

# RED ★ BANNER

*Paper of the Young Socialists,  
youth section of the International Socialist League.*

NO 3.

## MERGER ATTACK ENTERS NEW PHASE

WHEN the University Grants Committee (UGC) 'merged' the Ulster Polytechnic with the New University of Ulster (Coleraine), Magee College (Derry) and the Art College (Belfast) in 1984, it was under a programme of 'rationalisation' which applied to the whole of the north of Ireland.

Whilst Queen's University Belfast (QUB), the only remaining independent institution in the north, was not officially to form part of the merged 'University of Ulster' (UU), it was nevertheless to be re-organised with the UU so that the north could be generally treated as a single university area and thus become a major avenue for government cuts in education.

The term 'rationalisation' was devised solely for the purpose of deceiving workers and students whose resistance to these cuts would otherwise have halted the merger process.

But two years after the start of the merger it is becoming increasingly obvious to staff and students that the merger, and its

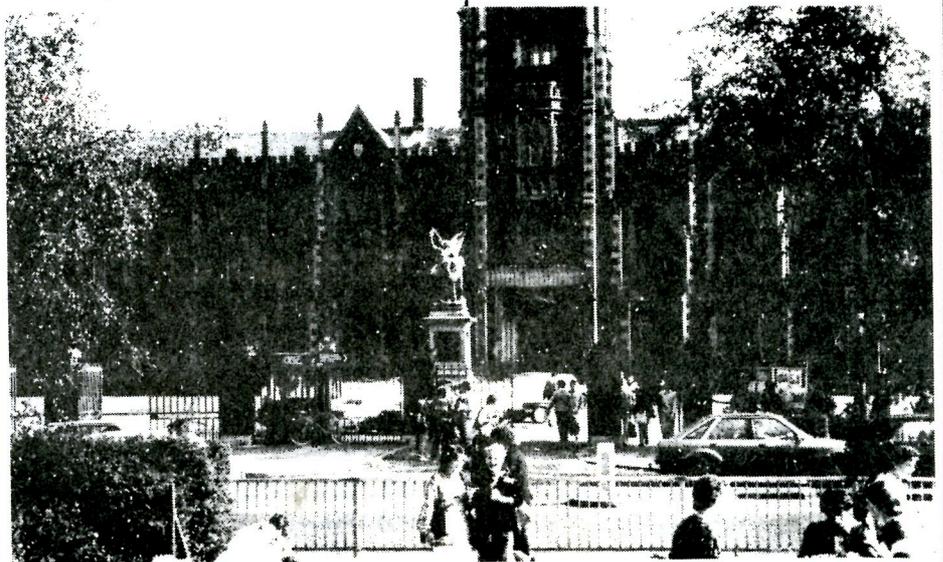
accompanying rationalisation is nothing more than a disguised attack on third-level education, and resistance to it is steadily growing.

In the UU, whole courses have been axed and departments whittled away or restructured to accommodate the needs of industry as opposed to those of education. Students applying to university are thus increasingly finding themselves herded onto technology courses or industry oriented degree programmes much to the detriment

of the theoretical and academic courses which are traditional to universities.

This, together with the introduction of the new GCSE exams for secondary school pupils and the emphasis by the Tories on creating 'Technology Schools', bodes ill for the future of state education.

The intent appears to be the transformation of educational centres into factories producing fodder for industry. The fact that this will result in the collapse



*Queens University, Belfast - in reality part of the merger.*

in standards of education, and eventually in the degeneration of teaching standards, appears to be of no interest to the government whose only concern is how to reduce public expenditure and help to prop up the frail and dying body of British industry.

This concern is again reflected in the fact that the number of student places available in the UU has proportionally decreased since the onset of the merger, thus making it more and more difficult for school leavers and those returning to education to obtain places at a time when unemployment is endemic.

The restructuring of courses across the sites, and the changed administrative goals (including spending cuts), has also meant some staff being obliged to move sites, conditions of work being changed detrimentally, and wages and salaries being eroded.

Some lecturing staff, particularly those from the Coleraine site, have had their lecturing hours dramatically increased from as little as 4 hours per week to anything up to 18 hours! On top of the hours required for preparation, marking etc., this cuts the teaching hours of lecturers at such a level as to virtually exclude the research activities essential to a university.

Meanwhile the UU and QUB must now compete both with each other and with other universities in Britain for finances for research from a central fund. This fund replaces the system whereby all lecturing staff were automatically allocated an amount for research purposes. Now each institution must submit to being 'rated' in relation to the others and allocated funds according to how well it measures up!



*AUT pickets outside the University of Ulster, Jordanstown during the January strike against underfunding in higher education.*

The recent rating of QUB defined it as an 'average' institution and it has consequently been ordered to slash its budget by a drastic 14% or £5.2 million. Subsequent to this announcement Queens has reluctantly begun an internal ordering of its departments to decide what areas must suffer the severest cuts, and it has been estimated that this will result in the loss of 250 jobs and severely curtail its research abilities.

This cut comes on top of a previous £5 million or 15% cut the university has been forced to implement since 1981.

Because of its transitional character from separate institutions to a unified university, the UU has temporarily escaped being rated until 1988/89 when the next overall rating is to occur. Meanwhile the university has set up research centres separate from the faculties to isolate research activi-

ties from the main body of university work. This will result in the teaching staff of the university becoming more and more divided into those who lecture and those who do research.

Since researchers will then be easily identifiable, this will make it easier for the UGC to curtail its funding to the university as a whole. In this way the university administration is actually performing the work of the UGC!

Meanwhile the UGC continues to actively encourage and reward those who tailor research to the needs of a crisis-ridden industry, thus distorting university research out of all recognition. The pressure brought to bear by this process will have the effect of crushing long-term research and destroying the breadth of university research generally.

Moreover, whilst the UU and QUB must squabble with each other over funds, the

two institutions are directly required, under 'rationalisation', to restrict their courses to ensure that they do not offer any identical ones.

This means that students intending to take a particular course at university will have no choice about which institution to attend and essentially means that Queens is part and parcel of the merger process.

These most recent mechanisms for reducing funding stand as part of the government's major policy of mergers and amalgamations. Policy which has been thrust upon primary, secondary and tertiary institutions alike, liquidating entire schools at a stroke. Policy which,

having been tried and tested in the north, is being adopted as part of the government's education policy in Britain.

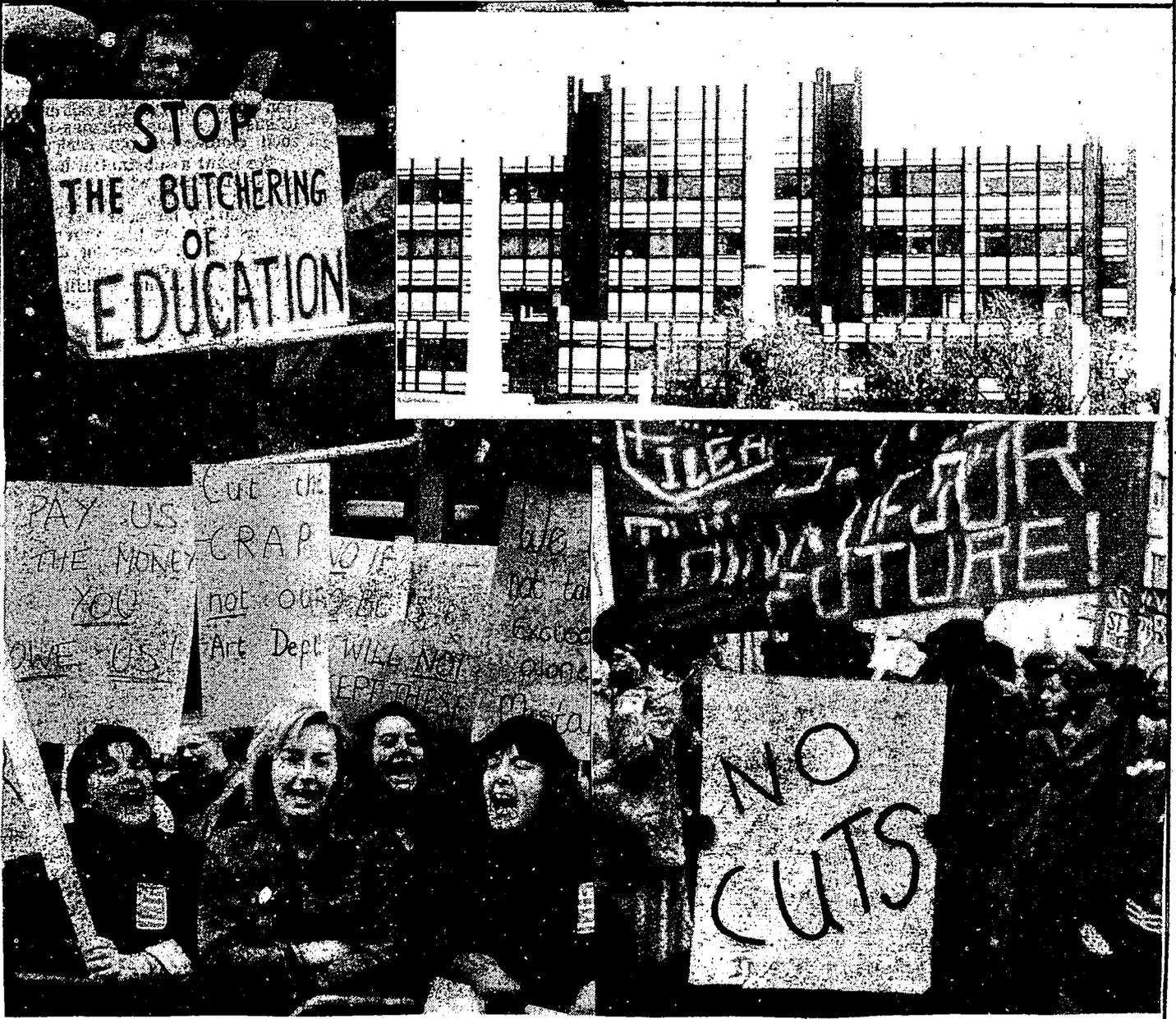
Education is just one area being pruned and eroded under pressure from the deepening world crisis. This crisis demands an all-round attack on workers and students with, amongst other things, a renewed effort to replace grants for the latter with a system of loans.

All those in education are being set upon as a whole, rapidly breaking down the divisions that have been formally imposed between the various levels and institutions.

The YSSS has an unblemish-

ed record of opposition to the merger - see Red Banner, No's 1 & 2 - and we urge everyone to take up this struggle in their unions and departments. All non-academic bodies of the universities should be withdrawn from and replaced by union bodies involving NUS, AUT, NUPE and ASTMS. The immediate publication of all material from the corporatist ICTU merger committee, which actively assisted the bringing about of the merger, should then be demanded.

- OPPOSE THE MERGER!
- DEFEND EDUCATION!



# EDUCATION IS A REVOLUTIONARY QUESTION

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THROUGHOUT the world, capitalism is in desperate crisis from which there is only one course of action it can take, that of attacking the gains of the world working class on a huge scale and of driving relentlessly towards world war and a massive destruction of the productive forces.

The ruling imperialist class is confronted with the necessity to attack these gains (fought for overgenerations) as an absolute.

This because the source of the crisis is the mass of contradictions inherent to the competitive economy of capitalism. Basing itself on the exploitation of labour for the creation of its profits and on the principal of individual ownership of the means of production, capitalism finds itself rift with these contradictions.

Whilst individual capitalists must constantly strive to expand their business so as not to fall prey to competition, they find that the elimination of competition results in a declining rate of profit.

While the continued creation of profits demands constant increase in production to outstep rivals and combat the effect of falling

prices, so increased production results in a glut on the market and further price falls.

While profits can only be created from the exploitation of labour, they can only be 'realised' when the products of that labour are sold. And since the exploitation of labour necessitates paying it, in the form of wages, less than the value of that which it produces, the labouring class cannot afford to buy the commodities which alone can produce the capitalist's profit.

Only expansion to new markets can then resolve the problem.

These and other contradictions drive capitalism without let-up towards a crisis of overproduction wherein all available markets have been developed to capacity and commodities can no longer be sold to realise profits.

At this point the capitalist frantically tries to move in on the markets of other capitalists (causing wars in the process) and simultaneously tries to offload his financial crisis onto his workforce, with dismissals and wage cuts. But in turn this depletes the markets further and exacerbates the problem as more

and more workers become unemployed and unable to buy the products of labour.

But a period of gains for the working class since the second world war has created a strong force ready and able to withstand the attacks of crisis-ridden capitalism.

All gains, from those of the October revolution in Russia, the nationalised property relations and the creation of the Red Army; to the trade unions, the health service and education, have been gains within capitalism. All have cost great sacrifice and called for higher forms of organisation.

Central to these forms of struggle has been a break with the class enemy. The pressure from the ruling class bears down with increasing weight on our leaderships, and, in this period of severe crises, has found expression in a tendency towards corporatism wherein our leadership, elected for battle, attempt to negotiate away the class war.

Concessions wrung from the ruling class by these elected representatives in secret committees are sold to ourselves as the 'new realism'. Eric Hammond, a purveyor of corporatism, is used to create a fifth col-



*Teachers in London last September demonstrating in defence of pay and education. Resistance continues to be stepped up by an unbroken working class.*

um. (the enemy within) in the working class and among its middle class allies.

But world wide the working class is unbeaten. This is not the thirties with its isolation of national liberation struggles; with its full collaboration with the ruling class (Ramsey McDonald); with its breaking of the fighting spirit of the third international and national betrayals (Stalinism); and with its wholesale imprisonment and murder of trade unionists (fascism).

The world working class, as expressed in Soweto and Wapping, have no intention of rolling over under the pressure of this 'new realism'.

The objective creation of these gains has been a very complex process. The ruling class have adapted and conceded in order to avoid annihilation. This is no longer possible. The law of value has had its way. No more adaptations or concess-

ions, this is the nature of the regime of Thatcher in Britain and Reagan in America. And all 'liberal' and other regimes are drawn into their conspiracies as with 'little' Denmark against Libya, 'democratic' Holland against South Africa, and the Stalinist regime in Poland against the British miners.

Implacable opposition to their imperialist plans draws the 'line of death' for the crisis regimes of Reagan and Thatcher. On that side stands imperialism, the ruling class and its decrepid relationships (including the corporatist ones). On this side, the national liberation struggles (Libya, South Africa, Iran and Palestine), the gains of the working class in the metropolitan countries, the trade unions, the health service, the education system, the arts, and the very independence of communities from the state and its bodies.

Education in this epoch

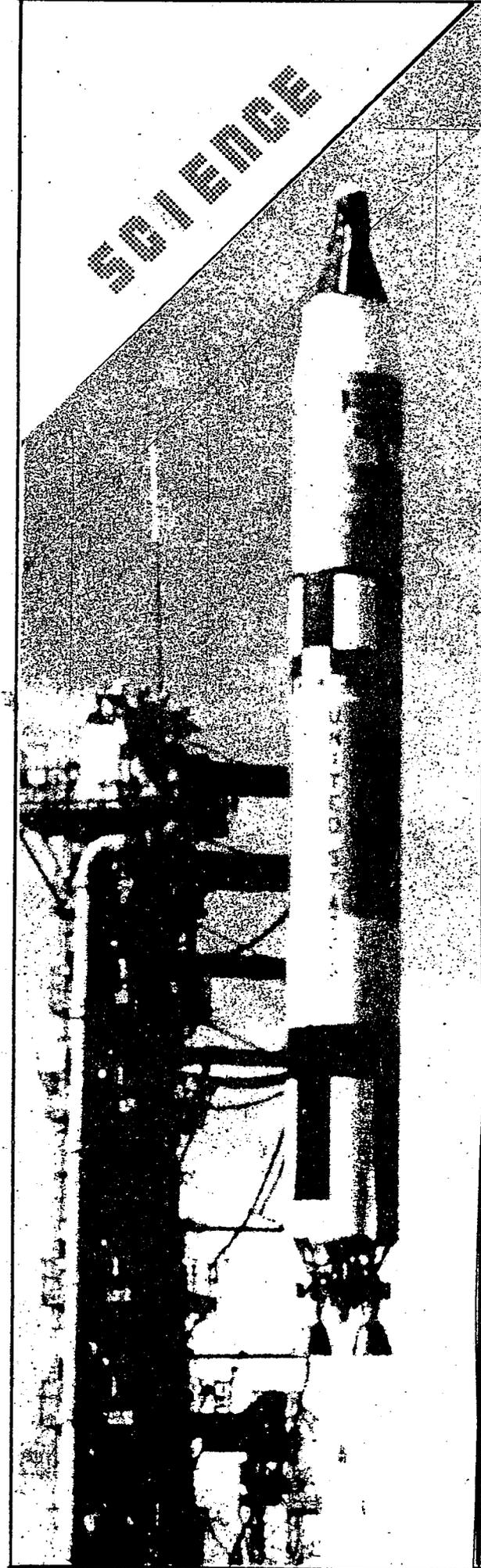
becomes a revolutionary question, not because of some dogmatic stance, but by its essence. The issue of education becomes a necessary vehicle through which to mobilise trade unions and communities.

The wholesale attacks mean 'rationalising' education to the bone and leaving mere training camps with the words 'Education makes Freedom' written over the entrance.

The International Socialist League opposes all corporatist participation of unions in state bodies.

- . Withdraw from all committees!
- . No secret negotiations!
- . Demand affiliation of AUT to the ICTU!

# Scientists



MASSIVE opposition to Reagan's 'Star Wars' project, erroneously entitled 'Strategic Defence Initiative' (SDI), is building up amongst the scientific communities in the United States and in Britain.

In November of last year a statement signed by more than 60 British computer scientists and published in widely circulating computing newspapers, expressed concern about SDI and disassociated its signatories from research in the 'initiative'.

As well as pointing out the unrealistic nature of the project and the fact that it is diverting resources away from current projects, the statement expresses fear that Star Wars is involving them in a political fight which they find abhorrent.

'Although we are speaking as scientists, we cannot ignore the impact of our participation in the political process.'

Since the publication of this statement, more and more computer scientists and physicists (the two areas most directly involved in Star Wars research) have refused to become involved and have shown increasing anger that civil research programmes are either being corrupted or smothered as a consequence of the political and economic pressure for militarisation being brought to bear by the United States government.

Subsequent to the setting up of a special Ministry of

Defence SDI office in Britain, an Anglo-American Star Wars Treaty was established which specified the rules under which UK research projects are awarded funds from the British government. Scientists, under this procedure, are being given massive incentives to work for Star Wars projects with 100 per cent funding.

Following the signing of the treaty a British anti-Star Wars group called 'Computing and Social Responsibility' has been set up which many top scientists from such places as the Turing Institute, Imperial College and Manchester, Cambridge and Edinburgh universities have joined.

In America too, scientists are signing statements vowing not to accept any funds for Star Wars research. Nearly 7,000 such scientists have signed a pledge calling SDI 'ill-conceived and dangerous' and stating that they will not participate in it.

One British scientist, Richard Ennals, resigned his research position in the Alvey Logic Programming initiative at Imperial College London, in protest at the way researchers are being sucked into the military arena.

'We're in a kind of dangerous vacuum. The government is unlikely to offer us any further research money before the next election.'

In desperate crisis, imperialism is relentlessly

# reject Star Wars

propelled towards total militarisation and elimination of the nationalised property relations of the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc nations.

This military expansion is now so extensive that its reactionary advocates are oblivious to scientific arguments even in weapons research establishments.

Scientists working both in military and civil areas have continually pointed out the physical barriers which exist to the creation of 'intelligent' military satellites in space.

The computer code necessary would be of devastating proportions and, even if it was not impossible to create, it would certainly contain in-built errors.

Amongst other things it would have to be able to take account of atmospheric variations and primarily would need to be based on the concepts of 'Artificial Intelligence' (AI) in order to enable it to make assessments and take action accordingly. This in itself presents an insurmountable obstacle.

After having countless resources put at its disposal, AI is no closer to producing an 'intelligent' system than it was decades ago.

This is because it depends on the impossible empiricist concept that the process of thought can be fixed and encoded to provide computers with the ability to 'think'.

Based on this idealist conception many computer scientists, driven by bourgeois pragmatism, have succeeded in producing nothing more than a few useful 'expert systems' while being constantly assaulted by contradictions which they are incapable of grasping.

Despite these obstacles, the United States government, in a desperate bid to capture all appropriate technology for its military programme, has extended its grasp to Britain, where with the help of the Tory government, its financial incentives are designed to lure and drive scientists into the fold in the hope of producing new results that will transform the Star Wars project from a broken pipe dream into a viable means of destruction.

As well as giving overt cash offers US contractors are attempting to woo conscience-pricked scientists by disguising the relationship of the work to the Star Wars project.

A psychological tactic of



REAGAN

this kind which attempts to circumvent the social conscience of the scientific community, is that of involving scientists on the basis of determining the 'feasibility' of SDI - even though imperialism's absolute determination to bring it about leaves no room for doubt about its practicality.

This is analogous to scientists in the 1940's discussing the possibility of the nuclear bomb whilst knowing that it would be used by the military.

Naturally imperialism prefers to avoid concentrating on the death and destruction into which the whole planet could be plunged in the event of a materialisation of the Star Wars project.

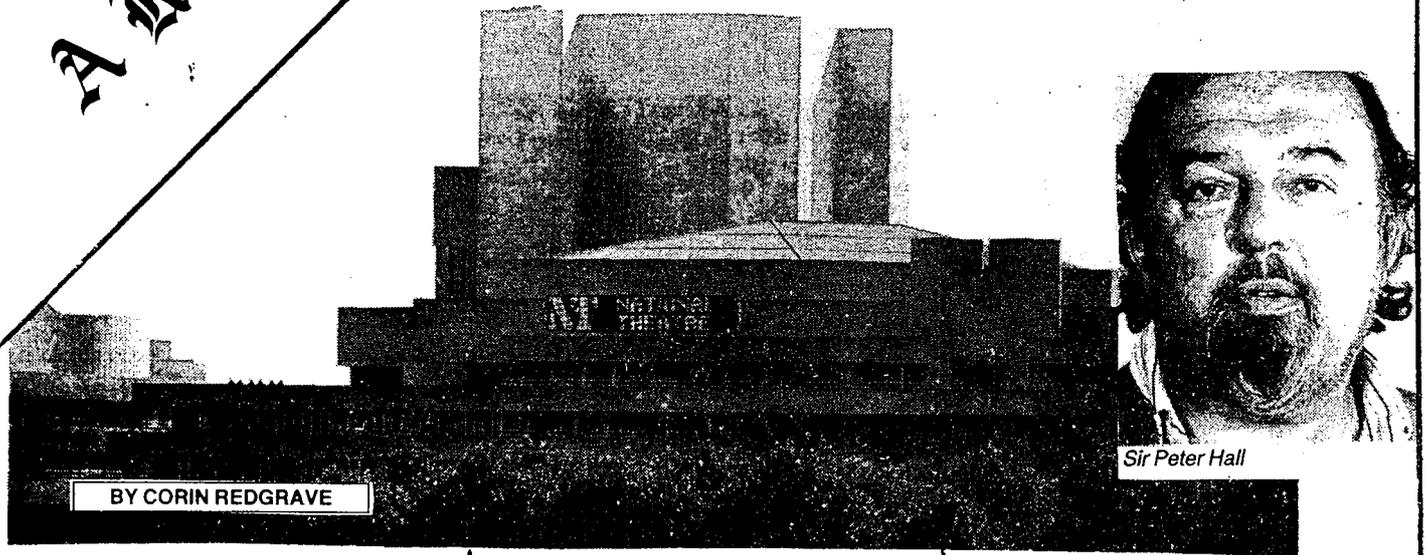
It therefore attempts to obscure the relationship between the idea and the reality with reference only to 'feasibility'.

Clearly scientists are once again being confronted by a further imperialist extension of warfare which consciously utilises scientific research and employs it without concern for scientific advance, but solely intent on exploitation of the working class.

It is at this critical period that scientists become a necessary focal point in the plans of imperialism and the class basis of certain scientific work appears in sharp relief.

A R T S

# Savage cuts



BY CORIN REDGRAVE

Sir Peter Hall

THE attack launched by the 'Sunday Times' on June 29 against the directors of the National Theatre and the Royal Shakespeare Company (Peter Hall and Trevor Nunn) and the recent spate of abuse in the Tory press against the BBC serial 'The Monocled Mutineer', are a warning to all who work in the entertainment industry.

Drastic cuts are on the way in every field of arts funding. They will be accompanied by forms of censorship far more severe than anything experienced in the era of the Lord Chamberlain's control of the theatres.

Legislation is now on the statute book which can penalise local authorities subsidising theatres, cinemas, art galleries or even orchestras whose work is said to have a political content.

As from April this year, the District Auditor, acting on a private complaint or on his own initiative can declare subsidy for an arts organisation to be unlawful if its work in any shape or form criticises the policies of the present government.

'The Sunday Times' attack on Peter Hall and Trevor Nunn was politically inspired by the Thatcher government, and was calculated to pave the way not only for savage cuts in the subsidised arts, but for the strictest forms of state control.

The newly published Arts Council 'Enquiry into Professional Theatre in England' entitled 'Theatre is for All', takes a giant stride in that direction.

It recommends that the National and the RSC should come under the control of a new drama board at the Arts Council, together with six regional/'national' companies whose work though not as 'lavish' as the two major companies, would be of 'national' and 'international' standard.

The regional/'national' status to be conferred on the chosen six is referred to as a 'franchise'.

Such franchises will be granted for a three-year period. If, during, or at the end of this three-year term, the Arts Council's assessors give the thumbs-

down, the franchise will be removed from the unlucky company and transferred to one of its eager competitors.

Subsidy is to be replaced by state patronage, under conditions where the aims and objects of state patronage of the arts are defined in the report's preface as 'support(ing) the work of our industrialists and businessmen by enhancing the reputation of our country'.

Responsibility for all lesser forms of artistic life is to be devolved to the Regional Arts Associations.

These bodies will no doubt ensure that their clients do nothing to frustrate the work of 'our' industrialists and businessmen, nor damage the reputation of 'our' country.

The July conference organised by the All Trades Unions Alliance entertainments section at the Young Vic passed the following resolution:

"This meeting declares its full support for Peter Hall and Trevor Nunn against the witch-hunt by the 'Sunday Times'.

# and arts censorship

We demand that Equity and all the entertainments unions reject the 'Sunday Times's' surreilous allegations, together with any attempt by the Arts Council to 'investigate' them.

As Peter Hall has stressed, this is in fact an attack on the whole of subsidised arts and their leadership.

The 'Insight' article of June 29 was calculated to create the conditions for a full-scale blitzkrieg of cuts, starting with the National Theatre and the Royal Shakespeare Company, and extending to all subsidised theatre, opera, music, dance and the fine arts.

The subsidised arts represent the achievements, efforts and sacrifices of three generations of performers and technicians.

It is now the Tory government's intention to privatise them, along with public broadcasting, in line with the proposals of the Peacock report.



THATCHER

All members of Equity, BETA, ACTT and the Musicians Union must join forces in a united fight, with every means at our disposal, against these threats to our basic rights, on the fundamental principle that an injury to one is an injury to all.

This meeting therefore resolves to convene a standing conference of workers in the entertainment industry in September, to fight censorship and defend the subsidised arts; and to circulate this resolution throughout the entertainment unions.

We send fraternal greetings to the printworkers of SOGAT and NGA in dispute with Murdoch's News International, and declare our complete solidarity with their fight to defend their jobs.

(Young Vic, July 20, 1986)"

The drastic falls on the stock exchanges of London and New York in August and September, together with the disastrous September trade figures, emphasise the forces driving Thatcher's government to a headlong destruction of the social services, including the subsidised arts.

Last month £100 million was cut from state benefits to the deprived sections of the community. The Social Security Review threatens to pauperise millions more.

Thatcher's Bonapartist state is philistine to the core. But that does not mean it is indifferent towards the Arts.

Quite the contrary. Privatisation is to be applied to the arts just as ruth-

lessly as to the health service. The same techniques as were used in the attempt to destroy a Clive Ponting can be adapted to character assassinate Peter Hall and Trevor Nunn.

And for the same purpose; to eliminate all opposition to state policy no matter what its political character. And there should be no surprise that the first targets are companies of such prestige and international standing as the National and RSC.

Art is not, and cannot be, neutral in a period of revolutionary crisis.

Not only the fact that both companies performed plays about the miners during the strike; not only productions like the RSC's 'Mephisto', about theatre in the Weimar republic and under the Third Reich; but even, and perhaps especially, productions of Shakespeare can be abhorrent to the state in such periods.

Every theatre worker must take warning. What is at stake is not only the reputations of Hall and Nunn, but the livelihoods of thousands who work in the subsidised theatre.

The need for a campaign uniting all members of the entertainment unions against cuts and censorship is greater than ever.

*Reprinted in part from articles in 'The News Line' on July 4, and September 27 1986*

# T H E P O L I T I C A L T H E S O V I E T

## STATEMENT BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, SEPTEMBER 8, 1986

THIRTY years after Khrushchev's secret report and the official recognition and denunciation of Stalin's crimes, the crisis of Stalinism is undergoing a new qualitative leap.

This is shown by all the developments which have taken place in the Soviet Union since the eve of the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February 1986.

Marking the end of the Brezhnev era of arrogant compacency, there has been an official acknowledgement of serious economic and political problems and the need for urgent changes to resolve them. This has developed alongside a public criticism of all aspects and all levels of Soviet society.

There has been public outcry over the Chernobyl nuclear accident. The Eighth Congress of the Soviet Writers' Union, as was the earlier meeting of the Film-makers' Union, became a battlefield between the intelligentsia and the bureaucracy.

The crimes of Stalin and Stalinism were denounced and the abolition of censorship was demanded.

These developments in the Soviet Union manifest the upsurge of the world socialist revolution, driven forward by the world economic and political crisis

of imperialism. Imperialism faces an undefeated international working class and mass revolutionary struggles both in the metropolitan capitalist countries and in the colonial and ex-colonial countries.

The deepening of the world slump, especially the catastrophic collapse of oil prices, the intensification of the debt crisis and the feverish war preparations of imperialism have brought all the historical contradictions in the Soviet Union to the point of explosion.

This is the source of the death agony of Stalinism.

Trotsky predicted that the dawn of the revolution in the West and East would mean the twilight of the Stalinist bureaucracy. This is precisely the time we are living through today.

The emergence of Stalinism was the product of the delay of the world socialist revolution. Now we are not in the period of defeats of the world working class which produced the Soviet Thermidor, but in the period of the greatest defeats of world imperialism, from Vietnam and Iran to Nicaragua, Haiti and the Philippines.

The Bonapartist bureaucracy has been completely undermined by this transformation of the objective conditions.

Not one of the problems

of the Soviet Union - low productivity of labour, poor quality of goods, over-centralisation, disproportions between sectors of the economy, bureaucratisation, foreign debt and the drain of arms production - can be solved without the extension of the social revolution in the West and the political revolution in the Soviet Union and the deformed workers' states.

The Soviet Bonapartist regime of crisis cannot be stabilised. Nor can there be any smooth road out of the crisis - either forwards or backwards.

The Soviet masses will not allow a return to the purges and mass murder of Stalinism nor can the Stalinist regime



TROTSKY

# REVOLUTION IN UNION HAS BEGUN

reform itself.

This bureaucracy must be smashed by the political revolution, in which the masses must destroy the Stalinist bureaucracy while defending all the conquests of October 1917.

Only one party can lead the Soviet masses to the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy, and that is the Soviet section of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

Today, the analysis of Leon Trotsky and the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International have been powerfully vindicated, and must become the weapons of the revolutionary vanguard in the Soviet Union.

The International Committee of the Fourth International calls upon the Soviet workers and peasants, the youth, Red Army men and women and the intellectuals to develop their struggle by taking up the demands of the Transitional Programme, adopted by the Founding Conference of the Fourth International in September 1938.

'Down with the privileges of the bureaucracy! Down with Stakhanovism! Down with the Soviet aristocracy and its ranks and orders! Greater equality of wages for all forms of labour!



STALIN

'The struggle for the freedom of the trade unions and the factory committees, for the right of assembly and freedom of the press, will unfold in the struggle for the regeneration and development of Soviet democracy.

'The bureaucracy replaced the soviets as class organs with the fiction of universal electoral rights - in the style of Hitler-Goebbels. It is necessary to return to the soviets not only their free democratic form but also their class content.

'As once the bourgeoisie and Kulaks were not permitted to enter the soviets, so now it is necessary to drive the bureaucracy and the new aristocracy out of the soviets. In the soviets there is room only for representatives of the workers, rank-and-file collective farmers, peasants and Red Army men.

'Democratisation of the soviets is impossible without legalisation of soviet parties. The workers and peasants themselves by their own free vote will indicate what parties they recognise as soviet parties.

'A revision of planned economy from top to bottom in the interests of producers and consumers! Factory committees should be returned the right to control production. A democratically organised consumers' co-operative should control the quality and price of products.

'Reorganisation of the collective farms in accordance with the will and in the interests of the workers there engaged!



Present Soviet leader  
Mikhail Gorbachev.

'The reactionary international policy of the bureaucracy should be replaced by the policy of proletarian internationalism. The complete diplomatic correspondence of the Kremlin to be published. Down with secret diplomacy!

'All political trials, staged by the Thermidorian bureaucracy, to be reviewed in the light of complete publicity and controversial openness and integrity.

'Only the victorious revolutionary uprising of the oppressed masses can revive the Soviet regime and guarantee its further development towards socialism.

'There is but one party capable of leading the Soviet masses to insurrection - the party of the Fourth International!

'Down with the bureaucratic gang of Cain-Stalin!

'Long live Soviet democracy!

'Long live the international socialist revolution!'

September 8, 1986

# OBITUARY

IN JULY of this year Colm McCallan, a student at the University of Ulster, Jordanstown, was shot dead by a UVF gang near his home in the Ligoniel estate in Belfast.

Colm had been a member of the 'Militant' group which had broken him for reformism from his previous support of the national liberation movement towards which he subsequently expressed considerable hostility.

But during his time at university Colm approached and conversed with the YSSS, regularly sought its publications, and began to move towards the position of principled defence of the struggle for national liberation which the YSSS maintains.

Colm, a mature student with a young family, had suffered a petrol bomb attack on his home several months prior to his murder.

A few months later he was brutally murdered by the unionist gunmen of the UVF in the midst of their campaign aimed at creating sectarian divisions to bolster up the northern statelet.

It is ironic that Colm was murdered by those whom his 'Militant' organisation refuse to confront on the spurious basis that it would create divisions. In essence these UVF gangs are the very embodiment of the counter-revolution in Ireland, a fact testified to by the history of their development.

In 1912 the Irish protestant bourgeoisie were organised for civil war to smash the struggle for national self-determination which threatened to deprive them of their lucrative relations with imperialism.

Basing themselves on the Orange Order they armed and drilled the labour aristocracy and the small farmers.

But the 1914 war rescued them from this necessity. Instead the Ulster volunteers together with the Irish Volunteers were delivered bound and gagged for that great imperialist slaughter.

In 1919 the remnants of this counter-revolutionary armed force were again brought out in Ireland to help smash the Engineers strike. This anti-worker role was to be the new content of the relationship between the bourgeoisie and the labour aristocracy.

But on a world scale, attempts to smash the victories of the October 1917 revolution in Russia had failed and a period of great promise for the proletariat had dawned which brought immense terror for the bourgeoisie.

The RIC and the UVF had to be transformed into armed forces (the RUC and the Ulster Special Constabulary-USC) to oppress and divide the working class. What had begun as a rebellion against Home Rule in 1912 had become part and parcel of state power.

Then in 1966, in an effort to halt social revolution in Ireland, the UVF was 'reformed' by - according to Gusty Spence - members of the Unionist Party. It subsequently carried out sectarian killings and attacks made to look like IRA actions (such as the Silent Valley bombing in 1969 prior to the Civil Rights Campaign).

Amongst the victims at this time were John Scullion, murdered for singing republican songs, and 18-yr-old Peter Ward shot dead because he was a catholic.

The nature of the epoch has changed since 1912. No longer battalions but 'Kitsonian' terror gangs which are quite clearly encouraged by unionists in the murder of definite individuals.

Colm McCallan is one of their most recent victims. The lesson from his brutal slaying is that only workers defence guards can defend the working class against the barbarism of British imperialism and its allies in the north of Ireland. And, in the final analysis, only completion of the national and social revolutions can secure its victory over imperialist and capitalist exploitation.



*Colm McCallan's funeral*

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