

MARXIST - LENINIST

JOURNAL



ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRELAND (MARXIST-LENINIST)



Taking stock after 3 years of the Anglo-Irish Agreement

*Economic crisis north and south • • Advances in the work of CPI(M-L) • •
Dictate of the two superpowers • • Perestroika - a programme for
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birth of Enver Hoxha • • Developments in the International
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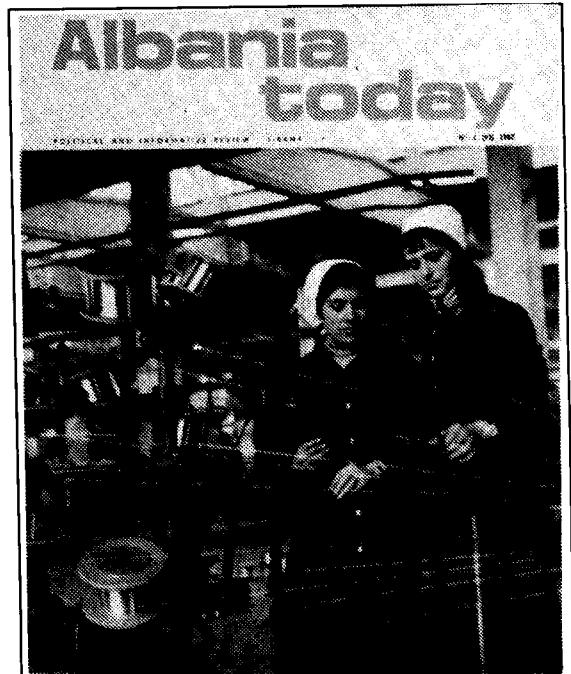
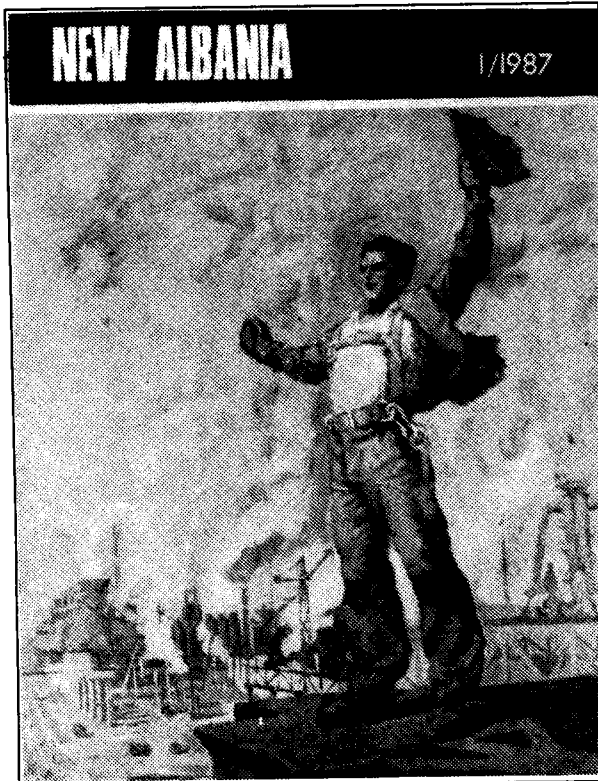
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Organ of the
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Cover photograph shows rally and demonstration held on February 6th 1988 in opposition to British imperialism's crimes against the Irish people - organised by Spirit of Freedom Committee on the initiative of CPI(M-L)

Marxist-Leninist Journal
December 1988

Introducing the Marxist-Leninist Journal

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) has decided to publish the 'Marxist-Leninist Journal' in order to complement 'Marxist-Leninist Weekly' with a format in which the Party can explain its political line and its analysis of national and world issues in greater detail. The plan is to begin publication with this issue and then produce two issues during 1989, moving to quarterly publication in 1990.

At this stage the working class and revolutionary movement in Ireland need not only the frequency of at least a weekly paper covering current events, but also more substantial treatment of the critical questions facing the movement and the people in Ireland and the world today. This is the task which the 'Marxist-Leninist Journal' is to undertake.

In the months since August the Party has not been producing 'Marxist-Leninist Weekly' so as to concentrate on the All-Ireland Youth Campaign for Unity and Freedom, but we will be restarting publication of 'Marxist-Leninist Weekly' on a regular basis again in January.

With this first issue of the 'Marxist-Leninist Journal' we are presenting a spread of topics to give a general overview of the major issues in the country and internationally, but devoting a major space to deal with one question which has had particular importance in recent years, and about which much confusion has been created, in this case the Anglo-Irish Agreement. This will be the general pattern as the journal develops in the future. One of the main articles in the next issue will be devoted to the problem of the oppression of women in Ireland today.

In recent weeks the Party has begun a study programme in which it wants to involve supporters and friends through discussion groups over the coming months. But education in the science of Marxism-Leninism is a permanent feature of the work of the Party. The 'Marxist-Leninist Journal' is to assist, amongst other things, the development of discussion groups. Workers and progressive individuals from any background or walk of life are most welcome to write to the 'Marxist-Leninist Journal' if there are particular questions of theory or current affairs they would like to see covered, and also if they would like to join a discussion group.

Finally, the 'Marxist-Leninist Journal' is a fighting and partisan weapon of the working class and the Irish people, not a liberal forum for debate. This does not mean we are not concerned with the truth or refuse to discuss issues seriously. Quite the opposite, we are concerned with the truth, but we know that truth stands on the side of progress and the force of progress lies precisely with the working class, with the cause of the people. Serious, unprejudiced discussion can only assist our cause because truth and right are on the side of the democratic right to the freedom and re-unification of our country, and they are on the side of socialism as the system which must replace capitalism and imperialism in Ireland and the world as a matter of inevitability, and as the only way to put an end to reaction, national oppression, aggression and world war, by putting to an end the division of humanity into antagonistic classes and abolishing the exploitation of man by man.

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GREAT SATISFACTION ON THE PART OF THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS, BUT GROWING DISCONTENT AMONGST THE MASSES OF THE IRISH PEOPLE

What the Anglo-Irish Agreement represents is the formalisation of the age-old British imperialist system of sectarian divide-and-rule in Ireland, with the agreement of the national traitor 'Free' State government with the fraudulent British 'analysis' that the problems in Ireland derive from an allegedly antagonistic division between 'two opposing traditions and communities' within Ireland, instead of from the real cause - the illegal and criminal foreign interference in Irish affairs by British governments.

What is presented as a treaty between two sovereign governments on an equal basis actually represents the institutionalised embodiment of the real, unequal relations between Ireland and Britain which still exist today, as they have existed for so long already, but now couched in the form of the binding commitment of an international treaty.

But if the Anglo-Irish Agreement has been designed by the British imperialists as a formal means to perpetuate their domination and partition of Ireland and revamp the tactics of divide-and-rule, then equally the struggle against the Anglo-Irish Agreement must prove to be an important contribution to eradicating this whole system of injustice and inequality itself. For struggle against the Anglo-Irish Agreement must surely make a most significant contribution to the struggle to overcome the tactics of divide-and-rule of British imperialism and the national traitors, and so contribute towards uniting the Irish people in the final conflict for their national liberation.

As the three year duration of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, signed at Hillsborough Castle on November 15, 1985, has reached its scheduled conclusion, the two Governments - the British and 'Free' State Irish governments - have been reviewing its operation so far with a view to renewing the agreement for a further period.

The stated aim of this Treaty was for the two signatories to co-operate together in working 'to end violence' in the north and bring peace and harmony between what they describe as 'the two communities' and prosperity to the north and to Ireland as a whole, as well as put the relations of Britain and Ireland on a new basis of friendship and harmony. In fact the Hillsborough Accord was hailed as a historic initiative and breakthrough in resolving 'the Irish Question' itself in totality, significant enough to be lodged at the United Nations and receive the specific backing and financial involvement of a number of foreign governments, in particular the USA and the EEC, as well as the enthusiastic support of many others.

Leaving aside for the moment the crucial question of the 'theory' behind the Anglo-Irish Agreement - that 'terrorism' is the factor holding up all political and economic progress in Ireland and that this violence has its basis in internal division (as opposed to these phenomena having their real basis in foreign colonial armed interference and foreign imperialist exploitation, including the system of divide-and-rule) - the fact is that none of the declared objectives of peace, prosperity and good neighbourly relations have been achieved, yet the two Governments proclaim their satisfaction and determination to persist with the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

In fact if the actual operation of the agreement over the last three years is analysed, not only does it show that the declared objectives were purely rhetoric aimed at deceiving the people of Ireland and Britain, but that the Treaty itself is an unequal treaty, reflecting the unequal relations of master and servant, not real relations between two sovereign states. The Anglo-Irish agreement reflects in a nutshell the relations between on the one hand, an imperialist power, and on the other a neo-colonial government which feels it has to tolerate treatment which otherwise any really sovereign state would regard as

intolerable and grounds for repudiation of the treaty because it has been so seriously violated by the other party.

WHAT DOES THE ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT REVEAL ABOUT THE RELATIONS BETWEEN IRELAND AND BRITAIN TODAY?

The public position which the British government took towards the national question in Ireland when it signed the Agreement was that Britain's historic colonial role in Ireland was only a matter of past history. The relations which the two governments put on display with the Anglo-Irish Agreement were the relations of two sovereign governments dealing with each other as equals, and, moreover, doing so consciously in the context of solving the delicate problem of a 'legacy of history' from the time when the two countries were unequal.

Thus it was with this general perspective that the 26 County Irish government hailed the Agreement as a great victory, for it had obtained at least a consultative role in solving the problems in the north of Ireland. Additionally it was formally recognised that people there had a right to work (by peaceful means, at least) for national re-unification and independence. In recognition of this 'Irish Dimension' a whole array of mutual obligations was undertaken by the two governments to bring about peace, prosperity and good relations between Ireland and Britain - i.e. the British government for its part made the new political departure of agreeing to apparently binding commitments to respect the democratic rights of Irish people, as well as the Irish government fulfilling its perennial role of helping the British government reduce its fellow countrymen to 'law and order'. But the striking feature of the last three years - at least to any objective observer - has been how completely one-sided has been the implementation of the mutual obligations of the two governments.

How the mutual obligations of British and Irish Governments have been implemented in practice

The 'Free' State government has zealously carried through its obligations, signing the European

Convention on Terrorism and complying with British extradition warrants - it should be stressed - in a way which no other government in Europe would surrender its own nationals, especially where this is so clearly a matter of political 'offences'. The 'Free' State government has been zealous in its arms searches and in November 1987, in conjunction with a similar British operation in the north, conducted an unprecedented and illegal search of some 50,000 homes in the southern state. It has done everything to strengthen its co-operation in the border area to eliminate any freedom of manoeuvre of patriotic forces across the border.

But the British government for its part seems to have done literally everything the opposite of what the Irish government has publicly pressed it to do in its Treaty-role as 'the representative of the nationalist minority in the north' and on the question of the Irish community in Britain. It does not matter that the 'defence' of the British government for its lack of compliance has been the 'separation of powers in a democracy', for instance inability of the executive to interfere in the functioning of the judiciary - used to explain the heartless rejection of the appeal of the innocent Irish people wrongfully still imprisoned after 14 years for the Birmingham bombings. The fact is that such an argument was never accepted by the British government when the situation in the Irish 'Free' State was that the judiciary exempted patriots from extradition in the case of political offences. The British government insisted on their demand for extradition, the Irish government complied and the 'Free' State judiciary were clearly told to change their 'definition' of what constituted a political offence and did so, even though this overturned established 'Free' State legal practice since 1921, and then the law itself has been changed to make extradition easier still.

Stage-managed Anti-Irish Campaign

In fact, the conduct of the British government throughout the operation of the Anglo-Irish Agreement has had all the appearance of a consistent, stage-managed campaign of studied insults to Irish public opinion, ALL Irish public opinion (whatever the community!), not to

mention calculated humiliations of the Irish government. It is not that British governments have not conducted themselves in the same kind of contemptuous fashion on many occasions before the signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, but that this has become consistent policy during the agreement, rather as if they have felt that the Anglo-Irish Agreement itself has given them a new licence to their public exercise of national chauvinism and condescending imperial overlordship towards Ireland and the Irish.

For instance in the space of a few weeks last Spring it seemed clear that one outrage or rebuff was administered hot on the heels of the other - the peremptory refusal of the British government to institute criminal proceedings against the RUC following the findings of its own Sampson Report on the truth about the high-level, official cover-up of the Armagh shoot-to-kill incidents (and this after the previous rebuff, the suppression of the original Stalker Enquiry); the re-enactment of the Prevention of Terrorism Act in its blatant anti-Irish form, deliberately in disregard of the representations of the Irish government for it to be changed; the rejection of the Birmingham Six appeal, the freeing of the British soldier imprisoned for murder after only two years, the ('accidental') British Army shooting of another Irish civilian, Michael MacAnespie, and the cold-blooded SAS execution of three patriots in Gibraltar. And this pattern has continued, with the refusal to hold a public inquiry into the Gibraltar assassinations, the blatant political pressure to get the jury to exonerate and give a licence to kill to the SAS in the Gibraltar coroner's court, and now the stage-managed trial of three young Irish people at Winchester. And this has been followed by announcements in the British Queen's speech at Westminster that further repressive measures, such as the reduction of remission for political prisoners in the north, as well as making the Prevention of Terrorism Act a permanent piece of legislation, are to be introduced.

The Recent Winchester Conspiracy Trial

This trial was obviously deliberately timed to coincide with the Conservative Party Conference, itself deliberately staged again at the

same venue in Brighton where the bombing took place four years ago, so as to have maximum propaganda impact to incite hysteria against Irish people amongst British public opinion and ensure a conviction at the Winchester conspiracy trial.

As if this was not enough, right in the middle of the case, where the defendants had declared their intention to produce no defence to the charges (for there was no substantive evidence for the conspiracy-to-murder charges), the British Government - in complete violation of their much-vaunted defence of the sub judice principle, which they had used to suppress reporting during the Gibraltar inquest so as to 'prevent influencing the jury' - announced that it was to change the law, first in 'Northern Ireland' and then in 'the rest of United Kingdom' to enable the prosecution and the bench to call on juries to draw an inference of guilt in cases where defendants availed of their legally-recognised right to remain silent in the face of charges!

'Free' State Government Response

The fact that after all these rebuffs and humiliations - nothing to show for its role in redressing abuses by British security forces, nothing to show for the promise of employment in the north or protection of the rights of Irish citizens in Britain etc. - the fact that, after all this, the Irish government itself still confirms its commitment to the Anglo-Irish Agreement has amazed public opinion.

It is not that the Irish government has not complained. It has done so at every instance, expressing 'concern' over this, 'disquiet' over that, and using its right under the Anglo-Irish Agreement to call for emergency sessions of the Intergovernmental Conference to raise its complaints at British policy. But to all intents and purposes the Irish government has taken every provocation that the British government has dished out on chin, on the basis that it is not the validity of the Anglo-Irish Agreement itself which is put up for question in such cases, but merely a matter of 'improving communications between the two governments'!

What the Anglo-Irish Agreement represents - couched in the form of an international treaty - is in fact the formalised and institu-

tionalised embodiment of the REAL, UNEQUAL relations between Ireland and Britain which still exist today, as they have existed for so long already - relations where Ireland is dominated by Britain, and where no internal development can take place in Ireland without the permission of the British government, i.e. relations of almost complete subservience of Ireland to Britain and dependence of Ireland on Britain, where the British government feels it has the whip-hand and can flout the rights of Irish people with impunity, including even in total disregard of the role of representation which the Irish government was itself given under the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

The real relations between Britain and Ireland under the Anglo-Irish Agreement

But even more significant than this, the analysis of the one-sided and anti-Irish working of the Anglo-Irish Agreement and the whole demeanour of the British government over the last three years shows that the British government regards the Anglo-Irish Agreement as an instrument to perpetuate the inequality in the relations between the two countries, not redress past history as they proclaimed.

For if we look at the aspect of the Anglo-Irish Agreement with regard to building better relations with the Irish people or a climate in which peace might be established, for instance through 'recognition of the Irish dimension' (the recognition of 'the right to the aspiration for national re-unification') under the Anglo-Irish Agreement, the level of importance that Mrs. Thatcher has put on the whole 'Anglo-Irish process' can be seen in the fact that she did not even deign to put 'Northern Ireland' on the agenda of the recent Conservative Party Conference!

But this is not the only indication that the 'Irish Dimension' was a dead-letter from the start, as far as the British government was concerned. For the ink was scarcely dry after signing the document when the British government and its spokesmen actually stepped up their chauvinist and bellicose colonial demagoguery about their determination to defend and maintain The Union 'in perpetuity', to use the phrase of the British Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Tom

King. And this colonialist rhetoric has continued and become more vehement right up to today.

SO WHAT WAS THE REAL MEANING OF THE 'IRISH DIMENSION'?

The actual operation of the Anglo-Irish Agreement has flatly contradicted the declaration which the two Governments made in it - hailed at the time as a historic new recognition by the British government of the right of Irish people to envisage national re-unification by the development of internal discussion, and the main reason for the Irish government's preparedness to take on such a role of co-operation with the British government in the Anglo-Irish Agreement - *'that, if in the future a majority of the people of Northern Ireland clearly wish for and formally consent to the establishment of a united Ireland, they (the two Governments) will introduce and support in the respective Parliaments legislation to give effect to that wish.'* Article 1(c).

The three years' operation of the Treaty has flatly contradicted this article because, far from there being the 'reconciliation between the two communities in Northern Ireland' which the Agreement proclaimed it set out to achieve - as the basis to usher in the kind of democracy where there could be 'political dialogue between the two communities' - the internal divisions have, if anything, become still more entrenched and irreconcilable.

But the point of significance is that this conclusion about the complete bankruptcy of the 'Irish Dimension' is not just a matter of wisdom in hindsight. Quite the opposite. For what has happened has not been some accidental or unfortunate, unforeseen coincidence of events. Anyone could see that this would be the effect of this Treaty even before it was signed.

To begin with, the Agreement itself did not start out from genuine democratic principle which can be the only starting point to solve the problems in Ireland as well as in the relations between Ireland and Britain in conformity with the real interests of the peoples. The Anglo-Irish Agreement, whilst deceptively giving the appearance of sincerely wishing to address the problems of division in Ireland, was itself a sec-

tarian document from start to finish which not only exposes British imperialism as the source of this sectarian policy, but it also exposes the willing collaboration of the Irish bourgeoisie with the national oppressor.

Whilst the media hype surrounding the Anglo-Irish agreement applauded it as a great victory for the 'Free' State government and SDLP in getting the British government to agree the legitimate rights of the 'northern nationalists' to the aspiration for reunification, the very fact that it was couched in these terms revealed the essentially sectarian nature of this document. This was not a victory for the Irish people! This was the institutionalising of British imperialism's main political weapon to subjugate the Irish people -- the sectarian theory of two communities in Ireland as laid out in the preamble of the Agreement which stated that the kernel of the problems of conflict in 'Northern Ireland' are the -

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

The 'constitutional nationalists' thus signed away the very basis of the democratic and patriotic movement of the Irish people for nationhood which was first laid down by Wolfe Tone in 1798 as the necessity to

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

In other words they signed away the principle that there is one Irish nation and one Irish people who are all suffering under foreign domination and substituted it with the sectarian deception of "reconciliation of the two communities". This national oppression not only prevails in the historical and present-day economic deprivation, the ruining of indigenous industry, the importation of the imperialist economic crisis with the impoverishment that this entails, but also is manifested in the tragic situation whereby the Irish people have been

divided by a foreign power which is using all its political and military experience to impose its interests on the Irish people as a whole - north and south, no matter what their background. The 'constitutional nationalists' have now relegated this just democratic principle and indeed the only basis on which the people can unite to the level of a matter of opinion, thus turning it into a sectarian weapon in the hands of British imperialism.

This was indeed a victory for British imperialism because this only gives the appearance of democracy whilst inciting a clash of "opposing opinions" - for the bourgeois "democracy" which it operates is based on relegating every just principle and every proven fact to the status of a "matter of opinion" which is as "valid as some opposing opinion". This gives only the semblance of democracy because it reduces the "democratic will of the people" to a question of consensus and is completely meaningless when the organs of propaganda, the media and education etc. are in the hands of the imperialists and where they have systematically physically divided the people for years on end and developed a climate of fascist terror where real democratic discussion amongst all people cannot easily take place. For they know that in the framework where just democratic principles which have been proven correct by the whole of human history and proven scientific fact are not the basis of decision-making -- then it is political, economic and military might, which prevails - the rich over the poor, the strong over the weak, large nations over the small etc.

Thus this victory for the 'constitutional nationalists' to get this treaty with Britain which "concedes" the right to re-unification is purely a victory for their class - the Irish bourgeoisie. It is purely a deception which is aimed at giving them credibility that they are fighting for the rights of the Irish people, when in actual fact they have capitulated to British imperialism's concoction that it is the Irish people who are to blame for the situation in Ireland. It is no wonder then that in the practical application of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, the British government has dealt with the Irish government with complete contempt. For it is its policy which is prevailing and it will only make concessions when it con-

siders it is necessary for the success of its overall policy - or when the pressure of the people's mass movement forces it to do so, for fear of exposure.

Internal 'logic' and practical implementation of Anglo-Irish Agreement shows its sectarian nature

If anyone is in any doubt as to the sectarian nature of the Anglo-Irish Agreement itself, then one only needs to look at its own internal "logic" as well as its operation for these facts to be seen. For the proof of a theory is in its implementation. For how can these two governments be sincere about solving the problems in Ireland, even within the context of their own logic which identifies the solution as "reconciling the two communities in the north to each other", when the spokesmen of the British government pronounce the Agreement as the means to maintain the Union with Britain 'in perpetuity', whilst the 'Free State Irish government asserts that it is the means to the re-unification of Ireland and national independence ?!

Even if one were to accept the 'logic' that the basis for this reconciliation is that 'each community recognise the legitimate aspirations of the other - one to national re-unification, the other to partition', (which are mutually exclusive), how can it possibly help matters for the two governments to fuel the contradictory notions that the Anglo-Irish Agreement itself favours the prevailing of each 'aspiration' over 'the other' ?!

Surely in anybody's language, this is simply the most cynical political manipulation and incitement, the recipe to stir up the sense of uncertainty and consequent anxiety amongst people as to what the future holds and maintain the antagonisms which the Agreement itself is supposed to be healing !

In fact, increasing sectarian division has been the most glaring contribution of the Anglo-Irish Agreement itself. Both Governments knew that, since the Unionist parties and politicians had not been party to the making of this treaty and had already served notice of their intention to bring it down, the Agreement simply provided the means for the Unionist

politicians and parties to intensify their scaremongering about the prospects of a united Ireland - namely, their complete fabrication that protestant people are threatened in terms of their freedom of conscience and very existence if Ireland should be united and freed of British intervention. Such demagoguery is, as it has always been since the openly anti-Irish Orange Order was first founded in 1795 to break up the Society of United Irishmen (founded 1791), the most notorious means for the incitement of sectarian division amongst people in Ireland and the means to frustrate even the possibility of democratic discussion amongst people as to the democratic principle (and the advantages) of national self-determination and political independence - i.e. because such discussion is ruled out by a political climate of communal division, hysteria, prejudice and antagonism.

Even granted that the Agreement itself has not been brought down, the facts are clear that, far from the 'Irish Dimension' of the Hillsborough Accord providing some basis for 'eventual reconciliation of Unionism to Constitutional Nationalism', the existence of the Anglo-Irish Agreement simply provides a rallying cry for the incitement of Unionist reaction against the rights of the Irish nation to freedom and re-unification.

Whatever the apparent puzzle of the official satisfaction of the 'Free' State Irish government with the Anglo-Irish Agreement, it does not take a genius to conclude that the British government is happy with the last three years because it has been getting what it really wants out of the Anglo-Irish Agreement. For this political initiative has created just the right kind of smokescreen of hysteria to divide the Irish people on the national question which can act as a diversion and enable the British ruling class to carry through their policy to shift as much of the burden of their economic crisis as possible onto the backs of the Irish working class and people with least possible opposition. The Anglo-Irish Agreement has ensured that it is they, the British government, who call all the shots when it comes to deciding affairs in Ireland. The Irish people themselves - all ordinary Irish people, of whatever 'community' - would just have to like it or lump it. The Anglo-Irish Agreement has been to serve

the purpose of the British monopoly capitalists, to disable the Irish people, especially the working class, and prevent them from mounting effective resistance to British dictate..

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Promises of political and economic reforms are a complete deception

The proclaimed British government 'concern to carry through reforms to benefit people in Ireland', including all the talk about jobs and prosperity, is again a complete deception. With the worsening of the imperialist economic crisis, the British ruling class cannot even solve the problem of unemployment in Britain itself so why should it have any concern over some troublesome province. It is foreign imperialism and its exploitation which has deprived people in Ireland of the right to work on a vast scale, with discrimination in employment on a sectarian basis being the means to turn one section of the people to subservience to foreign colonialism in order to maintain exploitation over the entirety. In fact what has been proven time and time again is that British imperialism has exported the very worst of the effects of the economic crisis to its colony in northern Ireland. The authors of the Anglo-Irish Agreement are not actually concerned about the poverty and lack of security of the vast masses of unemployed, whatever their background. They are however concerned about the possibility of this deepening economic crisis exposing imperialism as its source and thus fuelling the entire national movement of the Irish people and providing a fresh input which could unite all sections of the Irish people. Thus, the British imperialists (aided as much by the Unionist 'opposition' to the Anglo-Irish Agreement as by the direct support for the agreement from the constitutional 'nationalists') have turned the issue of the right to a decent job for every able-bodied man and woman into an issue of incitement to further sectarianism. They pose the issue as a matter of 'protestants must lose jobs if Catholics are to have them'!

The only conclusion one can draw from the fact that both Governments are indeed happy to continue conveying such totally contradictory messages about the thrust of the

Anglo-Irish Agreement, which they have signed in common and on which they should have one voice, is that they are working to confuse people in Ireland about what their real interests are, i.e. what are the real interests of the overwhelming majority of people in Ireland, what the interests of the working class, the small farmers, ordinary professional and business people etc. are. This the two governments are doing by stirring up such divisions that ordinary people are in no position to discuss with each other what their real interests are so that they can get organised to defend their common interests, including fighting back against the crisis, for their jobs and wages, because these divisions prevent such discussion.

No matter what insulting treatment the Irish government receives from Britain, the Anglo-Irish Agreement coincides with their interests, because both Governments are united on trying to end the violence in the sense of snuffing out the 20 year patriotic resurgence in the north. But this is not to solve any problem for the Irish people. It is to crush a movement of the people which is outside the control of the two governments. They have a joint interest on this question because the continued existence of such a movement serves as a perpetual reminder and example to the rest of the Irish people that they must take their destiny into their own hands, and out of the hands of their 'social betters', the exploiting ruling class and foreign colonialists and multinational companies, if they want to solve their own problems. With the increase of mass poverty and unemployment north and south, both governments are aware of the mounting discontent of the people and the great danger this poses especially in the conditions where there exists a patriotic movement of the people which is outside their control. Their concern is reflected in their constant references to the 'alienation of the people and especially the youth from the political processes and the constitutional parties'. And it is this necessity to bolster the credibility of these 'constitutional parties' in order to reduce alienation whilst at the same time increasing the division amongst the people which is the purpose of the Anglo-Irish Agreement. In short, the Anglo-Irish Agreement has been designed to further refine the

role which James Connolly so accurately warned partition of the country would serve, when it was first mooted in 1914 - as a means to divert and divide the working class - when he described it as a scheme that;

" would destroy the labour movement by disrupting it (and) perpetuate in a form aggravated in evil the discord now prevalent and help the Home Rule and Orange capitalists (read: constitutional 'nationalist' and Unionist capitalists) and clergy to keep their rallying cries before the public as the political watchwords of the day". (James Connolly, 'The First Hint of Partition', Forward, March 21, 1914)

SHOULD IRISH PEOPLE ACCEPT THE ASSURANCES OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS?

The entire pressure being exerted by the British government (and also the 'Free' State Irish government) since the signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement has been that the Irish people should passively put their trust in the two governments and this treaty. It must be remembered after all that this whole initiative was in the context of considerable disillusionment amongst the people with the constitutional parties in the north, both the SDLP and the Unionist parties. And indeed the whole initiative and its setting up of the Intergovernmental Conferences and the Joint Secretariat was aimed at providing a new structure which could at least give the appearance of political dialogue and motion after the complete failure of all previous initiatives such as the Sunningdale "Irish Dimension" initiative, the 'power sharing' Assembly and Executive of 1973. Whilst at the same time it gave an issue around which the Unionist politicians could unite and justify their existence.

Now, three years later, this structure is about the only thing left standing in terms of the declared



objectives and its existence has meant that the British government can press ahead with a hundred and one repressive measures because allegedly the Irish government is defending the interests of the northern nationalist community and the Irish in Britain. Despite the glaring one-sidedness in the implementation of the agreement, the governments are still hailing this in itself as a victory which must surely lead to 'eventual progress'. Thus they are calling on the people in Ireland to swallow their discontent with the Anglo-Irish Agreement. This is what the British government openly argues should be the course for those who vote Unionist who have been, and still are, greatly discontented with the fact that the agreement was imposed on the country without the consent of the people (as indeed has been the case). And this is how the 'Free' State Irish government and the SDLP put it to nationally-minded people who are becoming greatly discontented that the agreement has not done anything to redress Irish people's oppression in the north or ill-treatment in Britain.

There is a danger that, in the conditions where people on a wide scale do feel discontented, but cannot see any real alternative, they may feel they have to 'accept the realities of the situation', including the Anglo-Irish Agreement, in this passive fashion and without being able to make up their own minds as to where the situation is really heading. This would be a harmful conclusion which would be wrong in terms of political principle. It would violate the democratic principle that the citizens themselves should be the arbiter of their destiny and not simply governments;

especially governments which cynically manipulate the people and their just democratic sentiments. For all Irish people want to see an end to sectarianism, they want to live side by side with each other in peace, and they want a decent life for themselves and their children. They want to see an end to the present troubles, but they want a solution which fundamentally solves the situation and not some imposed solution which can only make matters worse.

So how can we carry out analysis so that people can clarify the issues and take an active stand on the rights and wrongs of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, instead of just having to trust passively in the two governments 'presumably knowing what they are doing, and are doing it for the best in the long-run'?

The pre-requisite to any serious analysis is to take the whole element of hysteria out of considering the problems of Ireland so that they can be discussed objectively. A case in point being the question which both British imperialism and the Irish bourgeoisie of both persuasions identify as the central issue to be solved for progress to be made -- that of 'ending the violence in Northern Ireland'.

HYSTERIA ABOUT VIOLENCE - A BLOCK TO SERIOUS DISCUSSION TO SOLVE PROBLEMS IN IRELAND

'Terrorism' and 'unlawful violence' are a subject which the imperialists world-wide create a great deal of hysteria around when justifying their armed intervention in

various countries throughout the world, whether this be the U.S. in the Middle East or Nicaragua, the Soviet Union in Afghanistan or the British in Ireland. Terroristic organisations do exist today such as the Red Brigades in Italy and terroristic acts do occur in the world which the people do not support. But to identify all acts of armed struggle as "terrorism" is minimally pure hysteria and more often than not political propaganda by the oppressive ruling power against which this armed struggle is directed. The propagandists of Hitler's Third Reich for example labelled the partisan forces in the occupied countries as terrorist groups. But no-one today would agree with this explanation for the armed struggle of these liberation organisations who fought against the Nazi gauleiter governments and German Nazi stormtroopers. Today even some of Ireland's 'constitutional nationalists' hypocritically support the armed struggle of various liberation organisations throughout the world, such as in South Africa, which the local oppressive regimes call "terrorist" gangs. Of course objective assessment is easier with the benefit of historical hindsight, or because one is an outside observer many thousands of miles away from an actual struggle. But it is not impossible to view the situation in Ireland with objectivity if the same democratic principles which we apply to some struggle in the past or some other country are applied in our own case, and if we are able to extricate ourselves from the prejudice which imperialism has tried to impose on us since our birth.

The authors of the Anglo-Irish Agreement themselves pose the problem of 'ending the violence' with the sole aim of promoting hysteria and labelling the armed struggle of the Irish people for their national liberation as "terrorism" and "criminal activity" which is aimed at the 'protestant community'.

The imperialists say that the democratic principle to be applied is that of the "rule of law" - that every citizen is subject to the rule of law and it is only when the violence is stopped is it then possible to sort out differences through discussion and the electoral process. They say that with the Anglo-Irish Agreement that they have even opened up the question of possible national re-unification and independence, thus those using violence should lay down their arms.

This argument may sound reasonable, but in fact they are using "democracy" to kill democracy with this logic. For this does not take account of the central issue and the central cause of the problems in Ireland - that Ireland is a nationally oppressed country which has been subject to the criminal foreign interference and exploitation by successive British governments for eight centuries. This is not some problem of the past as they try to make out, but the source of all the problems facing Irish people today on every major issue. It is also a democratic principle - enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations moreover (with the British as signatories) that foreign colonial intervention in any country is outlawed and that any country has the right to take up arms against such colonial intervention. This democratic principle must supersede the "democratic principle" that the imperialists are putting forward, because in a nationally oppressed country, the people of that nation are not in control of the law, not in control of all the organs of propaganda or the armed forces, not in control of anything and are thus not in a position to have any really democratic discussion, let alone bring about any change. The question of whether violence is used by a nationally oppressed country for its liberation is determined solely by the oppressor nation. And as we have seen through the brutal suppression of the Irish people, the whole policy of divide-and-rule as well as the statements from the spokesmen of the present British government such as Tom King and Thatcher, the imperialist have no intention of voluntarily giving up their colonial possession and will fight with all the means at their disposal for this end. It is in this context that we must assess the theory about the "rule of law" which is in actual fact a method of concealing and finding justification for the illegal foreign colonial violence used against the Irish people.

Thus the imperialists and all the parties of the Irish bourgeoisie do everything they can to discredit the patriotic armed struggle and create this hysteria about "mindless violence" which is allegedly directed against the "other community", in order to try and create a feeling of revulsion amongst the people and prevent them from even considering the question from the other end of the perspective - that if British colo-

niaism were removed from Ireland then the historical source of antagonism between Britain and Ireland would be removed and the Irish people as a whole would at last be in a position to sort out their own problems, build up their own country and in this way heal any former divisions as well as build a self-reliant and prosperous economy.

Double-standards on the Question of Violence

The whole thrust of the Anglo-Irish Agreement and the statements of the British and Irish governments and the speeches of the politicians of all the bourgeois parties in both countries has been to firmly implant their own double-standards in the minds of public opinion and ordinary people on this question of violence.

Thus, on the one hand, the daily routine of the British Army, the UDR and RUC of harrassing the population of the north on the streets and at road blocks and smashing up their homes and arbitrarily arresting people for 'screening', holding people in prison for years on end on trumped up charges and on the word of paid perjurers and then imprisoning them for decades without evidence in juryless courts, as well as dealing out intimidation, beatings and death is hushed up as far as possible. And where such oppression has to be acknowledged it is described as the 'unfortunate, temporary infringement of normal civil liberties in the interests of restoring law and order'. While, on the other hand, resistance to this colonial oppression (which has been going on for hundreds of years) whatever the shape or form is described as 'violation of law and order'. Such terms are used even to outlaw and discredit the exercise of the democratic right of public demonstration, whereas just patriotic armed resistance to armed foreign colonial aggression is blackened as 'terrorism' and furthermore, even where it is British troops who are under attack, this is said to be a 'sectarian terror campaign against the protestant community in Ireland!' - i.e. 'to impose a catholic united Ireland on the protestant community by force' (which it is not and never has been).

Such double-standards are still more flagrant in the case of condemnations of the patriotic fighters

as waging an 'unfair war with dirty tactics of indiscriminate killing and sectarian murders'. For instance, resistance to the RUC, which is a British colonial police force, and to the UDR, which is actually a regiment of the British Army itself, is termed as 'sectarian' simply because they contain Irish personnel and are mostly protestant. The patriots, who are fighting in the most adverse conditions, have gone out of their way, and at the cost of great risks to themselves, to try to avoid innocent deaths and, where mistakes and tragedies have occurred, have condemned these and taken greater pains to avoid them afterwards. Even the Enniskillen tragedy about which the Irish people felt deep grief and regret cannot negate the justice of the cause of Irish freedom or the legitimate right of the Irish people to take up arms against the armed aggressor. Such tragedies - which the imperialists use for their own purposes with scarcely concealed delight as in the case of Enniskillen - reveal their monstrous disregard not only for human life but for an entire nation which they try to manipulate for their own interests.

The use of terror by the British colonial regime, both by its uniformed forces but most of all by its secret forces, the SAS and MI5 (and the unionist gangs they manipulate, the UDA, UVF, UFF etc.), however does not receive the same hysterical banner headlines. Apart from open and direct murder, such as the 13 killed on Bloody Sunday, the 10 hunger strikers, the shoot-to-kill victims, or the Gibraltar three, they have used torture and even cynically used the weapon of deliberate, select assassination to stir up sectarianism and spread terror 'between the two communities'. But this officially organised and real dirty war and state terrorism of the British government does not discredit the self-proclaimed just cause of British imperialism in Ireland as 'the outside, disinterested and impartial third-party whose sole interest in Ireland is to preserve the peace and prevent a bloody civil war between the Irish themselves'. No, of course not!

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In summary, there is no preparedness under the Anglo-Irish Agreement to consider problems in Ireland from the angle that these problems, including violence and also internal sectarian division,

stem - as they do so clearly - from the fact that the British government and army are foreign colonial aggressors, still illegally interfering in the affairs of a separate country, a foreign country which they have unjustly oppressed for hundreds of years moreover. Such considerations are entirely ruled out.

The 'peace' which the British and Irish governments talk about cannot be the real solution, because this would only perpetuate the foreign oppression which gave rise to armed resistance in the first place. Only the removal of foreign oppression can bring genuine lasting peace.

How can the Irish people take it on trust that the Anglo-Irish Agreement will bring progress and peace eventually? For how can it be said that the Anglo-Irish Agreement is to provide the essential fundamental solution to the 'Irish Question'?

Attempt to Restore the Pre-1968 Situation

In a nutshell, the sole purpose of the Anglo-Irish Agreement is to restore conditions prior to 1968/9, so that the British imperialists can continue to exploit the whole of Ireland, with the Irish monopoly bourgeoisie (both Unionist and Constitutional Nationalists) as their junior partners, but in the same conditions of relative 'peace' that pertained before 1968/9, i.e. where the national question provided the bourgeoisie and their parties, both in colonial 'Northern Ireland' and in the neo-colonial 'Free' State, with the means for a sham contention to divert the working class from fighting for their real interests and, at the same time, actually defusing the real, revolutionary patriotic re-unification and resurgence of the nation against foreign imperialism and national sellout.

This was the arrangement which was arrived at in 1921 in a compromise between British imperialism and the Irish bourgeoisie to their best mutual advantage, aborting the revolutionary period of the Irish people's upsurge of 1916 - 1921, an arrangement which had worked for over five decades to the mutual benefit of the bourgeoisie both of Britain and Ireland (and both unionist and constitutional 'nationalist' capitalists) before the renewed popular, patriotic upsurge

of 1968/9.

For such a ruthless and cynical manipulation as the Anglo-Irish Agreement to succeed is not in the interests of the masses of the Irish people. For, just because there was relative peace between the end of the southern Civil War in 1923 and the upsurge in the north in 1968/9 did not mean the lives of the masses of the Irish people were any more stable, that they were any more justly treated or that they had any more prosperity, north or south, protestant or catholic. Quite the opposite.

No Turning Back

Of course, the sufferings of the people of the north in the conditions of armed conflict since 1968/9 are of real and immediate concern. But for people throughout Ireland to fall into line with the plans of the British and Irish governments merely because their Agreement pretends to be in the interests of peace in the first place would be to fall for an illusion, that the situation before 1968/9 was preferable to the present. This is not the case, for all the tragic circumstances of the current situation.

In fact it was the very injustice and cruelty, the deprivation of all civil rights and livelihood from a huge proportion of the people of the north which was the basis for the emergence of that patriotic upsurge, beginning with the Civil Rights Movement, in the first place. To go back would therefore solve nothing on that front. But neither would it solve anything on any other front. Because it was never merely the case that some 'minority in the north' suffered under partition. The whole Irish nation suffered, it does not matter what so-called community one talks about. It meant that the whole mass of ordinary people of Ireland, both of 'Northern Ireland' and the southern Irish 'Republic', especially the working class and small farmers, were trapped in economic, political, social and cultural backwardness, oppression and exploitation in their entirety.

Of course, at the same time this was not an Ireland in which the Irish big bourgeoisie were thwarted in the same way as the rest of the people when it came to their class interests. In fact they were coining their millions as they sold the country

out to British and other foreign imperialism. This was an Ireland in which all the bourgeois political parties of both Constitutional 'Nationalism' and Unionism had a field day of diverting the working class and other exploited sections from class struggle for their class interests, north and south. Both constitutional 'nationalists' and unionists sang the one song of the advantages of 'foreign investment for indigenous capitalist development and prosperity' for **their** state, the 'Free' State or 'Northern Ireland'. But, in this two-part orchestration of 'nationalism' versus unionism, what was harmony to the rich, the ring of their cash registers, meant only discord to the people who were encouraged by their 'social betters', by the 'leaders of the two communities' and the two sectarian states, namely, by the same capitalists who robbed them all regardless of religion, to fight with each other on a sectarian basis over the crumbs left from the feast at the rich men's table.

It is to such an Ireland that the British and Irish governments are seeking to bring restoration with the Anglo-Irish Agreement. But this is not in the interests of any of the people of Ireland today, any more than it has ever been.

THE REAL INTERESTS OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND

The problems in Ireland stem from the same cause as they have done for many centuries - foreign domination and exploitation. Apart from the sheer difficulty of throwing off the yoke of a bigger and vastly richer and more powerful neighbouring state, the difficulties have long been compounded by the internal difficulty of Irish people getting organised and united to rid the country of foreign domination.

Of course, as anyone who ever opened a history book has known for a long time, British governments practised the system of divide-and-rule for centuries, with the most ambitious endeavour being the plantation of Ireland by people they (in the vast majority of cases, forcibly) brought from Britain.

However, since the experience of struggling for a living in Ireland (even for those brought in as colonists) always ended by the colonisers experiencing British

rule as foreign exploitation themselves, the Irish nation has always succeeded in time in re-uniting against British rule, even - as the common phrase went - with the past colonists becoming 'more Irish than the Irish themselves'!

The Only Basis for Internal Division Today

The real basis for internal division since the Rising of the United Irishmen of 1798 (which had united those of planter stock with the native Irish in the newly emerging modern-day Irish nation), however, has been a social, **class** division between the Irish bourgeoisie and the working class and other oppressed classes and strata, such as the small farmers, which the Irish bourgeoisie exploit at the same time as their serving foreign imperialism in exploiting Ireland. But the confusing thing to the masses of Irish people is that this, the real division, is covered up by the tactics of the bourgeoisie to divide the working class and people along the lines of the former division of native and planter. A false, sectarian and racist division has been substituted for the real division. This serves the class interests of both the Irish bourgeoisie and British imperialism - and now, it must be stressed, also world imperialism as a whole, so that their multinational companies and can have a free hand to exploit Ireland too.

Thus if the Irish bourgeoisie gain by helping protect and in turn receive protection from British imperialism, so also British imperialism holds open the door to U.S. imperialism, the E.E.C., Japan etc. and even to Soviet social imperialism (Hungary has directly owned factories in Ireland, as well as there being other capitalist interests of the Soviet bloc). This is why in their turn so many foreign governments have given direct support to British imperialism and specific commitment to the Anglo-Irish Agreement, including public approval from Gorbachev's Soviet Union.

The Role of Unionist 'Opposition' to the Agreement

At the same time, if one looks at the 'logic' of this situation, this is why it has been natural that the Unionist section of the bourgeoisie have

'opposed' and still 'oppose' the Anglo-Irish Agreement. Unless the two sections of the Irish bourgeoisie appear to be at loggerheads and in some way 'representing the interests of their community' (i.e. systematically playing on the fears which they themselves have conditioned into the minds of those they exploit), then the system of national sellout and class exploitation, which both sections are equally involved in, would become exposed, and the masses of the Irish people, led by the working class, would see that they have to **unite** and fight them, the Irish capitalist class as well as foreign imperialism, to achieve the solution to their problems and prosperity.

For the real interests of the working class and the mass of other exploited people in Ireland must be to unite to throw off the yoke of foreign domination and exploitation in order to build up the nation in national independence and on the basis of self-reliance. Then also it is in the interests of the working class and the masses of their class allies to achieve socialism and the end of capitalism in Ireland as in any other capitalist country. It is these interests of the working class and Irish people - both the national interest and the class interest of the working class and its allies, i.e. the overwhelming mass of the Irish people - which the British imperialists and the Irish bourgeoisie organise their system of divide-and-rule to thwart, and why the world imperialist bourgeoisie are supporting them in this endeavour in the Anglo-Irish Agreement - **so that the capitalist system can be defended in Ireland and Ireland maintained within the system of world imperialism.**

The interests of the people of Ireland can only be served by creating a political situation in which such important questions can be discussed in a serious fashion. The Anglo-Irish Agreement, with its entire approach based on institutionalising the division of people in Ireland on a false (and indeed fascist, sectarian and racist) basis - as 'two opposing traditions and communities' - can never contribute to such a democratic situation. In fact it is to thwart such discussion of the objective interests of people in Ireland.

Thus it is in the interests of all democratic people to unite to oppose the sectarian 'logic' and governmental manipulations, in fact

to SMASH THE DIVIDE-AND-RULE ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT!

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**STRUGGLE AGAINST
THE
ANGLO-IRISH
AGREEMENT OPENS UP
MORE FAVOURABLE
CONDITIONS TO
ADVANCE THE UNITY OF
THE WORKING CLASS
AND THE IRISH PEOPLE
IN THEIR STRUGGLES
BOTH FOR
NATIONAL LIBERATION
AND SOCIALISM**

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The Irish people have waged many heroic struggles for their freedom over the centuries. Although their enemy, the British Crown and British imperialism, has been a colossus, the fact that the Irish people have always managed to re-unite and rise from defeat to new heights of struggle in the face of ferocious oppression and the most vicious and deceptive system of divide-and-rule has demonstrated that the Irish people are ultimately invincible and that it is the colossus itself which has feet of clay.

The patriotic resurgence of the people of the north after nearly sixty years since partition was an inevitable outcome of the continued national oppression which the Irish people had endured since that time. The fact that this struggle, which has the sympathy and support of the whole nation, has persisted for so long - an unprecedented period of twenty solid years - has forced the British imperialists to take measures in their desperation to pull the chestnuts out of the fire, measures which, in the final analysis, will prove to be their undoing. The Anglo-Irish Agreement may have the appearance of a victory (albeit temporary) for British imperialism, but it is in fact the synthesis of all the desperate measures to which they have had to resort to over the last twenty years. It exposes the feet of clay of the colossus of British imperialism once again.

ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT

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From Partition to the Civil Rights Movement

With the astute compromise by which the British imperialists bought off the leadership of the national forces to conclude the War of Independence (i.e. by granting them their own parliament in an independent state in 26 out of the 32 counties), the British government thought they had effected a means - partition and the establishment of two 'Irish' governments - the better to perpetuate their exploitation in Ireland, namely, by removing British imperialism itself from danger of exposure as the real power frustrating final independence, as well as frustrating the demands of the working class and people for economic and social progress, jobs and a secure future without the perennial bane of emigration, both south and north.

The 'Free' State regime in the south and the Stormont regime of 'Northern Ireland' would do the job for British imperialism and in the fashion which would most strongly entrench the old sectarian tactics of British divide-and-rule in Ireland - the one proclaiming itself as representing 'Catholic Ireland', the other as 'a Protestant Parliament for a Protestant People', but both forging their state power through the same ruthless suppression of their fellow countrymen, the southern state in bloody Civil War and the northern in bloody sectarian pogroms. Both these regimes would be loyal to British imperialism, not only the openly 'loyalist' northern regime, but also the southern allegedly 'nationalist' one, because the fact that they both had had to shed the blood of their own countrymen in order to achieve their own class interests and establish their state power meant that they had irretrievably turned their backs on their own people and thrown in their lot with the foreign exploiter and aggressor against their own nation.

In the long run such a settlement could never be secure or stable, either for British imperialism or the Irish bourgeoisie and their two states. It was founded only on lies and oppression. The mass movement for civil rights in the north in 1968/9 and the patriotic armed struggle which arose to defend the

people from suppression first of all brought Stormont crashing down. This forced the British to deploy their own British Army where formerly this had been achieved by the forces of the Stormont state 'with an economy of British lives', as a British statesman cynically expressed it at the time of partition. But the exposure of British imperialism did not end there, it had only begun.

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The Anglo-Irish Agreement as an Exposure of British Desperation

By now, the late 1980s, the subsequent attempts by British imperialism to Ulsterise the conflict with a new internal devolution have so completely failed in the face of the heroic persistence of the patriotic upsurge that they have been forced to call for aid on the southern 'Republic' to help them subdue the north. This is the significance of the Anglo-Irish Agreement. Now not only have the British imperialists been so far unable to re-establish their tried and trusty Stormont regime, but they have been forced to compromise their neo-colonial regime in the south whose most effective political basis for its pro-imperialist role was its alleged 'opposition to Unionist dictatorship in the north' and its (at least verbal) upholding of the national aspiration, i.e. its patriotic credentials.

The entire tactics of British divide-and-rule in Ireland worked most effectively when division between the Irish could be presented solely as a problem of the Irish themselves (the British government always disclaimed any responsibility, they were 'against Irish sectarianism!'). But now with the Anglo-Irish Agreement they have had to subscribe to this (sectarian) 'analysis of the Irish problem' in black and white in an official document themselves. The fact that the Irish government has participated in agreeing to this sectarian 'analysis' has stripped the 'Free' State regime of any remaining credibility as 'the heir of Wolfe Tone and the United Irishmen', whilst at the same time the fact that the unionist politicians have had to be cast once again in the role of 'rebels', the same bluff as in Carson's time, is a move which threatens them with expo-

sure as cynical manipulators of 'their own community' as well.

The Contradictions of the 'Unionists Say NO' Campaign

The basis on which masses of the people in the north are opposing the Anglo-Irish Agreement is that this is an anti-democratic imposition on them. For the politicians and parties of the unionist section of the Irish bourgeoisie to play on this just democratic sentiment might seem in the short term to be an effective way to 'play the Orange card', just as it was in Carson's time. But these three years have shown how important it is to British imperialism to keep the Anglo-Irish Agreement and the 'Irish dimension' intact if they are to have the means to erode present mass support from militant nationalism and transform this into harmless constitutional 'nationalism'. So the unionist parties and politicians, with their demagogic bluster about their 'determination to force the British government to drop the Anglo-Irish Agreement or else ' (take up arms and go for an independent Ulster?!) appears increasingly to all observers like the bluff that might be called at last, and with unforeseen consequences to their political credibility with 'their own community', especially with those who thought they meant what they blustered! The system of divide-and-rule of British imperialism in Ireland is getting increasingly caught up in the contradictions of its own duplicity.

A New Situation Opening Up

In the situation where the vast mass of the Irish people on a nationwide basis would dearly like to see an end to British rule in Ireland (and where an ever-increasing proportion of these have become convinced that armed struggle is necessary to achieve this), a new factor has been introduced into the equation - namely, masses of people who have been under the sway of unionism for a long time (not for ever, their forbears were members of the United Irishmen), people who see themselves now in conflict with the British government over the Anglo-Irish Agreement. Furthermore, the mass of these people, who are workers, increasingly see the British government as the collective capitalist which is depriving



them of their jobs in order to make them pay for the imperialist crisis. And these are workers who increasingly see through 'the leaders of their own community' and see them for what they are, namely as their capitalist exploiters also. While these self-proclaimed 'militant leaders and defenders of the protestant unionist community' (the capitalist politicians of the unionist parties) might verbally protest about loss of jobs at Harland and Wolff etc., their sloganising about their 'opposition' to British government cutbacks (whilst actually doing nothing effective to stop the cuts) is beginning to sound as threadbare and cynically manipulative to 'protestant' workers as the 'catholic, constitutional nationalist' rhetoric against British rule in Ireland does to the rest of the Irish people.

These factors - both the sharpening of the class contradictions and the contradictions of British divide-and-rule - mean that much more favourable conditions have opened up for the political work to advance the democratic and revolutionary movement than for a long time past.

The struggle against the Anglo-Irish Agreement, since it is against a treaty which attempts to institutionalise the subjugation and division of Ireland in the interests of British imperialism and their policy to shift the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the Irish people, will make a great contribution to uniting all the Irish people for the struggle to remove foreign imperialist domination and exploitation and re-unite Ireland in national independence as a whole, no matter what the background of people who take up this struggle is, or even what level of political consciousness they might

have at the outset of this struggle.

The Essential Leading Role of the Working Class and its Ideology of Marxism-Leninism

The working class has the key role in uniting the Irish people in the course of the struggle for national freedom, because it is the working class which is bearing the brunt of the effects of the economic and political crisis of imperialism and objectively has nothing to lose in the struggle against foreign domination and the capitalist system - it owns nothing except its labour power and increasingly it is being forced into pauperisation. It is the working class which - because of its class position in society where it can only earn a living by working in a collective manner in the factories, shipyards etc. and furthermore understands the value of co-operation and collective action to fight for its rights - is in an ideal position to grasp the necessity for the entire working class and Irish people to unite around their common interests.

Whilst the workers may spontaneously gravitate towards this collective action especially around economic demands - because of the reactionary trade unions as well as the sectarian policy of divide-and-rule in Ireland - their struggle is continuously mis-directed not only from redressing their oppression under the capitalist system but also from their historical mission - as the class which will end the entire system of exploitation and oppression, including that of national oppression. In order for them to fulfill this role, to be actually organised as a class around their class interests, they need not only political enlight-

enment through their own ideology of Marxism-Leninism, but also a revolutionary political party - the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist), which is the organised leadership of the class. The scientific outlook of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is an absolute necessity if the web of political deception of British imperialism and the Irish bourgeoisie is to be untangled and the working class united and launched into action. Marxism-Leninism is the enemy of hysteria, prejudice and subjective analysis of the situation in the country, basing itself solely on the real interests of the people. It is a rigorous and objective standpoint which seeks the truth in to order fight for fundamental change in the society.

For example, because of this scientific outlook and analysis of the class and national contradictions in Ireland today, CPI(M-L) alone of all the political parties can confidently place its faith in the decent democratic sentiments of the ordinary people of Ireland as one nation and avoid the pitfalls set by British imperialism and the Irish bourgeoisie of analysing matters in terms of 'two opposing traditions and communities', as a question of 'nationalists versus unionists'. CPI(M-L) is the only party which grasps the truth that despite despite the repetitious promotion that the question in Ireland is to 'defend our community' as though 'the other community' is the cause of one's problems whatever these are, such as lack of jobs, housing, a secure and safe community, family life and future - the masses of the ordinary people have not and never will accept this sectarian explanation as the basis of political action on their part, and certainly never to go to the lengths of civil war as is made out. **No Irish people like being labelled in this sectarian fashion.** No ordinary people approve of sectarianism. Everyone is horrified by the filthy sectarian assassination campaign and pogroms unleashed by the fascist Unionist politicians and their paramilitary gangs, the UDA, UVF etc. And this is the universal sentiment, not only of catholic people, but also of the masses of ordinary protestant people who may have voted unionist, but who hate the sinister forces which keep them divided from their fellow Irishmen and women, seek to manipulate their democratic sentiments against the

imposition of the Anglo-Irish Agreement by a foreign government for their own ends and carry out atrocities 'in the name of the protestant community'. They are increasingly of a mind that such forces, even if ordinary protestants get swept up in them, are in any case instigated and manipulated by British Military Intelligence and the undercover forces of the British Army SAS to serve against the real interests of any community.

The Need for Vigilance to Build Unity and Combat British Divide-and-Rule

However, in pointing up the contradictions of the system of divide-and-rule which spell ultimate disaster for British imperialism we cannot afford to underestimate the ever-present dangers of the situation for the Irish people themselves.

The situation demands the utmost vigilance against sectarian manipulation. For this is the situation of imperialist and fascist terror in the north which is organised to exploit the deliberate, planned segregation of people into ghettos by the British imperialists. In this situation of mass unemployment where people are desperately competing for jobs, the incessant promotion of communalist attitudes to divert attention from the responsibility of British imperialism and the Irish bourgeoisie for all the problems in the country constitutes massive pressure on the people to succumb to sectarian hysteria, subjectivism and consequent political passivity and accept that the blame lies with each other, instead of the real culprits.

This makes it all the more important that however 'concerned' the slogans of 'defend our community' may sound in any given situation where the issue may seem to be that it is the Irish people who are at loggerheads with each other, such slogans must be exposed and condemned as the lowest kind of demagoguery which they are. For these are slogans the only effect of which is to confuse, disorient and deceive the workers and the Irish people and serve only to consolidate the system of divide-and-rule and defend British imperialism in Ireland.

The question is to defend the interests, the livelihood, the jobs and the

democratic rights of the people of the Irish nation as one community against the foreign tyrant, British imperialism, and against the tiny parasitic class of national traitors, both unionists and sham 'nationalists'. For these 'leaders of the two opposing traditions and communities' are the political representatives of a single class of national sellout, the Irish monopoly bourgeoisie; and regardless of whether they call themselves unionist or 'nationalist', or however much they attack and defame each other, they collaborate together and with foreign imperialism equally in the division and exploitation of Ireland and the Irish people.

It can only be forces such as these, British imperialism and the Irish monopoly bourgeoisie - those who are monopoly capitalist exploiters and are striving to maintain Ireland in slavery to world imperialism and increase their profits by making the working class and people pay for the imperialist crisis - who have an interest to set the Irish people at loggerheads with one another as 'two opposing traditions and communities' in the orchestrated sectarian clash of the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

But if the Anglo-Irish Agreement has been designed by the British imperialists as an internationally binding treaty as a formal means to perpetuate their partition and subjugation of Ireland by means of revamped tactics of divide-and-rule, then equally the struggle against the Anglo-Irish Agreement must prove to be an important contribution to eradicating this whole colonial and neo-colonial system of injustice and unequal relations itself. For struggle against the Anglo-Irish Agreement must surely make a most significant contribution to the struggle to overcome the tactics of divide-and-rule of British imperialism and the national traitors, in the fact the most necessary and most effective, and therefore the most crucial contribution at this particular stage, and so contribute towards uniting the Irish people in the final conflict for their national liberation.

SMASH THE BRITISH IMPERIALIST SYSTEM OF DIVIDE-AND-RULE! SMASH THE ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT! UNITY AND FREEDOM TO THE IRISH PEOPLE!

CAPITALISM OFFERS NO FUTURE FOR IRELAND, BUT ONLY PERPETUATION OF FOREIGN IMPERIALIST DOMINATION WITH ALL ITS DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES

In the situation of fundamental crisis for imperialism which emerged in Ireland as a result of the patriotic resurgence of the 1916 Rising and the War of Independence 1919-1921, the partition of the country in the period 1921-1923 was an arrangement between the British imperialists and the Irish bourgeoisie to their best mutual advantage.

Partition rescued the position of British imperialism in Ireland at its hour of peril, and at the same time it provided a safety net to perpetuate the capitalist system in the country and thus perpetuate the Irish bourgeoisie as a native class of exploiters.

For what partition achieved, with the establishment of the southern 26 county 'Free' State and continued British colonial annexation of the northern 6 counties (somewhat disguised under the Unionist Stormont regime), was the effective abortion of the revolution which was then unfolding in Ireland. Partition stopped in its tracks a patriotic resurgence which had been gathering ever greater impetus with the increasing role of social ferment in the revolution - the movement of the landless and the small farmers to seize the big estates of the foreign landlords and the movement of the workers to seize factories and even whole towns and establish Soviets. For this was a revolution for national liberation in which the very foundations of capitalism itself had come increasingly under threat as the social system in Ireland, as well as British imperialist domination.

Partition re-established the age-old system of British divide-and-rule in Ireland, but in a new form. The Irish bourgeoisie themselves now

had their own parliaments and administrations, with the advantages of patronage and corruption which this meant to them as a native exploiting ruling class, as well as enabling the revamping of the sectarian tactics of divide-and-rule, with Stormont as 'a protestant parliament for a protestant people' and catholicism made the state religion of the 'Republic'. These things were in their own interests as capitalist exploiters and in the interests of their foreign patrons, the British imperialists. Thus for the British imperialists the advantage was that their exploitation of Ireland and the Irish could now continue, but without incurring nearly so much the odium of direct colonial rule.

Therefore, fundamentally, partition has served the purpose of denying to the Irish people what they have always fought and died for - the right of the Irish nation to determine their own destiny in its broadest sense and in terms of the real world. For as Connolly put it;

"If you remove the English army tomorrow and hoist the green flag over Dublin castle unless you set about the organisation of a socialist republic your efforts would be in vain. England would still rule you. she would rule you through her capitalists, through her landlords, through her financiers, through the whole array of commercial and individualistic institutions she has planted in this country."

For the nearly seven decades since partition British imperialism has continued to rule Ireland and today British capital is flowing into the country in greater volume than

ever. Furthermore, British imperialism has acted as the gendarme for international capital in general (American, German, Japanese and even of the Soviet bloc where capitalism has been restored), so that these others can join in the plunder of the land and labour of Ireland. The splitting of the natural economic unit of the country and the establishment of two dependent economies tied into the world capitalist market has of course resulted in nearly seven decades of unmitigated economic disaster, no different in character to that which has befallen the former colonies in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The plight of the Irish people today, North and South, immersed in ever-growing poverty and being driven out of their own country in large numbers yet again, and the utter bankruptcy of both dependent economies, underlines the absolute necessity for the Irish people to organise on a national scale to complete the task that our parents, grandparents and countless previous generations fought for.

The Disastrous Economic Situation in Ireland Today

Today the official unemployment figure in the southern 26 County 'Free' State is some 18.5% and it is estimated that if the tens of thousands who have emigrated in recent years were taken into account the unemployment figure would be well over 25%. This widespread unemployment coupled with a steady driving down of workers wages over the years, especially since the deepening of the crisis in 1980 (1 in 4 now earn less than £120 per week) has lead to widespread

and severe poverty. In fact, 1 in every 5 designated below the poverty line are actually in employment!

A recent study by the ESRI showed that the 1 in 3 of the population in the 'Free' State is now living in poverty and that there is an even more serious problem of child poverty, with 45% of children today living in homes below the poverty line. Some 1.3 million people are now dependent on Social Welfare payments. A charity organisation recently reported assisting some 150,000 people in serious distress last year and expected this figure to rise substantially this year.

Poverty is not strictly an urban phenomenon either, though in some urban areas unemployment levels of up to 60% are being reported with over half the families living on less than £100 per week. And we are not dealing with some residual problem of past agricultural backwardness here. Rural poverty is swallowing up an increasing proportion of farmers who formerly were regarded as relatively prosperous. For instance, a recent farm study by An Foras Taluntais found that one third of all the full-time farmers in the 26 Counties had an income per farm of less than £5,000 compared to 1 in 4 the previous year. Over 80% of the farms in the west earned below £5,000 per annum.

In the northern British colonial 6 Counties there is also widespread unemployment, officially over 20%, and this is in the face of numerous changes in the way the unemployment figure is measured by the Thatcher government over the years, all designed to reduce it, as well as numerous 'job training' schemes, and high emigration. In certain communities which are discriminated against in jobs by the capitalists on a religious basis male unemployment can run as high as 60 to 80%. Going hand in hand with the massive unemployment there is of course also widespread poverty. By 1983 almost 22% of the population of the 6 Counties was dependent on supplementary benefit and this has increased with unemployment. In 1985 it was

estimated that 31% of all the people in the 6 Counties had an income of less than £75 per week.

This is of course not to say that there is not an insubstantial amount of wealth being generated in the country. Profits, for example, have been rising relentlessly since the 1970s, going from £1,396 million in 1978 to £3,815 million in 1986 in the 26 Counties, while the multinationals have been exporting profits to the tune of over £2,000 million a year. Recently in the 26 Counties a very small percentage of the population was able without any apparent difficulty to produce £500 million in unpaid taxes to take advantage of a tax amnesty!

The Penalties of Foreign Dependence

One of the striking consequences of the partition of the country and the establishment of two dependent economies tied into the world capitalist system has been the virtual elimination of native Irish industry over the last seven decades. In the Six Counties today industrial output still remains below what it was 15 years ago and the traditional industries such as linen, shipbuilding, engineering, etc., have gone to the wall. Between 1961 and 1979 over 10,000 jobs were lost in man-

ufacturing and ship-building, 29,000 in traditional textiles and 6,500 in clothing and footwear. Manufacturing employment by 1985 was more than 40% below 1974 levels and manufacturing employment has declined to this day.

In the 26 Counties, particularly since entry to the EEC, native industry has taken a beating and this will be even further intensified with the completion of the European Community internal market in 1992. Foreign firms had by the early 1980s dominated industry, accounting for some 80% of non-food manufacturing output. Manufacturing employment has steadily declined in the 'Free' State since the early '70s, mainly in native industries, and it is now estimated that there are fewer people employed in industry than in 1967. The fall in native manufacturing employment has been of the magnitude of nearly 50% in the three decades since the 1950s.

There has of course been a dramatic increase in manufacturing output in the 'Free' State in recent years and exports have soared from £1,158 million in 1976 to £11,600 million for the year to July 1988. But these increases have been almost entirely concentrated in the foreign industrial sector. Apart from the fact that these figures to some



■ Students demonstrate against education cuts

extent reflect the widespread practice of transfer-pricing by the multinational subsidiaries (ie. inputs being sold to Irish branches from other branches at prices so low that all the profit is made here and no tax paid on them) booms in this sector bring no actual benefit to the Irish people. The basic materials are imported by the foreign companies, the worked-up product exported and the profit repatriated. There is no integration with Irish industry, no spin-off being generated, and no surplus being generated for internal development of any sort. This foreign sector is also extremely vulnerable to crises in the world capitalist system as the experience of Northern Ireland in the '70s showed, when the multinationals upped sticks and left. The cur-

rent boom being experienced in manufacturing output, exports, and profits alongside growing poverty, mass unemployment, and emigration, far from being the economic success that the bourgeois economic commentators are proclaiming, only serves to show how a dependent capitalist economy is little more than a machine for generating wealth for foreign exploiters, and has absolutely nothing to do with meeting the needs of the people, developing the country, etc.

One other thing the export boom in the 26 Counties has served to do is put the lie once and for all to the bourgeois propaganda that increased productivity and competitiveness will result in 'job creation' and 'higher living standards'.

The Myth of Building Native Prosperity on the basis of Increasing Competitiveness in the World Market

Translated into real terms, greatly enhanced productivity has meant that, while manufacturing output has been steadily increasing, manufacturing employment has at the same time been falling.

This increased productivity, together with the driving down of workers' wages, has resulted in the unit cost of manufactured output increasing by only 12% between 1980 and 1988, compared to 91% inflation. This has greatly enhanced competitiveness and contributed in no small way to the export boom but in no way has it enhanced 'job creation' or 'increased living standards' to the people of the Irish 'Free' State, though it has brought windfall profits to the foreign multinationals.

The story has been similar in the 6 Counties where productivity has increased between 1973 and 1985 by an estimated 41% per worker with no benefit to the people, though boosting profits.

The propaganda about increasing 'competitiveness', 'productivity', etc.,



■ Hospital staff demonstrate against cuts in health service

was of course all given in the context of the general call of the bourgeoisie that the solution to the economic problems and path of development lay in attracting as much foreign investment as possible to Ireland.

The Myth of Foreign Investment Priming the Pump of Native Development

This 'developmental strategy', touted on a world scale by U.S. imperialist ideologues after the Second World War, was first taken up in the 6 Counties in the 1950s, a period in which it is estimated some 1 in 3 of school-leavers were forced to emigrate as the traditional industries went into sharp decline in the wake of the economic crises of the '20s and '30s.

The multinationals responded readily to the offer of grants and handouts, provision of infrastructure including factories, a dirt-cheap workforce etc., and did indeed set up. By the mid '70s 3/4 of the largest companies in Northern Ireland were externally owned and in the period '66 to '73 the 'province' experienced a rate of growth substantially higher than that of the United Kingdom. However, in the wake of the economic crises of the world capitalist system of the early and late 1970s the multinationals rationalised and restructured to maintain profit levels and in the

face of changed economic conditions packed their bags and left the 6 Counties. Northern Ireland plunged into a prolonged industrial decline which has continued to this day; current manufacturing output is pitifully low and the 'province' runs an extremely large annual deficit.

The over 40% decline in industrial employment in a single decade from the mid '70s to the mid '80s would have produced much more alarming levels of unemployment, poverty, and emigration had the slack not been taken up to some extent by the single growth industry in the 6 Counties ... colonial state repression! Over the same

period the UDR, RUC, prison service and other 'security and protective services' have been expanded by the thousands. By 1985 the total employed in this mushrooming sector had reached some 30,000 and has increased yearly since.

With the Whittaker-Lemass reforms of the 1950s the bourgeoisie in the 'Free' State abandoned any pretence of being a force capable of developing the country and also embarked upon the road of 'export-led development'. The I.D.A was set up to attract the multinationals, the tax-free incentives and handouts were put in place, the infrastructure was built, and the bourgeoisie borrowed all around them to finance this, liberally lining their own pockets with the money as it made its way through the economy. This 'strategy' has been a success as far as the bourgeoisie is concerned as nearly 1,000 multinationals have set up, exports are booming, etc., but as for being a strategy for development it has been an utter failure. In fact nowhere in the world has this bogus strategy of 'export-led development' produced any sort of genuine development though it has enriched many a bourgeois throughout Asia, Africa, and Latin America, not to mention the international monopoly bourgeoisie. This bankrupt strategy is in fact little more than a scheme to facilitate the plunder by imperialism of the countries held in neo-colonial bondage on

a world scale.

The Debt Crisis Created by Foreign Dependence

The huge debts the 'Free' State bourgeoisie incurred in order to finance their strategy of 'export-led development', and of course the spiralling debts incurred as a result of borrowing to pay the interest on previous debts, hang like a mill-stone around the necks of the people.

The national debt of the 'Free' State currently stands at over £26,000 million with a debt to G.N.P ratio of some 150%. A very high proportion, around 36%, of this is foreign debt and well over £1,000 million is handed out in interest payments to foreign bankers on this every year.

Such massive indebtedness is not something peculiar to Ireland, the result of the people living beyond our means as the bourgeoisie accuses, but is in fact a standard feature of dependent neo-colonial economies on a world scale. The debts of the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, for example are now said to exceed some \$1,000 billion, with the cost of servicing these debts amounting to a massive \$114 billion annually, constituting an unbearable strain on the resources of these countries.

With the national debt of the 'Free' State having increased from some 58% of G.N.P. in 1972 to over 150% at present it is clearly above the present productive capacity of the country to repay such a debt. The consequence is that the country is in the position of being a permanent debtor, with millions upon millions of pounds extracted in taxes from the people being handed over in interest payments every year, with no end foreseeable in sight.

All over the world the neo-colonial countries are caught in such debt traps, in much the same way that the poor within these countries are trapped by money lenders, and this in fact constitutes nothing more than a modern strategy of imperialism to continue plundering the wealth of these nations.

The present strategy of the Fianna Fail government to 'stabilise the national debt' through savage cut-backs in Education, Health, and Social Welfare spending will of course not solve the problem of financial enslavement. In fact it is only to ensure that the debt remains within the ability of the people of

the 26 Counties to meet the annual interest payments. This ensures the good credit-rating of the bourgeoisie, allows them to borrow more when they wish, etc. So highly do the International monopoly bourgeoisie regard the ability of the Irish bourgeoisie to make the people pay that Moodys Rating Agency recently gave the 'Free' State, a country with a debt to G.N.P. ratio of some 150%, a credit rating of AA3. Not quite AAA but not far off either.

Crisis on the Land

As well as the massive unemployment, widespread poverty, massive indebtedness, destruction of native industry, and other such phenomena that are features of countries dominated by imperialism, Ireland is also experiencing crisis in the agricultural sector. It is estimated that since joining the EEC in 1972 the numbers of people employed in agriculture in the 'Free' State have declined from some 232,000 to 168,000 in 1986, with the flight from the land continuing unabated to the figure of some 12,000 a year. A similar decline has been experienced in the 6 Counties where today something less than 8% of the workforce is engaged in agriculture.

In 1986 gross agricultural output experienced a decline of some 2.5% in the 'Free' State, in 1987 it remained virtually stagnant, and this year it is predicted to decline a further 2.5% in real terms, reflecting a further decline in milk and cattle output. Farm incomes have declined substantially over recent years and small farmers right across the country, but particularly in the west, face severe problems. There is a growing problem of indebtedness among farmers with debts to the banks and the Agriculture Credit Corporation increasing from some £87 million in 1970 to £1,081 million in 1984, with interest payments on these debts amounting to some £221 million in the same year.

Crisis - the fellow-traveller of capitalism

The tendency to periodic crisis - and to these crises increasing in frequency and in severity - is inherent in the very system itself, arising from the basic contradiction

between the social character of production and the private character of appropriation.

Dependent economies in the world capitalist system have been most severely affected by the deepening general crisis of capitalism this century, as well as by the periodic crises. For the imperialist powers have shifted the burden onto them as their priority in preference to having to face the social contradictions at their most antagonistic within their own heartlands.

Ireland has been no exception in this regard. In the 6 Counties for example with the onset of crisis in the early '20s unemployment soared from 6.6% in 1919 to 22.8% in 1922. The linen industry was virtually wiped out in this period with the workforce declining by some 20,000 and its output by some 40% in the '20s, while the ship-building industry also went into decline. The 'province' was similarly hard-hit when the capitalist system again went into crisis in the '30s and there were the great struggles of the unemployed in Belfast when the workers, regardless of religious background or any other secondary consideration, stood shoulder to shoulder to win increases in relief scales of up to 150%. There was no real recovery from this crisis and in 1939 when unemployment in the United Kingdom was 7.5% it was 20.2% in Northern Ireland. In the wake of crisis in the capitalist system in the early '70s and again in the early '80s the manufacturing sector of the 6 Counties was reduced to minuscule proportions as the multinationals upped sticks and left.

The story has been no different in the 'Free' State with, for example, the widespread closure of factories and driving down of workers' wages across the board in the '20s. With the onset of economic crisis again in the '30s external trade fell from £109 million in 1929 to £69 million in 1932, and by 1935 there were 138,000 unemployed. Recession again in the mid '50s resulted in widespread unemployment and some 408,766 people were forced to emigrate from the 'Free' State in the ten years from 1951 to 1961. Unemployment and emigration have again increased steadily since the crisis of the early '80s to the current terrible levels.

The dark clouds of another of the

periodic crises of the capitalist system are relentlessly gathering on the horizon the gigantic twin deficits of the U.S. economy which alarmed investors into unloading their shares with such haste in October 1987 have not been resolved, there is rising protectionism, etc. and with such massive unemployment and widespread poverty both North and South, with Industry having been reduced to pathetic levels in the North and with a foreign-owned manufacturing sector that is highly vulnerable to crisis in the south, with the already massive indebtedness of the 'Free' State, etc., one cannot but have grave concerns about what such a crisis will have in store for the Irish people.

Opportunists to the Rescue of Imperialism

While acknowledging that the seven decades since partition have been nothing but an unmitigated disaster for the two dependent economies of the 'Free' State and the 6 Counties, certain elements who are enamoured with capitalism but realise that the working people will not tolerate the status quo much longer, put forward the argument that what is needed is more government intervention, the expansion of state industries, the adoption of public sector-led programmes, etc.

This is nothing but a straightforward deception, ignoring the very nature of the capitalist system which is organised entirely to maximise profits for the capitalist class, turning a blind eye to the nature of the state which is nothing more than an instrument of the ruling class and their monopolies. For what we have already is state monopoly capitalism, i.e. where the state is completely the instrument of the monopoly capitalists.

It is widely known that the bourgeoisie will have state intervention when they find it necessary, will use the taxpayers money to provide unprofitable infrastructure for industry and so forth. And it is also widely known that when it suits them the bourgeoisie will also sell off state industries that have become profitable to themselves at knock-down prices. There is absolutely no basis however for asserting that in an economy where the very

basis of production is profit and where the capitalist class holds power that increased state-intervention is somehow more 'socialist' or 'pro-worker' or will reduce foreign dependence, etc.

The Lesson of Nearly Seventy Years of Partition

Eight centuries of foreign domination and exploitation by successive British ruling classes have been proof enough of the complete impossibility of Irish people ever advancing or achieving prosperity and a secure livelihood in the country whilst they remain in thrall to foreigners. But the last seven decades has confirmed that, even if this foreign domination is dressed up in the form of foreign investment and on an allegedly 'free' and democratic basis, it still amounts to the same thing.

The Irish bourgeoisie, who both north as well as south have extolled the virtue of foreign investment to prime the pump of indigenous native development, have demonstrated time and time again that they have no real interest in developing the economy as such, either in the north or in the south, and have absolutely no intention, let alone plan to do so. Their sole concern is to turn a profit for themselves, and only maximum profit at that. They have hitched their wagon to the train of British and world imperialism, sold the nation out, and while preaching to the workers that we must accept low wages and so forth in order to attract investment for the good of the country, have invested their own money abroad. Most significant is the fact that the few successful Irish companies, such as Cement Roadstone and Smurfits, which have reaped the rewards as service industries, have, over the last decade used the capital they have amassed in Ireland to purchase companies abroad, especially in Britain, America and the EEC. Smurfits now earn a mere 12% of their profits from production in Ireland. So much for foreign capital priming the pump of national development!

The Irish bourgeoisie are a superfluous, parasitic class who have presided over the devastation and suffering inflicted on the Irish people for nearly 70 years and have got rich from this. In a nutshell, their pretence that they are the 'natural leaders of the people', the

pretence which all their political parties whether of unionism or of constitutional 'nationalism' keep making, is nothing but a fraud, moreover a fraud designed to assist British imperialism perpetuate their system of divide-and-rule over Ireland. The Irish bourgeoisie have proven themselves to be totally unfit to rule.

It is about time an end was put to the feast they and their foreign class brethren of the international monopoly capitalist class have been having on the corpse of a partitioned Ireland. Today it falls upon the shoulders of the working class, the only class proven, as James Connolly pointed out, to be the "*incorruptible inheritors of the fight for freedom in Ireland*", to take up and carry through this just struggle to its final conclusion, a necessity today as much as it ever was, as the utter bankruptcy of both the colonial north and the neo-colonial south and the plight of the Irish people so eloquently testifies.

The necessity of the day, for the Irish people to be ensured a secure future in our own country - in the light of the conclusively proven bankruptcy of the 'leadership' of the Irish bourgeoisie - is for the working class, under the leadership of its political party, the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist), to organise and unite the entire Irish nation for revolution to free the country from foreign imperialist domination, division and dependence. And then, on the basis of achieving national, democratic freedom, carry through the revolution to the end, to the establishment of the socialist system where the economy is organised on the principle of self-reliance to meet the needs of the people, instead of the principle at present of enriching a handful of exploiters, both native and foreign.

Far from this being a matter of waiting for national freedom to arrive before the question of socialism is raised, it is essential that right now the workers take up their own class objective of socialism in order that that they get organised as a class. Only in this way can the workers come forward as a class to take up their historic role as the true natural leaders of the nation today, as that social force which alone is capable of uniting the nation to end foreign dependence and interference and achieve the democratic objective of national sovereignty in this epoch, the epoch of imperialism and world proletarian socialist revolution.

1988 - A YEAR OF ADVANCE FOR THE PARTY OF THE IRISH WORKING CLASS



20th Anniversary of Historic Events of 1968 Celebrated through Militant Programme of Mass Agitation and Revolutionary Action

All-Ireland Youth Campaign for Unity and Freedom against the Anglo-Irish Agreement and continued British imperialist divide-and-rule over Ireland

Programme Achieved Successfully with the Founding of the Communist Youth Union of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) December 11, 1988

Since this year has marked the 20th Anniversary of the historic events of 1968, 1988 has been a year which the revolutionary movement in Ireland as a whole has appreciated as an opportunity to consolidate the victories and the lessons of the last twenty years of struggle, so as to advance the current struggles against British imperialism, foreign oppression, exploitation and native sellout still more strongly today.

For our party, the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist), this 20th Anniversary has had a double significance. Because our forerunner organisation, the Internationalists, played the crucial role in inspiring and sparking the events of 1968, whilst at the same time that year added great impetus to the decision of the Internationalists to advance the work to re-found the genuine Marxist-Leninist communist party of the Irish working class, the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist).

Thus it was with the lessons of 1968 in mind that CPI(M-L) framed its programme of activities this year, with

the priority amongst the Party's all-sided work being devoted to mobilising the generation of today, the youth of today who are the children of those who were the youth of the 1960s. The Party has worked to support with every means possible the task which 'Voice of the Youth', the Preparatory Committee, had undertaken at their Conference of December, 1987, to found the Communist Youth Union of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) in December, 1988.

The Lessons of 1968

What was it that sparked the well-known events in Ireland which took their place amongst the most internationally renowned events of that year, 1968, along with the mass movements in many countries in Europe and North America? What was it that sparked the resurgence of the democratic, patriotic national movement in our country, spear-headed by the movement for civil rights in the north, and provided it with such impetus that it is still continuing without let-up in struggle

against British imperialism today, twenty years later?

The bourgeoisie have deployed the power of their mass media on the question this year for their own ill-intentioned purposes, and have given considerable air-time to the so-called 'analyses' of today's political has-beens, the various, now middle-aged and worn-out opportunists, anarchists and revisionists of yesteryear, whom the bourgeoisie have crowned with the title of 'rebel leaders of 1968'. These the so-called 'personalities of the 60s youth and student movement' - actually entirely media-creations of the bourgeoisie at the time, boosted by them in order to try to hi-jack and misdirect the movement then - have talked about various sources of inspiration for the events of 1968 in Ireland: for instance, the movement of the youth, students and young workers in many countries against the Vietnam War, against the bourgeois educational system and capitalism itself, the movement of black people for their civil rights in the United States etc., etc. But having tossed around a number of these factors, they tend to take refuge in the general international 'spirit of '68 of youthful idealism' as the chief factor for events in Ireland, even going as far as to eulogise Anglo-American imperialist pop culture, the Beatles etc., as some kind of 'expression' of that spirit.

Undoubtedly, the events which were arising in so many countries around the world did have their role, in the sense that what happened in Ireland at that time did indeed represent one piece in a whole jig-saw puzzle of resurgence against imperialism and capitalism. This resurgence broke with the cold-war stagnation with which the international monopoly bourgeoisie, headed by U.S. imperialism, had tried to paralyse the working class and people of the countries of the western 'Free World' after the Second World War, thus it was a movement which did have an international character.

But such international factors cannot explain the whole story of the events in Ireland of 1968. Nor, for that matter can the character of the Stormont state as a one-party dictatorship, based on sectarian discrimination, explain the resurgence of 1968 as a phenomenon in its entirety. For that situation had already existed for over 50 years already without sparking the same mass response.

One clue as to the crucial internal factor in Ireland, which brought into

play all the other factors, such as the viciously oppressive sectarian nature of the Stormont state as well as the international factors, is the well-known fact that the only precedent for such a movement in 'Northern Ireland' had been in the unemployed movement of the 1930s. But what is suppressed about that movement in the history books is precisely the same factor which is suppressed about 1968 - the inspiration of communism and the leading role of the communists.

This is something which is not only suppressed by the bourgeoisie. The reason why the bourgeoisie have promoted the opportunists, anarchists and revisionists once more this year as they did before in 1968 itself is precisely because they themselves are amongst the most hard-bitten enemies of communism and suppressors of the significance of communism as the key factor which inspires, mobilises and organises the working class and leads the revolutionary movement for change in the conditions of the general epoch of the world this century of imperialism and proletarian socialist revolution. This is true in the case of countries like Ireland which are still struggling to achieve the democratic objective of national liberation, as well as in the case of capitalist and imperialist countries where socialism is the immediate goal on the agenda.

The Crucial Internal Factor

The crucial internal factor in Ireland at that time, which had created conditions for the re-emergence of the patriotic movement, was the existence of the Internationalists.

The dramatic events which unfolded during the late summer and autumn of 1968, the confrontation with the oppressive and sectarian Stormont regime over civil rights in the north, could only have been sparked if such fertile, general conditions had already been laid down. These conditions had indeed been prepared most thoroughly through the wide-spread dissemination of the revolutionary ideas of our epoch, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the resurrection of the red banner of the working class and the re-raising of the patriotic demand of the Irish nation for freedom, re-unification and independence, the raising of the demand for a world of freedom without imperialism, exploitation and aggression. These conditions had been provided by the consistent work and the militant nation-wide revolutionary agitation which the Internationalists, the

glorious Marxist-Leninist youth and student movement of the 1960s, had conducted right from the time of their founding in Ireland in 1965 in Trinity College, Dublin, under the leadership of Comrade Hardial Bains.

If the general work of the Internationalists had created the general conditions for the events of 1968, it was also the case that the dramatic culmination of the Internationalists' agitation in the mass student upsurge at T.C.D. against the visit of the King and Queen of Belgium at the beginning of May contributed the particular spark which was to inspire the patriotic upsurge for civil rights in the north during the summer and autumn.

The 'spirit of 1968', which the opportunist has-beens like to wax lyrical about, but which they deliberately make vague with their sentimental waffle about an 'age of innocence and youthful idealism', was no more indeterminate or remote in reality than the causes which sparked the events of 1968.

The spirit of 1968 was the spirit of the Internationalists, and this was nothing vague or indeterminate and certainly nothing wishy-washy and sentimental at the time, though of course it was fired by the vigour of youth.

The Internationalists were certainly not inspired by idealism, i.e. by sentimental utopian ideas. The spirit of the Internationalists was the spirit of those who had healthy **IDEALS** rooted in the **REAL DEMANDS OF OUR AGE**, the spirit of those who recognised the **NECESSITY FOR CHANGE**. It was the revolutionary spirit of those with political consciousness who saw the need to organise for revolution to solve all the problems in Ireland and the world, to end national oppression, to abolish class exploitation, war, racism, fascism and man's inhumanity to man.

What inspired the masses of the Irish people was the spirit and the ideas of those who had made and put forward an overall analysis of the problems in Ireland and the world. It was the spirit of those who had taken up the historical materialism of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the revolutionary ideas of the world's



working class, and who were prepared to wage struggle on a revolutionary basis for a solution - a solution to the problem posed by the oppression of the working class and the colonial and neo-colonial nations under imperialism and the rule of the monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie, a problem compounded by the betrayal of the working class and the oppressed nations after the death of Stalin in the 1950s by the agency of imperialism and the bourgeoisie, modern revisionism.

Recognition of the necessity to fight modern revisionism, in particular Khrushchevite revisionism which had betrayed socialism in the Soviet Union and come forward with the fraud of 'peaceful co-existence with imperialism' and the 'peaceful road to socialism' to undermine the communist parties in the capitalist countries, was essential if the working class and nations were to fight imperialism itself effectively and prepare to solve the problem in the only way it can be solved - through the revolution. Because modern revisionism itself had arisen as part of the post-war counter-revolutionary strategy of imperialism, in particular to rescue western imperialism and its leadership,



Mass upsurge in Trinity College in 1968, led by the Internationalists

Celebrating the 20th Anniversary of 1968

Therefore, for our party, the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist), this 20th Anniversary has had a double significance. Because not only did our forerunner organisation, the Internationalists, play the key role in inspiring and sparking the historic events of 1968 in general throughout the country and in particular the patriotic resurgence which emerged in the north, 1968 gave great impetus to the work to implement the historic decision which had been made by the Internationalists at the 'Necessity for Change Conference' of 1967.

At this historic conference held in London the Internationalists of a number of countries, including Ireland, had resolved to advance the preparations to re-build the genuine political party of the proletariat in each of their countries. The re-building of the genuine Marxist-Leninist com-

munist party for the Irish working class was, in fact, the most crucial task of that time in the 1960s, when Khrushchevite modern revisionism had degenerated and liquidated the old party.

For without leadership by such a party, no matter how great the spontaneous movement of the working class or the patriotic upsurge of the Irish nation, the revolutionary proletarian perspective - that sure sense of direction which alone can come from the most revolutionary class of our epoch, the working class, and from crucial guidance by its theory of Marxism-Leninism - could not be imparted to the mass movement to ensure that the struggles and sacrifices of the people would achieve their proper reward by being crowned with complete success, instead of being unnecessarily protracted or aborted half-way once again, as has happened so often before in the many-centuries-long struggle of the Irish people for freedom.

Twenty years after 1968 the significance of the stand of the Internationalists at the time stands out still sharper relief today. Instead of allowing themselves to become

intoxicated by the outburst of the mass movement and swallowed up by the spontaneity of events, which was the great pressure of revisionism, Trotskyism and all other varieties of opportunism at the time, the Internationalists, who did participate with all their strength in the mass movements, at the same time stuck by their programme to prepare the re-founding of the genuine Marxist-Leninist communist party to repair the damage to the cause and organisation of the working class by the modern revisionists who had destroyed the old party.

The founding of CPI(M-L) was achieved in July 1970, and now after many struggles to defend and strengthen the Party during the '70s and early '80s, including victory over the adverse effects of Maoist revisionism, CPI(M-L) today has achieved the consolidation and experience to take in hand the task of extending its ties amongst the masses of the working class and people so as to enhance the leading role of the Party in the working class and bring the working class forward to fulfil its historic destiny to unite and lead the nation to freedom.

It was particularly fitting that the 20th Anniversary of 1968 came at a time when the Party was bringing to a culmination its work since 1985 to prepare the founding of its first mass organisation, the Communist Youth Union of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist). For through this organisation the Party is to develop organised ties and influence amongst the masses of youth of this generation throughout Ireland and mobilise them round the working class for the revolution, for the democratic struggle for national independence and the struggle of the working class for socialism. This was fitting because 1968 itself was a year when the youth of that generation came forward for revolution.

1988 - A Year in which the Party Enhanced its Leadership in the Mass Movement and Consolidated the Revolutionary Forces of the Youth

During this year CPI(M-L) has intensified its work to mobilise the Irish people against the Anglo-Irish Agreement in particular, whilst paying attention to other aspects of its work amongst the working class, for instance the struggle to make the rich pay for the crisis. Persistence in

U.S. imperialism, from exposure.

The spirit of the Internationalists was the spirit of those who put forward before the working class and the Irish people an overall perspective for the future and concrete solution to their problems - a future which they could take up and fight for: the revolution for national re-unification and independence, which, led by the working class, could be carried through to completion and crowned by the establishment of socialism in Ireland. Such a perspective meant the re-establishment of the perspective outlined by Marx and Engels for Ireland, which had been taken up and implemented so militantly by James Connolly. This was the perspective which had inspired the masses of the working class and the Irish people to organise the 1916 Rising and the War of Independence 1919-1921.

This revolutionary spirit and perspective of the Internationalists was the spirit and perspective which the masses of the working class and the Irish people took up in 1968 and made their own. The unfolding of events in Ireland that year verifies the truth of Marx's famous dictum: "*Theory becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses.*"

this struggle over the previous two or three years to expose the true sinister purpose of divide-and-rule of this particular weapon of British imperialist dictate and interference in Ireland, in the situation where the opportunist forces had followed the cue of Fianna Fail in 1985 to 'wait and see' (to support any 'benefits' the Hillsborough Accord might bring and 'criticise its failures'), put the Party in the position to take the offensive.

On February 6th, at the initiative and under the leadership of CPI(M-L), 'Spirit of Freedom' Committee organised a demonstration under the slogan **'PROTEST AGAINST BRITAIN'S CRIMES AGAINST THE IRISH PEOPLE'** This demonstration hit the nail on the head by responding to the real demands of the Irish people to put the British government in the dock in the situation at that moment, where the British imperialists had rejected the appeal of the Birmingham 6, had refused to prosecute the RUC for their shoot-to-kill policy exposed in the Stalker/Sampson Report, and where the British imperialists were continuing and intensifying their assassinations of Irish people.

Some four hundred or so people rallied to the banners of 'Spirit of Freedom' and the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) at the GPO, Dublin, and participated in the mass meeting which lasted for over an hour, and then marched to the British Embassy at Ballsbridge. This was a breakthrough in the work to expose

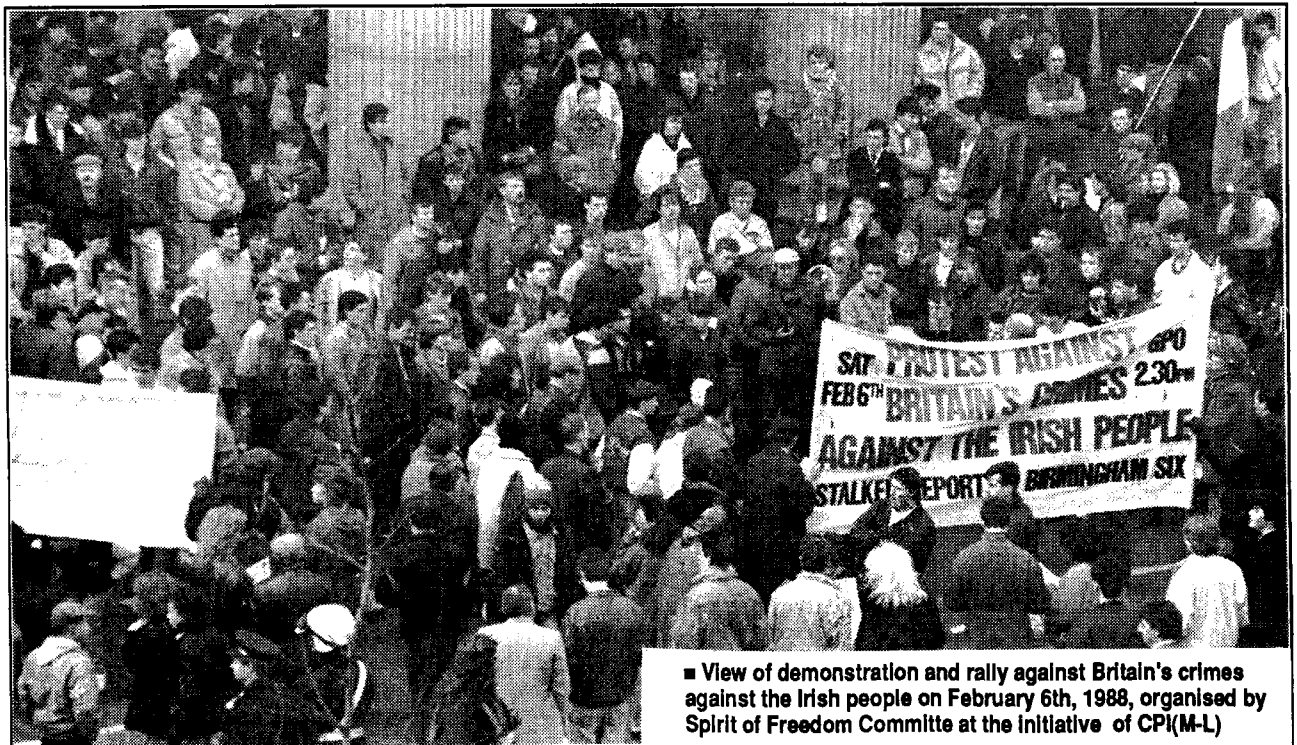
the Anglo-Irish Agreement for what it really is - not a means through which the Irish government might achieve amelioration of the conditions for people in the north if only it 'stands up to Britain' in its consultative role, which then becomes the object of mere 'complaints' if it 'fails' to fulfil this; but, instead, an instrument solely designed to buttress the partition of Ireland and a means of the British government to intensify its aggression against the Irish people, with the active collaboration of the 'Free' State regime.

Following the success of the February 6th demonstration the Party decided to enhance the offensive stance against British imperialism by reviving the tradition of commemorating the 1916 Rising on the day and at the time the Rising itself took place, i.e. at 12 Noon on Easter Monday, as a inspirational celebration of the heroic blow for Irish freedom inflicted by the Rising, instead of a funeral commemoration.

The campaign to expose the Anglo-Irish Agreement was then given a further impetus by the **All-Ireland Youth Campaign for Unity and Freedom**, which began during the August holiday period and continued as part of the preparations right up to the founding of CYUI(M-L) in December. Through this agitation many thousands of copies of the 'Voice of Youth' pamphlet, 'Uphold Democratic Principle', against the

apartheid-style Anglo-Irish Agreement, were distributed throughout the country, including a special distribution to the masses of the people misleadingly and indeed slanderously labelled as 'the northern loyalist community'. Completely in line with the analysis of the youth pamphlet which denounces the labelling of Irish people as allegedly 'two opposing traditions and communities - catholics versus protestants, nationalists versus unionists', these so-called 'loyalists' responded with democratic and unprejudiced open-mindedness and interest to the call: Youth of All Ireland, Unite!, and expressed enthusiasm that now at last once again the line of the working class was being put forward throughout the country.

1988 will prove to be a significant year in the life and building of the Party. It has seen the culmination of a whole process of consolidation around a long experience of fighting in adverse conditions. It has seen the Party increasingly able to take the offensive in the struggle against foreign imperialism and national sell-out. The position established during this year provides the sound foundation for much more extensive work to mobilise the working class and the Irish people in the years ahead. Because the mobilisation of the youth, the younger generation, is critical to deciding the future of the country and of society.



■ View of demonstration and rally against Britain's crimes against the Irish people on February 6th, 1988, organised by Spirit of Freedom Committee at the initiative of CPI(M-L)

DICTATE OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS MUST BE OPPOSED BY THE WORLD'S PEOPLE

Since the coming to power of Mikhail Gorbachev, the subsequent signing of the INF agreement between the U.S.A and the Soviet Union in 1987, and the continuing high-level discussions between the military advisors of these two states, it is being promoted that a great change is coming about in the relations between these two superpowers - that the struggle between them for world domination is ending and an era of peace is being ushered in.

Whilst it is true that new policies are emerging, this does not mean that these two imperialist powers, renowned for their aggressive activities the world over, have in any way diminished their competition between each other and their preparations for war, or have in any way diminished their oppressive stranglehold over the people of the smaller of weaker nations.

These recent diplomatic efforts can only be viewed within the context of their military, political and economic activities throughout the world. A reflection of the actual state of affairs can be seen in the countless billions of dollars going into armaments production. Last year it was reported that the year's expenditure on arms on a world scale amounted to some trillion dollars. And the star wars research programme up until 1990 is expected to cost a further 26 billion dollars, with estimates for the final total cost at 30 trillion dollars. The presence of about 450,000 American troops, of various weapons and of 200,000 men of the Rapid Intervention Corps outside the territory of the United States in 41 countries of the world;

the presence of 650,000 Soviet infantry and 55,000 military instructors in Asia and Africa, in the Middle East and Latin America are evidence of the continuing fierce rivalry between the United States and Soviet Union, as well as of their interference and dictate to influence the development of events in the world.

These superpowers have demonstrated again and again that they have no respect for the sovereign independence of nations but interfere directly and indirectly in their

The latest developments in superpower relations of "constructive engagement" are not aimed at genuinely seeking peace or disarmament in the world, but are a sign of the increasing collaboration of these imperialist powers in their attempts wipe out the genuine revolutionary and liberation struggles of the people

affairs. For it must be remembered that there has been no local war from the hundreds that have taken place since the end of the Second World war, without the involvement of the superpowers, as in the case of Afghanistan, Vietnam, Korea, Ethiopia, the Iran-Iraq war, the events of Nicaragua, or the whole development of the many-year long crisis in the Middle East etc.

These military forces stationed in various countries in the world are not there to protect the people of these countries as is often suggested, but are there to protect the interests of the superpowers. In fact the world has been carved up between them into what they call their "spheres of influence" and any threat to their interests there are regarded as threats to their "National interest", even though these countries may be thousands of miles away. Colonialism is alive and flourishing despite the modern terminology given to this totally discredited activity. The military bases exist to protect the markets and sources of raw materials which are necessary for the multinational corporations of the U.S. or the "joint" enterprises of the Soviet Union to make their gigantic superprofits. They are there to protect the "investments", the "aid", the "loans" and "credits" that these superpowers have "given" to these nations and which enslave the peoples, and have plunged them into bankruptcy. It is precisely the riches of these nations that they have robbed which has financed the economic development of the United States and the Soviet Union. Are we to believe that the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union are willing to give up these colonial practices which have enriched the ruling class of both countries? Are we to believe that these powers, who nowadays vie with one another as to who is the greatest peacemaker, are aiming to eradicate the basis of war - the imperialist system itself? For this is the only way to guarantee genuine peace in the world.

NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

The basis of the great hope and euphoria promoted by the bourgeois newsmedia concerning the now 'peaceloving' nature of imperialism and social imperialism originates in the "historic" INF Treaty signed in 1987 between Gorbachev and Reagan. Whilst it is true that the governments of these two states are talking to one another and indeed reaching agreements, are these agreements actually aimed at nuclear disarmament or are they merely some short-term expediency in the overall contention of the superpowers for world domination?

If we examine the facts:

To begin with, the 1987 Treaty which agreed on the removal of the

cruise missiles and SS 20 missiles from Western and Eastern Europe, is to be welcomed, but it would be a mistake to regard this as some "historic" step towards complete disarmament as is being promoted by the governments of these two powers. The proposal, after all, amounts to the removal of a mere 4% of the total nuclear arsenal in Europe, whilst plans are already in motion for their replacement by different kinds of nuclear weapons - air and sea-launched missiles or by nuclear bombs. Even before the removal of the last medium range missile, planned to be three years from now, an even greater number of nuclear missiles of other types will have been deployed in their place. It is also the case that not a single nuclear warhead will be destroyed, despite the media hype created when the shells of two nuclear missiles, one in the U.S. and one in the USSR were televised being destroyed.

THEORY OF EQUILIBRIUM

The present strategy especially being put forward by Gorbachev, is based on the already discredited theory of the equilibrium of nuclear armaments as a method to ensure peace, with the gradual reduction of nuclear weapons until total disarmament is attained. But as with all their other manoeuvres on the international scene, not a single word of theirs can be trusted. This whole theory of equilibrium of forces has proven time and time again to be the means by which vast increases in the production of nuclear arms has been attained. This happened with the 1972 SALT Treaty which called for the limitation of anti-ballistic missiles; the same happened after the 1978 SALT 2 Treaty which was supposed to oblige both parties to observe quantitative and qualitative limitations of their strategic nuclear armaments. Thus during the 70s the Americans increased fourfold the total number of its nuclear warheads and intercontinental missiles, and twofold the total number of their carriers. In the same period work began for the construction of a new generation of weapons including 6 new types of offensive strategic weapons which already have come into production. The Soviet Union did the same, by increasing twofold its number of intercontinental ballistic missiles and heavy bombers and further developing its system of SS missiles with a



■ The Azanian people are fighting against apartheid and for their national rights against the U.S. And British-backed fascist South African regime.

series of new generation weapons.

The present situation after the "disarmament" agreement in November 1987 is no different. A few missiles are to be temporarily dismantled (the warheads are not to be destroyed), meanwhile development of new weapons of mass destruction will continue to be produced. The Star Wars programme is continuing and recently news of a new breed of nuclear missile being developed by the United States was released. This new weapon is designed to destroy Soviet underground command and control centres by "burrowing" into the earth before exploding. This needless to say is part of a "first strike" strategy enabling the U.S. to launch a devastating strike on the Soviet Union, whilst preventing its reply by eliminating the Soviet command centre. So much for the fraudulent claims that the American administration is seeking a "world without nuclear weapons"!

AMERICAN AND SOVIET STRATEGY

If the aim of these agreements is not actually to eliminate nuclear weapons as they propose, then what is its purpose?

The theory of "equilibrium of nuclear armaments" is pure demagoguery, for it conceals the striving of each of the two superpowers to gain supremacy over the other. But the problem facing Gorbachev and the Soviet Union especially is the stagnation of their economy and relative inferiority in the level of technological development compared to the U.S.A. They have come to recognise that in order to compete effectively in the armaments race especially with regards to the extension of this race into the area of space weapons which require enormous finances, then the whole

Soviet economy must change gear to meet this increased competition. Thus we have seen the development of perestroika or "restructuring" - the attempt to change the bureaucratic state monopoly capitalist system of the Khrushchev and Brezhnev years to more western style private capitalism. Thus Gorbachev's diplomatic initiative can only be seen as an attempt to regulate the conflict between the two superpowers, owing to the dire effects of the imperialist economic crisis in the Soviet Union, to create a breathing space to improve the economy at home whilst expanding its neo-colonial interests abroad, in order to be able to compete more effectively with the at present technological superiority of the U.S. in the war industry and especially to try and delay the Star wars programme.

The U.S. strategy, on the other hand, also has to balance a number of considerations. Firstly it also has its economic difficulties as the imperialist economic crisis worsens here too. This has no doubt been exacerbated by the huge growth in its military budget - which has grown from 128 billion dollars in 1979 to over 300 billion dollars in 1988. The American federal debt has risen from 864 billion dollars to 1,828 billion dollars, the foreign trade deficit has reached 150 billion dollars, unemployment is huge etc.. But at the same time their diplomatic strategy with the Soviet Union to date has rested on the policy of refusal to limit their Star wars programme whilst at the same time attempting to restrict any arms agreement to the field of land-based systems, such as the Euro-missiles, which the Soviets have superiority in and are their easiest option for continued development.

Thus it can be seen that in the area of nuclear armaments that the declarations by Gorbachev and Reagan about a "world without nuclear weapons" is pure demagoguery aimed at winning the battle for public opinion and pacifying the growing anti-war movement in order to conceal the true pragmatic nature of their policies which have a long term perspective of strengthening their nuclear capacities, not diminishing them. After all these two states are capitalist states which base their very existence on the ethos of competition and domination. The nature of imperialism is such that this competition for power is aimed at the elimination of the competitor. In today's

conditions where the world is basically divided between these two camps of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, this competition has reached the stage where world domination is the ultimate goal, and where both superpowers are preparing to unleash a world war to realise their ambitions.

But whilst these two imperialist states are ultimately engaged in the battle for world domination, they are quite capable of collaborating where their interests coincide. A crucial area of collaboration concerns their mutual suppression of the genuine revolutionary and anti-imperialist movement in the oppressed nations. For these also represent a great danger to their interests, aimed as they are, at freeing their nations from the economic, political and military stranglehold over them.

It is in this context, that the other major feature of the recent summits and meetings between the two superpowers must be viewed. This feature is their secret diplomacy concerning what they call "regional conflicts" in various parts of the world and the working out of effective methods for the prevention of what they call "international terrorism".

REGIONAL CONFLICTS AND "INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM"

The Moscow talks between Reagan and Gorbachev, after concluding an agreement on Afghanistan, had discussions on various other "regional conflicts". They declared that they discussed and "made headway" on the question of Angola and Cambodia, the Middle East and Ethiopia etc. In the press conference on June 1st, Gorbachev said that "the problems of local conflicts were discussed in the most exhaustive manner in the meeting and we have reached a situation in which it can be said that real possibilities emerged here for the solution of the regional conflicts on the basis of equilibrium of interests". Problems of Europe were also discussed. Also subsequent meetings held at Vice Minister level in Paris have been held about Cambodia, South-east Asia and the Pacific and they talked again in London about Ethiopia and Angola. And meetings

between the Foreign Ministers have held discussions about the Middle East, Central America, South Africa as well as Korea, Ethiopia and even Cyprus. Precisely what was discussed in these meetings the people of the world and indeed even the governments or other interested parties in these regions do not know.

So what is the significance of these discussions? Again the propaganda being put about is that these discussions represent a great step forward in finding a solution to these regional conflicts. But nothing could be further from the truth. It is significant that Gorbachev's statement quoted above puts the basis of possible "solutions" as the "equilibrium of forces". What this is referring to and implicitly recognising is that these conflicts in one way or another are connected to the control of these regions by one or other of the two superpowers. And that the discussions are aimed at mutual non-interference in each others "sphere of influence". What is glaringly absent is the basic principle which must be adhered to in order to solve any of these regional conflicts -- that is that the nations involved have the right to genuine independence and sovereignty - and that it is precisely the interference of the two superpowers which have caused these "regional conflicts" in the first place.

For example both superpowers have engineered coup d'etats in various countries where national governments have stood against them or threatened to change their allegiances - the fascist coup in Chile with the active intervention by the C.I.A. is probably the most well known example. The invasion of Czechoslovakia is another example. That is why they have given themselves the "right" to intervene anywhere in the world, with their troops if necessary to seize what they regard as theirs - to "protect their national interests" as they put it, no matter whether it is tens of thousands of miles away from them.

The U.S. pours countless millions of dollars into propping up every fascist regime in the world, whether this be South Africa, Chile or Israel - so much for democracy! They have supplied military aid to the remnants of supporters of the fascist Somoza regime in a bid to reverse the

revolution of the Nicaraguan people - with the "justification" that Nicaragua is supposed to be an "outpost of the Soviet Union on the American continent" and this is counter to the U.S. national security.

The Soviet Union with their economic aid and their treaties of "friendship and collaboration" which they have imposed on some countries especially in Africa and Asia, not only have a profoundly enslaving content, but include in them various clauses which facilitate armed intervention should their interests be threatened. Such was the case with Afghanistan, which the Soviet Union invaded at the "request of the government", in order to crush the national liberation movement of the Afghan people on the erroneous "justification" that it is organised and funded by U.S imperialism. It would seem that the principle of self-determination of nations which the Soviet Union is so fond of repeating does not apply when its own interests are under threat !

Both superpowers have objectively co-operated in their attempts to crush the Iranian revolution which not only overthrew the fascist regime of the Shah but expelled this regime's main U.S. backers, who had made countless billions of dollars out of the oil resources of that country. The revolution declared itself against all imperialist interference and as a result after many attempts to subvert this anti-imperialist position, the U.S. resorted to inciting a war between Iran and Iraq, with tragic consequences for the peoples of both countries. Both the U.S. and the Soviet imperialists have supplied both sides with weapons in an effort to to artificially keep this war going in the hope that it would destroy Iran or provide them with access to, or influence within Iran.

One of the features of both superpowers' attacks on the national liberation struggles is their advocacy of "peaceful solutions" of problems by "negotiation" and other forms of "peaceful protest". However the superpowers themselves can carry out the most barbaric acts of aggression against the peoples either directly or by proxy - but this is all justifiable because it is done in the name of fighting for peace against the "terrorists" as they label the national liberation fighters. Even the armed acts of aggression and intervention by the superpowers are por-



■The Afghan liberation fighters are continuing their struggle against the Soviet occupation forces and for their national independence.

trayed not as the invasionary forces which they are, but as "peacekeeping forces". They maintain that they alone have the right to use violence to suppress the just rights of the people even in another country to their own, because this is "lawful", sanctioned by the agreement of the local "lawful" oppressive regimes. The liberation fighters, however are labelled as terrorists, because their violence is "unlawful". But as anyone knows the "Law" does not necessarily mean justice and anyhow both superpowers will "interpret" the law or flagrantly violate those just democratic principles which are enshrined in international law when they wish. The existence of fascism is prohibited under international law, as is colonialism - but of course the imperialists have changed the terminology so such practices do not exist ! International law states that it is legitimate for a nation to take up arms to expel a foreign aggressor - but of course this has now been called "terrorism" and is made into a crime! Take for example U.S imperialism's major offensive in recent times against "international terrorism" as they call it - the justification for the most savage bombing attacks and official state terrorist acts against Libya and on Tunisia, where the Palestine Liberation Organisation has its headquarters. Who are the

real criminals - the Palestinians who are fighting for their legitimate rights after 40 years of some of the most brutal treatment of an entire people that the world has ever seen, or the bombing of another state by the U.S. which violates every "international law" in the book ?

Every Machiavellian tactic and deception is merely grist to their mill to hang onto their power. And it is generally known that many "terroristic acts" which the people have condemned have actually been directly engineered by the secret services of various powers, or through their agent provocateurs who have infiltrated various organisations. The creation by the imperialists of various pseudo-national liberation organisations to cause confusion and oppose the genuine ones, as well as the fomenting of division amongst the people along religious or tribal lines is another historically proven tactic, developed to a fine art by their predecessors, the British imperialists. Without exception, every just liberation struggle of the people in any country throughout the world, has been labelled by one superpower or the other as "terrorist". The Palestinian struggle for their just rights and against their brutal suppression has been labelled "terrorist", the Zimbabwean liberation struggle and today's Azanian liberation struggle

have been labelled "terrorist", the Soviet Union describes the Afghan liberation struggle as "banditry" etc. etc. and of course our own national liberation struggle here in Ireland against British imperialism, the greatest ally of the U.S. has also been maligned as "terrorist". But what can be seen is that these proponents of peaceful solutions of problems are the most barbaric aggressors in the world today who will never voluntarily allow the peoples and nations to exercise their right to determine their own affairs - for this would mean the automatic expulsion of all imperialist interests in such countries.

And this is the crux of the matter with regard to these secret meetings covering all these different regions in the world. After an intense period when each of these superpowers have been attempting to use the instability in these regions to extend their spheres of influence, they would seem to be coming to some agreements to set some limits on their interference in each other's spheres of influence. For example some commentators see a connection between the role of the Americans in Afghanistan and a probable Soviet concession in Central America and Angola, as well as in the possibility of a lenient stand of non-contradiction to the American plan of the solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Whilst the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan must be welcomed, this was not done in the interests of the Afghan people but more in line with a policy to relieve a heavy financial and political burden as well as a propaganda weapon both at home and abroad. The Afghan model is not a solution in conformity with the lawful interests and aspirations of the people of this or any other oppressed country. The Afghans continue to be massacred in a bloody civil war, which is fought with the weapons supplied by the Soviets and Americans. And already the withdrawal has been halted as a result of the intensification of the struggle by the Afghan liberation fighters.

SINISTER ROLE OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS.

One of the most sinister aspects of the whole process which is occurring between the two superpowers is the media assisted fraud which is being perpetrated against the world's people. For there is a

fundamental issue at the centre of all these manoeuvres, which must be highlighted. This principle, obvious though it may be, is of decisive importance in the struggle for peace and equality between nations.

Is it right or just that two large states should appoint themselves as the "natural leaders" with the authority to determine the future of the whole of mankind? For this is precisely the state of affairs in the world and furthermore this is presented as perfectly normal! Who gave them the right to divide the nations of the world into their respective "spheres of influence" to the degree whereby they regard these nations as their property? It is presented as perfectly normal and "lawful" for the superpowers to intervene militarily in the internal affairs of any of these nations if their so-called "national interest" is threatened in any way and as a way of extending their neo-colonial interests. And again it is presented as, not only as perfectly normal, but also as a great step for world peace, when these superpowers meet behind closed doors to discuss the fate of different regions of the world, without even any of the interested parties present! This kind of power is presented in a similar way to that of feudal royalty in the Middle Ages with their "divine right" to rule. It is not to be questioned only accepted as the "way things are". This is all part of the battle of ideas which is as important as any of the other battle fronts. For above all the imperialists need to pacify the people's movement against war and for national and social liberation, by sowing the false illusion that they should place their faith in them to solve all problems.

But strip away the demagogy about peace and responsibility and the true face and tactics of imperialism and social-imperialism are laid bare. Through their deeds their true philosophy becomes quite clear. Their stock-in-trade is nothing other than blackmail - the sometimes subtle and sometimes blatant threat that to question their "rights" to exploit and oppress, to launch struggle against their "rights" to dictate the course of world events by fighting for the emancipation of the peoples from slavery, for genuine national sovereignty and world peace, will result in disaster. Any conflict in any part of the world, they say, could be the spark which starts a world con-

flagration. It is this blackmail which ultimately strips away the illusion that their "right" to decide the fate of the world between them is based on anything other than the possession of armed might on an unprecedented scale.

SUPERPOWER DICTATE IS BEING RESISTED BY THE PEOPLE

But the threats, blackmail and "promises" of total nuclear disarmament" in return for unconditional surrender of the rights of the peoples and nations to the superpowers" dictate, will never be accepted by the people of the world. For to accept the rule of imperialism and social imperialism has already brought disaster in the form of economic crises, which are the fellow traveller of the imperialist economic system. In a world of plenty and overproduction it has brought unemployment, impoverishment on an unprecedented scale accompanied as it always is by increasingly fascist oppression of the peoples. History has shown that it is this crisis which ultimately impels the rival imperialist groups to go to war. But even more importantly history shows that far from the peoples' struggles against oppression and for liberation actually causing or starting a world war - it has been the only factor capable of ending such wars - by overthrowing the regimes which have brought about such catastrophes.

The First World War was a war between imperialist states who were competing for control of the world markets and resources - it ended in disaster for the people of those nations used as cannon fodder in their millions. The only force capable of withdrawing their nation from that war was the Bolsheviks led by Lenin in the Soviet Union who launched a civil war to overthrow the Tsar, and withdraw from this imperialist war.

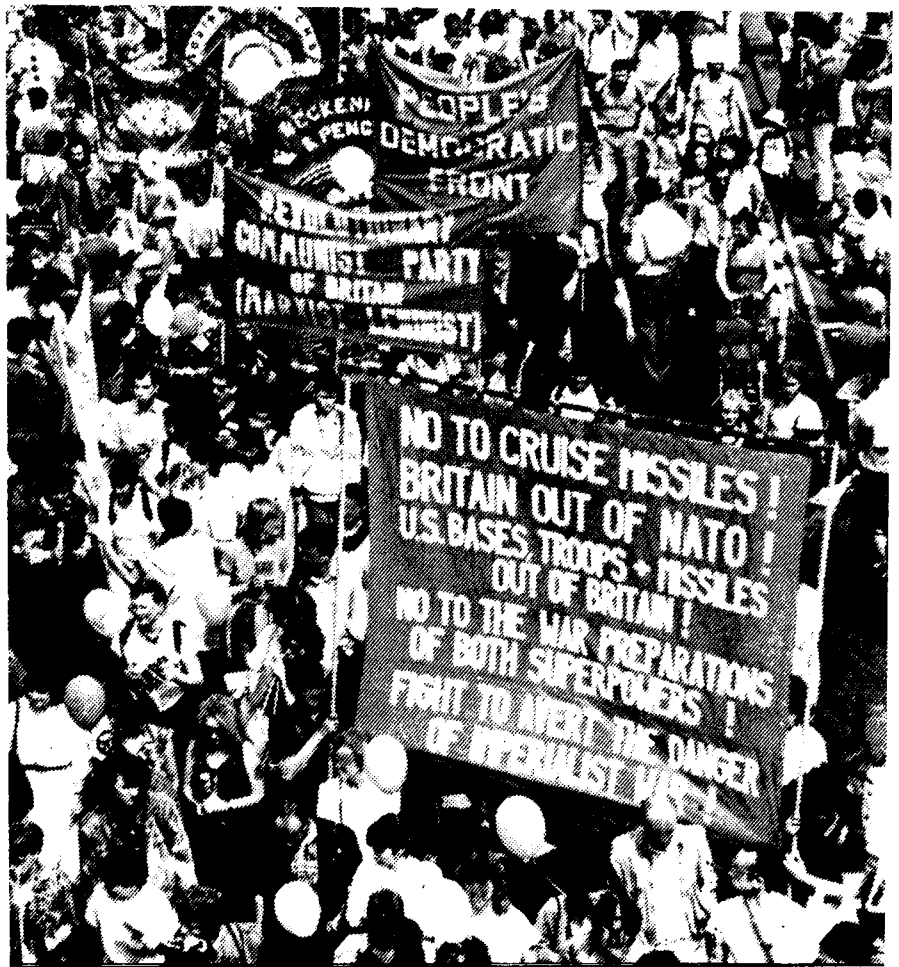
The Second World War, caused by the development of fascism and nazism as a state system - the ideology of imperialism in its aggressive and warmongering phase, was also aimed at world domination and a way out of the economic crises which had devastated the capitalist economies of the world. Again the major and decisive force which

destroyed the warmongers was the world anti-fascist united front led by the Socialist Soviet Union under the leadership of Stalin, which included all the partisan or national liberation movements in the occupied countries. It is tragic that the unfolding of events since the last war has meant that this heroic socialist state has been taken over by new Tsars who have turned their backs on the genuine socialism and proletarian internationalism of Lenin and Stalin, and are today one of the main sources of the danger for the launching of another such war.

The fact that Gorbachev and Reagan in this "new" phase of "constructive engagement" or "detente" have evoked the alliance between the Soviet Union and United States during the Second World War as credentials for their present activities is a complete distortion of the significance of that alliance. The Soviet Union at that time was a genuinely socialist state with tremendous standing in the eyes of the working class of the world as the defenders of democracy and freedom. Whilst the role of the U.S. and Britain in this anti-fascist alliance cannot be denied, nevertheless their participation was not from the standpoint of defending the Soviet socialist motherland and the freedom of the peoples of the world - their subsequent

activities after the war, the pouring of American dollars into Europe and the rest of the world and their development of the new colonialism as well as their virulent anti-communist crusade is testimony to that. Today this proposed alliance between the Soviet Union and United States "to keep the peace in the world" is between two imperialist powers whose sole driving force is that of domination. Any alliance is bound to be to the detriment of the peoples. And this alliance can only be temporary, existing only so long as their interests happen to coincide.

War is never caused by the progressive and democratic forces of the people. The just liberation wars which have been waged by various nations and peoples since the second world war, such as the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people who defeated the most powerful imperialist power in the world is testament to the possibility of victory and the fact that these just wars actually weaken imperialism and are a factor in staying the hand of the superpowers from launching all-out war. The existence of Socialist Albania today



■ Over 100,000 people demonstrated in London last April in opposition to the war preparations of the two superpowers. Photo shows banners of RCPB(M-L) and People's Democratic Front.

is also testament to the fact that genuinely independent nations, free of the dictate of any imperialist power, can develop and prosper and build a decent life for its people.

Today also the anti-war movements especially in the European imperialist states, are another major factor which contributes to the weakening of the superpowers ability to launch a third world war. The demands of these mass movements for the withdrawal of their nations from the warmongering blocs of NATO and the Warsaw pact, the withdrawal of all foreign troops, and dismantling of foreign bases from their native soil have even forced some governments, such as Spain, to hold referenda on such issues, or have impelled the Greek government, for example, to refuse the renewal of an agreement for U.S. bases on Greek territory which lapses in a few months time.

One of the features of the British imperialist domination of Ireland is their determination to protect the facilities for NATO here. These include the nuclear base under construction at Bishops court in the north, as well as the early warning

radar stations in the south, the port facilities for nuclear warships, overflights of nuclear warplanes etc. This is why the U.S. has been so deeply involved in the attempts to stabilise Britain's domination of Ireland under the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

The people of the whole world, including the the American and Soviet peoples are increasing their consciousness as to the nature of these oppressive and warmongering powers and are in practice opposing the dictate of these self-styled "leaders" of the world. They are rising in struggles for their national liberation, in struggles against fascist oppression and against the immiseration of the people through the profound economic crisis which is deepening throughout the capitalist/revisionist world. The problems the people face, especially the possibility of the outbreak of a third world war, require urgent solutions. This ultimately and by necessity means the destruction of the imperialist-socialist imperialist system. Only then can free nations and free peoples build a world with lasting peace.

PERESTROIKA - A PROGRAMME AND STRATEGY FOR STRENGTHENING SOVIET SOCIAL - IMPERIALISM

The reforms Gorbachev has undertaken in the Soviet Union, which go under the name of "Perestroika", have already had a wide response and aroused much debate and discussion both within the country and throughout the world. Its inventor and initiator presents "perestroika" as a new philosophy, a new political thought, a new ideology and ethic, indeed a new revolution which in its importance, extension and depth compares with the Great October Socialist Revolution.

It is not the first time we hear about such reforms being discussed in the Soviet Union. Khrushchev was the first Soviet leader to initiate, with the 20th Congress of the CPSU, that great counter-revolutionary change, that process of reforms and transformations which sapped socialism, opened the road for the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and brought all these retrogressive consequences into the world communist and workers' movement.

However, as is known, Khrushchev did not succeed in carrying his reforms through to the end. He was accused of subjectivism and voluntarism and being too precipitate and impatient, so Brezhnev followed his course with more measured steps. Having gained greater experience, Gorbachev now has vigorously set out on the road of his predecessors, especially that of his spiritual father -- Nikita Khrushchev - to carry his work through to completion.

Perestroika is, nor could it be otherwise, broader in extension and deeper-going in content than all the revisionist reforms undertaken before Gorbachev. The crisis of Soviet revisionism and the whole of Soviet society had reached such a degree that it called for a new programme to cope with the situation in

all fields, the economy and policy, the life of the party and state organs, education and culture, the whole life of the country. The grave situation propelled Gorbachev to power and perestroika emerged as a way out of it.

Perestroika is also considered a lifeboat in the conditions of the general grave crisis of the whole of modern revisionism, its theoretical and practical failures, its political and moral discredit, its electoral defeats and the splits of its different trends. So the revisionist currents hail it with enthusiasm not only because they find their own ideas in it, but also because it enables them to raise their authority, which is already at rock bottom, and to gain more of the trust of the bourgeoisie, which now sees that it has nothing to fear from them.

Perestroika is anti-socialism

The Kremlin leadership seeks to present "perestroika" as a sure road and means for the regeneration of Soviet society. As Khrushchev did in his time, Gorbachev talks about a return to Lenin and his ideas of socialism, and says that the general motto "perestroika" is "more democracy and more socialism". The Soviet revisionists, however cannot return to Marxism or Lenin and his ideas of socialism, because they have abandoned them long ago, when the Khrushchevites usurped power in the party and the state after Stalin's death. The true essence of "perestroika" is an attack on all fronts on Marxism-Leninism and scientific socialism, and a reformation not of the socialist system, but of the revisionist order according to a new capitalist model.

Gorbachev is trying to give his

strategy for the strengthening of Soviet social-imperialism a theoretical basis, proclaiming that its aim is the construction of a new model of socialism, which is utterly dissimilar to that preached by his predecessors. Actually all the theses and views he has expounded in his main reports and speeches and synthesised in his book on "perestroika", which has been distributed world-wide, are a mixture of the doctrines of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and liberal, even christian socialism which presupposes exploitation of man by man, the division of society into classes and the rule of the bourgeoisie.

His predecessors capitalised on the terms of "real", "developed", or "mature" socialism. The present Soviet leadership seeks to break off openly and officially with any socialist appeal, no matter how formal, that may be left. In his speech on the occasion of the 70th Anniversary of the October Revolution, Gorbachev called for overcoming the historically limited and obsolete form of social organisation, and methods of work, introducing more contemporary forms into socialism, achieving a new quality of socialism, and finding, as he put it, "a model for modern society".

Summing up the ideological and political objective of "perestroika", the Soviet weekly *Literaturnaya Gazeta* writes; "*State socialism now has become an obstacle to advance and must be replaced with self-administering socialism*". No other terms have been found for the new model than those used by the anarcho-syndicalists and Titoites. Life, however, has shown the complete failure of the system of self-administration whose first model has found its implementation in Yugoslavia. With foreign debts to the tune of 20 billion dollars, a deep-going economic, political and national crisis, galloping inflation, growing unemployment and constant price-rises, with corruption and economic scandals, and the degeneration of spiritual life, the Yugoslav reality is a clear indication of the prospects this system opens up.

The self-administering socialism of "perestroika", according to its ideologists, has as its elements the economic rivalry among state enterprises, cooperatives and private entrepreneurs: renunciation by the state of the greater part of its administrative functions and its transformation into an arbiter intervening and control-

ling socio-economic life, establishment of new relations of power among the party, the government and non-governmental organisations, development of self-administration, cultural pluralism, etc. The lack of theoretical originality is clearly seen in all these elements. You can find them in many programmes of the socialist social-democratic and Euro-communist parties of Europe.

Claims to a new model of socialism are accompanied by a savage offensive on Stalin and his revolutionary and Leninist views of socialism, which are called "ideological stereo-types". Not only Stalin as a person against whom so much venom is being poured, but also the whole socialist system that was built in the Soviet Union with so much heroism and sacrifice by the people under the leadership of the Bolshevik party with Stalin at the head, is made the target of attacks. All this glorious period is classified as a history of crime and distortions of socialism. The question here is not in the least about totally rejecting the achievement of socialism, because only in this way can the road be cleared for "perestroika" and "glasnost" which are intended to wipe off all traces of socialism in the Soviet Union.

Stalin is not to blame for the grave crisis the Soviet Union is going through. Stalin left the Soviet Union a great world power and a victor over fascism. In his time the industrialisation of the country and the collectivisation of agriculture, and a deep-going cultural revolution were carried out, and a true multinational family of the Soviet peoples was created. Stalin awakened Russia, pulled it out of poverty and hunger and made it an advanced country in all directions. The Soviet people have a vivid and indelible recollection of that period when there was neither unemployment or inflation, nor crisis or social differentiation.

Who then is to blame for all those evils? Gorbachev himself is forced to admit to a decline of production rates, work productivity and the level of income, elements of moral erosion like parasitism, crime, corruption, drug-addiction, etc. The blame lies squarely with all those revisionist leaders who have led the Soviet Union over these 35 years, since the death of Stalin, the blame lies with the renunciation of socialism, and Marxism-Leninism, and the restoration of capitalism, which were initiated by Khrushchev at the noto-



■ Massive protest against national oppression in Jerevan

rious 20th Congress of the CPSU. Precisely to cover up this truth now Khrushchev is being praised and Brezhnev criticised and made a scapegoat for the failure of the revisionist course.

For the justification of his "perestroika" Gorbachev seeks theoretical support in the views of all those who were against the Leninist programme of socialist construction and who now are being rehabilitated one after the other ranging from Bukharin to Zinoviev, Kamenev and all their supporters. As right deviators, Bukharin and his consorts were for the free development of capitalist elements both in the city and the countryside, for the free market as a regulator of the economy and against socialist industrialisation and collectivisation. Hence without rehabilitating their champions the Leninist line of the construction of socialism cannot be rejected, nor can the road be cleared for private ownership, decentralisation and self-administration. We know of the stern criticism and denunciation by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party of the anti-Marxist and anti-socialist stand of all the right deviators, especially Bukharin whose views Lenin called the "acme of ideological decadence" and their author a defender of the NEP-men and kulaks.

In the context of theoretical and ideological problems the role and place of the party has also been questioned in order to make, as Gorbachev has it, "a clear distinction of functions between the party and the state organs". This is presented as one of the main problems of the 19th All-Union Conference of the party which will be held in the end of this month in Moscow. The question here is about redimension-

ing the leading role of the party so as to adapt it to self-administering "socialism", pluralism and the opening towards the West.

Changes in the economic base cannot fail to impose the need for changes not only in the role of the party, but also in the whole political system. Here, too, Gorbachev wants to destroy a tradition that has become an obstacle to him. The system of elections and the functions and competences of legislative and executive organs, everything is being subjected to the new political strategy. For this there will be a judicial and legal reform which will be one of the problems to be taken up at the national conference of the party. The Soviet publicist Bulratsk writes in the *Liternaya Gazeta* that a presidential political system, which has shown to be very effective in many a western democracy, would be very convenient for the present-day Soviet Union.

So "perestroika" is intended to adapt the structure and superstructure of Soviet society to the new stage of "democratic and humane socialism" in order to eliminate everything that hampers the complete transition to a new society of uncamouflaged capitalist exploitation.

Privatisation of the economy - the main aim of Perestroika

The monopoly state capitalism which has been established as a result of the usurpation of state power by the Khrushchevite revisionists has brought along the phen-

omena typical of it -- social and economic crisis, stagnation, bureaucracy and corruption. In the conditions, Gorbachev put at the centre of "perestroika" a new economic strategy: that of ever greater encouragement and development of the contemporary forms of capitalism. In an interview with a Yugoslav newspaper, the Soviet economist B. Shmelyed says that "Gorbachev's aim is the creation of a broad network of small private enterprises and farms operating parallel with the state sector".

According to this new economic strategy the private sector is developing at high rates both in the city and in the countryside. The new law on private work allows its utilisation in about 30 different kinds of activities in the field of production and services. On the other hand, the law on cooperation gives the green light to the intensive development of small-scale private production. Unlike the Constitution of 1977, which allows private individual work in agriculture and certain other activities, now private producers have the right to exercise their activity also by setting up wholly private cooperatives and enterprises in industry and agriculture, transport and construction, building, intellectual activities etc. According to the journal *Komunist* during these years about 50 million working people, 5.5 million pensioners and invalids, 5 million students, apart from the great army of housewives, will be engaged in entirely private activities.

Attempts are being made at extending the bases of the private economy to the village too, where already 25% of agricultural production is accounted for by precisely this sector. It has also been decided to legalise the fragmentation of the land which will be leased on contract to individuals, families and groups, which will carry out all work against a tribute to the leasing state. This right is accorded to both those residing in the city and the countryside. With these measures Gorbachev is undermining and destroying everything that has remained from the collectivisation of agriculture, which was one of the greatest victories of socialism. With the broad scope that is being given to privatisation both in the city and the countryside, he intends to stimulate the petty bourgeoisie and its production further, which as Lenin has said, gives birth to capitalism every day and every hour.

The new economic strategy is also intended to restructure the mechanism of functioning of Soviet enterprises. Under the new law on state enterprises complete independence, with self-financing and profit as the main regulators of the productive activity, constitutes the essence and basic principle of their activity. At present 60% of enterprises of industrial production, along with those of transport, building construction, etc. is implementing the system of self-financing and decentralisation in taking decisions on most problems of production and planning work quotas, wages, investments etc. The road has been cleared for the free movement of capital for enterprises to carry on joint activities and the wholesale trade of the means of production, with foreign companies, the existing market relations have been legalised and a work force market is being created just as in the West. This mechanism has become operational also for the activities of the collective farms, as was declared at their 4th Congress which was held in March 1988.

The new system of greater competences for the technocrats and managers of production is intended, through the increase of their profits to stimulate this stratum of the Soviet bourgeoisie further, so as to activate it more in increasing surplus value, which is so necessary for the growing needs of the stepped up militarisation and the parasitic consumption of the new revisionist bourgeoisie as a class.

Parallel with the process of privatisation, "perestroika" has flung the doors wide open to foreign capital investments and the setting up of joint enterprises which was for the first time sanctioned by law, according to the instructions from Gorbachev. Foreign economic relations have also been decentralised further, enterprises and collective farms, cooperatives and private entrepreneurs will be free to enter economic transactions and direct links with foreign firms. A greater integration of the Soviet economy into the world capitalist economy is sought by all manner of means.

Gorbachev presents his capitalist platform for the development of the economy as an actual implementation of the New Economic Policy (NEP) followed by Lenin after the Civil War. However, it is known that

the New Economic Policy was implemented by Lenin only for a limited period of time and in a very grave situation in which the new state of the Soviets was threatened by hunger and the world of capital. The glorious leader of the October Revolution never considered it a general law of socialist construction, but only a temporary withdrawal, which was imposed by the specific conditions of the moment. Not much time later, only a year after the application of NEP, at the 11th Congress of the Party, Lenin declared that this tactic was over and issued the slogan for preparing the offensive on private capital in the economy. To attribute renunciation of NEP to Stalin means to distort Soviet history, and openly take the defence of private capitalism. What for Lenin was only a tactic at that time has been proclaimed a "Leninist" (!) strategy by Gorbachev.

The Leninist strategy for the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union was based on industrialisation and collectivisation, the modernisation on a broad front of the economy of the country, the establishment of social ownership and the limitation and liquidation of private ownership. This strategy Stalin implemented with revolutionary consistency, by carrying out a broad programme for the construction of socialism. And the Second World War is evidence as to where this programme led the Soviet Union.

The present Soviet leadership has laid great store by the private capitalist initiative and the western methods of management of the economy, in the hope that in that way it could be able to pull the Soviet economy out of the crisis and the consequences it entails. But just as present-day capitalism has proved powerless to avoid these phenomena and ulcers, so Gorbachev's new capitalist reforms will fail to liquidate them. As Comrade Ramiz Alia has analysed it,"

The campaign Gorbachev has launched at the present time in the Soviet Union against backwardness and stagnation of the economy, against bureaucratic methods of management, against parasitic and venal high-ranking officials, against misuse and illicit gain, is a demagogic campaign the aim of which is to deceive and lull the Soviet peoples to sleep. These

ulcers are by no means the result of previous subjective mistakes, as they try to make out, but the spawn of the very capitalist system which has been restored there. They cannot be cured either by decrees, or through reforms."

State monopoly capitalism, or the private capitalism of free enterprise, or the combination of both, giving priority sometime to one form sometime to the other form, in the conditions of capitalism are only manoeuvres of the bourgeoisie to ensure the continuity of its political and economic power, and to guarantee its own profits. All reforms in the capitalist economy and society are based, in the first place, on the intensification of oppression and exploitation of the working masses. Perestroika has created a similar situation in the last three years in the Soviet Union. G. Popov admits in the pages of the magazine *"Ogonyok,"* *"the growing material demands of the workers still cannot be fulfilled."* He complains that large sections of the workers *"are one of the main centres opposed to perestroika"*, and goes on with a call for the creation of *"pressure groups"* to support the development of perestroika with the help of workers selected from the private and cooperativist sectors.

The social and class differentiation that took place in the country after the advent to power of the Khrushchevites has been further accentuated and, as Gorbachev admitted recently, *"this society will inescapably have a variety of strata"*. The *Izvestia* is compelled to publish readers' letters which reveal that the *"division of society into rich, on the one hand, and the unsecured on the other hand, the fall in the standard of living of individual groups of people exist."* The magazine *Novyi Mir* admits that *"the situation of supplies not only has not been improved, but on the contrary, has grown worse."* TASS, through the statement of a top official of the Ministry of Finances, reports that *"new taxes will be imposed"* on the workers. All this has led to a growing discontent of the masses, has touched off the outbreak of "social conflicts", as the Soviet press mildly calls the workers' strikes. Gorbachev admits openly that perestroika *"will touch the interests of an ever larger section of people, social groups and strata."*

But who lends his support to perestroika? Behind it are a whole lot of

worn-out anti-communist elements and intellectuals of the revisionist vanguard, the broad strata of the worker aristocracy, of the new technocrats and administrators, who have adapted themselves to Gorbachev's restructurings and find in them the ways and means to the attainment of their selfish interests.

The Western bourgeoisie does not withhold its support for perestroika, because in this process of reforms it sees, above all, a broader possibility for exploiting the vast Soviet market and the cheaper Soviet labour, a possibility for a more complete integration of the Soviet economy into the world capitalist economy and for greater harmonisation of its interests in markets and spheres of influence. This general stand of the international bourgeoisie was openly and clearly expressed by the head of American imperialism, President Reagan, during and after his visit in Moscow, in which he did not spare his eulogies to Gorbachev and his reforms.

Glasnost - a means for crowning all bourgeois ideals

Perestroika needs a definite psychological and propaganda atmosphere, which Gorbachev strives to create through glasnost. Publicised as a democratic mechanism, glasnost is in fact, a means in the service of the liberal wing which fights for dominating positions against the powerful party and state bureaucracy of the Brezhnev period, which, in the new economic mechanism of perestroika, sees a threat to its own privileges and interests.

In the context of glasnost, they have launched a campaign for the rehabilitation of all and sundry counter-revolutionaries, the publications opposed to the October Revolution and the building of socialism, of rabid maligning of Stalin. It is not an accident that in the name of glasnost they are casting doubts even about Lenin, who is blamed for the famine which struck the Soviet Union after the October Revolution, allegedly because in those difficult years Lenin followed the policy of war communism. Politicians and historians, writers and journalists, sociologists and scientists, who have lined themselves up in the vanguard detachments of the Gorbachevian perestroika, have undertaken to rewrite the history,

presenting white as black and black as white.

With their plays and films, novels and poems, which indiscriminately slander the revolution and socialism, they are preparing the ground for the official crowning in today's Soviet Union of the social and spiritual ideals of bourgeois democracy, of the degenerate art and culture, of the whole bourgeois mode of living. With their help, Gorbachev seeks to gain political capital in the West, in order to assure the West that the Soviet Union will be open to dissidents of every shape, to ideologies of all hues.

Gorbachev has launched the slogan of socialist pluralism of views, which is not dissimilar from that of Mao Tsetung about the blossoming of 100 flowers and the contention of 100 schools. This credo of glasnost has cleared the way for the outbreak of nationalist, chauvinist, cosmopolitan and imperialist views. In this atmosphere there is a revival of Pan-Slav maniacs like the 'Pamyati', etc., a recrudescence of the Great-Russian chauvinist feeling which echoes the long-aspired right of Russia to domination and leadership not only of the people within the Soviet federation, but also of the other peoples of the world.

The intensification of the Great-Russian chauvinist hysteria cannot fail to cause the exacerbation of the nationalist crisis and tensions, which have characterised the relations among nations in the Soviet Union after the coming to power of the Khrushchevites. The events in Nagorni Karabakh, in Armenia and Azerbaidjan, in the Baltic Republics and in Kazakhstan, have irreparably disproved the solemn statements of Gorbachev in his speech on the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution that *"we have given the final solution to the national question."*

The national question emerged on the scene again with the Khrushchevite line and with the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. The newsagency *"Novosti"* admits that in the letters to the editorial boards of the main Soviet newspapers *"many readers express their preoccupation about the future of their national languages. They stress that the schools in which the national languages are taught have been closed in many regions of the Soviet Union."* Whereas *Moskovskie Novosti* publishes the letter of a lawyer from Riga, which reads, *"It was not Stalin who*

destroyed the equality of national languages, but Khrushchev and Brezhnev. When Stalin was alive, the constitutions of each republic provided strong laws which defended national languages. But what's to be done now? Will the crimes which Khrushchev and Brezhnev committed against the non-Russian culture and language be ever mentioned? It is easy to rehabilitate Bukharin, but what will be done about the rights to national languages?"

Perestroika is making allies also among the religious circles. The top-most representatives of the religious hierarchy publicly bless perestroika and call on the faithful to lend their support to it. Gorbachev and the patriarch of Russia have met and found a common language in order to attack Stalin again about the way he treated religion. A new law on religious matters, which enhances the role of religious institutions in the life of society, has been drafted and the "Soviet communist state celebrated with great pomp and pageantry the millenium of Christendom in Russia".

Glasnost means opening up to all kinds of counter-revolutionaries and anti-communists, but when it comes to handling his opponents Gorbachev does not hesitate to censure, repress and dismiss people from leading positions. Under the banners of "defeating the resistance of conservative forces", glasnost-wise democracy has been accompanied with sweeping purges of cadres at different levels in the party, the state and the economy, the most extensive ever undertaken in the Soviet Union. Despite this, perestroika has come up against difficulties and great opposition; the rates and results are not what the masterminds of it were expecting. The political and ideological struggle over perestroika has flared up with greater acuteness especially now, on the eve of the 19th All-Soviet Conference of the party. An expression of this struggle is the alarmed call of Gorbachev that "the staunchest supporters of perestroika should be elected" to the conference of the party.

The ardent supporters of perestroika are anxious to steal a step on their adversaries. They are for the application of perestroika at rapid rates and through radical measures. In *Literaturnya Gazeta* they openly confirm that the "lop-sided measures in the economic system cannot

yield results. Compromise solutions, and there are plenty of them, cannot bring about the desired change."

The main opposition to perestroika comes from the huge state bureaucracy, which would not consent to renounce its positions and privileges in favour of the new NEP-enthusiasts. Perestroika carries in itself a clash of interests between different groupings of the bourgeois class in power, therefore the conflicts and upheavals within its ranks are unavoidable. In order to prevent any unpleasant surprise, Gorbachev's adherents have put forward the idea that the position of the first secretary should not be determined by the Central Committee, fearing some putsch like that which overthrew Khrushchev, but should be decided by public discussion in the whole party and the masses, or that the first secretary should be elected by the Congress of the Party by direct voting.

The ideological, economic and social affinities between perestroika and the bourgeois order does not restrict or moderate Moscow's empire-building ambitions, just as it does not mitigate the rivalry between the USSR and the USA for spheres of influence. It is true that the Soviet Union needs a period of tranquility, in order to save its forces and funds. But this is a transient situation and they will use it in order to regroup their forces, to determine new tactics and moves, to consolidate the Soviet rule and eventually extend it everywhere.

Perestroika in the field of international relations, the democratisation of these relations and giving them a more humane face, which it is striving to achieve in fact, is aimed at indoctrinating the world into the ideology and the policy of Soviet social-imperialism, at hiding the threats which come to the peoples from the aggressive and hegemonist course it pursues. But the demagogy of the political philosophy of Gorbachev on international relations cannot cover-up the reality of the social-imperialist policy of the Soviet Union.

Phrases about internationalism cannot be reconciled with the policy of hegemonism and domination of the peoples, just as the exploitation of the other countries through the sale of arms and capital investments cannot be covered up with the Soviet "concern about their development". The fawning efforts for the correct

solution of the regional conflicts cannot cover up the deals with American imperialism to the detriment of the peoples, just as the talks and the agreements reached with it allegedly in the interests of peace and security cannot cover up their attempts at monopolising international affairs and the division of spheres of influence.

Making great play on the major real threat which comes to the peoples from nuclear weapons, Gorbachev, like Khrushchev in his time, has reduced all the contradictions of the world today into one single contradiction, into that between war and peace. In the name of saving mankind from the catastrophe which threatens it, of saving the common ship in distress, he preaches complete class conciliation, union and collaboration with everyone without distinction, demanding that the peoples should relinquish all their revolutionary and liberation ideals. Negation of the class struggle, the socialist revolution, the national liberation wars, maintenance of the status quo - this is the essence of Gorbachev's "new philosophy" in the international arena, which is as old as opportunism in the workers' movement.

The Party of Labour of Albania, which has waged a great and long struggle against modern revisionism, has been and will continue to be a staunch fighter against revisionism of any hue, against all the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, and especially against Soviet revisionism, as the most sophisticated and the most dangerous revisionism. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: "*Our Party cannot reconcile itself to any kind of opportunism, with any kind of deviation from Marxism-Leninism, with any distortion of it.*"

Modifications, tactics, perestroikas of various revisionist trends are aimed at strengthening the national and international positions of modern revisionism. The peoples and the Marxist-Leninist parties have not and cannot have any illusion about corrections and reforms of the capitalist and revisionist system, because its reactionary character can be changed only through a real proletarian revolution.

(Zeri i Popullit is the Organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania)

SOCIALIST ALBANIA



- SOCIALISM - The most advanced social order

There is a country in the world today which has recorded an extraordinary rate of economic development and whose system of social equality is unequalled anywhere in the world. This country - Albania - has solved problems, which, to people in Ireland reeling under the effects of the imperialist economic crisis, may seem unimaginable.

Albania, which in 1945 was the most backward country in Europe, had suffered long under foreign domination by the Turkish Empire and later Italian fascism and German nazism. It had a predominantly feudal system and peasant economy, with practically no industry at all. Emigration, unemployment were constant features of life for its people. Poverty and disease had produced an average life expectancy of 35 years and 80 % of the population were illiterate. This, compounded by the devastation of the second world war, was the state of the country in 1945.

Thus it seems even more remarkable today a mere 44 years later, that Albania, a country smaller than Ireland with a population of 3 million, has a developed industry and agriculture which is in a continuous state of modernisation. It has a heavy and

light multi-branched industry including engineering, mining, steel, chemical, oil, food processing, paper, textile, footwear, plastics etc. etc. It is a country which has no unemployment, where the right to work, as well as the equality of men and women in every respect, is not only enshrined in the constitution, but is a practical reality. Around 40,000 new jobs are created every year for the young people leaving school and university. 48% of the workforce are engaged in industrial production and the construction industry and 21.8% in agriculture, and 47% of the total workforce are women.

SELF-RELIANCE

Albania has built this economy on the basis of self-reliance, without the enslaving "investment" and "credits" of the foreign imperialist banks and corporations. Consequently the wealth created is channelled back into the economy for the benefit of the people and not exported out of the country as happens here in Ireland. There is no foreign debt to bleed the economy dry as in the dependent countries of the world and trade with other nations is carried out on the basis of

equality and mutual benefit. By law exports must balance imports etc.

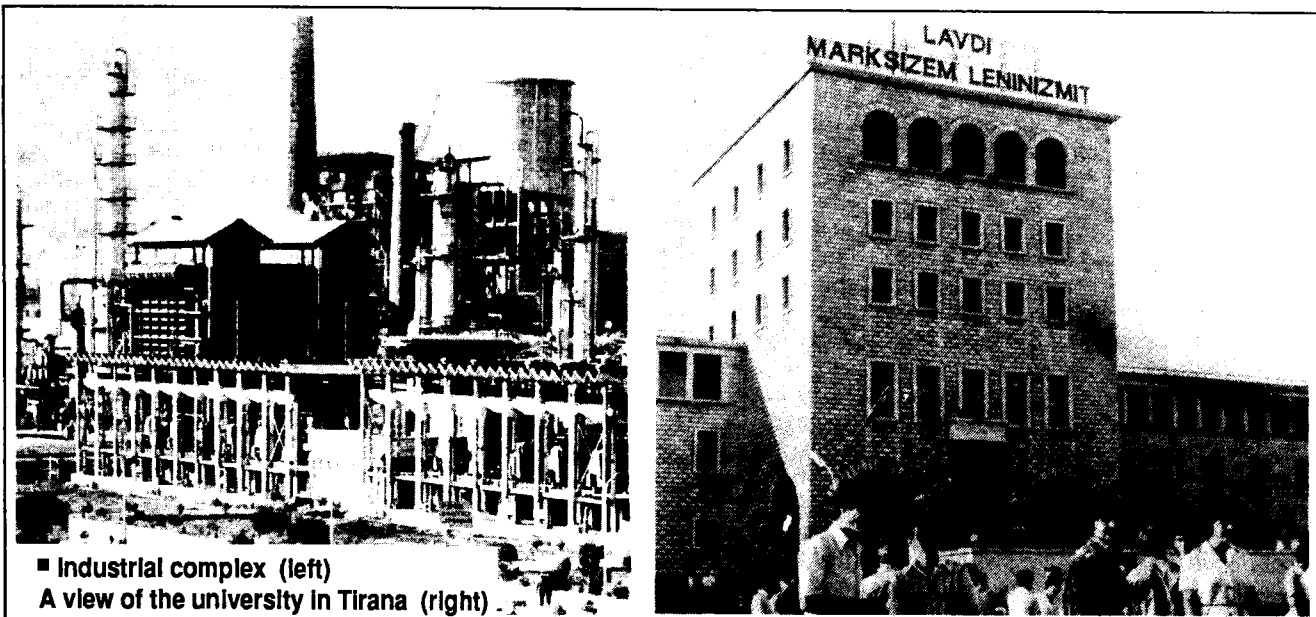
The Albanian people have a secure life with an ever increasing standard of living. Taxation has been abolished and inflation and price rises are unknown. On the contrary, there are periodic reductions of prices on various commodities. The health service is free and charges for such essentials as rents and electricity are almost nominal.

This is not some Utopia. Neither is it a backward, isolationist totalitarian state as the bourgeoisie slander it. It is however, a genuinely independent nation, which won its independence through the tremendous heroism and sacrifice of its people, led by the Communist Party, now the Party of Labour of Albania and its leader Comrade Enver Hoxha, in the struggle to liberate their nation from Italian and German occupation.

This independence has had to be defended again and again at the various attempts to interfere - firstly by the "allies" after the war - the U.S. imperialists and British imperialists then neighbouring Yugoslavia and later by the Soviet revisionists after the death of Stalin, and the Chinese revisionists. This genuine independence as well as all the achievements in constructing a dynamic economy and life for its people, free from all the crises which are engulfing the capitalist and revisionist systems, has been gained solely because of the eradication of capitalism and feudalism which give rise to the exploitation and oppression of the working class and the people and the domination of nations by imperialist powers.

The construction of socialism, like the struggle to liberate the nation, has been achieved because of the tremendous unity of the working people around the Party of Labour of Albania. It has been achieved because the working class and the cooperativist peasantry are the rulers in their own country and are conscious that the fruits of their work are being used to improve the material and cultural well-being of the people and that their active participation in the running of the country ensures that these hard-won gains will never be used to benefit a few, as existed in the past and as exists now in the capitalist countries.

For this is the essential difference between capitalism and socialism. Capitalism bases its economic theories and practices on the profit motive - that the pursuit of profit



■ Industrial complex (left)
A view of the university in Tirana (right)

and the competition of different enterprises and even nations in the "free market" is the factor which causes economic development. But as can be seen from the application of this ethos over the last century, prosperity only occurs for the few at the expense of the many. Besides which this economic system is totally anarchic, inevitably resulting in an overproduction crisis, where in the midst of the gigantic technological potential created for economic development and the super-abundance of commodities produced, lies the inevitable fate that such blind competition and pursuit of maximum profit produces -- a swamping of the market, the elimination of the weaker competitors by the stronger - which results in factory closures, unemployment, shrinkage of the market, more factory closures etc. Insecurity and poverty, unemployment and overwork, wage cuts and reduction of social services is the fate for the vast masses of people.

PLANNED MANAGEMENT OF THE ECONOMY

Socialism however bases its economic development on the principle of ensuring the continual rise of the material and cultural well-being of the people. And this objective can only be attained through the continuous growth and perfecting of socialist production on the basis of modern technology and an unprecedented rise in labour productivity. The method by which this occurs is through the development of a state

plan covering every aspect of economic and social development. It is through such 5 year plans that the Albanian people have step by step built their economy and social life to the level that exists today, and which will secure even greater advances in the future. An indication of the increase of the level of production for instance, can be seen by the fact that total industrial output was, in 1984, 165 times greater than pre-war figures (production of the means of production - 210 times and consumer goods 120 times). In other words, the total volume of industrial production of 1938 is turned out in just two days. In the current five year plan, 1985 to 1990, social production will increase from between 31-33%, national income by 35-37%, total financial revenue of the state -37-39%, exports by 44-46%, social productivity of labour 11-13%, fundamental capital investments 11-13% and real income per head of the population 7-9%.

This continual growth of the economy depends on the constant rise of productivity of labour. But this is by no means the same thing as occurs in capitalist countries. The rise of productivity of labour under capitalism for the workers means overwork, speed-ups with little or no compensation, the replacement of jobs by new technology, resulting in unemployment for vast numbers of workers. Under socialism the rise in productivity of labour means a regime of constantly improving efficiency of the labour process and utilisation of resources and the reduction and re-utilisation of waste, as well as innovations to improve production including the introduction of new

technology in order to release labour to open up new fronts in industry. Overwork is not a feature of socialism as the 8 hour day is firmly in force, with overtime being an exception rather than a constant feature of life. Productivity of labour under capitalism means greater profits for the capitalists, whilst under socialism it means the creation of wealth for the benefit of the whole society.

The course which Socialist Albania has followed has avoided the fatal short cuts which the dependent nations have pursued for the alleged rapid development of their economies. The imperialist crisis with its sudden fall of prices of some commodities or the rise in interest rates of the dollar has meant that these countries, whose economies are often dependent on loans and the production of one or two commodities or who have turned their agriculture over to producing cash crops, are facing bankruptcy, mass poverty and even famine. By allowing the foreign multi-nationals to set up whatever industry that exists in these countries - invariably export-oriented, assembly industries, not only are they subject to the whims of the imperialist market, but it has led to virtual slave labour conditions for the workers whose wages are forced for ever downwards under the threat that these industries will re-locate elsewhere.

Albania however, after finally ridding their country of the parasitic classes who had sold out the nation to foreign capital and kept it in a state of backwardness, developed their socialist industry and cooperative agriculture, their educational

system, health service, culture etc. in a step-wise manner both quantitatively and qualitatively. At each stage certain specific tasks had to be solved to provide the basis for the next step forward.

On the industrial front, from the beginning the emphasis has always been placed on developing heavy industry - mining, machine building, engineering the steel industry etc. as this provides the basis on which the development of light industry and the mechanisation of agriculture can be developed. In the 1970s mining occupied the principal place in the development of the heavy industry. Now the heavy processing industry, the ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, mineral enrichment, organic and inorganic chemical, energy and engineering industry are gaining priority. From one five year plan to the next, new industry has been set up and others extended, always with the principle in mind to, wherever possible, replace imported goods by home produced. Nowadays the machine building industry is at an advanced stage with whole production lines being built and all the needs for the mechanisation of agriculture being met internally as well as 95% of spare parts being produced at home. In the current plan more than 370 major production and socio-cultural projects will be completed. These include new factories and production lines, the introduction of new technology in others, new railway lines, opening of new mines, irrigation works, new museums and sports complexes. Many have already come on stream.

On the educational front, in the first days, the task was simply to start a school system at a low level and to abolish illiteracy in the population as a whole. Later the task was to establish a fully compulsory 8 year school system and later still to establish a University and high levels of training to produce specialists in all fields. Today education is still being extended in order to facilitate the constant demand for highly qualified workers at all levels of production as well as the increase of the population - combining secondary education, including specialist schools with University education at graduate and post-graduate level as well as part-time education for workers to increase their level of technical expertise.

In the health system one of the primary tasks initially was to wipe out malaria and tuberculosis which was endemic and which was achieved by mass vaccination programmes as well as by draining the massive swamp-lands which were the conditions which gave rise to such diseases as Malaria. Today Albania has an advanced health service with the highest doctor : patient ratio in the world, where modern hospitals, health centres and maternity clinics exist in even the most remote zones. Besides plans for building new hospitals, the current 5 year plan includes a programme for the medical screening of the entire population as part of their preventative approach to medicine.

In other areas such as culture and other aspects of social life, with the development of the film industry, theatres, art galleries, T.V, museums, sports facilities, holiday resorts, etc. the same approach of planned step-wise development, both quantitatively and qualitatively, is applied. For example, as part of the policy to upgrade and extend sports facilities which cater especially for the youth, a major sporting complex in the capital, Tirana, has just been completed. This has a capacity for 3,500 people per day. There are five swimming pools including an olympic pool, one for high diving, and others of different sizes including one for children. Other facilities include many football pitches, badminton, basketball, volleyball, and tennis courts, facilities for gymnastics, athletics etc. as well as training halls and medical sports centres. This is the first of many new sports complexes to be sited around the country during the current plan.

One of the basic principles of socialism has always been to narrow the differences between the town and the countryside both in terms of the standard of living as well as in the cultural and social aspects so that the countryside is not de-populated by people migrating to the cities as happens under capitalism. Albania, inherited a situation of intense backwardness of the countryside and a continual pre-occupation has been to narrow this gap until the problem has been solved. The development of the cooperatives as well as state farms in agriculture has enabled widespread development of mechanisation. And this together with the development of agricultural science

has meant an increase in the standard of living for the people in the countryside. One advantage of this method of organising the economy according to a state plan, is the possibility it gives to ensuring that there is no disproportionate development of different areas of the country - that industry for example is not all centralised in one area, but is spread through the different regions or that a favourable prices policy for agricultural produce is developed for the group owned cooperatives (i.e they are not yet state owned farms) in the more backward mountainous areas. In the current 5 year plan, for example there are measures to ensure that the standard of living rises at a faster rate in these areas than in the cities and towns. So that in 1990, as against 1985, the real per capita income of the population will increase 5.8% in the cities and 12.7% in the countryside.

DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

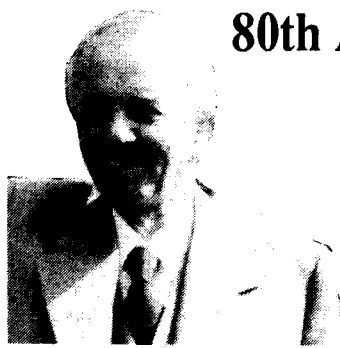
Whilst self-reliance and centralised planned management of the economy are two essential features of the socialist economic system, the third is that of the principle of democratic centralism. With the antics of the Soviet revisionists led by Gorbachev and his policies of "perestroika" and "glasnost" (see other article p.29) much confusion has been created concerning the nature of genuine socialism. One of these aspects gaining much publicity recently has been the question of centralised planning.

Gorbachev for example, blames "excessive centralism" in the Soviet Union for the stagnation of the Soviet economy. Thus he has announced a programme to decentralise and "liberalise" by giving more power to individual enterprises and managers, to allow competition between enterprises as well as allowing them to conduct foreign trade independently of the state centre. As we have seen this has nothing in common with socialism, but is purely the introduction of western-style capitalist practices inside an essentially state monopoly capitalist economy. In fact these "innovations" are essentially indistinguishable from the policies of the Thatcherite government in Britain, with its "lame duck" policies which make profit and private enterprise the sine qua non of the economy. Thus Gorbachev has given the green light that

unprofitable enterprises must close, that productivity must rise and wages cut and a private sector be developed. The character of the centralised planning in the Soviet Union has always been, since the death of Stalin and the restoration of capitalism there - bureaucratic centralism which has precisely allowed and indeed encouraged such things as the disproportionate development of the different regions of the Soviet Union. This has not been some "administrative error" but rather part of a policy of national oppression and the holding up of development of various of the smaller nations in the Soviet federation - the fruits of which we are seeing today in the mass protests at this policy. The Soviet bureaucratic centralism has been an imposition on the people, bearing no relation to the needs of the society. It has for a long time now bred a new class of exploiters, both in the state bureaucracy and party as well as in the managers of enterprises who have reaped huge individual financial rewards both from the system of pay, where the ratio between the lowest and highest paid in an enterprise has reached 1:20 and even higher, as well as bonuses, privileges, and corruption. Gorbachev's attack on this bureaucracy however is not from socialist positions, but from openly capitalist positions. For he is more and more abandoning even the semblance of economic planning (which is an essential feature of a genuine socialist system) and replacing it with the operation of "free market forces", "competition" with the motive force being the pursuit of profit. This can only lead to more exploitation and oppression of the working class and people of the Soviet Union and can never solve the crisis which it is facing.

Centralised planning in a genuinely socialist state, such as Albania, has nothing in common with what has occurred in the Soviet Union. The Constitution of Albania states that the whole activity of the state is based on the principle of democratic centralism i.e. *"combining centralised direction with the creative initiative of local organs and the masses of the working people, in struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism"*.

Genuine socialism demands the participation of the masses of the people in the running of the society. Whilst the socialist and cooperativist



80th Anniversary of the Birth of Enver Hoxha

October 16, 1988, saw the 80th anniversary of the birth of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the founder and leader of the Party of Labour for over four decades and the architect of the New Albania.

Socialist Albania marked the occasion with important public events and celebrations. Some of these took place at the unveiling of statues in places of major significance in the life of Enver Hoxha, such as

Gjirokastra where Comrade Enver was born and spent his childhood, in Korca where he spent his school youth and where he worked later as a teacher and first got involved with the workers and communist movement, as well as in Tirana, the capital, scene of Comrade Enver's work in developing the struggle underground against fascist occupation as well as so many historic events later on.

A museum devoted to the life and work of Enver Hoxha was opened in Tirana. It provides a beautiful and striking architectural setting to the display of materials from the War of National Liberation, as well as from the historic struggles which had to be undertaken once state power had been achieved in 1944, the struggle against modern revisionism and for the construction of socialism in Albania.

The fraternal parties of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement have also paid tribute to Comrade Enver Hoxha as a great Marxist-Leninist leader of the international proletariat.

Comrade Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, made an important speech in tribute to the life and achievements of Enver Hoxha at a massive rally in Tirana on October 16th. In this speech Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out that:

"The name and deed of Comrade Enver Hoxha are identified with the most brilliant pages of the history of modern Albania. They are merged with the epoch of the National Liberation War and that of the construction of the new society. With them is linked the greatest turning point in the history of the Albanian people, the national revival following the savage fascist occupation and the most deep-going social transformation that took place in our country, the triumph of socialism".

Further on Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out that:

"Enver Hoxha has been and remains until today the sole name among the communist leaders of these last four to five decades who defended in theory and practice the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the ideals of the revolution and socialism. He was the first to detect and diagnose the opportunist disease that began to corrode the international communist and workers' movement, he was the first who fought with such a passion against modern revisionism, who ardently defended socialism and its triumphant practice."

Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out that:

"Enver Hoxha substantiated in an all-sided way that socialism is a social system capable of responding to all the problems of progress and coping with all the challenges of the time.

"Socialism, as Enver Hoxha conceived it, and as the Party and people construct in our country, represents not only a theory and social practice, but also an ideal, an aim, an impulse that leads mankind to progress, a force that leads it to progress.

"At present we are faced with a great duty, which is of national and international importance as well. It is about the strengthening and progress of socialism in Albania. This is our ideal, but also our historic obligation.

"Our example and practice, the heroic struggle waged by the Party and people to score further victories, constitute an international contribution we are rendering to defend progress and socialism in the world, for the defence and progress of the revolution and progress of Marxism-Leninism."

Further on Ramiz Alia pointed out that:

"In the present situation, when capitalism and revisionism are united a unique front to denigrate Marxism-Leninism and destroy socialism, Comrade Enver Hoxha's thinking, his life and deed give us strength, confidence, courage and bravery to fight and win."

The Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) will always treasure the name and memory of Comrade Enver Hoxha. His Works, such as 'Imperialism and the Revolution', 'The Khrushchevites', 'The Titoites' and so many others, constitute important contributions to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary experience of the working class of the world. And in Comrade Enver Hoxha's greatest contribution, the living reality of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, led by the Party of Labour with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, we find comrades and inspiration for our common struggle for common ideals of socialism and communism, for a world of free nations where the exploitation of man by man will be ended for ever.

ownership of the means of production creates the basis by which a state plan can be developed, and coordinated, the matter does not end there. The state plan, which covers every aspect of development in society requires the active participation of the people, both in the discussion, drafting and approval of the plan as well as its implementation. Centralism does not paralyse initiative. On the contrary it provides leadership and it pre-supposes and depends on the democratic participation of the people. As with all other aspects of life under socialism the forms and methods of democratic centralism are continuously being perfected, both by raising the level of the participation of the people, developing new forms for its expression, raising their educational and cultural level and their consciousness as to not only their democratic right but also their responsibility for solving all problems necessary to fulfil their part of the plan. For it is only the collective effort of the organised working people which can meet the requirement for the economy to progress in an uninterrupted way, which will in turn benefit all the people.

The actual mechanism for the development of the state plan in Albania involved the creation of the state organs for the planning and management of the economy, through which a draft plan is drawn up. This of course is drafted in consultation with the local organs of the enterprises, mass organisations etc. It is then presented to the people for discussion. Wherever they are at work, at meetings in their city quarter, in the cultural institutions, mass organisations etc, the plans are discussed, criticised and proposals made. These popular debates without fail involve changing the original plan. Furthermore during the implementation of the plan, the workers themselves, under their own initiative, have frequently modified it, accelerating the rates of development. Upward of 13,500 commissions and planning groups consisting of 82,000 members were set up, for example, for the 6th 5 year plan. About 160,000 working people contributed to the discussion, advancing about 45,000 proposals, of which 30,000 were found valuable and endorsed. The same procedure was followed for the 2 subsequent 5 year plans.

Once the plan has been approved the struggle of the workers and cooperativists led by the PLA begins



■ Youth Volunteers in a mass action to construct terraces

to implement and if possible overfulfil its targets. For under socialism whilst discussion and debate concerning these major decisions of the state are a democratic right, at the same time it also requires the responsibility of the people to implement these decisions. This responsibility entails not only the necessity for the workers and cooperativists to increase their technical know-how, use initiative to solve problems in a creative way, develop standards of work discipline and increase productivity, but also requires them to participate in the struggle against any bureaucratic or liberal manifestations which may appear. This is absolutely necessary because the implementation of the plan is not purely an organisational problem, for it also reflects the class struggle in the society which continues even after the expropriation of the bourgeoisie albeit taking different forms than under the capitalist system. For the past bourgeois and petty bourgeois psychology and habits existing amongst the people cannot be eradicated in a day but can only be changed through education, persuasion and example.

The struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism

For example one such non-antagonistic contradiction under socialism is the contradiction between the workers and the cadres (i.e. leaders, technicians, intelligentsia) and between mental and

manual labour. This is solved on the basis of the leaders serving the interests of the working people by fraternal and friendly collaboration and not on the basis of exploitation as under capitalism. However if this is not resolved correctly, the contradiction can transform itself inevitably from a non-antagonistic contradiction in the ranks of the people, into a hostile, antagonistic contradiction and the cadres begin to oppose themselves to the people, to their interests, turning gradually into exploiters, and thereby the socialist relations of production are turned into relations between exploiters and exploited, in other words into capitalist relations. This is what is occurring in the revisionist countries like the Soviet Union today.

Thus various measures have been taken in Albania to prevent this bureaucratisation of individuals in the state administration, the Party, amongst the management or professional workers. Central to this is a system of check-up and control which has been developed - of combining both centralised control from the top down as well as control by the workers from the bottom up. Today this workers' control has developed into various forms, from the more narrow control through groups and commissions to more mass forms of public confrontation and debate.

Other concrete measures have been taken which provide favourable conditions to limit the appearance of bureaucratic or liberal manifestations, which prevents the cadres

from becoming isolated from the people and from transforming themselves from the servants of the people into their rulers. One important measure has been the practice developed that for a certain period every year all the cadres of the administration, of the state apparatus, the economy, the Party and social organisations, of the army, intelligentsia etc. (who are in good health and below a certain age) must participate in direct production work. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said on these matters,

" The cadres must roll up their sleeves and dirty their shoes in order to see not only from above but also from below the problems, needs and tasks of everybody, in order to shake off all left-overs of bureaucracy, all presumption and arrogance, the malady of commandeering and favouritism, which more often affects those who, vested with power, think of themselves as being the only ones capable of creating everything, of being indispensable for the progress of work."

Another concrete measure taken over the years has been the continual adjustment of the ratio between salaries of the working people, without however levelling them out completely. This especially has been designed to ensure proper relations between the workers and the specialists, managers, leading cadres and intelligentsia and restrict the petty bourgeois tendencies of contempt for work in production, or the seeking after personal ease, of putting personal interests above the general interest etc. that a large difference in pay brings. Thus the pay system has been changed 6 times since liberation with a policy of reducing the salaries of the top functionaries, beginning from the leaders of the Party and the state, whilst at the same time raising the lowest level of wages and pensions. Thus today the ratio between the workers of a given branch, and the salary of a director of an enterprise is 1:1.7; the ratio between the average pay of the workers in general and the salary of a director of a ministry is 1:2, the ratio between the lowest and the highest wages of the workers in a given branch is about 1.5 : 1.65 . Today the differentials in pay that do exist are designed to stimulate the workers to achieve better qualifications in order to improve the level of production, as well as to pay higher wages to workers in especially arduous work, or positions of responsi-

bility but without such large differentials as to encourage careerism and bureaucracy. The system of pay is above all aimed at ensuring that the Marxist-Leninist principle for the period of the construction of socialism for the distribution of income according to work done. Whilst the pay represents the portion of the national income for individual consumption, there is also a portion set aside for general consumption (outside that used for capital investments, defence etc.). This is the state expenditure on such things as the free health service, free education, including grants for students, the non-contributory pensions as well as state subsidies of workers' holidays and admission prices at theatres, cinemas etc. The standard of living has been raised by a variety of policies - of eliminating taxation, of lowering prices, of raising wages, providing full employment etc.

Above all, in the course of the struggle to construct the socialist economic base of Albania, which has replaced the private ownership of the means of production by social ownership, the ideology and consciousness of the working people has been transformed.

Under capitalism, which is based on savage competition and domination, the savage exploitation of the many for the enrichment of the few, the main ideology and morality which is promoted is that of "Everybody for himself".

But in Albania, where the well-being of the individual depends on the well-being of all then matters are entirely different. Collective work, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism are the features of the new humanism here. Conscious educational work amongst the people from the first days, alongside the reality of life has brought into being a new morality which is making itself felt throughout the country. These can be seen by the spirit of voluntarism which is spreading throughout Albania. One such example of this occurred when a series of earthquakes hit Albania between 1967 and 1979. On each occasion tens of thousands of workers from all over Albania rushed to the scene to volunteer their services to reconstruct the thousands of buildings destroyed, others stayed in the factories to produce the building materials necessary, again on a voluntary basis, as well as ensuring that

the economic plan in the different enterprises were fulfilled. Thus in the heart of the winter of 1967 5,865 buildings were built in the space of a month. Whilst this is a dramatic example, every-day examples of this collective spirit are manifested. One feature which has been developing over the past few years has been the phenomenon of mass actions where the people in a given area undertake to solve a major problem in a short space of time. One example was in 1969 when 12,000 people gathered in one district to dig a 17 kilometre irrigation canal. It was completed in 8 hours. This example spread like wildfire throughout the country as the socialist emulation movement gained momentum everywhere. The Youth especially have responded to these collective actions. Nowadays hundreds of thousands of worker and student youth volunteer for a months work on major projects like the building of the railway system. The Party of Labour of Albania and the Socialist state view these great initiatives not only from the standpoint of actually solving various economic tasks which can propel the economy forward, but also and perhaps more importantly from the viewpoint of the implanting of the communist morality and ideology of the collective spirit more and more firmly amongst the people.

In Albania the interests of the individual and the collective are not in conflict. For the working people have learnt through their own experience that this system which puts the general interest first in no way limits the individual, but on the contrary gives the framework whereby the individual can release his/her creative potential to the full.

It is in this light of all these achievements - the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, including the emancipation of women, and the establishment of the working people as the rulers in their own independent nation, who through their self-sacrifice and hard work have built a continually advancing economic and social life as well as the development of the truly human spirit of cooperation and mutual assistance- that genuine socialism as it is practiced in Albania - can justifiably lay claim to be the most advanced social order existing in the world today.



Developments which Strengthen the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement

Since the 9th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania in November, 1986, a number of the sister parties of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement have held their congresses. Amongst these have been the Revolutionary Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist), which held its 2nd Congress; the Communist Party of Trinidad and Tobago, which held its 2nd Congress; the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), which held its 5th Congress; the Communist Party of Denmark, which held its 4th Congress; the Communist Party of Portugal (Reconstructed), which held its Congress; the Communist Party of Brazil, which held its 7th Congress; and the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist), which held its Congress.

Such party congresses have become - once again in recent decades, after the damage wreaked by Khrushchevite modern revisionism and the split it caused in the international working class and communist movement - important opportunities for strengthening the ties of proletarian internationalism between the sister parties around the world, as well as of course representing the most important event in the life of each party in developing the working class and communist movement in their own countries themselves.

Congresses, such as the 5th Congress of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) and the 7th Congress of the Communist Party of Brazil amongst others,

have been international gatherings, with delegations from parties attending from continents and countries spread right around the world, including from the Party of Labour of Albania. They have thus been occasions when, not only do parties have the opportunity to get to know and learn from each other's work and experience in organising revolution in their own countries, but the objective unity of the working class and oppressed peoples of the world can be given subjective expression in the true spirit of proletarian internationalism. For all the genuine Marxist-Leninist communist parties fight shoulder to shoulder in common struggle against the common enemies - world imperialism, the bourgeoisie and reaction, headed today by the two superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. A focal point of this spirit of proletarian internationalism, based as always on the ideology of the working class of all countries - Marxism-Leninism - is the unity of all the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and the whole International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement in support and defence of the socialist camp, with its proven staunch and invincible bastion still today in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Unity in Struggle against Modern Revisionism

In his important book, 'Euro-communism is Anti-Communism' published in 1980, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

"Conscious of the great loss which

the birth and spread of modern revisionism, especially Khrushchevite modern revisionism, brought the cause of the revolution and communism, the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries knew how and were able to resist this great counter-revolutionary tide and to organise themselves and fight resolutely against it.

"With a lofty sense of responsibility to the proletariat of their own countries and the world, they placed themselves in the forefront of the stern, principled struggle for the exposure of the revisionists' betrayal and set to work to create new Marxist-Leninist organisations and parties.

"The Marxist-Leninist movement was born and developed in this great process of differentiation from modern revisionism and the struggle for the cause of communism, and took upon itself to raise and carry forward the banner of the revolution and socialism, betrayed and rejected by the former communist parties which the revisionist degeneration had transformed into firemen to quell the flames of the revolution and the peoples' liberation wars. The formation of new Marxist-Leninist parties was a victory of historic importance for the working class of each country, as well as for the cause of the revolution on a world scale."

"The parties in which Browderite, Khrushchevite, Titoite, Euro-communist, Maoist modern revisionism became established were liquidated as communist parties. Revisionism stripped them of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary spirit, transformed them from organised detachments of the working class to carry out the revolution into weapons for

"extinguishing" the class struggle, for establishing class "peace", for sabotaging the revolution and destroying socialism.

"Bearing in mind the struggle which the modern revisionists wage against the Leninist theory and practice on the party, the genuine communist revolutionaries fight for the defence, strengthening and development of proletarian parties built on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. They are conscious that without such a party, without an organised vanguard detachment of the working class, the revolution cannot be carried out, the national liberation struggle cannot be waged correctly through to the end and the bourgeois-democratic revolution cannot be deepened and go over to the proletarian revolution."

The common unity of today's genuine Marxist-Leninist communist parties and the international movement as a whole with Socialist Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania stems precisely from the fact that these parties have grown up with and gained strength themselves, as well as strengthening the unity of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement, in the common struggle against modern revisionism in which Comrade Enver Hoxha and the Party of Labour of Albania played such a crucial leading role. And this is true both in the case of the new parties formed in the 1960s and '70s such as ours, as well as in the case of old parties with a continuous history back to the 1920s, such as the Communist Party of New Zealand and the Communist Party of Brazil which smashed and expelled the Khrushchevite and other modern revisionists before they could seize control and degenerate and liquidate the party. This unity with the Party of Labour of Albania is further advancing and strengthening today, with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head after the loss of Comrade Enver Hoxha, who died on April 11th, 1985.

**Basis of Proletarian
Internationalism in Common
Struggle for Revolution Waged
within Each Country**

At the same time, contrary to the shallow, ill-intentioned slanders of the opportunists and their revisionist splinter groups of many hues, the Marxist-Leninist party in each country does not base its claim simply to some name as a

genuine communist party and merely on some verbal expression of allegiance to Socialist Albania. Rather is it the fact that these parties, including the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist), naturally find common cause and strive for unity with each other and with the Party of Labour of Albania because they are actually revolutionary parties, implementing the universally valid revolutionary ideology and the summation of the entire experience of the world's working class - the ideas of the classic leaders of the international proletariat, of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin - in preparing and organising the revolution, each in their own country.

These slanders are in any case simply attempts to deny that the working class needs to have its single, authoritative party, that no one has the right to organise the working class on a monolithic, united and disciplined basis and actually for revolution, but only has the right to find its allotted place as merely one group at the foot of the Tower of Babel amongst the plethora of splinter groups who are engaged in the specious occupation of allegedly 'fighting for the unity of the left'. Actually such activities of trying to unite the un-uniteable, trying to unite what are simply competing and mutually antagonistic, but equally servile opportunist, anarchist and revisionist groupings, is simply another means of creating divisions amongst the working class and between the working class and the rest of the people whom the workers should have their true role in uniting. The sole role of such groupings and factions is actually to disorganise and splinter the unity of the working class within each country and on the world scale, and so render what is potentially the most revolutionary class completely impotent in the face of its historic responsibility to overthrow the rotten old, warmongering order of capitalism and imperialism and usher in the epoch of socialism in each country and communism and lasting peace and international co-operation throughout the world.

No, the fact that a party calls itself a Marxist-Leninist party cannot be reduced to some question of 'recognising Albania' or 'being recognised by Albania' any more than by allegiance to or recognition by the Soviet modern revisionists today, as the opportunists and revisionists try to make out. For as

Comrade Enver Hoxha also points out in his book on Eurocommunism:

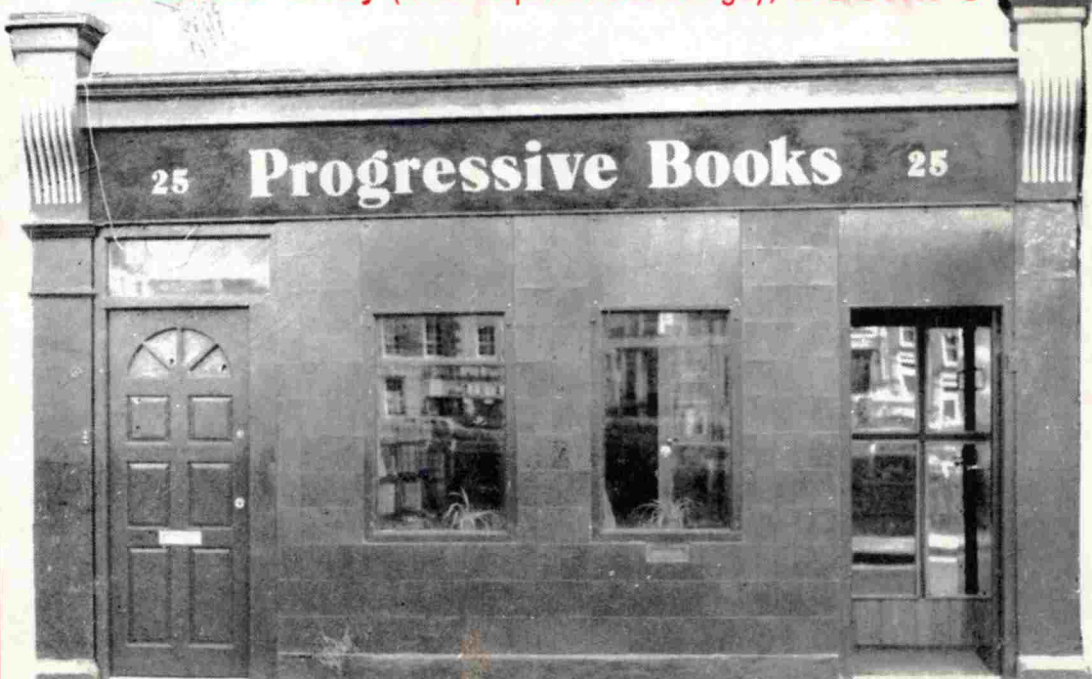
"The Marxist-Leninist party does not emerge and is not created accidentally or for no purpose. It emerges and is created as a result of certain very important objective and subjective factors. The Marxist-Leninist party emerges from the ranks of the working class, represents its highest aspirations, its revolutionary aims and wages and carries forward the class struggle. Without the working class, without its revolutionary objectives, without the Marxist-Leninist theory, which is the theory of the working class, there can never be a Marxist-Leninist party."

The Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist), which itself plays as full a role as it can in strengthening the unity of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement, for instance sending delegations and messages to the congresses of fraternal parties, such as to the 2nd Congress of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist) and the 5th Congress of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), as well as to other rallies and meetings of fraternal parties, bases its contribution to the unity of the working class of the world on our work in our own country, just as do the other genuine Marxist-Leninist parties in their countries.

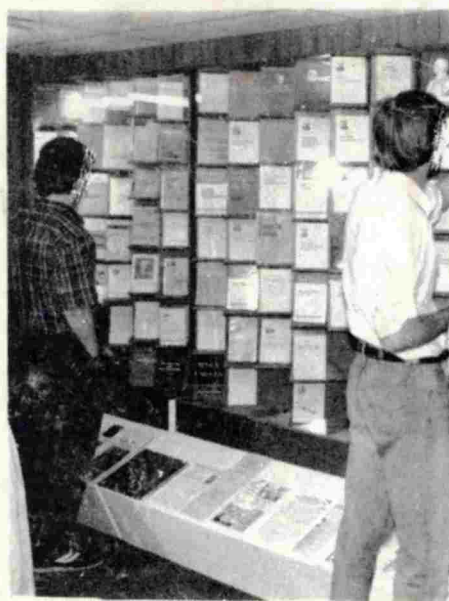
In our case CPI(M-L) is striving to make its contribution to the stage of world proletarian socialist revolution and the liberation of all humanity from all forms of national oppression and class exploitation by preparing the subjective conditions for the revolution at home, namely by organising the Irish working class to come to the head of the revolutionary movement in order to unite the whole Irish nation for the overthrow of the main oppressor in Ireland, British imperialism, as well as to smash its internal collaborators, the Irish monopoly bourgeoisie. The goal of the national movement, headed by the working class and its party, is to achieve a genuinely sovereign and re-united Irish Republic, freed of foreign domination and exploitation by all forms of imperialism and the multinational companies, and - by advancing the revolution through to the end - crown it with the establishment of the socialist system in Ireland.

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- Publications of the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist), including "MARXIST LENINIST WEEKLY" and the pamphlet "Unity and Freedom"
- Publications of the Preparatory Committee of the Communist Youth Union of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) leaflets and other publications of "Voice of the Youth", including the pamphlet "UPHOLD DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLE !"
- Publications from fraternal parties of the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement, including "WORKERS WEEKLY", Organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist) etc.

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