation of British imperialism (by the IRA/Sinn Féin national-liberation struggle, once again, in recent events), – are so far removed from such a revolutionary understanding of how the final dismantling of Britain's remaining colonial toehold on Ireland should be completed that they are considering renewed internment – (locking up in concentration camps without trial) – **against the Irish population** in the Occupied Zone (the so-called 'catholics' to use another deliberately and totally historically misleading & confusing term).

But some of the die-hard faction doubt that the rest of the 'free' West will tolerate the reintroduction of such blatantly fascist-colonial methods of repression. And some of the End of Empire faction sense that if the longterm perspectives are now for finally reuniting Ireland under a Dublin government, then such a provocative and **destructive** political uncompromising attack on Irish nationalism is a measure going precisely **in the wrong historical direction**, (– even if it has no qualms for these non-democrats as a useful short-term military measure for merely trying-to reduce the current campaign of successful guerrilla-war actions against the police-military dictatorship.)

Thatcher's limited fascist-nationalist brain seems doomed to a nazi knee-jerk reaction to the IRA's military humiliations of the British occupying forces, – throwing up all the patient progress of the Treaty snail's pace retreat from Empire to in-

dulge the bourgeoisie's jingoistic small-minded paranoia.

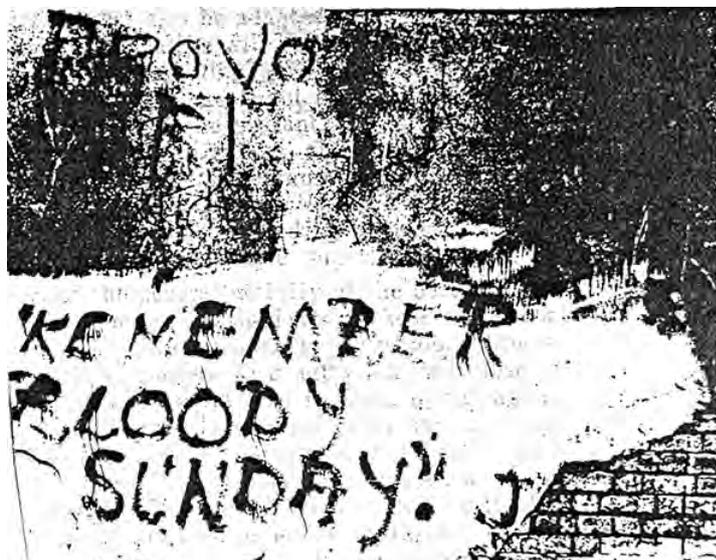
But wiser counsels might yet prevail, and the anti-democratic vengeance measures might be limited to ending the bourgeois-legal 'right to silence', etc.

But no amount of confusion can hide the historic fact that the forces of national-liberation struggle (closely allied to the forces of socialist revolution) are once again proving superior to the forces of imperialist-colonialism.

It is a tragedy that the socialist camp does not see clearly and cheer on loudly both the opposition triumphs in the blow to US imperialism in Pakistan (see lead) and the blows to British imperialism in Occupied Ireland; and a different tragedy that Sinn Féin still publishes confusion which deplores economic difficulties and political retreats causing 'redundancies to 'loyalist' and 'protestant' workers at Shorts or Harland and Wolff's instead of victoriously welcoming the incurable world-market crisis of British (and other) imperialism which is the real basis at last for Ireland's finally-approaching opportunity for reunification and full independence, based on the ultimate collapse of British imperialism and its far-flung colonial ethic and enclaves.

But history works to Marxist-Leninist scientific principles (which have to be correctly interpreted and made conscious by revolutionary movements), – not in accordance with anti-Leninist muddle.

The national-liberation triumph will go on, in Ireland and elsewhere, and the world socialist revolution and proletarian dictatorship will not be far behind. Build Leninism. Spread the ILWP Bulletin. Douglas Bell



or 'punish' acts of a widespread rebellion is a hallmark of Western imperialist barbarism.

In Vietnam, such death squads were virtually the only 'policy' towards revolt by the US and French imperialist gauleiters.

German imperialism systematically mass-murdered resistance 'suspects' during WWII.

The dying fortunes of British imperialism were dragged even deeper into the fascist gutter by the first revealed aspects of the government's response to the IRA's intensified national-liberation struggle.

The cold-blooded murder of unarmed Republican guerrillas in Gibraltar has been followed by yesterday's cynical killing of three prominent local Irish nationalists in 'revenge' for the IRA bombing an army bus the previous weekend in Tyrone, near Omagh.

It remains to be seen if these executions without trial are the only British establishment measures in answer to the growing war of liberation by the Irish population in the Occupied Zone.

(The fate of the proposed constitution-accommodation with Ireland's reunification under an extension of the Anglo-Irish Treaty provisions is not yet clear. Rightwing reaction is pressing for it to be revoked).

If Britain's reply is limited to these nazi killings, then imperialism is in even worse crisis than any could imagine.

Such paranoid depravity would indicate an important Western ruling class nearly at the end of its tether and only terrified of being overthrown by armed revolution itself.

Merely lashing out in jingoistic vengeful retaliation against the nationalist movement is hopeless strategy, in itself.

The whole point of the modern Sinn Féin/IRA campaign, – following 700 years of relent-

less Irish national liberation struggle, – is that the guerrilla war will **never** cease until British imperialism, finally hands back its colonial possession to a restored united Republican Ireland.

SAS death squads will only further revolutionise the Irish nationalist struggle, – and win even wider international sympathy for their unification cause.

"Certain measures will become apparent in due course" slimed the Tory gauleiter King. But what further political steps are planned?

It is still not ruled out that London, in fact, is going to speed up the reunification discussions with Dublin, the SDLP, and through them with Sinn Féin, – under pressure of the intensified IRA campaign; – and impatience from Washington and the EEC for this embarrassing national-liberation war to be solved politically and got quickly off the streets of the 'Mother-of-Parliaments'-leading-Western-'democracy', – and off the world's TV screens, – as soon as possible.

The Orange-fascist colonial degenerates expressed exactly these fears last night in questioning whether the shoot-on-sight massacre of the three nationalists was a real change of policy towards the revolt, or just a token murderous gesture to quieten the Orange-fascist blood-lust, and to humour London's depraved army killers who feel humiliated by the IRA's successes.

Some die-hard MI5 Gestapo circles would rather British imperialism made a final stand over Ireland than accept this final humiliation, – especially at the hands of the 'men of violence', fearing this will set a bad precedent for the civil-war struggles to come inside Britain itself.

But the logic of this means a full-scale military blitzkrieg

Tory nazi death squads strike again

[ILWP Bulletin No 459 31-08-88]

Three Republican 'suspects' were butchered yesterday by the colonial forces occupying Ireland.

"It will be fine if there are more such killings" local colonist MP Reverend (!) William McCrea declared openly. "But useless if only a one-off isolated gesture and not a new direction in military policy".

"A welcome pre-emptive strike" said the colonist MPs "security" spokesman Ken Maginnis, "but pity we haven't had more of this before".

The Orangemen don't just want 'suspected' nationalist guerrillas shot on sight without trial, however. They also demand the internment concentration camps be brought

back so that the whole 'suspect' Republican population can once again be put behind barbed wire, 'guilty' of anything or not.

Thatcher's fascist inclinations tell her to go in the same nazi direction, and the SAS death-squad killings, ordered from London, reflect this.

But there must still be doubt that the entire policy of snail's pace withdrawal from Ireland, by British imperialism (to allow re-unification under enormous pressure from public opinion in the EEC and North America, Australia, etc), will be scrapped in an uproar of Thatcherite jingoist rage.

Slaughtering selected local inhabitants in cold blood to 'deter'

against the nationalist areas of the Occupied Zone (and against Republican border areas beyond) in order to 'defeat' Sinn Féin/IRA; and this would surely spread to armed conflict with Dublin itself, and a monstrous escalation of the 'bad press' Britain is already getting from 40 million North Americans who claim Irish descent not to mention millions more in Australia and elsewhere round the world.

West's Gestapo thugs put to flight

[*ILWP Bulletin* No 461 14-09-88]

The CIA and MI5 fascist ghouls got more than they bargained for in trying to muscle the Cuban Embassy official.

Their defectors' snatch squad, advised by an anti-communist traitor, had to be driven off at gun point.

The filthy work of continuing the West's 30-year subversion, blackmail, boycott, and sabotage campaign to disrupt the brilliant socialist reconstruction on revolutionary Cuba knows no bounds.

From the fullscale Bay of Pigs invasion by CIA mercenaries to the more than half-dozen assassination attempts against Fidel Castro, the imperialist aim is to create such instability so as to move in and destroy everything the Cuban people have built - the land reform, the impressive industrialisation, the complete literacy and advanced higher education, the astonishing health and social advances which enable tiny Cuba to thrash the USA in many sporting events from athletics to boxing, from gymnastics to even baseball, etc.

Germ warfare (dengue fever, and others) has been slyly and murderously inflicted on Cuba by US imperialist agents, and appalling damage has been deliberately inflicted on Cuban agriculture through swine fever, sugar cane diseases, tobacco blight, and others.

And now the small-minded nazi scum at MI5 have joined in a new dirty stunt to create a wretched provocation against Cuban diplomats in London.

The British secret police Gestapo have been demonstrating their depravity in detail at the Gibraltar inquest.

They are 'heroic' when massacring unarmed Irish republicans from point blank range without warning.

Wisely, the Cuban diplomat took no chances when these degenerate thugs tried to muscle him in Bayswater.

The British establishment's scalded indignation and ludi-

The best guess still remains for a snail's pace reunification through the Treaty, but with continued insistence on more shows and gestures that Britain is "not giving in to the gunmen". In other words, more unsatisfactory mess all round.

It cannot last long. The national-liberation struggle is winning. British colonialism will have to give up completely in Ireland, or go to all-out war. Douglas Bell

crous, hurt aggression (in damaging Cuban-British relations by ordering their ambassador out) - springs from ruling imperialism's sick, insecure need to assert its "right to be a law unto itself" at all costs.

The same degenerate fascist philosophy lies behind the cynical charade in the Gibraltar inquest room where British colonialism's prejudiced 'court' is hearing the SAS death squad assert, - from behind the safety of curtains, - how they had the 'right' to butcher the Irish nationalists in cold blood because 'they thought' the three were probably armed, had made movements, had looked at them, might have been ready to press a detonator button, etc, etc, etc, etc, - all plainly artificially manufactured justifications for the conscious cold-blooded slaughter of three unarmed Irish nationalists.

It will be clear to anyone with the intelligence of a dead slug that the premeditated purpose of the British Gestapo which sent in the SAS unit was instant butchery whatever was discovered about the nationalist guerrillas' activities there.

The depraved purpose of this Rambo exercise is attempted fascist intimidation of the Irish national-liberation struggle (for independence at last for all Ireland from British colonialism).

In the County Tyrone massacre of three other Republicans recently (in revenge for the bombing of the army bus near Omagh), the British gestapo death squads went even one better.

There, the evidence points to the supposed "IRA armed service unit activity" (in the course of which the three "known Republican sympathisers" were apparently "caught in the act") - having been an entire fiction theatrically recreated by the secret services forces around the dead bodies of the three Republicans who had been kidnapped and murdered in cold blood earlier.

It will be interesting to hear what proof is presented in court (if the killings ever reach an inquest hearing, which is not at all certain under the police-military dictatorship in the Occupied Zone of Ireland) that the 'masked men' who ludicrously and openly hi-jacked not just one but two local cars near an area of intense secret-service surveillance (following the bus bombing) were really the three suspect Republicans (who had only just been let out of police custody and would have known they would be being closely watched, - especially 'claimed, local commanders' of the IRA) - or three secret service agents pretending to be the Republican trio as part of the elaborate cover-up for the cold-blooded revenge murders.

But the Gibraltar savagery leaves no room for any doubt. The British gestapo had not the slightest wish to "enforce the standards of law and order, and prevent a crime from being

committed, so as to stop the 'men of violence' from disrupting civilised democratic life". The gestapo intention was to have a killing ground, - as brutal and intimidatory as it could possibly be made, - to boost British imperialism's 'honour', and to assert that the capitalist state establishment is the boss, - and can do, and will do, whatever it likes (to reimpose its position of dominance).

Echoes of this nazi-fascist gibberish are to be found in the hysterical reaction to the Cuban diplomat defending himself against secret service thugs, - expelling the Cuban ambassador, risking a break in diplomatic relations, and piling on the Rambo humbug in press and television in the "who gives a damn about the filthy-commie Cubans" style so delicately captured by the mindless vermin at the Sun. It is the 'profound' policy of a decrepit bourgeois ruling class which has no historical future. Douglas Bell

Sick farce in Gibraltar as imperialism flounders

[*ILWP Bulletin* No 462 21-09-88]

The giant fraud of Western 'free world' propaganda, - pretending to be horrified by any political 'violence', - has never been shown to be such sordid hypocrisy as currently.

The decrepit medieval Roman Catholic freemasonry plumbed new depths with the Vatican's ill-judged and chaotically-organised foray into southern Africa as the guest of (in part) the Apartheid gangsters and their stooges.

Having found no difficulty in hobnobbing with the Pretoria fascist dictators, the Pope drew rave reviews from the kaffir-bashers for urging the repressed black millions to 'protest peacefully' - in other words, to put up with being incarcerated, tortured, and massacred ad infinitum.

The reactionary Polish spiritual inspiration of Solidarnosc counter-revolutionaries (many of whom have emigrated to South Africa as a living demonstration that anti-communism is essentially inseparable from pro-nazism) then had his Popemobile-convoy carefully steered a couple of hundred yards out of sight of the ongoing pilgrims-bus siege outside the British Embassy in the capital of Lesotho so that he could turn a blind eye to the official carnage about to be inflicted on the desperate hijackers.

But only minutes later at his disastrously-attended 'mass'

rally and while the barrels were still cooling of the South African dictatorship's nazi thugs who shot to death a 14-year-old girl and a 74-year-old man on pilgrimage to see the Holy Pontiff, as well as butchering the four desperate Lesotho guerrilla fighters, - the Solidarnosc Pope had the cynical loathsome humbug to tell his befuddled audience, - permanent victims of the same fascist stooge regime, - that whatever their desire for justice, they must renounce 'violence' in the search for it.

The sudden intense Western 'concern' over 'violence' in Burma is equally sinister. Barbarous regional civil wars have been inflicted on this poor country for decades by Western drug interests with never a word of 'free world' worry about the countless victims of these life-sapping conflicts preventing Burma from much real progress, and with no interest in the rights or wrongs of the different struggles.

All at once, the imperialist powers are devoting considerable attention to a peculiar 'opposition' movement led by bourgeois with immaculate Oxford or Harvard accents who are vaguely supported by half-hearted bands of 'protesters' demonstrating for "multi-party democracy"!

Such weird classless demands reek of either an ousted capitalist hierarchy trying deceitfully

to get its hands back on supreme power again, or, – even more likely, – of bribed CIA ‘demonstrators’ (of the kind which in their tens of thousands provided a cover for US imperialism to ‘overthrow’ the nationalist Mossadeq government in Iran in 1952) spearheading some new Western military intrigues for the region and needing to oust the ‘non-aligned’ regime of the past 25 years in Burma.

Compared to the lurid playing up of ‘violence’ reports against the regime in Burma, the ‘free world’ media has virtually ignored the **unmistakable** fascist brutality being inflicted yet again on impoverished Haiti by pro-Western stooges. The reason? Because the CIA has assured the West that it has its own ‘safe’ agents among the nazi thugs currently squabbling for supreme military and financial-corruption power in Haiti.

The phony Gibraltar ‘inquest’ is useful for showing up the ‘free world’ lies in slow motion.

In ponderous fake detail, one half of the Death Squad’s ‘evidence’ insists repeatedly at great length that ‘at all costs’, the stalking soldiers and police had to make certain that their intended prey had to be patiently followed and then ruthlessly ‘hit’ just at the right moment and with overwhelming firepower so that the victims could not possibly move so much as an eyelash towards “the button” which “would have” detonated a “massive bomb explosion” which “would have” caused “horrifying casualties” to the innocent citizens of Gibraltar, etc.

And yet in more than 3½ hours of this ghoulish tracking of the three Irish nationalists around the small town of Gibraltar before they were suddenly brutally executed on its streets without warning, – not the slightest precaution was taken to stop the public ambling past the ‘bomb’ car on the town-centre square. No one even bothered indicating the ‘bomb’ vehicle in any way, – despite the fact that the **entire** police and army state **authorities** were in full mobilisation to control this ‘emergency’.

This massive surveillance recorded Sean Savage parking the white Renault with the ‘suspect’ aerial in the central square before 1 p.m. The trio were not massacred until just before 4 p.m., having spent all that time walking round Gibraltar.

It was only at 4.15 pm that the ‘bomb’ square **began** to be cleared and closed off to the public (as the MI5 cover-up story

to ‘justify’ the cold-blooded killing began to be theatrically put into operation.)

When cross-examination queried the bizarre make-believe ‘certainty’ with which Death Squad witnesses swore they “had to prevent” their quarry from “reaching the button” to blow up half Gibraltar (when it turned out in reality that there was no “button” at all, and not even any bomb – the overall head of the Death Squad, – the MI5 Gestapo chief ‘O’, – admitted that the intelligence briefing (he had commanded the operation with) was **totally** in error on the only three basic matters it had to assess: Whether there was a bomb; whether there was a remote-control detonator; and whether the nationalists were armed; – (an unlikely catalogue of Keystone Cops incompetence even for British imperialist intelligence).

But this week in the ‘court’, the Gibraltar police boss Colombo(!) acting as a key part of the Death Squad command under MI5 control, was asked: “Are you saying that for the sake of gathering evidence you were prepared to take the risk that there was a bomb ticking away?” (when challenged as to why no arrests were made for three hours from the ‘bomb’ car-parking to the pavement slaughter just before 4 pm.)

To which Colombo replied: “No there was no risk. We were not certain that there was a bomb”.!!!!!!!

This disgusting cover-up charade being played out by British imperialism at the Gibraltar ‘inquest’ has now piled up almost too many idiotic deceptions and grotesque inconsistencies to list them all.

Even the servile bourgeois press has felt obliged to ask the very pertinent question: Why (following all the Death Squad’s alleged hysterical concern that not the slightest motion be made by the trio towards their “bomb button”) was not an immediate search made of their still twitching bodies to seize triumphant control of this “fearful detonator”? On all their own detailed and corroborated evidence, the entire Death Squad **immediately fled the scene** as soon as the bodies hit the ground, – asking the police to drive them away from the crime as quickly as possible.

Further questions pile up inexorably. With such a sensitive “button job” separating Gibraltar from a “major bombing disaster” by just the twitch of a single finger, – was not sending the Irish nationalist trio crashing to the ground just as dan-

gerous for causing an indirect body-detonation as grabbing the victims by the arms was alleged to have been (when they were being passed “within inches” by surveillance during the three hours hike round Gibraltar’s crowded streets?)

And not the slightest concern was taken of these unsearched bodies when they were quickly bundled into vehicles (illegally) along with all the spent cartridges (illegally) as well as the trigger-pullers (illegally) to immediately clear up the scene of the crime (illegally) the moment the massacre was over. No further interest at all was shown in the deadly “button” so fiendishly concealed on any part of any of the three butchered bodies, allegedly. Why? And especially as the central square did not even **begin** to be cleared until some 20 minutes later due to the pretended “continuing bomb scare”.

Add to all this the lies about what warnings were given to the slaughtered trio; why they were not arrested at the border crossing into Gibraltar; why they were not arrested in Spain (where they were also under constant surveillance) before there was even the remotest possibility of any non-existent ‘bombs’ being placed; why the Death Squad surveillance were instructed not to keep notes of the trio’s movements to make it easier to manipulate the subsequent (lying cover-up), etc, etc; – and the unmistakable picture emerges of a frenzied official killing, – deliberately engineered and covered up by the British imperialist authorities, – a ‘judicial’ execution.

What are imperialism’s intentions in all this carnage, skulduggery, and deception?

The ruling bourgeoisie’s paranoid fears of being seen to be “giving in to violence” is one clear thread in this sick pattern. The world monopolies are terrified that if ever ‘violent’ struggle against injustice is seen to be a good thing, or successful, then the flood gates will open to communist revolution by the proletarian masses everywhere.

At the same time, it is vital for the brutal judicial violence of the capitalist state authorities to be accepted as ‘fully justified’ in all circumstances no matter how dubious, almost as a matter of ‘principle’! If the state chooses to pretend that it ‘thought’ it was justified to shoot-to-kill for the ‘benefit of the rest of us’ in the ‘belief’ that some ‘dastardly bombing’ was about to take place by some ‘armed killers’ (even if it turns out that there was no bomb at all and that

the only ‘killers’ were the state forces themselves, shooting down unarmed Irish nationalists,) – then that state pretence is a ‘good thing’ because it still embodies the continuity and symbol of ‘law and order’.(!)

But this counter-revolutionary ‘free world’ philosophy of fascist violence is running into damaging difficulties. On the one hand, the revolutionary socialist and national-liberation struggles all round the world are generally steadily getting the better of imperialist reaction, whether militarily or politically. And this is as true of Ireland as it is of the Philippines, El Salvador, Sahara Republic, Namibia, Sudan, South Africa, etc.

And on the other hand, the extent to which fascist propaganda temporarily gets away with its domineering rule in the most favoured Western imperialist countries or in their most brutalised dictatorship stooge-states, – is also an indication of the price capitalism is paying for survival in terms of its collapsing ‘democratic’ credibility, – always non-existent to Leninist science, but inevitably more rapidly becoming so to **ever-wider** sections of workers as the vicious and cretinous things imperialism is doing to survive become more widely known or understood.

Fascist dictatorship and censorship is a good trick for dealing with the ‘opposition’ if it can be got away with. But it is at an incredibly high price if it fails; and at the cost of a permanent loss of credibility worldwide the more that imperialism historically has to resort to fascist methods in order to survive crises big and small.

The Goebbelsian silencing of Gerry Adams from putting the views of Sinn Féin (the ‘legitimate’ party he won a seat for in the Westminster Parliament constituency of West Belfast) on *After Dark*, the Channel Four late-night talking shop, was a prize example of this paralysed imperialist inability to stop shooting itself in the foot. Like it or not, pressure is growing on all sides for the case in favour of Ireland’s reunification to be increasingly heard out (an unanswerable case, historically) and not cut off before a word is uttered.

Sinn Féin’s political triumph with the Irish proletariat in the Occupied Zone of Ireland, plus the IRA’s unbeatable resistance to British imperialism’s police-military dictatorship, – have made this inevitable.

There has long been an international clamour for an end to the depraved injustice of the

artificial 'partition' of Ireland (imposed by Black and Tan bayonets in 1921 to frustrate the complete independence that the Irish national-liberation struggle had then won, - politically (with more than 75% voting for Sinn Féin all over Ireland including the British colonial-dominated north east) and militarily (with the IRA fighting the Black & Tans and British regular army to a standstill).

The fraud of partition cut out gerrymandered sections from six of Ulster's nine counties to establish the wholly bogus 'country' of 'Northern Ireland' as a vicious repository of every last drop of British colonial nastiness that could be salvaged from one of imperialism's oldest, nearest, and most brutalised outposts. In a notional referendum of the **whole** of Ireland (the last general election result prior to Partition), - this criminal decree separating off six of Ireland's 32 counties to form a 'separate state' was supported by less than 18% of the voters of Ireland but their tiny minority-wishes were the ones which prevailed because they suited British imperialism's monstrous "divide and rule" legacy to spite the Irish and keep a military-strategic toehold over Britain's 'back door', - regardless of the endless new prolonged suffering this would cause to Ireland and to Irish nationalism's legitimate aspirations.

Now doubts are growing inside Britain itself among the more civilised sections of the class-conscious population about whether this continued British-imperialist imposition and interference against Ireland's full independence is any longer remotely justifiable. The fascist-colonialist Rambo spirit of "hang onto what is Britain's" may still prevail in the deliberately-encouraged artificial atmosphere of the "beleaguered British troops doing a noble task thanklessly", etc, - but only among the more depraved British nationalists, - and not for long if the colonial domina-

tion continues to look so inept, so battered, and so aimless, - an impression that all the Ramboesque revenge killings in the world will not wipe out while the national-liberation struggle continues to look so powerfully both politically and militarily.

To transform this damaging background of defeatedness and demoralisation affecting the colony, British imperialism would have to dramatically break out of the political straitjacket of negotiated restraint imposed on London by urgent instructions from Washington and the Common Market, - appalled at the nightly TV scenes of national-liberation war on the streets of the West's most prominent 'democracy', - to find a solution to the conflict quickly with the least bloodshed (although without being seen to be 'giving in to the men of violence').

But even greater fascist-military aggression against Irish nationalism than the present barbaric campaigns of the police-military dictatorship would require an all-out onslaught on Republicanism (and the Republic, inevitably) itself, - an enterprise almost impossible even in theory, - and appallingly difficult in practice.

And London has in fact just decided that it will not, after all, increase the number of troops colonising Ireland. "They would only get shot at" was the amazing leaked justification for this disappointment to all the crazed Rambo speculation that it was "time to get tough with the IRA", etc.

Nor will the new restrictions against IRA fund-raising have much effect either. The Irish national-liberation struggle is not a pathetic class-collaborating reformist trade union to supinely have its funds, sequestered by a ruling-class, bent court. It is a revolutionary movement, knowingly working to its own democratic laws defying imperialism's "rules", - the only way, in fact to finally effectively fight capitalism and its state system. Douglas Bell

al competitive system turning sour just at the same moment.

Suddenly the threat of murderous and uncontrollable trade-war has shattered the phony calm of mindless Tory opinion-poll complacency.

While there is still nothing to fear from the ludicrous pro-imperialist 'Opposition' in capitalism's bogus 'Parliament', the international cut-throat system itself looks like inflicting terrible punishment.

The world oil-market price is teetering on the edge of a further damaging plunge as far as British imperialism's high-cost North Sea oil revenues are concerned.

Simultaneously, the insoluble underlying competitive weakness of British bourgeois science, technology, and industrial organisation compared to Japan, West Germany and other skilled rivals or dominating giants like the USA, - has suddenly become painfully apparent again in the huge menacing balance-of-payments crisis.

In terms of education, training, enterprise, and infrastructure, the British capitalist economy is now already an impossible distance behind, say, West Germany, the dominant threat in Europe.

And the really competitive part of the imperialist trade cycle, - the long warmongering slump-depression, - has not yet even begun.

Curiously, the sudden obviousness of British imperialist paralysis and helplessness in the international economic conflict is echoed by growing suspicion that Downing Street is similarly policyless in other areas too, - not least of all over British imperialism's fiasco in Occupied Ireland.

The Goebbels level of lying hysteria and panic over the Gibraltar inquest by the monopoly-capitalist establishment reeks of a ruling class which doesn't know what to do and has suddenly been made embarrassingly aware of it.

The fascist chauvinism of TV/Fleet Street's ridiculously biased coverage of the courtroom evidence (plainly proving savage cold-blooded murder by the SAS followed by the clumsiest of cover-ups) will at this stage of capitalism's crisis still carry the day 'for Britain' with imperialist-corrupted workers.

But millions of more thoughtful people in Britain will either easily immediately spot the forensic guilt of Thatcher's Rambo death-squad, or else be just as alienated by the ineptness of the obvious cover-up, and by the strong-arm Goebbels propa-

ganda tactics against witnesses and evidence, etc, to cover-up the cover-up.

Most damaging of all for the Tories is the suspicion that this now huge investment in disinformation and bullying over the inquest is partly futile anyway since it is only protecting a policy **vacuum** in Downing Street over Occupied Ireland in any case, and not any vital new line there at all.

Since a major new military offensive is, not surprisingly, ruled out (since it would need such an assault on Republican areas as to virtually entail war with Dublin which would alienate North American opinion even more against Britain), - as are concentration camps (detention without trial), - and only a token attempt to catch out less security-conscious Sinn Féin fund raisers is 'new policy', - then the doubt occurs that the SAS vengeance squads, brutally massacring nationalists without trial in Tyrone, Gibraltar, and elsewhere, - are merely some sordid British imperialist face-saving to placate the more aggressive and frustrated military, MI5, and Orange-fascist circles, but leading nowhere other than allowing Thatcher to parrot mindlessly: "We are not letting violence triumph".

If all there is to Downing Street policy is such bankrupt shallowness, it will not survive for much longer. The pressures to get on with the Anglo-Irish Treaty reunification provisions, - or else to tear the Treaty up, - will be irresistible; - either war with Ireland (scarcely credible), or else a short sharp campaign to put down the remnants of Orange fascism. The amazing cheek of the BBC nazis in at last letting Gerry Adams speak on TV, - but merely to rescue the disastrous new Sunday current affairs programme from oblivion, - could be a pointer.

True to its imperialist-lackey form, the Labour Party picks now to leap in to the rescue of the embarrassed & paralysed ruling class with its 'new' policy statement which yet again ducks the only real challenge facing it: When will 'democracy' finally explain why it is 'impossible' to consider 'forcing' the Orange colonialists to accept Ireland's full independence (reunification), but it is right to **force** (by Black & Tan bayonets in 1921) the **majority** population of Ireland to accept partition, (-just as the Irish were forced to accept colonisation for 700 years before that); - and the legitimate Irish national-liberation tradition is still being **forced** to accept partition via the war against the

Curtained farce in Gibraltar can't mask Tory bankruptcy

[ILWP Bulletin No 463 28-09-88]

It is the capitalist system itself which is in crisis, - from the IMF/World Bank punch-ups in Berlin to the collapse of the Lebanon.

Thatcher's mess of trying to run British imperialism's end of the crash-and-slump-threatened market anarchy thus has far more to contend with

than just the Government's confused paralysis on so many catastrophic problems incurably undermining it.

On top of the difficulty of having no workable policy from Downing Street on so many issues, the monopoly-capitalist establishment faces the unnerving prospect of the internation-

IRA & Sinn Féin?

This degenerate humbug of 'parliamentary democracy' presiding policyless over an endless bloodbath in partition-ridden Ireland, is summed up in the disgusting farce of total Parliament silence at the astonishing brazenness of the 'court' decision to not prosecute for the murder of Aidan McAneaspie

"because in carrying a **heavy** machine-gun (the poor dears), a wet army finger (oh the terrible conditions) had **slipped** on a trigger (!!!)" -- and no less than three times!; the middle shot killing McAneaspie through the back! But total silence from all our 'democratic guardians'. The crash will speed their revolutionary overthrow. Douglas Bell

Ministry of Thought Control: announcement

[*ILWP Bulletin* No 466 19-10-88]

Do not listen to this man because the case for Ireland's national-liberation struggle is unanswerable.

Despite there already being continual censorship of television and radio programmes which try to interview Gerry Adams and other Sinn Féin spokesmen, the argument for the cause of Ireland's reunification, and for ending the British colonial partition imposed in 1921 at the point of Black & Tan bayonets, – keeps winning through.

Despite Goebbels-level controls keeping Adams off Channel 4 discussions, etc, while flooding the media with complete official fabrications to conceal the recent SAS massacres of unarmed nationalists in Gibraltar and Drumnakilly, etc., the justice of the Republicans' independence war is becoming ever more obvious.

The exposure of Britain's fascist-colonial methods, – especially by armed revolutionaries, – would jeopardise the entire



survival of Britain's monopoly-imperialist ruling class.

Even if Britain is forced to give up its colonial police-military dictatorship over part of Ireland eventually by world pressure, it would badly damage the international capitalist system if Sinn Féin's revolutionary politics was shown to have been correct all along.

The Irish national-liberation struggle is unbeatable, but decadent British imperialism would prefer not to broadcast the fact too widely in case it gives other people who hate the injustice of capitalist crisis too many revolutionary ideas.

Imperialist decay still confusing the Irish picture

[*ILWP Bulletin* No 470 16-11-88]

The Goebbels propaganda dictatorship being imposed by Thatcher (banning press freedom for Irish nationalists; prohibiting *Spycatcher*; outlawing trade-unionism from sensitive government establishments; spreading deliberate disinformation about the SAS death-squad killings in Gibraltar; refusing to allow normal rules of evidence at the Craigavon inquest; etc) is inevitably having the effect in some sectors of the population of to some extent encouraging a fascist response.

Local decisions banning speakers from Sinn Féin as a panic-stampede follow-on to the national censorship decision keeping them off television and radio are one degenerate feature of petty-bourgeois spinelessness eagerly capitulating to

Thatcher's nazi diktat. Even those middle-class who have slightly more stoutly feigned to defend the rights of 'democracy' from these fascist threats (such as some broadcasting journalists who offered a token strike against the prohibition of interviews with the Irish national-liberation movement) still all protect their cowardly backs by insisting that their wish to defy the ban on interrogating Sinn Féin supporters is "entirely in order to tackle the evil of terrorism even more effectively", etc.

Thatcher's big stick has stifled – as it was meant to – some of the additional questioning of British colonialism's disastrous role in Occupied Ireland which might have been expected to have arisen by now.

But to go through all the way

with this police-state intimidation of potentially growing opposition to the appalling mess British imperialism has inflicted on Ireland in defence of its last remaining colony, the Tory establishment would have to be ready to turn the conflict in Ireland into a serious colonial war of aggression by Britain, – inevitably going as far as punitive action against the Irish Republic itself.

If London burned all its boats and did this, then temporarily a Falklands war spirit could be whipped up to dragoon the largely petty-bourgeois 'public opinion' into applauding even greater monopoly-fascist control over 'press freedom' and even worse Goebbelsian propaganda brainwashing (such as was so successfully imposed to cover up the glaring cold-blooded murder of the three Irish nationalists in Gibraltar, and the clearly theatrically-staged 'shoot-out' which butchered three more Republicans more recently at Drumnakilly, – on that occasion completely **inventing** an 'armed mission' that the three were allegedly engaged upon (when in fact the three were lying low after the Ballygawley bus incident, and were dragged **captive** to the Omagh Road 'shoot-out' scene).)

Such a Third Reich tyranny of blitzkrieging mindlessness could be kept going for as long as British colonial aggression continued to be **successful**. Opponents of Thatcher's policies could easily find themselves interned (with the 'great democratic movement of ours', – i.e. the fatuous Labour Party and the Parliamentary system in general doing absolutely nothing about it, as now it is doing nothing effectively about the existing levels of Goebbels thought control in Britain.)

But is British imperialism really embarked towards such a catastrophic final act of criminal stupidity, which would not only bring disaster eventually down upon its own head (from the impossibility of defeating an Irish national liberation movement fought by the whole of Ireland and by the entire international 'Irish' nation (nearly 50 million strong in the USA, Canada, and Australia if British military-savagery really lashed out as hypothesised), and armed and funded by most of the rest of the world too), – but would also guarantee the enmity of every 'free' world country (let alone that of the socialist camp)?

Despite Thatcher's Gestapo tactics and despite the fascist response this has deliberately

encouraged among sections of petty-bourgeois opinion (for use at the appropriate time when the right imperialist war-mongering cause can be found), – all the signs still point to the opposite conclusion entirely. All the signs still point to plans for a British imperialist **withdrawal** at last from Occupied Ireland in order to finally allow (after 800 years colonising interference) full independence once again to a united Ireland, (a plan being imposed on London by Washington and the NATO-EEC powers to try to draw Ireland into the Western alliance fully, and to avert the possibility of the national-liberation struggle there ever developing into a full-scale communist revolution) (*ILWP Books* vol 8 & 15 Ireland).

King has again said that the Anglo-Irish Treaty giving Dublin a say in the affairs of the Occupied Zone is the only way forward, and he has now specifically castigated the Orange leaders of British colonialism for being out of touch with their own colonist mass support in the question of the British plantation at last being ready to call it a day on the myth of a 'British Ireland' (in the ripped-out bits of six of Ulster's nine counties which the savage Black and Tan colonial terror tried to legitimise as 'Northern Ireland' when the last great Irish national-liberation war won independence for 26 of Ireland's counties in 1921).

And now Western imperialism's stooge 'Irish nationalist' Seamus Mallon has in frustration at the slowness and muddle of the whole convoluted snail's-pace British withdrawal from Ireland (which will give petty-bourgeois opportunists like Mallon all the spoils, he hopes) staged his outburst as the rigged 'inquest' proceedings into the original 1982 death-squad killings of unarmed Irish nationalists. A class-collaborating reformist worm like Mallon would only pull such a stunt in the knowledge that Britain is getting out anyway and that his 'anti-imperialist stand' is backing a certain winner. What Mallon fears is that if London delays too long from kicking the Orange diehards into line, then the Sinn Féin/IRA national-liberation struggle will win even more powerful Bolshevik positions among the Irish proletarian masses, making any longterm future for pro-NATO reformist capitalism in Ireland seem even less likely (– or any other cosy stitch-up attempt between London, Dublin, the Church, and the SDLP (and Washington) to keep Adams &

Co firmly out of the picture of the new Ireland.)

But as the game is seen to be increasingly up for British colonialism in Ireland, more challenges will be made to the

Thatcher and Reagan are the real terrorists

[*ILWP Bulletin* No 472 30-11-88]

If Patrick Ryan **has** been helping the Irish national liberation struggle against the ludicrous Orange-fascist tyranny and colonial police-military dictatorship imposed on the Occupied Zone of Ireland by British mercenary Black and Tan bayonets in the artificial and criminal Partition of 1921, then good for him.

And if Yasser Arafat **was** really dedicated to the military-revolutionary fight to end the Western-imposed Zionist colonisation of Palestine and the attempted land-genocide of its people, then that would be a feather in his cap too.

The real issue in both cases is not the so-called 'terrorist offences' of these latest victims of imperialist bullying and bluster but the very real fascist terrorism being used by the 'free world leaders' to force obedience to London & Washington diktats.

The ruling monopoly-finance circles in the West are determined to maintain the Zionist military tyranny over the Near East as their best terror-weapon for trying to keep at bay proletarian revolutions among the Arab and other nationalist movements in the area, - deemed so 'crucial' to the West's 'strategic interests'.

Every day of the year, Zionist airborne military terror strikes sickening fear into the Palestine refugee camps evicted into the Lebanon. Thousands of Palestinian women and children have been ritually massacred in this way to daily demonstrate to the conquered Arab people 'the unbeatable strength of Western financial organisation and

entire end-of-empire fascist role of British imperialism beginning with the farcical outrage of the 1921 partition itself. Douglas Bell.

military technology'.

And when this has not sufficed to completely eliminate the Palestine national-liberation struggle, direct invasions have been unleashed into Arab lands by Western military might to inflict further devastating suffering.

In 1956, the imperialists from Britain, France, their Zionist stooges pulverised Nasser's Egypt, then the fight-back hope of the Arab national-liberation struggle, - wrecking Egypt's main revenue-earner the Suez Canal, and obliterating Egypt's armed forces. In 1967 and 1973, US intelligence and military technology helped the Zionists to inflict further crushing blows on Arab pride and power, annexing more Arab territory in the process. In 1982 the US fleet and US marine landings helped the Zionist thugs subdue the Lebanon when 'Christian' agents of the Jehovah-fearing colonists deliberately carried out the barbaric massacres in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. Not many months later, US regional military dominance allowed and enabled the Zionist hitmen to bomb Iraq's leading military technology into the dust. Then the US and British imperialists themselves undertook the terror-bombing of Libya after the brutal menace of the US naval blockade had failed to silence Gadafi's support for the Palestinian cause. Shortly after, Syria was directly threatened with similar treatment if it did not reduce its commitment to the Palestinian struggle.

But it is the Palestinians' national movement which is now denied the right to address

the UN because it is **they** who are allegedly guilty of 'terrorism' (because many PLO factions have naturally fought back against this endless imperialist tyranny.)

This clumsy provocation shows all the signs of the ultra-reactionary imperialist circles in the USA, whipped up by a blatant press stunt by the Zionist *New York Times*, hoping to pre-empt any 'liberal' international pressure on the incoming Bush administration to be 'more reasonable' towards Palestinian aspirations.

This CIA-Zionist outrage richly confirms the *Bulletin's* line that a scientific analysis of incurable fascist-military imperialist aggression was needed in the Middle East, not Arafat's disorienting 'collaboration' pleas, - and a **Leninist** revolutionary struggle as the only answer to this capitalist degeneracy.

The pity of the Ryan case is that the cowardly Green Tories in Dublin won't tell London that **British imperialist terror** (such as the murdering in cold blood and subsequent grotesque cover-up, of first the Gibraltar Three, and then the

local Republicans, butchered on the road at Drumnakilly in an entirely phony 'IRA operation' staged completely by the British police-military dictatorship), - is why Irish public opinion remains touchy on the question of extraditions to 'British justice', - not to mention the 1982 death-squad RUC killings, and the subsequent nazi police-state suppression of the Stalker inquiry, all of which has now come up again at the rigged Craigavon inquest.

The imperialist plan is to restore Irish unity via the Anglo-Irish Treaty but at the price of closer Dublin involvement with Western imperialism, and of ensuring at all costs that revolutionary 'violence' is never seen to be winning, or that Sinn Féin revolutionaries get nowhere near power.

Loathsome Irish opportunism would go along with all this, but Sinn Féin and the IRA just won't be beaten. And this makes such class-collaboration dangerous for the SDLP, Dublin Tories, Catholic hierarchy, etc. Thatcher's Goebbels-like 'anti-terrorist' hypocrisy is now near to apoplexy.

Gerry Mole

'Oppose terror my way or I'll thump you'

[*ILWP Bulletin* No 473 07-12-88]

Thatcher's tactics of self-righteous fascism are now paralysing the bourgeois-imperialist camp almost as damagingly as is the Irish national-liberation struggle.

Sinn Féin and the IRA have an unanswerable historical case on their side (as well as the entire modern anti-colonialist movement) in favour of immediately reversing the barbaric 1921 colonial partition and restoring unity to a whole and entirely independent Ireland under a majority Republican government of its own choosing.

The thinnest of thin 'arguments' allegedly 'justifying' Britain's brutal refusal to allow Ireland's reunification rests completely on the fraud that if the Irish in the Occupied Zone wish to agitate for ending the unnatural and murderous partition, then they should only do so 'democratically' as the bastard 'Northern Ireland' statelet's 'constitution' pretends to permit.

Calling Ryan 'guilty' without trial; banning Sinn Féin effectively; defending PTA barbarism; refusing full independent judicial inquiries into the silencing of Stalker; and other fascist bias of British 'justice', etc, questions

this anew.

That this 'constitutional' farce (of a ridiculously gerrymandered higgledy-piggledy border carving bits out of six of Ulster's nine counties just to give the British colonial settlers an artificial 'majority') has always been a criminal provocation to Ireland (as well as to all human fairness and reason) is problem enough.

That the Thatcherite wing of the British Establishment is now dementedly making even the 'democratic' charade in the Occupied Zone look ludicrous means problems escalating uncontrollably.

The 'resist-terrorism-at-all-costs' line was hard enough to hold in the Western world at large (when it was a case of Sinn Féin taking London at its word and adding its colossal ballot-box success to its already undoubtedly unbeatable guerrilla-war struggle, and in the process virtually Bolshevising the entire Irish population of the Occupied Zone through its brilliant 'local Soviets' work), - bearing in mind that the Irish nationalists are fighting for their liberty within their own country, against a renowned historical invader and imperial-



ist oppressor.

That 'no-to-violence' line has become increasingly difficult to hold (as a rallying point for 'Western opinion') as the brutal vicious reality of British colonial injustice and terror-methods have become more and more embarrassingly obvious to the 'free world'.

Now Thatcher's "refusal-to-countenance-violence" hypocrisy is close to self-parodying itself into complete collapse in the opinion of many bourgeois sectors (just as fearful of Sinn Féin's revolutionary leanings as is the Tory Government.)

As if all the existing scandals of bullying imperialist injustice **were not bad enough** (such as the RUC/SAS death squads; the nazi-style suppression of Stalker's exposure of them; the repeat of these Gestapo tactics in the cold-blooded Gibraltar murders of three Irish nationalists; the even more outrageous butchery of the staged 'shoot-out' at Drumnakilly when three Republican captives were slaughtered during a pretend 'IRA action'; the constant acquittal of British army murderers; the frame-up of the Birmingham Six, Guildford Four, McGuire family, etc,etc; the ceaseless midnight terror raids on nationalist homes; the no-jury courts; the concentration-camp internment and Gough torture-barracks routines; etc;

'Insult to Britain' hysteria at Thatcher's humiliation

[*ILWP Bulletin* No 474 14-12-88]

Dublin's refusal to extradite Patrick Ryan because of improper pre-judgement of his 'guilt' in the British capitalist press and parliament has mortified the London establishment.

The public disgrace of Britain's prime minister by a tiny foreign power for her clumsy stupidity has stirred the pompous fury of imperialist arrogance from Owen & Ashdown to Whitehall circles.

However personally despised the Tory leader is, reactionary British nationalism is now so touchy and demoralised by the past 50 years collapse of British imperialism that Thatcher's shame is being taken as an 'insult to Britain'.

The Ryan case is being turned like everything else into one of macho pride by the British Rambos, just as the cold-blooded murder of the Gibraltar Three Irish nationalists by the SAS death-squad, the Drumnakilly slaughter of three Republican captives in an army-staged mock 'IRA raid', and

etc) now the Thatcherites are demanding that all nationalist sympathisers are pronounced "guilty" even before they have been tried; that the European Court of Human Rights condemnation of the racist-Gestapo terror weapon (humorously known as the 'Prevention of Terrorism Act') be ignored; that the joke 'democracy' of the Occupied Zone shall no longer be allowed the responsibility of **voting** against Sinn Féin sympathisers if it wishes, – such nationalists being banned from standing in the 'elections' in the first place; And the Labourite 'bipartisan' class-collaborators with British imperialism are punishing any MPs who dare to vote against this last fascist provision in the House of Commons.

Many bourgeois sectors are shaking their heads at this Brownshirt display of sanctimonious authoritarianism, – ordering the world to be 'democratic' and 'anti-terrorist' along strictly regimented paths (for imposing 'justice' on Irish nationalists; for ensuring no support for the Sinn Féin national-liberation struggle; for dictating how voting should go in the alleged "free parliament elected by a free people"; etc).

Thatcher's frustrated dementia is a threat to the US-EEC plan to pacify Ireland (see *ILWP Books* vol 8 & 15 *Ireland*). M

the RUC death-squad murders in Armagh in 1982-83 (exposed by the silenced Stalker) were only ever regarded by the London establishment as tests of national strength and superiority, not as tests of 'justice'.

It is only a pity that the colossal humiliation for Thatcher from the government of the Republic of Ireland is just a one-off seasonal gift to Irish nationalist sensitivity.

Although it is damaging enough for Thatcher to be so publicly told that, in the specific case of Patrick Ryan, there is now no chance of any fair trial for him in Britain, – this is far short of what should be stated, – namely that British imperialist 'justice' for Ireland has only ever meant, and can only ever mean, – permanent colonial-tyrannical terror in all cases until the criminal infamy of the colonial 'partition' is wound up and the Occupied Zone, ripped in six gerrymandered counties by Black & Tan bayonets out of Ulster's nine counties, is restored

to Ireland's full Independence.

But the Green Tories ruling Dublin will continue playing along with the US-NATO-EEC plan for an unembarrassed snail's pace withdrawal from the Occupied Zone by British imperialism under the leisurely reunification provisions of the Anglo-Irish Treaty designed to exclude Sinn Féin revolutionism from a reunified Ireland, and to allow the petty-bourgeois 'free' world (from Dublin to Washington) to claim that there was "no giving-in to the men of violence" despite the reality that it is the unbeatable Sinn Féin/IRA national-liberation struggle which has forced the West to oblige London to abandon its Orange-fascist colonists at last, and to get out of Ireland.

But Thatcher's small-minded grasp that "defeating terrorism" is the obligatory posture (for

Western imperialism's hopes of not facing revolutionary struggle on their own patches) has now become so demented that her hysteria is making it difficult for Dublin to continue selling out Ireland's national-liberation heroes with impunity. Hence their mealy-mouthed acceptance that there is a case to answer over the Ryan charges, but that following Thatcher's insulting tirades, it was not felt that in this instance justice could be seen to be done if a trial was held in England.

Thatcher could eat humble pie and agree to stick to the Treaty's snail's pace withdrawal. But such a resounding slap in the face might one day spark off a profound reaction within British imperialism's Gestapo-die-hard circles against any retreat from Ireland at all.

Douglas Bell

Anti-Irish racism damaging but not the cause of jingoist backwardness – lack of Leninism the real problem, all sides

[*ILWP Bulletin* No 478 18-01-81 – section]

The black nationalist interventions at the ILWP national meeting were equally backward on the question of Ireland, summarising all difficulties there as merely 'British racism', and implying that all whites, – ILWP included, – were equally responsible.

But ignorance of Leninism, – especially among Irish nationalists, – has always done far more damage to the anti-imperialist cause than the racist ignorance regularly whipped up among British workers against Ireland. It was the 'anti-racist' shallowness of petty-bourgeois Irish nationalism which led the petty-bourgeois Sinn Féin majority to accept the half-a-loaf imperialist treachery of the 1921 Partition Treaty, which then inflicted more suffering on Ireland than imperialism itself had done for decades.

The 'Ourselves Alone' opportunism, which dreamed that 26 counties-worth of Gaelic Catholic 'emancipation' from British 'racist' domination would lead to such a flowering of national aspirations as to easily achieve reunification soon, – in reality only then led to Irishmen butchering Irishmen in the bloody 1922-24 civil war; followed by years more dictatorial strife including death penalties and long prison sentences; and eventually only leading anyway to the need to renew the national-

liberation struggle at the end of the 1960s in the Occupied Zone in order to complete Ireland's formal independence, a struggle more difficult than any yet attempted because the biggest part of Ireland has for decades been sickly-remote from the anti-imperialist movement, and busy corrupting itself with pro-imperialist collaboration.

These catastrophes have resulted from purely nationalist 'anti-racist' sentiment **overriding scientific anti-imperialist revolutionary understanding** (Marxism) in the Irish liberation movement. This smug sectarian self-satisfaction failed to grasp how deeply the continuing influence and crisis of Western imperialism would still carry on dominating and blocking Irishmen's anticipated 'freedom' from beyond imperialism's alleged 'grave' in the 26 counties.

And even within the truly revolutionary wing of Sinn Féin, now conducting a brilliant bolshevisation process among the Irish proletariat within the Occupied Zone, – all of the most important political developments so far in the revolutionary national-liberation struggle have come from the more 'Leninist' wing around Adams, McGuinness, and Morrison rather than the more 'nationalist' wing of Gaelic-Catholic conservatism so satisfied with

its 'anti-British racism' limited perspectives.

It would be better still if the 'more Leninist' wing of modern Sinn Féin were truly **fully** Leninist and even further away from merely nationalist (anti-racist) spontaneity and could give the entire Irish proletariat, - and the British and international proletariat too, - a more inspiring and effective world-revolutionary perspective to their struggle against decaying British-colonial imperialism and Green Tory reaction in Dublin, - a perspective explaining the origins of Ireland's struggle in capitalist crisis, linking it to all communist revolutionary struggle around the world from the Bolshevik Revolution onwards, - and explaining that no **people's** national aspirations can be truly satisfied until the very basis of **all** exploitation and inhumanity, - the **class** exploitation of the capitalist market system, - has been wiped out internationally by the universal dictatorship of the proletariat.

But Sinn Féin's nationalist (anti-racist) limitations will not let it develop such an understanding so far (see ILWP Books vol 8 & 15 *Ireland*).

Repeatedly, black nationalist arguments tried to tell the ILWP national meeting that

unless racism was understood, then the revolutionary struggle against imperialism could not be understood. Repeatedly, the national meeting explained that this was the exact opposite of the truth, - giving many examples, - that only by fully understanding the class-exploitation essence of capitalism (and the only possible solution to capitalism - proletarian revolution,) - was it possible to fully understand the question of racism and the solution to it.

Repeatedly, black nationalist arguments tried to convince the ILWP national meeting that white workers won't listen to Leninism because they are racist. Repeatedly the national meeting explained that this was a fundamental misunderstanding, - that all workers can be diverted by nationalist and racist divisions and provocations because they have all been steeped in Britain in the long reformist labour-movement history of trade-unionist consciousness, or bourgeois consciousness as Marx called it, (i.e. class-collaborating, anti-Leninist consciousness, of which nationalism is itself an example).

Repeatedly, black nationalist arguments tried to tell the ILWP national meeting that

there has been endless super-exploitation of blacks by capitalism **because** they are black. Repeatedly, the ILWP national meeting explained that the super-exploitation of the lowest echelons of the proletariat (social poverty and disorganisation coupled with factory slavery) had **always** been a **permanent** feature of capitalist divide-and-rule, and that for more than two centuries, the super-exploited sub-proletariat of capitalism (experiencing ill-health, brutalisation, poverty, and child-labour exploitation of inhuman proportions, e.g., - even by some of today's foul examples of capitalist exploitation from the Third World) - had all been white workers. So the sub-proletariat is exploited because it is at the bottom of the heap of the capitalist system, - **not** because it is black.

And so the solution is **not** to end 'racism' (impossible under capitalism), but to overthrow the imperialist system **world-wide**. That means building an international Leninist party of revolution, not a black nationalist party of centrist reformist confusion, - talking 'revolution' like the Workers Party of Jamaica used to love to do (and still tries to get away with), but in reality endlessly compromis-

ing with class-collaborating or anti-Leninist muddle somewhere along the line; - [their hopelessly inadequate analysis and activity during the Grenada counter-revolution being one obvious disaster, showing their complete inability to know how to challenge wrong revisionist decisions emanating from Moscow and Havana; - and all now put into the open by the recent 4th WPJ Congress proposal by leader Munroe and chairman Haughton inviting non-Marxist ideologies to **join** the WPJ

"...and to defend their ideology **within** the WPJ...As such they should not be required to take party educational courses in Marxism-Leninism... Marxism-Leninism adapted to Jamaica therefore has **hegemony** in the WPJ; it does not have **monopoly** in respect of other progressive ideologies".

And even then, six Central Committee members resigned because this was not sufficient 'repudiation' of Leninism which

"is narrow and dictatorial... its organisational forms require that individual members are subordinated, manipulated and stifled..."

This WPJ is a party of screaming petty-bourgeois opportunism and black nationalist backwardness. Its thinking offers only disaster to the workers of Jamaica, or anywhere else.]....

Joe Harper

National-liberation struggle in Ireland needs Leninism, not revisionist Popular Front

[ILWP Bulletin No 480 01-02-89]

Irish nationalism alone is an unnecessarily limiting feature of Sinn Féin's historic struggle for independence, and now for reunification.

But it is limited because of its ignorance of Leninism and its failure to see proletarian dictatorship and the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism in crisis **internationally**, in unity with the existing socialist camp as the only real perspective for the people of Ireland (and everywhere else), - not because of any failure to find common cause with the Green Tories in Dublin or the British colonist mentality of the Orange-fascist statelet in the Occupied Zone, - as the capitalist press reports Gerry Adams telling Sinn Féin's annual conference at the weekend.

If Adams really urged delegates "to see themselves from the point of view of Northern Ireland Protestants in order to understand their perceptions and fears" as reported; and if this was really linked to Adams "formally recognising that we can't win this struggle on our

own" as implied, - then the Republican revolution is suffering from damaging confusion.

If the report that Sinn Féin "now accepts that its goals can only be achieved by tapping into mainstream Irish support" is really the explanation of Adams quoted words: "We're saying the elitism and dogma is finished", as Fleet Street indicates, the muddle is worrying.

Despite its non-Leninist limitations, the national liberation struggle has made sensational progress against British imperialism in Ireland (see ILWP Books vol 8). The armed struggle has proved unbeatable to the cream of NATO's forces and ultra-sophisticated infiltration, surveillance, and covert operations warfare techniques and equipment. But even more importantly, the mass proletarian political struggle among the Irish in the Occupied Zone has produced elements of bolshevised soviets (which now so totally reject the anti-communist, anti-violence', anti-revolutionary tyranny of 'British democracy'), - epitom-

ised in the heroic hunger strikes and stunning election victories for Bobby Sands, then Owen Carron, and then Gerry Adams, - that Western imperialism generally came to the conclusion that imperialism should wind up its colony, and begin the snail's pace reunification under Dublin rule envisaged in the Anglo-Irish Treaty.

This national-liberation struggle is being won, but it is a long fight which does not depend on the heroic efforts of Sinn Féin and the IRA alone but also on the ripening **crisis conditions** of Western imperialism as a whole, and of British capitalism in particular.

The real fear in Adams sketchily-reported remarks is that Sinn Féin are being tripped up by their non-Leninist inability to see their own struggle in the longterm perspective of the general crisis of capitalism and the general advance being made worldwide by national-liberation struggle and communist revolution.

The international balance of class forces is the decisive factor governing how badly British confidence and Western 'free world' public opinion generally feels damaged by the brutalities of national-liberation struggle being inflicted by London's



Orange-colonial stubbornness in refusing to abandon its illegitimate imperialist domination of the Occupied Zone of Ireland.

It will be a tragedy if Sinn Féin start losing heart at the length of the struggle because of their non-Leninist failure to grasp how dramatically the British position will begin to suffer once the imminent Western economic crash starts to savagely batter the cosmetic 'confidence and efficiency' fraud of Thatcherism and Reaganism, and once further revolutionary blows commence hammering the 'free world' complacency and indifference to suffering (such as that of the Occupied-

Zone Irish) from the direction of El Salvador, Palestine, South Africa, Lebanon, Guatemala, Chile, Sudan, Namibia, Pakistan, Somalia, etc, etc – making Leninist revolution the ever-clearer way forward for all mankind.

Sinn Féin certainly should turn to new forces, - but they should be the Leninist revolutionary consciousness of the entire Irish proletarian masses, deliberately agitated by a

scientific revolutionary leadership, – not the faded ‘Republican’ posturing of opportunists like Hume or Haughey, or the addle-brained confusion of the doomed ‘British-Irish Orange colonialism in the Occupied Zone which can only remain paralysed, – or venomously fascist, – until imperialism is overthrown. Build Leninism, not Popular-Front revisionist muddle.

Douglas Bell

Tory splits in face of worsening economic crisis will only strengthen establishment nationalist reaction (plus trade union reactionariness on Ireland – discussion sections)

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Whatever local market forces in their favour these trade disputes can take advantage of to thwart employers or the government, the syndicalist delusions which inspire them are hopelessly out of date. Class collaborating union-employer partnerships at government level are a thing of the past in the old terms, - a purely temporary phenomenon of the purely temporary brief era of majority Labour governments.

In the harsh reality now of cut-throat international trade-war competition which British imperialism is systematically losing, only a new kind of hard-working chauvinistic class-collaboration in the economy and politics will work, along the lines of the virtual company unions set-up in West Germany.

Most British trade-unionism is halfway there already, including half the national dock labour force. The other half in the scheme ports are on a hiding to nothing in this current vain dispute to defend the indefensible ‘registered docker’ closed shop practices which have never worked in favour of the working class as a whole in any industry, but only in favour of the pro-Labour trade union bureaucracy, specifically protecting the petty-bourgeois trade-unionist philosophy of perpetual class-collaboration within a permanent capitalist-ruling-class-dominated economy and parliamentary system, but pretending to be ‘reforming’ imperialism all the way into socialism.

It is the fake-‘left’ posture of this phony ‘socialist’ tradition which remains to be disposed of; – and paradoxically, enforced capitulation to Thatcherism on the docks will help play its part in debunking the myths about

“defiant port-workers’ bolshevism”, etc.

Even as the TGWU was preparing in conference for a suicidal defence of its outmoded closed shop ritual on the docks (which made sacking any individual virtually impossible, or recruiting blacklegs, but which seldom or never used its trade-union monopoly power in the interests of the working class as a whole, and even more rarely in the defence of the international proletariat hammered by Western imperialism, – the delegates (port representatives included) were giving a standing ovation in Brighton to Orange colonial bigot John Freeman (TGWU regional secretary in the Occupied Zone) for his demagogic denunciation of the Irish national liberation struggle as ‘terrorism’.

They cheered mention of the SAS death-squad murder of Republicans in Gibraltar, ridiculed MPs such as Ken Livingstone who have campaigned for Troops Out, sang the praises of the British army’s police-military dictatorship, and rejected any changes to Tory-imperialist policy which so much as hinted at the desirability of the reunification of Ireland from its vicious colonial partition by British imperialist creation of the bogus ‘Northern Ireland’ Occupied Zone at the point of Black and Tan bayonets in 1922.

These are not the general workers union dockers of 1920 who went on strike to prevent the loading of more imperialist-intervention munitions from Britain to aid the counter-revolutionary 14-nation Western onslaught on the young Soviet Republic. These are the labour aristocracy dockers of the 1945 Labour imperialist-colonial gov-

ernment which butchered the Malayan socialist revolution, the Greek socialist revolution (by its triumphant Red partisan forces), and attempted counter-revolutionary overthrow of socialist revolutions in Yugoslavia and Albania in favour of similarly discredited fascist monarchies by the reactionary Monk royal circus.

Thatcher will have no trouble, in time, in imposing class collaboration on this modern corrupt trade-union tradition which now has little to distinguish it from the corporatist trade-unionism of modern degenerate imperialism, - now that its pretended ‘defiant undefeatedness’ is being shown up as false promise from the NUM to the TGWU, and now that the full appalling significance of the TUC’s class-collaboration with the postwar anti-communist crusade of the imperialist Labour Government stands out clearly in all its rotten Cold War light.

There may be more difficulties facing Thatcher’s untroubled future on the score of her much publicised differences with the Common Market’s social charter, embracing German chauvinistic trade-union class-collaboration at its heart, - than on her supposed misjudgment of the railmen’s’ dispute.

It seems to be a matter of opinion about how far the railway labour aristocracy has already accepted the new chauvinistic class-collaborating spirit which is being encouraged, and how far they still needed to be pushed into it by being given a new thrashing by the management and the courts, supposedly.

But ruling-class differences over how closely Britain should identify with the EEC trade-war camp led by German imperialism (as opposed to sticking with the US ruling class) are much more serious.

This issue has already once dramatically split the Tory Cabinet with senior ministers Heseltine and Brittan having to resign and Thatcher herself close to it over the Westland Helicopter affair which contrasted the merits of greater US imperialist influence against more involvement with the German-led EEC monopolies.

By her outspoken agitation against German imperialism being given too much independent authority within the anti-communist military and political alliance (despite Bonn’s undoubted economic mastery), and by her outrageous calculated insults to France during the farcical antics supposedly

‘celebrating’ the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution, Thatcher has dramatically escalated the jingoistic rivalry within the West’s cut-throat trade war.

If the pro-USA line prevails within the British imperialist establishment, then Thatcher can hardly be thought to be losing her pre-eminent position among the political performers.

Only if the line is completely changed to a pro-German imperialism stance will her recent apparent clumsiness of political touch become clearly suicidal.

But in the most reactionary circles, Thatcher’s tub-thumping crassness has gone down well, and even in slightly more ‘polite’ society of Oxford and Cambridge, there have hardly been outraged demonstrations of dons and students against the monstrous brainwashing campaign, typified by Thatcher’s outbursts, by the entire media to distort the whole significance of the French Revolution.

The wholesale philistinism which has either criminally misrepresented or completely ignored the whole significance of the Revolution’s uncompromising defeat of reaction’s attempted counter-revolution (led by British intervention) reveals a feverishness about present day Western society of almost terminal proportions.

What real difference is there between the current grotesque historical distortions of hitherto accepted understanding of the heroic revolutionary overthrow of decadent French feudalism and its subsequent impact against reaction all over Europe, and the monstrous re-writing of history which Goebbels and German imperialism specialised in during capitalism’s last great economic crisis of the 1930s??

The phenomenal ignorance of Thatcher’s remark that the epoch-making Jacobin resistance to reaction’s attempted come-back gave her unpleasant reminders of communists resisting counter-revolutionaries in modern times, - should have brought a storm of derision and contempt from any half-civilised society. The not-inaccurate parallel comically places Thatcher in an almost self-styled Marie Antoinette class of ‘Let them eat cake’, in answer to bread riots.

In all directions, every commentator is running away from the crucial historical lesson that the Revolution was an essential development, and its conscious ‘Red Terror’ defence against the White Terror of counter-revolution was one of its most heroic and far-reaching achievements,



British Redcoat slaughter of 1798 Irish rebellion inspired by the French Revolution

as was the Revolution's subsequent forcible impact against the reactionary feudalism of Europe, - for all that these decisive actions by the emancipated national-democratic bourgeois of France were inevitably surrounded by much ideological delusion and confusion.

Only decrepit current British imperialist society could have so wretchedly failed to spell out loudly to Thatcher that just one White Terror action during the period of the French Revolutionary turmoil, - namely the British imperialist punitive action against the Irish independence echoes of the French democratic explosion, - butchered far more truly innocent victims than the Red Terror had even dreamed of guillotining among its vicious aristocratic foes, - as many as 40,000 Irish patriots

Leaking from an empty hulk

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The implied 'death squad' threats to Irish nationalists in the spate of intelligence documents which have ended up in the hands of UFF British fascists ('Ulster Freedom Fighters') betray weakness not strength among the colonial warmongers.

The leaks of confidential Republican suspect-lists reflect damaging splits within the Orange-racist tyranny ruling British imperialism's Occupied Zone rather than a united colonialist intention not to be deprived of its 'traditional' rule over part of Ireland.

More Irish nationalists may be killed as a result of this boost to the fascist-colonist death squads around the UDA/UVF Unionists, but more 'liberal'-minded Orangemen will be appalled, and the masterminding-British imperialists and their Green Tory sidekicks in Dublin will be utterly discredited by this farce.

The whole class-collaborating fraud of the Anglo-Irish Treaty's promise of renewed Dublin control eventually over all 32

systematically slaughtered according to some accounts, with whole villages wiped out in order to terrorise the rest of the subject population from any further Republican dreams for independence from the British imperialist monarchy.

And even when British television did mention in passing this real White Terror reality of the French Revolutionary times, it presented the story of British imperialist barbarism entirely from the aspect of 'the end of the United Irishmen movement' with the emphasis on the so-called subsequent 'sectarianism' dividing Ireland, allegedly, — instead of concentrating on the real issue of British military domination and terror provocations, eventually successfully inculcated into the Orange colonial diehards. Joe Harper

counties of Ireland depends on monopoly-imperialism's continued domination being camouflaged by the appearance of "full democratic rights" and the "complete rule of law" at last being established in the Occupied Zone.

These leaked hit-lists coming from the very heart of the British establishment show what total nonsense that 'democratic' boast must always essentially be under imperialism no matter what cosmetic appearances can be kept up for no matter how long a time.

The essence of the British 'presence' in Ireland remains colonial occupation, - the same as it has always been, - no matter how the 'democratic' processes are cleaned up, manipulated, or gerrymandered.

And because of the fundamental ruling-class/exploitation pattern of production and property relations under imperialism, then all attempts at cosmetic changes, - however far-reaching, - were always doomed

for one reason or another.

Irish nationalists must always remain hostile to any continued British rule (either directly or indirectly represented largely by the Orange colonists) because capitalism can never fulfil the national aspirations of small nations, - especially not in the epoch of imperialist crisis, - no matter what 'fair employment' legislation or other 'human rights' tarting-up is done to the system.

And the old racist-colonialist domineering ethos of the 'Orange ascendancy' must always be dangerously disturbed by even the most hollow of cosmetic 'democratisation' and 'decolonisation' changes, - no matter how securely capitalist/imperialist rule was still in reality guaranteed, - or how remote from genuine ruling-class dominance some of the 'protestant' foot-soldiers had in practice always been.

The underlying fascist-colonist 'culture' of the 'unionist tradition' in Ireland remains deeply alien to any genuine re-establishment of Irish sovereignty over the island regardless of any amount of claimed or promised 'special arrangements' made over the Occupied Zone (misleadingly called 'Ulster' when it is in fact only the ripped-out gerrymandered parts of six of Ulster's nine actual counties).

The distinctive 'group spirit' of British colonialism is a Frankenstein monster implanted on Irish soil (and in scores of other colonial tragedies around the world, past and present), and it will continue to poison the whole political situation until a genuine British imperialist retreat and defeat is agreed and acknowledged, and full Irish sovereignty at last restored.

This could easily be achieved by a brief total reversal of the direction of the current 'policing' operation in the Occupied Zone - from suppressing Irish national-liberation movement by a police-military dictatorship to suppressing Orange-fascist backlash by the same methods. Within months, the already moribund character of the Orange colony would have died a complete and natural death, - and Ireland's long 700-year 'troubles' would have been solved virtually overnight. Instead, the vicious ridiculous farce continues of the alien British imperialist presence needing a fullscale permanent police-military dictatorship to barely hang on to 'control' over the Occupied Zone despite a 20-year terror tyranny (in this latest run) to again try to cow

the nationalist population into submission using detention without trial in concentration camps, death-squad killings, torture barracks and supergrass destabilisation, endless Gestapo midnight raids on Republican housing estates, plus the constant deliberate provocation of UFF-Nazi brutality against the Irish by leaked 'suspect' information such as is now being revealed.

Far from there yet being any British agreement to Common Market, NATO, and US pressure for finally openly disowning the phony 'majority rights' of the artificially-created Orange colonial rump in the ripped-out bits of Occupied Ulster (which would mean London's acceptance that the entire Partition farce since 1921 has been nothing but a vicious and cruel deception on the world and on Ireland's right to independence), - the rotting remains of colonialism are splitting apart internally to reveal by their own stench that the 'British Ireland' stunt is now well past its best.

Although nothing new, the circulation of hit-lists fingering Republican nationalists to the UVF/UDA fascist extremists from the British intelligence and RUC files is now being given prominent publicity within the Occupied Zone establishment itself. And when such a dirty 'secret' reaches the status of widespread public acknowledgment in all directions, then something will have to appear to be done about it at long last.

Thatcher's instant whitewashing of the UDR Regiment last week on her visit was to some extent a misleading signal even if typical of her personal narrow-minded dementedness. The imperialist stitch-up over Ireland is in deep trouble with this latest mess, and no amount of glib Thatcherite Hitler-posturing is going to resolve it easily.

The trouble is almost cer-





tainly inseparable from the crisis-conditions of the Orange establishment itself.

It would be one thing for external police investigator Stevens to clear up and punish the leaks (as highly unlikely as even that is).

It would be another difficulty entirely to then try to deal with the reasons for which the Orange establishment has let slip this damaging information (if it was them) about the leaks in the first place.

One group thought likely to have blown the whistle on the criminal-nazi circulation of Republican hit-lists to the UFF fascists is the 'liberal' Orange bourgeoisie which is itself terrified that the more extremist UDA/UVF unionist thugs it has carefully nurtured over the years will eventually turn their dying nazi-vengeance mentality as much against 'responsible' Unionist politicians (who start agreeing with some of the pro-Dublin reforms the British are reluctantly trying to introduce) as against the Irish national-liberation fight.

The classic pattern of rats deserting the sinking ship is already well advanced among the wretched Orange-colonialist community. Unionist politics have long been a total farce for the number of irreconcilable hate-filled splits that have occurred within this "unique,

united, God-favoured community", - remarkably mimicking the murderous atmosphere which now marks the similarly-doomed apartheid colonialist ascendancy in South Africa, or the wretched faction-ridden Smith thuggery before it (trying to prevent Rhodesia from becoming Zimbabwe by every fascist method in the book.)

Even more hopeless signs of doom among the British colonial remnants in Ireland have been the idiotic empty gimmicks in tactics and strategy, zig-zagging from one hollow 'no surrender' stunt to the next almost oblivious to the ludicrously small support the Paisleyite 'acts of defiance' are actually getting from the former colonial population.

As well as resignedly accepting their fate (by their indifference to Paisley's antics), the mass of former Orange colonists are also now leaving the colony in droves, - especially to Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the USA, and Canada and other more successful areas of colonial supremacy over the natives.

As this demoralisation deepens and the splits widen, the Orange colonial rats deserting the sinking ship typically tend to start blaming each other more and more for their failure rather than just pour out this biliousness against the usual enemies

of 'Popery' or 'perfidious Albion' and the like.

In this increasingly desperate atmosphere of hopelessness, some of the more deranged fascist-colonists will inevitably turn to killing their own discredited leaders rather than the 'enemy'.

The die-hard death squad wings of the RUC and UDR may have been grassed on by their own Orange bourgeoisie, fearful that the enflamed UFF thugs will not care whether their killings are restricted to Republican hit-lists or extended to include the odd 'Orange traitor' or two.

Another mentioned candidate for exposing the leaked hit-lists are the UFF thugs themselves. The suggested logic of this is even more twisted, - and even more indicative of irreparable and terminal divisions within the former British colonialist 'protestant ascendancy'.

In despair that the 'no surrender' political leaders of unionism and their like-minded intransigent colonists in the RUC and UDR hierarchy (and the civil service) are ever going to really stand up to the gentle British reunification pressure, - and even less make a real UDI militant stand unilaterally throwing off London control by an act of military rebellion, - the UFF fascists could have decided to embarrass the establishment so thoroughly over its own

'democratisation' and 'reunification' half-heartedness that all further Dublin-London relations of the Anglo-Irish Treaty kind would be at an end, - thus imposing the very 'no surrender' stand they want to see adopted.

It would be a truly hopeless gamble if this is what has happened, because British imperialism's feeble position within the Western alliance, and the nervous condition of that alliance itself on all matters where the genuineness of the West's pretended 'anti-colonialist' stance is being challenged, - make it impossible now for British dissembling ever to retreat too far from the feints towards reunification and steady anti-colonial democratisation implied in the Anglo-Irish Treaty.

Thus any such UFF arm-twisting would only be likely to push the corpse of Orange colonialism even faster towards the inevitable grave which alone awaits it.

Dublin's position is the most difficult of all in this unplanned round of renewed 'principles' posturing. The Green Tory capitalist establishment around the Dail never dares stray far from its 'republican' electoral stance, and its bogus 'nationalist' ingenuity will be stretched to the limit trying to keep up a credible performance of 'implacable determination to see real changes made', etc, etc, over such blatant skulduggery as the police-military establishment in the Occupied Zone being caught so clearly in cahoots with the UFF fascist underworld. No wonder such unprecedented bleats are being heard from Dublin about "something having to be done, - and soon", and "it is time to question the whole existence of the UDR", etc, as Irish ministers struggle to maintain a 'statesmanlike' pose faced in reality with the intolerable nonsense of the partition of Ireland by colonialism.

This Green Tory 'republican' pretence may struggle through the hoop yet again this time, but the writing is on the wall for the whole snail's pace game of the Anglo-Irish Treaty's gesture towards Ireland's reunification. It is the rotten dying Orange bastard statelet which cannot stand the strain and is cracking apart at the seams. No amount of counter-revolutionary pro-Western imperialist 'statesmanship' will be able to prop up this leaking hulk for ever.

In the absence of revolutionary Leninism cutting right through the tortuous capitalist crisis in Ireland, revolutionary nationalism will continue to make the running in the

artificially strangled political atmosphere, - no matter how hysterical or indignant the British establishment's denunciations of the IRA's national-liber-

No justice yet

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Justice will not be done for the cause of the Irish nation (and people connected with it such as the Guildford Four) until the entire British ruling class responsible for the continued imperialist victimisation of Ireland is in the dock, - and not just the police and judiciary who accepted the joke 'confessions' beaten out of the persecuted Four.

Not content with 700 years of colonial domination of Ireland, the British bourgeoisie has specialised in also vindictively punishing people just for having Irish connections, regardless of 'justice'.

Even before the *Guardian's* disclosure today that officials working for the Director of Public Prosecutions before the Guildford Four's 1975 trial deliberately withheld evidence from the defence, the role of the DPP's office at the time had become highly controversial.

On the basis of the confessions by the Balcombe Street gang to Mr Imbert, Detective Superintendent Bill Hucklesby - later to become head of the anti-terrorist squad - concluded that there was enough evidence to charge one of them, Edward Butler, with the Woolwich blast.

There was not only an untested, voluntary confession, but also the forensic evidence prepared by Dr Douglas Higgs, linking the Guildford and Woolwich cases to later explosions after the Guildford Four's arrest.

But, like the alibi witnesses in respect of Gerald Conlon which have only now come to light, details of the confessions to Mr Imbert and Mr Hucklesby's report to the DPP was not made available to the Guildford Four's defence. Their solicitors learnt of them months later from another source.

It was the DPP's office which decided not to act on Mr Hucklesby's recommendation, omitting the Woolwich bomb from Butler's indictment.

At the Balcombe Street trial in 1977, it emerged that Dr Higgs had been asked to suppress references in reports to the Woolwich and Guildford bombs.

He assumed that the instruction, passed on by an officer in the bomb squad, had originated from the DPP's office.

The developments in the Guildford case will increase the pressure to free the Birmingham Six, whose renewed appeal was rejected by the Court of Appeal last year. In both cases, the principal evidence consisted of disputed confessions.

Having driven the youth of Ireland to the despairing heroism

struggle become.

The only rational demand by British workers must be for the defeat of British imperialism. Build Leninism. Douglas Bell.

of terrorist war in the first place by the monstrous imposition of Partition in favour of the remnants of the British colony in Ireland (which was defeated by the national-liberation struggle of 1916 to 1921), imperialism has never since shirked from imprisoning "terrorist suspects" on little or no evidence deliberately in order to continue fanning the anti-Irish flames of colonial chauvinism.

And now without a word said about the jingoist atmosphere of witch-hunting hysteria always whipped up by bourgeois propaganda in these 'terrorist' show-trials, the 'justice' system calmly announces that the Guildford Four verdict was a farce, - after they have spent 15 years of their young lives rotting in jail with life sentences.

But the BBC voice of the British bourgeoisie then has the fascist insensitivity to insist on playing spine-chilling recordings of the tragic indiscriminate butchery of the pub bombings on the crass Goebbels basis that it was fair enough for someone to have been found guilty because the suffering was so terrible, - even if it is now agreed that these four just happen to be innocent.

Could monstrous thick-skinned imperialist depravity go further?

The recordings to play on the admission by Britain of yet another gross imperialist injustice were the record of nazi brutality in the scorched-earth policy in Malaya; or the death-camps inflicted on the liberation movement in Kenya; or the death-squad killings imposed in the Occupied Zone of Ireland and in Gibraltar where suspected liberation fighters have been gunned down in cold blood without even a warning let alone any trial; or the record of the British establishments nobbling of John Stalker as he tried to expose these judicial murders and their cover-up.

But the British bourgeoisie 'free' media does not want to know anything about such connections, or too much about all the other framed-up 'verdicts' imposed on the Irish national-liberation struggle on zero evidence merely in order to pursue hate-filled chauvinist imperialism, - such as the Birmingham Six farce, the McGuire frame-

up, and other notorious cases of nazi 'justice'.

But the whole record of British bourgeois lies and cover-ups will be put on trial one day.

The Guildford Four verdict is being squashed because the Irish national liberation struggle grows ever more humiliating

for British imperialist injustice hanging onto the Occupied Zone, and propping up the fascist Orange colonists. The anti-imperialist struggle is leaping forward from South Africa to El Salvador, from Chile to the Philippines. Imperialism is doomed. Build Leninism. Douglas Bell

British imperialist decadence is key to 'Justice' debacle

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The Guildford frame-ups are a **political** crisis of Britain's whole relationship with Ireland, - not a 'judicial' matter at all.

The British capitalist state has basically **failed** in its determination to defeat the armed national-liberation movement (the 'men of violence') in the Occupied Zone, or to deny them any remote hint of victory at least for their **revolutionary** reunification struggle.

Neither brutal armed repression of the Republican cause, nor the diversionary deal with the Dublin Tories to concede a snails-pace reunification through the Anglo-Irish Treaty but without admitting defeat for imperialism, - has succeeded in making disappear the revolutionary impact of what Sinn Féin and the IRA have achieved over the last 20 years.

The summary imprisonments handed out 15 years ago along with much other 'rough justice' such as internment without trial in Long Kesh concentration camp, the Gough torture barracks, and the judicial death-squad shootings, etc, - were all part and parcel of a 'triumphal' classic 'counter-insurgency' campaign messianically planned by the British military and fervently believed in by both Tory and Labour Governments as a smug demonstration of Britain's 'counter-revolutionary strength', etc.

But the long war is proving to be a catastrophic undertaking, comparable in some **political** ways to US imperialism's Vietnam. The British military 'cause' in Ireland is a disastrously unpopular one in the eyes of international public opinion (causing acute embarrassment to the whole 'freedom-loving' West and NATO); there is no end to the war in sight; all the diversionary political stunts to avoid the appearance of imperialist defeat only add to the turmoil in the Occupied Zone and in British-Irish relations.

With no glorious conclusion to the 'triumphal' sweep of 20 years' counter-insurgency', and with none in sight, - the

vigour is draining out of much of the 'rough justice' of the triumphalism. It is now beginning to all look like a sorry sordid mess which has ended in disaster.

And behind all this lies the even deeper catastrophe of the general decline overall of British imperialism's position in the world, of which its Irish difficulties have been a reflection and a symbol.

How far the rot will go on this occasion is not yet clear, but whether or not it is all the way to the complete collapse of British imperialism's disgraceful involvement with Ireland, - this scandalous frame-up aspect can still be only understood as part of profound **political** questions.

Equally unmistakably, the barnyard of critical squawking which has exploded around these startling admissions is itself another deeply political phenomenon to do with the whole relationship of British 'bourgeois democracy' to the



colonial war. Only superficially is it to do with such issues as 'proper review procedures, the appeals system, the rules of evidence, supervision of the police, the role of parliament and legal reform, the need for extra-judicial oversight, the standards of justice, the role of punishment,' etc, etc, about which the petty-bourgeois academic furore kids itself it is making waves.

British imperialist public opinion is so devastated by these political setbacks that it can only flap round in lame and hopeless circles. Not one word of leadership or sound statesmanship has been heard throughout the whole sordid saga.

The ruling class in Britain has so long been corrupted by its own colonial repression of Ireland (as well as half the rest of the world at one time) that a clumsy and humiliating mess was inevitable once judicial terror against the Guildford Four could no longer be concealed.

The revelation that these young people were deliberately framed by the 'law' and left to rot for 15 years in jail **because Britain's colonial dignity as the dictatorial power in the Occupied Zone of Ireland demanded that 'terrorist culprits' be found**, – has been admitted to with extreme reluctance and maximum humbug by even the most liberal bourgeois media (see subsequent capitalist-press extracts).

The **direct** responsibility for this criminal outrage **by parliamentary government** has been conveniently ignored by the entire petty bourgeois idealist campaign, from pompous clergy to posturing hacks. The middle class would prefer to find partial piecemeal scapegoats or wallow in general dishonour rather than accept that under capitalist elitism, it is the 'democratic' system **itself** which is the **guarantee** of corruption.

There was an elected government in Britain in 1974 when this vicious nazi persecution began. Under bourgeois democracy, it is precisely **elected governments which alone** allegedly provide the 'final safeguard' that the 'independence' of the judiciary and police-service is always properly subjected to 'democratic' supervision. The Home Secretary is the highest public office after the Prime Minister because of the enormous powers to order retrials and appeal court hearings, or even squash convictions outright, or set up a public inquiry if the 'legal' system has appeared to have been acting anything but legally.

The vast quantity of evidence below gives just a tiny glimpse of what appalling tyranny has been (and is still being) inflicted by British imperialist 'justice', – especially in crucial areas where the counter-revolutionary colonialism and racism of the bourgeois state is under attack.

And **central** to it all, – unmistakably, – is the government of the day which holds together the essential ring of 'law-and-order' humbug without which such criminal 'legal' outrages such as those listed would have been swept away by an indignant population.

It is the 'democracy' fraud, – concealing the real bourgeois-dictatorship rule in Britain, – which is vital for keeping alive the pretence that 'the peoples' will', 'the rule of law', and 'wisdom and justice' are all 'bound to prevail in the end' and are in fact effectively 'synonymous with each other'.

None of this is remotely true.

The 1974 Labour Government was not even elected by Tory-imperialist votes but yet by its long and conscious conditioning and training from the bourgeois establishment, the capitalist paymasters, and the parliamentary circus fraud, – the Labourites were eager stooges of vengeful British colonial interests as soon as they got into office that year (and just as they had shamefully been at the service of counter-revolutionary Western imperialist Cold War and anti-communist subversion from 1945 onwards, – crushing national-liberation struggles (Malaya, Kenya, Aden, Egypt, Greece, etc), subverting the socialist states, and trying to nuclear-blackmail the Soviet Union. See ILWP Books vols 6,7,9,& 10).

The Labour Government did not just lamely submit to the anti-Irish chauvinist hysteria of that year's mainland military campaign by the IRA national-liberation struggle, – but actively orchestrated the jingoistic dictatorial response.

The notorious PTA (Prevention of Terrorism Act) was rushed through Parliament in just one day without one single Labourite, – fake 'lefts' included, – having the guts to vote against this monstrous racist stunt.

Ever since as a result, the capitalist police-state authorities in Britain have felt securer than ever in inflicting their bullying fascist tactics on any 'suspect' Irish who come within reach, including the great new PTA powers of 7 days detention without a court appearance so that more 'evidence' could be

created to pin more 'crimes' on detainees than ever before.

This Gestapo-level barbarism by British colonialism which quickly framed and brutalised the Guildford Four, the Birmingham Six, the Maguire family, etc, just for being Irish, – was a fitting fascist 'democratic' follow up to the 1969 Labour Government's criminal stupidity in reimposing police-military dictatorship over the Occupied Zone of Ireland in the first place (instead of ordering the disbandment of the totally discredited **black spot** of all British imperialism's long and brutal history, – the **shameful dismemberment of Ireland** to deny it its independence after its successful national-liberation struggle in 1916 to 1921 and impose Partition instead under the armed colonist minority in the ripped-out parts of six of Ulsters nine counties.)

By reinstating Partition under armed British colonial rule in 1969, the Labour Government opened the door directly to the subsequent infamies of detention without trial (the Long Kesh concentration camp), the military torture barracks (exposed in the Bennett inquiry), the nazi-style midnight terror raids to smash up Irish homes in the Occupied Zone on suspicions of 'Republican activity', the supergrass and anonymous evidence rackets in front of no-jury courts, the deliberate maiming and intimidation of public protests with plastic bullets, and ultimately the direct death-squad killings of 'suspected' Republicans without any trial at all as were being uncovered by John Stalker before he was 'judicially' silenced, and as happened so blatantly in Gibraltar.

The Labour Party has never seriously challenged any of these developments by British imperialist tyranny, and was indeed largely instrumental in introducing them.

The 1974 Labour Government's role in helping to create the witch-hunt atmosphere in which bourgeois-mob hysteria could ruthlessly persecute anyone with Irish connections or descent was part and parcel of that central-government imperialist tyranny. Tens of thousands of Irish people have been relentlessly harassed under the PTA ever since, and others like the Guildford Four, the Birmingham Six, and the Maguire family, have been brutally framed.

It is therefore total nonsense for all these belated middle-class campaigners for 'justice' to now be ignoring the prime role

of parliamentary democracy itself in being the inevitable vehicle for the unbroken continuation of British capitalist-imperialism as the ruling power in Britain, and it is crass hypocrisy for Labour Party campaigners in particular to overlook Labour's pivotal role in holding the capitalist-democracy fraud together for so long.

The pretence now by past Labour ministers that 'regrettable mistakes' were made during their time in office (or that of parliamentary colleagues, Labour or Tory) is obscene.

There were no 'mistakes'. True to the long barbaric tradition of British imperialism which introduced hostage-taking to the Middle East this century when the children of rebel tribal leaders would be held to be executed if areas in revolt did not agree to be 'pacified', the continuing colonial tyranny over Ireland demanded collective punishment.

Just as every tenth soldier was shot to quell rumblings of mutiny threatening to overthrow British imperialism at the end of World War I, – so did the IRA terror-bombing campaign demand that Irish people be selected and severely punished. All imperialism has used such tactics against resistance, – most notably at Lidice and Oradour by German imperialism, by the British at Hola Camp in Kenya, by the French systematically in Algeria, and by US imperialism at My Lai in Vietnam.

The only serious 'regret' that middle-class 'democrats' can now **truly** display is to **join** the revolutionary or national-liberation struggle against imperialism, – for it is absolutely certain that the next barbaric 'scandal' is just waiting to happen for as long as the capitalist system remains un-overthrown.

It is equally foolish for the petty-bourgeois campaigners to now be pretending that they have won a 'victory' for human rights, or that now 'reforms' can be introduced to correct the 'few flaws' in the democratic system.

This partial retreat by the imperialist establishment from its usual aggressive arrogance is connected to much, much deeper phenomena than the pathetic hand-wringing by a few bleeding-heart liberals or the timid campaign by a few journalists. When it feels itself on the offensive, the ruling class rides roughshod over a few conscience-stricken petty bourgeoisie for far longer than 15 years.

British imperialism has been deliberately propping up fascist



apartheid in South Africa for **far longer** than 15 years despite many a 'democratic outcry' against some of the more sordid or blatant sanctions-busting or even deliberate warmongering collusion and secret-police liaison with BOSS for anti-communist intrigues; and did much the same for Ian Smith's nazi rule in Rhodesia. But nothing was ever **done** about it, – despite whole armies of hand-wringing bishops and 'sincere' Labour MPs, – until the revolutionary struggle **itself** in South Africa (as earlier in Zimbabwe) began to **force** a change.

On Ireland itself, the infamous tyranny of the Partition racket itself has now been running for 68 years artificially establishing the Orange-fascist statelet by Black & Tan bayonets as a deliberate perpetual warmongering provocation to Irish national-liberation to keep it sickly-divided and keep a toe-hold in case the Republican movement should ever turn Leninist-socialist.

This disgraceful dismemberment of Ireland was imposed and has been kept going with the conscious certainty by British imperialism (under its parliamentary-democracy façade) that such a poisoned colonialist rearguard would never be digestible for any peaceful harmonious development of Ireland (to keep Ireland from ever being fully sovereign and a possible 'threat' to Britain in its own backyard, etc).

The gerrymandered police-state tyranny by the bigoted Orange-colonist minority has

been deliberately artificially kept going by London for 68 years so as to keep the option of warmongering chauvinism against the Irish in play, when one quick decision and a brief police-military transitional role by the British or UN forces would achieve the completely harmonious reunification of Ireland with no long aftermath in a very short space of time.

This could have been achieved at any time from 1921 onwards, and the refusal to do so is the real **core crime** of British imperialism against the Irish nation, inflicting 68 years more totally needless warring and suffering (to go on top of the 700 years of colonial troubles already imposed by British bullying a bloody national-liberation struggle which will **never** go away).

And no amount of 'democratic' protesting has driven British imperialism back from this vicious continuation of colonial reaction in the Occupied Zone of Ireland, – nor could it, by itself.

Only an **enforced** change in the general conditions for British imperialism, or in the specific circumstances of the occupation of Ireland, could achieve this – with 'democratic' domestic agitation augmenting the real blows by the national-liberation struggle and the advancing worldwide revolutionary climate forcing imperialism back all along the line.

The best campaigning in Britain would be for the revolution defeat of British imperialism inside Britain and in Ireland too. Any useful piecemeal campaigns

around specific outrages such as the Guildford Four frame-up are only a follow-up extension of the mess imperialism has **already** been put in by more basic material revolutionary-international factors, – the national-liberation struggle by the Sinn Fein/IRA at the heart of them.

Thus it is much truer to say that British imperialism has changed its mind over the legal rackets victimising Irish prisoners because it is in a mess, rather than that it is now in a mess just **because** it has now felt forced to admit the injustice, – however much that mess is added to by the revelations so painful to the self-deluding 'democratic' petty-bourgeois liberal circles.

If British imperialism was still set on a confident arrogant aggressive course **in general**, and if there were no specific military or other disasters staring them in the face out of the Irish colonial situation in particular, – then the ruling class establishment would be closing ranks and whipping the petty bourgeoisie into line as authoritarily as ever over the Guildford Four and countless numbers of other 'judicial' crimes imposed in the name of capitalist 'democracy' (in relation to Ireland and every other aspect of national and international affairs).

If the police and judiciary **wanted to go on enough**, covering up for their brutal methods and criminal injustices, – then they would do so.

The key to why the British imperialist establishment has

now sunk into such odious and guilty stupor over its anti-Irish tyranny **lies elsewhere** than in just the chance events around the 'justice' campaign, or even in the more substantial and convoluted Anglo-Irish Treaty relations which, while indirect, are still a much closer reflection of international imperialist reality (see ILWP Books vol 8).

Essentially, the wretched and damaging anachronism of Britain continuing its ancient colonial domination of Ireland has coincided with a dramatic historical **weakening** of British imperialism's competitive position **overall** (relative to its now far stronger imperialist rivals).

In the postwar national-liberation climate, even a strong British imperialism would have been repeatedly embarrassed by hanging on to its gerrymandered fascist colony. But British capitalism is now so bankrupt, in international monopoly-industrial competition and trade that **even** its routine bourgeois political standing and its elementary cohesion and confident self-respect is now suffering from it, let alone from the added burden of prolonging an unjust colonial tyranny and doing that very clumsily and badly too.

This fundamental decline of British imperialist strength and know-how has coincided with one of the most clear-thinking and determined revolutionary struggles ever produced by the Irish national-liberation movement. Sinn Féin's political grasp falls woefully short of a Leninist scientific understanding of the international balance of class forces and anti-imperialist revolution, but its 'socialist' nationalism has permitted a more penetrating analysis and clever tactics to organise a united proletarian Republican movement more powerful than ever before (size for size) in Ireland's liberation struggle.

All of this is constantly undermining British imperialism's position in Ireland, – and the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty and its subsequent development is a reflection of those difficulties, and, in a small way a further dimension to them as well.

The UDR scandal (being caught actively helping the Orange fascist-terrorist gangs to intimidate the Irish underclass in the Occupied Zone) has come to light much as the revelations of the British imperialist authority's own 'legal' criminality, – at a period of growing disarray within the British imperialist camp overall, – including and especially within its degenerate Orange-fascist colonists and



Colonial oppression in the Six Counties—the RUC in action

beyond that within the broader police-state framework on the mainland.

Large parts of the petty-bourgeois establishment are beginning to lose their nerve and their imperialist loyalty as the enormous mess accumulates, resulting from Britain's toppled world position, – as can be seen from the extracts dealing with new doubts about the Kincora bumboys exploitation, blackmail, and cover-up, and some of the more sordid secret-police activities vaguely associated with these kinds of intrigues.

Stalker's own role in blowing the whistle on the death squads where four other police-military inquiries into the allegations had refused to do so despite knowing the degenerate imperialist truth just as surely as Stalker knew it, – points in the same direction.

The splits in the Orange ranks, – bandying about information about how the UFF fascists 'will always be backed' since their murderous fight to the death 'represents the true 'loyalist' spirit' – are a desperate last ditch gasp by the reactionary establishment in the Occupied Zone, – itself trying belatedly to organise the UDI

military revolt (which Carson and the Tories so freaked timid Home-rule Liberal advocacy with at the beginning of the century, but which Paisley & Co have so miserably failed to resurrect, and which retired police-chief Hermon apparently promised to lead 'if ever it was needed', but in reality in order only to see the rebellion dwindle harmlessly towards nothing).

The reptile Green Tories in Dublin have never behaved more wretchedly than in the past 20 years, – terrified of revolution and cynically helping the British imperialists to avoid having the whole of Ireland united in national-liberation political revolt against them. But even Haughey and Co have not been able to forego putting the boot further in over the humiliating and criminal UDR revelations, and further still over the now-admitted 'legal' tyranny against Irish 'suspects' in British courts.

The Anglo-Irish Treaty is still on course to provide a snail-pace reunification of Ireland as a way of easing British imperialism's disgrace but yet denying victory to the armed revolutionary national-liberation struggle (which US imperialism and the

Common Market, which have ordered Britain's pull-out, fear could turn into Leninism.)

It is certain Paisley and Co will have already been fuming at the recent Anglo-Irish communiqué accepting Dublin's right to jointly-approve many 'reform' recommendations for the UDR (Ulster Defence Regiment) as well as openly declare their demand for many more far-reaching changes, – with the British Government of the Occupied Zone respectfully dissenting but still listening.

It is guaranteed that the Orange-fascist mob will now be in apoplexy over the latest British acceptance of inadequacies in its dealing with the Irish question.

The colonist reactionaries will feel more threatened and beleaguered than ever before at British imperialism's humiliation, and will seek new aggressive UDI defiance to try to cover up their bleak embarrassment:

"Not only men from my regiment, but men from the Paras, other regiments and the RUC, have given documents and records," said one of the men, a former sergeant-major who served for seven years in the UDR. "They gave them over out of sheer frustration. When you have buried so many of your colleagues

the only way to retaliate is to give it to the paramilitaries.

"You get given a montage of pictures and it says 'Known IRA man, Observe and Report' – end of story. It was out of sheer frustration, out of not being allowed to do the job. When you have picked up pieces of your comrades who have been blown apart and put them into a black plastic bin bag – it's the only way you can get revenge. People don't know, they don't understand.

"I don't condemn those who have handed documents across. I would hate to see any innocent person murdered. I am not a bigot."

The former sergeant-major, still has close contacts with the regiment he left in the late 1970s. "This has been going on for a long time and will continue to go on. It's the only way we win and get rid of them.

"The frustration of the young UDR soldier in having been to the funeral of his colleagues – they will give to the UDA and UVF in their day-to-day dealings in pubs and clubs, in the hope of revenge. If they are asked for it they will give it. These are neighbours and friends you are drinking with, before they were paramilitaries, they were ordinary citizens. We went to the UDR, they went to, the paramilitaries."

His colleague, a former private who left the UDR five years ago, admitted his son had been in a loyalist paramilitary group. "He left home when he was 16. They were going to refuse to let me re-engage in the UDR at one stage because of that, but a senior officer who had served with me in the regular army overruled them. The UDR has suffered as many casualties as the British Army during the Troubles, but they have never permitted the UDR to be called the Royal Ulster Defence Regiment."

The former sergeant-major said: "They used to send us on six-hour patrols in Republican areas, they are treating these lads like dirt. Now they are arresting them. I feel so angry I want to burn my citations and medals."

The IRA also gained information from the UDR, the ex-sergeant-major maintained. "As a senior instructor I'm sure I helped train a company of the IRA. At that time the idea was to get as many Roman Catholics as possible in the force."

One Catholic sergeant from the Ardoyne was removed after ammunition was discovered in his locker, he said.

"I believe he was a supply officer for the IRA. He was never charged, just forced to leave the UDR. Another one stole files from signals. They can take away the UDR, but if they remove them there will be an even stronger UDA and UVF." Both the men said they had been assassination targets and declined to be identified.

Loyalist paramilitary groups see themselves as sharing the aims of the UDR in defeating the IRA. One senior figure in the Ulster Defence Association said that whether a man joined the UDR or the UDA, he was still engaged in fighting, the same war.

A UDA man said: "Most of the RUC live in comfortable houses in Bangor and Carrickfergus. They earn good

money and have fast cars and holiday homes in Spain. "I suppose its almost a class thing. The UDR live here in the community. They are ordinary working class Protestants fighting for their country."

Tragically, there can be no guarantee from the collapsing British imperialist side of the tortured developments in Ireland that the demise of colonial-fascist chauvinism will continue to sink smoothly.

No 'reason' or 'conscience' has penetrated the British bourgeois establishment generally over these revelations of criminal wrongdoing to Irish nationalist aspirations. Just listen in the following extracts to Tory MPs urging that any concession to liberal campaigners would be far more deadly for 'British justice' than the odd wrongful conviction or two, and that it would still be fine to bring back hanging which by being the only serious (!) punishment would "make police and judiciary behave" reverently towards evidence, and "not meddle" with it ('), which apart from its irrelevance, audacity, and challengeable stupidity, is also an unintentional admission that for all matters in which the death sentence is not absolutely mandatory, - bourgeois law is all completely untrustworthy, on a Tory MP's say-so.

Not that the bleeding-heart *Guardian* liberals have come out of this humiliation for British democracy and justice any better than the Tory thugs.

The badly-stung champion of 'Western human rights' was in contortions over the painful realisation that grotesque nazi injustice had been going on under the noses of the great 'free press' for 15 years (in just one particular outrageous case of 'judicial' tyranny) with the mightiest democratic media in the world doing absolutely nothing about it, - and now being seen clearly by all to have done absolutely nothing about it.

So how did the *Guardian* salve its conscience? Its editorial launched into an immediate Goebbels-style knee-jerk reaction, - spending far more space condemning the Irish national-liberation struggle than the tyranny of British 'justice'. But what cause or connection do IRA military tactics have with an entire century of British imperialist criminality and brutality of which the Guildford Four tragedy is but the latest admitted disaster from a long-degenerate colonial system? No connection whatever, - except in the hysterical brains of troubled petty-bourgeois 'democrats' whose conceit must make them

feel that anyone else but themselves must be responsible for the disgrace now heaped upon their beloved 'parliamentary democracy' and 'rule-of-law' system, (the most obscene jokes currently being perpetrated upon civilisation).

Even more depraved is the delusion that this entire crisis for British imperialism is just a series of 'regrettable mistakes' as the ex-Labour Ministers who organised the frame-ups now like to put it, and which will all now be 'hopefully speedily reformed' so that they could never occur again. What abysmal drivel:

"THE STORY of the Guildford Four is not just a personal tragedy: it is a scandal. How else to describe the wrongful imprisonment of four innocent people for 15 years, not because someone, somewhere made an understandable, if regrettable mistake, but because of a deliberate, organised attempt to pervert the course of justice?"

The Home Secretary, Mr Douglas Hurd, told the Commons of his 'anxiety, regret and deep concern'. He should be outraged and appalled, not only at the apparently criminal behaviour of some Surrey police officers, but because the nation's judiciary appears incapable of noticing the sheer nonsense which is sometimes presented to courts in the guise of prosecution evidence.

The Court of Appeal, presided over by the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Lane, had no option last week but to quash the convictions. Had the court been given the choice, precedent strongly suggests that their Lordships would have been reluctant in the extreme to overturn the original jury's verdict. Hence the decision of the Director of Public Prosecutions to make it clear to the court that there was no longer any room for doubt. The convictions of the Guildford Four were unsafe, and belatedly, the authorities had stumbled upon the truth.

Sir John May, who now must conduct a judicial inquiry into this sorry mess, has an unenviable task. As a retired judge, he will not find it easy to say what needs to be said about the abysmal performance of his fellow-judges on the Court of Appeal when the Guildford Four came before them in 1977. It was already clear that the convictions were far from safe, for the Balcombe Street IRA team had by then been arrested and had confessed to the Guildford and Woolwich pub bombings.

Yet the appeals failed. As was seen again last year at the appeal of the six men convicted of the Birmingham pub bombings, judges do not take kindly to being told that police sometimes frame innocent people, fabricate evidence or lie on oath. It is to be hoped that they now have a better understanding of the real world. The integrity and majesty of the law are no longer to be assumed: they have to be proved. It is deeply disquieting to think that the prosecuting authorities may have known more about the alibi evidence than

they allowed the court to hear.

The true picture of what happened then is now clearer than at any other time in the past 15 years. The four young people - three Irishmen and an English woman - were, to put it bluntly, fitted up. Police officers faked evidence by concocting interview statements and then lied about the circumstances in which the interviews had been conducted. Whether they also brutalised and intimidated the four, as has been claimed, remains for the judicial inquiry under the former Appeal Court judge Sir John May, and the criminal investigation under Detective Superintendent Peter Brock of Avon and Somerset police, to find out.

It will take many months before the full truth emerges. There may be criminal proceedings against some of the Surrey police officers involved in the original inquiry. But the insistent questions are already burning to be answered: why did it take so long to establish the truth? Why did the courts not recognise that a terrible miscarriage of justice had occurred? And, perhaps most insistent of all, what can be done to prevent it happening again?

From the moment of their trial at the Old Bailey in September 1974 - in the same courtroom where they heard last week that they were to be freed - the Guildford Four have protested their innocence. Their contested confessions were, they said, the result of brutality, intimidation and fear.

At their trial in early 1977, one of the Balcombe Street men read out a statement. It said in part: 'We are all four Irish Republicans. We have recognised this court to the extent that we have instructed our lawyers to draw the attention of the court to the fact that four totally innocent people - Carole Richardson, Gerard Conlon, Paul Hill and Patrick Armstrong - are serving massive sentences for: three bombings, two in Guildford and one in Woolwich, which three of us and another man now imprisoned have admitted that we did. The Director of Public

Prosecutions was made aware of these admissions in December 1975 and has chosen to do nothing.' Later that year, when the Guildford Four went to the Court of Appeal, they hoped to persuade the court to order a retrial in order to put the Balcombe Street gang's confessions before a new jury. The judges heard evidence in person by the self-confessed IRA bombers, but chose to square the circle by concluding that both the Balcombe Street gang and the Guildford Four had been responsible for the bombings.

It was, as it seemed to the defence team then and seems to most observers now, a strange, even perverse, decision. It also was highly doubtful on purely legal grounds, for the Court of Appeal had taken upon itself the right to, hear new evidence from witnesses who had not been available to the jury, decide upon the credibility of that evidence, and rule accordingly. As the eminent former Law Lord, Lord Devlin, later remarked, the appeal process seemed to have become 'one of imperfect retrial by judges', a process not envisaged in English legal tradition.

No one at that stage - indeed, no one until last Tuesday - dreamt that lying in the files in Guildford police station was proof that the prosecution case against the Guildford Four was fatally flawed. Nor was it until April of this year that lawyers acting for Gerard Conlon discovered that a vital alibi witness they had been unable to trace had already, in fact, been interviewed by Surrey police in 1975, a crucial piece of evidence which had been kept quiet for 14 years.

AT THIS STAGE, the story becomes murkier still. For it is known that this evidence was passed by Surrey police to the office of the then Director of Public Prosecutions, Sir Norman Skelhorn, who apparently decided, in contravention of long-established legal principle, that it should not be made available to the defence. Its existence was discovered only when detectives from Avon and Somerset, acting at the request of the Home Secretary,



Douglas Hurd, found the relevant papers among the Surrey force's files.

Roy Amiot, QC, who threw in the towel on the Crown's behalf on Thursday, made no reference to this aspect of the story when he addressed the Court of Appeal. Indeed, he emphasised that, had it not been for the uncovering of the faked police evidence, the Crown would have had every intention of defending its case against the appeal due to be heard early next year.

Yet there was a curious paradox here. The appeal would have been heard as a result of the Home Secretary's decision to refer the case back. That decision was made on the basis of representations from an impressive array of campaigners, including former Home Secretaries Roy Jenkins and Merlyn Rees, former Law Lords Lord Devlin and Lord Scarman, and the Archbishop of Westminster, Cardinal Basil Hume. Those representations were concerned exclusively with new alibi evidence which had turned up in the years following the 1977 Appeal Court hearing.

It ail seems curiously hit and miss. For one thing, Home Secretaries have remarkably wide powers of discretion over whether or not to order a rehearing of a criminal case, powers which they seem to vary from year to year.

In the case of the Guildford Four, as we now know, the Home Secretary was right to order the case reopened. But for the Birmingham Six, whose appeal last year was also heard following a referral by Mr Hurd, the prospects are less good. The Home Secretary insisted last week that there is 'clearly no point or sense' in referring it back yet again, because, as he put it, 'the police crawled over . . . the evidence there just as the Avon and Somerset police have crawled over the evidence on Guildford.

'The Court of Appeal spent a month quite recently going into it all again, including five days on the question of confessions. At the end of all that process they decided that the original convictions were sound.'

But there have been two significant developments since then. First came the inquiry into the activities of the West Midlands Serious Crimes Squad, at least one of whose members was involved in the preparing of confession statements by the Birmingham Six. At present, that inquiry does not go back as far as 1974; campaigners are now pressing that it should be extended.

Second, the outcome of the Guildford Four case itself has a relevance, for the complaints of a police conspiracy closely echo those made by the Birmingham Six. Indeed, there is a striking similarity between the material unearthed in Guildford by the Avon and Somerset police, which showed that interview records had been falsified, and allegations made by lawyers for those convicted of the Birmingham

22

bombings. A year ago, Lord Devlin and Lord Scarman said in a full-page article in the *Times* that the fate of Patrick Armstrong, Carole Richardson,

Paul Hill and Gerard Conlon 'has shattered our belief that there is no one in any English prison serving more than a year who has not been found guilty by a jury which has heard substantially all the relevant evidence. Our constitutional law on which our freedoms depend has been disordered.'

Nothing can bring back the 15 wasted years of the Guildford Four. The judicial system stands accused of gross inadequacy.

Mr Alastair Logan, a lawyer representing one of the Guildford Four, yesterday accused the office of the Director of Public Prosecutions of refusing to release documents which would have showed discrepancies in police statements.

Discrepancies in police custody records were eventually uncovered by detectives from Avon and Somerset and were largely responsible for casting doubt on the evidence of five police officers, leading to the quashing last Thursday of the Guildford Four convictions.

Mr Logan said he had asked for the records in 1975 after it was realised that one of the four, Patrick Armstrong, had not been at Guildford police station at a time when he was supposed to have been questioned there. My recollection is that we were told they were internal police documents and not going to be released to us,' he said.

The former Master of the Rolls, Lord Denning, said yesterday the criminal justice system was in ruins as a result of the Guildford Four case. Lord Denning said it appeared that the former DPP, Sir Norman Skelhorn, had committed a very serious criminal offence, perverting the course of justice. 'Sir Norman was a very good friend of mine. I wish he was alive to stand up for himself.'

IN January 1980, Lord Denning, the Master of the Rolls, decided to uphold the appeal of the West Midlands Police and to halt the civil action taken out against the chief constables of the West Midlands and Lancashire and the Home Office by the six men convicted of the Birmingham pub bombings.

In doing so, he said: "Just consider the course of events if this action is allowed to proceed to trial... If the six men win, it will mean that the police were guilty of perjury, that they were guilty of violence and threats, that the confessions were involuntary and were improperly admitted in evidence and that the convictions were erroneous... This is such an appalling vista that every sensible person in the land would say: it cannot be right these actions should go any further."

It has now been accepted the just such an appalling vista was the setting for the wrongful prosecution of the Guildford Four.

Surely it is now time to reassess the case against the Birmingham Six in the light of this, especially as so much of the weight of their prosecution rested on uncorroborated confessions, the use of which as evidence has now been seriously questioned as a result of the Guildford case. Further, it must be remem-

bered that the integrity of the West Midlands police at the time of the Birmingham bombings is already in doubt.

John Stalker has said that the judicial inquiry into the police handling of the Guildford case must be allowed to reach all culpable officers; as he put it, it must address itself to "root and branch".

No officer who was a party to the affair, no matter how high up the constabulary tree he may since have climbed, should remain unanswerable.

The freeing of the Guildford Four goes part way/

The freeing of the Birmingham Six and a full, unhindered and open criminal investigation into those elements of authority at all levels who have obstructed justice in these two cases and in that of the Maguire Seven would go some way further.

Addressing the jury at the end of the trial of the Guildford Four in October 1975, Sir Michael Havers, QC, counsel for the Crown, set out the implications of the defence case. "Accusations of the most appalling kind have been made against the police during this trial.

"If true, there has been a really gigantic conspiracy between the two police forces — the Surrey police and the bomb squad — through officers of all ranks. If the allegations are true, there has been a most appalling perversion of justice."

It is now clear that if there was a conspiracy, it also involved the then Director of Public Prosecutions, Sir Norman Skelhorn, who died last year. It was his office which prepared Sir Michael's brief and decided unlawfully to withhold evidence of incalculable value from defence lawyers — the corroboration of Mr Gerard Conlon's alibi and the detailed confession to police of a fifth innocent person, who claimed to have planted the Guildford bombs but was allowed to go free. His story conflicted with those of the other four.

At the three-week trial, many serious allegations were made by defence counsel against individual officers in an attempt to establish that the Guildford Four's confessions—the only substantial evidence against them—were false.

Lord Wigoder, QC, counsel for Mr Conlon, accused Chief Superintendent Wally Simmons, who led the Surrey team, of threatening his client during interrogation, and extending his threats of violence to Mr Conlon's family in Belfast. Mr Conlon alleged that Mr Simmons threatened to have his mother shot in an "accident". Mr Simmons denied these claims.

Mr Armstrong had claimed in evidence that he was struck in the face by Mr Rowe when he refused to confess, and called a "lying bastard". He said he answered the questions because he was frightened, and an officer had threatened to throw him out of the window and "put it down as suicide".

Detective Inspector Tim Blake was accused by Mr Arthur Mildon, QC, counsel for Mr Paul Hill, of knocking Mr Hill down, pinning him to

the floor and shaking his head by the hair. Mr Blake denied this. He also denied that he had attacked Mr Conlon, making him strip and squeezing his testicles, Mr Blake said he had not seen Mr Conlon on the day of the alleged assault. Detective Sergeant Richard Jermy also denied threatening Mr Conlon, provoking the defendant to protest from the dock that the officer was lying. He had to be restrained by prison officers.

Mr Eric Myers, QC, counsel for Ms Richardson, alleged that wpc Anita Mills and Detective Constable Martin Wise slapped her. These claims were also denied. A statement by Ms Richardson which was read to the court, although not given on oath, said that she was punched in the ribs, and that her confessions "were virtually dictated to me and I wrote down what they said and suggested to me".

Mr Conlon, speaking to ITN, said there was "not a lot of bitterness in my heart. I feel bitterness towards the judiciary, towards the police who framed me, who fabricated evidence, but I have nothing but time and respect for all the English people who helped and there have been so, so many of them."

He said the Guildford, Woolwich and Birmingham bombs had been a tragedy. "But you don't compound the tragedy by making other tragedies.

"If you're Irish, and you're arrested on a terrorist, political type of offence, you don't stand a chance, you just don't stand a chance. Maybe now that they've been big enough, or there's someone who's been honest enough to admit the mistakes that were made, maybe the Birmingham Six will be next."

To the ranks of journalists waiting outside the Old Bailey, he said: "I've been in prison for 15 years for something I did not do. I watched my father die in a British prison when he was innocent. The Maguires is innocent. And let's hope the Birmingham Six are freed."

Earlier, as he left the court, Mr Conlon was asked by a police officer whether he wished to speak to his solicitor. "I want to get out," he replied. "I am an innocent man. I should never have been in here."

On the day of his arrest in Belfast, he says he was beaten. "My clothes were covered in blood and my family had to bring clean ones. They were slapping me all over the place."

At a police station near Heathrow, things got worse. "It was cold and frightening. There was a reception committee. There must have been about 25 policemen all crowding round me, all glaring and shouting things like 'You Irish bastard.'

"They made me take off my clothes in front of them all and they made sarcastic comments. Some were spitting on me. They took me down to a cell. All it had was a wooden bench. I was like that until 12 o'clock the next day. People kept coming down and looking at me like some animal in a zoo."

He paused: "I thought it can only be a matter of days before these people come to their senses. This is probably the strangest thing I'm going to say, but living in Belfast



and seeing people tried before the Diplock Courts, I was sure British justice couldn't make a mistake of this magnitude."

He was interrogated for two days. "I couldn't believe police officers, people who are supposed to be serious, intelligent people, could go down to that level. I couldn't believe anyone could go off the handle like they did. Two officers were particularly hard on me. One said he would show me an old RAF trick. He put his hands behind my ears and pulled me up off the chair. It was very painful.

"Another senior man was more aggressive verbally than physically. But he slapped me in the face, wagged his finger and pulled my nose. He told me, he assured me, that I would make a statement.

"It seemed they would do anything to convict me. They were under enormous pressure from the press and television. Even if the truth came up and hit them in the face they would have knocked it down."

But threats from a senior Surrey CID officer, made, him sign two confessions. "He told me an accident could be arranged for my mother and sister. He told me if a soldier shot my mother it would be put down to an accident and British soldiers were never convicted in the courts. That's when it became a whole different thing. I knew he could probably do what he said. I don't think I was the strongest of people.

"I was never so relieved to go to prison and get out of that police station, so they would leave me alone. I couldn't give them any information about Guildford because I had never been there. I couldn't see how any sensible person could believe what we had written. People living in squats and hostels, people drunk on the Kilburn High Road. But even after the trial nobody said that's a strange ASU (active service unit) they've got there, spending their

dole money on drugs." Mr Conlon is bitter because two alibi witness statements taken by the police in January and June of 1975 from Mr Charles Burke, who saw him in the hostel where he was living on the night of the Guildford bombs, were never given to the defence.

A few days before his father, Giuseppe, died in prison in 1980, he was allowed to see him in hospital. (Giuseppe Conlon was one of the Maguire Seven, convicted of conspiracy to cause explosions after being implicated by some of the Guildford Four.) "He pulled his mask off and said he was going to die. He said he had to die to clear my name. He told me to put my hands in my pockets when he died, and not to attack any of the prison officers who had treated him badly. They didn't even have the decency to give me five minutes alone with my mother. Compassion is not a word in the prison vocabulary."

"I am going to dedicate as much time as possible to getting the Birmingham Six out of prison. I couldn't live with myself if I was to walk away;

"I want to let people know what prisons are really like, harsh, cruel places. There is no bigger handicap than being Irish and convicted of a political offence. Some of the governors were very decent and sympathetic and they told me they believed I was innocent, but they didn't put themselves out to do anything about it.

"Until yesterday I was a category A prisoner. I got four strip searches yesterday [the day of his release]. One minute I was one of the most dangerous prisoners in the country and here I am on the street. In 15 years I have never had an open visit with my family. There were always prison officers standing there asking me to speak up."

After his release, Hill said during a BBC interview: "I am of the opinion that police knew from day one that

they had arrested innocent people. The manuscripts have been available from day one." He had confessed because the police had threatened to charge his pregnant girlfriend with murder.

He had been brutalised in a police station, where he had been stripped naked and taken into a room where he was shown photographs of dead bodies.

He said that he had been repeatedly assaulted by prison officers during his 15 years in prison and even received compensation for one attack. He would now campaign for the release of the Birmingham Six.

"This case, as with the Birmingham case, was an example to the Irish community. It was a method of terrorising the Irish community. I never thought I would be free. I have just spent 15 years in hell."

Hill refused to co-operate with the prison system by accepting work rosters during all his years inside. As a result, he spent more than 1,400 days in solitary confinement. "I told them I was innocent, and that innocent men can't be forced to work. I was as much a hostage in there as Terry Waite is.

"I never accepted the situation I was in, and I never took part in any review hearing. I just told them: 'I'm an innocent man' and walked out of the office. To have accepted the system would have been an admission of guilt."

He spoke bitterly of the police officers who, he said, 'brutalised' him and threatened to arrest and charge his pregnant girlfriend. "They left me in no doubt that if I didn't confess, Gina would be 'screwed', as they put it, for the Guildford bombings too." As he spoke, his daughter Kara, who was born while he was on trial at the Old Bailey, sat silently at his side.

"I am profoundly sad that [Det Insp Tim] Blake [whom he claims was the officer who treated him the worst] is now dead. I'd love to dig

him up and carry him to the judicial inquiry. Not in a spirit of revenge but I just want to be vindicated. It'd be nice if they [the police] could spend 15 years in jail thinking they were never going to be freed.'

THERE is a small department in the Home Office whose job it is to investigate suspected miscarriages of justice. A considerable amount of their work, it is said, is devoted to parking offences. But Sir David Napley, a past president of the Law Society, recalled a few years ago in evidence to a Commons Select Committee, that it had never "as a result of its own investigations felt able to recommend a pardon".

Where the case is a high profile terrorist offence and the principal characters are Irish, the chances even of a reopening instigated by the Home Office must be zero. Where then do lawyers of families turn, who believe that people have been wrongly convicted of IRA crimes?

In 1977 when their case last went to appeal, the three Irishmen and one Englishwoman convicted of the Guildford bombings had the strongest new evidence anyone could hope to get: three IRA men convicted after the Balcombe Street siege, and another who had been arrested separately, gave detailed accounts as to how they and not the Guildford four, had planted the bombs at Guildford and Woolwich in 1974. They had volunteered to lawyers information that could have been known to no one but those who had carried out the bombings. Besides the vague, garbled and mutually conflicting statements of the Guildford four, this new evidence was impressive and convincing.

But the Court of Appeal rejected it. The three judges, led by Lord Roskill, decided the Balcombe Street men were lying. The new evidence was never heard by a jury, as it should have been.

Since the Appeal Court judges did not consider the new statements alongside those of the Guildford four, the vital task of comparing the quality of the two sets of "confessions" was never done. As Lord Devlin later pointed out the case had been tried in two halves, before two separate courts, and only half the evidence had been considered by a jury: in his view a fundamental error.

With the failure of the 1977 appeal, hope died for Patrick Armstrong, Gerard Conlon, Paul Hill and Carole Richardson, the four young people in prison. In the words of Armstrong's lawyer, Alastair Logan, "I was incredibly depressed and disappointed, and felt I had been a party to something dishonest." Gerry Conlon felt much the same. At the end of the appeal he wrote to his mother, "Mum, We were fitted up something rotten... we will prove our innocence one day."

Alastair Logan was absolutely convinced of that innocence. He couldn't put the case behind him. Apart from their confessions, there had been no evidence against the four, which meant there was nothing to chip away at nothing to overturn.

Paddy Armstrong wrote to him from prison, "You tried your best." And "Where do we go from here?" But Logan no longer knew.

He appealed to the media, hardly anyone was prepared to recognise that there was a story in what had happened. A few lone voices took it up — David Martin in *The Leveller*; Gavin Esler and Chris Mullin in the *New Statesman*; David McKittrick in the *Belfast Telegraph* — but it was scarcely mainstream news.

In 1980 the BBC Northern Ireland programme, *Spotlight*, featured the death in prison of Gerry Conlon's father Guiseppe. Guiseppe Conlon was convicted with the Maguire family in the explosives case linked to Guildford, another case for which the evidence has always been seriously suspect. *Panorama* devoted part of a programme on the shortcomings of forensic evidence to the doubts hanging over the Maguire case. But it was not until 1984 — almost 10 years after the original convictions — that the first networked TV documentary to consider any of the cases was transmitted. It was made by Grant McKee for Yorkshire Television's *First Tuesday* and considered the Maguire/Conlon case in full.

The journalist who brought the idea to *First Tuesday*, Tom McGurk, had also mooted the idea of a programme on Guildford. But with so little evidence against the Guildford four there was little that was new to investigate. (*Panorama* did a substantial amount of research on the case, but their film never appeared.) What remained was some strong alibi evidence and two witnesses who had remained faithful since 1974; the commitment of Alastair Logan and relatives of the four; and the apparent nonsense of the confessions.

I think it is safe to say that no one who had read the statements of the Balcombe Street men alongside those of the Guildford four could remain easy about the authenticity of the latter. During the making of "Aunt Annie's Bomb Factory" on the Maguire case, the conviction grew among the YTV production team that Guildford had been an appalling miscarriage of justice.

First Tuesday went on to produce a film about Guildford: "*Guildford Time Bomb*" (ITV July 1986). It made no claim to present new evidence; the facts spoke for themselves. The day after transmission the Home Secretary, Douglas Hurd, called for an internal inquiry: it was back to the Home Office. Everything went quiet.

But in the wake of the film and of Robert Kee's book *Trial and Error* that followed it, the 1974 Northern Ireland Secretary Merlyn Roes, the 1974 Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins, Lord Devlin and Lord Scarman joined forces with Cardinal Hume, whose disquiet about the case dated from meetings with Guiseppe Conlon on his deathbed in prison back in 1980. Together, persistently, they lobbied for a review of the case. In January 1987 Douglas Hurd announced that the case of the Birmingham bombers would be reopened, but that Guildford and the Maguires would not.

In March 1987 *First Tuesday* trans-

mitted a second programme, *A Case that Won't Go Away*. We had found and interviewed a new alibi witness for Paul Hill, and unearthed expert opinions that threw doubt on the confessions of Carole Richardson. They had been commissioned by the Home Office itself and their contents never published.

Again, an internal inquiry was announced, but it was later expanded — only, I believe, as a result of the continuing pressure of Cardinal Hume's team — into a fullscale police investigation.

At last, as the four sat through their 15th year in prison, a full 12 years after their last appeal and as Carole Richardson, 17 at the time of her arrest, contemplated the likelihood of spending half her life locked up, a new appeal was announced in January this year. Now, it seems, that appeal will never be heard. Television has played its part in getting the case back into the public eye, but it was a belated part. Without influential pressure it would almost certainly not have succeeded.

The reasons for yesterday's development have yet to be disclosed, but for those of us who have lived with this case, there is, for the moment, relief that the nightmare for the four is about to end.

After our first film in 1986 Carole Richardson wrote, "I think that is what hurts most... nothing is different now to what it was 10 or 12 years ago. The evidence, or should I say lack of it, is still the same. All that's changed is the people telling it I don't know. Unfair isn't a strong enough word for what I feel about it all, but I can't think of another one."

After meticulously summarising each of the Four's confessions in all their fantastical and often contradictory detail in such a sober way that one could almost think he was again presenting them as fact, Mr Amlot for the Crown revealed that so-called contemporaneous notes of the interviews which had allegedly produced these confessions, and had been presented to the court as such, bad in fact been nothing of the sort.

Handwritten for bogus verisimilitude, they had been copies of material already worked out on a typewriter for suitable effect in court when presented as contemporaneous notes. Disturbing differences between reality in the Guildford police station and that reality as presented to the court then emerged, particularly in relation to the times and number of interviews in which the Four had been involved.

While this enabled Mr Amlot to talk of officers having seriously misled the court and abandoned that paramount integrity on which juries must rely in cases where confessions are the only evidence, it also enabled him to ascribe these failures largely to technical procedures. Lack of integrity could thus be used conveniently as a sort of blanket dry rot to cover the whole area of the confessions without going into too much detail about the way in which the imaginative invention of the police had been at work to procure the details. The dry rot effect of lack of integrity was rightly used to invalidate the confessions as a whole.

But it might have been more salu-

tary for the prevention of future miscarriages of justice if the exact way in which the police manage to fabricate and concoct the content, as well as the technical structure of interviews, had been made more explicit.

But what even Lord Lane scarcely alluded to was the possibility that allegations of improper pressure

At last, as the four sat through their 15th year in prison, a full 12 years after their last appeal, a new appeal was announced in January.

and brutality against certain of the lacking-in-integrity officers may well have contained some substance. Indeed, if they didn't, one is left with the absurd conclusion that these nonsensical confessions were agreed to by the accused just for the inventive fun of it. For the explanation at the time of Sir Michael Havers — namely that it was all part of skilled IRA counter-intelligence technique — now has to be abandoned together with the supposed integrity.

Mention of Sir Michael (as he then was) reminds one of other matters that are somehow curiously swept under the carpet, if we are not careful, in rejoicing in this admirable decision to quash the convictions. For instance, Anne Maguire was rightly mentioned quite a lot in Mr Amlot's survey yesterday of the confessions in which she figured both as a bomb maker and as a bomb planter. Indeed, in the Guildford trial itself Sir Michael had made some considerable play with the passages from one of the confessions in which these allegedly murderous roles of Anne Maguire were performed. What was not mentioned in yesterday's proceedings is what happened to Anne Maguire after Sir Michael had finished bandying her name about in this way at the trial.

She did not just disappear off the face of the earth as one might have imagined if just listening to Mr Amlot's survey and the rest of yesterday's proceedings. She in fact disappeared six months later into Her Majesty's prisons, having been sent there by the same judge who had so wholeheartedly approved of his jury's verdict against the Guildford Four at the time, the present Master of the Rolls, Lord Donaldson, for whom yesterday must have been an even more painful business than it was for Lord Lane.

Anne Maguire in fact then disappeared for nearly 10 years. What made her disappearance particularly disturbing was the fact that at her own trial — which would never have come about if these now discredited confessions had not led the Guildford police to charge her with murder, too — not only did the same judge who had imprisoned the Guildford Four send her down but she was prosecuted by the same Sir Michael Havers. The same Sir Michael who had called her a bomb maker in the previous trial now

claimed she had illegally handled explosives while maintaining, with the present Master of the Rolls, that there was no connection whatsoever between the Guildford trial and the Maguire trial.

Technically correct as this assertion may have been, there has always been something about it which never did seem quite right to the man on the Clapham omnibus (and probably also elsewhere) and will seem noticeably less so after yesterday's disclosures.

One still disturbing question arose in the mind as we walked out yesterday into the lunchtime sunshine, delighted to know that the disgraceful Guildford Four convictions were about to be quashed. It was this: if the lack of integrity of the Surrey police of that time, now established by the Crown and leading to criminal proceedings, had been known by the jury at the Maguire trial, would their verdict against her have been the same?

Although no trace of any bomb-making or other illegal equipment was found in her home or in the surrounding area she was convicted on evidence of nitroglycerine traces allegedly found there on some medicinal plastic gloves a few days after she had been arrested for a murder to which she refused to confess.

To put the question another way: if the jury at her trial had known (as we now know) that the Guildford police fitted up the Guildford Four, would they have returned a verdict of guilty against her?

When the campaign for the Guildford Four began to get seriously under way a few years ago, a police officer informed one of those engaged in it that he would never get anywhere with it because it was opening up a whole "can of worms". There are a number of worms still in the can.

TOP Whitehall officials, including the most senior civil servant at the Ministry of Defence, are pressing for a public inquiry into allegations that the security services were involved in a cover-up of homosexual abuse at a Belfast boys' home.

The MoD's permanent secretary, Sir Michael Quinlan, has asked his colleagues, including Sir Robin Butler, the Cabinet Secretary, to present ministers with concerted advice that there should be a full and independent inquiry to clear up finally allegations which have been linked to the Kincora boys' home in Belfast for the past nine years.

It is not known whether the officials have told the Prime Minister of their concern. Earlier this year, Mrs Thatcher told the Labour MP Mr Ken Livingstone that allegations about Kincora have been "fully and carefully investigated by successive inquiries".

Four separate inquiries have looked into Kincora since allegations of homosexual abuse first surfaced in an Irish newspaper in 1980. But their terms of reference ensured that they concentrated on the failures of the welfare services rather than the intelligence connection.

Despite repeated ministerial assurances that there is nothing in

them, claims that elements in the security services were aware of the abuses but kept quiet to blackmail loyalist politicians and extremist Protestant groups have not been laid to rest. It is also known that one senior civil servant, now dead, used to visit Kincora.

Last week, the former Labour Northern Ireland Secretary, Mr Merlyn Rees, renewed his call for an inquiry. "Allegations about how the intelligence community made use of what was going on at Kincora have got to be cleared up," he said.

The call within Whitehall for an independent inquiry has been prompted partly by a series of Parliamentary questions tabled by backbench MPs, notably Mr Tam Dalyell, and by a book about Colin Wallace, a former army press officer in Northern Ireland, who says the Royal Ulster Constabulary and army have been aware of the Kincora scandal since the mid-1970s.

But it may also be part of a wider effort in Whitehall to try to clear up outstanding issues in an effort to put faltering Anglo-Irish relations on a new footing.

In answer to parliamentary questions about Kincora, defence ministers have repeatedly said that if MPs had new evidence then they should pass it on to the "appropriate authorities". On Thursday, Mr Archie Hamilton, the armed forces minister, promised to write to Mr Dalyell, who raised the Kincora affair during the debate on the defence estimates, "to answer all his points".

KINCORA, the name of a boys' home on the Upper Newtownards Road, in east Belfast, has been synonymous with murky scandal ever since the first allegations of homosexual abuse there were made nine years ago.

Despite four inquiries, one question has not been answered: were boys used as pawns in an attempt by elements in the security services to discredit or blackmail prominent Loyalists?

There are subsidiary questions: did members of the security services visit Kincora, and did their activities contribute to the resignation of the then coordinator of security in Northern Ireland, Sir Maurice Oldfield?

The scandal surfaced in 1980 when the *Irish Independent* newspaper exposed child abuse at Kincora after years of unsuccessful complaints to the local health authorities by inmates and social workers.

They were told that the Royal Ulster Constabulary was investigating the home. But it was only after the newspaper's disclosures that three men were jailed for sexual offences dating back to 1960: the warden, Joseph Mains; the assistant warden, Raymond Semple; and the housefather, William McGrath, founder of a Protestant sect called Tara.

Among those who knew about the allegations against McGrath, and who reported them to army intelligence, was Mr Colin Wallace, an army press officer. One of his tasks was to spread black propaganda and undertake psychological operations

in co-operation with elements of the

Democratic Unionist Party to the SDLP. He says that in 1973 he was approached by army intelligence officers, who asked him to leak to the press information about Tara, Kincora, and its alleged links with Unionist politicians.

While the MIS wanted to keep the information secret (partly, Mr Wallace has suggested, to protect Tara, which was proving useful provoking disarray in Protestant extremist circles), the army wanted it out in the open. But the press did not bite. In 1974, Mr Wallace wrote a four-page memorandum to superior officers. It included details about abuses at Kincora, the death of a 10-year-old boy, Brian McDermott, and an internal RUC report on Tara.

After a spate of press reports in 1980, the Northern Ireland health authorities set up the first inquiry into Kincora in January 1981. It was shortlived; on the very day it met, three of its members resigned in protest against its restricted terms of references, which prevented it from considering the allegations of a cover-up. A second inquiry that year was limited to looking at "standards of residential care" at Kincora.

Meanwhile, Mr James Prior, the then Northern Ireland Secretary, asked Sir George Terry, chief constable of Sussex, to investigate the way the RUC was conducting its continuing inquiry into Kincora.

The Terry report, completed in October 1983, has never been published. Sir George said he had concluded that there was "no substance to allegations that army intelligence had knowledge of homosexual abuse at Kincora." But doubts about this soon arose, amid reports that one of McGrath's former colleagues, Mr Roy Garland, had told army intelligence all about Kincora in the company of a preacher in the mid-1970s.

Sir George's conclusions were roundly dismissed by Ulster politicians from different parties who were now convinced of a cover-up involving both the army and the RUC.

Four separate inquiries have looked into Kincora since allegations of homosexual abuse first surfaced in 1980. But [not on] the intelligence connection.

The scandal would not go away. In January 1983, Mr Prior announced the setting up of yet another inquiry, this time under a retired circuit judge, William Hughes. But its terms of reference were also limited: the inquiry considered why social workers had not detected abuses earlier, but it kept away from allegations of cover-ups and the role of the RUC and the intelligence services.

The report, completed in early 1986, concentrated on pointing to failures of communications between social workers and absolved any individuals from blame. It was attacked by politicians across the spectrum, from the right of the

Democratic Unionist Party to the SDLP.

In March this year, Mr Ian Stewart, the then Northern Ireland minister, announced that three former Kincora residents had received a total of £22,500 in out-of-court compensation payments. "If the Terry and Hughes inquiries found nothing to be worried about, why are these quite large sums being paid?" asked Mr Kevin McNamara, Labour's Northern Ireland spokesman.

There are other twists in the long-running controversy. The Hughes inquiry said that Mr Wallace declined to co-operate; Mr Wallace insists he was willing to help, provided that he was given full legal protection and was accompanied by his lawyer, Mr James Morgan-Harris. Mr Morgan-Harris said last week that he was not given such assurances.

On Sir George Terry's team from Sussex police was Detective Chief Inspector Gordon Harrison, the officer involved in the prosecution of Mr Wallace on murder charges — later reduced to manslaughter — in 1980.

In 1987, Mr James Miller, a former MIS agent, claimed that the intelligence services had known about the activities at Kincora for a number of years and believed that the boys' home was used to entrap men for use in blackmail.

THE REASON given for the dismissal in 1975 of Colin Wallace — leaking information to a journalist — is ironic, given that leaking was part of his job as an army press officer.

Mr Wallace, described by critics as a Walter Mitty figure, was dismissed after writing a memorandum to superiors about Kincora and after he began to question dirty tricks.

The most notable of these was Clockwork Orange, black propaganda to smear leading Labour and Liberal politicians as well as Conservatives, including Mr Edward Heath.

Mr Wallace says the material was provided by elements within MIS.

On appeal, Mr Wallace had his dismissal overturned when his superior, Mr Peter Broderick, acknowledged that "with the full agreement of the army in Whitehall" a special unit, called Information Policy, had used "psychological means to assist operations strategically and tactically." He subsequently resigned.

In 1981, Wallace was given a 10-year prison sentence for the manslaughter of a friend, Jonathan Lewis, in Sussex.

Now at liberty, he maintains his innocence; his lawyer voiced doubts about his trial; and the journalist, Mr Paul Foot, wrote a book suggesting he was set up.

YOUR LEADER (October 20) asks whether miscarriages of justice, such as those in the case of the Guildford Four, could happen again now that the treatment of suspects is regulated by the Police and Criminal Evidence Act.

the exact way in which the police manage to fabricate and concoct the content

The answer, sadly, is that they can, and almost certainly still do, when the police, prosecution and judiciary are under great pressure to get results. This pressure can arise not only after a terrorist outrage but also, for example, after an Inner City riot when a police officer is murdered.

Winston Silcott's conviction, with two co-defendants, for the murder of PC Blakelock in the Broadwater Farm riot is a classic example. Although the Act was not yet legally in force at the time of the investigation, it was being given a trial run by the police force involved. Nevertheless, the course of events which appears to have led to Silcott's conviction has many parallels with the Guildford case.

1. Public and police outrage.
2. The arrest of a man with minor teenage convictions and a subsequent history of antagonism to the police.
3. The announcement, readily accepted by the popular press, that the ringleader of the riot had been arrested.
4. Widespread attempts by police investigators to persuade witnesses to name the accused.

5. The impression given to alibi witnesses that, if they confirmed the accused's alibi, they too were likely to be charged with serious offences.

6. Denial of solicitors to those arrested, even after a magistrate, in one instance, had insisted on a prisoner having legal assistance as a condition of continued detention.

7. Detention in solitary confinement and interrogation of juveniles in such oppressive circumstances that the trial judge dismissed their evidence as fantasy and instigated a disciplinary enquiry.

8. A leaked police mug-shot, proclaiming the guilt of the accused, covering the front page of the Sun.

9. No forensic, circumstantial or identification evidence put to the jury.

10. Not even a signed confession. Just an unsigned police record of an interrogation containing some ambiguous remarks which the jury were invited to construe as a confession.

11. Refusal of the trial judge to accept that there was insufficient evidence to put to the jury.

12. A jury which, after a three-month trial, must understandably have concluded that, with so much smoke, there must have been a fire.

13. Confirmation in the mind of the public of the justice of the verdict by widespread dissemination of completely false information about the accused's "vicious character and long history of robbery, violence, and drug dealing."

14. Refusal of the Appeal Court, chaired by Lord Lane, to allow an appeal.

Silcott was convicted in March 1987 of the murder of PC Keith Blakelock

during the Broadwater Farm disturbances of October 1985. He confessed to nothing. No witnesses testified against him. The prosecution produced not one piece of photographic or forensic evidence. Yet he was sentenced to life imprisonment.

The entire case depended on the following alleged statement from Silcott: "You ain't got enough evidence. Those kids won't give evidence in court. No one else will talk to you. You can't keep me away from them." Silcott never signed the police notes of his supposed remarks. But on the strength of these 26 words, Silcott was sent down for a minimum of 30 years. Tightening the rules of evidence would not have impeded one bit the ability of the authorities to frame Silcott — because there was no evidence against him in the first place. Silcott was found guilty because he was black and lived on Broadwater Farm.

YOU ARE right to draw attention to the Fisher Inquiry into the Confait case (*Guardian*, October 20), cited by Douglas Hurd as a precedent for the May inquiry. That inquiry was a total disaster, reached absurd conclusions, purported to reconvict two of the innocent victims of the original miscarriage and exonerated Inspector Graham Stockwell, the policeman who wrote down the confessions.

The worst aspect of it, however, was its procedure, under which Mr Donald Farquarson, QC, on behalf of the Metropolitan Police, used, over a period of days, his formidable forensic powers to cross-examine the three innocent young men succeeded in causing one of them to break down and walk out — behaviour which was perfectly natural in the circumstances but was clearly construed by Sir Henry Fisher as evidence of guilt. (I cannot believe it was a coincidence that Mr Farquarson, now a judge, was chosen to sit with Lord Lane on the Court of Appeal.)

I now bitterly regret advising my three constituents to co-operate with that inquiry. I would advise the Guildford Four to have nothing to do with the May inquiry, unless lay assessors are added to it.

I cannot see how any member of the legal establishment, sitting alone, can be expected to pass impartial judgment on the decision of that same establishment in the DPP's office in 1974 to withhold alibi evidence from the defence.

SUPPORTERS of the Birmingham Six, convicted of the November 1974 pub bombings in which 21 people died, have reacted with dismay to the firm refusal by the Home Secretary, Mr Douglas Hurd, to reopen the case.

They said that key elements of the new Birmingham evidence heard and rejected by the Court of Appeal last year bore striking similarities to the reasons advanced by the Crown last Thursday for freeing the Guildford Four.

Mr Hurd said last week that he was sure that the convictions of

the six were sound. The police had "crawled over the issues, the evidence, there just as the Avon and Somerset police have crawled over the evidence on Guildford.

"The Court of Appeal spent a month going into it all again, including five days on the question of confessions. So there is clearly no point or sense in my putting that case again."

The evidence adduced in the Guildford case by Mr Roy Amlot, QC, included the detention sheets drawn up by the police at Guildford giving details of the times of interviews with suspects and the names of the interviewing officers. There were serious discrepancies between the sheets and the details contained in the records of the interviews. There were examples where interviews were set down on the detention sheets of which no other trace remained and, conversely, what purported to, be contemporaneous notes of interviews which were never recorded on the detention sheets.

In the Birmingham case detention sheets existed but had been left blank. Defence lawyers said that neither in Morecambe nor in Birmingham, where the men were interrogated, had details of their detention been supplied, suggesting that this procedure had been adopted as a policy for the investigation. At the appeal last year new evidence unearthed by police from Devon and Cornwall was produced—a schedule of interviews with suspects drawn up the officer in charge of the original inquiry, Superintendent George Read.

Divided into columns, it listed not only times and personnel but also,

under the heading "knowledge of", the information that the interviewing officers would have known at a particular time. It failed to mention one interview that was recorded elsewhere, while details of another were crossed out and annotated and the word "OUT" underlined three times. At the appeal, defence lawyers alleged that the "Read schedule" was an aid to the fabrication of evidence: if the inquiry were being conducted honestly, there would be no need for a list of this kind.

At the 1975 trial, Mr Justice Bridge said that for the allegations of false confessions to be true the police "must have spent many hours trying to ensure that their lies would accord with each other." He believed this was impossible.

At the appeal, it was put to Mr Read that the schedule was "a blueprint as to how officers must, prepare their evidence." He replied: "That's certainly not so... I can't explain now. I can't. It's as simple as that due to the lapse of time."

The Court of Appeal under Lord Lane ruled that the schedule was an "informal document" of little importance and that there had been no attempt to deceive the courts by the police.

Ms Christine Crawley, the Labour MEP for Birmingham, has initiated a debate on the Birmingham Six at Strasbourg next month, supported by Mr John Hume, leader of the SDLP.

A PRISON officer who was one of 14 acquitted in 1976 of beating up the Birmingham Six has admitted his guilt for the first time. His statement casts fresh doubt on

their convictions, which have again been questioned after the Court of Appeal quashed the convictions of the Guildford Four last week.

The officer, whom we have undertaken not to name, said last night that he saw five of the six men naked, soon after their arrival on remand at Winson Green jail in Birmingham. As he joined a renewed assault, he saw that they bore marks of earlier injuries, sustained in the custody of the police to whom they had confessed.

The six, Patrick Hill, Hugh Callaghan, John Walker, Richard McKenny, Gerard Hunter and William Power, have maintained their innocence since their arrest shortly after bombs killed 21 in two Birmingham public houses in November 1974. At their trial in 1975, at their first appeal in 1976 and at the second appeal ordered by Mr Douglas Hurd, the Home Secretary, in 1987, they claimed that their confessions were obtained by threats and violence by police, and that they were beaten further at Winson Green. The Crown has always admitted that an assault of some kind took place at the prison, but denied the allegation of earlier beatings.

The officer has retired after suffering mental illness, the result, he said, of guilt feelings over the case. He first spoke about the men's previous injuries to an internal prison inquiry in 1974. He repeated his allegation in a statement to Devon and Cornwall police during inquiries initiated by Mr Hurd before the 1987 appeal.

He said: "I saw these men naked. All these years on, it's difficult for me to remember specific injuries. But my attitude has been consistent



over the years: that some of them were recent, and some were too old to have been caused in prison custody."

The officer worked as a warder in the prison hospital, and had undertaken a three-month medical course. He said: "There was a variety of injuries, a multitude of injuries." They included cuts and bruising, which the officer saw as the men were brought to be bathed and again assaulted in the bathroom.

The men had already been assaulted, about an hour before, in the prison reception area. The officer said: "If you kick someone, it doesn't show immediately. Some of the bruises were turning colour. I formed the impression that some of the injuries were older than other injuries: they'd got so many injuries, I can't be more specific." Walker, as later emerged in court, had lost several teeth. The others had black eyes, multiple bruising, and cuts requiring stitches.

Speaking slowly and deliberately, visibly under great strain, the officer referred to his trial with 13 fellow officers in 1976. He said: "I lied, and you've got to write it, because it's the truth. This has burdened me for 15 years."

He had been playing dominoes with other officers and swapped with a colleague in order to join the bathing party. He said: "I don't mind incriminating myself, but I won't implicate others: they were good, decent men. You've got to remember the climate of the times. These men had confessed to the most horrendous crime."

The men were taken one by one from cells on an upper landing and hurled down the stairway to the bathroom. The officer refused to elaborate, saying only: "The allegations against me in 1976 were by and large true." Then, he was said to have grabbed the men by the hair and thrown them violently into the bath.

Courts have heard a variety of evidence supporting his story. The 1974 trial of the six was told by the prison doctor, Dr Guy Harewood, that the men's injuries predated their arrival in Winson Green.

At the trial of the 14 officers, Dr David Paul, a senior forensic consultant, used photographs of the men to argue that some at least of their injuries were sustained in police custody. Two prison officers, who had been among the 14, told the 1987 appeal that the men were already injured on arrival.

Lawyers acting for the six said last night they would continue to press Mr Hurd to reopen the case, despite his refusal last week to do so.

THE SOLICITOR general, Sir Nicholas Lyell, has said that the judiciary involved in the Guildford case were "undoubtedly blameless." "May I refer him to chapter 36 of *Time Bomb* by Grant McKee and Ros Franey which deals with the hearing of the case by the Court of Appeal in 1977. After reading it. Sir Nicholas may well wonder whether the conduct of the judges of that court can be called "blameless". They improperly evaluated

the vital evidence of two members of the Balcombe Street gang (who claimed to have planted the bombs) instead of sending the case back for consideration by a jury. The judgments of Lord Justice Roskill was unfair and inaccurate. The truth is that the judges of the Court of Appeal who had the opportunity of comparing the hardened terrorists known as the Balcombe Street gang with the pathetic Guildford Four ought to have concluded that the latter were innocent. Their failure to stop the nonsense at that stage is the most shameful episode in the whole story.

The Labour MP Mr Chris Mullin alleged in the Commons that it was not credible to pretend that it was all the fault of a handful of Surrey police officers.

After the arrest of the Balcombe Street IRA unit, everybody knew they were responsible for the Guildford bombings, he said.

"Everybody, up to the level of Sir Michael Havers, the prosecutor, and Commander Peter Imbert, knew they had got the wrong people. They chose not to face up to that."

Yet even as Mr Hurd made this week's statement, Mr Ivor Stanbrook, hardline MP for Orpington and a leader of the "triumph for British justice" school, felt able to offer a warning sneer at the campaign. He told the Commons: "If we were to allow the due process of law to be diverted at the behest of cardinals and archbishops, British justice would be no better than that of the Ayatollah Khomeini."

PROBABLY the stupidest comment so far made about the Guildford Four was uttered last Friday night by Mr John Redwood, the Conservative MP for Wokingham. Appearing on Radio 4's *Any Questions*, he was answering the proposition that the wrongful conviction of the Four on faked evidence finally put an end to the argument for capital punishment. Not a bit of it, said the very right wing Mr Redwood, a former pillar of Mrs Thatcher's think tank. If death had been the likely consequence of convictions, he argued, then the police wouldn't have meddled with the evidence. The sheer enormity of what they were doing would have made them behave.

Mr Redwood is an Oxford MA and PhD. Like Keith Joseph, he is a former fellow of All Souls. His remark gives further proof that academic distinction does not guarantee common sense.

MRS Thatcher has decided to defy the European Court and cling to powers for detaining terrorist suspects which were introduced in December 1974 in response to the IRA bombing campaign in Guildford, Woolwich and Birmingham.

The powers were probably used for the first time to detain some of the Guildford Four while evidence was being fabricated against them.

Mr Douglas Hurd, the Home Secretary, is expected to announce

shortly that the Government will not comply with last year's European Court ruling against UK legislation allowing terrorist suspects to be held for up to seven days before being brought before a judge or magistrate.

The court decided that these powers breached article five of the European Convention on Human Rights, which stipulates that defendants must be brought promptly before a court.

For the last year, ministers have been trying to find a way of obeying the ruling without losing the opportunity for lengthy detentions which the police deem necessary to combat terrorism.

None of the four was charged within the normal two-day detention period. It is arguable that the extra time provided the opportunity for false statements to be concocted.

It was not clear yesterday whether ministers had yet appreciated the extra political damage which could be done by this aspect of the case.

Beside the politicians, however, the judges sit stonily mute. In 1977, Lord Justice Roskill, who heard the Guildford Four's appeal, did not merely turn it down but professed the kind of certainty for which the judicial temperament is only too famous, stating: "We need only say that so far as the new evidence is concerned we reject it in all its aspects. That evidence, therefore, gives rise to no lurking doubts whatever in our minds."

Thatcher, at least, - as the extracts show, - is having none of it. To keep the 7-day frame-up facility, the government is prepared to defy the Common Market avuncular advice (which helped force Britain into the Anglo-Irish Treaty snail's-pace retreat from Ireland in the first place) yet again in the maverick British ruling-class style of still wanting to appear to be 'powerfully independent' as a world power long after the reality of world power has almost disintegrated in defeat within the merciless inter-imperialist economic cut-throat rivalry (which Britain is dramatically losing, - see last week's *Bulletin*).

Thatcher is deeper than ever in trouble from all the recent momentous events, - from the economic disasters, to the Irish fiasco, and the constant humiliation politically internationally at such meetings as the Commonwealth Conference over her loyalty to South African fascism (now doomed), around the NATO-Common Market alliance over her hatred of German dominance, etc, and many other matters.

But once again the petty-bourgeois idealist approach of 'mistakes to be corrected' or 'reforms to be made' misses all the richness of Thatcher's sudden clumsiness and vulnerability being much more to do with

decay finally catching up with dying British imperialism rather than with any particular errors Thatcher is now committing.

The Tory mercenary-profiteering hardline approach is still much in force and is indeed more popular than ever with many of the bourgeoisie. It is hardly 'socialism' which is challenging the long Tory lead in the opinion polls and 10-years' election results.

Just the opposite. Kinnock and the Alliance reptiles have had to wreck what little 'democratic equality' integrity was left to the Labour Party in order to catch up with Thatcher's appeal to bourgeois individualism.

But the philistine 'market mechanism' bourgeois-idealistic ideology is faltering because imperialism overall is faltering, however paradoxical that may seem in the light of Gorbachev's continued full-flood retreat from workers state socialism towards world bourgeois values, and in the light of the nauseating bragging done by Bushism, Thatcherism, the rest of the complacent corpulent West, and by Labourism trotting loyally in the wake of the in-fact decrepit 'market forces'.

The worst insoluble economic crisis in its history is imminently about to befall imperialism; and the international revolutionary anti-imperialism struggle has in fact never been in better shape, ready to take up the opportunities for proletarian-dictatorship overthrow of capitalism which will instantly follow all round the world out of the inter-imperialist warmongering/slump debacle the West will plunge the planet into inevitably.

Thatcher may yet play a role individually in the possibly serious splits, which could ravage the Tory Party and British ruling class generally, over which power-block to most closely ally with as the capitalist trade-war and arms-race hots up murderously.

But the context in which this is likely to happen, if necessary, is bound to be one of general chauvinistic warmongering hysteria anyway, - of the kind at which Thatcherism has already proved so adept in the Falklands, and in kow-towing to US Ramboism elsewhere, from Grenada to Afghanistan, Kampuchea, and other Western counter-revolutionary colonial outrages.

In which case a National Government is as likely an outcome of Thatcher's difficulties as any, or a government so Tory (even if led by Kinnock) that makes no difference anyway.

Thatcher could stay on, but could equally be easily dispensed with tomorrow. But it will not make much difference in the long run either way because the crisis for British imperialism is already here.

The personal humiliation of the Thatchers of this world, plus the general governmental paralysis, etc., - are much more symptoms of deeper imperialist decay than to be seen as causes of that decay, however much their disgrace and turmoil then helps fan it further by making visibly conscious the ruling class's general loss of nerve and direction.

Far more important is understanding the general class-war dimensions imposed on desperate British imperialism both in its domestic and international

postures.

Intensified jingoistic flag-waving will be the general aim whatever regime takes over (see ILWP Books vol 11). Only conscious Leninist revolutionary preparation can adequately make ready for such developments.

In the rapidly-changing upheavals ahead for capitalism in Britain, only a party of Leninist theory can give any real leadership to working people. The revolutionary proletariat will finally be forced to speak by the disastrous decay of events; and the sordid machinations of parliamentary democracy and bourgeois-media opinion will become increasingly sidelined, not before time. Build Leninism. Spread the ILWP Bulletin.

Joe Harper

Hypocrisy over Gow

[ILWP Bulletin No 557 01-08-90]

The endless cynical demands for Irish Republicans to 'use the democratic process' and not 'pointless terrorism' has been answered by the national-liberation struggle in the way taught it by British fascist-imperialism.

Sinn Féin's independence programme won an overwhelming majority of Irish seats in the British elections of 1918. The Irish MPs refused to take up their seats in London and declared an independent Dail in Dublin instead, in 1919.

British imperialism's reply was to send in the Black and Tan terror troops to smash the independence movement, and to impose partition in 1920.

Sinn Féin used the 'democratic process' to win an overwhelming majority of Irish seats in the British-imperialist run elections of 1918.

Their reward was the bayonet, and the bullet and the dismemberment of their ancient united island nation-state. Now they are told the '[to] use the democratic process again' in six gerrymandered bits of Ulster's original nine counties

(three were left in the Republic because they had too many independence supporters) where the British colonist vote is in a permanent rigged majority. This is a stinking fraud denying Ireland its rightful united national independence for ever. It can only be replied to by a national-liberation struggle.

The Goebbels-trained 'free' British bourgeois press is simply dispensing meaningless depraved lies in churning out the oldest most discredited British colonial refrain of all: 'We will not let bombs drive us out'.

But such is the precarious hold by British imperialism over one of its last colonial territories that the entire avalanche of manipulated 'public political comment' on Gow's assassination all ultra-carefully avoids even any mention of the idea that the deadly war of national-liberation could cease tomorrow if British imperialism would hand over all power in Ireland in good order to a Dublin government exactly as should have happened in 1918.

Douglas Bell

(not by chance) deal between Dublin and London to proceed further with the 'constitutional' snails-pace British withdrawal from the colony, forced out by weakened British imperialism's inability to cope with Sinn Féin's revolutionary struggle, but covering it up with a last-ditch international bourgeois conspiracy brokered by Washington, NATO and the EEC with the Green Tories to dress the scuttle up as 'law-governed further peacefully-negotiated progress in the ancient relationship between these islands' etc. (see ILWP Books vol 8 & 15).

But even more immediately significant from imperialism's point of view, the Middle East scene of monopoly capitalism's latest supposed 'triumph' in reversing the rate of revolutionary and national-liberation decline in the West's power is looking unhealthier by the minute.

Slowly, bit by bit, the real story of reactionary brutality, nazi propaganda, and illegitimate seizures of land, property, and wealth in the region is coming out, - all of it perpetrated by imperialism and its degenerate feudal allies, - as sections of the bourgeois media are themselves beginning to acknowledge:
/Cutting omitted/

...But not only is the Jaber Sabah gangster dynasty now being seen in its truly revolting medieval land-grabbing colours. The monstrous Saudi feudal tyranny is not very far behind in rearming up to the eyebrows to squat down more oppressively than ever on its even larger illegitimate share of Middle East Arab oil wealth. And the Western imperialist ringmasters themselves are quickly confirming not only that all talk of a blitzkrieg invasion to "defend freedom, and secure Middle-East peace and disarmament" was pure humbug but that they don't really object to regimes like that of Saddam Hussein himself, - but only to his making a nuisance of himself to the West:
/Cuttings omitted/

Maybe Saddam will yet be toppled as a result of the damage Western imperialism did inflict in order to force Baghdad back into line with the US monopoly—capitalist diktat for the region, and maybe American interventionism will even play out the colonial role to the full and ensure its own new stooge regime gets appointed in Iraq, deciding to dispense once and for all with the aid and encouragement it gave to its former stooge Saddam over the last 20 years.

But what becomes immediately obvious from all these sordid manoeuvres is what cynical hypocrisy was all the American bluster earlier (echoed by their pathetic British sidekicks) about "the greatest threat to mankind since Adolf Hitler" which must be "totally disarmed and dismantled as a regime in its entirety", etc.

Another criminal aspect emerging to all the lies told is the deception of the 'free world' over why the Saddam regime in particular had to become the target of unprecedented Western-imperialist colonial warmongering preparations because of the sickening violence, the gross disregard of all human rights, the flouting of even the most basic norms of civilised democratic behaviour" etc, etc, -- carefully playing down the Western monopoly-bourgeoisie's real complaint which was against Saddam redrawing the old colonial frontiers of the Arabian peninsula (which the colonists themselves so juggled with to their own best advantage before leaving)./
/Cutting omitted/

...But the serious question is how much in vain was all this out-of-date colonial reaction? What are the Western monopolies' chances of hanging on to their domination of the Arab oil wealth via their despicable feudal stooges around the Arabian peninsula?

Astonishingly, one of the worst problems the West may have to handle is that the filthy-rich medieval greed-gangs looting the regions resources in conspiracy with imperialism might be bankrupting themselves, - their luxury-loving and armed-protection-loving eyes proving even bigger than their grotesque-enough bellies and wallets. The Saudis are already seeking loans to tide them over an expensive period in their parasitic billionaire existence. Now the Kuwaiti mafia are running into similar problems,/
/Cutting omitted/

...The new arms race is already well out of control, and feelings of revolutionary war fever have been stirred in country after country as a result of the imperialists' murderous intervention.

Bush's mindless propaganda about a 'new world order' is soon likely to be the last thing which the Washington colonial strategists will want the region to be concentrating on, preferring instead a 'period of calm and stability', - meaning a continuation of the US-dominated imperialist status-quo./

Imperialist degeneracy-marking time but not for long

[ILWP Bulletin No 589 20-03-91 section]

Although world development will, in appearance, seem to remain paralysed until the next US imperialist catastrophe, in reality capitalism's slide into deeper slump disaster continues relentlessly.

The British bourgeois system's Budget makes sick reading and comes on top of the ruling class's High Court admission that the whole regime and

legal paraphernalia of Britain's alleged 'lawful' colonial tyranny over the occupied zone of Ireland is proving too costly in every respect.

Even more significant than the Birmingham Six finally having to be let out of jail after one of the dirtiest frame-ups by officialdom in history (backed by a 16-year 'free press' whitewash) is the simultaneous



'There can be no peaceful transition to socialism', the military coup in Chile in 1973 was a forceful reminder

...But the shattering impact war has may have made it impossible for US imperialist influence to survive without offering at least some sops to outraged Arab nationalist opinion. These will almost certainly be regarded as totally unnecessary and indigestible by Western imperialism's well-armed Zionist-colonialist frontmen.

It is an insoluble contradiction just waiting to happen.

And Washington will be amazingly lucky if the incurable Palestinian-Zionist conflict is the only major-sized debacle on its plate before the end of the year. The revolutionary political pressure on the Egyptian and Syrian reactionary opportunist recruits to imperialism's class-collaborating feudal set-up in the Gulf must soon become unbearable.

These Arab bourgeois-nationalist regimes get little enough out of the West's neo-colonialist arrangements anyway. When the international monopoly-capitalist market system finally plunges into fullscale slump after a series of inflationary-debt crashes, it will be impossible to hold back or hoodwink the mass movement demanding change throughout the Third World any longer.

And the incipient Arab revolution is only part of the West's problems, - and not necessarily the most explosive part either. The revolutionary ferment in India alone could finally swamp the imperialist market-domination system off its last legs entirely. And other giant economic basket cases like Brazil, Pakistan Argentina, Indonesia, Nigeria, etc. are queuing up behind India and the Arab world as likely to prove beyond the West's ability to control once the anti-imperialist revolt really gets under way.

Meanwhile some of the first signs of the old order finally breaking up for ever may come

out of the USA and Britain themselves as their panic-stricken market hysteria struggles vainly to digest increasingly disastrous world trade-war news (in the cutthroat banking and industrial competition which Japan and Germany are still comfortably winning), plus the related political news of a no-longer-impressed Third World in revolt against the old Anglo-Saxon colonial order:/cutting omitted/

....But although the dangerous warmongering blitzkrieg appears to have come off at least on the immediate military front backing the feudal support strategy, the international markets have hardly gone wild with excitement so far, even in Britain and America.

If it does turn out that the only market certainty is to be continuing uncertainty, then the gloom by the autumn might easily plunge into not just a couple of Black Fridays and Black Mondays but a black every other day of the week too.

In one way or another, a fair number of imperialist chickens have begun coming home to roost lately as the monopoly-capitalist system of neo-colonial exploitation, via military domination through fascist stooges or direct intervention, has plainly become a complete obstacle and contradiction to local mass requirements and unable to halt imperialist disintegration anyway.

Washington's CIA-covert action subversion of the lame Popular-Front Allende government in Chile in 1973 (the CIA of which George Bush was for a while during that period the Republican Administration head) has finally been officially tarred with its correct fascist description, even if US imperialism's masterminding of Pinochet's coup and the rest of the West's open support for the murderous regime is now played down in

the bourgeois press coverage:/cutting/

...Not to be outdone, British imperialism can still compete with the best when it comes to the appalling brutality and hypocrisy of its 'dirty' war of shoot-to-kill death squads and judicial frame-ups against the Irish national-liberation struggle in the name of 'justice' and 'democracy', etc, with even the best bourgeois scribblers unable to make 'terrorism' seem 'responsible' for British colonialist mayhem despite their most snide and cynical comments:

Of all the IRA's dirty victories this is perhaps the bitterest. Their atrocities created a climate of loathing and fear which ended up contaminating British justice itself. Even today, with the system struggling to reclaim its honour in the only way it can — by admitting a dreadful mistake — the victor remains the IRA. We let our rage get the better of us, and the result is that they won a round, a victory over the best thing in a free society, the rule of law.

Of course, it is deeply unpleasant to admit that terror can pay. But it does. With the cynicism of the wicked, the IRA can claim, in Londonderry, in Belfast, in Dublin, in Irish communities throughout Britain and North America: you see, we told you — an Irishman cannot get justice in British courts; or if he can, he gets it 16 years late.

In the wake of the men's release, we will have to revise other agreeable fables. One of these is that we came through the terrorist Seventies unscathed: due process of law, civil liberties and democracy more or less survived. West Germany did not allow the Baader Meinhof threat to overturn its democracy; Italy came through the Red Brigade atrocities without descending into fascism; and Britain managed to fight a terrorist war without descending to terrorist means.

Who will believe this so confidently after the Guildford and Birmingham cases? We all repeat, like a mantra, that terrorism is futile; terrorism never wins, but it won a nasty little victory in a Birmingham police station. And what about the Prevention of Terrorism Act? Since its inception in 1974, 18,000 people have been detained, but only 250 have been charged with offences. Are we quite sure that there is not another shabby little terrorist victory here: thousands of people detained, without charge, for periods of time which violate European conventions on human rights?

The terrorists want nothing so much as to disgrace our legal system; they seek nothing more ardently than to prove that our commitment to civil liberties is a hypocritical sham. They may have no hope of forcing the British to abandon Northern Ireland, but they have gone some way to poison the institutions and the convictions of the society that refuses them what they seek. Even if one believes the case is not typical of the justice sys-

tem as a whole, it has done terrible damage to public confidence in the law.

Mr Justice Bridge, now Lord Bridge, summing up at Lancaster crown court in August, 1975: "If the six men are telling the truth... the police have been involved in a conspiracy unprecedented in the annals of British criminal history." Sentencing them he said: "You stand convicted on each of 21 counts, on the clearest and most overwhelming evidence have ever heard."

The late Lord Widgery, then Lord Chief Justice, refusing the men leave to appeal in March 1976: "There was no evidence to suggest the Six had received any knocking about in custody beyond the ordinary."

Lord Denning, the Master of the Rolls, dismissing the men's civil action against the police and Home Office in January 1980: "Just consider the course of events if this action is allowed to proceed to trial. If the six men fail, it will mean that much time and money will have been expended by many people for no good purpose.

"If the six men win, it will mean the police were guilty of perjury, that they were guilty of violence and threats, that the confessions were involuntary and were improperly admitted in evidence and that the confessions were erroneous.

"That would mean the Home Secretary would either have to recommend that they be pardoned or he would have to resubmit the case to the Court of Appeal. That would be such an appalling vista that every sensible person in the land would say: It cannot be right these actions should go any further."

Lord Lane, the Lord Chief Justice, dismissing the men's appeal in January, 1988: "The longer this hearing has gone on the more convinced this court has become that the verdict of the jury was correct."

Lord Denning in the Spectator, August 1990: "We shouldn't have all these campaigns to get the Birmingham Six released if they'd been hanged. They'd have been forgotten, and the whole community would be satisfied."

Lord Justice Lloyd, at the first preliminary hearing in December 1990, on being told there was a "mindboggling" amount of material to read: "I don't think we are going to let this spoil our Christmas."

Lord Denning, in February 1991, after the DPP made clear he no longer regarded the men's convictions as safe and satisfactory: "As I look back, I am very sorry because I always thought that our police were splendid and first class and I am sorry that in this case it appears to be the contrary."

Lord Justice Lloyd yesterday: "In the light of fresh evidence which has become available since the last hearing in this court, your appeal will be allowed and you will be free to go as soon as the usual formalities have been discharged."

As it happens, the cynical anti-IRA comments could not be more wrong. The national-

liberation war, has always been fought 'honourably' by the Volunteers who have always made proper warnings available whenever military disruption has been aimed at civilian targets. Exactly the opposite has been the brutal terror tactics of the mercenary M15, Special Branch, and SAS hired killers in their death-squad murders of young Irish men and women merely 'suspected' of just being 'connected' with the IRA/Sinn Féin (and not even provenly members of an 'active service unit' which in itself is not 'guilt' of anything), - as happened in some of the 'judicial' murders which John Stalker investigated before he was victimised out of the police and his report suppressed. No '15-minute warning' for these 'innocent civilians' butchered in cold blood by the British state.

And even considering a hypothetical argument that terror against civilian targets might be a dubious tactic, only bourgeois-imperialist arrogance and blind racist prejudice can fail to note that the Irish national-liberation fighters provide the public notice within the 'rules'

Irish struggle advances expose bourgeoisie's phony 'historic triumph'

[ILWP Bulletin No 597 15-05-91]

Daily new revelations about the Angleton debacle at the CIA; last week's resignation of the latest CIA boss Webster over either the Tehran hostages scandal incriminating Bush or over the agency's latest humiliation in Moscow over a series of KGB coups affecting US Embassy work; greed scandals hitting the Bush cabinet, taking over where the Reagan cabinet corruption left off; and more and more detailed idiocies of the astrology-ruled Reagan mafia itself; - all point to a sick society rotting fastest at the head like a mouldy fish.

The news is little better for European imperialism facing bitter internal trade-war as well as a grim struggle with the USA and Japan internationally, plus balkanisation political problems in all directions daily demonstrating the utter worthlessness of so-called 'free'-market capitalism to do anything but exacerbate ancient nationalist rivalries by its system of cut-throat greed and exploitation.

Here too, the supposedly 'triumphalist' politics are humiliatingly unmasked as their exact sordid disreputable opposite as the reality of impossible economic contradictions

of this war, - but the vicious colonial authorities frequently deliberately refuse to let the public know that an IRA military action is imminent.

This is exactly what happened at Victoria Station recently resulting in innocent civilian death when the IRA gave fair warning of a bomb there, having already blasted Marylebone earlier, but the authorities refused to warn rail passengers on the grounds that "we cannot allow the IRA to disrupt the capital's train services", etc, - a piece of savage political gamesmanship and criminal irresponsibility. Hours later, every single main-line terminus was closed down in London for the whole day, - and again on several subsequent days that week, - in response to mere phony bomb scares.

This ruthless hypocrisy and muddle is the real 'dirty, shabby, poisonous atrocity', and, like the outrage of the Birmingham Six frame-up, is the mark of every single action of British imperialism towards Ireland, - obvious to anyone but the most complete reactionary bourgeois arsehole.

Joe Harper

and insoluble inter-imperialist rivalries reasserts itself.

Thatcher, - the symbol of the West's non-existent 'final victory over communist revolution' at the entirely illusory 'end of history', - has to be bundled out of No 10 to the knackers yard like some old nag in service that had gone barmy. The tottering British ruling class has not yet remotely begun to pay the huge price that will now inevitably be incurred for having strung along an entire generation of yuppie-minded lager louts with totally empty fantasies about having 'won the battle of history', etc, etc, by having merely put the boot into decrepit closed-shop trade-unionist class-collaborationism (which in the end will have done the working class a favour by eventually forcing it back towards real revolutionary socialist perspectives), and by having put on a mere Punch & Judy show of reviving Britain's international imperialist glory and strength through defeating (just) the ludicrous mini-fascist Argentinian Junta.

The 12 years of garbage about having 'freed the people for endless unbounded prosperity' and having 'brought new standards, aspirations, and hope to public and social life in Britain', etc, all the time that the longterm British bourgeois entrepreneurial decline was in fact disintegrating faster than

ever under her 'supply-side' tax-hand-out greedy lunacies, - will be paid for eventually by an explosion of anti-capitalist and anti-parliamentary anger and organisation.

As for the real revolutionary challenge facing Western imperialism from the colonially-exploited world, - aside from the empty smiting of imperialism's own reactionary stooges-gone-wrong like Galtieri, Noriega and Saddam Hussein, - let the heroic tiny Irish national-liberation struggle be the judgment on the international bourgeois monopolists' phony 'historic triumph'.

The political revolt and the guerrilla war refuse to be censored, tortured, shot-on-sight, or otherwise terrorised into silence or giving up; and it is the disgraceful colonial partition statelet run by Orange fascist bigotry backed by British military thuggery which is saying it cannot take any more of its own degenerate existence, - as the capitalist press itself admits:

It is not only the English who are "fed up with the whole bloody thing". Since 1921 (at least) the "bloody thing" is a history of Protestant rule asserted by weight of numbers and a fair old use of force and discrimination, met by a counter-force of organised hooliganism, ratified as political struggle for a united Ireland. Most decent Catholics and Protestants -



'As she left for the Palace to hand over her seals of office, the television cameras caught her face crumpling in misery.'

the latter a majority with a minority complex — are fed up with it also. They will tell you that “it can’t go on”, not least because neither side has the beating of the other, whether politically or by mutual gangster-murder.

“You want your children to have a normal life, have a normal education, without fear of being blown to pieces,” said Robin Newton, Paisleyite DUP city councillor and member of Paisley’s congregation. “The last 20 years just can’t be repeated.” Left behind, politically and economically, by most of the rest of Europe, under direct rule from Westminster and lacking normal democratic process, Ulster cries out for redemption.

On all sides rival politicians, ostensibly at each others’ throats, spoke of their “new realism”, their readiness for “flexibility”, their “sensitivity” to the anxieties of their opposite numbers. Even Paisley, according to his deputy Robinson, was “very determined to sit down and talk with Gerry Collins [the republic’s foreign minister] and no one will stop him”. For such political crimes as this the good doctor used to call down fire and brimstone on the foe, in the name of God and Ulster.

SO is this a revolution in feeling, with old enemies; converted to reason and at last embracing? Of course not. Paranoia and bad faith, stalk every conversation, hands closing into fists at the slightest provocation.

Hume of the SDLP sees the Unionists as “oligarchical, not democratic” by instinct, and saddled with “17th-century intransigence”; the Unionists see Hume as “whispering in the ears of Dublin”. At the same time, each party to the talks has persuaded itself that all the others have been driven to the negotiating table by weakness and fear for their own political futures.

And the final Irish defeats of British imperialism in the world-shattering hunger strikes which made necessary the eventual signing, under US and EEC pressure, of the Anglo-Irish Treaty (at last admitting Dublin’s rights to a say of what should happen to the Occupied Zone of Ireland) which hugely accelerated, — along with the unbeatableness of the IRA, — the demoralisation of the Orange

Ireland: Colonialism retreats in disarray.

[*ILWP Bulletin* No 600 05-06-98]

The real depth of class-humiliation being suffered by the British bourgeoisie in its forced retreat from colonial entrenchment in Ireland is on full display in the current long-drawn-out farce of “talks about talks”.

Just how much more sick breath is left in this particular “strand” of the “process” is uncertain. But the obvious reluctance of the Unionist gang to quit the talks to date, despite their endless moaning over

colonialist mentality, — were all achieved against the supposed Thatcher regime of ‘unstoppable imperialist triumphalism’.

In fact so unnerving are the real difficulties in economic and political crises that imperialism is suffering worldwide that moves are rife in Britain, America, and elsewhere to try to keep all really deep contentious questions of class war and political philosophy out of the electoral struggle altogether, and to try to fob the people off with trivial surface issues and coalition-politics mentality.

Some of the weirdest diversions now emerging reveal the depths of bourgeois ideological despair, such as David Icke saying he is the Messiah heralding the end of the Earth; and the Politically Correct movement in American universities denouncing the whole of human culture as the product of DWMS (dead white males) and demanding that college entry be forbidden to any who refuse to ‘champion the rights’ of perverted sex freaks, or who use the word denigrate or the word manhandle instead of personhandle, or who believe knowledge is power, etc.

Such sick moralising idealism is going to achieve nothing towards solutions for Third World starvation and war & disaster suffering, and neither is it meant to. Insisting that the disabled can only be referred to in future as the differently abled, and that emotionally retarded or distorted sexual development such as inter-male buggery shall be declared normal and wholesome rather than a perversion of human sexuality, — is done only to give the practitioners of Political Correctness a self-righteous sense of wellbeing in a crisis-ridden petty-bourgeois world which would rather concentrate on diversions than on Gulf Wars, and mass starvations and revolutions, to which it has no answer. Jack Bradshaw

venues and chairmen, daily increases the certainty that — like all the other participants — they really have nowhere else to go politically.

The “keep Ireland British” aspirations of the Orange colonists have slumped catastrophically from the days when significant sections of the British political and military establishment could be roused to lend support to “no surrender” rhetoric. Now they are reduced to

bombing funerals and gunning down children in sweetshops, meanwhile crawling behind the retreating colonisers in the hope of eleventh hour crumbs.

Demanding the right to take redundancy counselling from chairman Brooke instead of chairman Carrington is hardly the stuff to stiffen the sinews of wavering colonists. If the game’s up anyway, what’s to choose between a dubious golden handshake from the cynical mandarin aloofness of the Foreign Office tradition which prepared the way for the Anglo-Irish Treaty sidle away from empire, or from the flustered middle-management now forced to smile lamely through the resultant debacle?

It was Brooke, in any case, who a long time ago had to admit that the struggle against national oppression could never be beaten militarily; the current talks are part of an attempt to limit the struggle politically, by stitching up some deal between the “green” bourgeoisie in Dublin, the “constitutional nationalist” sell-outs in Belfast, and the soon-to-be stateless Orange

Paisley is bluffing

[*ILWP Bulletin* No 603 26-06-91]

The Orange fascist colonialists in Occupied Zone of Ireland are basically finished. (See *ILWP Books* vol 8 & 15 - *Ireland*).

The Ulster Unionist posturing to hold up or disrupt the new Brooke-agreement talks for new governmental arrangements for the north of Ireland, the island of Ireland, and the British Isles as a whole, — is all a last-ditch stand by this colonial anachronism just to impress its few remaining fascist followers that ‘British Ireland’ will not be given up ‘without a fight’, etc, etc.

But the game is up. The triumph of the Hunger Strikes, and the Sinn Féin/IRA programme to advance through the ballot-box and the armalite, — persuaded Washington and the Common Market that too long a continuation of the national-liberation revolutionary-guerrilla war (and civil war) on the streets of such a senior partner in the NATO ‘free world’ myth would be gravely damaging in the long run. The pressure was on London to find a way to extricate itself from its outrageous police-military dictatorship over the Occupied Zone of Ireland as quickly as possible but without appearing to concede any victory to the ‘terrorists’.

But it is precisely the ‘terrorists’ — i.e. the Irish national-

bigots in limbo.

Such a deal, it is hoped, would serve to isolate republican politics from some of its more confused nationalist support and thereby either marginalise it to extinction or assimilate it harmlessly within some glossy bourgeois “new order”.

Such hopes are getting no encouragement at present from these joke “talks”, at which the most eloquent voice is inevitably coming from the empty chair in the corner, awaiting occupation by the uninvited Irish national liberation movement.

The harder imperialism tries to deny that it is the unbeaten armed revolutionary struggle against national oppression which is forcing it into shambolic retreat, the harder it tries to gag the leadership of that struggle, and the harder it tries to deny the decisive role that revolutionary nationalism will play in Ireland’s future, the more glaringly obvious it gets that it is imperialism which is being shoved aside by history, and the anti-imperialist struggle which is making all the headway. D.H. [Dominic Hull - ed]

liberation struggle, which has transformed the situation.

And as the tide turned against the old imperialist promises to the Ulster colonists that they would ‘never be abandoned’ all the time they wanted to rule on over the occupied part of Ireland, — so did the militant settler spirit of the colonising Orangemen and their chauvinistic working-class ‘Protestant’ foot-soldiers begin to wane.

As the *Bulletin* reported weeks ago, frank admissions can now be found from among the ‘British’-Irish settlers that the constant strain from the non-stop national-liberation struggle is proving too much to bear any longer.

And now, in the middle of his latest ‘No surrender’ posturing (for the umpteenth failed time), — Ian Paisley himself has been incautious enough to get himself reported as having given up on his fascist rear-guard action.

The British capitalist press reported recently, — discussing the ‘peace’ talks, and the prospects for a new deal:

“The Rev Ian Paisley, in unusually reflective mood, put it rather well in a recent interview. He said there is always a great deal of bitterness and mistrust at armistice conferences, but that they have to happen because they are the only way

of bringing wars to an end".

But which of the two warring parties has declared an armistice? Certainly not the IRA national-liberation movement. It is fighting harder than ever. And Sinn Féin is politically organising defiance of the imperialist British presence more successfully than ever.

So the only declaration of armistice can have come from the British colonial side, – a unilateral decision to end the war.

In other words, the Western pressures on London to finally withdraw from its hated colony are at last being put into practice. The Ulster colonists are being told by London that the game is basically up, and that the best deal that can be arranged with Dublin and the 'constitutional Irish' of the north (the SDLP) should be accepted as soon as possible.

The capitalist press confirmed this situation in several other oblique contributions:

"What has given grounds for hope has been a growing sense that some at least of the main players have decided that the time is right for a peace settlement which could, in the long term, lay to rest the hatreds of the past. None of the leading politicians is getting any younger, and more than one of them now has his eyes firmly fixed on the history books".

Once again, exactly one half of the main players, - Sinn Féin and the IRA, - have announced no such 'decision' that they will abandon their national-liberation struggle. It can only mean that the imperialist colonisation is at an end.

Paisley's latest bluster that Collins and Hurd can meet in July under the Anglo-Irish Community agreement (or whatever) but not under the Anglo-Irish Treaty, - is more pure theatrical farce.

Orange truculence may yet disrupt the Brooke talks (towards Irish reunification in all but name) (see ILWP Books vol 8 & 15 on Britain's decision for a snails-pace withdrawal from its Irish colony).

But the current bluster is only the same as the Paisleyites have been posturing with ineffectually for the past 10 years or so, -threatening military UDI, or taking the law into their own hands in other ways, - marching and parading, - but always ultimately capitulating to steadily-growing (if mild) British imperialist pressure for an all-Irish solution to the hopeless perspectives for the British occupied colony (endlessly besieged by the unbeatable Irish national-liberation struggle under Sinn Féin and the IRA.)

Other capitalist press comments confirm this analysis, between the lines:

Have 21 years of violence, nearly 3,000 dead, and an economy in ruins beneath a subsidised top layer and an elaborate security industry at long last brought wisdom? Is peace at hand?

On both sides of the border there seems to be a growing conviction that a wide variety of changes in Ulster, in the Republic and in Europe have produced a new kind of chemistry in Ireland, and that change means hope, and that hope is now in order. Even those who feel that the Brooke talks may well fail speak mainly of problems of timing, or argue that "the fruit may be ripening, but it is not yet ripe". If Peter Brooke cannot shake it off the tree, he or another Secretary of State will at a later attempt. With every allowance made for self-deception, Euro-romanticism and the South's capacity to clothe its traditional aspirations, as one hard student of the changes in nationalist thinking has written, "in a new language of pluralism", the evidence suggests that they are right.

"I'm interested in arranging my own quality of life," said a typical late Irish recruit to the "Me" generation - in this case a Belfast Protestant. "I like wind surfing, I like clothes, I like travel. I'm not too interested in what flag flies above."

...it is the withdrawal of the new kind of consumer from the old kind of politics and even from national allegiance as ordinarily conceived that is interesting here,

A T Q Quinn, a Queen's University historian who is generally regarded as a moderate Unionist, muses in what he calls the "last oasis" left in Belfast for men such as he, the Ulster Reform Club.

For him, as for many Unionists, the changes that matter are ominous ones. "Undoubtedly something is going on which has to be described as an attempt by Britain to get rid of the province...not that they particularly want to hand it over to the Republicans but they want to hand it over to someone...That is what the IRA have succeeded in doing - they have re-opened the question of Ireland."

In his cultivated and intellectual way Quinn touches on all the Unionist fears, the deepest of which is that there used to be a thing called Britain that may soon no longer exist.

Britain, anyway, with its huge coloured and Muslim minorities, is not what it was. "There's a day not far off when people may be saying, thank God we live here in Northern Ireland and not in mainland Britain..."

"I know it sounds pedantic to an English ear but we have to ask the question of whether people in England feel people here are British. Of course it has happened before to West Indians, to Hong Kongers, who woke up one morning to find they were, yes, British, but not quite British enough." Then a sentence or two later: "I heard a Unionist say the other day that he would rather live in the Irish Republic than continue



● Peaceful Dublin marchers pass Garda riot-squads at the GPO



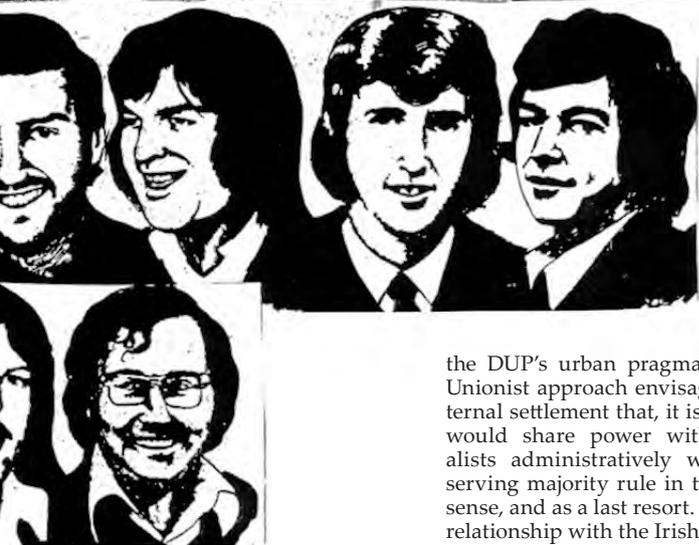
to endure the abuse heaped on us by the English."

This is the difficult, contradictory world of the Unionist, as difficult and contradictory for a scholar like Quinn as for ordinary folk. What is the Union, what was the Union, is there still a Britain, and, if there is, is it a place with which Unionists can identify any longer? The contradictions surface again in talking about "the end", the day of the final betrayal - if it comes - when the British pull out their troops. On the one hand, "You would have blazing towns ... and troubles on the scale of 1921." Then again, "If you say to us tomorrow you are no longer British, well, we're over 21, we're perfectly capable of negotiating with the South ourselves." Finally: "I'm British, I want to stay British. If it comes to it I'll just go back to south-west Scotland." In one conversation he has covered all the doomsday possibilities - stay and make war, stay and talk, and flight. "By definition," says Quinn, "Ulster", by which he means the Unionists, "is losing."

DOWN in Dublin, over another, virtually identical, pedestrianised street full of happy shoppers, Nell McCafferty, a journalist of northern origin and strong nationalist views, would agree with him. "Twenty years ago we would have laughed

when a policeman or a Unionist politician was killed. We'd say, well, we got another one" - she made a chalking up gesture. "In the past year - Oh, for longer than that - we wince when what we used to call one of the enemy is killed. We would like it to stop. We have gone as far as we can go in terms of armed struggle. We know the Unionists are beaten as such..."

The young Unionist politicians whose leading role in the push for talks is quietly acknowledged in both Belfast and Dublin do not essentially differ in their analysis of events. Unionists have suffered an irreversible but not a final defeat, and there is a continuing danger that Britain might be pressured or provoked into acts that would amount to a full-scale betrayal of the Unionist community. Where they would differ from the pessimism of Quinn or, of course, the ultimate confidence of somebody like McCafferty, is in believing that the link with Britain can be best pre-



served by reaching an internal settlement with the nationalists.

"If there is a desire on the part of Britain to divest themselves of responsibility," says Peter Robinson, the deputy leader of the Democratic Unionist Party, "Then...if Northern Ireland isn't a problem, there is not the same desire to get rid of Northern Ireland." Such an approach turns Unionist fears inside out: it moves away from the negativism that rejects all deals on the grounds that they are stations on the line to a united Ireland by looking for a deal that would, in effect, stop the train at a particular station.

Robinson's resolute optimism about the talks seems to reflect a conviction that this idea of preserving the British link by taking the strain off it is the only intelligent strategy for Unionists. His stony features, like those of the most uncompromising of accountants, stare out from under the slogan "No Dublin Rule" on posters, but he is well known as the most flexible of

the DUP's urban pragmatists. The Unionist approach envisages an internal settlement that, it is believed, would share power with nationalists administratively while preserving majority rule in the formal sense, and as a last resort. As for the relationship with the Irish Republic, the removal of the claim on the territory of Northern Ireland presently contained in the Irish constitution would make acceptable to Unionists, it is implied, some form of Irish involvement in Ulster affairs through parliamentary links.

A similar view comes from Tom Rowley, a Protestant who runs one of Belfast's integrated schools: "The combination of war weariness and anger with politicians has reached an extreme point...How many funerals do you have to go to?" Rowley touches on another issue quoted on both sides of the border: Europe. "People are aware of the broader context now, they know there's this huge thing called Europe of which we are a part and here we are squabbling over two or three acres, and the rest of the world is peering in at us and marvelling."

SOUTH of the border, the argument that European developments change the whole context of the Ulster problem is a fashionable one in intellectual circles. The general view that the sense of being in Europe will help to put the con-

flict into perspective has been developed by academics like Richard Kearney, professor of philosophy at University College, Dublin. He would argue that since the British and Irish nation states are both becoming less important in a Europe where power is moving up to the supranational level and down to the regional level, the whole question of Ulster's attachment to one or the other becomes less significant.

He notes that "at its simplest", Europe means that John Hume, Ian Paisley and James Molyneux "get on a plane together to Strasbourg or Luxembourg. They talk together and vote together." Then Professor Kearney goes on to paint a picture of a future in which a quasi-autonomous Ulster operates within a federation of the islands of Ireland and Britain, and in turn within the larger European community.

It is Southern Ireland and Northern Ireland that would develop the closest relationship, or as another academic put it, "Unionists might realise that they have more in common with people on this island than with people on the other island." Behind some Irish talk about Euro-regions may lie the older idea that the British state is an artificial construction, and that the Scots and the Welsh will sooner or later make the same choice as the Irish.

THERE are students of the New Ireland Forum who see it as an exercise in repackaging: the old nationalist demands were simply dressed up with trendy words like "accom-

modation" and "structures". There is no shortage of such words today: reconciling the "two traditions" in "mutually acceptable structures" is the kind of thing almost any politician in Ireland will give out at the drop of a hat. It is undoubtedly true that some of this talk on the part of nationalists contains the not-so-hidden implication that one tradition — the Unionist one — is pathological, while the nationalist tradition is relatively healthy. The discussion then takes on a quasi-medical tone, as ways in which the Unionists could be cured of their odd ways are canvassed.

Yet at its best "two traditions" talk genuinely concedes validity to both communities' beliefs and interests, and goes beyond the renunciation of the use of physical force to recognise that Unionists are not going to be peacefully persuaded of the desirability of a united Ireland either, at least not in the foreseeable future. The hopes for peace in Northern Ireland ultimately rest on the calculation that both nationalists and Unionists not only want an end to the killing but that they have each, over two painful decades, gradually come to recognise the limits of what is politically or militarily possible.

The betting must be that Paisley & Co will go on capitulating to the end-of-empire inevitable, — the reunification of Ireland.

Build Leninism. Spread the *ILWP Bulletin*.

Douglas Bell

Letter

Colonial sour grapes will not keep Ireland partitioned for ever

[*ILWP Bulletin* No 605 10-07-91]

The Unionist political face of British imperialism's police-military dictatorship over the northeast corner of Ireland was hardly aggressively triumphant in spite of the so-called 'break-down' in the Brooke initiative (to make further progress in the snails-pace withdrawal from the colony, in favour of reunification under Dublin authority).

The Washington and EEC-dictated plan for London to slowly disengage itself from such an embarrassing colonial entanglement but without appearing to be giving in at all to the latest guerrilla-war phase of the 700-year Irish national-liberation struggle, — has again been delayed by Paisley's usual 'No Surrender' disruptions.

But the Orange fascists are themselves now almost as badly compromised over "not giving in to the men of violence" as the Unionists are always complaining that London is.

By the farce of 'talks to finally settle the Irish problem' being held with everyone present except the very political

movement which has forced such new considerations onto the conference table, — namely the Sinn Féin/IRA spectacularly successful armalite/ballot box campaigns of the last 20 years which have virtually created a form of internal independence for many Irish-populated areas within the British colony, — the bourgeois politicians of parliamentary opportunism and class-collaborationism have made a rod for their own backs.

What is the point of now complaining that the 'men of violence' are making 'solutions' impossible when the whole sense of the Sinn Féin-excluding Brooke talks was that the 'constitutional parties' had everything within their control to 'end the troubles' and to open the way for a completely new future for Ireland.

If the 'constitutionalists' can get on and 'solve' everything without any involvement of the movement which has backed the national-liberation struggle, then why do they not get on and do it?

By having nothing but the farce of disagreements about

the chairmanship and where to meet, etc. – the Unionist heavyweights of the fraudulent ‘constitutional’ racket have maintained a façade of fire-breathing ‘No Surrender’ but have pushed their entire ‘British for ever’ posture to the brink of ridicule.

Much of the imperialist-generated and religion-generated ‘British Ireland’ colonial-settler spirit has been disappearing over the last 20 years as effort after effort by the Paisleyites to resurrect the military rebellion traditions of Carson’s threat to declare UDI earlier this century, petered out for lack of enthusiastic response.

It will be interesting to see how well supported are the ritual marching season parades this summer, and how convincingly the die-hard fascist-colonist thug element responds (to the continuing national-liberation struggle by the IRA/Sinn Féin) with vicious sectarian murders of Catholics, etc.

The Irish nationalists for their part are correct to keep up the pressure of their guerrilla war struggle, which has just been given another heroic boost by the bold jail-break from Brixton Prison of two IRA suspects.

By refusing to allow the British colonialists to enjoy their ill-gotten gains in the Occupied Zone of Ireland in peace, the national-liberation struggle puts the Western ‘free’ world boasts about ‘independence’, ‘liberty’, ‘democracy’, and the ‘rule of law’ under constant strain.

British imperialism partitioned Ireland by brute force against the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the people of Ireland, with Sinn

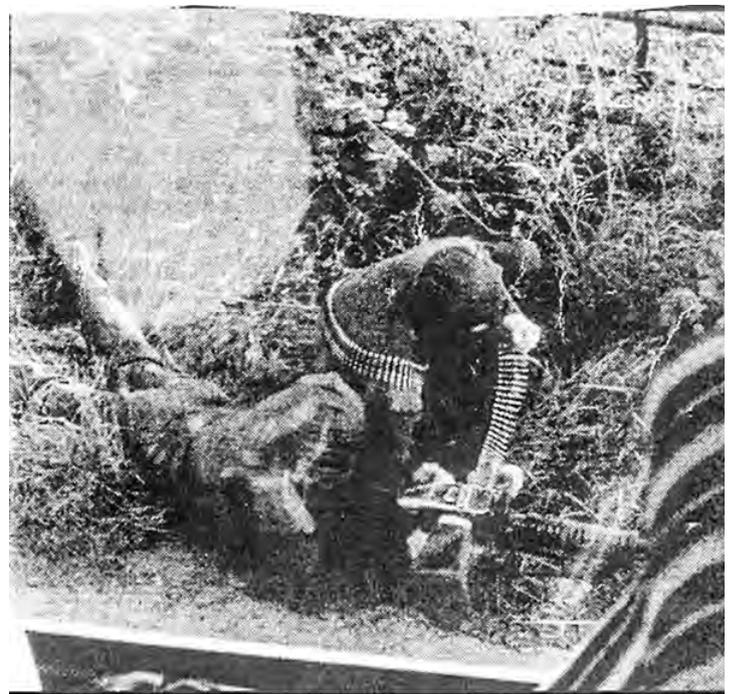
Féin capturing 80% of the entire electorate for full independence in the island-wide general elections of 1918 conducted by the British colonial government of Ireland.

So insoluble is this Irish determination to regain full national unity and liberty (what such bourgeois concepts are worth given the continuation of world imperialist domination is a totally different matter) that blame for the ‘troubles’ could even begin to be put on the heads of the Paisleyites. “You said you could make a peaceful solution without the IRA. But the troubles are still continuing. So you are responsible, - you let the talks fail,” etc.

By proving to be unbeatable, the guerrilla war for Ireland’s independence may be closer than ever to forcing the greatest change ever in British imperialism’s relationship towards Ireland, forcing an abandonment of that continued colonisation which makes that guerrilla war inevitable.

If Paisley & Co do not quickly take up again the shared power in the island of Ireland which was really on offer at the back of the Brooke initiative talks, they may find that the Western-dictated snails-pace reunification of Ireland will resume its slow progress without the Paisleyites’ agreement at all, - challenging them effectively to finally put up their aimed Carsonite rebellion threat and declare UDI, - or to finally shut up.

If bourgeois-nationalist reunification issues can be got out of the way, then Ireland’s socialist revolution can begin to make much more certain and rapid progress. Douglas Bell



● IRA Volunteers manning an M60 machine gun at the South Armagh checkpoint

nity to stand behind the men and women of the UDR.

“They have been sacrificed despite the immense price paid in casualties over the last 21 years.

“It is little wonder many of them have said they will resign rather than remain pawns for cynical English politicians.”

Mr Wilson said the only comments so far from the UUP had come from security spokesman Ken Maginnis, who he accused of “swallowing the Government line.”

“We are seeing a re-run of the way the UUP behaved when the B-Specials were betrayed.

“If Mr Maginnis does not speak for the majority within the UUP, then why doesn’t someone in authority say so.

The losers are those who stand on the front lines every day facing the IRA,” he said.

Of course these thugs are correct in the significance of the merger. The B-Specials were controlled solely by Stormont from when the six counties were partitioned from the rest of Eire.

The B-Specials were then disbanded in 1969, and the UDR formed, with the supposed aims of encouraging the nationalist community into it, but also crucially taking over control from Stormont to Westminster. This was the start of the process to take power out of the hands of the Unionists (who later lost all direct control over the six counties, when Stormont was dissolved) and taken over by London who thought they could control the situation better than the Unionists. Yet this merger can only be yet another small step towards reunification:

The Ulster Independence Committee said yesterday that it was a further indication of the on-

going British withdrawal from the Province.

It said in a statement: “In cynical terms, it reduced the likelihood of Army personnel from Britain being killed, while at the same time increasing the risk to our own population.

“The Ulster people see the decision for what it is — an insult to the fallen of the UDR and a further concession to Dublin and Irish Republicanism in general.”

Of course the whole reason for disbanding the B-Specials and now the merging of the UDR with “the Irish” Royal Irish Rangers, is precisely because of the success of the Irish national liberation struggle carried out by Sinn Féin/IRA, which is also demonstrated by the need for the Anglo-Irish Agreement and the Brooke Talks etc.

In strict military terms, there was no need for the UDR to be merged with any regiment; the UDR was already the largest regiment within the British Army. It is hard to see this merger as anything but a very political decision on the long and slow road to reunification. Yet the reply to the merger statement demonstrates how far Orange fascism has been weakened over the past two decades. The last time there was any talk of power-sharing during the Heath government in the 70s the proceedings were brought to a halt by the Paisleyites; now the Unionists are only going to oppose ‘the betrayal’ by ‘action in Parliament if necessary’; - so what!

UNIONIST chiefs was urged last night to convene a meeting of all loyalist groups to discuss the way forward.

The call came from the right wing

Letters

British slow march withdrawal from Ireland

[ILWP Bulletin No 611 21-08-91]

Splits within Orange fascism can only become deeper and more vitriolic as the recent decision to merge the UDR with the Royal Irish Rangers demonstrates.

On top of the humiliation already caused by London against the Unionists, from the Anglo-Irish Agreement to the Brooke Talks and countless bigwigs in the British establishment who have openly declared that the game is up for the Unionists (from Judge Pickles to Brooke himself). Now there’s another stab in the back for Unionism.

Sections of the Orange can see this quite clearly:

“THE Ulster Unionist Party is be-

traying the armed forces by its acceptance of the amalgamation of the UDR with the Royal Irish Rangers,” Sammy Wilson said yesterday.

The DUP press officer also hit out at the Government for needlessly trying to please the nationalist community.

Mr Wilson said: “In an attempt to buy off nationalist politicians and churchmen, the UDR is to be axed, the part-time element is to be scrapped over a period of time and a large element from the Irish Republic is to be introduced.”

He said even this did not satisfy nationalists.

Mr Wilson called on all unionists to support the armed forces:

“At this time of betrayal one would expect the whole unionist commu-

Ulster Clubs in the wake of what it called "the betrayal of the UDR".

A spokesman said the unionist leadership "was prepared to waste 10 weeks in secret talks with those who wish to take us out of the United Kingdom".

"Will they now refuse to talk with those who support Ulster's position within the United Kingdom? We await their response to this call."

The Clubs made the call because of the "revulsion felt by the British citi-

zens of Ulster against this erosion of their British citizenship".

They called upon the unionist leadership "to oppose this betrayal by all-out action in Parliament, if necessary by continuous disruption of the proceedings there".

The national-liberation struggle will continue; Orange fascism will be defeated.

Build Leninism.

W.S. Kram

Last rites of tortuous British humbug could be the only remaining barrier to Ireland's reunification

[*ILWP Bulletin* No 633 28-01-92]

The loud whining from various types of petty-bourgeois defeatism in Britain over London's catastrophic policy towards its Irish colony could indicate that an end to the 750-year imperialist occupation is finally close.

The obvious continuing hesitant delays by the present Tory establishment could well be a strategy of deliberate paralysed neglect precisely to allow a mobilisation of 'public opinion' to demand a decisive 'solution' which would permit the ruling class to betray past pledges to 'never' desert the Orange colonists but to not feel too dishonourable in doing so.

The paratroop commander of the 1972 Bloody Sunday massacre in Derry is now mentally prepared by the failure of British repression and terror tactics, to publicly accept that more decades of an unwinnable war by Britain would be pointless, and to publicly accept the consequences of that conclusion, - to give up the fight, to pull out of Ireland, and to see Ireland reunified.

Current British military leaders are also going on record to express their respect for the unbeatability of the skilful Irish national-liberation struggle, and to complain that tying up one third of the Army's strength in the Occupied Zone of Ireland continuously ridicules all the rest of Britain's 'global defence' posturing.

Simultaneously, the capitalist media in Britain are now frequently heard giving space to arguments for including Sinn Féin in the desultory 'political solution' talks conducted between London, Dublin, and the Occupied Zone.

And a noted recent feature of all the commentary on the obstacles to a 'political solution' has been an increasing British impatience with the intransigent blustering of the Orange-colonist diehards in the north.

In particular, that old ruling-class dirge about "there can be

no concessions to violence" and "the first and only priority must be to defeat terrorism", etc, has sounded far less confidently and insistently than usual.

There have been times when Brooke's gaffe of doing a live sing-song on Dublin TV, only hours after such a major act of guerrilla-war terror as the blowing up of the military-base workers bus, would have brought non-stop howls of indignation.

This time, not only was there no ministerial resignation, but it was the Ulster Unionists who came as much under attack as anyone for their "consistently negative vengeance cries", etc.

But all this growing British petty-bourgeois realism about the need above all to find a way of ending this hopeless repressive-military involvement in the Occupied Zone of Ireland, - including even the abandonment of all the sickly-shallow past emotional pledges to "stand by the majority of the people of Northern Ireland for as long as they want us to", etc, etc, - still cannot avoid being accompanied by the most nauseating humbug and arrogance towards the victorious national-liberation struggle.

The following capitalist press comment is typical:

First, the demands from the Unionists for Mr Peter Brooke to resign have nothing to do with his awful singing on an Irish talk show, and everything to do with the fact that he seems to them dangerously close to finding a solution. I suspect he won't, but there is nothing which panics many Ulster politicians more than the fear that someone might settle things, and remove their *raison d'être*. Mr Major was correct to refuse his resignation, and would have been right even if Mr Brooke had sung *Nothing Compares 2 U* standing on his head in sequined Y-fronts.

Second, the stupidity of the IRA continues to beggar belief. The only thing standing against a united Ireland is Unionist unwillingness. How this attitude might be changed by murdering eight innocent

Protestant workmen is something no normally functioning brain can comprehend.

The IRA are often accused of having 'twisted' minds. Quite the contrary. Their minds run in dead straight lines, like blinkered racehorses. The builders were working for the military, therefore they were part of the occupying force, therefore they deserved to die. Wrapped up in the cocoon of their ancient mythologies, the IRA are incapable of seeing how their deeds destroy the fondest hopes of their cause.

The hypocrisy and self-delusion of this are breathtaking.

The outrageous partition of Ireland, under the built-in permanent 'majority' of the Orange-fascist colonial dictatorship over gerrymandered shreds of six of Ulster's nine counties, was unassailable and not open to any question until 1968 when the national-liberation rebellion resumed in earnest.

The core of that rebellion has been the IRA's phenomenal ability to tie down a third of the British army for 24 years with just a handful of self-trained volunteers, and not only remain unbeaten despite the concentration camps of internment - without trial, despite the M15/RUC/Army death-squad terror, despite the British Army torture barracks, despite the midnight terror-raids on Irish residential districts of the Occupied Zone, despite total censorship of Sinn Féin agitation, despite vicious anti-Irish frame-ups in the British courts, despite foul super-grass infiltration and bribery, etc, etc, but even take the independence war onto the British mainland.

How the smug 'parliamentary' and fake-'liberal' traditions of the complacent British petty-bourgeoisie hate the thought of being thrashed and shown up by a bunch of Irish rebel fighters.

The capitalist media would love now to pretend that any forthcoming 'reasonable settlement' was solely as a result of "a constant and humane concern by the British Parliament to do justice eventually by all who have dealings with Britain, changing what needs to be changed, but holding firm to what deserves to be upheld", etc, etc, - on the way to disfiguring history with more mountains of British imperialist savagery and bullshit.

The other vehicle of imperialism's defeat has been the frequently brilliant political achievements of Sinn Féin despite the permanently damaging limitations of its small-minded nationalist ideology.

The 'independent' economic and political services run by Sinn Féin have been a triumph

of organisation and revolutionary understanding, as have the frequent 'liberated areas' local military actions. The continuing electoral and propaganda successes are a model of how to exploit 'legal' means whilst basically conducting a revolt. The skilful and stubborn international battles over extradition jurisdiction and the like, are an outstanding example of this impressive national fight.

The hunger strikes were a world-shattering symbol of dedicated heroism unprecedented in modern history, and from which the British colonialist cause could never recover, regardless of the dubious values of martyrdom.

But it is of course on the ideological front that the Irish national liberation struggle remains vulnerable.

The courageous resistance to the British imperialist police-military dictatorship, replacing the Orange-colonial fascist order, continues to be sure of what it is achieving, as *An Phoblacht* records:

The IRA's continued ability to strike so effectively was echoed in the columns of every local newspaper. The talk was all of failed security and political embarrassment as the dust of the latest massive city centre explosion began to settle over High Street and repair workers and damage assessors moved in to salvage what they could of the most recent targets: the RUC Police Authority and Northern Ireland Tourist Board headquarters. The establishment's mood was perhaps best summed up in a despairing Tuesday headline which asked "How do they do it?"

The extent of British embarrassment over this latest blow to their credibility could be gauged by the fact that their security minister, Brian Mawhinney, (who boasted only three weeks ago that he was going to grind down the IRA) would not even make himself available for interview. Instead his whinging understudy Richard Needham was once again brought to the rubble to give an unconvincing vow that no matter how many times the IRA succeeded in detonating bombs the British would rebuild bigger and better.

That promise by the British ignores an underlying reality which even a totally subservient press was unable to ignore: Britain, (itself in dire financial straits,) currently bails out an absolutely failed 'Northern Ireland' economy to the tune of £2 billion per annum; add to that the multi-million pound compensation and refurbishment bills from sustained and ongoing IRA incendiary and van bomb attacks and the mounting pressure on Britain's occupa-



Nationalists break a curfew imposed by the British Army

tion or the Six Counties is there for all to see. Every bomb which detonates signals that the British, sooner rather than later, must exercise the only option left to them — they must disengage from Ireland.

But the worldwide political skids under British imperialism, consistent with the economic drain of its beleaguered Irish colony, are still not quite grasped by Sinn Féin, which continues to refuse to amend its verdict on the hunger strikes as a 'failure', or accept the Anglo-Irish Treaty as a preparation by London for withdrawal (see *ILWP Books vol 8 & 15 Ireland*), — noting only continued British imperialist intransigence:

The whole wearisome pattern has re-emerged: the British are trying to produce some illusion of political movement, and possibly get the unionists and the SDLP to discuss some administration for the Six Counties, while the unionists are working hard to obtain the indefinite suspension of the Hillsborough Agreement, and the SDLP and Dublin manoeuvring to retain it.

As Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams pointed out in his New Year statement, the current initiative is incapable of delivering real peace. Not only is the agenda pre-set by the British, but republicans are excluded from the talks. This "undemocratic" and "ludicrous" exclusion "seriously undermines the ability of any talks process to reach a comprehensive settlement and deliver a real peace to the people of this island".

The whole issue of including republicans in talks is bound up in the British policy of criminalising and marginalising Sinn Féin, embodied in particular in the banning of republican spokespersons 36 from the live media since October 1988. In his first few months in office, Brooke hinted that republicans could be talked to if

they abandoned the armed struggle. But even this precondition outraged the unionists, who would like Sinn Féin not just banned from the media, or even from local councils, but banned altogether.

A communiqué issued by Peter Brooke and Dublin Minister Gerry Collins after the last meeting of the inter-governmental conference, and which contained a reference to the need for the talks to produce some administration for the North that was acceptable to all, sent the unionist daily Newsletter into a panic: what was meant by "all"? did that include Sinn Féin? The IRA? The British government was going soft on terrorists, the Newsletter concluded — from this word "all"...

But it is not only unionists who have colluded in the British efforts to marginalise the republican viewpoint. The SDLP was quite happy to participate in talks in which the views of more than one third of the nationalist electorate were not represented. And Cardinal Cahal Daly has repeatedly condemned Sinn Féin and refused to meet its leaders for talks. It was even more surprising therefore to hear Daly declare on New Year's Day that if the IRA ceased its armed struggle there was "a clear responsibility on the Irish and British governments to find some means whereby the Sinn Féin tradition of republicanism can be fully represented at the conference table".

This was hardly more daring than what Brooke had said in his 100-day speech in November 1989. Once again republicans were told they were not entitled to the democratic right of being heard unless they complied with requirements not imposed on the British or the unionists. Yet Daly's words were still found objectionable by unionists. Paisley in particular could not resist remarking that this revealed "where the Cardinal's true sympathies lie". And the Church of Ireland Archbishop Robin Eames objected to Daly's

views that in the event of a ceasefire republicans were "entitled" to a place in political discussions.

And so back to Brooke's Talks: framed in a partitionist context, with a pre-set British agenda, subject to an ever-growing list of unionist preconditions, and with a sizeable part of the nationalist community excluded from them, these non-talks nevertheless continue to use up considerable column space, air time and political energy, without delivering the just settlement which Irish people are entitled.

This bourgeois-nationalist anti-Marxist inability to see British imperialism as a class enemy (aided by the Green Tories in Dublin and the Catholic Church) lays Sinn Féin politics permanently wide open to appallingly dangerous class compromise of the kind which saw the 1921 partition disastrously installed in the first place, — as this current comment shows:

If all sides don't participate in talks and agree to a settlement then it is obvious that there is no settlement. But let's return to the Cardinal's proposal: a Sinn Féin seat at talks in return for an end to the IRA's armed struggle. Given that the IRA is unlikely to be defeated by the British government or be deserted by its constituents, but that come what may republicans are confident that they will ultimately be at the conference table anyway, then what real incentive is there for the IRA to sacrifice its key form of pressure in return now for an unsatisfactory agenda? None.

The British may say that they are neutral but they contradict this by sticking rigidly to the precondition that they will only withdraw from Ireland if the unionists agree to reunification. (A key part of the republican analysis is that loyalist intransigence has its roots in this British position.)

So you see, while Charles Haughey and John Hume may boast that everything is on the table at their end (and it certainly

is!) everything isn't on the table at the other end.

The British will not agree to discussing or considering withdrawal, or be open to even being persuaded about the merits of a declaration of intent to withdraw, in any circumstances bar the one stipulated above.

Until they agree to do so it is doubtful if, all obstacles having been removed, there would be great value, other than raising its prestige, in Sinn Féin being part of such talks. Unless, of course, if republicans came to believe that by joining the 'talks process' they could seize the moral high ground and turn the tables on Britain, or, that a 'European' solution had become possible, acceptable and negotiable.

Republicans have a moral duty to examine all possibilities but the prevailing mood is that the British government can be forced by armed struggle into a truly neutral position on Ireland where they start looking at the door and where we can say to the unionists, "they are going to leave. Let's find a way of sharing this place and becoming friends".

Completing Ireland's national liberation will be a great triumph over imperialism, and the struggle will continue to get the unconditional political support of Marxist-Leninist science.

But British imperialism would be smart to do a deal with Irish nationalism soon because patriotic tricolour waving, gaelic-speaking, and sectarian religious education in schools will not withstand for many years longer the challenge of socialist revolution (as a more relevant national motivator for the exploited Irish people in the Occupied Zone as imperialism's international economic crisis deepens), — an ideological transformation which would in turn have a dramatic influence on the colonial working-class in the north and on Irish workers in the south too.

Douglas Bell

In an orgy of humbug, the establishment considers conceding negotiations to the IRA

[*ILWP Bulletin* No 635 11-02-92]

Everyone from bishops to newspaper editors is suddenly being encouraged by some mysterious hand to start mentioning the unmentionable, — bringing Sinn Féin into the talks about a solution to the crisis in the Occupied Zone of Ireland.

British colonialism is poised to add Gerry Adams to the long list of supposed "men of

violence" declared at one stage of anti-imperialist struggle to be "totally out of the question" for negotiating with, but who have then become "honoured independence leaders" at a later stage of the struggle.

This happened to Kenyatta in Kenya, Nkrumah in Ghana, Makarios in Cyprus, Jagan in Guyana, Mugabe in Zimbabwe,

etc, etc, – all of them, and many more, locked up, or restricted, or censored, or ignored in one way or another before finally being accepted as legitimate spokesmen for their people.

The press, radio, and television have been remarkably adventurous in recent days in giving space to comments demanding that the Irish national liberation struggle be invited to the talks about the future of the Occupied Zone and about the need for a ceasefire there now.

At the weekend, the religious establishment was hard at work preparing the moral and emotional ground for such a *volte-face* by the authorities.

“There are reasonable men on all sides” cooed the bishops.

“Things are now so desperate in the Province that it is vital that all men of good will and reason be summoned to a supreme effort to end the killings and to achieve the peace that all are longing for”, etc, etc.

What stinking hypocrisy!

The pretence is that the recent “avalanche of sectarian murder” has swept aside all

previous considerations, – and that because “too many people are now getting hurt”, – then a ceasefire priority overrides all earlier aims.

But the truth is that the IRA set out to make Britain’s illegal colonial retention of a corner of Ireland ungovernable, – and they are at last close to succeeding.

As a result, the bourgeois imperialist establishment is having to consider doing a deal with the Irish national liberation struggle, despite all the previous protestations that the authorities would “never consider negotiating with men of violence”.

The supposed “worry” about the current level of “suffering” in the Occupied Zone is a monstrous deception. British imperialism has been massacring and torturing the Irish nation for more than 700 years, and it would not shrink from trebling the level of “suffering” now if it really saw it as in British imperialism’s interests.

It has only just finished cheerfully incarcerating many

innocent Irish people for up to 17 years in British prisons on totally trumped-up charges; and operating a shoot-on-sight policy against mere “terrorist suspects”; and then covering up the evidence with the rigged Gibraltar trial, and by suppressing the Stalker inquiry with the most astonishing frame-up in modern police/MI5 history; and running torture barracks which had to be condemned by the European Court; and regularly staging its own terror raids after midnight on Irish-populated housing estates in the Occupied Zone (still not discontinued).

The British concern now is that its already shaky position internationally – both economically and politically – will be further shattered if this colonial mayhem goes on much longer in the Occupied Zone of Ireland.

British imperialist ability will look bad and increasingly incompetent if the bloodshed escalates without any solution in sight, – which is bad for London’s standing in the increasingly political (as well as economic) inter-imperialist rivalry.

And there is now the very real practical problem of what can British imperialism now do to, in fact, avoid getting defeated in the Occupied Zone.

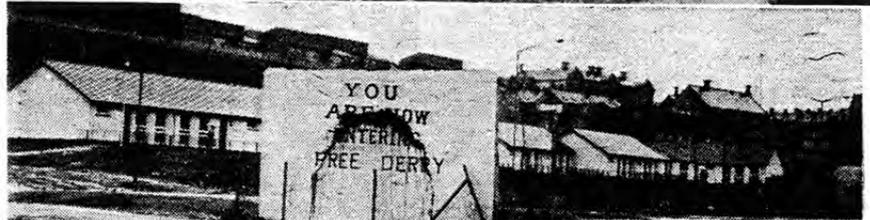
It is now a prodigiously costly police-military dictatorship exercise, not only with just meagre results but with the increasingly likely prospect that there will never be an end to the national-liberation struggle all the time that Britain holds onto its colony in Ireland under whatever guise.

Not only has British colonialism had its day, but also the rotten fiction that the day-to-day economic and political repression (since the disgraceful partition of 1921) has been carried out by a so-called “British Irish” tradition, – giving the “British British” the opportunity to pretend “that they are staying on in the Occupied Zone” solely in order to impartially separate the two squabbling Irish traditions living there”, etc, etc.

The falsely-labelled “Ulster Unionists” are in fact British colonists through and through, regardless of how “Irish” they



Derry women bang dustbin lids to warn of army search raids.



like to present themselves as being from time to time.

If many of that tradition survive to live within the eventually re-united Ireland under an Irish government in Dublin, then they will have done so under the belated recognition that Ireland is for the Irish, and they had better live as Irishmen if they want to stay on happily playing a full part in the community (as many from Britain have done over hundreds of years in Ireland, and as many so-called 'Rhodesians' have done, for example, in what is now properly Zimbabwe.)

It will become increasingly unlikely that the wrongly-titled "retaliation violence" by the dwindling gangs of fascist hardliners among the colonist community will help the British imperialists to hang on "helplessly", pleading that they must stay on in an "impossible" position in a "security" role in order to prevent a total bloodbath.

As part of even the establishment's own logic is beginning dimly and reluctantly to concede, the colonist-fascist gangs go crudely berserk at the culmination of a period of growing doubt that the colonial order will really manage to "hold firm" and to see off the "men of violence" (meaning the Republican 'terrorists').

There is not the remotest parity between the war waged by the national liberation struggle against the crown forces and their agents, – and the utterly pointless terror-killing of Catholics and Irishmen by the British colonists just for being presumably "nationalist" or "republican", but really just because of their race. It is legitimate guerrilla war on one side, and pure nazism on the other, – despite the sustained deliberate campaign by the British radio, press and television to present it indiscriminately as "all sectarian violence".

Only a completely criminal establishment (as they showed when stitching up John Stalker, and framing dozens of innocent Irish prisoners) could pretend to equate nazi terror with a national-liberation struggle.

Nor is there any real comparison between the actual policing problems posed for the departing British authorities (or any incoming UN or Irish authorities) in their so-called "impossible situation" facing all-out blind bigotry and race-hatred on the streets of the Occupied Zone.

The Irish guerrilla war resistance to continued British colonial rule has now lasted, more than 700 years, and it will

clearly go on for at least another 700 years if necessary until all of Ireland is finally free again of British political rule, – united and independent.

The destructive fascist hatred spat out by the dwindling and increasingly demoralised hardcore colonist British gangs (which already have to be bolstered by the mainland National Front to keep going) would be a nine-day wonder, no more.

The *Bulletin* has for more than a decade consistently charted the steady decline in the spirit of the Orange colonist community in the Occupied Zone (see ILWP Books vol 8 & 15 - *Ireland*) which has seen several disastrous failures by Paisley & Co to re-ignite the UDI rebellion of Carson and the Curragh Mutiny in the diehard resistance to Home Rule in the pre-1914 period.

The Ulster colony is now a doomed and dying community, as moribund and pointless in comparison with the aggressive Union Jack wavers of 1912 as is toothless and bankrupt modern British imperialism compared to the British imperialism of 1912.

Increasingly, the British colonist violence will be seen internationally as an utterly unnecessary and pointless deliberate destruction and genocide which any half-competent authority could rapidly put a stop to by forthrightly adopting the purpose of Ireland's reunification, and firmly declaring an early date for it, and then taking even firmer measures to back it up. The 700-year-old 'troubles' would be over in months.

There are signs that the British government may even be wanting this inspired swell of public opinion calling for talks with everyone including Sinn Féin, – to 'push' London into such a re-unification declaration of intent, probably dressed up as a need and a wish to "give up the thankless burden of keeping impartial order" in the Occupied Zone, and a commitment to hand over authority there at some future date to whoever can be organised at an international conference to "take on such a responsibility", etc, etc.

It will be capitulation to the Irish national-liberation struggle in all but name. The UN or the EEC will probably come in under the guise of some "supranational" authority. But Ireland will be reunited, and another great victory will have been won by armed anti-imperialist revolution.

The only tragedy will be the continuingly feeble bourgeois-nationalist politics of Sinn Féin and the IRA, – brilliant at

organising the guerrilla-war downfall of imperialism, and the skilful political campaigns and propaganda which have backed it up, possibly making Britain's position even more untenable than even the armed struggle has done, – but still naïvely philistine about the broader international political implications of the fight against imperialism as a worldwide economic class system.

It is because of Sinn Féin's complacent ignorance of Marxist-Leninist dialectical-materialist science that they continue refusing to identify a class role of the British colonial community, and therefore add to London's propaganda confusion-mongering by themselves referring to the Orange fascist

colonists as 'Irish'.

Since the definition of 'Irish' could be what anyone wants it to be, then that could well be true in a variety of cultural ways. And maybe the Orange community will become a valuable part of the future population of a united Ireland.

But politically right now, in the need to isolate British imperialism's colonial policy for what it is, it would greatly help clarify matters if the diehard Unionists were referred to for what they are politically by the nature of their class orientation, – British colonists and imperialist stooges. Only those in the Occupied Zone who accept the need for reunification of Ireland now, should be allowed to call themselves 'Irish'. Douglas Bell

Sneering at national-liberation struggle for "not being socialism" is petty bourgeois defeatist philistinism

[ILWP Bulletin No 640 17-03-92]

[...] People who want to deny all these historical achievements [of the Soviet Union etc - ed] are just academic morons who have no real interest in the actual struggle against imperialism, or in the true advances made by the proletariat's international mission.

Yet this petty-bourgeois 'revolutionism' is still posturing mightily on the fake-'left'. Listen to the 'revolutionaries' of the so-called 'Leninist' (who have declared themselves to be the CPGB in the wake of that revisionist rump's self-liquidation), tackling the revisionism of the SACP in "Everything is rotten" terms:

"The leadership of the SACP is directly betraying the interests of the South African revolution...For the SACP and its ally the ANC, the oppressed black masses are rapidly just becoming a stage army which is wheeled on when required to give a push to the imperialist backed 'peace negotiations', - a reactionary charade if ever there was one".

Now the ILWP has been never reluctant to polemicise with the SACP about its revisionist weaknesses, and in particular has been outspoken in its denunciation of the reactionary anti-Leninist retreat of Joe Slovo's (the then SACP boss) pamphlet '*Has Socialism Failed*' (see *Bulletins* 623, 602, 601, 539, etc).

But it creates total confusion to then muddle up the bourgeois democratic revolution in South Africa with the socialist revolution which must follow.

There can be no question of adopting any uncritical attitudes towards the ANC/SACP. The revisionist postures and illusions of the revolutionary

movement have always demanded the bluntest of exposures.

But that the ANC/SACP is at the heart of the democratic revolution in South Africa there can be no doubt, nor that it has been a real revolution, – fought frequently with arms in hand, and always fought in revolutionary confrontation with the white imperialist absolutism. Only irresponsible counter-revolutionaries can set out to try to utterly destroy all confidence in the leadership of the necessary democratic-nationalist revolution in South Africa while the struggle is still in full flow, – which is the effect of the ignorant muddled-up sneers of the 'Leninist' armchair socialists.

Wishful thinking might day-dream of some alternative truly-Leninist organisation being in the leadership of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in South Africa. But it is not the case.

The ANC/SACP has led that revolution, a necessary development, and in the interests of the completed proletarian-revolutionary struggle of some future period.

Certainly, in line with Leninist science, – there may not be much need to dwell over-long at the bourgeois-democratic stage of the total revolutionary defeat of imperialism in South Africa.

Similarly, Leninism welcomed the February bourgeois-democratic revolution in Tsarist Russia, but immediately agitated those who had grabbed the reins of power (after the overthrow of the autocracy) to continue with an uninterrupted revolution

all the way to socialism on the grounds that the bourgeois-democratic phase in those 1917 circumstances could only continue Russia's participation in the catastrophic and deplorable inter-imperialist war for colonial plunder and monopoly-capitalist booty.)

But even in those extremely rapidly changing circumstances and faced with such enormous dangers of chauvinist-imperialist corruption of the revolution or of counter-revolutionary intervention by rival imperialist powers, and in circumstances where the Bolshevik Party had massive opportunities for independent action, – still Leninist science tactically spent many months in between February and October of 1917 in urging all power to the Soviet leadership of bourgeois-democratic compromise, or urging defeat for the Kerensky regime's enemies (without confusing workers that the Kerensky government was actually worthy of any workers' confidence or support.)

It is not impossible for the 'Leninist' ivory-tower 'revolutionaries' to be merely currently exposing the undoubted revisionist weaknesses of the SACP/ANC movement whilst fully prepared later on, if necessary, to give unconditional solidarity with any 'democratic' government which replaces the white imperialist autocracy.

But the language of "Everything is rotten" Trotskyism does not look promising. It sounds like a sectarian complete stab-in-the-back for the revolution in South Africa whilst still in mid-battle at this stage - a treacherous stance which many petty-bourgeois posturers in the 'left' swamp have continuously kept up for years in their anti-communist hatred against the Third International and any suggestion of expanding the regimes of workers-state proletarian dictatorship, via the SACP/ANC in this case.

It is not even strictly true, as the fake 'Leninists' elaborate, that the SACP

"is acting as a conservative restraining influence on the black masses and is channelling their revolutionary anger and energy into the dead end of reformism".

The revolutionary struggle so far against the autocracy, going back 70 years or more, has been far from reformist. And the shaky position of the Deklerk regime of bourgeois-imperialist compromise with the national-liberation struggle could mean the ANC/SACP revolution reverting back to the arms-in-hand struggle as well as the non-stop civil revolutionary confrontations at work and in the town-



ships.

The leadership of such a military struggle will still have all the revisionist illusions which many national-liberation conflicts of the past have suffered from in other anti-imperialist wars.

But are these petty-bourgeois anti-communists of the CPGB going to keep up this "betraying the revolution" disruptive sneer at the ANC/SACP if this happens, mimicking the rest of the 'left' swamp who have for years promoted anti-ANC/SACP splittists of the anti-Soviet (Kitson, etc) kind, or the black nationalist (PAC, etc) kind, driven by their Trotskyite "everything is rotten" bile.

Many phases of the long international anti-imperialist struggle have been, and are yet going to be, led by movements which have far from Leninist clarity about the historic class war against capitalism. It is unbelievable sectarian nonsense to posture that 'real Marxist revolutionaries' will 'not compromise an inch', etc, and will 'ruthlessly expose' any anti-imperialists who are not 'proper revolutionaries', etc, etc.

This was not Lenin's way. Such Trotskyite sectarians should study Lenin's response to the 1916 Easter rebellion in Dublin by out-and-out bourgeois Irish nationalists, who were, moreover, accused by most of the 'official' Second-International 'Marxist left' of just

staging a silly sectarian 'putsch'.

But Lenin rejoiced in the embarrassment caused to British imperialism, and correctly, in those prevailing circumstances, urged the Fenians on to ever greater acts of terrorist courage.

Only the most obscene Trotskyite sectarianism could take any different attitude today. It is Sinn Féin/IRA which has led the anti-imperialist struggle in the remaining zone of Ireland occupied by British imperialism. Every embarrassment to the British police-military dictatorship is a blow against the international imperialist statue-quo.

Nationalism remains a potentially appallingly reactionary philosophy. And terrorism remains an appallingly unsatisfactory and double-edged weapon, potentially destructive of serious revolutionary political theory and agitation.

But Sinn Féin/IRA remains the only serious anti-imperialist struggle going.

It is unbelievably sectarian anti-Leninist nonsense to not only refuse solidarity to the national-liberation war, but to join British bourgeois-idealist philosophy in contemptuously condemning the independence movement as 'mere reactionary bloody terrorism', as many of the Trots have done.

The problem with these bar-room 'revolutionaries' of the fake-'Leninist' type is their ivory-tower isolation from real

anti-imperialist sentiments through their long association with CPGB revisionism in a yuppie world of total petty-bourgeois philistinism.

Meanwhile in the real world, one difficulty of confronting bourgeois philistinism head-on is the statistical problem of never being able to say quite when the capitalist economic crisis is doomed to finally destroying everything around it in an explosive slump-collapse, then plunging on directly into all-out trade war and sabre-rattling chauvinistic recriminations opening the road to inter-imperialist WWII.

The complicating factor is the obscure matter of bourgeois market confidence. At some stage, it will have disintegrated entirely, – demoralised by the ever-spreading incontrovertible evidence that there is no way out of monopoly-capitalist competitive contradictions for world domination than through outright imperialist-state confrontation.

Many bourgeois establishments will be terrified at this stage, – afraid of what they might lose. Some will be aggressively cocky, grimly determined about what they might win in spite of the frightening cost. All will be resigned to some very disrupted and dangerous market conditions ahead. The world economy will nosedive.

Precisely predicting how and when, or guaranteeing

that there cannot possibly any last-minute 'recovery' false-dawns before then - remains an extremely hazardous business.

All that can be repeatedly stressed is that the contradictions of rival surplus-capital investment mountains (based on credit-creation and the bourgeois entrepreneurial faith

that the entire world market is always there to be won for anyone bold enough to seize the opportunity), - are stoked up towards international chauvinist conflict as never before in history, [...]

Build Leninism. Spread the *ILWP Bulletin*.

Jack Bradshaw

Imperialist system begins to lose crucial support in its own middle-class ranks (*Channel 4 News* revolt)

[*ILWP Bulletin* No 659 28-07-92]

Developments concerning Ireland, Italy, and Britain are all currently illustrating how the economic crisis, underlying difficult political conflicts, is shaking petty-bourgeois confidence in the capitalist state.

[...]It is not the case that the workers revolutionary party has to become expert in the most up-to-date developments in every field of human knowledge (though it would do no harm at all if it were).

But it is necessary for the cadre party to understand enough about current affairs of all kinds so as to be able to draw vital historical conclusions about the next crisis developments in capitalist society in time enough for the working class to not be left in total confusion by events, and without a glimmer of reliable and knowledgeable leadership on the horizon to which workers could respond, -(given sufficient efforts in quantity and quality by the party).

And if this is the route forwards, and the only one, then the requirement on every conscious worker is to constantly deepen the party's collective understanding of Marxist-Leninist science, and systematically strive to broaden the party's influence, whenever possible.

Irish developments are another excellent example of

where total chaos and defeatism have been sown in the workers movement by the confusion in the minds of 'the fake-'left' anti-Leninist sects, causing desperate damage to the workers movement in Britain and Ireland.

Even Sinn Féin itself, - whilst the undoubted heroes of the Irish national-liberation movement's tremendous anti-imperialist struggle, - has repeatedly undermined its own colossal military and political achievements (of forcing British imperialism to a hopeless and damaging stalemate in the Occupied Zone), by describing the staggering hunger-strike and related political triumphs as "a defeat", for example, or the Anglo-Irish Treaty enforced on a paralysed and embarrassed British government as "another setback and barrier to Ireland's reunification", etc.

Only this month, when it has become clearer than ever that the British ruling class really is seeking the snail's-pace withdrawal from the Occupied Zone (without loss of face to the "terrorists", of course) as explained in the *Bulletin's* analysis for years (*ILWP Books* vol 8 & 15 *Ireland*), - Sinn Féin declared of the unprecedented three-strand negotiations between London, Belfast and Dublin about an all-Ireland solution that "the

real agenda for the talks has been set by Britain and is about strengthening partition".

It may yet happen out of British ruling-class weakness versus its own diehard fascist-colonists of the Orange Order, but it is not the obvious intention of the long suppression of Belfast self-rule, the Treaty's unheard-of provisions for a Dublin voice in the northern zone's affairs, the increasing application of some features of the British police-military dictatorship against UVF 'loyalist' thugs and Unionist sectarianism as well as the Irish nationalist movement, etc, - spelled out recently in greater detail than ever in the previously unthinkable Dublin/Belfast/London negotiations.

But Sinn Féin talks only of defeat and of strengthening partition because its spontaneous anti-imperialist achievements in political and military struggle have never been backed-up by any scientific grasp of the degeneration of imperialism as a world system, or of British imperialism's specific weaknesses within that dying system, or of the necessary economic and political face-saving retreats now forced on the British ruling class (by its US and EEC "allied" rivals as much as anything else) as a result of the embarrassing inability to defeat a so-called "tiny handful of criminal terrorists and their political front".

Although such defeatism in Sinn Féin's outlook is more than compensated for inside the national-liberation movement itself by the stubborn resilience and resourcefulness of the independence struggle, the advantages lost worldwide by failing to explain to the international workers movement the tremendous importance of the political defeats inflicted on British imperialism (IRA undefeatable, hunger-strike humiliation for the UK, political embarrassment for London of Sinn Féin's electoral triumphs, collapse of Paisley's attempted new Carsonite Curragh-mutiny 'no surrender' fascism, etc etc) - are a priceless opportunity being missed.

Further encouragement to banish defeatism could be drawn from the remarkable stand being taken by the British television petty-bourgeois layers in resisting court orders for the RUC to be given the name of an informant on RUC involvement in judicial assassinations of Republicans in the Occupied Zone:

Channel 4, which faces unlimited fines or sequestration of assets if it is found to be in contempt, intends to argue that it was an important

programme and that the orders to hand over material that could identify the source were not in the public interest.

Source , who was interviewed in silhouette with his words spoken by an actor, alleged widespread collusion between the security forces, loyalist paramilitaries and members of the Northern Irish business and professional community in a secret organisation - of which he was a member - dedicated to a campaign of political and sectarian assassination.

Andrew Collins, QC, for the Director of Public Prosecutions, read the court an affidavit from the programme's researcher who said he or she had been explicitly asked by source A if he or she was prepared to go to prison rather than reveal his name. That assurance was given. "I have not the slightest doubt that had I not been prepared to give the undertakings required, A would not have agreed to say anything to me," the researcher said.

The videotapes of the interview with the source, where he was not disguised, were destroyed before transmission in order not to break the undertaking. The same was done with interviews with other anonymous sources.

"This seemed to be the only way we could guard against their identity becoming known through burglary by any of the interested parties, or even through carelessness," the researcher said. "It was not done with legal seizure uppermost in our minds."

The RUC, which has rejected the allegations in the programme, applied to the court because the dossier given to it voluntarily by Channel 4 did not contain the source's name.

Claims in the programme about the "Inner Force" which planned assassinations, with the further allegations that one third of RUC men were so disaffected they supported this approach, were of the "utmost seriousness", Mr Collins said.

Mr Collins said, "but to say this was conclusive evidence was to display a degree of arrogance."

Material identifying Source A was the key to the RUC's investigations into the allegations.

Although Grade and Attenborough have so far only uttered the usual remarks about "protecting journalistic sources" and "invidious choice between breaking the law and putting lives in danger", etc, - there has long been developing a middle-class distaste in Britain to give any more support to the brutality of the failed imperialist-state policies towards the Occupied Zone.

Even if Channel 4 finally capitulates to court pressure, this is another example of how some petty-bourgeois layers who help to run the imperialist state in normal times are now like rats preparing to desert a sinking ship, or thieves about to fall out.

And while Ireland has always been a particularly uncomfort-



able problem for the British bourgeois-imperialist mentality, it must be suspected that as the capitalist state becomes more and more disastrously paralysed over the most frightening

The 'New World Order' deeper in the mire

[*ILWP Bulletin* No 660 04-08-92]

[...]All round its own patch, the 'free' world continues to degenerate towards total decrepitude.

British imperialism's Irish colonial morass continues to drag down the reputation of the capitalist state establishment.

Lord Justice Woolf in the High Court could find the will to slap only a derisory fine on Channel 4 (for contempt in still refusing to name Source A who had revealed to television his membership of a leading Orange-community committee of businessmen and state officials devoted to illegal 'judicial' murder of Irish nationalist opponents of continuing British rule over the Occupied Zone of Ulster), – and was incapable of making it a recurring fine, backed by a jail threat, for Channel Four's continued refusal to name names.

Parts of the London media petty-bourgeoisie, – completely disillusioned with imperialism's hopeless failure to continue tying down its Irish colony, – took an unprecedented stance against the previously hallowed Prevention of Terrorism Act to suggest that the RUC and the British government might have been better chasing up the Orange assassination committee rather than persecuting the television journalists who had uncovered the scandal.

Aware of the grotesque spectacle which the corrupt colonial establishment was making of itself in the Occupied Zone (and wider afield) over this explosive question of judicial murder (bearing in mind the entire fraught history of the notorious shoot-to-kill policy and M15 assassination of the Gibraltar Three, [see pp7-10] etc), the RUC boss Annesley felt obliged to speak out.

The attempted cover-up was the most farcical joke yet. Annesley said that the whole saga of the judicial murder circles inside the Ulster establishment had been deliberately made up by an RUC officer in order to deliberately blacken the RUC's reputation in the eyes of the Irish nationalist population of the Occupied Zone and the wider world outside.

And the purpose of this bizarre action was really so as to

economic crisis ever, the middle class's readiness for disaffection on almost any issue will become ever greater. [...]

Adam Carr

protect Ulster from the Anglo-Irish Treaty.

According to Annesley's tortured logic, this RUC hoaxer who had totally fooled Channel Four (ignoring the scores of other witnesses talked to in making the exposure of these judicial murder circles at the top of Orange society), had worked it out that the Treaty's survival was crucially dependent upon the nationalist community beginning to have some confidence in the RUC as a responsible, reliable, and impartial police force for all of the citizens of the Occupied Zone.

Therefore, reasoned Annesley's phantom RUC hoaxer, if it was widely got out and believed that the RUC was in fact conducting a secret illegal judicial murder campaign against leading nationalists, then the 'trust' basis of the Treaty would collapse, – and hence the Treaty would collapse:

The chief constable said that in his statement, the witness told the RUC: In early 1985 the riots took place in Portadown when the RUC banned the Orange processions and this was followed by the disorder and confrontations between the RUC

and the Loyalist community.

I considered that the RUC was being used to implement the Anglo-Irish agreement and to suppress any Loyalist opposition to it.

I believed that this was carried out on the directions of the Dublin government and that this was being done to give the RUC credibility among the minority community.

I decided then that I would attack any credibility that the RUC had been given by the minority as a result of this exercise.

I invented a story about their being an inner circle in existence within the RUC and that members of this inner circle were prepared to take part in a coup in the event of a united Ireland.

There is one flaw with this piece of fiction, – so glaring that it raises doubts whether anyone is left in the British colonial set-up over the Occupied Zone of Ireland who is not a brick short of a full load.

The Treaty had to be brought in to universal acclaim because the Irish population of the Occupied Zone, – and the rest of the world beyond, – could never trust the old Orange dictatorship in Ulster to ever be anything other than a gerrymandered tyranny and unacceptable for all time.

And the Treaty was a very mild antidote to that tyranny (marginally involving Dublin with a say in the Occupied Zone's affairs for the first time ever).

So if that Treaty failed, then it could only possibly lead to a new and much more anti-colonial Treaty some time in the future.

Annesley's attempted cover-up for these infamous judicial

murder circles inside the British colonial establishment is the most ludicrous gibberish ever heard.

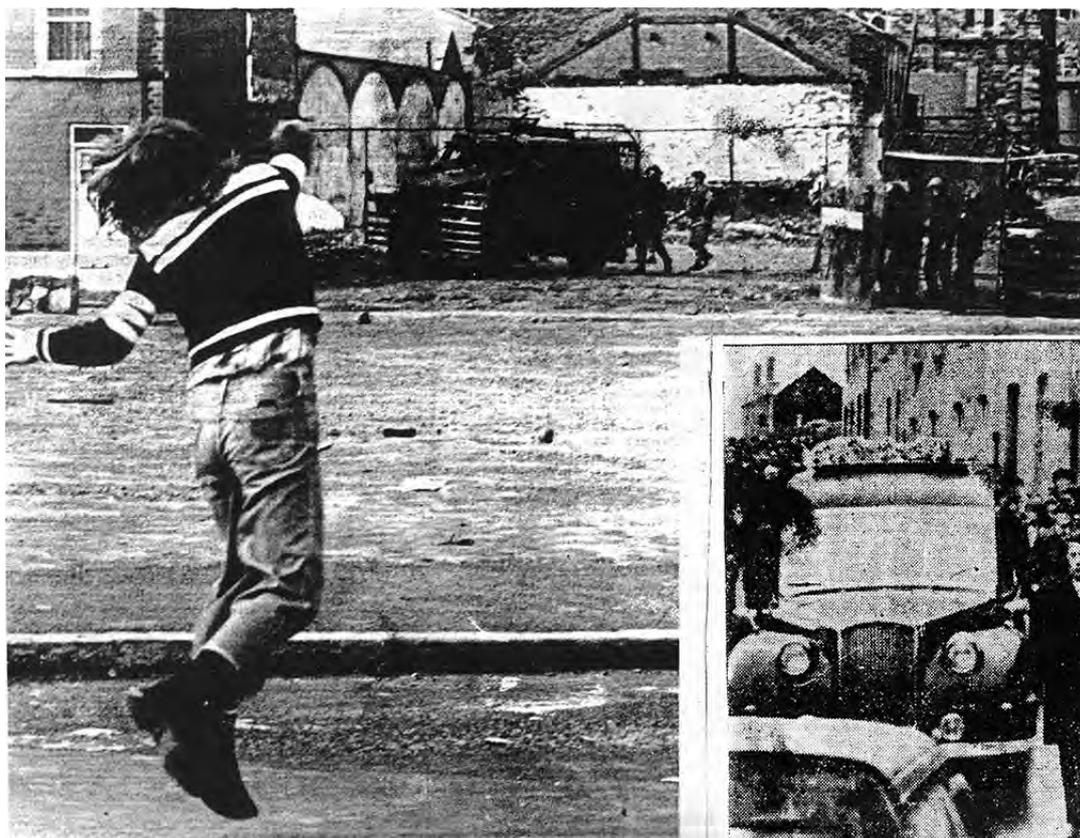
Channel Four's allegations remain unchallenged. The Source A whistle-blower has not been shopped to RUC vengeance.

The RUC stands accused of monstrous fascist tactics, of failing to investigate these judicial murder circles, of trying to persecute Channel Four instead, and of then issuing the daftest cover-up story in history.

As the *Bulletin* was explaining, these developments suggest a fundamental breach between the British imperialist state policy (for an undeclared snail's pace withdrawal from its Irish colony but without conceding anything to the Irish national-liberation struggle), and the outlook of the petty-bourgeois circles required to make the British capitalist state function (including the journalists running the bourgeois television and newspaper monopolies). The middle class are simply rapidly losing all confidence in London's policy towards Ireland any more.

And this devastating collapse of confidence in the British imperialist ruling class position by its own petty-bourgeoisie is a far more crucial development than the imagined 'greater difficulty' now alleged to be threatening investigative journalism in the Occupied Zone.

The fairly token £75,000 fine and mild words of admonishment from Lord Woolf, (who actually spoke of the "real and



genuine dilemma" facing Channel Four when its open defiance of a court order under the previously sacrosanct Prevention of Terrorism Act was all that should really have mattered to the very imperialist judicial establishment) almost ignored a challenge to the rule of law which in any other circumstances would have been being described as a "basic threat to the whole fabric of the British constitution and requiring jail for Grade and Attenborough" at the very least.

Now that that has not happened, then a logical expectation is for the Three-strand negotiations which have programmed the Orange order to talk to Dublin for the first time ever since Ireland won its partial independence from the British empire) – to cover more unprecedented new ground when they resume in the autumn.

Slowly, dying British imperialism is finally giving up its last, oldest, and most blood-stained and traumatic colony of all. As Marx said, it will be an enormous liberation from the chauvinistic prejudices of British working-class mentality to no longer have Ireland to kick around or look down upon with hatred (even just on a part of one partitioned community there).

And for the Irish proletariat's revolutionary socialist destiny, the ending of the conditions favouring fake pacifist 'Republicanism' in Dublin will expose Green Tory reaction and Church

obscurantism to the harsh logic of reason and class struggle as never before.

The Irish national liberation struggle, led by Sinn Féin and the IRA, has already won some prodigious achievements against British imperialism but with the best still to come of final reunification and full independence at last. It has done so arms in hand and occasionally verging on some revolutionary anti-imperialist understanding, though never far enough, and always bleakly philistinely anti-Leninist.

But the movement's spontaneous successes have also helped to expose Sinn Fein's own bourgeois-nationalist naivety and defeatism. (See last week's *Bulletin*).

The British proletariat and the international revolutionary movement will nevertheless, despite Sinn Fein's own confusion, gain enormously from the humiliation of British imperialism at the hands of the heroic revolutionary spontaneity of the national-liberation struggle in Ireland.

The British colonial connection is on the last stages of its journey to the graveyard. Its final burial will help clear the way towards a more straightforward revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle by workers in both countries for a socialist solution to the capitalist system's unending crises of war, tyranny and slump.

Build Leninism. Spread the *ILWP Bulletin*.

Gerry Mole

Northern Ireland during these last 20 years is equivalent to 110,000 dead in a population the size of Britain and half a million slaughtered in the US.

Faced with this carnage, successive British governments authorised a covert war in which the security forces were free to use the methods of the IRA to defeat the IRA as long as they didn't get caught.

There is no serious commentator on the course of the war who would privately deny that the British forces have used the shoot-to-kill policy against suspected IRA volunteers, both in Northern Ireland and Gibraltar. When public pressure forced the Government to concede an inquiry which it expected would be the usual whitewash, it made the mistake of putting John Stalker in charge. But even after he had been smeared and discredited while striving to get to the truth his successor found the evidence so overwhelming that the Government refused to publish his report and took no action against those involved.

Nor were covert actions confined to British territory. Army captain Robert Nairac led an assassination squad of Loyalist paramilitaries across the Irish border to kill IRA volunteer John Francis Green. But as with all covert actions, things ran out of control. When Edward Heath's government engineered a power-sharing government into Stormont Castle the security forces worked with Loyalist paramilitaries to organise the Loyalist workers' strike which broke the power-sharing initiative.

The following year, when Harold Wilson's government negotiated a ceasefire with the IRA, rogue elements in MI5 systematically and cold-bloodedly armed and organised Loyalist paramilitaries in an assassination campaign aimed to end the ceasefire by unleashing sectarian violence. This goal was only achieved after the shooting of Ireland's No.1 pop group, The Miami Show Band.

The alleged use by MI5 of youngsters at the Kincora Boys Home to entrap, blackmail and thus control leading unionist politicians with

paedophile tendencies was another side to the covert war which the British government has struggled unsuccessfully to cover up. There is also little doubt left that British intelligence arranged the bombing of Dublin so that revulsion at the slaughter would be blamed on the IRA and thus speed the Republic's own Prevention of Terrorism Act through a reluctant Dail.

Twenty years on, it seems that nothing has changed. The systematic discrimination against Catholics in housing and employment, which sparked the violence a generation ago, continues. All government attempts to end it have failed. The recent trial of Brian Nelson, who operated as a spy for British intelligence inside the UDA, was cut short by a deal which prevented the public revelation that British intelligence had allowed Loyalist paramilitaries to import vast quantities of arms from South Africa currently being used in the new wave of killings.

The private advice from British intelligence to our government is that it is not possible to eliminate the IRA.

Take up the IRA's tactics with the IRA, not with the manipulated 'public opinion' of the imperialist power responsible for imposing endless war on Ireland in the first place. Just tell British imperialism, – and every part of its rotten 'democracy', – to get out of Ireland.

Douglas Bell



Letters

Ireland

[EPSR No 692 23-03-93]

The Irish who have been writing into the British imperialist national media to apologise for the Warrington bomb blasts and rushing to lead the condemnation of the IRA, want to stop being such cowardly turncoats.

It is British imperialism which is the cause of all the trouble in Ireland and in particular the evil partition of the country left behind when revolutionary war forced the British colonisers out of 26 of the counties in 1921, leaving behind a sick and twisted colonist minority to administer fascist-police rule over the remaining 6 counties with their ludicrously gerrymandered realigned borders to make sure Orangemen outnumbered Irishmen.

The partition and continued colonisation of the Occupied Zone of Ireland remains one of the greatest political crimes of this century or any other

century. Read what the capitalist press itself writes about Britain's imperialist role:

For more than a decade, Britain's leaders have spoken in private of having achieved "an acceptable level of violence". What they mean is that the horrifying upsurge of killing that followed the introduction of internment 20 years ago had declined to roughly the present levels of violence by 1976 and has lately stayed at that level ever since.

And, of course, the level of violence is only acceptable to British leaders when it is happening a long long way away in Ireland and not in their own constituencies. The IRA knows, this attitude only too well and it fuels its determination to bring the carnage of the war to the streets of Britain.

Proponents of the acceptable level theory seem to forget that the population of Northern Ireland is only one and a half million. They have no answer when it is pointed out to them that the number of people blown to bits and shot to death in



Indiscriminate crowd-control plastic bullets have killed or maimed hundreds of innocent by-standers, including children, under British police-military dictatorship rule

West so weakened by trade-war nightmare that even simple 'democracy' is now beyond it, as in UK paralysis over its anti-Irish crimes

[EPSR No 701 25-03-93]

The British ruling class is in a desperate plight with its £50 billion deficit but it would be a mistake to interpret the latest hardline threats to the welfare state as being some kind of thick-skinned strength. Fascist menaces are the exact opposite, – the product of appalling bourgeois weakness, – a confession of total bankruptcy and complete inability to carry on ruling with the most effective and insidious weapon capitalism ever devised, – the fraud of 'parliamentary democracy and justice'.

A hated vindictive 'democratic' government (which might survive for a while to hammer working-class living standards due to the utterly class-collaborating futility and fecklessness of the Labour and Liberal 'opposition') can hang on to power but represents a dangerous defeat as far as the real point of bourgeois democracy is concerned, which is to bamboozle and swindle the masses but to get them to regularly vote to be skinned nevertheless.

It is an even greater weakness for the bourgeoisie's survival when an unpopular parliamentary system has to give way to an openly capitalist dictatorship system.

German imperialism's enforced turn to Nazism in the 1930s was in fact not a clever trick to use the 'democratic process' to deprive the masses of democracy but a fatal capitulation to suicidal delusions of a 'short cut' to capitalist 'recovery' success which ended in total disaster just 12 years later unleashing a postwar revolutionary avalanche which did not stop until a third of the planet had turned socialist, (despite the continuing class-collaborating feebleness (with imperialism on a worldwide basis) of the wretched Moscow revisionist leadership.)

It is similarly a weakness, not a hard-nosed strength, of the present Tory government in Britain that on top of threatening to destroy welfare-state living standards for the masses, provoking open rebellion (and of a revolutionary kind, as opposed to the reformist revolts of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s when class-collaborating trade-unionism was trying to resist any reduction in its stake

in successful British imperialism, made necessary by that imperialism's declining world role), – the Cabinet has also decided to brazen things out as far as the collapse of its policy on the Occupied Zone of Ireland is concerned.

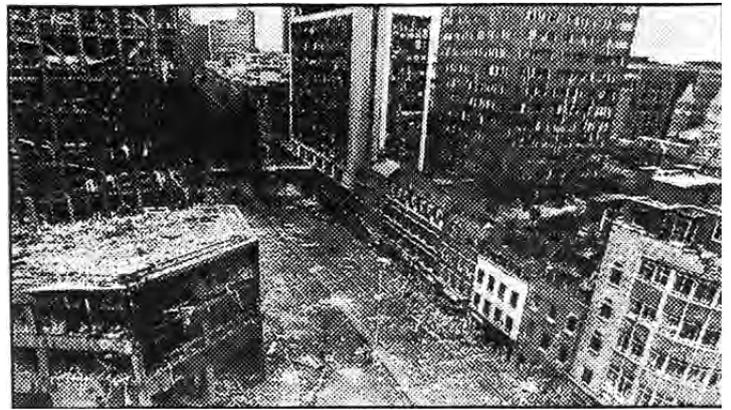
Caught red-handed framing group after group of innocent Irish so as at least to be able to victimise someone for the fictional 'terrorist crimes' of the national-liberation struggle, London's decision to 'tough it out' by admitting no individual guilt for the many 'miscarriages of justice' is pure defeatist despair, and not strength at all.

The rigged 'convictions' couldn't stick because the anti-imperialist advance of history itself is making a mockery of the ridiculous pompous hypocrisy of Britain's police-military dictatorship over the last colonised corner of Ireland pretending to stand for 'law and order' in that gerrymandered hellhole, reeking of Rule Britannia bigotry.

But there is no smart and cunning British imperialist strength left at all to turn these 'legal' setbacks into a 'making-a-clean-breast-of-it' virtue. That would have required a confident putting of Paisley & Co in their place, and no such confidence exists. It would have required telling an increasingly nervous and resentful British police force that they would have to take the rap for the Guildford Four stitch up, but their Federation conference's ecstatic welcoming of the Old Bailey 'not guilty' verdict, and the Government's acceptance of it, indicates that there is little strength of will to make out a plausible case of 'who was really responsible' for the injustices, but a great amount of blatant relief that the whole sorry mess of failed policies towards the Irish national-liberation struggle can be swept under the carpet yet again for a brief while longer.

It is worth recording just how ludicrous the decaying British imperialist state is making itself look with this renewed bare-faced cover-up:

The innuendo whispered in legal and police circles for the last three years was finally aired. The Establishment still cannot come to terms with the fact that Patrick Armstrong and the rest of the Guildford Four had nothing whatsoever to do with the Guildford



and Woolwich pub bombings.

Prosecution of the police took three-and-a-half years to reach, court, thereby fettering the independent inquiry into the Guildford case set up by the Home Secretary in 1989 and headed by Sir John May. The delay cannot be attributed to the preparation of evidence. The case against the three detectives was argued on two documents alone, the same two documents that lay at the heart of the Appeal Court decision on October 19 1989 to quash the convictions of the Guildford Four secured on confession evidence alone.

The delay served in part to distance present events from that extraordinary day at the Old Bailey when four bemused young people who had spent over half their lives in prison walked free. In the words of Crown QC Roy Amlot that day: "Evidence of great significance has come to light. [It] throws such doubt upon the honesty and integrity of a number of the Surrey officers investigating this case in 1974 that the Crown now feels unable to say that the conviction of any appellant was safe or satisfactory..."

Home Secretary Douglas Hurd told a sombre House of Commons, "There has been a serious miscarriage of justice which has resulted in wrongful imprisonment for many years."

The unexpected quashing of the convictions pre-empted an appeal set for the following January in which other serious points would have been raised: points which the legal establishment and the Government has yet to answer. But it is safe to assume that, if the Crown still believed in the guilt of the Guildford Four, it would not have thrown in the towel.

In his judgment Lord Lane said the entire case against the Guildford Four rested on the integrity of the police. The so-called contemporaneous notes of the interviews with Armstrong were not contemporaneous: "The officers must have been lying." He added: "if they were prepared to tell this sort of lie, then the whole of their evidence became suspect."

The sole evidence against them was their confessions. They alleged officers had beaten and intimidated them at Guildford police station.

Alastair Logan, solicitor for Mr Armstrong and Carole Richardson, said: "The only chance the police had to be acquitted was to put Armstrong and [Gerry] Conlon on trial. That's what they have done."

"It's been a nonsense of a criminal trial. It is a con-trick, a dirty lousy

con-trick. It is an attempt to re-write history, an attempt to reconvict the Four."

Mr Armstrong, now aged 43, said: "It was a whitewash from start to finish. I sometimes wondered why they even bothered to go through the motions."

"It was an ingenious plan just to blame the Surrey officers for the Guildford convictions."

That separated them from the bomb squad, who interviewed us over Woolwich, and the ruc. They deliberately chose the grounds for quashing our convictions so awkward questions would never be asked."

He thinks the public must be bewildered by now. "If I were the man in the street, then I suppose I would be thinking, there's no smoke without fire. But that applies to the police as well. If that evidence was good enough at the Court of Appeal to have our convictions quashed, why is it not good enough to pursue a conviction against doctored evidence?"

"But the truth is never going to come out now. All these matters about what evidence was withheld and why, nobody is going to be held to account for that."

Counsel for the police officers had been allowed by Mr Justice Macpherson to make an address to the jury before the prosecution began calling witnesses. They alleged Mr Armstrong, whose interview records were the core of the trial, had "sung like a canary", and was an IRA member.

But the Balcombe Street gang, an IRA unit cornered at a siege in west London after a long mainland bombing campaign, admitted the Guildford and Woolwich bombings after they were arrested in 1975. Government scientists have admitted that forensic evidence to support their claims was suppressed.

A SIMPLE issue faced the Old Bailey jury of six men and six women: could there be an innocent explanation for the existence of a set of typed police notes, with scribbled additions, of an interview with Patrick Armstrong, one of the Guildford Four?

The notes came to light four years ago. Avon and Somerset detectives, re-reading the Guildford convictions of 14 years earlier after the four prisoners had submitted fresh evidence claiming their innocence, discovered them in the archives at Surrey police headquarters.

The papers immediately set alarm

bells ringing. The Guildford officers who had questioned Mr Armstrong had presented a handwritten record of the interview to court, said to have been contemporaneously-recorded, which was similar to the typed notes plus additions.

Avon and Somerset police believed the typewritten notes must have preceded the handwritten document. When they received unsatisfactory replies from the officers Allan Green, the then Director of Public Prosecutions, was consulted. In October 1989, he announced the prosecution case against the Guildford Four was crushed. Two days later, Roy Amlot QC, for the Crown, rose to his feet before a specially convened Court of Appeal to say why.

As well as the Armstrong notes, Avon and Somerset detectives had discovered Surrey detectives had lied about another interview, with Paul Hill. They had also found a duplicate custody record, corresponding to the timetable of interviews which had been forwarded by the Guildford Four. Neither of those areas was to become the subject of a criminal trial.

Mr Amlot told Lord Lane, the then Lord Chief Justice: "The Crown says that not only did three officers — and not only junior officers — mislead the court, but because of the notes, preparation and statements they gave, clearly they agreed together to present their notes in this fashion."

Lord Lane, quashing the convictions, had no doubts: "The officers must have lied." And, in a reference to the prosecution of the officers, he added: "May we express the hope that nothing will be allowed to stand in the way of the speedy progress of those proceedings."

Although 12 Surrey officers were named in Avon and Somerset's criminal investigation, only three were charged with conspiracy to pervert the course of justice.

Ronald Bartle, the magistrate hearing the committal of the three officers at Bow Street, central London, was to play a key role. After a five-

day hearing in June 1991, Mr Bartle dismissed the charges.

The High Court reversed the dismissal in January last year. Lord Justice Neill said, as Mr Bartle had argued, there might be some prejudice because of the time lapse. But "a jury would be perfectly capable of deciding the case on the evidence without regard to what they might have seen or read three years or so earlier".

After a year's delay to allow the three officers to engage counsel of their choice, the trial finally got underway at the Old Bailey last month.

The defence was, unusually, allowed to outline its case immediately after the prosecution. The officers exercised their right not to go into the witness box.

Kenneth Clarke, the Home Secretary, said: "I hope we can put the whole unhappy episode behind us." Mr Justice Macpherson of Cluny, the trial judge, indicated he thought sleeping dogs should be left to lie. But the trial leaves unanswered an array of questions surrounding the 1974 Guildford and Woolwich pub bombings, which killed seven and injured more than 60.

□ Why did the prosecution withhold two alibi statements which would have proved Gerry Conlon was asleep, more than 30 miles away on the other side of London, at the time of the Guildford bombings?

□ Why was forensic evidence, indicating the Guildford and Woolwich bombings were part of a wave of mainland attacks carried out by the Balcombe Street gang, an IRA unit captured in 1975 after a siege in west London, deliberately altered?

□ Why was Carole Richardson interviewed, when she confessed to the Guildford bombings, soon after receiving an injection of pethidine to help her over barbiturate withdrawal?

□ Who was behind the decision not to charge members of the Balcombe Street siege gang with the Woolwich and Guildford bombings, which they admitted in interviews with, among others, Peter Imbert, later to

be the Metropolitan Police commissioner?

Some of those matters would have been raised at the Guildford Four's appeal, which had been due to begin early in 1990. Questions would have been levelled concerning, among others, the late Norman Skelhorn, Director of Public Prosecutions at the time of the trial, and the late Lord Havers, who, as Sir Michael Havers, had been prosecuting counsel in their 1975 trial before becoming Attorney General.

But the then DPP, Allan Green, stepped in dramatically in October 1989. The verdicts were quashed, but the Guildford Four's lawyers say they were never able to tell the full story. The result, they concede, is a lurking doubt about their innocence.

Gareth Peirce, solicitor for Mr Conlon, said: "They were cheated out of a proper appeal.

Had it gone ahead, we had four grounds, any one of which would have been sufficient.

"There was the alibi evidence; the forensic evidence, which demonstrated the gang which had carried out Guildford and Woolwich was operating when the four were already in custody; Lord Roskill's failure to send the case for retrial after the Balcombe Street people had used their trial to highlight four innocent people were in prison; and then we discovered evidence of widespread falsification of notes."

Sir John May's inquiry, set up under the former Appeal Court judge on the day the convictions were quashed, would have investigated these issues.

He would have asked why, given the sole evidence against the four was the confessions, there were 180 discrepancies. But Sir John was frustrated over the long delays in bringing the Guildford officers to trial.

He was effectively forced to cut short his public investigation, taking written evidence to allow him to complete a report before the Royal Commission on Justice's deadline next month.

Where questions remain unanswered, Sir John has asked key fig-

ures — understood to include senior Surrey and Metropolitan Police officers, prosecuting counsel and officials from the Home Office and DPP — to give him evidence in private.

He has promised that transcripts of their evidence will be published with the report, to be presented to the Home Secretary by September.

The establishment is being just as ostrich-like over its fortunes in the undeclared war against the Irish national-liberation struggle.

It is going disastrously badly, as it has been from the start because the criminal colonial repression of the north-east corner of Ireland is a farcical historical anachronism which was doomed from the very beginning when an already ailing British imperialism savagely imposed the artificial partition as a last vengeful act of a failed 800-year attempt to make all of Ireland a province of Britain.

Orange fascism has been laughed out of every public opinion court on earth as a fit 'authority' for the gerrymandered occupied bits of Ulster, the most historic heart of Ireland.

Now the British police-military dictatorship remnants of that failed colonisation are still incapable of suppressing Irish independence struggles, in spite of all the incredible watchtower surveillance; walled-in 'republican' ghettos; Hitlerite no-jury 'courts'; ten years of 'detention-without-trial' concentration camps; murderous shoot-on-sight' killing gangs run by army and police out of uniform; Gestapo silencing of Sinn Féin spokesmen on radio and television; torture 'interrogation' barracks condemned by the European Court; etc, etc.

The IRA is still blasting Britain and its colony to bits, and Sinn Féin is still winning massive electoral support from the Irish voters.

The Tory government's pretence that 'Britain is keeping a stiff upper lip and going about its business determined not to be disrupted by these pointless bombings', etc, is no display of 'strong will to see the battle against evil through to a successful conclusion' but paralysed weakness to know what to do next.

In spite of the news blackout, the story is still getting out that the City of London, for example, suffered crippling losses from its recent bombings.

Fully a month after the latest blast on Bishopsgate, no less than 21 acres of prime City money-making territory is still walled off behind an 8-foot high iron fence, needing a pass to get inside. Snippets in the capital-



passers-by try to penetrate the 8ft fence going up around 21 acres of the City of London damaged by last IRA blast, to avoid risk of injury from falling debris. The area will be reduced as repairs progress, but for two months a pass will be needed to get inside

ist press this week reveal part of the story which the D-notice censors do not want told:

Edward Henty, a *News of the World* photographer, was killed and 44 injured in last month's bombing. Up to 20,000 City employees were displaced and by this week only a handful had returned to work in the immediate vicinity.

Rear Admiral Rowe and the 35 staff at Leathersellers Company are among the few City workers who have returned to their offices since April 24 — the second time in a year that the premises at St Helens Place have suffered bomb damage. Most buildings nearby are shrouded in scaffolding, while less than 100 yards away, work continues at the epicentre of the explosion on repairing a severed sewer. The smell can be excruciating.

The influx of workers on to the neighbouring building sites created a serious problem for female staff, said office worker Fiona Barras. "Things got so bad we made an official complaint."

But male executives have had problems too, Mr Marler added. Meeting clients is difficult when the local wine bar is a pile of rubble and "you feel a complete and utter twit going on the Tube with your hard hat".

The scale of devastation, disruption, and losses from this, from the previous City bombs, and from four new town-centre blasts in the past week must be close to beyond the government's insurance scheme capacity to bear (in view of the £50 billion deficit already), plus politically making the Tory Cabinet and British imperialist state look fools.

The monstrous suppression of the Stalker inquiry (which

exposed the shoot-on-sight killing system) is proof that this 'tough-it-out' attitude is just paralysed weakness bearing an enormous cost, and not strength at all.

The attempted frame-up of Manchester's deputy chief constable, one of the country's leading policemen, did great damage to the British establishment's reputation with the middle class, and will continue to do such damage for a long while to come, in fact until the monopoly imperialist bourgeoisie's overthrow.

And this colossal price was paid because the Tory hierarchy could not find a way of arranging for a few scapegoats from the colonial establishment to 'take the punishment' (early retirement, sideways promotion, elevation to the House of Lords, etc) for the illegalities Stalker discovered.

The same is happening now over the crippling spate of bombings.

Under pressure from most 'free-world' capitals, London has long since accepted the need for a snail's pace withdrawal from its last colony. But so decadently weak is British imperialism now that it cannot find a way to oblige the colonial establishment in the Occupied Zone of Ireland to accept this final retreat.

Hence the paralysed stupefaction as the remnants of British imperialism are bombed towards ever more ruinous financial deficits.[...]

Joe Harper

Worsening financial trade-war mocks Tokyo 'recovery' smokescreen. Massive destruction of 'surplus' capital is imperialism's only 'solution'. US fascist bullying is the shape of things to come. Revisionism's remnants must be swept aside by a revival of serious Marxist-Leninist science. Witch-hunting Krushchev instead of honestly analysing the grotesque errors of the Stalin era is a hopeless diversion. Imperialism has found no new ways of hanging on, - in Ireland or anywhere else.

[EPSR No 708 13-07-93]

[...]Another area where pretended imperialist 'strength' only hides real weakness is in the highly symbolic threat to British ruling-class integrity from the Irish national-liberation struggle. Even bourgeois

circles are now grasping the reality of British imperialism's enforced snail's pace withdrawal from its oldest colony, and almost noting as well the weird phenomenon of the London establishment stumbling on its

face just by letting happen what it knows is now inevitable, the reunification of Ireland:

RARELY can the onset of the Northern Ireland "marching" season have found Unionists in more bitter mood than today. Their abiding paranoia about the Anglo-Irish Agreement has been provoked once again by renewed pressure from Dublin for talks this autumn irrespective of opposition from the Unionists. Their despair has been heightened by opinion polls showing majorities north, south and in Britain for a new inter-governmental initiative. Their suspicious antennae twitch for the least sign of influence from Washington, where the Clinton administration has not yet made up its mind over Irish affairs but has sent a Kennedy as ambassador to Dublin.

Domestically, they are no more reassured. Sinn Fein comes slowly but surely in from the political cold — talks with John Hume, endorsement for talks from Michael Mates, a handshake with Mary Robinson — all signs that the unthinkable is now being thought. At Westminster the Labour Party breaks with the long tradition of consensus, floats the notion of joint rule over the north with Dublin and stands its ground when attacked by the Northern Ireland Secretary and the Prime Minister. The armed forces minister suggests that the army presence in Northern Ireland may have to be scaled down. So when yesterday the IRA set off a bomb in the centre of the relatively peaceful town of Newtownards Unionists felt even more abandoned, beleaguered and angry than ever — and told the visiting Sir Patrick Mayhew so with some force.

That hardening of mood goes some way to explain the most important recent event in the north, the coordinated weekend loyalist rioting against the security forces in Belfast and several other predominantly Protestant towns. But the riots mark a significant deterioration in the political situation in their own right. Such scenes have long been familiar, though not for some time, in Catholic areas. Until now they have been rare in Protestant ones. The weekend roll call of 35 shootings, 11 bomb attacks and 63 hijackings will feed rather than assuage the mood of defiance. Only the alleged willingness of the security forces to negotiate in the Shankill district with representatives of banned organisations — something they would never have done with the IRA — marks the confrontations out from those which have occurred in Catholic areas. There is no mistaking that an important shift has occurred on the security and public order front. It is unlikely to get better before it gets worse — and it could get a lot worse very soon.

It is striking that the most forceful declaration of unionism by a British prime minister in recent times last Thursday made absolutely no difference whatsoever. British ministers seem in general to have little feel for the present fluidity of Irish events. Sir Patrick Mayhew aims to please but pleases no one. The Dublin coalition, though far from radical itself



The new terrorists in the north of Ireland

on Anglo-Irish matters, feels he is too cautious. Nationalists think he does not have a strategy any more. Unionists believe he has abandoned them. So while others push the agenda forwards, the British government falls back on assertions of an ancestral unionist faith which stirs no enthusiasm at home, cuts no ice in Northern Ireland and melts no hearts in the south. Mr Major and Sir Patrick seem to have lost their political touch just at a moment when real creativity over Irish affairs is most called for.

Even the Orange colonists at last seem to be admitting that the Irish independence spirit is unbeatable:

THE mood of the crowd was one of severe shock as residents stared at the devastation.

It was not just that Newtownards had finally fallen victim to the IRA's remorseless bombing campaign. It was disillusion at the manner in which one provincial town after another could be torn apart.

"I have to say something which I thought I would never have said," the local Ulster Unionist MP, John Taylor, confessed on local BBC radio yesterday morning. "That is that the IRA are certainly winning in Northern Ireland.

"We have got to have an urgent review of the security policy...Clearly the army GOC should be removed. We will have to tell the chief constable that he must come up with another security policy within six months or he too will be removed."

Mr Taylor is a hardline Unionist, a former Stormont security minister.

An insurance assessor estimated the damage at between £1 million and £5 million. Four bombs in late May have already added £28 million to the bill for Northern Ireland this year. Others in Strabane and Newry have further pushed the cumulative running toll for bomb damage towards £40 million.

Ian Paisley MP, the leader of the Democratic Unionist Party, appeared in the town around lunchtime. He too called for resignations. The Northern Ireland Secretary, Sir Patrick Mayhew, was booed and heckled by councillors when he visited Newtownards.

Decadent British imperialism is now completely out of its depth on the world colonial-exploitation and political-bullying stage,

and looks farcical trying to still hold down the last six gerry-mandered-county bits of Ulster, having been forced from the rest of Ulster and the rest of Ireland by the national-liberation war of 1919-1921, ended only by the savage treachery of partition.

If the snail's-pace enforced withdrawal does continue (see ILWP Books vol 8 & 15 – *Ireland*) under US and NATO-imperialist pressure (who seek a more stable counter-revolutionary set-up in Ireland), it will be a colossal advantage to communists fighting the class struggle in Britain if workers are no longer so susceptible to racist-chauvinist 'no surrender, defend the United Kingdom' hysteria, pouring out hatred against all the Irish (and by extension against all 'foreigners') every time the bourgeois-nationalist IRA fight back against the continuing British police-military dictatorship over the last colonised corner of Ireland, with terrorist tactics on the mainland. Build Leninism. Douglas Bell



Ireland

[EPSR No 717 14-09-93 (*SouthWest Bulletin*)]

The sick manipulation by the BBC *Panorama* programme of the family of the child killed in the Warrington blast, with its 'let's try and understand', plumbs new depths of BBC hypocrisy.

Below are reprinted some of the 98 TV programmes censored by the capitalist lie machine because they might lead people to the 'wrong' understanding of the Irish liberation struggle against British colonialism:

1983 Channel 4 *Green Flutes*, a documentary about a republican flute band from Glasgow, was delayed three times, and cuts made to its sequence on Northern Ireland.

1984 BBC *Open Space* on the media coverage of Ireland was dropped.

1985 BBC *Panorama*, critical of "policing" in Northern Ireland, was dropped on "legal advice". The programme was one of the first to deal with claims that the Royal Ulster Constabulary ran a "shoot to kill" policy.

1985 BBC *Real Lives*, a documentary about the lives of two Derry politicians, was banned after the then Home Secretary, Leon Brittan, wrote to the BBC, saying the film was "contrary to the national interest" and "likely to give succour to terrorist organisations". He hadn't seen it. In a rare move, BBC journalists went on strike, and BBC management finally relented, after demanding cuts.

1985 BBC *Open to Question*, a discussion programme broadcast in Scotland, was dropped after Sinn Féin president Gerry Adams accepted an invitation to appear.

1985 UTV *Witness*, a religious programme, was dropped after David Bleakley, general secretary of the Irish Council of Churches, warned of endemic fear in Northern Ireland, and said that what was needed was "a politics of doing things together".

1985 BBC *Songs of Praise* was scrapped after certain Protestants refused to cooperate in the wake of the signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement

1986 BBC *Question Time* from Belfast was dropped when Unionist MPs refused to take part

1986 Channel 4 *Eleventh Hour* was forced by the Independent Broadcasting Authority to drop a film about the use of plastic bullets in Ireland. Entitled *They Shoot to Kill Children*, the film included an interview with a boy who was hit in the face with a plastic bullet when he was 12 years old.

1987 Channel 4 *Court Report* was banned after the Attorney-General was granted an injunction by the Court of Appeal. The subject was the Birmingham Six. The Court of Appeal, which included the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Lane, was the same court

concurrently hearing the appeal of the Birmingham Six. The Court refused to lift the injunction until after it had rejected the appeal.

1988 Channel 4 *Network 7*, a magazine programme, was prevented from broadcasting live a discussion entitled "Should the troops remain in Ireland?" The IBA demanded that a phone-in poll be dropped, as it was "open to abuse by unrepresentative opinion".

1988 Channel 4 *After Dark* - A late night discussion programme, was dropped after protests against the planned appearance of Gerry Adams.

1988 BBC *Panorama* delayed and cut a programme on the SAS after Director General John Checkland and his deputy, John Birt, intervened. The programme was finally shown after part of an SAS training video, showing an exercise with live bullets in the SAS's "killing house", was removed.

1989 Channel 4 *The Silent Scream*, a documentary about the use of plastic bullets in Northern Ireland, was dropped. The official reason given was its "lack of structure". Programme makers were told: "We have to keep our heads low; Ireland is a sensitive issue."

1989 BBC *Forever Divided*, a programme to mark the 20th anniversary of the arrival of British troops in Ireland, included an interview with Gerry Adams in subtitles only. Under the "Sinn Féin ban", decreed by the then Home Secretary Douglas

Hurd, the voices of certain Irish MPs could not be broadcast. Although the Broadcast Ban is almost certainly itself illegal under European conventions, it has never been challenged in court by the broadcasting institutions.

1990 UTV *The Struggle for Democracy*, a documentary by Central TV, was banned by Ulster TV after four Ulster Defence Regiment soldiers were killed. A UTV executive said it would have been "insensitive" to broadcast it.

1990 UTV *Shoot to Kill*, a four-hour Yorkshire TV dramatisation of the RUC's killing of six unarmed men, was banned on "legal advice".

1991 BBC *Children of the North*, a four-part thriller set in the north of Ireland, was withdrawn because it was decided "it was inappropriate to air a programme whose theme was violence when British troops were fighting in the Gulf".

1991 Channel 4 In a three-week season entitled *Banned*, a film itself previously banned by Channel 4 was finally shown in a censored form. This was *Mother Ireland*, which examined the tensions between feminism and Irish republicanism. Footage of a woman immediately after she had been blinded by a rubber bullet were removed. An interview with Mairead Farrell, who was one of three IRA members shot dead by the SAS in Gibraltar in 1988, was dubbed with the voice of an actress.

1992 BBC *Hands Across the Water*,

a documentary tracing the links between Ireland and Bristol, was postponed twice, then finally transmitted with virtually no publicity.

1993 Channel 4 *Hidden Agenda*, Ken Loach's award-winning feature film about British undercover operations in Ireland, was dropped in the wake of the Warrington bombing. Loach

The final demise of British colonialism remains the key to solving the Irish question, and a British imperialist withdrawal from control of the Occupied Zone of Ireland is closer than ever in spite of all the hypocritical bluster against the national-liberation war. Every aspect of the escalating armed struggle is ridiculing London's "criminals" response and bringing talks to end the evils of partition closer. Only paralytic British parliamentarianism (and its fake-'left' support) is holding up Ireland's reunification.

[EPSR No 723 26-10-93]

The end is in sight to the British ruling class's failed 700-year campaign to successfully colonise Ireland, or part of it.

For more than 10 years, the *Bulletin* has been explaining (see ILWP Books vol 8 & 15 - *Ireland*) how historical conditions now make it impossible for the colonialist remnant in the artificial statelet of 'Northern Ireland' to be sustained as a viable community.

British imperialism itself has had its world standing demolished by nearly a century now of relentless economic decline in the inter-imperialist international trade wars and scramble for political influence; and the reactionary 'British' spirit in the Occupied Zone has inevitably been dying a comparable slow death.

The tragically miscued IRA attack on some UDA offices above a fish shop in Belfast on Saturday is giving Colonel Blimp diehard British colonialist mentality a last fling of indignation over this 'murderous terrorist violence', posturing that the Irish national-liberation struggle 'must not be allowed to bomb its way to the conference table', etc.

But it is this dated uptight reaction which sounds out of place, not the majority of voices demanding that the British government at last show some

said: "provided it didn't offend people's grief, there's no reason to ban it. We have got to discuss the issues openly. The horrific events in Warrington were awful beyond words, but people talk about it as though it bears no relation to British practices in Northern Ireland. Foremost among the men of violence are the British."

response to the Irish nationalist peace-feelers put out by Dublin, Sinn Féin, and the SDLP.

And while nothing is certain, and all sorts of unexpected developments are still possible, British imperialism's snail's pace withdrawal from its last impossible colonial entanglement continues to be the main question in spite of all the British establishment's bluster to the contrary.

It sounds increasingly whingeingly inept for Major to demand that Gerry Adams stop the bombing now if he has influence to get it stopped, and not to link any cease-fire to a positive London response to the peace proposals.

There was a time when this stalling by British imperialism always accompanied such a ridiculous wooden posture with vain threats that the 'men of violence' would be 'rooted out and punished for their criminal activities', etc.

That note of deluded, whistling-in-the-dark confusion and complacency seemed less in evidence this time round, - either from Whitehall or from the Orange fascist community in the Occupied Zone.

The tone on this occasion, and for several times in the recent past of a mounting IRA military and terrorist campaign, has

seemed to be much more one of "The violence must stop first before anything can be discussed".

This might well prove acceptable to the national liberation struggle, (- as cheeky as it is since it is obviously the British army's occupying presence for 700 years which is the sole cause of the violence in Ireland, and the related 17th century colonisation land grab in the north east, followed by the evil partition of 1921 to try to hang onto those stolen territories. If British imperialism would just undo the terrible work of its armed invasions, take down its flag, and depart, handing over sovereignty to a re-unified Ireland, - the determined 'British' colonist remnants would collapse as a community immediately.)

The national-liberation struggle's unbeatable campaign of military resistance to the British occupation has been scoring such spectacular bombing successes on the mainland and in the OZ, and waging such a relentless war of attrition against officialdom of every kind connected with the British occupation, - that the fascist colonists and their Rule Britannia supporters have felt obliged to take the 'law' into their own hands in more ways than one (genocidal murders of Catholics just for being Catholics; endless frame-ups of Irish people in British courts just for being Irish (Birmingham Six, Guildford Four, the Maguires, etc); ludicrous censorship of Republican nationalists just for being nationalists (Gerry Adams, a Westminster MP, unable to be broadcast using his own voice, or even travel to England, etc); summary execution of IRA suspects without trial (the three Death-on-the-Rock murders by MI5 instead of arrests on suspicion of a terrorist attack on Gibraltar, etc).

All of which only has helped to prove the Republicans' point that they are waging an Irish national-liberation war against the British, not just disjointed 'criminal' acts. And it has also all helped to prove what the *Bulletin* has always sought to explain, - that British imperialism is now so historically degenerated (along with the entire imperialist international market-forces system) that it might find itself forced by world opinion (particularly from more influential monopoly-capitalist rivals like the USA, the Common Market powers, and NATO, etc) to stop embarrassing the 'free' West with this disastrous colonial repression any longer.

The supposedly 'all-powerful' US imperialism has had, and is

having trouble enough asserting its undoubted international economic and military and political domination over Indo-China, Central America, Somalia, Lebanon, etc, at various times. In which case, what chance does the far more decadent British imperialism have of hanging onto its ill-gotten colonial gains in the Occupied Zone of Ireland?

The disgusting, paralytic, dead-hand hanging onto the OZ by British imperialism whilst doing nothing at all to resolve the inevitable colonial-war crisis one way or the other, - has only been got away with for as long as it has because of the equally contemptible anti-Leninist philistinism by the entire phony 'opposition' to imperialism in Britain, - from the Trots to the more 'enlightened' Lib-Lab politicians.

This crass ignorance has been out in full force in the last couple of days, refusing to set the fishshop bombing tragedy in its proper historical context (of the still-burning injustice of the 1921 partition of Ireland to cheat the national-liberation struggle of the country's justified war-earned independence, and to pay off the depraved colonist minority with a permanent police-military dictatorship over the Occupied Zone's gerrymandered bits of six of Ulster's nine counties, - an injustice which has driven generations of Republicans to desperate sacrifices such as the ten hunger strikers who starved themselves to death rather than accept the 'criminalisation' stigma in the prison and concentration camps of British summary 'justice', and such as the high toll of mounting terrorist campaigns against a vastly-superior-equipped police-military dictatorship and imperialist power.)

Previously, this philistine ignorance has always failed to set the Irish national-liberation struggle in its proper historical and political class-force perspective, - missing entirely the most crucial factor of all in this which is the international crisis for the whole imperialist system, and misidentifying the character of Sinn Féin and the IRA, which has not helped the understanding in Britain of the colonial war.

Even Sinn Féin itself has misread British imperialism's crisis, at one stage identifying its own heroic hunger-strike and election-victory successes and sacrifices as 'another defeat' when in fact it was British imperialism which had been humiliated internationally (see ILWP Books vol 8 & 15 - *Ireland*).

Many fake-'left' groups

of Trots and Stalinists have failed to declare unconditional solidarity with the national-liberation struggle against British imperialism (which could have added to London's isolation on this issue) because of trying to measure Sinn Féin against their own bogus 'revolutionary' criteria instead of seeing petty-bourgeois nationalism for what it is, – very unstable and potentially self-destructive idealism. A misunderstanding of Sinn Féin, plus their own fake 'Marxist' posturing, has led some Trot groups to disgracefully give a phony 'left' cover to outrageous British-parliamentary 'denunciations' of IRA tactics, which have then led on to draconian 'anti-terrorist' legislation which has been an additional reactionary burden to the whole genuine anti-imperialist struggle in Britain.

The Tory leadership is partly still wallowing in this ignorant 'public opinion' atmosphere of hysterical propaganda condemning Sinn Féin and the IRA, pretending that Gerry Adams is the hypocrite for a so-called 'blackmail' proposal to try to arrange a ceasefire if London will open some serious negotiations for a new deal for Irish national aspirations.

The hypocrisy is entirely the British parliament's (and its fake-'left' middle class 'revolutionary' supporters in and around the Labour Party). It is the remains of British colonialism which has insisted on maintaining a viciously sectarian tyranny of 'law & order' in favour of the artificially, constructed 'majority' population of the torn-out Occupied Zone of Ireland who are in reality a small minority of the whole island's inhabitants, allowing this degenerate anti-Irish tail to wag the whole being of genuine Irish-national aspirations.

It is by driving this sectarian

fascist rump towards despair of losing their unstable, unhealthy, and untenable position of arrogant colonial privilege in Ireland's Occupied Zone that the national-liberation struggle's military campaign has achieved unexpectedly most of its political success from its latest feats of arms.

By forcing the genocidal Orange murder gangs out into the open, hating all things Irish in reality, and dropping all pretence now of being the 'British Irish', etc, – the Sinn Féin/IRA war of independence has effectively undermined totally the previous British efforts to dismiss the Republican Volunteers as 'just petty criminals, extortion hoodlums, etc'.

No sane person can now pretend any longer that this liberation war, now rapidly escalating towards open colonial war/civil war, – is nothing but the bad behaviour of a few deluded 'criminal elements in society' which will supposedly 'all be over once they are caught and given the prison sentences they all deserve', etc, etc.

There will never by any end to the attempted imprisonment of the Irish national-liberation struggle because that struggle itself will never end, generation after generation, until Ireland's legitimate national independence aspirations, – re-united and unpartitioned, – are at last satisfied.

Paradoxically, by driving the despairing Orange-fascist dregs out onto the streets in a sick genocidal fury, most deadly dangerous to themselves, – the Irish nationalists have won some of their most marked political progress.

In all of the hysterical anti-IRA propaganda blitzes over the weekend, no one was any longer maintaining very loudly at very great length the fiction that there was no Irish national-

liberation struggle in process, – that it was all just the criminal antics of a few deranged anti-social elements who would all soon all be locked away for good, out of sight and out of mind.

Even the dim squeaking hysteria of the lightweight prime minister could only manage to challenge the IRA with: "What opportunity does that give for any constructive dialogue? We have been asking for a long time for messages from both sides that people are actively going to seek peace."

The Sinn Féin/SDLP proposals do exactly that. A real problem is the floundering British imperialist leadership's inability to cope with its own historical defeat, (– in its failed Irish colonial war as everywhere else.)

There is no lack of constructive talks initiatives from the nationalist side. It has always been the British government or its Orange-fascist stooges in the Occupied Zone who have poured scorn frequently even on any idea of talks with Irish nationalists, the Dublin regime, or Republicans, – usually on the grounds that the cause of all the trouble, – the gerrymandered bogus 'majority' position in the artificial Occupied Zone 'Northern Ireland', – was 'not open for discussion until that majority wishes it' etc.

It is always British imperialism's Orange-fascist colonial stooges who have been consistently boycotting series after series of talks because they have 'involved Dublin', or 'refused to re-establish Belfast's legitimate authority', or 'implied a reward for violence', or some other such monstrous hypocrisy.

And just as frequently, it has been the British government itself which has pulled the rug from under negotiations, or 'talks about talks', or peace feelers, etc, because of a nationalist refusal to surrender unconditionally to the British police-military dictatorship.

Even more stupidly, no serious-minded adult alive can be in any doubt that it is precisely the Irish national-liberation struggle's uncompromising military and political independence campaigns, – challenging acceptance of the old-established gerrymandered 'Northern Ireland' order which was deliberately fixed to last for ever, – which has at last opened the door for a final solution to the Irish question.

The trouble with Major being out of his depth in commenting on this issue, however, is that in negotiating what will be another formal British 'defeat' in its rotten colonial history, the

ruling class's bourgeois ideology, demoralised, paralysed, and unsure of itself to a certain extent, – could even make a mess of surrendering.

Certainly some of the capitalist media coverage of the latest traumas in the Irish question has seemed not to know whether to explode with indignation and hate-filled revenge at the 'evil mass murderers', etc, or to plug the 'dark deeds and suffering on both sides' line, demanding a 'solution' at long last.

Even the hysterical *Today* on Radio 4 re-enacted a lengthy statement from Gerry Adams explaining Sinn Féin's case, and gave fair coverage to all sorts of SDLP, nationalist, and Dublin 'peace' spokesmen as well as Dublin government spokesmen all day.

And the BBC all day only very gently challenged the John Hume initiative to involve Gerry Adams in peace feelers, Hume correctly saying firmly, without opposition, that the latest tragedies made the search for a negotiated settlement involving all parties to the Irish question more urgent than ever, not provide an excuse for abandoning the talks.

The more liberal end of Fleet Street showed some remarkably even-handed approaches, even while adopting the standard shock-horror hysterical attitude to the tragic deaths and to Sinn Féin's alleged 'cynicism' and some informative reporting got published, basically ridiculing the stock British imperialist pretence that the IRA bombers and gunmen were estranged psychopaths, hated and feared by all:

"IT'S REGRETTABLE that children were hurt," a young woman out walking in Ardoyne conceded yesterday, "but it's also regrettable they didn't get the Ulster Freedom Fighters. If they did this war would be stopped.

"It had to happen. The loyalists were shooting into black taxis when they didn't know who was in it. They were shooting nationalist women in front of their children.

"Obviously the bombing went wrong and it's very sad but it's happening all the time.

"The majority of people killed here down the years have been Catholics. I have seen a friend of mine, aged 14, shot dead going to school. It's terrible when innocent people get killed but innocent people are always killed in a war."

Across the narrow street, an IRA memorial commemorates "volunteers" from Ardoyne, the Catholic-dominated area of north Belfast, who have died since 1969. The name of Thomas Begley, killed by his own bomb on the Shankill Road on Saturday, will, no doubt, soon be inscribed in what little room is left above the Celtic cross.



RUC fire plastic bullets at a funeral in Derry in 1987

Outside his home yesterday a group of young men stood guard. Police Land Rovers patrolled the streets. An army watchtower, 500 yards away, beyond the so-called peace line, surveyed movements in Ardoyne.

"People don't like kids being killed," said a man out cleaning his car. "If it was the UFF leadership, that would be all right because they are the ones killing ordinary Catholics."

After dark the streets of Ardoyne will be deserted, a woman standing at her front gate said. "It's very frightening. There will be retaliation. You don't know what's going to happen."

A group of youths on a street corner said they would have to avoid meeting outdoors. "We are not involved, we're ravers. I've got Protestant friends but I don't like the Ulster Volunteer Force. It shouldn't have happened but war is war."

Behind the security grills in a club, lunchtime drinkers were unfor- giving. "There's a war going on in Ireland and the sooner people realise that the better. It's a sad thing."

"The local Ulster Defence Association commander on the Shankill riddled a home with bullets here on St Patrick's Day. He comes jogging here around the Ardoyne picking out houses to attack."

"It's only when something horrible like this bombing happens that people speak about it. I feel sorry in a way but again I don't feel that sorry because there's a war going on."

Outside, people were beginning to await the return home of the body of Thomas Begley. "I was at the front door earlier," a man said, "The ruc slowed down in a Land Rover and shouted:

'The Shankill butchers will get you.'

"It's going to be a tragedy for the people of the Ardoyne as well as the people of the Shankill Road. Here they are used to burying their dead probably even more so than on the Shankill."

A car drove past slowly with four men inside. He waved. "That man's brother was killed in a loyalist shooting on the Ormeau Road about five years ago."

"People in the Ardoyne can understand why there was an attack against the UDA. That people were killed is a tragedy but if it had been 10 UDA men then no one here would have cared."

"The Begley family are still shocked. The ruc went round and raided the house last night. There's another fellow from the Ardoyne who's in custody in hospital as well. The people here are not going to be jubilant about this tragedy."

But in the previous week, the dimwitted philistinism of the *Guardian* had made remarkably little of some surprising admissions which slipped out in a feature on the very same Mad Dog fascist killer who was the target of the IRA's bomb attempt on the UDA offices on Saturday.

These interviews contained frank confessions which totally demolished the ancient British imperialist pretence that the

loyalist community were just as legitimately 'Irish' as the Irish, and therefore had just as much right to maintain their 'British-Irish' traditions as the nationalists did their Irish-Irish traditions.

As was revealed, this has always been just sly British-imperialist propaganda to justify hanging on in Ireland 'to protect the legitimate British-Irish tradition', but in reality to protect the worst colonial-racist jingoism that monopoly-capitalism's fascist decadence can produce:

The new leadership reflects a growing extremism among hardline loyalists - extremism partly fuelled by a perception that since Unionists lost their veto on Northern Ireland politics, their powerbase has been slowly eroding. Since the signing of the Anglo-Irish agreement, which officially gave the Dublin government a say in the running of Northern Ireland, the alienation of the Protestant community has been steadily increasing. In July this year protestants on the Shankill Road rioted in protest against "police harassment" and the level of surveillance.

Old friends in the ruc and British Army became enemies. Earlier this year a Protestant prison officer was murdered by Protestant paramilitaries in a parole protest. The most recent thorn in the side of Ulster loyalists was the announcement of secret talks between the Social Democratic and Labour Party leader, John Hume, and Sinn Féin's Gerry Adams. The "pan Nationalists" conspiracy was upon them and the UFF, bolstered by this latest betrayal, began murdering Catholics with vigour.

"The bottom line now is this," says the UFF's PR man. "The Northern Ireland state has failed in its duty to protect Ulster Protestants and we will protect ourselves." No surrender. "We have our self respect, we will not allow ourselves to be wiped out like the Jews in Germany. For 23 years we have been taking it lying down. Protestants in the Republic were 'ethnically cleansed' [by intermarriage] we cannot allow the same thing to happen to us. We will fight fire with fire."

Mad Dog is bored with it all. Speak up, the PR man keeps saying, but he can't be bothered.

He's driving downtown with a steady eye on the back mirror. His Volvo is a smart job. Police intelligence says he's dipping - creaming off extortion profits. He says: "We have support among the middle classes. There are businessmen backing us, supporting us financially."

Ask Mad Dog what he is and he says an "Ulster man". Ask him what he is going to die for and he says: "The Crown. If you didn't support that, what would you support? Dublin? The Pope?" He shrugs his shoulders.

In Rathcoole housing estate, built in the fifties and trumpeted as the largest in Europe, the men in the Cloughfem Arms bar speak of him in hushed tones. One has a tattoo



on his arm that reads, "KAI, Kill All Irishmen" and he is patiently explaining that he supports the British National Party because they hate the IRA and loyalists need all the support they can get.

This shows the pure racist-colonialist mentality among these armed thugs resisting Ireland's reunification and complete independence at long last.

Much other Fleet Street coverage this year has concentrated on the crisis undermining the colonist community, reflecting the crisis of British imperialist confidence generally:

A symbol of Unionist supremacy, Bonfire Night, like the "Twelfth" itself, has become an anachronism. The old certainties on which Ulster's Protestant heritage is based have vanished. Catholic republicans on the Falls Road, less than half a mile from the Shankill, are no longer afraid. They know that times have changed and that at the start of the marching season, when present-day loyalists place their feet in the grander shoes of their forebears, history is moving inexorably in their direction.

Loyalists feel this, too. They have watched the devaluation of their history gather pace in recent years, so that the dominant culture even in Belfast has become that of Ireland, not Britain; and they are looking desperately for some means to turn the tide. Their sense of betrayal is palpable. At the end of a week in which the Irish foreign minister, Dick Spring, called for joint sovereignty over the province by Dublin and London - a call rejected, without apparent rancour, by Sir Patrick Mayhew, the Northern Ireland secretary - talk is increasingly of evening the score.

The doubts they harboured about the efficacy of merely containing terrorism, without defeating it, were put to one side in the belief that Britain would not, in the end, desert them. But a long sequence of events, beginning with the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 and building up to the conviction that Dublin now calls the tune on everything, from public appointments to the routing of Orange marches, has convinced large numbers of Protestants that Britain is preparing for a united Ireland.

From being thought of as the

state's guardians, the ruc is no longer trusted in hardline areas, where graffiti accuse its members of being "Dublin's boot boys, paid in punts".

SHANKILL residents have long prided themselves on being the aristocrats of loyalism, confident and self-reliant, owing true allegiance only to themselves and the Crown. Their descent into mass unemployment and deprivation has thus been the more shameful. Many of the original 77,000 population have abandoned the area, and of the 26,000 or so remaining, more than a quarter are pensioners. Jobs are rare. Most young people abandoned their education as soon as they could, often before they were 16; joyriding, glue-sniffing, drugs and alcohol are their everyday pursuits.

Unionist politicians watching the disintegration of their community appear powerless to halt the drift.

MPs express outrage that they are apparently excluded from the political process. On the floor of the House of Commons, Mayhew is accused of ridiculing Ian Paisley's accent; outside in the bars, ministers are said to prefer the company of genial nationalists to dour Unionists, whose noisy loyalism, expressed in gutteral tones, is seen as an embarrassment.

At the Anglo-Irish conference, where matters of mutual importance are discussed between civil servants and politicians from the Northern Ireland Office and the Irish government, John Hume, leader of the SDLP, the main nationalist party in Ulster, can allegedly rely on the active support of Irish civil servants based at the secretariat, near Belfast. According to David Trimble, the Ulster Unionist MP for Upper Bann, these Dublin officials are only too happy to ask Hume and other nationalist figures in to discuss the Catholic community's grievances over a drink, but would not dream of eliciting the ambitions or fears of Protestants.

Trimble, a lawyer and legal affairs spokesman for the Unionists, says that he and his colleagues are regularly snubbed by the Northern Ireland Office. Ministers who would speak to him, or even take him to lunch, in London, avoid him in Ulster, where officials hold sway and where Irish ministers, not locally elected politicians, are seen as

the appropriate partners in debate.

The result of this alleged neglect of the majority community has been a damaging series of decisions in key areas, Trimble says. He blames the one-third fall in the number of locally recruited part-timers in the Royal Irish Regiment (an amalgamation of the Royal Irish Rangers and the Ulster Defence Regiment) on Dublin's determination to sabotage one of the last bastions of Unionist security.

He believes, too, that all 4,000 appointments to semi-official bodies, such as the Local Enterprise Development Unit and the Housing Executive, have to be approved by the inter-governmental conference and that recent, controversial decisions to re-route certain Orange marches, which for generations had paraded through areas now largely Catholic, were taken chiefly at Dublin's behest.

Jim Rodgers, another Unionist councillor from west Belfast, supervises training programmes for young people in the Shankill community centre, using grants from the government that he says are in short supply. He is worried that so little is being done for the Shankill and claims some Protestants have taken to describing themselves as Catholics in job application forms to avoid the "equal opportunity" requirements of the Fair Employment Commission (known locally as the Fenian Employment Commission).

Rodgers believes that frustration among Protestants at the positive discrimination allegedly shown to Catholics at every level is doing almost as much as the IRA to swell the ranks of the loyalist paramilitaries. "There's no doubt," he says, "that the strength of the UDA is growing. Even middle-class businessmen are giving them donations. Everyone's afraid of the drive towards a united Ireland. There's a real fear that we are being sold out. All government departments are being pushed down that road."

The UDA, unsurprisingly, is less concerned with unemployment and the injured feelings of Unionist poli-

ticians and more with harrying the IRA and the Dublin government. John Montgomery, speaking from a room overlooking the Shankill, insists that his men no longer go for soft targets but only "known republicans". He is quite unmoved by the charge that his gunmen frequently kill innocent Catholics.

"Innocent Catholics?" he asks, as though amused by the idea. "They're innocent at the time. Then, two years later, you find their names inscribed in Millfield [a Catholic cemetery with a republican plot] on the roll of honour."

He denies that the UDA (proscribed last year by the Northern Ireland secretary) is tainted by gangsterism and drugs. The RUC might dispute this.

ATQ Stewart, reader in Irish history at Queen's University, Belfast, and author of several volumes of northern history, notably *The Narrow Ground*, says that Mayhew, like his predecessors, listens mainly to the "silver-sounding syllables in his head" and not to the Ulster people.

"There is something that equips Catholic men and women in Ireland to deal effectively with the British. They are perhaps more amusing, more cultured, more emollient, and London pays heed to their values in a way it never does with Unionists. From the moment I was born, I have felt British. Now I feel defensive about it. Like Garibaldi, I'm made to feel a stranger in the land of my birth."

From such a psychologically screwed-up anachronistic community facing a crushing defeat of more than 300 years of false imperialist ambitions and traditions, there are bound to be recruits to murderous wreck-it-all mayhem like Mad Dog.

But history is running out for this fraudulent 'British-Irish' posturing; and firm policing of a reunified Ireland would quickly see an end to this outdated and intolerable colonial nonsense.

These colonial British remnants would obviously be welcome to stay right where they are and playing a full part in the community once they accept Irish sovereignty. The degenerate British imperialist pride, refusing to accept its historical defeat (on any subject) will be the sole cause of possibly monstrous further suffering by its sclerotic inability to face facts, acknowledge its culpability for

the tragic Irish question, and openly announce it is righting the wrongs of the past by handing over to a reunited Ireland in an orderly withdrawal. The dismal little minds of the British ruling class parliamentary circus (all parties) will probably, however, continue their paralysed snail's-pace withdrawal by default, leaving behind the maximum mess and confusion.

Douglas Bell

Economic collapse and trade war are the only prospect for the 'free' world. Any further GATT-type deals will fall apart within months. British colonialism's humiliating climb-down in the Occupied Zone of Ireland is another pointer to the weakest links in imperialism's chain, with Italy not far behind

[EPSR No 726 16-11-93]

Whatever the result of all the international trade bloc manoeuvring over the next few months, the monopoly domination of the free-market system by finance capital continues in general to plunge towards all-out war, - World War III.[...]

Some careful international news management just managed to stem the tide for the moment. But the crash is coming, - the biggest in history, - no matter what anyone does or says. Monopoly-imperialism's inbuilt insoluble contradictions are about to explode.

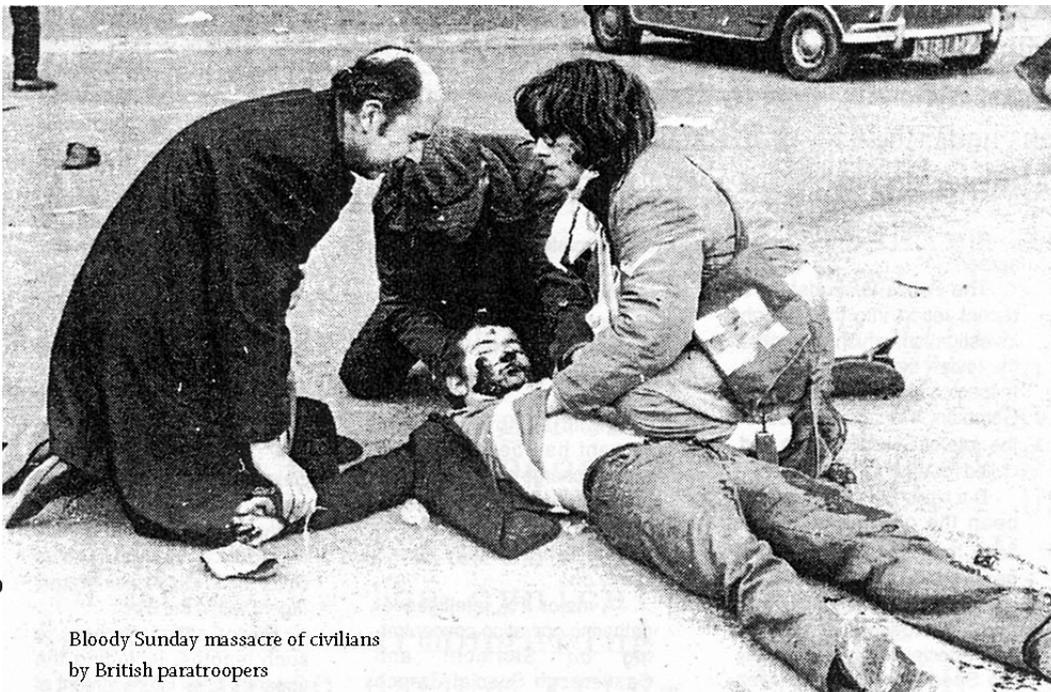
A holocaust of trade wars, revolutionary civil wars, and inter-imperialist world wars are inevitable because of this totally unmanageable capitalist

system, - the earliest casualties being among the most ailing of the imperialist competitors.

The decadent British monopoly bourgeoisie is a prime candidate. The *Bulletin's* longstanding analysis (see ILWP Books vol 8 & 15 - *Ireland*) of British imperialism's enforced snail's-pace withdrawal from the colonised Occupied Zone of Ireland has come even more into view this week with John Major's mealy-mouthed announcement that the gerrymandered 'majority' veto by the Orange-fascist colonial remnants over a final peace settlement with the Irish national-liberation struggle, - could no longer apply.

This almost imperceptible shift in London's arrogant propaganda, - still breathing fire against any accommodation with 'terrorist violence', etc, - nevertheless still further shifts the ground in favour of a negotiated end to the national-liberation struggle, and towards the eventual reunification of Ireland. The emphasis is all now on getting a 'peace agreement', - accepting therefore what London had for so long tried to deny, - that what was going on in the Occupied Zone was not just 'terrorist outrages by isolated criminals' but a legitimate war of independence. The emphasis is also all now on removing all 'unnecessary' obstinacies and blockages to the peace negotiations, namely Orange fascism's refusal to even contemplate no longer being the colonial bosses for ever of the Occupied Zone.

British imperialism has given in because the Irish national-



Bloody Sunday massacre of civilians by British paratroopers

liberation struggle has proved unbeatable, and because the general collapse and crisis of British imperialism has left London badly exposed to international condemnation, unconfident of undertaking any major controversial international action on its own any more, and painfully aware that the degeneration of the Empire spirit has left the Orange-fascist colonial community in a terminally sick condition.

The occupying forces of the British police-military dictatorship may end up fighting harder in the Occupied Zone against the 'Brits' than against the Irish, but such a bizarre paradox would not last long. London would either abandon control to the forces of the United Nations,

or NATO, or the Common Market, or Dublin, – or else, much more likely, the Orange colonial community in the OZ would just rapidly disintegrate completely, making reunification a formality.

The die-hard Orange colonists will either leave, or fall apart, or be gunned down, or finally agree to negotiate with Sinn Féin and the whole history and spirit of the Irish national-liberation movement, – a completely new arrangement for Ireland, steadily putting an end to the savage imperialist evil of partition and the barbaric fiction of non-existent 'Northern Ireland'.

The imperialist system is falling apart just as rapidly elsewhere, notably in Italy:[...] Joe Harper

Revolutionary situation relentlessly developing in Italy as the corrupt, anarchic, 'free'-market capital-system proves its total unsuitability for modern society's needs. British imperialism must similarly prepare for its own demise as it struggles to rid itself of one of its last poisoned festering colonial limbs in the Occupied Zone of Ireland, now that the international balance of class forces has at last sufficiently undermined the London establishment. The rest of imperialism will follow.

[EPSR No 727 23-11-93]

The Italian local election results are an astonishing and graphic illustration of how rapidly the international imperialist economic crisis is driving the capitalist system back towards generalised warmongering and civil war.

The class-collaborating 'centre' of post 1945 parliamentary politics, – the Christian Democrats and the Socialist Party in Italy, – has been wiped out completely.

In its place, the supposed class-war 'extremes' of the former Communist Party versus the Mussolini-ite and Northern League fascists have swept the board.

Obviously, the PDS are not real communists but mere 'left' reformists, – and it is possible that the League separatists and the Mussolini Party are not the final form that armed fascist counter-revolution will take either.

But that the 'stable Western democracy' of Italy should have so suddenly and dramatically polarised into two such obvious extremes of class-war feelings and intentions tells the whole story.[...]

[...] And while still incapable of publishing any generalised conclusions about the impossible contradictions of the capitalist crisis itself, the bourgeois media has also made some quick admissions about how disruptively explosive are the developments of the Italian elections and the corrupt chaos that has led up to them, – not only for the fate of the Italian establishment, but reflecting on equally hair-raising crises further afield too such as in Britain (with the usual petty-bourgeois illusions about the role of 'bad individuals' and the nonexistent opportunities for non-existent 'liberal democracy'):[...]

[...]Yet Italy, with its uncomfortable political and institutional mutation, is in the van of the political evolution of Europe. In reaction to the collapse of old political certainties and party formations, it is leading the way in the dissolution and recombination of movements and ideas. Indeed, despite all the differences, Italy's travails are a refraction of our own. Where Andreotti and his like helped wreck the ethical status of Catholic Christian democracy, so Mrs Thatcher and Thatcherism helped undo the ethic of old Toryism; in the ideological black hole where the Italian Communist and Socialist parties lie, Labour lies too; in the search for a new "centre" there is as much potential space in Britain for the rise of the Liberal Democrats, as for related third forces in Italy.

In particular, as the fading of the "European Dream" continues, the gradual recovery of national and regional identities will doubtless generate similar movements to those of the Leagues in Italy. And "who", the Italians asked themselves on Sunday – giving a confused answer – "can renew our country?" In funereally depressing Britain, the same might be asked.

One thing being attempted is for the London establishment to rid itself of the humiliating embarrassment of being unable to defeat the Irish national-liberation struggle which has made life impossible in the Occupied-Zone-remnant of British colonialism's 800-year-long effort to subdue Ireland.

The independence movement has also terrorised the City of London, turning it into a besieged fortress, which is hardly good for the fragile business confidence, now thought so crucial for avoiding a markets crash.

It was significantly in the Prime Minister's annual political-keynote Guildhall speech, in the heart of the City, that Major gave unprecedented importance to 'finding a solution' to the problem of Ireland.

This continued the noticeable new theme of recent weeks of challenging the Orange fascist-colonist right to veto any new arrangements for the Occupied Zone which did not suit their primitive imperialist illusions.

This challenge to the colonists 'No surrender' bunker mentality was given even more prominence in the Queen's Speech outlining the main government programme for the coming 12 months:

JOHN MAJOR upstaged his own domestic agenda for the second time in a week when he used the Queen's Speech debate in the Commons yesterday to promote the peace process in Northern Ireland rather than the Government's "back to basics" programme or the day's 49,000 drop in the number of jobless.

In the latest twist of semi-public negotiation with the Irish government and the political parties in the province, the Prime Minister announced that London is prepared to table its own comprehensive proposals for a constitutional settlement, in weeks if necessary, if it would hasten the resumption of round table talks with or without Paisleyite participation.

That amounts to a calculated injection of flexibility into Whitehall's previous position which was to get all – or most – of the parties to resume talks before unveiling its ideas. But Mr Major coupled it with renewed warnings to the IRA and loyalist paramilitaries, and their political sympathisers, that the violence must stop.

"A statement of intent is not enough," said Mr Major in an apparent reference to the unpublished Hume-Adams plan. But he also denounced the view that "the dead must endlessly be avenged" and warned Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionists (DUP), the most intransigent Protestant party, that "no party or organisation can exercise a veto on progress".

As tens of thousands of Protestants and Catholics in 16 towns and cities across Northern Ireland joined the largest peace rallies seen in recent years, Mr Major appeared to downgrade his legislative programme for the new 1993/94 session of parliament when he told the Commons that the search for peace "must remain at the head of our priorities".

Mr Major's careful words on Northern Ireland followed an encouraging response from his Irish counterpart, Albert Reynolds, and foreign minister, Dick Spring, to Mr Major's Guildhall speech on Monday, which also saw a last-minute injection of Anglo-Irish diplomacy dominate headlines previously expected to be basics-orientated.

"The two governments are going through a process of borrowing each other's language," said one senior official who described the process as sending signals to maintain momentum ahead of meetings between the two premiers next month.

Doubts about alleged secret contacts between the Government and the IRA were given a fresh twist yesterday by the republican leader, Martin McGuinness. In his first public comments on the affair, he claimed that he had had "direct and protracted contact" with a government representative about the province's future earlier this year. They ended when an understanding with the Ulster Unionist Party rescued Mr Major from defeat over the Maastricht Bill in July.

"This contact was at an official level and no preconditions were set upon it," Mr McGuinness said. "Sinn Féin is ready to engage in talks at any time to create the conditions in which a peace process can be constructed and a political settlement reached."

OPENING the second day of the Queen's Speech debate in the Commons on Friday morning, Douglas Hurd told a near-empty House: 'We have to be able to de-

liver what we undertake, and learn not to undertake what we cannot deliver.

'That approach has been at the heart of British foreign policy under this Government. It will remain there during this session of Parliament. It produces modest, hard-fought advances.'

As one of the most experienced and capable men in the Cabinet, it would be curious if the Foreign Secretary had not applied the same rule to the Prime Minister's gamble on Northern Ireland.

It was also noteworthy that Northern Ireland had been placed in the overseas, rather than the domestic, section of the Queen's Speech last Thursday.

For those outside the talks being held on the future of Ulster, it is often tempting to see signals where no signals are intended. But it is also important to read the words that are spoken with infinite care; they are the footsteps of the diplomatic dance.

A senior Whitehall spokesman said last week: 'The two governments have been borrowing each other's language.'

That meant that there had been careful co-ordination of statements and speeches across the water, as John Major and Albert Reynolds tried to coax and encourage the Unionists on to the dance floor.

The dance took a new twist on the following Saturday, when Mr Reynolds told a Fianna Fail conference: 'Peace cannot wait for a political settlement; it is needed now. But peace will improve the prospects of achieving a durable political solution... Together, we can make the beginning of peace a reality before this year is out.'

While Dublin was putting peace first, as a prerequisite for productive talks — and putting a year-end deadline on it — London was giving no timescale. It was certainly not proposing initiatives to get Sinn Féin involved.

It was time, therefore, for Mr Major to take the lead for a change. He did that in his Guildhall speech last Monday. His first step back was on participation by Sinn Féin.

The line that got the headlines — as it was meant to, guided by the manipulative hand of the Prime Minister's office — was the sentence in which Mr Major said Mr Paisley would not be allowed to veto participation by Sinn Féin if it ended violence 'unconditionally and forever'.

Having overcome his queasy stomach, he added: 'If the IRA end violence for good, then — after a sufficient interval to ensure the permanence of their intent — Sinn Féin can enter the political arena as a democratic party and join the dialogue on the way ahead.'

However, the vital sentence of the speech was not included in the 'child's guide' extracts issued to the media by Number 10 that night, and, on the British side of the water, it was not given any prominence at all.

Mr Major had also said: 'We need both a permanent cessation of violence and intensification of the political talks. These objectives are complementary.' London had accepted the Dublin point: you could not have

one without the other.

Keeping in step, Mr Reynolds told the Dail last Tuesday: 'We are not in any sense saying that peace is a precondition for the resumption of talks. The government therefore see the parallel pursuit of the peace and talks processes as complementary.'

Mr Reynolds also said that, while he hoped for progress before the end of the year, 'no absolute deadline has been set in respect of either process'.

But Mr Spring came back into the fray again. In a speech at the Johns Hopkins University, Maryland, last Wednesday, he defined 'complementary', the key word: 'Provided the goal is a deep and lasting accommodation, rather than marginal changes, all approaches are complementary'.

Certainly, the goal set out in the document leaked from Dublin on Friday — which included a call for British acknowledgement of 'the full legitimacy and value of the goal of Irish unity by agreement, cherished by the greater number of people living in Ireland', along with accompanying executive and legislative structures, is in time with that requirement.

As a subsequent article examines (see issue 727), the essence of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary science is being able to explain to the masses being exploited and destroyed by capitalist-system crisis, what are the real forces at work in history, in which direction are they all going, and how to apply conscious programme, strategy, and tactics to provide the necessary subjective input (the revolutionary party and movement) before the objectively-maturing circumstances of imperialist crisis can be turned into a successful proletarian revolution.

The *Bulletin* has for 14 years consistently explained the national-liberation struggle in Ireland and the direction in which it was bound to keep heading, — towards an eventual snail's-

pace withdrawal by humiliated and dying British imperialism and its decadent Orange-fascist colonial remnants in the Occupied Zone (see ILWP Books vol 8 & 15 — *Ireland*).

The essence of revolutionary party building is to keep on struggling to gain an ever clearer understanding of what is happening in the world, on every subject, on every front.

And only by constantly fighting polemically, and trying always to further the analysis to the highest point of new development, can the party find out what it has got right and what still needs correcting.

Recent renewed turmoil over difficult aspects of the national question in Ireland and Palestine make it worthwhile to try to clarify what are the essential historical forces at work, and what issues are secondary.

The most crucial point to make is what a monstrously criminal act it was by the Western imperialist system to try to partition these countries in the first place, — but also how ultimately futile.

These considerations dwarf all speculative argument about what might have been better tactics and strategy by the national liberation struggles in both lands at different epochs of the conflict.

The monopoly-capitalist system still dominated the planet at the time of both partitions, in 1921 and 1947, and in both cases, imperialist force was in a position to impose almost any brutal diktat that it wanted to on colonised Ireland and Palestine.

The notion that the national-liberation struggles might have 'completely changed history' by making different decisions

(at the time of the fighting and negotiations which eventually resulted in partition) is slightly artificial in both cases.

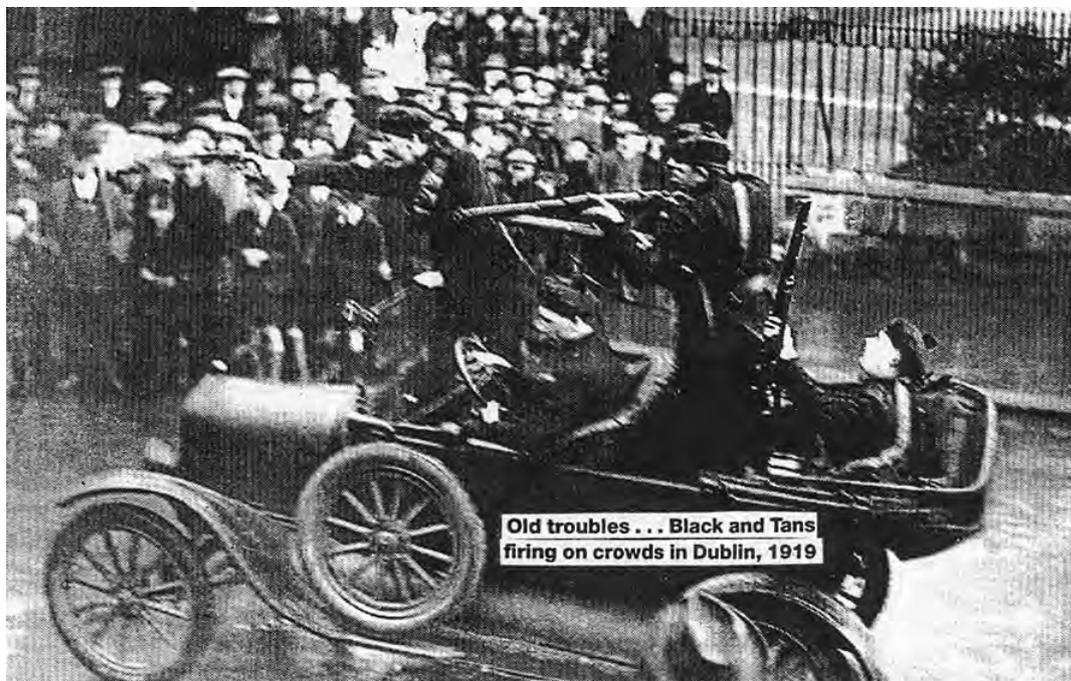
A better conscious understanding of the correct programme, strategy and tactics is eventually a crucial factor in making it possible to triumph over reaction, and important mistakes might well have been made in these two conflicts.

But the right programme, strategy and tactics can only successfully play off a correct estimate of the balance of class forces in the given equation, which can be decisive.

It has been argued that the 1921 Sinn Féin leadership should not even have considered accepting a 26-county free-state with the gerrymandered bits of the remaining six counties left in British colonial hands to create the grotesque and damaging fiction of 'Northern Ireland'.

Its acceptance by a majority of the leadership led to a split and the civil war in which the Irish nationalist leaders killed each other (where the might of the British army had been incapable of achieving this before).

It is a good argument that in this case in Ireland in 1921, — unlike the case in Palestine in 1947, — a 'refusal to accept' the partitioned-off 26 counties (as half a loaf being better than no bread at all) would have left a still-unified Ireland, albeit without any temporary or partial independence at all and still totally under the domination of British colonialism, — but with the vast majority of the population still obviously demanding national liberation and still all united (unlike the situation decades later when complacent majority opinion in the Irish Republic hardly lifted a finger



Old troubles . . . Black and Tans firing on crowds in Dublin, 1919

to help the embattled Irish-Republican minority in the north's Occupied Zone.)

It could be argued that such an overwhelming majority and united Irish nationalist population of Ireland would have obviously carried on struggling for its full independence all at one go, unpartitioned and rejecting the 26-county sop, – and would have been bound to have succeeded in gaining full unpartitioned independence for the whole of Ireland, – probably in the post-1945 period (of the great worldwide national-liberation movement ending the whole international system of imperialist colonisation), if not sooner.

But looking at it the other way round, what if the real thrust of British imperialism's threat of a massively escalated all-out blitzkrieg war on the whole of Ireland if it did not negotiate a 26-county deal only, – was not so much to fob Irish nationalism off with only three-quarters of a loaf, but much more in order to ensure that British imperialism retained control over the north-east corner of the island, come what may.

What if the British imperialist determination was to set up its Occupied Zone at all costs, – behind defended borders if necessary, – simply abandoning the 26 counties whether the Irish nationalists wanted to take control of them or not?

The question then for Sinn Féin's London negotiators would have been what would be the balance of class and international forces (at that primitive colonial-world time of 1921) if Irish nationalism had taken on the full force of a British imperialism determined to defend the bit of Ireland it could still pretend to claim was 'part of Britain'.

Such all-out open war against what was still the most influential (and potentially most powerful) of all the Great Powers, – would have been a vastly different undertaking to a guerrilla war as had been fought up to 1921 just to (successfully) make Ireland ungovernable as a whole island, forcing London to seek a negotiated settlement. It might not have been a very wise move.

As it happened, history remained on the side of the Irish national-liberation struggle (in spite of the disastrous and damaging splits which the British-imposed partition caused in the ranks of the nationalists) in that the capitalist system on which British imperialism's entire perspectives, programmes, strategies, and tactics were



BRITISH TANKS confront Republican demonstrators in Dublin, April 1920. A year later Britain withdrew from the South.

based, – was doomed anyway.

British imperialism did get away with murder (literally, as well) in fobbing off Irish national aspirations with the rotten partition-maiming of 1921 which was bound to never cease festering painfully.

But the longterm assessment of that should not so much have been 'Irish nationhood, half-strangled at birth' but 'British colonialism in Ireland, only half buried at death'.

It is heading towards final full burial now because the balance of class forces internationally since 1921 has seen a further 70 years' decadence accumulating in the British monopoly-capitalist bourgeoisie.

In particular, the entire spirit of the imperialist ethic has been on the retreat since the era of socialist revolutions began in 1917, and the sick little colonial community in the Occupied Zone of Ireland has declined in step with the worried and confused enfeeblement of its British imperialist parent.

Conscious decisions, and getting the right programme, strategy, and tactics, are still crucial, and there is still more work to be done in the continuing conflict over Ireland's full and final independence in which the modern nationalist forces could still make costly mistakes, delaying developments by a few years or more, or possibly for a while even wrecking prospects for progress completely by a wrong move, – in theory.

But in practice it looks likely that the central determined fighting core of Irish national-liberation around the IRA and modern Sinn Féin will come together with all the national-independence forces for an obscure deal which will let defeated British imperialism slide ungraciously out of the

side door towards oblivion.

It would always have helped matters enormously in Ireland's troubles if the nationalist consciousness had been far stronger in revolutionary socialist understanding about the whole century's anti-imperialist perspectives overall. Millions have suffered spiritually and physically from the vast confusion, uncertainty, and defeatism, – plus artificial cultural chauvinism and reactionary political & religious nationalism, – of the petty-bourgeois 'Irish independence' mentality (where a much more up-to-date and realistic anti-imperialist perspective of proletarian revolutionism would have served them better).

But in these preliminary bouts against the increasing decadence of the international imperialist system (as the struggle for liberation has in fact turned out), – only completely zombified armchair-socialist academics like the Spart bureaucratic sect would actually have opposed Ireland's war of independence, – pointlessly ridiculing petty-bourgeois nationalists for not being 'revolutionary Marxists' (which the Sparts themselves, along with the whole of the rest of the fake-'left' anti-Leninist swamp, do not remotely come near to being in spite of all their strident posturing).

Now on the way to securing the completion of Ireland's national-liberation, an important ideological blockage is being usefully removed from British workers consciousness which has left them made backward by Great-Nation chauvinism for far too long.

It will become more profitable and more vital than ever to press forward now in Ireland, Britain, and everywhere else, with the fight for the serious

rebirth of Marxist-Leninist theory as the only possible science of modern society and all historical developments.

National-liberation in Palestine in 1947 had even more complex problems to face.

There the strategy on negotiations over the rotten deals that imperialism was intending to impose had to weigh up the prospects for fighting not only the established colonial power Britain, but even more importantly for taking on the increasingly aggressive, competent, and well-backed (by the USA) new Zionist colonists, – especially in the light of the hopeless divisions on the Arab side where an effective Palestinian national entity still hardly existed, and where reactionary Arab opportunist regimes themselves had designs on the Palestinian territory.

The argument there has sometimes tended to go in the opposite direction to the speculations about Irish history, – namely that the smart thing would have been for the Palestinians to have accepted begrudgingly the 46% of their own territory on offer in order to get their own state going independently for the first time ever, while still totally refusing to accept the legitimacy of the 54% control handed by the United Nations (under Western imperialist dominance, but on that occasion with the notorious class-collaborating connivance of the idiot Soviet revisionist stance) to the Zionist colonisers.

Once again, in practice, it would probably have not made much difference in the long run. The very confused and chaotic condition of Arab affairs in the area, plus the blistering single-minded certainty and US-aggression-backed imperialist determination of the largely

Western-funded and Western-originated Zionist settlers, would almost certainly have seen a general state of war breaking out between Arabs and Zionists sooner or later. The Palestinians themselves were still only just in the process of learning about modern statehood, and had very little realistic chance of remotely grasping in advance what has only become 'obvious' to some observers with the great benefit of hindsight, – namely that if a pocket-handkerchief-sized 'independent Palestine' around Jericho and Gaza makes sense in 1993 as at least somewhere to begin the process of building a liberated Palestinian state, then how much more sense would it have made in 1947 to have taken with both hands the 46% of the whole of Palestine on offer then.

But as with Ireland, the first most important issue to grasp is a proper historical perspective on the fate of the imperialist system itself.

The cocky Zionist prattle about their colonial implantation of 'Israel' on the Palestinians' land now being 'for all time', etc (with significantly less heard these days about the at-one-time equally confident claims for Eretz Israel becoming permanent too, – the inclusion of the West Bank, Gaza, the Golan Heights, and parts of Lebanon and Transjordan too, plus possibly Egypt's Sinai peninsula) is based entirely on the notions that the imperialist system will rule for ever based

Ireland's national-liberation struggle at last publicly wins a humiliated and begrudging agreement from British imperialism to reopen the question of the criminal Partition of Ireland (by British bayonets in 1921 against the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the population of Ireland), further vindicating the Leninist analysis, the only science of the forces of history.

[EPSR No 728 30-11-93]

British imperialism's long-delayed snail's-pace withdrawal from the Occupied Zone of Ireland (which began more than 12 years ago following Sinn Féin's sensational international political triumph of the hunger strikes, the subsequent electoral victories, and the IRA's proven un-beatability (see ILWP Books vol 8 & 15 – *Ireland*)), – is speeding up.

Direct negotiations with the Irish national liberation move-

on the domination and exploitation of the less successful by the more successful, and that US imperialism specifically would continue to rule the roost for as long as anyone could foresee.

Both perspectives are hopelessly ill-founded, and the whole Zionist dream is, in the only form it has ever been cast in during the 20th century, a very fraught delusion.

Palestinian nationalism needed and needs to understand that the continuation of the capitalist system will always play into the hands of the Zionist monopoly-imperialist bourgeoisie or else that of the equally reactionary Arab-monarchist feudal regimes or that of their tame Arab bourgeois-nationalist rivals.

Only revolutionary socialist perspectives reliably offer Arab nationalism a way out of this alien and stifling domination by powerful monopoly-imperialist interests.

As vast civil-war areas of the world now plunge towards similar endless turmoil to that which has afflicted Occupied Palestine and the Occupied Zone of Ireland, as the insoluble contradictions of imperialism's economic crisis continue, – so will the need for Marxist-Leninist scientific revolutionary understanding of the war-mongering collapse of the capitalist system scream out more loudly than ever.

Build Leninism. Spread the *Bulletin*. Alf Lee

ment, it is now admitted, have been intensifying over the past three years.

And now come the public revelations (of all these secret contacts) which can only add considerably to the pace at which things are changing, – (for whatever reasons all these leaks are taking place).

Pressure is building up relentlessly towards an open discussion of a new negotiated political settlement with

the Irish nationalists, going beyond the Anglo-Irish Treaty of the 1980s, and reopening the whole question of the notorious supposed 'peace agreement' between British imperialism and Ireland, – the disgraceful 1921 Partition of Ireland retaining colonial control within the Occupied Zone of just six counties of Ulster with gerrymandered borders to give a 'permanent' British colonist majority.

Disregarding all the Tory government bluster (about Sinn Féin 'propaganda' or 'disinformation'), and lies (about the IRA 'seeking to surrender',) – significant bits of prominent public opinion (petty bourgeois philistinism) immediately continued to follow the trend apparent for a long time now, – seeing the need for a fully representative peace conference on the conflict over Ireland rather than the need for any more point-scoring against Sinn Féin, the 'men of violence', the IRA, or anyone else.

Symbolically, it was Ian Paisley who was thrown out of the 'democratic' ring for bad behaviour, while Gerry Adams had more national media exposure in Britain than ever before.

The BBC's Ireland correspondent calmly told nationwide TV news that all the talk about a 'framework for peace' was synonymous with the idea of moving towards a united Ireland.

At the peak breakfast listening time on Radio 4, Colin Parry, the father of a casualty of an IRA bomb in Warrington, unhesitatingly approved the idea of negotiations with the IRA and Sinn Féin, ignored the government's pretence that no such talks were taking place or on the agenda, and condemned the Ulster Unionists for putting up obstacles in the way of the peace process by trying to score old political marks instead of seriously looking for new compromises.

Speculation about the manoeuvres around the leaked information is endless. But the best guess is that British imperialism's control over its continued degeneration is in as bad a state as the health of the monopoly bourgeoisie itself – heading for complete paralysis and then collapse.

It made little sense for the government to claim that Sinn Féin was revealing a completely distorted view (of peace feelers which had taken place) 'in order to cause trouble' if it was allegedly Sinn Féin and the IRA which had asked for help in the first place because 'the conflict is over', etc.

It made much more sense to see the government as behind

all the smokescreening and covering up and disinformation, – as a way of softening the colossal impact on petty-bourgeois reactionary opinion of the increasingly plain fact that far from any 'smashing of tiny pockets of deranged criminals who speak for no one in Ireland', there are moves afoot to negotiate a completely new peace agreement with these 'cowardly thugs of violent terrorism who will all be pursued until they are all locked away in gaol for a very long time' as former British-imperialist propaganda outbursts were putting it until just a very few short weeks ago.

The wretched bourgeois press, which itself had so hypocritically refused ever to mention consistently the historical justice of the Irish nationalist cause, – namely the 1921 Partition diktat imposed by British violence on Ireland to the undying hatred of the overwhelming majority of the people of Ireland, – and which has never missed an opportunity to vilify the IRA and Sinn Féin, justifying summary 'judicial' murder of nationalists as worse than vermin, – is already even scoring points off the Establishment politicians for this turnaround, sneers they could equally as well direct against their own stinking 'free press' performance of endless lies and disinformation:

Tories denounced him. Official Labour tried to ignore him. In the event, the Home Secretary issued an exclusion order against the Sinn Féin leader banning him from even entering the country. That Mr Adams might have something useful to say about resolving the Northern Ireland crisis, of which his organisation is such a prime cause, was regarded – even when the Hume-Adams talks had been completed – as literally unspeakable.

How far we have come in the short time since that episode. Last week, the very thought was denied. This week, the documents are on the table. Yesterday's exchanges in the House of Commons about Northern Ireland will come as no surprise to historical wisecracks who know that the British always talk to terrorists in the end. But they were extraordinary exchanges nevertheless, and it is important to register just how far the political centre of gravity on this issue has shifted in not much more than a month. Conservative benches, which for years have contained not one person who would ever publicly countenance the idea of communication with Sinn Féin or the IRA, now contain barely a single objector to what Sir Patrick Mayhew has been forced to reveal about his many and detailed contacts with those same organisations. Labour, always readier to flirt with republicanism but in practice content to follow the lead of the SDLP, offered barely a cheep of protest against Sir

and constructive role in persuading the Unionist community to reach an accommodation with the rest of the Irish people.

7. Your disavowal of any prior objective is contradicted by your commitment to uphold the Unionist veto. The consequence of upholding the veto is, in effect, to set as your objective maintenance of partition and the six-county statelet, and of the primary source of the conflict.

8. We recognise that the concerns and perceived concerns of the Unionist population about their position in an Irish national democracy must be addressed and resolved in the form of the greatest reassurance possible, including legislation for all measures agreed in the course of the process of negotiations.

This process of national reconciliation must secure the political, religious and democratic rights of the northern unionist population.

9. The most urgent issue facing the people of Ireland and Britain is the need for a genuine peace process which sets equality, justice and political stability as its objectives and has as its means, dialogue and all-embracing negotiations.

November 5 message from the Government and accompanying "Procedural Annex" illustrated the huge progress both sides had made towards the negotiating table.

This message said in part:

There can be no departure from [a previous statement] that there could be no secret agreements or understandings between governments and organisations supporting violence as a price for its cessation.

"There can also be no departure from the constitutional guarantee that Northern Ireland's status as part of the United Kingdom will not change without the consent of a majority of its people.

"You ask about the sequence of events in the event of a total end to hostilities. If, as you have offered, you were to give us an unequivocal assurance that violence has indeed been brought to a permanent end, and that accordingly Sinn Féin is now committed to political progress by peaceful and democratic means alone, we will make clear publicly our commitment to enter exploratory dialogue with you.

"Our public statement will make clear that, provided your private assurance is promptly confirmed publicly after our public statement and that events on the ground are consistent with this, a first meeting for exploratory dialogue will take place within a week of Parliament's return in January."

So what 'political progress' is in view, involving what 'exploratory dialogue' with Sinn Féin, in public as early as six weeks from now, if it is not about a British imperialist wish to concede a reopening of discussion on the whole criminal cause of the unending national problem over Ireland, namely the intolerable and doomed evil of partition-

ing Ireland by violence in 1921 against the wishes of the majority of its people, in return for the IRA's willingness to call off its national-liberation struggle?

Beneath all the incredibly chaotic muddle of deliberate confusion, lying cover-ups, plus sheer embarrassed incompetence in these latest propaganda broadsides, the plain fact seems to be that the armed revolutionary fight has at last succeeded in forcing the sclerotic British imperialist establishment to offer Irish nationalism some serious negotiations on the cause of all the problem, – the monstrous 1921 Partition of Ireland, – after having refused for 72 years to concede any such thing.

The deviousness and disinformation surround[ing] these developments does not inspire great confidence that British imperialism will contribute anything but its usual bad faith and vicious skulduggery to the discussions, and a positive outcome must remain highly dubious.

But however dim the prospects still remain because of the haunted decrepit position of the British ruling class generally, and whatever outrageous manoeuvres still remain the incurable way of life of British imperialism, nothing can stop the historical requirements of the situation in Ireland, – for the eventual total satisfaction of legitimate Irish nationalist aspirations covering their whole country once again, – from being fulfilled.

Whether London's crisis-ridden monopoly-bourgeois interests try continuing to obstruct progress dog-in-the-manger style, or just carry on making an appalling cock-up of attempts to get out, – Ireland must inevitably ultimately gain its reunification and full independence at long last, (for what it will be worth in the light of the much more serious problem of the towering economic crisis worldwide of the basic imperialist-dominated free-market system of which Ireland is an equally-suffering part along with all other countries).

If there is some machiavellian notion in the secret control centres of the British establishment for driving Ulster Unionism into self-defeating anger and despair in order the better to expose Orange fascism's outdatedness and intransigence, or if some other such barmy deviousness is in operation, – it could only have the effect, if any, of helping to push things further in the direction in which historical necessity was already taking them.

That direction is towards the



Patrick yesterday. The shift in the politically permissible has been seismic – and very welcome.

That it is the British imperialist government which has shifted ground is obvious even from the suspect 'documented' version of events now handed out by Whitehall.

The following summary of what London admits Sinn Féin was still saying plainly at the end of July, five months after the beginning of that latest lengthy flurry of talks about talks, is not remotely demonstrated as having been retracted from by the nationalists, and yet the already notorious Government statement of November 5 is offering public negotiated dialogue with Sinn Féin by early January 1994:

1. We welcome this contact and hope it can help create a healing process which removes both the causes and the consequences of conflict... Republicans are not reluctant to face up to our responsibility in this but the British government clearly has the power and the major responsibility to initiate the necessary process.

2. Our long-standing position has been of willingness to enter into dialogue with a view to resolving the conflict. In all of this we do not seek to impose preconditions nor should preconditions be imposed on us.

Preconditions represent obstacles to peace. Moreover, after more than two decades of conflict and political impasse, we hold as self-evident the view that democratic, political and practical imperatives clearly require the open involvement and inclusion of all political views if a democratic resolution is to be sought and achieved.

3. The route to peace in Ireland is to be found in the restoration to the Irish people of our right to national self-determination – in the free exercise of this right without impediment of any kind.

4. British sovereignty over the six counties, as with all of Ireland before partition, is the inherent cause of political instability and conflict.

This must be addressed within the democratic context of the exercise of the right to national self-determination if the cause of instability and conflict is to be removed.

5. We seek to assist the establishment of, and to support, a process which, with due regard for the real difficulties involved, culminates in the exercise of that right and the end of your jurisdiction.

6. We believe that the wish of the majority of the Irish people is for Irish unity. We believe that an adherence to democratic principles makes Irish unity inevitable.

The emerging political and economic imperatives both within Ireland and within the broader context of greater European political union support the logic of Irish unity. It is our view therefore that the British government should play a crucial

final revolutionary defeat of British imperialism itself, in line with the general crisis of the world economic imperialist system, and inevitably encompassing the social, political, and cultural decay of the Orange colonial mentality within that dying imperialism.

The capitalist press commentary itself is the best evidence of what the *Bulletin* has consistently argued, – particularly against the petty-bourgeois defeatism of the ‘left’ swamp, – namely, that British imperialist domination over Ireland’s complete national aspirations was doomed, and that under world imperialist pressure, the British ruling class was reluctantly accepting that it would finally have to get out of Ireland, and was already in the process of preparing the ground for this humiliating defeat, – or ‘intent to withdraw’ in the self-serving words of the *Observer’s* leaking source:

A SECRET communication chain has been running between the Government and the IRA with the Prime Minister’s approval, an authoritative British source has told *The Observer*.

Contacts with Sinn Féin, instigated by the Government and using intermediaries, had been going on for more than a year. In some instances, they involved business and professional people.

More than a dozen documents were passed from the Government to Sinn Féin and the Londonderry meeting followed these exchanges. The intermediaries were always well briefed with notes authorised by the Northern Ireland Office, the source said.

The meeting was set to take place on 22 March – two days after the Warrington bombing – and there was concern on the Republican side that it might be cancelled because of public outrage over the bombs which killed two children and injured 56 other people.

It went ahead but was then nearly cancelled by the Republicans when only one person turned up on the British side.

Sinn Féin became angry and suspicious that the meeting was not being treated seriously. It was persuaded that it was important, partly by the briefing note obtained by *The Observer*, showing the contact was fully backed by the Secretary of State.

The British side made clear that any declaration of intent to withdraw from Northern Ireland would probably be impossible but if they could have a face-to-face meeting over a period of four or five days, they believed they would be able to convince the IRA and Sinn Féin that such a declaration was ‘not necessary’.

56 But it seemed the British side began to get cold feet. The possibility of a Government defeat over Maastricht and the importance of securing Unionist support, increased Loyalist violence in Northern Ireland and

increased IRA mainland bombing meant ‘the trail went cold’.

John Hume, leader of the Social Democratic and Labour party, confirmed to *The Observer* yesterday that he had been informed of the contacts in May. He subsequently met John Major to discuss his own talks with Gerry Adams.

The communication link was said by the source to be a message-delivery service run by unofficial intermediaries; deniable ‘heroes’ who began operating after British Ministers’ public overtures – going back as far as 1989 – brought a positive reaction from the IRA.

The process, so secret that it was not even disclosed by John Major to Albert Reynolds, the Irish Prime Minister, was described as an essential response to the terrorists’ ‘peace feelers’.

The go-betweens included clergymen, professionals and businessmen. *The Observer* source said that messengers often put their own lives at risk. Although the source emphatically denied direct government involvement, Sinn Féin chief of staff Martin McGuinness and others have said that a civil servant was used.

In a separate development, Mr McGuinness tells BBC TV’s *On the Record* today: ‘John Major knows who the contact is.’ He claimed meetings had sometimes taken place daily, and were continuing. According to *The Observer’s* information, the chain of contacts led to a key meeting with Mr McGuinness just after the Warrington bombing on 20 March, when both sides exchanged formal ‘position’ papers.

According to Dublin sources, a further meeting was planned at which each side would be represented by four ‘negotiators’. It was to take place outside Ireland – possibly abroad. Britain was said to have pressed hard for it to take place at Easter, but said that it would be conditional on a two-week ceasefire by the IRA.

The long-delayed official admission of contacts, sanctioned by Sir Patrick Mayhew, Northern Ireland Secretary, will put peace on a knife-edge in the run-up to Friday’s Anglo-Irish summit.

The Observer’s British source said that recent months had brought Ulster closer to a settled peace than for decades past.

Stating that no direct talks or negotiations had been held involving Ministers or civil servants, the source stressed that the chain of contacts had been used to communicate messages, questions and clarifications on the position of each side.

One of the key triggers had been the statement in 1990 by Peter Brooke, then Secretary of State, that ‘it is not the aspiration to a sovereign, united Ireland against which we set our face, but its violent expression... the British Government has no selfish strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland’.

For years, the anti-theory fake-‘lefts’ have argued, from different sectarian standpoints, for various reasons, – that intransigent British imperialism would carry on trampling

Irish national aspirations into the ground, and was effectively doing so.

Such shallow impressionism now faces a complete rout. Despite government statements that Sinn Féin had approached the British declaring ‘the conflict is over’, implying that the IRA were surrendering, Gerry Adams is adamant that it was London which made the first diplomatic peace feelers:

Whitehall’s version, denied by Sinn Féin, was that the terrorists’ opening plea on February 22 had been that “the conflict is over” and “we wish to have an unannounced ceasefire in order to hold dialogue”.

Gerry Adams, president of Sinn Féin, countered by accusing ministers of persistent lying, and saying that disclosure of contacts between the Government and the IRA had been “most unhelpful.”

But last night he said that despite the “duplicitous”, he was prepared to “forgive” and resume dialogue immediately.

Mr Adams last night said the November 5 message was a tactical dodge. “This unsolicited communication from them was a transparent manoeuvre to synchronise their public and private positions in advance of this contact becoming public in a climate of rumours and leaks.”

But the 10-week timescale is in stark contrast with Unionist demands for a Sinn Féin quarantine of up to five years.

After Sir Patrick denied that these exchanges represented “negotiations”, Downing Street – and Tory backbenchers – endorsed his explicit willingness to renew the fast-track offer. The sombre Commons mood was marred chiefly by the refusal of Ian Paisley, the Democratic Unionist leader, to withdraw unparliamentary charges of “lies” against Sir Patrick – which led to his suspension.

Martin McGuinness, the chief Sinn Féin negotiator, last night alleged that several key documents released by the Northern Ireland Office were bogus. It was untrue that the republicans initiated the intensive series of exchanges in February, he said.

The Government has based its defence on the fact that it felt it had a duty to respond to an IRA document, allegedly declaring: “The conflict is over but we need your advice on how to bring it to a close.” But Mr McGuinness said: “I totally refute the claim. No such communication was ever sent.

“His claim that a communication of November 2 [which suggested a state of desperation] to the British government was from Sinn Féin is equally bogus. The British government’ has been telling lie after lie in recent times to disguise its rejection of peace in Ireland.”

Mr Adams also denied that his party had begun the dialogue. “The latest phase of contact was initiated by the British government,” he said.

All of the evidence points towards that conclusion too, especially that from the bour-

geoisie’s own lying media.

If the Fleet Street counter-revolutionary propaganda machine is now freely discussing the IRA in terms of being a legitimate national-liberation struggle (as in the following quotes) after a sustained 20-year campaign to convince the world that the nationalist guerrillas were nothing but common criminals, out to murder and bomb for profit, extortion, or psychotic fantasies, – it seems obvious that a massive re-think and re-adjustment is going on within British capitalism’s ‘democratic’ institutions to prepare to accommodate this new phenomenon of a peace agreement with yesterday’s ‘Irish terrorists’:

The view was formed that if enough economic and political progress was made in Northern Ireland, the terrorists might conclude that the results of violence were no longer worth the risks involved.

A key British source put it much more positively last week, when he told *The Observer* that the Provisional IRA was imbued with an ideology and a theology.

He then added the breathtaking statement that its ideology included an ‘ethical dimension’ – that members would not continue killing for the sake of it.

He went on to argue that the Provisionals did not kill ‘for no purpose’, and that if that purpose was removed, there was no reason why they should not stop the killing.

That assessment of the mind of the IRA explains much that is now happening in and between the island of Ireland and Great Britain. Compared with some of the clichés and hysteria that are commonly delivered by Ministers and politicians, that statement sums up the maturity of judgment and level-headed calculation that is being applied to one of the deadliest and most pervasive crises of British political history.

It has been a painstaking march. In an interview in November 1989, Peter Brooke, then Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, said: ‘If in fact the terrorists were to decide that the moment had come when they wished to withdraw from their activities, then I think that the Government would need to be imaginative in those circumstances as to how that process should be managed.’

In that context, it is worth recalling the joint statement issued by John Major and Albert Reynolds after their Brussels meeting at the end of last month, when they said that if the IRA renounced violence, and demonstrated its renunciation of violence, ‘then new doors could open and we would be prepared to respond imaginatively to the situation that existed’.

When Mr Brooke’s interviewer asked him if that meant he would consider talking with Gerry Adams, president of Sinn Féin, the Secretary of State said: ‘Let me remind you of the move towards independence in Cyprus and a British Minister stood

up in the House of Commons and used the word "never" in a way which, within two years, there had been a retreat from that word.'

Certainly, the word was not on the lips of Mr Brooke. A year later — shortly before Baroness Thatcher was ousted from office — Mr Brooke said in a London speech: 'Only if violence is abandoned can a true reconciliation be achieved. There is a need for reconciliation at three levels: between the communities in Northern Ireland; within Ireland; and between the peoples on both these islands.'

'The terrorists constitute a major impediment on the road to peace and greater understanding and to new political institutions which adequately reflect everyone's interests.'

(That statement, too, has to be compared with what Mr Major said in the Commons debate on the Queen's Speech this month: 'We seek both a permanent end to violence — and a political settlement'.)

However, the key that was meant to unlock the mind and heart of the IRA was delivered in Mr Brooke's next sentence at that speech in 1990. He went on to say: 'The British Government has no selfish strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland: our role is to help, enable and encourage. Britain's purpose, as I have sought to describe it, is not to occupy, oppress or exploit, but to ensure democratic debate and free democratic choice.'

According to Martin McGuinness, one of Sinn Féin's leaders, the first

contact with a Government 'representative' took place in October 1990—the month before Mr Brooke made those comments.

Sir Patrick Mayhew, the current Secretary of State, went even further in a speech at Coleraine last December.

He stated: 'The political development process in which we are engaged seeks the prize of a comprehensive political accommodation, encompassing relationships not only within Northern Ireland but also within the island of Ireland and between the two governments.'

'Within this process, the British Government is not guided by any blueprint or master plan, leading to some pre-selected constitutional outcome of our choice. We have none. We want to see broad agreement developing, democratically sustained.'

'That is why, 20 years ago now, the 1973 Constitution Act made clear that Northern Ireland's status as part of the United Kingdom will not change without the consent of the majority of the people who live there...

'But, as it has equally made clear, Her Majesty's Government would never try to impede any body of opinion in working to achieve a place for Northern Ireland within a united Ireland, provided they work only by democratic and peaceful means.'

'If by such means, they were to persuade the greater number of those living in Northern Ireland to

agree with them, then Her Majesty's Government would present no obstacle. All this is indeed well known, and already constitutes a binding obligation.'

If the IRA could indeed be convinced of the sincerity of that particular argument, one of the central planks in its platform of violence would have been withdrawn; the case for terrorism would begin to dissolve — if you believe, as the Government now claims it does, that there is an 'ethical dimension' to the Cause.

According to *Observer* sources in Dublin, Belfast and London, there is evidence to suggest that the Provisionals are indeed moving; whether because of the random threat posed by so-called Loyalist terrorists, or the withdrawal of public love by the nationalist community, or the fear that their own children — the next generation — were poised on the brink of another 25 years of terrorism, or because of the overtures of London.

Certainly, it is accepted and understood on all sides that there is no risk of the IRA losing its war. There could be no winner in what most describe as a 'Mexican stand-off'. But if the IRA can help win the peace, then it may reasonably reckon to gain political dividends from that.

And if these contacts were all about an IRA surrender, why would the British imperialist government have needed to be so cagey about these sound-

ings, stretching all the way to outright lies to the Ulster Unionists and to the House of Commons? And why would the Orange colonist remnants be so incensed if what Downing Street was shielding was in fact an IRA surrender?

The reality seems obvious that the British ruling class is simply humiliated at having to finally capitulate to a legitimate national-liberation struggle which its notorious police-military dictatorship over the Occupied Zone of Ireland has failed to defeat, and is trying to cover up traces of that proposed retreat for all it is worth.

And yet another leaked document, if read carefully, demonstrates that it is British imperialism which has been forced to acknowledge yet another historical catastrophe as it degenerates totally alongside the world imperialist system now deep in insoluble economic crisis:

JOHN MAJOR and the Northern Ireland Secretary, Sir Patrick Mayhew, have evaded telling the full truth to the public and MPs about secret contacts with Sinn Féin.

Documents leaked, via a Unionist MP, have uncovered a web of contacts involving members of Sinn



Hunger Strikes

• The funeral of Michael Gaughan makes its way through the streets of Dublin.

Féin and the British Government at the highest level.

A transcript of an *aide-memoire*, delivered orally to Sinn Féin leader Martin McGuinness at a key meeting last March, just after the Warrington bombs, along with a written document, 'Annex C', set out the parameters of Britain's position.

This is the full transcript:

'The following instructions should be delivered orally to [name deleted] when you hand over Annex C in written form.

'In handing over this written message — and you need make no bones about the fact that it is a written message that you are handing over — you should emphasise that this process is fraught with difficulties for the British Government, as must be obvious. They are nevertheless prepared to tackle these and accept the risks that they entail.

'But it must be recognised that all acts of violence hereafter could only enhance these difficulties and risks, quite conceivably to the point when the process would be destroyed. If that were to occur, the British Government would consider that a potentially historic opportunity had been squandered.

'The paper gives out substantive advice in response to the initial message. As it makes clear, we wish to establish whether this provides a basis for a way forward. We on our side are ready to answer specific questions or give further explanation.

'You should also emphasise to your interlocutor the British Government's acknowledgement that all of those involved share a responsibility to work to end the conflict. We agree on the need for a healing process. We wish to take a positive view of these developments and hope that it will be possible to continue to do so.

'You should be aware that the above has been personally approved by SOSNI [Secretary of State for Northern Ireland]. In fact, all but the first sentence of the first paragraph is his own wording. In other words, it is not negotiable.'

On 7 November, when there were suggestions of contacts between Sinn Féin and the Government, a Downing Street spokesman said: 'We have made clear on many occasions that we don't speak to those who carry out or advocate or condone violence to further their political aims.'

On 11 November, a Unionist MP said that an 'insider' had told him of contacts stretching back through many months. The Northern Ireland Office dismissed the suggestion: 'No such meetings have taken place.'

On 17 November, Mr McGuinness confirmed he had been 'in direct contact with representatives of the British Government'.

Fresh confirmation that this whole furore is basically about a victory for the Irish national-liberation struggle is emerging hourly, such as Adams's report that London asked the IRA for a 2-week ceasefire back in May to smooth the path for some more tortured manoeuvres or other.

These peace negotiations could all still collapse in view of Orange-fascist intransigence and the fundamental historic weakness of decaying British imperialism.

But it is good to note for the record how so far, all the above capitalist press admissions go towards confirming the ILWP's longstanding Marxist analysis of this aspect of imperialist crisis.

Today's budget will also underline the even more important background message, also consistently studied by the *Bulletin*, that the supposed

'recovery' in the free-market system of economic anarchy is pure wishful thinking.

British imperialism's living standards are now financially bankrupt. Ferocious class struggle over who is to pay for capitalism's slump is all that lies ahead, especially once GATT's supposed 'world trade agreement' only eventually results in worsening inter-imperialist conflict over which mountains of 'surplus' capital investment are to be destroyed first. Marxist-Leninist science remains the only way forward.

Jack Bradshaw

The confused degeneracy of British colonialism in Ireland is more ruled by the imperialist system's international economic crisis than by local political spinelessness. The approaching world markets crash could sink London's mischief-making.

[EPSR No 732 04-01-94]

British imperialism's bizarre performance of trying to retreat from its colonial occupation of part of Ireland while pretending to be 'imposing peace' on the supposed 'men of violence' continues to be as complex as its decisive background, — the worldwide economic crisis of the

imperialist system in general.

And trying to guess what will happen next in London and Dublin's tortuous manoeuvres is probably more governed by what can be predicted about the next stages of inter-imperialist trade-war conflict than by what can be deduced about the inter-



• Working-class children gather cobble stones from the streets of Belfast to defend workers from police attacks

nal feuding among the decadent Tory ruling-classes and their petty-bourgeois hangers-on.

US imperialism is still struggling to dictate terms to the whole of international monopoly-capitalism for an end to the debt crisis and the problems of supposedly 'surplus' production capacity which would be favourable to the United States of America.

The possibility of further decisive intervention by Washington into the affairs of Ireland would have to be examined in the light of the traditional American pressure carving up its 'oldest Western ally', and of the most recent US forays into European politics generally which have been unusually fraught and uncertain (e.g. their policy towards the imperialist break-up of the Yugoslav socialist federation).

But broadly, the prospects are still following the pattern first analysed by the ILWP more than 12 years ago, – that for a continued snail's-pace withdrawal by British imperialism from the Occupied Zone of Ireland because of the unbeatability of the national-liberation struggle, because of the increasing decadence of British imperialism in its internal relations and its international standing, and because of the ever-sharpening struggle between the imperialist powers for top-dog position in the world war for trade and political domination which means exploiting every weakness of rival nations (provided the situation is never pushed too closely towards true communist revolution (see ILWP (EPSR) Books vol 8 & 15 – Ireland).

It has still not emerged clearly as to what specific pressure the new Clinton administration has been putting on London over the Irish troubles.

However, the difficulty remains a traditional one for bourgeois law-and-order the world over, – the discomfort for the establishment of seeing a popular armed struggle defying imperialist authority and winning. This sets a revolutionary precedent which is by-and-large considered a 'bad thing' for every bourgeois establishment on earth.

The dilemma for rival monopoly-imperialist powers is being torn between helping London to defeat such 'revolutionary' upstarts for the good of the entire capitalist order; or helping to meddle in London's discomfort in order to gain maximum advantage over British imperialism's ever-worsening plight in the wider inter-imperialist

economic and political supremacy conflict.

The bourgeois 'free' press remains utterly confused and confusing about who is defeating who in these latest 'peace' moves over Ireland and its national liberation struggle.

Some of the more cretinous coverage in Fleet Street and on television is still trying to pretend, – in line with Downing Street's sick propaganda, – that the whole question of talks with Sinn Féin and the IRA has arisen "because the terrorists want to surrender".

This widely-accepted fraud, immediately exposed as such by the *Bulletin*, is now being seen with every passing day to be more and more clearly total nonsense. The armed national-liberation struggle has recommenced after the Christmas traditional truce; and just prior to the holiday, but after the Downing Street declaration, the military campaign's London bombing attacks and security scares had reduced the capital city of British imperialism to one of its worst traffic-dislocation paralyzes on record. And Sinn Féin spokesmen have lately become increasingly assertive against the treacherous delays and obscurities deliberately built into the London declaration by British imperialist intransigence and fear of humiliation:

THE Provisional IRA yesterday signalled its determination to continue its campaign of violence despite the joint declaration for peace signed by London and Dublin.

In a hardline new year's message – and the first issued since the Downing Street Declaration – the IRA leadership insisted that its resolve was unbroken.

The message reinforces a consensus which emerged earlier this week from a meeting in County Tyrone of Provisional prisoners out on Christmas leave. That gathering saw little if any merit in the document signed by John Major and Albert Reynolds but was reluctant to reject it out of hand.

The IRA message, carried in Sinn Féin's weekly paper, *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, makes no reference to the joint declaration but says: "It is the resilience of the republican struggle which has forced the British to focus on the realities of the futile war in Ireland.

"As we face 1994 the efforts of our volunteers and supporters will continue to focus on the need for keeping the question for a resolution of the conflict firmly centre stage.

"Our struggle has endured and outlasted one British offensive after another. It remains solid and instant. The right of the Irish people to national self-determination and the question of lasting peace are inextricably linked."

Such a formulation suggests that violence would be unlikely to

end on the terms laid down by the Downing Street Declaration.

"The British government holds the key to peace," the statement continues. "The IRA reiterates its determination and the determination of our activists and supporters to see a just and lasting peace established in Ireland. No one should doubt our determination."

In an interview with the Dublin-based *Sunday Business Post*, Mr McGuinness insisted that the republican movement was still considering the Downing Street declaration.

"The document is so ambiguous that it needs clarification," he said. "People are asking, is this a signal that the British government intends at some stage in the future to disengage from the six counties? We want an answer to that question.

"If the British government is saying [its] private position is the same as that articulated by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons, then the prospects for the declaration, as far as republicans are concerned, are worthless.

"The British have to become the persuaders... anything short of a decision by the British government that they are leaving this country would be unacceptable."

The only matter on which Mr McGuinness suggested a shift in traditional Sinn Féin thinking was the length of time for Britain to withdraw from the province. He indicated that the former demand of withdrawal within five years could be stretched to eight years.

IT IS increasingly clear that the republican movement is moving rapidly towards rejection of the joint declaration.

Not a single Sinn Féin voice has called in public for a ceasefire on the terms laid out in the document. Party councillors have appeared relaxed in recent weeks, reflecting the fact that they face no hard decisions. There is little of merit in the declaration, they have concluded.

The dominant reasoning remains as it has been for 25 years: that violence continues to shift the British government marginally forward. The conflict should continue. It may be an unpleasant prospect, but it is familiar territory.

Martin McGuinness's comments yesterday in the Dublin-based *Sunday Business Post* are only the latest – although the most hardline – of negative republican reactions since the declaration in mid-December.

The killing of a young Guardsman in South Armagh and the wave of firebombs in Belfast at the weekend reinforce his sentiments. Those with the guns, it seems, are the most committed to pushing forward without delay to a united Ireland.

The Government's public position of refusing to clarify any ambiguities in the document is reinforcing Sinn Féin's sense of exclusion from the process.

This was emphasised in the statement from Gerry Adams, the Sinn Féin president, last night accusing Mr Major of using "belligerent" phrases and creating a "stand-off"

situation.

Downing Street fears that offering any encouraging interpretations to republicans would precipitate the unravelling of the agreement and undermine the support of the Ulster Unionist Party.

Almost every comment by the Prime Minister since mid-December has been aimed at reassuring the Protestant community. The constitutional safeguard that the majority in Northern Ireland must decide their own destiny has been relentlessly hammered home.

That sounds remarkably like familiar partitionist rhetoric to republicans and makes nonsense of Albert Reynolds' pleas from Dublin for "peace without a pre-determined future".

Even the miserable Green Tories in Dublin, who will surely end up with one of the most treacherously infamous roles of any group in all history, have felt obliged to prod the mealy-mouthed *London Declaration* a bit further with Reynolds' latest nibble at the notion of eventual 'demilitarisation' of the Occupied Zone (which approaches the same vexed question of a guaranteed ultimate British military withdrawal from its colonial occupation, but from a slightly different angle):

Mr Reynolds's statement said: "The peace declaration makes clear the British government's declaration of self-determination for all the Irish people in line with the Hume-Adams public statements."

He added: "It also makes clear that both governments and both communities will become persuaders for a new agreement on the future of the whole island. The time has come to start the process of demilitarisation of the Northern conflict."

Unionists yesterday launched verbal attacks on the Taoiseach. Ken Maginnis MP, the Ulster Unionists' security spokesman, said it had been a mistake for Mr Reynolds to elaborate on the declaration. John Taylor, UUP MP for Strangford, said the call for demilitarisation was "ill-timed and ill-advised".

Sinn Féin's Martin McGuinness, however, welcomed the comments. "It has always been Sinn Féin's position that demilitarisation will form an essential part of a negotiated settlement," he said.

Earlier in London, John Major's advisers insisted he was unconcerned by Mr Reynolds's contentious statement, issued late on Sunday after discouraging signals had been received from Sinn Féin.

In Dublin, the statement was being presented last night as a means of encouraging the IRA to abandon its military campaign and enter into democratic talks as quickly as possible.

Mr Reynolds's use of phrases commonly used by republicans infuriated Unionists, with Ian Paisley, Democratic Unionist leader, alleging the Taoiseach had come out in his true colours with a declaration that bore "the bloody thumbprint of the IRA".



• British Troops outside the Mater Hospital, Dublin after the killings in Croke Park on 21 November 1921

The Taoiseach's statement — like the declaration itself, a masterpiece of political ambiguity — summarised the document in republican language without changing its terms.

"Demilitarisation" in republican terms normally implies the withdrawal of British troops from the streets, if not from Northern Ireland, as well as an end to the IRA's campaign.

The term "persuaders", also used in the statement, means taking an active role in urging Unionists to accept the unification of Ireland, in contrast to Mr Major's repeated emphasis on their *de facto* veto.

Downing Street officials gently suggested they would have preferred Mr Reynolds to have used the phrase "advocates of peace".

London took comfort from the helpful remarks made by Dick Spring, the Irish foreign minister, who said there had been over-reaction to Mr Reynolds's comments. The Taoiseach was not trying to "nudge" the Downing Street declaration closer to the IRA's position, as claimed by Unionists.

The row illustrates the complexity of the Downing Street declaration and the precarious nature of the coalition which supports it. Even though subsequent examination of Mr Reynolds's statement showed it signified far less than was first feared, it prompted Unionist calls for a moratorium on further public debate on the declaration until the IRA accepted or rejected it.

Speaking to Sinn Féin activists in west Belfast Mr Adams said: "Partition and continued support for the loyalist veto are a recipe for ongoing conflict. Unionists will remain locked into their no-change mind-set."

"There will be no incentive, no motivation, no reason to move towards a democratic accommodation with

the rest of the Irish people."

Although linking the "veto" to continued violence suggests that the IRA plans to continue its campaign for the time being, Mr Adams welcomed the declaration's commitment to the right of self-determination. But, he added, it was contradictory for Britain to recognise such a right and then "presume to dictate" how it was exercised. National self-determination, he implied, should be on an all-Ireland basis.

"Partitionist solutions cannot create the conditions of peace and democracy in Ireland. Until the issue of self-determination is resolved there can be no lasting nor viable peace on these islands. The deadlock has not yet been broken."

A Downing Street statement after the speech said: "We will study Mr Adams' words very carefully but what the people of Northern Ireland need is a sign from the terrorists that there will be a permanent cessation of their violence."

Reading between the lines, some of the British bourgeois press has felt the need to make some 'objective' best-of-a-bad-job by some chirpy admissions in the direction of what is the general historical thrust of Declaration developments, — further towards the final reunification of Ireland and the ending of British imperialism's brutal and criminal partition, — one of the foulest acts of colonial vindictiveness ever:

Some Irish ministers appear to think that London is losing interest in and letting slip the means of achieving the kind of solution which Dublin believes is still possible. They examine the revelation of London's secret contacts with the IRA — at a time when British ministers were publicly dispar-

aging Dublin initiatives and the Hume-Adams talks — and fear that Whitehall speaks with a forked tongue. Far be it from us to deny that possibility altogether. But it would be a mistake for the Irish to underestimate the British Government's achievement — unpremeditated though the form and circumstances were — in riding out Monday's Commons challenges in such good order. At some point in the process, the possibility of Britain and Sinn Féin sitting down together had to be acknowledged publicly. It was always going to be a moment of potential destabilisation. Now that has happened, and the Government has emerged less damaged than it had a right to expect.

The elaborate political process must nevertheless move on. The issue now, as Dublin rightly recognises, is the form of Anglo-Irish context in which a demilitarised political solution can be established. This is frightening ground for the Unionists, and difficult ground for the British Government which is the Unionists' guarantor. But it has at last been reached, an almost unthinkable achievement only a few months ago. The momentum needs to be maintained.

This sort of approach manages to demolish the general bourgeois-press fiction about an 'IRA surrender' but without having to say so too bluntly. It tries getting back to the old idea of capitalist-idealist philosophy that the era of Empire (at least as far as Britain was concerned) was wound up by the British themselves in the benevolent interest of all involved.

But the lie to this self-serving middle-class gibberish is given elsewhere in the fine print of

the bogus 'free' press when the damage to the City of London's financial-security reputation is discussed from the aspect of IRA bomb destruction but without making any connection at all to British imperialism's desire to politically retreat from this last uncomfortable corner of Empire (but without appearing to be having to do so for reasons of 'great power' prestige, etc):

The IRA has already warned foreign banks in the City it views the cordon as a challenge: one to be breached. Paul Condon, the Metropolitan Commissioner, has privately expressed his doubts, worrying the terrorists might simply switch targets. The Home Office believes the IRA has been handed a propaganda coup.

But the public display of stiff upper lips masked the fears of foreign financiers. Some 27 were affected by Bishopsgate and suffered an estimated £200 million of damage to foreign-owned property in the Square Mile. Patience was wearing thin.

The Japanese were the first to express their worries. On April 26, the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry wrote confidentially to the then Home Secretary Kenneth Clarke, in tones that belied their measured official statements. It spoke of "the serious daily danger to life, assets and business posed by the threat of IRA terrorism" and concluded with their own none-too-veiled threat: "There is a real possibility that Japanese companies will have to look for a safer alternative, another financial center within the EC, if security measures are not improved." The message was clear: The City was being given notice of the foreign financiers' intention to quit if another bomb went off.

But the IRA threat to London is on a different scale. It is specifically anti-British, yet at the same time unpredictable. After the Bishopsgate bomb, the terrorists pressed home their propaganda coup by writing to 50 of the top foreign financial organisations in the City, telling them that their continued presence in London would make them vulnerable. Amid the ranting condemnation of British imperialism was the warning to foreigners: "You will get caught in the blast by reason of your location."

There were no American banks on the IRA warning list, leading to the conclusion that they did not want to alienate US support.

Commissioner Kelly argues that the IRA letter was another propaganda stunt. "We have already given them two propaganda coups with the big bombs. It has been argued that we are throwing down the gauntlet with the extra security, but all the indications are that they would be attacking us anyway, regardless of what measures we took."

"We have never claimed we could prevent another bomb getting through. The aim is to reduce the risk of it happening, and to increase the risk to them of getting caught. The City is a vulnerable key point in the economy. If you damage that, you damage the City's place in the international markets, and the coun-

try's position worldwide."

But in private, many are worried that the Corporation is not doing enough. One American banker sums up their approach: "We realise that they have a difficult job to perform, making the City safe without making it an armed camp. But our own security people just cannot see how the measures we have now will stop another big bomb. We will have to spend a lot more money on our own building's security to try to make it bomb-proof, as well as the cost of setting up alternative dealing centres."

There is a real possibility, in the technologically sophisticated world of electronic finance, that these will not have to be in the Square Mile. "A number of our compatriots are making contingency plans to establish alternative sites in the event that their facilities will not be usable after another bomb. I guess the danger is that these become permanent, and the City loses out."

The increased terrorism risk will also play a part in future plans to expand in London. One German bank, which is in the process of expanding its London share-dealing business, says that those plans are proceeding smoothly — for now. "Another bomb would not be a great help. Our people in London are trying to persuade Frankfurt to meet the cost of the investment. Their case would not be advanced if there was another bomb."

The real danger the City faces is that, rather than a wholesale exodus, foreign institutions would simply forego future expansion in the City. The effect would be the same — the IRA would have achieved its aim of damaging the City's earning power and Britain's financial reputation in the world. And as one intelligence source said: "The problem with a ring of rubber is that it can rebound on you."

But the rest of the world is making the right connections between London's endless security disruptions and Downing Street's secret negotiations for a 'peace' deal with Sinn Féin and the IRA, — as also are squabbling factions within the British ruling class, — now apparently at each other's throats over whether or how to retreat from Ireland, — according to this further bourgeois press report:

THE REVELATIONS over the Government's contacts with the IRA cannot be understood without appreciating the 20 year vendetta between MI5 and MI6.

The services have been at loggerheads since the mid-1970s, when MI5 effectively replaced MI6 as the main intelligence unit in Northern Ireland. The feud between the two was based on two completely different political perspectives.

MI6, which was in Ireland chiefly because the South of Ireland (Eire) was a foreign country, took a detached view of the conflict in the North. They favoured an even-handed attitude which looked forward to an eventual settlement. MI5 adopted a much more partisan policy, siding with the "Loyalists"

This dispute has continued ever since. By and large, British military intelligence has sided with MI5. Both co-operated to sabotage the power-sharing government of 1974 with the Ulster Workers Council strike (masterminded by a British intelligence agent), the bombing of Dublin with weapons put together with the help of military intelligence and, more recently, the negotiations between British intelligence agent Brian Nelson and the South African company Armscor for the shipping of arms to the Loyalists.

As Northern Ireland became more and more expensive, both in terms of money and lives, the conditions for a settlement improved, and MI6 started to counter-attack. The apparently conciliatory approach of the IRA culminated in the Hume-Adams initiative, in which the IRA agree to lay down their arms and accept the government of Northern Ireland provided some part of that government can be reached by representatives of the Nationalist/Republican politicians.

These historic concessions won some response from the British government. They led to the banning of the Protestant military organisation, the UDA, and some very limited contacts between the IRA and suitably distant, non-ministerial representatives of the British government.

The old guard in MI5, by now indistinguishable from the Loyalist ultras, regarded all this as a surrender to the forces of evil. The breaking

point came on 24 November, when a huge consignment of arms from Poland, ordered and paid for by the Ulster Volunteer Force, was seized by MI6 at Teesport.

Using their Orange contacts MI5 leaked the 'aide memoire' which proved the contacts between the British government and the IRA. At once "sources" in the Northern Ireland Office also leaked the news (published in most British papers on November 29) that the two "unauthorised" contacts had been made by MI6. Thus MI6 emerged from a week's furious leaking as the villains.

This middle-class cynicism of course misses the entire historical sweep of what is really happening in Ireland, — the final defeat of imperialism by a heroic longstanding national-liberation struggle coupled with the general decline of the British ruling class in its international position, and the subversive meddling in London's difficulties by foreign imperialist powers.

But it does give a valuable flavour of exactly how the British bourgeoisie tries as a decrepit class to shape up to its latest humiliation, — very uncomfortably, unconvincingly, and paralytically. It is hardly surprising that the situation remains so

confused and confusing.

And it also helps to explain the background to the very curious muddle which Whitehall got itself into over the revelations about talks with Sinn Féin and the IRA, another fascinating sub-plot in this chaos:

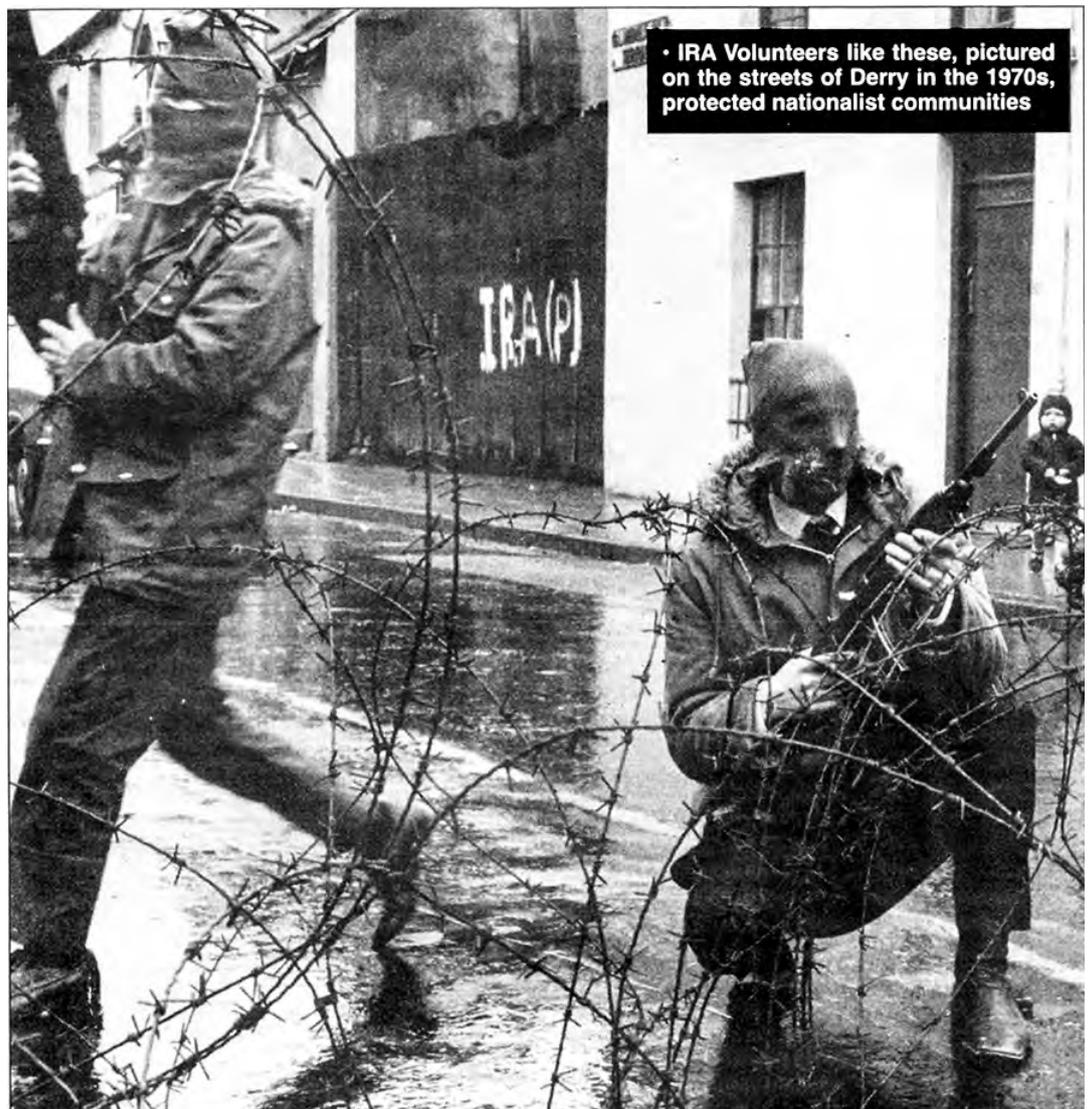
THE Northern Ireland Secretary was forced to admit last night that there were inaccuracies in the documents he published on Monday about government contacts with the IRA this year.

The admission by Sir Patrick Mayhew was a fresh blow to the Government's credibility and a propaganda coup for Sinn Féin, which has been claiming for two days that the Government doctored its version of the written messages to give the impression that the IRA was the first to seek a ceasefire.

Sir Patrick's admissions last night of 19 inaccuracies confirms that Sinn Féin's versions of the messages were the more correct.

Sinn Féin claims the changes undercut the suggestion that the IRA had been seeking advice on how to end the conflict or that it would take part in talks. It also claimed the Government wanted to hold peace talks in Scotland or Scandinavia following an IRA offer of a two-week ceasefire made on May 10 — a claim dismissed as rubbish by Downing Street.

Clearly, much of the coded



talks-about-talks between London and the IRA have been about other ways of promoting the reunification of Ireland in return for a ceasefire in the present war of national liberation.

As the *Bulletin* has already reported, the essence of the London Declaration was to confirm that the whole 'Irish trouble' was the frustration of Ireland's legitimate (and irresistible) wish to at last gain the full united independence of the whole island of Ireland from British colonial domination.

The gist of the long passage already quoted was repeated again and again, including one intriguing reference to the British government itself also working "to end past divisions":

In recognition of the fears of the Unionist community and as a token of his willingness to make a personal contribution to the building up of that necessary trust, the Taoiseach will examine with his colleagues any elements in the democratic life and organisation of the Irish state that can be represented to the Irish Government in

the course of political dialogue as a real and substantial threat to their way of life and ethos, or that can be represented as not being fully consistent with a modern democratic and pluralist society, and undertakes to examine any possible ways of removing such obstacles.

Such an examination would of course have due regard to the desire to preserve those inherited values that are largely shared throughout the island or that belong to the cultural and historical roots of the people of this island in all their diversity.

The Taoiseach hopes that over time a meeting of hearts and minds will develop, which will bring all the people of Ireland together, and will work towards that objective, but he pledges in the meantime that as a result of the efforts that will be made to build mutual confidence no Northern Unionist should ever have to fear in future that this ideal will be pursued either by threat or coercion.

Both governments accept that Irish unity would be achieved only by those who favour this outcome persuading those who do not, peacefully and without coercion or violence, and that, if in the future a majority of the people of Northern

Ireland are so persuaded, both governments will support and give legislative effect to their wish.

The British and Irish governments will seek, along with the Northern Ireland constitutional parties through a process of political dialogue, to create institutions and structures which, while respecting the diversity of the people of Ireland, would enable them to work together in all areas of common interest. This will help over a period to build the trust necessary to end past divisions, leading to an agreed and peaceful future. Such structures would, of course, include institutional recognition of the special links that exist between the peoples of Britain and Ireland as part of the totality of relationships, while taking account of newly-forged links with the rest of Europe.

All of this coming after 73 tormented years of what was supposedly the 'final solution' to the Irish 'troubles', - namely the artificial carving out of the bastard colonial statelet "Northern Ireland" as a 'separate country' which was to be 'British Ireland' and part of the United Kingdom "for all time", etc; can only mean that the game is finally up for

British imperialist subjugation of Ireland (or part of it), and that the fraud of the monstrous 1921 partition is at last to be quietly buried (even unnoticeably and imperceptibly buried if London has its way).

But exactly how Britain's ruling class copes with this; humiliating climb-down remains to be seen.

In the background, some of the pressure from defeatism has been temporarily lifted from the decadent imperialist bourgeoisie (and in other countries too) by the farcical euphoria on the world's free-market stock exchanges (where share prices are being driven through the roof without any relationship to the cutthroat competitive reality of the international over-production crisis which can lead only to a devastating trade war within months), and entirely on the idealist delusion continuing that "communism has been defeated".

That capitalism is still scared of its own underlying insoluble contradictions is plain from

EPSR

Leaving the world to be run by the greed of the capitalist monopolies can never stop resulting in periodic crises where trade-war destruction must rule, and to which the only antidote is Revolution and a strong workers state, --- as these essentials of Marxist-Leninist science explain.

Only the crisis events of collapsing imperialist rule interpreted in this Marxist-Leninist light will educate a mass workers party of leadership to do the necessary tasks.

The Revisionist retreat from the Soviet workers state because of crawling to shallow Western glitz and shame at their own past bureaucratic mistakes has only proved the soundness of Lenin's *State & Revolution* science about a very long period of proletarian dictatorship being the only way for the world to see-off monopoly imperialist warmongering, now back with a vengeance.

It is often said and written that the main point in Marx's teachings is the class struggle; but this is not true. And from this untruth very often springs the opportunist distortion of Marxism, its falsification in such a way as to make it acceptable to the bourgeoisie. For the doctrine of the class struggle was created not by Marx, but by the bourgeoisie before Marx, and generally speaking it is acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Those who recognise only the class struggle are not yet Marxists; they may be found to be still within the boundaries of bourgeois thinking and bourgeois politics. To confine Marxism to the doctrine of the class struggle means curtailing Marxism, distorting it, reducing it to something which is acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is what constitutes the most profound difference between the Marxist and the ordinary petty (as well as big) bourgeois. This is the touchstone on which the real understanding and recognition of Marxism is to be tested. And it is not surprising that when the history of Europe brought the working class face to face with this question as a practical issue, not only all the opportunists and reformists, but all the "Kautskyites" (people who vacillate between reformism and Marxism) proved to be miserable philistines and petty-bourgeois democrats who repudiate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

62 "The last cause of all real crises always remains the poverty and restricted consumption of the masses as compared to the tendency of capitalist production to develop the productive forces as if only the absolute power of consumption of the entire society would be their limit." (Capital. Vol III. P568.)

"For many a decade past", wrote Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto* of 1848, "the history of industry and commerce is but the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the property relations that are the conditions for the existence of the bourgeoisie and of its rule. It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodical return put the existence of the entire bourgeois society on its trial, each time more threateningly. In these crises a great part, not only of the existing products, but also of the previously created productive forces, are periodically destroyed. In these crises there breaks out an epidemic that, in all earlier epochs, would have seemed an absurdity - the epidemic of overproduction. Society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism; it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence; industry and commerce seem to be destroyed. And why? Because there is too much civilisation, too much means of subsistence, too much industry, too much commerce. The productive forces at the disposal of society no longer tend to further the development of the conditions of bourgeois property; on the contrary...they have become too powerful for these conditions, by which they are fettered, and so soon as they overcome these fetters, they bring disorder into the whole of bourgeois society, endanger the existence of bourgeois property. The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them."

The conditions of bourgeois democracy very often compel us to take a certain stand on a multitude of small and petty reforms, but we must be able, or learn, to take such a position on these reforms. (in such a manner) that - to oversimplify the matter for the sake of clarity - five minutes of every half-hour speech are devoted to reforms and twenty-five minutes to the coming revolution. (Lenin Dec 1916: Principles involved in the war issue.)

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the latest "let's pull our socks up" rooting for a "new global monetary order", ludicrously ignoring that the current total disorder is the very essence of the free-market system.

Trade war is the only reality, and it will soon be shattering every instituted financial arrangement in sight. There is ludicrous talk of renewed American economic domination of the entire 'free' world, based on the USA's fightback in the trade war of late, plus further delusions that 'safe' American world leadership will make the 'world' safe too (i.e. capitalism). Such super-imperialist or supra-imperialist daydreams are as old as the inter-imperialist warmongering system itself. The iron laws of insoluble capitalist contradictions are what will prevail. Build Leninism.

Joe Harper.



**Black & Tan
British thuggery**
• No angels

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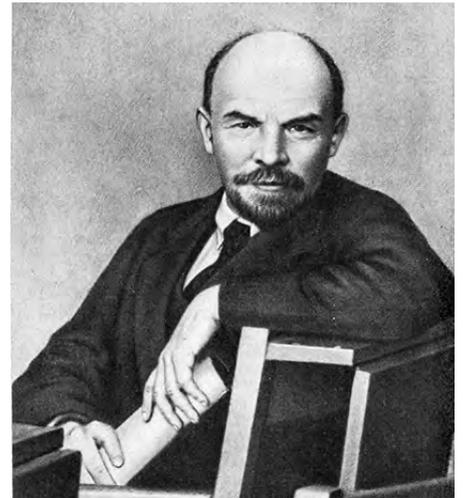
- 1) Workers' Party manifesto (original version - no longer published*).
- 2) The Workers Party and the struggle to re establish Bolshevik traditions.
- 3) For a Leninist Party and world socialist revolution; against Solidarnosc, Trotskyism and bureaucratic centrism.
- 4) For Lenin's line combining world socialist revolution with peaceful coexistence between camps; against E P Thompson, the Trots, and the reformist/revisionist CPs.
- 5) Lenin's arguments for a strong socialist state against Trotsky's 'permanent' counter revolution.
- 6) Moscow should denounce reactionaries in the CP movement, as well as anti-communist Trots.
- 7) Lenin's proletarian dictatorship versus the CPGB, Trotskyism, 'left' Labourism, Moscow's weaknesses and the Morning Star.
- 8) Leninist perspective (1979 - 1988) on the triumphant Irish national-liberation struggle Pt 1.
- 9) The collapse of the 'municipal socialism' fraud is one obstacle removed.
- 10) Reformist 'socialism' is finished. Down with 'labour movement traditions'.
For class war against anti-communism and against collaboration with imperialism. Proletarian dictatorship is the only worthwhile democracy.
- 11) On the inevitability of inter-imperialist war:
Inter-imperialist WW3 well already under preparation. Proletarian revolution the only possible way forwards for mankind – led by Bolshevism based on Lenin's complete break from social-democracy's class-collaborating treachery and petty bourgeois opportunism
- 12) How revisionist retreat from Leninism played into US imperialist hands for subverting the Grenada Revolution and pillorying the NJM majority.
- 13) Gorbachevism: How step by class-collaborating step the Gorbachev group has pretended to 'remedy' Stalinist revisionism (on war and revolution, and how to tackle imperialist aggression) with even worse capitulation to defeatism, - further than ever from revolutionary Leninism.
- 14) To come
- 15) Leninist perspective (19 - 1994) on the triumphant Irish national-liberation struggle Pt 2
- 16) The defeat for Western 'democratic' influence in China is the best possible development for frustrating US imperialism's counter-revolutionary plans and capitalism's arms-race tilt towards World War III.
- 17) Workers states are the way forwards but minus Moscow weak revisionist leadership chaos [Originally published as *EPSR Future Perspectives* 2001]
- 18) For open Leninist discussion of imperialism's fascist slump crisis and drive to war, the significance of the Soviet historical achievement, the world proletarian dictatorship future, and the bankruptcy of Third Internationalism:
Five polemics concerning the Indian Workers Association (IWA) and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI-M) published between 1991-1993.
- 19) Driven by insoluble "over-production" crisis the monopoly imperialist system is gearing up for perpetual inter-imperialist war [originally *EPSR Perspectives* 2002]
- 20) Occupied Palestine, Nazi-Zionism, imperialist crisis and war. Jewish religious freemasonry and the conspiracy/fraud of "left anti-semitism".
- 21) Unanswered polemics v *Lalkar/Proletarian* (2003). Against museum-Stalinism:
Re-assessing the giant achievement of the 20th century workers states is crucial in the great debate stirring as revolutionary turmoil erupts against capitalism's world crisis catastrophe. But taking on anti-communist brainwashing (including Trotskyite biliousness) and resolving the great outstanding questions is flawed by blind Stalin worship, denial of errors, cover-up and sectarian paralysis. Leninism needs rebuilding.



Bloody Sunday's cold-blooded killings by British paratroopers 1971

A third book on the Irish national-liberation struggle up to, and beyond, the 1998 Good Friday Agreement and the 2006 St Andrews accord is in preparation

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1981 Hunger Strikers



Michael Gaughan



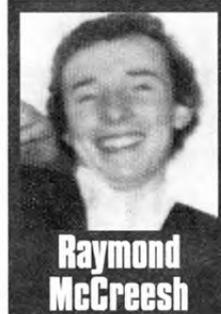
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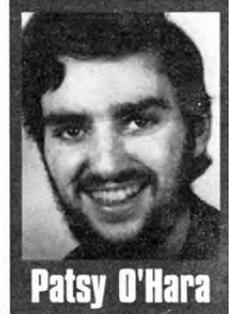
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