

IRISH
LIBERATION



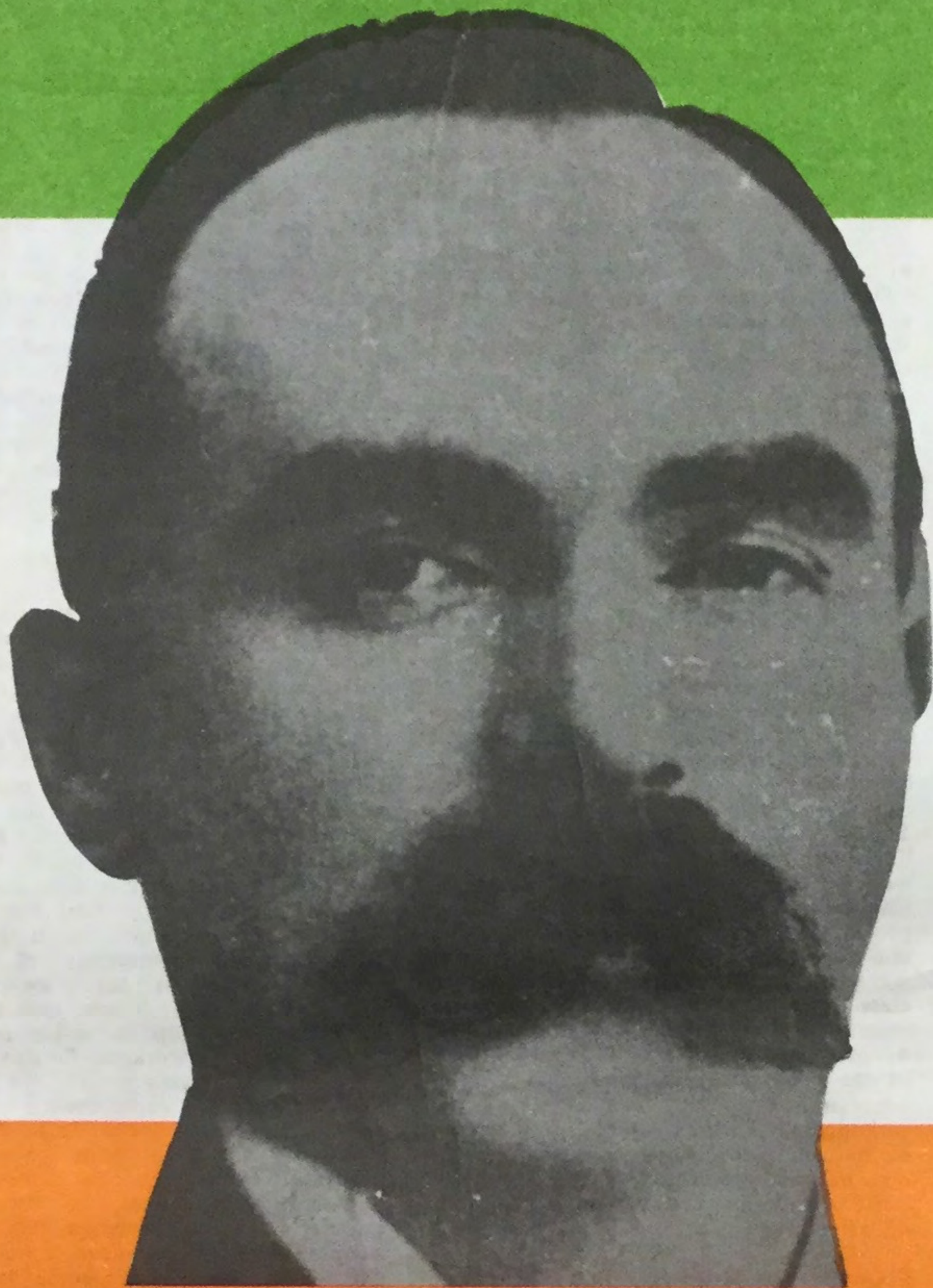
PRESS

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SPECIAL
HISTORIC
ISSUE
24 pages

55 years
since the
Easter Rising



You can kill a
revolutionary,
but you can't
kill the
revolution

**REVIVE
THE FIGHTING SPIRIT OF
1916 !**

News of struggle in Ireland-Britain-World

EDITORIAL

REVIVE THE FIGHTING SPIRIT OF 1916!

A huge banner still flutters over Ireland this day. Another, as yet incompletely conscious of its power and historic mission, is seeking to replace it. The first is none other than the reactionary banner of British imperialism, stained with the blood and tears of the people of Ireland, past and present. Its emblems are colonial murder and profiteering, battalions of aggressor soldiers shooting Irish workers on Irish soil, CS gas, rubber bullets, water cannon, battons, armoured cars, curfews, looting, unemployment, poverty, degradation of the people, arrogance and brutal attempts at terrorization. This banner is held in the gory hands of the British ruling class, represented at different times by Tory and Labour imperialist regimes at Westminster. The little finger of their grip is provided by treacherous puppets in Stormont and Dublin. Today this banner casts a shadow over the common people, working men, women and children, catholic, protestant and those of no religion alike. The grip, however, is not as firm as other days have witnessed. This banner of imperialist plunder has most definitely commenced its downward descent.

The second banner is the opposite of the first. It is the banner of the deprived and heroic people of Ireland. It is the banner of Irish national liberation, unity, independence and socialism. It is the fighting, proud, determined banner of fighting, proud, determined people. This banner, as yet moving in a largely spontaneous and often times uncertain manner, is seeking to assert its dominance. This banner is gripped in the hands of the exploited Irish masses, as yet not represented in their own disciplined organisational form, the vehicle of freedom. The grip on this banner grows daily tighter and stronger. This banner of collective struggle and sacrifice has commenced its upward ascent in the new world era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and the forces of national liberation and socialism are heading for total victory.

It is an historic inevitability that these two banners, representing their two opposing interests will climax in the not too distant future in a mighty, violent clash. Equally it is an historic inevitability that the banner of the anti-imperialist Irish people will prevail over the tattered banner of British imperialism and its Stormont and Dublin henchmen.

THE CHAIN MUST BE BROKEN

But what is the way forward now? What is to be done in order for the Irish people to win their national liberation? Clearly the only possible solution must come from the people of Ireland themselves. The history of Ireland is a history of struggle against foreign domination. That struggle continues today. And yet Ireland remains unfree, a colony chained to British imperialism. How is this chain to be finally and forever broken? Throughout that long history the theory and practice of one man above all others stands naked in its supreme relevance to the fight that still goes on: that man is James Connolly, revolutionary socialist, theoretician, military commander and working class patriot. The spirit of Connolly and 1916 remains the hammer which when grasped firmly and consciously in the grip of the Irish working class is alone the invincible weapon for smashing the chain of imperialist bondage.

Connolly scientifically worked out a series of revolutionary formulas dealing with the form that the organization of the people must take, the weapon of national liberation, the question of what temporary class alliances should and should not be formed in colonial Ireland, and answered the question—who are the enemies and who are the friends of the people?

Connolly's ability to point out the way forward rested upon the fact that he was a revolutionary, a scientific thinker, a profound man who had a firm grasp of Marxism and who studied deeply world developments, in particular the work of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party in pre-revolutionary Russia. He understood that although geographical population conditions in Ireland differed from those in many other countries, these elements were not the determining factor, and that the principles of class struggle were universal in their application. His deep study and application of these principles to the concrete conditions of Ireland set him apart from others who have given their lives to the cause. It is common at this point for those who wish to use Connolly's name for ends that were never Connolly's to cry out "Connolly was not a Marxist!". Facts are the sharpest weapon, however, and it is only necessary to refer to Connolly's great work "Labour in Irish History" in which in the chapter "The Jacobites and the Irish People" Connolly pays tribute to Marx as "... the greatest of modern thinkers and first of scientific socialists ...".

A PEOPLE'S PARTY AND ARMY

Connolly knew that only when the Irish working class had its own party would the dream of liberation turn into a reality. In 1896 he brought into being the revolutionary Irish Socialist Republican Party. Connolly knew that the working class must have its own people's liberation army. In the Workers' Republic of October 30th 1915 Connolly wrote: "Hitherto the workers of Ireland have fought as parts of armies led by their masters, never as members of an army officered, trained, and inspired by men of their own class. Now, with arms in their hands they propose to tear their own cause, to carve out their own future". The Irish Citizens Army was the peoples' liberation army composed of and led by working class revolutionary socialists. Connolly firmly understood that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun and that the peoples' army must always serve and be subordinate to the political class interest of the Irish people. He rejected the purely military approach. A peoples' army must be just that—an army of the people. Politics must always be in command. When the Irish Citizens Army picked up its rifles it did so in order first to defeat British imperialism, that is to win national liberation, and secondly to build a united socialist peoples' republic of Ireland.

Connolly understood that the main enemy was British imperialism, the main exploiter of the Irish people through its ownership of industry, land, commerce and finance. Hence, the principle contradiction in Ireland was and is that between the working masses of Ireland on the one hand and imperialism headed by the British ruling class on the other. But Connolly also realised that to one degree or another other social classes were also in contradiction with British imperialism, for example sections of the petty-bourgeoisie (small businessmen employing little or no labour, intellectuals, etc.etc.), and in particular some of the Irish national capitalists who were opposed to imperialism certainly not because they wanted a socialist Ireland but because they wanted to monopolise the exploitation of the Irish working class themselves. Connolly correctly set out to take advantage of these contradictions in order to strengthen the position of the Irish working class. He attempted to do this by joining in an anti-British imperialist national united front and in 1916 he came together with other forces who were not socialist but who

nevertheless wanted British imperialism out of Ireland. The politics of this Alliance was laid down in the Proclamation of 1916, signed by all the leaders of the Rising. It was a temporary alliances with a limited objective: to wrench from Ireland's body the scab of British rule. The socialist Irish Citizens Army formed an alliance with the non-socialist Irish Volunteers. Connolly was under no illusions as to the struggle and unity essence of the alliance. A few days prior to the Rising Connolly told the workers under his command: "Being the lesser party we join in this fight with our comrades of the Irish volunteers. But hold your arms. If we succeed, those who are our comrades today, we may be compelled to fight tomorrow". An alliance was formed, but Connolly correctly believed that the organization of the working class must not merge with the organizations of forces representing other class interests. Reserving the right of Irish workers to exploit the situation to the full in their own interest Connolly was adamant that this must in no way mean compromise. He stated: "As a socialist I am prepared to do all one man can do to achieve for our motherland her rightful heritage—independance". He went on to say but "... if you ask me to abate one jot or tittle the claims of social justice, in order to conciliate the privileged classes, then I must decline".

INTERNATIONALISM VS NATIONALISM

Finally, Connolly fought a life-time battle against narrow nationalism, that is the reactionary anti-working class nationalism of the imperialist and their domestic Irish lackeys. The profiteers can roam the world plundering people and nations at will. That sort of internationalism, that is imperialism, is fine, say the bosses. But when workers and oppressed peoples throughout the world raise the slogan of international working class unity, then, say the same bosses, that is very bad, "very un-Irish", and so on. And indeed it is very bad for the bosses, for it signals the growing political maturity of workers everywhere. He was acutely aware of the nationalism that the bosses' class is always trying to whip up in order to divide British and Irish workers. To this he had the following seering reply: "We are told that the English people contributed their help to our enslavement. It is true. It is also true that the Irish people duly contributed soldiers to crush every democratic movement of the English people: slaves themselves the English people helped to enslave others; slaves themselves, the Irish people helped to enslave others." The international class interest and objective unity of workers everywhere was embodied in his statement: "... the socialist of another country is a fellow patriot, as the capitalist of my own country is a natural enemy." One class and only one class could lead the struggle for national liberation. "The Irish Citizens Army" he said "places its reliance upon the only class that never betrayed Ireland—the Irish working class". With national liberation an accomplished fact the next stage would then be for the working class to assert its dominance and take immediate steps to set about building a socialist republic in a united Ireland.

1916—A GREAT OPPORTUNITY

These elements in Connolly's thought and practice made up the socialist fighting spirit of 1916. That that bold rising did not succeed in no way invalidates Connolly's position. The 1914-18 imperialist war crisis provided a great opportunity for the Irish working class to strike out for national liberation. But in the overall objective conditions prevailing

at that time in the world the Rising was premature when the European working class revolutionary upsurge had not yet matured. This was no putch organized by some clique. It was the product of decades, centuries of class struggle against foreign domination. In particular the years leading up to Easter 1916 were years of violent and acute class struggle, the great Dublin lock-out dispute being but one of many examples. As the class conscious men and women of 1916 saw things, that year was thrust upon them by history and to refuse to strike out for freedom would have amounted to treachery to their class. Strike out they did. And on the occasion of 1916 their heroic efforts fell short of their goal.

In the wide span of history 1916 should be seen as a harsh yet only temporary set-back along the road of Irish national liberation. As reactionary politicians everywhere attacked Connolly and the Irish people, his staunchest defender had this to say: "Capitalism is not so harmoniously built that the various springs of rebellion can immediately merge into one, of their own accord without reverses and defeats. On the contrary, the very fact that revolts break out at different times and in different places and are of different kinds assures wide scope and depth to the general movement. Only in revolutionary movements which are premature, partial, sporadic, and therefore unsuccessful will the masses gain experience, acquire knowledge, gather strength, get to know their real leaders, the socialist proletarians, and that way prepare for the general onslaught ...". So spoke Lenin, whose grasp of Irish history had come in the main from the researches of Marx and Engels. In this way did Lenin explain the necessary ebbs and flows of class struggle.

THE RELEVANCE OF CONNOLLY

Everything Connolly stood by is still at Easter 1971 directly relevant to the current chapter of the fight. There is a great need for the building of a truly great revolutionary party, a party of Connolly's thought and practice, a party that is truly Marxist-Leninist, armed with revolutionary theory, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people. It is no use pretending that such an organisation of the people already exists. It does not. It has yet to be built. The Irish working class is leaderless from the standpoint of revolutionary politics. And only imperialism can gain from a refusal to face this fact squarely. Similarly the Irish people do not have a peoples' liberation army. Spasmodic, individualistic and politically confused acts involving the use of weapons does not amount to a politically conscious and disciplined peoples' army capable of completely destroying the forces and rule of British imperialism. That this can be accomplished there can be no doubt. "A week nation can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat a big. The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country," as comrade Mao says, "if only they dare to rise in struggle, take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country. This is a law of history." This law applies to Ireland as it applies to Vietnam and elsewhere where people are struggling to smash imperialism and build socialism. There is called for in Ireland a national united front composed of all classes and strata in contradiction with imperialism. Only a revolutionary party of the people and its peoples' liberation army can lead such a national united front to certain victory. The gun must be used by the people to hurl into history their enemies. A Peoples' War is alone the invincible instrument of Irish national liberation. The urgent need for the taking of these steps is coming home to more and more Irish workers. In this way will the anti-imperialist banner of the heroic Irish people prevail over the reactionary, tattered banner of imperialist domination.

Reprints of important articles that have appeared in the "Press" in its first year.

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A year of progress for the INLSF

prepare for intensified class struggle NOW! get organized NOW!

On Saturday 27th September, 1969, the Irish National Liberation Solidarity Front was formed at a conference in London. It was founded to serve the masses of the Irish people exploited and viciously oppressed by British imperialism operating through its machinery of direct colonial rule at Stormont and indirect neo-colonial rule in Dublin. The INLSF was formed in the absence of any principled anti-British imperialist broad front existing in Britain. There existed no organization understanding that national liberation, the total destruction of the rule of British imperialism is the major task now facing the Irish people under the leadership of the working class on the road to the building of a united socialist republic, a people's republic of Ireland with the common ownership of the means of production, control and exchange, the land, industry, capital and technology vested in the hands of the dictatorship of the Irish working class.

The INLSF came into being to fill this gap here in Britain; as its name implies as an organization to build up solidarity, to educate, agitate and organize the working class to take the side of the Irish people against British imperialist domination of their country. Moreover, the INLSF has as one of its main jobs the need to point out clearly that the defeat of British rule in Ireland is in the direct class interest of every worker in Britain as it would deal a hammer blow to the bosses' class here and would weaken its power to exploit and oppress ever worker in this country. A blow struck against imperialism anywhere in the world is a blow of support for the struggle of Irish and British workers. Hence the INLSF has at the core of its work international working class solidarity. The INLSF proudly bears the banner "workers and oppressed peoples of all countries unite!"

THE INLSF SERVES THE PEOPLE

The INLSF is a working class revolutionary organization. The members are almost all workers. Its politics are the politics of the working class, and it serves the working class. It serves the great fight



E.M. Davoren INLSF general secretary

of the Irish people. It recognises that fight to be complimentary to the fight of the British working class. It wholeheartedly and in a revolutionary way hates the state machinery of British imperialist oppression and exploitation; police, Special branch, courts, prisons and aggressor army. It wholeheartedly loves the people, the working masses. The INLSF is thus of the people, integrated with the people, and takes unwaveringly the stand of the people. It can be no other way for the INLSF fully recognises that the masses are the real heroes, the liberators of nations, the destroyers of imperialism, the builders of socialism. Hence the INLSF works among the masses. No matter how hard an organization works, if it is not working among the people its work will amount to nothing. Hence the INLSF concentrates its efforts within the working class.

The INLSF holds regular education and discussion meetings and classes.

Revolutionary theory and practice must go hand in hand. The organization has held many mass rallies and demonstrations during the past year, and also street meetings in the ghetto working class areas. Mass meetings are also held in the summer at Speakers' Corner, Hyde Park, a place frequented by many Irish immigrants. INLSF workers learned photography and built a photographic exhibition covering the struggle in Ireland from the peasant revolt of 1798 up to the present time. INLSF workers write, design and part-produce this newspaper, which is sold throughout London, Coventry, Birmingham and other major industrial areas in Britain, as well as in Ireland. Copies also go to several other countries. None of the capitalist distributors will handle the paper, and thus INLSF workers also have to sell it in addition to their other work.

The INLSF has taken a leading stand in exposing the phoney organizations operating in this country, which seek to sow confusion on the Irish question.

POLICE INTIMIDATION FAILS MISERABLY

Frequently the police, or the pigs as more and more workers are coming to call them, have attempted to intimidate INLSF workers. They failed miserably in the past and a similar fate is assured them in the future. Members and supporters of the organization have waged a consistent and principled tit for tat struggle against the pigs and the courts, and have let these lackeys know that they are in essence paper tigers and that they will not prevent workers from getting on with the job of defending the peoples' rights.

At the last conference of the INLSF in September 1970 it was fully acknowledged that the work must be stepped up in the service of the working class. The guiding slogan of "GO DEEPER INTO THE RANKS OF THE MASSES—HAVE FAITH IN THE MASSES—DOUBLE THE EFFORT AND DOUBLE THE RESULTS—STRIVE HARDER STILL TO FIGHT SELF AND

WIN THE BRITISH WORKING CLASS TO TAKE THE CORRECT AND HEROIC STAND OF THE MASSES OF THE IRISH PEOPLE IN THEIR FIGHT AGAINST GROWING FASCISM, FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION AND THE RE-UNIFICATION OF THEIR MOTHERLAND, AND FOR THE BUILDING OF A SOCIALIST PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF IRELAND! HAIL THE TOTAL DESTRUCTION OF BRITISH IMPERIALIST RULE IN IRELAND—EXPOSE RUTHLESSLY THE REVISIONISTS AND TROTSKYITE OPPORTUNISTS! SHOW BOUNDLESS HATE FOR THE CLASS ENEMY. SHOW BOUNDLESS LOVE AND RESPECT FOR THE WORKING MASSES OF IRELAND, BRITAIN AND THE WHOLE WORLD!" is the fighting, living spirit which drives the INLSF forward. The INLSF has been directly involved in the struggle against racism, religious bigotry and reactionary nationalism—all weapons of the ruling class, employed to divide workers and divert their attention from their real common enemy.

THE INLSF IS THE VANGUARD ORGANIZATION IN BRITAIN

Currently the INLSF is alone in Britain organizing a serious campaign for the immediate and unconditional release of all Irish political prisoners held in ruling class jails throughout Britain and Ireland (see the past two issues of this paper for details). Moreover, the INLSF is working closely with the family of Stephen McCarthy, the 19-year-old youth who was murdered by the pigs during November last (see the last issue of this paper for details).

GET ORGANIZED NOW!

The INLSF is a strong and growing organization because it serves the people. It serves the people because its politics are the scientific politics of Marxism-Leninism applied to the concrete problems of the people. It is a democratic, disciplined and hardworking organization. It is precisely the type of serious organization that has for so long been needed in Britain; the type of organization that the British ruling class hates to see emerging. These bosses love to see the working class divided and disorganized. What is good for them is bad for us—the people. The needs of Irish and British workers are very great at this time. Therefore the INLSF says this to all serious people: **PREPARE FOR STRUGGLE! GET ORGANIZED NOW! JOIN THE IRISH NATIONAL LIBERATION SOLIDARITY FRONT NOW!**

Such a paper now exists

At long last such a paper exists. The "Irish Liberation Press" is one year old with this issue. It has past the acid test of practice. It is here and here to stay and no amount of harassment from the ruling class, or its agents, such as the police who would dearly love to see it smashed, is going to make one bit of difference.

SERVE THE PEOPLE

Why has it succeeded so far? There are many reasons but one stands right at the heart of the matter. That reason is that the "Irish Liberation Press" is always out there right in the front line on all issues defending and advancing the cause of workers and other oppressed people not only in Ireland and Britain but throughout the world. In a word, the paper exists to serve you, to serve the people. There is no other motive. The paper makes not a penny profit.

A WORKERS' PAPER

This is a workers' paper, written, designed and part-produced by workers. Its aim is to help the struggle in Ireland and elsewhere by providing a serious organ of agitation, education and organization. The style of writing and language in the "Press" is very much liked by workers. Always to the point, straight to the point. Always merciless with the many enemies of the people. Always careful with the class interest of the people. Hardhitting, factual, simple, vigorous, expressive and straightforward... a peoples' paper, which clarifies the issues, shoots the arrow straight at the target, sorts out the

confusion that the exploiters thrive on and takes a side and sticks to it until the fight has been fought. A paper that has never dealt in the currency of opportunism, vulgarity or deceit.

LOTS OF HARD GRAFT AND DISCIPLINE

The "Press" did not suddenly drop out of a blue sky. The positive steps that have been taken are the result of no accident. They come as a result of lots of plain, hard graft, working class discipline, and revolutionary political consciousness. There were the cynics who never believed it could be done. Well, thanks to the partnership between the workers who make it and you the workers who buy it it has been done. The paper is now a fact of life and workers love it and their enemies hate it. A clear line of demarcation has been drawn between workers and their families, and their enemies, the bosses class and its parliament, fascist laws, such as the new Industrial Relations Bill, state machine of police, Special Branch, courts, prisons and army. This paper says that it is excellent to be hated by those who exist by exploiting the people and excellent to be loved by you, the people, the men, women and kids of no property, the working class and its friends.

LITTLE SLEEP, LOTS OF STRUGGLE AND JOY

The workers who make and sell this paper are ordinary people, just like you. The making of a paper that has brought a real

understanding of the class nature of the struggle against British imperialism in Ireland to many thousands of people of all nationalities and colours in Britain for the first time ever has meant for those who work on it losing a lot of sleep, in some cases, unfortunately, getting ill, lost jobs, literally turning the last penny out of their already skimmed pockets, getting into debt with the rent, and so on. And despite these problems the making of the paper that links people throughout Britain with the facts of the fight in Ireland and with each other is without exception an act of great joy for its producers.

FOR A NEW IRELAND, BRITAIN AND WORLD

It is a positive joy to work for the total destruction of the capitalist system, a system that is based upon the exploitation of man by man, upon the exploitation of the working class by the bosses' class. It is a positive joy to work for the struggle of the heroic Irish people against their imperialist oppressors, the very same British ruling class that exploits every worker in this country, the class that will with equal venom hurl its troops, police, CS gas and rubber bullets and other "secret" anti-people weapons against workers here in Britain when they rise to make socialist revolution. It is a positive joy to work for a new socialist Britain, a new world in which the common people come absolutely first in all respects and themselves own and control the means of production, the factories, land, finances, communications

and ensure that science and technology are directed towards solving the problems of people rather than as at present serving the profiteers. This in a few words is what this paper is all about. This is why it is your paper, a good paper, a revolutionary paper that will never advocate petty reforms. It is a modest paper in the spirit that the great James Connolly was modest when he said in his poem "Be Moderate":

YOUR SOCIALIST PAPER HAS NO EQUAL

There's just no paper like it. Anywhere. That's a plain fact. With the exception of Connolly's paper, in the long history of the British labour movement the "Irish Liberation Press" has had no equal. Now in 1971 it has no equal anywhere in the world. It is neither catholic nor protestant. It is socialist and fights for all workers, for all workers of whatever religion or none are exploited. It is a paper of the masses, integrated with the masses, serving the masses. The first year has tested and tried it. The police of the capitalist class have failed with their intimidations and threats and outright assaults. They will continue to fail. A paper of a new type has reached its first birthday. You, the reader, should celebrate. Because its your success, your victory, your very own fighting paper of the working class. Two thousand copies of the first issue were sold. Let's work together harder than ever before to sell the 10,000 copies that have been printed of this historic Special Issue.

A YEAR OF CLASS STRUGGLE

Following is a brief review of just some of the main struggles that have taken place in Ireland during the twelve months since the Irish Liberation Press was first published.

MARCH

High unemployment north and south. The Economic and Social Research Institute reports the south has the highest unemployment in West Europe and notes that subsistence-level unemployment pay is "an affront to natural justice". In Derry 10,000 demonstrate against unemployment in the north, which has rocketed to 17%, and even 35% in some cities. 23% of northern Ireland homes are reported unfit for human habitation. In Belfast 29%. Many people realise all this stems from British imperialist rule over the north and indirect rule over the south. Enemy army vehicles are stoned in Belfast's Crumlin Road. 15,000 fight the police in Derry. Derry patriots arrested by Army thugs during a demonstration are released by fellow demonstrators.

BRITISH ARMY MURDERS YOUTH

A Belfast youth was murdered by British Army terrorists when they opened fire on civilians in the Falls Rd area during confrontations between the people and aggressor troops. Six other people were seen to fall when an officer ordered his men to open fire at the people.

Farce of the month is the founding of the Communist Party of Ireland. Like all revisionist parties the new Irish C.P. preaches the nonsense that imperialism and domestic reactionaries will hand over power to the people-without revolution.

APRIL

Widespread attacks on the occupation forces. Hundreds of people batter the troops and RUC with petrol bombs, sticks and stones. The army says petrol bombers will be shot and rushes in 500 more troops.

Prices are deliberately raised in the south by the doubling of turnover tax from 2% to 5% in the budget.

Harland and Wolff shipyards in Belfast are having difficulties as a result of losses of £3.8 m.

Paisley announces he is to stand for Stormont at Bannside. His campaign platform: law and order, defeat of IRA, rearming of the B Specials.

7,000 southern bank clerks strike for better wages, shutting all banks.

MAY

800 cement workers who walked out in early February remain on strike. 30 workers from a Cement Ltd. plant May 12 occupy the firm's head office.

Belfast is again the scene of heroic struggle against British terrorist troops. Soldiers are attacked in the Ardoyne, New Lodge Road area, and Ballymurphy.

British Home Secretary Callaghan refuses to ban CS gas despite overwhelming evidence of its harmful effects.

In Dublin, two ministers are sacked and a third forced to resign for allegedly smuggling arms to the north.



The spirit of Connolly lives on in Ardoyne Belfast.

JUNE

A new upsurge of struggle in the north. Belfast and Derry erupt in passionate opposition to the British occupiers and their henchmen. June 28 in Belfast witnesses a 14-hour struggle against the Army. Snipers fire at troops and police from many corners of the streets. Puppet Premier Chichester-Clark's reply is a 9-hour curfew clamped on the city. As the aggressor Army GOC threatens that people carrying arms will be shot, 3,000 more hoodwinked British workers in the uniform of the British bosses' Army arrive on Irish soil to risk their lives for British Imperialism. Six Belfast people are killed by enemy forces.

Limerick nurses protest over absurd restrictions on their off-duty movements and for fairer wages and decent working conditions.

The cement and bank strikers persist in their strikes.

JULY

A loss for the building-trade capitalists of £10-£20m. is forecast in a research institute report published July 8. In other economic news, a Dutch monopoly



British terrorist troops brutalise the Irish people.

struggle mounts

The last year in Ireland has indeed been a year of increasing class struggles for the working class. The contradiction between the people and their main enemy British imperialism has not been as intense for many decades.

Many repressive acts of legislation and the increasing use of the Special Powers act in the north, and the threat of internment without trial north and south, have exposed to more and more of the people the growing fascist tendencies of the panic-stricken British imperialist class and their Stormont and Dublin lackeys.

British terrorist troops openly roam the northern part of Ireland brutalizing and murdering in cold blood Irish men, women and children.

The Irish working class, particularly the northern section, has displayed fantastic heroism during the past year. There has been almost constant street fighting against the aggressor troops. Although the problem of imperialist-sponsored divide and rule religious bigotry is by no means as yet solved, the fact that on several occasions protestant workers have engaged the troops is a positive sign. Many workers have come to understand that the poverty of the protestant family is little different under British imperialist rule to poverty of the catholic family. Their only hope is to smash their real common class enemy, British imperialism, and build a united socialist Ireland in which the people would own and control the means of production, control and exchange, industry, commerce,

announces its intention to establish a £20m plant in Limerick to produce chemical fibre. The company plans to exploit 1,000 Irish workers.

Enemy 'security forces' July 3 make provocative house-to-house searches in several areas of Belfast. The troops loot homes and intimidate the people. The people bravely counter-attack, some using rifles, pistols and machine guns in the struggle.

AUGUST

British Trade Board figures released August 27 show a rise to £3.3m. in south Ireland's trade deficit with Britain, the leading exploiter and thus main enemy of the entire Irish people.

Women against British imperialism. 1,000 Belfast women, many carrying babies, march to an Army barracks. The demonstration followed the Army's deliberate shooting to death of a young demonstrator Danny O'Hagen.

SEPTEMBER

Protestant workers fight British terrorist troops in Belfast's Shankhill and Newtownards Roads—a reflection of their pent-up frustrations over poor housing and high unemployment.

Greek monopoly capitalist Aristotle Onassis tries to get his hands on Belfast's Harland and Wolff shipyard. With him comes that other international parasite Jackie Onassis, his wife.

Two 16-year-olds who had fought British aggressor troops in Derry are given 6-month jail sentences.

The northern Ireland Civil Rights Executive issues a report saying its actions 'are still directed at democratizing



Gardaí attack youth in south.



Heroic Irish workers battle with British aggressors troops.

Stormont and not abolishing it' and speaking of the so-called need to 'avoid actions which could lead to violence'.

IN IRELAND



Militant women workers take stand against paper tiger troops.

Chichester-Clark is summoned to London to receive his orders from Maudling, British Home Secretary, concerning the use of wider powers of arrest and oppression against the people.

Lord Carrington, the British Defence Minister, scuttles over to Belfast on January 28 for talks on new and harsher repressive measures. Protestant workers in the Shankill Road, Belfast, lash the aggressor troops on January 23 and 25, realising that they are their enemies just as they are the enemies of their Catholic brothers.

Unemployment in the six counties totals 40,855. In the south the figure is 64,820.

BRITISH CABINET "SECURITY TALKS" ON NORTHERN IRELAND

The British cabinet met on February 9th for security talks on northern Ireland. Measures discussed reportedly include introduction of internment without trial and the sending in of more troops.

MAUDLING ARRIVES IN NORTH TO PLOT STEPPED-UP SUPPRESSION

A tight security ring was thrown round an R.A.F. station near Belfast when arch war criminal Maudling arrived in northern Ireland to discuss stronger measures against the people of the six counties with the local lackeys of British imperialism.

During his visit there was continual fighting between British Army terrorists and the people.

ARMY PREVENTS INJURED YOUTH FROM ENTERING HOSPITAL

British gangster troops in Belfast held up an ambulance carrying a seriously injured 18 year-old youth to hospital. The ambulance was detained outside the Mater Hospital for twenty to thirty minutes.

finance, and the land of Ireland.

The fascist onslaught in Ireland is taking many forms. Attacks on trade union and democratic rights, the stepping up of police brutality in the north and south, intensified attacks on living standards . . . all are manifestations of growing class struggle. The cement strike was but one of several long and intense battles with the Dublin henchmen of British rule. As unemployment in the north mounts, more workers clearly recognise that nothing can get better until the system is smashed completely and replaced by a workers' state headed by a dictatorship of the Irish working class.

Ireland is the political powder keg of Europe. The British ruling class is desperately trying to work out ways of containing the struggle. Minor reforms may be introduced, but the main trend in Ireland for British imperialism is the development of a fascist state, north and south.

The dominant feature of the struggle remains spontaneous actions. The determination and enthusiasm of the people must be turned into a disciplined anti-imperialist fighting machine. This requires in Ireland the building of a really revolutionary party of the Irish working class. Then and only then will it be possible to unite the Irish working class, build a peoples' liberation army, win national liberation and march on to build a united socialist peoples' republic of Ireland.



Lynch's soldiers have border conference with British aggressor troops.

OCTOBER
300 people in Dublin hold a people's court to try leading imperialist war-criminal Nixon. Nixon is in Ireland at the end of a European tour to talk with the caretaker of the various imperialist interests in southern Ireland, Lynch. Verdict of the people's court, outside the U.S. embassy: 'Death to Nixon'.

Derry people fight occupation forces with a pram-full of dynamite on October 10. 1,000 Bogsiders also fling petrol bombs in the latest people's action against the enemy. The aggressors attack the people with rubber bullets. Huge quantities of CS are used.

NOVEMBER
Stone-throwers are liable to be shot. This is stated by a Royal Marine commander in Belfast on November 2. Another self-exposure of the British imperialists, who originally cast their troops as 'protectors' of the people.

The Belfast Central Citizens' Defence Committee while attacking unionism, condemned violent action by Catholic workers in attacking British terrorist troops. They appealed to all Catholics, particularly the better off, to work peacefully for a 'better Ulster'.

DECEMBER
Lynch threatens internments without trial may be invoked. Another example of the panic-stricken measures he is resorting to.

JANUARY 1971
January 27 sees the courageous women of west Belfast stoning the RUC during a house-to-house search.

The military patrol responsible for the crime demanded that the youth be taken to another hospital and be photographed so that he might be prosecuted for the crime of patriotism should the occupation troops wish this in the future.

FASCIST CHURCHMAN CALLS FOR GREATER REPRESSION

The Rev. Donald Gilles of Agnes St., Presbyterian Church Belfast, speaking at Belfast Assembly Hall called on the Stormont government to use stronger methods than CS gas, rubber bullets, and water cannon to keep "law and order."

PD EXPOSES ITSELF

People's Democracy held a public meeting on February 13th and 14th against British imperialist military action. P.D. however revealed its true stand when it failed to call on the people to boot out the British aggressor troops but instead called for "the withdrawal of the British troops to their barrack rooms."

Former "B" Specials begin to form gun clubs.

John Biggs-Davidson tory M.P. attacks INLSF at public meeting in Banbridge Co. Down

ARMY OF OCCUPATION REINFORCED
Four hundred and fifty men of the 1st Battalion King's Own Royal Border Regiment have been rushed to Ulster to reinforce the army of occupation.



R.U.C. thugs fail to frighten anti-Stormont demonstrator.



Joseph and John McCaig, who died on March 10th from gunshot wounds, the latest British aggressor soldiers sent to their death by British imperialist ruling class. If the British ruling class wants to insure that more aggressor soldiers do not get killed in struggle then there exists a very simple solution to its problem—withdraw the terrorist troops in Ireland and there will be none to get killed.

WOMEN AND REVOLUTION



Belfast women workers confront aggressors

Only through concrete struggle to smash British imperialism can the unity of the Irish working class be brought to its highest level: only through struggle can workers of different religions break down the sectarianism sown by imperialism to divide the working class and divert workers' attention away from their real

common enemy, the imperialist system, which exists by exploiting all workers of whatever religion.

Another division imperialism has been keen to sow is that between men and women. Again this serves only imperialism as it further divides the working class,

grave-digger of the imperialist system, and in doing so engineers the super-exploitation of Irish women workers.

WOMEN—THE MOST EXPLOITED WORKERS

Irish women are the most exploited of all sectors of the Irish people. As all Irish workers they too, of course, are exploited by imperialism. But even at the economic level, in terms of wages, they are paid much lower rates than men and are the slave labour of British colonial rule, direct in the North, neo-colonial in the South.

In addition to this form of exploitation women are also subjected to social drudgery in the home, and to the crude form of male chauvinism, sexual exploitation, whereby women are looked upon by many men as merely objects of pleasure.

Through political struggle against British imperialism and the other imperialist powers oppressing the Irish people, more and more men are coming to understand

that their previous attitude was wrong and harmful to the struggle of the Irish people for national liberation, and in fact played into the hands of the imperialists by endorsing the divisions they wished to sow in their own class interest at the expense of the people of Ireland.

WOMEN ARE COMRADES IN STRUGGLE

Women are comrades in the fight. Women constitute fifty per cent of the working class. As is being shown in the national liberation struggles throughout other colonies, without the revolutionary participation of women comrades there can be no victory over the forces of imperialism.

As we in Britain must struggle against all attempts by the capitalist class to smash the unity of the working class by dividing workers on racial lines and thus weakening their fight for socialism, so efforts must consistently be made to unite all workers of whatever sex or religion and wield together a mighty force in a national united front to oppose imperialist terror and exploitation in Ireland.

Irish workers defeat CS gas

Imperialism's increasing reliance on gas warfare—CS: the facts

power over workers and oppressed peoples.

This gas has already caused many deaths in Vietnam, where the US is employing it to hold onto South East Asia and pursue its policy of encircling People's China with aggressor bases.

Every endeavour is being made to increase the delivery capacity of CS missiles and the multifarious carrying and launching systems.

No capitalist power is without CS. Its application is global. This gas that murders the heroic Vietnamese, that tears into the lungs of Irish workers and their families, could now, at the dictate of the British capitalist class within hours be unleashed onto the workers of Britain. Everything has been arranged in anticipation of class contradictions inevitably reaching an acute stage. The CS cartridges, pistols and shells are in the army and police arsenals. The bosses' class, currently represented by the imperialist Labour government, is at the ready to strike out at the working class, using the ploy of their "law and order", in their economic class interest. And should this mean, as it will, widespread murder of workers, young and old of whatever colour, thousands suffering from first and second degree burns, children deformed in the womb, and the generation of cancer, that is fine, just as long as profits continue and the capitalist class remain in political control. A nightmarish fantasy?

SECRET DOCUMENTS

A secret US military document has come into the hands of the IRISH NATIONAL LIBERATION SOLIDARITY FRONT, together with a report detailing the present strategic and tactical thinking and plans of the chiefs of the US military war machine, providing workers with facts about CS gas and other chemicals being used that have never been published anywhere in the world. The first document, a photograph of the cover of which is shown here, discloses tests made during 1966 at the Edgewood Arsenal in Maryland, America, entitled "The Effects of Thermally-Generated CS Aerosols on Human Skin". The second is a document personally issued on behalf of the US army by chief military murderer, General W.C. Westmoreland, Chief of Staff, and distributed in accordance with the "Requirements for Counter guerrilla Operations".

Despite possible consequences, the IRISH

Each transmittal of this document outside the agencies of the US Government must have prior approval of the Commanding Officer, Edgewood Arsenal, ATTN: SMUEA-TSTI-T, Edgewood Arsenal, Maryland 21010.

The information in this document has not been cleared for release to the general public.

Acknowledgments

The authors express their appreciation to Edmund J. Owens, Chief, Aerosol Branch, Toxicology Department, and Ronald Merkey, of Aerosol Branch for their assistance.

LIBERATION PRESS exposes the contents of these documents in the interest of serving the struggle of the Irish people for national liberation and the worldwide fight to smash for all time the imperialist system and establish the political power of the working class throughout the world. Research has also been undertaken into the effects of the use of CS in Vietnam, America and France.

The findings of the Edgewood Arsenal "medical" report, based upon laboratory experiments carried out on eight US army soldiers, are short and to the point. Page three states that "second degree chemical burns occurred in four of the eight subjects exposed..." and that CS produces "vesication (i.e. blistering) of human skin". "Dermatological complications suffered by CS workers" are revealed on page seven. Despite the obvious probability of this and other skin diseases the report admits that "no dermatological studies" had been conducted, despite the fact that it was at that time being used against the Vietnamese people. Clearly an attitude prevails which looks upon not only the soldiers acting as guinea pigs (and American comrades insist that this is sometimes the form punishment of politically conscious soldiers takes) as quite dispensable, but displays utter contempt for those connected only indirectly with the tests.

Racism, inherent in the system of imperialism, manifested itself in the tests when negro soldiers were included clearly for the purpose of being able to assess if the gas would have the same effect whether used in Watts or on white progressives in the universities. The result here must have been somewhat disturbing for it showed that those with fair, Anglo-Saxon complexion who sunburn easily "developed the most severe reaction". It might safely be concluded that research is now being carried out to produce a Black CS variety to ensure

"equality of treatment".

SEVERE BURNS

The document expresses "concern" on pages nine and ten for the "delayed reaction" that occurred in two of the test groups. With regard to one of these instances it states: "In addition, a delayed reaction appeared 12 to 24 hrs later in all cases; this consisted of first and second degree burns. Both epidermis and dermis were involved, the epidermal reaction predominating. Blistering occurred in four of the eight volunteers in groups III and IV."

A measure of the unexpected severity of the injuries being sustained by the soldiers in these groups is the paragraph at the head of page eleven: "Because of the marked delayed reaction that occurred unexpectedly in groups III and IV, this study was immediately discontinued to preclude serious injury to the volunteer subjects".

At least four of the eight soldiers were hospitalized as a result of the tests, the skin condition of several requiring surgery. Three volunteers "who demonstrated the most severe burns were treated to avoid secondary infection, scarring or both. The largest vesicles were incised and the subjects were hospitalized..."

The report admits that the employment of CS in the streets of a city in large quantities would result in a high incidence of injuries and illnesses in addition to skin burns and blisters: "It should be emphasized that without adequate treatment, especially under field conditions, severe local infections would be expected in a large proportion of second degree burns, producing concomitant complications and further incapacitation".

Additional factors such as heat and moisture are recognised by the report to accentuate skin burn.

cont'd page 7

EDGEWOOD ARSENAL
TECHNICAL REPORT
EATR 4075

THE EFFECTS OF THERMALLY-GENERATED
CS AEROSOLS ON HUMAN SKIN

Alfred Hillbrech, CPT, MC
Richard H. Gilman, CPT, MC
Robert G. Buehler, LTC, MC
John T. Winer

January 1967



Medical Research Laboratory
Research Laboratories
EDGEWOOD ARSENAL
EDGEWOOD ARSENAL, MARYLAND 21010

Leading scab representatives of imperialism, such as Wilson, inform the British working class and the peoples of the world that CS is a "smoke" or "tear" gas, really quite harmless and at the most capable only of producing temporary incapacitation. This is a lie. There can be no question but that the members of the Himsworth Committee were in possession of, or had access to, the document published below when they drew up their report on the effects of the use of CS gas warfare in the North of Ireland last year. In concluding that CS is not particularly harmful and withholding the true facts the report is a lie. We are informed that there are no plans for its use here as a riot control or harassment agent. This is a lie. We are informed that chemical warfare constitutes only a marginal part of the weaponry capability of the British and other imperialist ruling classes and that the balance in favour of explosives as opposed to chemicals is to be maintained. This is a lie. We are informed that Porton Down, Britain's principal chemical and biological research and development centre, is engaged only on defence work. This is a lie.

We are informed that CS (o-chlorobenzalmononitrile) gas does not kill. This is a lie.

The imperialist powers are currently promoting a massive and clinically calculated propaganda campaign to cover up the effects of CS gas on the human body in order to cloak its political function as an instrument of growing importance for use as a key factor in their frantic attempt to contain the world revolutionary tide and retain political

First published in Vol.1 No.2

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Pages fifteen to twenty-three are filled with photographs of charred limbs.

Appendix B briefly describes the "Report of Accidental CS Burns in and Field Exercise" involving a group of chemical corps officers at Ft. McClellan, Alabama, on 4th August, 1966. Twelve men were enveloped in gas which hung as a heavy cloud because of falling rain at the time. "Marked erythema appeared on the V area of the neck, the forearms, the wrists, and the calves by 0300 to 0600 hr 5th August 1966, which was 7 to 10 hours after exposure. (This corresponded clinically to the delayed erythema (first degree burns) encountered in our volunteer subjects). By 1000 to 1200 hrs (14 to 16 hrs after exposure), blistering had begun in the most severe cases. All of the twelve men caught in the cloud eventually developed various degrees of vesiculation that corresponded clinically to the second degree burns produced experimentally. The one who had been hosed and who had changed clothes had milder burns than those sustained by the others. About half the men who were at the periphery of the CS gas cloud developed first or second degree burns, but none of those who were hosed had blisters".

The Edgewood Arsenal Tests quite clearly produced injuries to the soldiers concerned far in excess of what the world's peoples have been led to believe by imperialist propaganda would ensue from contact with CS gas. Moreover, the tests were carried out in the most "favourable" of conditions in that the amount of the gas was at all times controlled, external factors were eliminated completely (e.g. rain), the subjects were picked with at least one criterion being physical fitness, and injuries though severe were readily treated with the latest drugs and medicines.

This must be contrasted with the circumstances surrounding the gas warfare atrocities currently being committed against the Irish working class in the north of Ireland, where, with weather conditions often adverse and rain providing an additional danger as an umbrella preventing the quickest dispersion of the gas, with the attacks being launched against a working class steeped, as a result of British imperialism, in slum housing conditions, with ill health and low physical resistance a characteristic feature, particularly among the elderly, and with the casualties being treated in almost total ignorance of the necessary antidotes—in these circumstances not only are the immediate chances of death from injury much greater, but in addition widespread and mortal local infections and concomitant infection and disease must of automatic consequence be the order of the day.

Such is one aspect of the true role of British imperialist rule in Ireland: such is the "protection" being afforded by British aggressor troops currently firing the CS gas cartridges into the homes of both protestant and catholic workers.

IMPERIALISM'S "SECRET"

The report has been kept secret from the world. It has been distributed, as the Distribution List attached stipulates, only to the senior scum of the US imperialist class, that is to all heads of services.

On page 36, the mailing address of the Central Intelligence Agency is given as ATTN: BSD/ORD/DD/S&T, Washington, D.C. 20505.

Since the 1940's there has existed a Quadripartite agreement between the US, Australian, Canadian and British ruling cliques by which information concerning the research and development of chemical and biological warfare has been shared. Directly beneath the CIA listing there appear two addresses for the Australian and Canadian contact men. It must be assumed that the third listing in this category of "Foreign Nationals" is that of the British agent based in the US responsible for passing on the Edgewood Arsenal document (he received six copies) and other secret information relating to chemical and biological warfare. This listing names a Dr. Nevil Creasy, BDSW (R&D), M/TW, 3100 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington D.C.

WILSON'S LIE

Assuming Dr. Creasy did his job efficiently, then Stewart, Wilson's fellow



70 hr After Exposure (Under Treatment)

THE SEVERELY CHARRED ARM OF ONE OF THE SOLDIERS IN THE TEST

lackey, must also know of the content of the Edgewood report and of the killing capacity of CS gas. Thus when in parliament on the 2nd February this year he stated "modern technology has developed CS smoke which, unlike the tear gasses available in 1930, is considered to be not significantly harmful to man..." here we witness just one more example of a lackey lying to serve his capitalist masters and in doing so expressing contempt and hatred for the working class. On the following day chief skunk Wilson, when asked about the effects of CS on the human body, referred an M.P. to "the answer given by my right hon. Friend the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary (Stewart) ... yesterday..."

Similarly, it is inconceivable that the Himsforth clique worked in ignorance of the Edgewood report. Here is a classical example of imperialism setting up a committee of enquiry with the sole intention of diverting people's attention away from an issue and producing conclusions that have no bearing on the truth of the matter. Without doubt the coming Ministry of Defence report on CS gas will match Himsforth in its ability to put before the British working class a pack of lies.

The decks have now been cleared for the use of CS against the British working class. In 1968, specifying the government's position on the use of CS, Mr. Buchan, as Under Secretary for Scotland, stated that it is "only to deal with armed criminals or violently insane persons in buildings from which they can not be dislodged without danger of loss of life, or as a means of self-defence in a desperate situation, and that in no circumstances should they be used to assist the control of disturbances".

BRITISH WORKERS NEXT TO BE GASSED

As the capitalist class looks upon the six northern counties of Ireland as legally its own, as the CS being used in Belfast now was manufactured in Britain and handed to the R.U.C. and now to British aggressor troops on the order of the Home Secretary, there can be no doubt as to the intention to use CS against workers here. The hard fact is that the moment it becomes necessary to force workers' demonstrations off the streets and to break up workers' meetings, the capitalist class will employ CS gas in Britain with the same ruthlessness with which it is now attacking the workers in northern Ireland, possibly—if its racial machinations meet with more success than at present—using the ploy of "keeping the peace" between black and white workers much the same as between catholic and protestant workers.

All but the remotest police force throughout Britain now has CS gas. This is not even denied by the ruling bourgeois class. More and more regular soldiers are now being trained in the use of CS. A measure of the intensity and scope of this new departure is the fact that whilst for the whole of last year £400 of CS was used up in the attempt to suppress anti-imperialist struggles and contradictions in the north of Ireland, in training the British army used £8,750 worth.

Imperialism's test chamber for effectiveness of CS is without doubt Vietnam. In desperate straits, US imperialism has now placed as much reliance on CS and on anti-foliage chemicals, as on conventional military weapons. This switch is indicative of a change in tactics by the imperialists in many countries, and certainly it applies to Britain's policy for oppression both externally and internally. In Vietnam between 1964 and 1969 the US used

about 7,000 tons of CS gas. In 1964 the figure was 367,00 lb. and in 1965 253,000 lb. By 1966 it had shot up to 1,596,000 lb. After that the amount fluctuated from 1,207,000 in 1967 to 4,251,000 lb. in 1968 and an all-time peak of 6,063,000 lb. last year.

Injections of CS on this massive scale has, unsurprisingly, resulted in a large number of deaths. Between January 1965 and July 1966 the NLF has stated that 300 deaths have resulted from CS gas, and particularly its employment as a tunnel and cave clearer. (It is also adaptable to the clearing of occupied buildings and sewerage systems in the metropolitan centres.) The complete break-down of each of the three hundred cases has been made by Kahn and can be found in CBW—chemical and biological warfare, ed. S.P.R. Rose, Harrap, 1968.

CS ATROCITIES IN VIETNAM

In a communique dated 19th November last year the NLF pointed out that in Tay Ninh Province in the last ten days of September, 1969: "helicopters and other kinds of airplanes were used over 200 times to drop thousands of pounds of CS and other chemicals on the two communes (on a surface of 10 square miles). They even used cannons to fire 5000 bullets containing toxic mixtures. More than 1000 people belonging to the Cao Dai sect were affected. 15 babies were killed... in Thang Binh district in a raid on Feb. 12th, 1969, they caught 10 elderly men between 64 and 77 years of age and 1 woman pregnant near her time, forced them into a trench and sprayed them with toxic gas, killing them all. During the 10 months of 1969 500 people were killed, most of them women, children and old people".

In March 1965 an Australian aggressor soldier, cpl. Robert Bowtell, died from CS gas when it overcame him as he was using it against fighters of the NLF in a tunnel. He died even though he was wearing a standard issue protection mask.

In November 1967 Dr. Aljie Vennema, Director of the Canadian Medical Service in Vietnam, stated that "The mortality rate in adults is about 10%, while the mortality rates in children is about 90%..."

During the Conference on CBW of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences at the Salk Institute on July 25th, 1969, a scab intellectual, Prof. M. Meselson of Harvard, substituting for Dr. I. Bennett, the US imperialist government's official adviser on CBW, said: "Heavy exposures (of CS) in confined spaces or after massive application can kill"

CS ATROCITIES AGAINST FRENCH WORKERS

In Paris in May 1968 when ten million French workers and students took to the streets in a great struggle against the French capitalist class CS was used for the first time in Europe on a large scale. Several people are reported to have died.

Professor Huguenard described injuries sustained from CS gas by French workers and students as follows: "You would find yourself face to face with a comatose patient, his mouth open, short of breath with lungs obstructed by contracted muscular tissues. We have often been able to see bronchospasms and pulmonary oedema with gurgling sounds to be heard in the lungs". This professor considers that besides CS affecting the muscular control of the chest itself, it also affects the brain's control of the breathing. He has actually observed that after a period of rapid breathing the following period of slow breathing went as far as total cessation of breathing.

Professor Kahn has testified that during

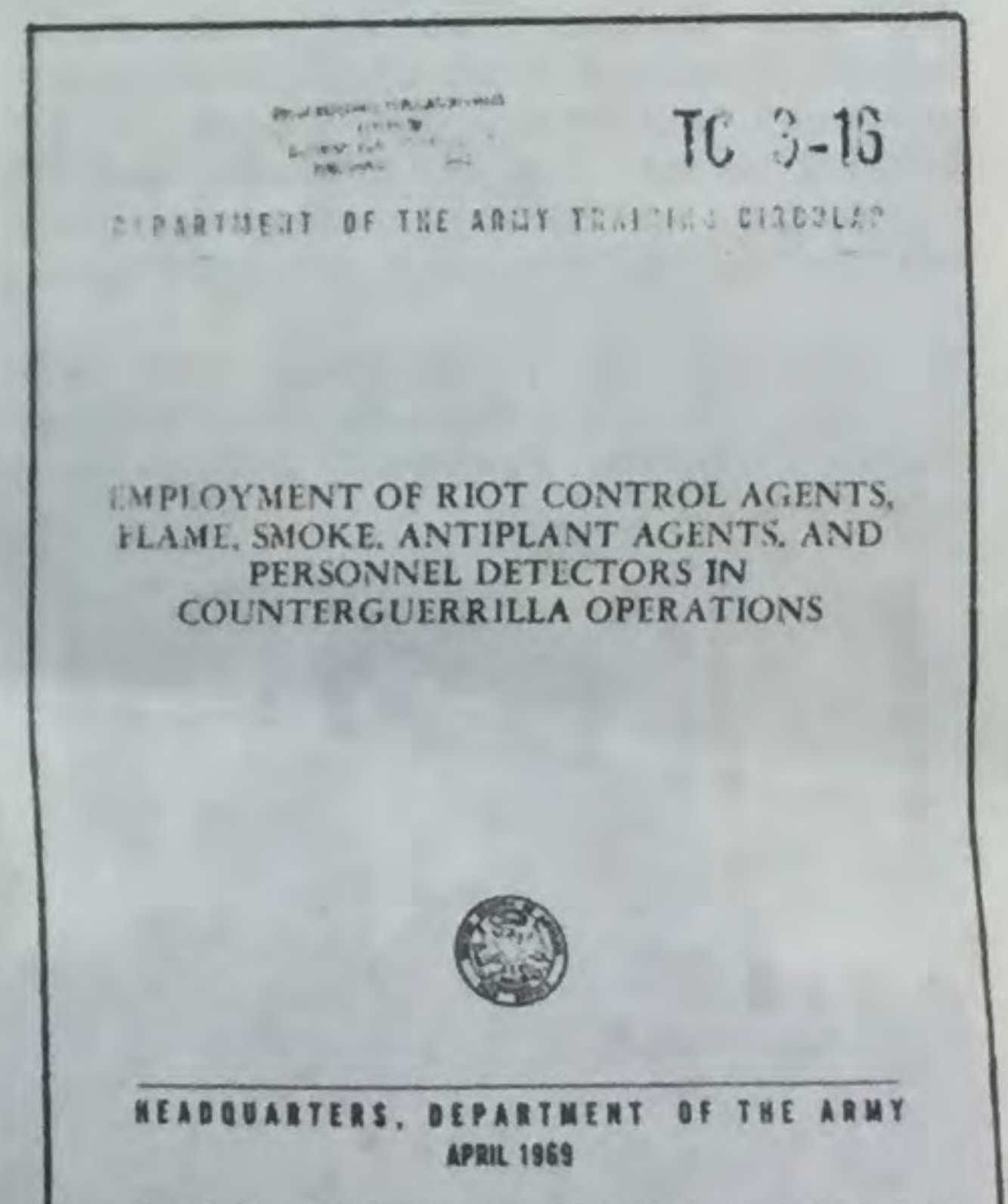
the struggle in France a fifty-six year-old Mme. Y. Macina, of 58, Boulevard Saint Germain, in Paris, died from CS poisoning.

Last year at Berkley University, California, CS was dropped from a U-19 army helicopter, of the type used in Vietnam, onto students demonstrating against the pro-imperialist university authorities. CS gas cartridges were also fired into a crowd locked in a confined area, causing many extreme vomiting and nausea and skin irritation. Eye witnesses state that young children coming into contact with the gas carried by wind showed prolonged blistering.

FUTURE PLANS

CS, having proved itself to the imperialists, has now to be used on a larger scale. This involves two priorities at the production and development end of the gas warfare scale. The first is the manufacture of bigger containers, ranging from cartridges and hand grenades to fifty-five gallon drums. The second is the design and manufacture of launching and carrying equipment, an example of the latter being the huge helicopter (pictured) capable of flying and dispatching more than thirty fifty-gallon drums of CS onto the population below.

The second US military document now in the possession of the INLSF is entitled "Employment of Riot Control Agents, Flame, Smoke, Antiplant Agents, and Personnel Detectors in Counter guerrilla Operations". This is nothing short of a skeleton analysis of the role, present and future, of gas warfare on a global scale. On page 2, the General Introduction comments that gas warfare "is applicable without modification to both nuclear and nonnuclear operations. The information in this training circular is applicable to internal defense and/or internal development operations". In addition contained in this manual of imperialist murder are plans and equipment made for wholesale crop, forest and animal destruction. Chapter six details methods of locating humans in cities and forest areas from aeroplanes to ensure the most economic use of CS.



This document on page 1 specifies the two basic types of C.S. gas "Riot Control Agents C.S.1 and C.S.2" Riot control agents C.S.1 and C.S.2 are micropulverized powder forms of riot control agent C.S. (o-chlorobenzal-malononitrile) that may be used in application where longer durations of effectiveness are desired than can be achieved with burning type C.S. munitions.

(1) C.S.1 is a micropulverized mixture of 95 percent pure C.S. and 5 percent silica gel aerogal. On open terrain under normal weather conditions, C.S.1 is effective for approximately 14 days.

(2) C.S.2 is C.S.1 which has been treated for water resistance. The result is a powdered riot control agent which "resists weathering, flows freely, and has improved persistence."

A BRITISH RULING CLASS PRODUCT Britain, oldest imperialist power in the world, developed CS at Porton Down. In 1960 the government patented it under number 967 660 and in the name of the War Department. Moreover the British capitalist class is proud of CS, each cartridge and shell of which it receives a royalty for. In the official Porton handout the following reference is made to CS and other gasses: "They are

A YEAR OF CLASS STRUGGLE

Following is a brief review of just some of the main struggles that have taken place in Britain during the twelve months since the Irish Liberation Press was first published.

MARCH

London (Heathrow) airport is closed by a strike of 12,000 airport workers. A strike for better wages by 100 airport firemen closes the airport for nine nights.

Unemployment tops 660,000, showing the deepening of British imperialism's economic crisis.

Strikes hit the motor industry, symbolizing the rising militancy of the working class in 1970. Inspection workers at Vauxhalls walk out, stopping production for 4 days. Workers at Leylands go on strike. 800 dockers also come out.

1,000 people hold a demonstration to the U.S. embassy in London against U.S. aggression in Indo-China.

APRIL

Workers at 13 Pilkington glass factories strike for more pay. The workers want £25 basic but the scab trade union misleaders urge them to accept a measly £3. At St. Helen's, where the workers are particularly determined, 8,000 employees are persevering in their strike. 4,000 of them attack the company's offices.

Striking inspectors at Vauxhalls, Ellesmere Port, have won their 26/8 per week demand.

The T.U.C., in pushing its demand for minor reforms (rather than the seizure of power by the working class) has drawn up proposals asking workers to sit on boards of directors.



The Irish National Liberation Solidarity Front mobilising workers of all nationalities in Britain.



Workers in Wolverhampton give the Nazi salute to leading ruling class scab Powell.

All over Britain students demonstrate against increased repression. Reactionary university authorities are found to be keeping secret files on militants and 20 universities are hit by students carrying out occupations and other protest actions.

Midland Red bus crews and lorry drivers win rises of about 50% through militant action. London Transport maintenance men strike.

MAY

A militant demonstration organised by Pakistani workers together with the INLSF and Black Unity and Freedom Party marches to Downing Street. 2,000 workers of all races oppose British imperialism's racist policy of persecuting Black people.

Militant pressure achieves results: the Cricket Council are forced to call off the

As the British ruling class moves slowly but surely in the direction of a fascist corporate state, so the British working class is slowly but surely starting to become conscious that a massive attack is being launched against their democratic and trade union rights.

The two most important acts of legislation embodying the development towards fascism are, of course, the new Industrial Relations Bill and the new racist immigration bill.

Furious attempts are being made by the ruling class to turn workers against worker and thus divide the working class as a whole and weaken its power to fight against fascism and for socialism. Religious bigotry is the tactic employed by the bosses' class in Ireland to accomplish their ends there. In this country racism is the main divide and rule policy.

Only two things can happen. Either fascism will bring on a revolution or a revolution

will stop fascism.

The working class in Britain will not be able to make a revolution without their own revolutionary party. There is a great need for such a party at this time. But a really revolutionary party cannot just be declared, it must be built through concrete class struggle. The arming of the British working class with revolutionary ideology and ultimately guns to overthrow the ruling class can alone be accomplished with such a party.

More and more workers are coming to understand that the struggle against fascism cannot be left to the sell-out trade union misleaders, such as Feather and Jackson. These scabs must be exposed, isolated and politically smashed.

The Revisionist, headed by the "Communist Party of Great Britain", and Trotskyism, in such groups as the counter-revolutionary Socialist Labour League, The International Marxist Group,

6 Cambridge University students receive prison terms for opposing a publicity exercise in the town by the fascist Greek government. People can be jailed for opposing Greek fascism not only in Greece but in Britain also.

Frank Roche throws CS gas at M.P.s in the Commons, letting the criminals who sent the gas to Ireland get a taste of their own medicine.

AUGUST

One strike after another has been launched in the British car industry. 9,000 at Standard-Triumph go on a 24-hour strike against the layoff of 10,000 workers without pay. Other strikes break out at Oxford, Birmingham and Coventry.

5,000 workers from Lancashire and Cheshire demonstrate in Liverpool against the arrest in Ellesmere Port of 40 striking workers during a march.

Scotland Yard Special Branch are making nationwide swoops for arms and ammunition "believed to be intended for Ireland". A bomb explodes in London's Charing Cross Road and two people are seriously injured. "Irish extremists" are accused by the capitalist gutter press although all the evidence points to the authorities. (see elsewhere in this issue).

SEPTEMBER

Refuse workers in London and Coventry are on strike for higher wages.

A medical report reveals that in "never had it so good Britain" more than one child in two is suffering from some degree of malnutrition.

As a result of the crisis of British imperialism, 666,000 are now out of work.

tour planned by the fascist-selected South Africa cricket team.

Barbara Castle, a leading lackey of the ruling class, proposes her 'In Place of Strife' legislation. This move shows the essence of all governments in capitalist society in that they always attack workers.

The Labour government calls an early General Election for June 18. This five-yearly farce in no way changes things for the working class, which always loses regardless of which party wins most seats.

JUNE

Labour loses the General Election and the Tories take over. A large number of workers realise that neither Labour nor Tories represent their interests and express their general dissatisfaction with the system by abstaining.

A national newspaper strike is held. The printing workers win a 5% rise.

Pilkington, the monopoly glass producers, have decided to sell their shares publicly. Clearly the fight of their workers has weakened the company.

3,000 Dunlop engineers strike for a decent wage.

JULY

A national dockers' strike the biggest since 1926, brings all major ports to a halt. 47,000 are out demanding wage rises. Price rises are running at 5% a year and accelerating. Statistics reveal there are 3 to 4 times as many strikes than 10 years ago, showing that workers are fighting the ruling-class offensive.

Britain resumes talks with the Common Market. If Britain joins prices are certain to shoot up.

The T.U. in Brighton of giving struggle manifest especially

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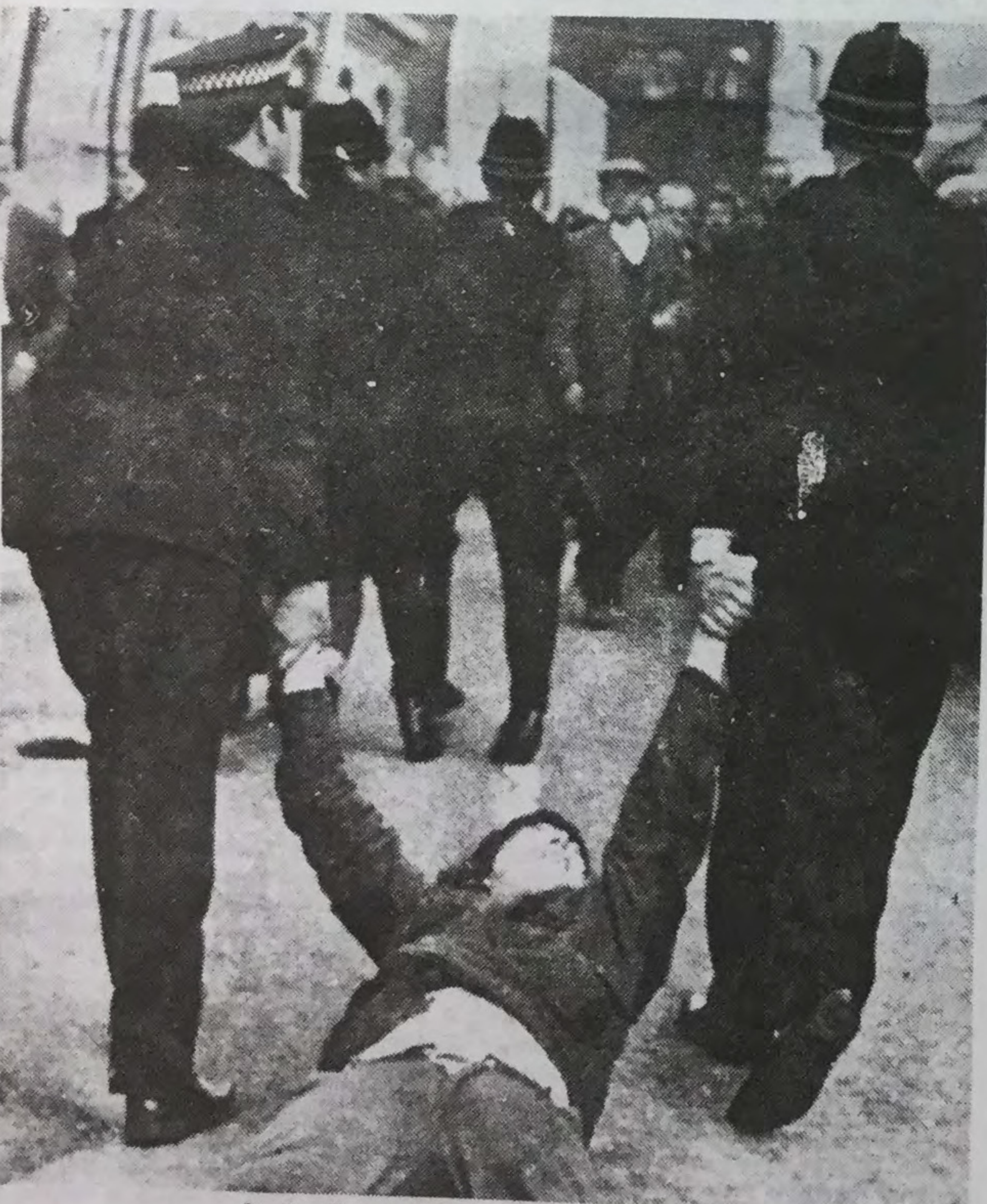
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In St. Helens British police, part of the state machinery of the ruling bosses class, physically violate a worker during the Pilkington strike.

IN BRITAIN

The T.U.C. annual conference takes place in Brighton. The delegates show no sign of giving workers any lead in the main struggles—i.e. against the various manifestations of growing fascism, especially the anti-strike bill.

OCTOBER
Rubbish piles up throughout Britain as the 'dirty-jobs' strike continues. 65,000 municipal workers are involved by October 22nd. Manchester dustmen storm City Hall, shouting slogans in support of their pay demand. Bus workers in Leeds, Derby, Cardiff and Neath come out for better wages.

Employment Minister Carr makes a new anti-working class proposal when he suggests that strike benefits be replaced by repayable loans.

Soldiers are used as scabs in a London borough where they are employed to clear away rubbish.

NOVEMBER
Statistics show that the cost of living has gone up by 7½% in the last twelve months.

In Glasgow on November 12th 40,000 hold a one-day strike against unemployment.

Panic-stricken at the militancy of the miners in their just strike for higher

International Socialism, Militant, and all the rest, are being exposed for what they are—agents of the ruling class. Many people who were at one time or another rank and file members of these organizations have left them and are taking up serious political work.

The Marxist-Leninist movement in Britain is as yet relatively weak. Bogus groups still abound. Few if any are doing really serious revolutionary mass work. Many, in fact, amount to "new revisionists". This situation must be rectified. The coming year must witness the unity of all who seriously wish to build a real fighting vanguard of the British working class.

Much of the struggle in the past year has been waged at the level of economism, that is fighting for wage increases and other benefit within the capitalist system. However in December and January many thousands of workers demonstrated against the new fascist Industrial Relations Bill and millions went on strike.

wages, Lord Robens, Chairman of the National Coal Board, launches a slander campaign against the union pickets, accusing them of using violence against their fellow workmates to prolong the strike. On a visit to Doncaster Robens is shouted down by pickets when he tries to speak about the coal board's 2% pay offer. Robens later slanders the pickets as "a contemptible and unruly mob." "It was the ugliest crowd I have met."

DECEMBER
Fascist Industrial Relations Bill which provides for the fining and imprisonment of striking workers is introduced. T.U.C. sell-out scab mis-leadership ask workers to think again before December 8th. mass demonstration against "The Bill", 450,000 workers take part in the demonstration. Fascist Immigration Bill also introduced which provides for the tagging of immigrant workers insurance cards at labour exchanges (in much the same way that one ear marks a pedigree sow). This bill is aimed in particular at the national minorities in Britain and in general at the whole working class with the intention of stirring up racism.

Workers of various nationalities unite to express their solidarity with their Spanish class brothers and their hatred of the fascist Franco regime and its attempt to murder six Basque patriots.

Unemployment figures rose by 18,832 in the November-December period. Strike action by airline workers, power workers, miners, and even journalists employed by the capitalist gutter press Daily Mirror shows rising level of struggle against exploitation.

Lackey Sir Arthur Young says in London that his loyalty in Ireland was solely to the Stormont government and that the



One of the black worker victims of the Sunderland Rd fascist bomb atrocity, which the police refused to investigate for eight days. The I.N.L.S.F. has demanded that the two animals who have been apprehended be charged with attempted murder.

One of the major tasks in the coming year is to win British workers to take the stand of their Irish class brothers and sisters in their fight against growing fascism in Ireland and for the liberation of their motherland from the rule of British imperialism.

The workers of Britain and Ireland have the same main enemy—the British ruling class. The aggressor troops now being used against Irish workers here when class contradictions become acute and there is a need to drive workers off the streets. Hence, every blow against imperialism struck in Ireland is a blow of support for the British working class, and vice versa. As the crisis of imperialism mounts and with it the attacks against British workers, so the call must go out in the factories, mines and across the land . . . GET ORGANIZED TO SMASH CAPITALISM, PREPARE FOR INTENSIFIED CLASS STRUGGLE, BUILD THE WORKING CLASS VANGUARD NOW!



Militant black and white workers at Fords Dagenham plant unite in demanding an extra £15 a week.

report on the murder of Sam Devenney will certainly never be made public.

JANUARY
Workers shout down Feather and Wilson at rally in Albert Hall to denounce the Industrial Relations Bill, recognising that neither scab Wilson nor sell-out Feather can solve their problems.

January 20th sees beginning of indefinite strike by Britain's 20,000 postal workers who are no longer prepared to tolerate low wages. Irish postal workers wholeheartedly support the strike by refusing to handle calls needing a telephonist to and from Britain and the occupied north. The workers also declare black bulk postings made in Ireland by British firms to beat the strike.

RAIL WORKERS DEMAND PAY RISE
Rail workers are demanding a 25% pay rise. A British Rail offer of 8% has been rejected.

FEBRUARY
The U.S. owned Ford Motor company is brought to a halt by the company's 40,000 workers striking for wage parity with workers of other motor concerns.

5,000 elderly workers demonstrate in Edinburgh to demand higher old-age pensions.

ANOTHER STRIKE AGAINST THE BILL
Hundreds of thousands of workers on February 21 went on strike against the anti-working class Bill.

PIGS GET BIG PAY RISE
No wage worries for the pigs, one of the main tools of the bosses class. A 11%—22% rise has just been announced backdated to September.



PENSIONERS DEMONSTRATE

GOVERNMENT COMMITS NEW CRIME AGAINST SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLE

The government of the bosses is to sell seven Wasp helicopters to fascist South Africa.

4,000 ROLLS WORKERS LOSE THEIR JOBS

The receiver for Rolls-Royce has announced that 4,300 men will lose their jobs within three weeks. The Minister for Aviation Supply has stated in the commons that if the RB 211 were scrapped 12,000 to 18,000 would be made redundant. The Rolls crash is a sign of the deepening crisis facing the British monopoly capitalist class.

FORD WORKERS STILL ON STRIKE

The Ford workers are standing firm. They are determined to gain wage parity with workers in other monopoly motor companies.

SCAB UNION LEADERS SELL OUT POSTMEN

The striking Post Office workers were sold out by their union mis-leader Jackson. Jackson and his fellow scabs on the post-union's executive agreed to end the strike on the basis of a 3-man team of enquiry that will look into postal workers' wages. No immediate pay-rise is to be given to the workers and they will doubtless receive only an insulting pittance of an increase when the enquiry team reports.

This betrayal should serve as a lesson to all rank-and-file workers that the leadership of most unions is not to be trusted. Workers need to hammer the scab union bosses just as they need to hammer the bosses.

BRITISH TROOPS HAVE NO RIGHT TO BE ON IRISH SOIL



Derry workers chase paper tigers

British imperialist troops never had, do not have now, and never will have any right to be on Irish soil. Whatever else they might do, in essence they are in Ireland today in order to strengthen and consolidate the rule of British imperialism. If this central fact is lost sight of all else will be confused.

The invasion in the north is part and parcel of laying the foundations for fascist rule in Ireland. This development is taking many forms. More subtle than troop atrocities is the new Irish incomes policy, productivity deals, speed-up on the factory floor and in the office, time and motion impositions, and laws aimed at bringing the trade union movement within the pale of a developing corporate state machine. New additions to the Special Powers Act in the north and the Offences against the State Act in the south are the Public Order Act and the proposed Criminal Justice Bill. The police north and south are being given new powers. Both special branches are being strengthened and are working together and in close cooperation with their British counterpart. A conscious and far reaching plan, dictated by British imperialism, is now being put into effect to take away from the Irish working class and other exploited sections of society, such as the agricultural worker, small farmers and progressive intellectuals, their democratic right to organise against their enemy and its Irish stooges in Stormont and Dublin. A declaration of war has been made against the masses of our people. The presence on Irish soil of ten thousand British aggressor troops is an important component part of imperialism's clamp down. These are the hard facts of life in Ireland in 1970.

AGGRESSOR TROOPS CANNOT PROTECT THE PEOPLE

And yet there are those who argue that British aggressor troops are in the North for other reasons, the most important of which is the "protection" of the catholic minority. They argue that we are witnessing not the intensification of fascist rule but in fact moves towards liberalisation and a more relaxed form of colonial rule, i.e. a bourgeois democratic form of government. An objective look at what is actually happening from the standpoint of the masses, rather than "theorising" from a comfortable distance, makes nonsense of this notion. Is it not the troops who are using massive doses of CS gas against the people? Is it not the

troops who are looting homes? Is it not the troops who are murdering people on the streets? Is it not the troops who are shooting high-powered water cannon at demonstrators? Is it not the troops who conduct the vicious "snatch squad" arrests, who truncheon into unconscious workers? Is it not the troops who impose the curfews, who man the street corners and police cities? Is it not the troops who are about to fire the newly developed rubber bullet to break the legs and arms of our people who are correctly taking to the streets in their tens of thousands to express their hatred of imperialist-imposed poverty? Was it not the troops who upon invading the north immediately set about taking down the people's barricades?

Is this "protecting" the catholic, or for that matter any section of the working class? Patently it is nothing of the sort. It is simply—and no apologies are made for a lack of "sophistication"—the latest chapter in a centuries-old manual of brutal actions perpetrated against the Irish people by British imperialism.

BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY OR FASCISM

Is this bourgeois democratic, liberal colonial rule? Quite clearly the answer is no it is not. Of course, this does not mean that British imperialism, had it a choice, would not prefer to rule and obtain its colonial profits by more liberal means. Repression teaches the people, raises their level of political consciousness, brings thousands of workers into action at a level higher than economism for the first time.

Obviously, imperialism will not do this job willingly. But the point is that imperialism no longer has a choice in this respect. It is forced to accept and gear its policies to the reality of the crisis of which it, together with every other imperialist power in the world today, is part. It is forced to accept that the whole world imperialist system is facing total collapse, whilst the people's forces in continent after continent are marching confidently along the revolutionary road of national liberation and socialism armed with the invincible weapon of People's War. Those who refuse to recognise that fascism is developing throughout Ireland refute the crisis of British imperialism and the imperialist system throughout the world, and refute that mankind has entered into a glorious new era of

revolutionary struggles in which the only resort of imperialism is to intensify its attacks on workers and oppressed people all over the world—i.e. resort to fascist rule.

Certainly minor reforms are being introduced at the dictate of the British ruling class which wants to take some of the steam out of a tense situation. But this is all these tactics amount to. Nothing else. These minor reforms are in no way incompatible with intensifying fascism. Reforms will be introduced in order to buy time and make a section of the masses feel that imperialism is benevolent. But simultaneously imperialism is building up its war machine, increasing repression and consolidating its power. Is this approach to the "Irish problem" in any way new? Is it only now that imperialism has come to combine the iron fist with the velvet glove? Of course not. Several centuries tell us that what is happening now has its precedent in our country in this sense. Yet it comes as a great surprise to the "liberalisers" that in the arsenal of British weaponry there are to be found one or two carrots among the big sticks.

IMPERIALISM THRIVES ON CONFUSION

It is not disputed that on occasion the aggressor soldier has stepped between catholics and protestants, has helped a few old ladies across the road, has given sweets to children. But all this is on the periphery. It has nothing to do with the essential class function and role of the troops. Such happenings are incidental to their chief function as the main back-stop and protector of the colonial interests of British imperialism. To sum up the invasion in terms of these incidental and basically irrelevant bit parts is to depart from reality. It is to take up the political position of apologist for British imperialist aggressor troops. It is to take an anti-working class position. Whether this position is arrived at consciously or is merely the product of muddled thinking is really of little importance. The point is that extra confusion is added to an already abundant supply within the working class. And imperialism thrives on confusion. It is to legitimise the presence of enemy troops and their brutalities. The fact that this is often done using the language of socialism in no way renders this position any the less pro-imperialist. Those upholding this line are agreeing in all but the phraseology with the

imperialist Labour and Tory parties.

THE APOLOGISTS MUST BE CHALLENGED AND EXPOSED

It must be put to the apologists that if British troops really are capable of representing the needs of the Irish people, for this is what their position boils down to, then why did they not during the course of last year demand the invasion of the troops? If they believed this then they had a solemn responsibility to put this demand before the northern section of the Irish working class and fight for its adoption. They had a duty, from their point of view—and in keeping with their politics on this matter, to scrawl in big lettering on their banners the slogan "WE WANT BRITISH TROOPS, THEY ARE OUR PROTECTORS, THEY WILL GUARD THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING CLASS". They should explain why they did not do this. For this was the logic of their position and remains so. However, it is not difficult to understand why they cowed down before this "logic" keeping their lips tightly pursed and their arguments to themselves.

Similarly with those who argued that the presence of British troops will "give the people time to organise". This is not their function. Theirs is the task of ensuring that the people do not organise. How do arms raids and the imprisonment of activists "help the people organise"?

BRITISH TROOPS HAVE NO RIGHT ON IRISH SOIL

Those who have taken it upon themselves to welcome British aggressor troops now put forward the line that to expel the troops would in no way assist the development of a genuine working class, anti-imperialist political consciousness. Yet this is precisely what correctly conducted agitation around the slogan "BRITISH IMPERIALISM AND ITS AGGRESSOR TROOPS OUT NOW" can achieve. This is the slogan that explains the link between the troops and British imperialism, their master, and would educate workers and assist in developing their political level. Of course, it will not be easy, to the contrary very difficult and arduous, to win the protestant section of the working class to support this slogan. But in itself this is no reason to refuse to fight for its adoption. No serious revolutionary expects to be able to overcome centuries of imperialist-sponsored bigotry in a flash. Through mass work, and by constantly hammering home that these are the troops of the system and class that has brought poverty to the Shankill as it has to the Falls, workers will respond. A thousand Paisleys cannot fill hungry bellies. The lot of both catholic and protestant workers can only get worse as the imperialist system flounders in growing crisis. Bigotry can and will be smashed. But only by taking advantage of the objective crisis of imperialism and by putting before the working class a genuine anti-imperialist position. It must be shown that workers of different religions have everything in common and that only by uniting on an anti-imperialist basis can the real, common enemy be smashed. It is inevitable, despite all the confusion, that the working class will come to adopt its own politics. Only through concrete struggle will this be achieved.

The alternative is to tell people to rely on aggressor troops. And that is treachery. ■

Join us

We fight in Britain to build up solidarity with the struggle of the Irish people. We try to educate the British working class as to the class nature of the fight in Ireland against growing fascism and for national

liberation. Also, of course, we assist in whatever way we can in the building of a revolutionary mass movement here in this country. The British ruling class that is the main exploiter of the Irish people is also the main exploiter and main enemy of every worker in this country.

Who are we? We are a group of workers, Irish, British and other nationalities, who have joined together in the INLSF. The chances are that, unless you purchased this paper from a newsagent, you, like thousands of others have bought it while you were out for a drink, in the street,

outside a church, or at work, from a member of the Irish National Liberation Solidarity Front. This person is a worker, as you probably are. The chances are that he has written part of the paper, has spent hours doing letraset (that's a type of transfer used for making headlines) and "pasting up" columns of type set by the printer, carefully checking that everything is parallel, that is ensuring that the paper is as good as it can be for you and people like you. He believes Ireland should be free, united and socialist. He has faith that people like you will respond and join

the organisation. He understands that the workers of Britain, Ireland and the whole world have everything in common as workers and can only liberate themselves from capitalist/imperialist exploitation by making revolution. He gets nothing financially out of spending his after-work hours in serving the people in this way. He is a serious person. If you like what you read in the paper and would like to do something serious to help, then get in touch. Ring the office 455 6968. Why not do it now? ■

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Who are the real bombers?

This article was published in volume 1, No 5, September, 1970

On the night of Sunday 16th August Anna Korhonen, 17, a Finnish girl working in London as an au-pair, and her boyfriend Barry Burnett, 24, were blown up and seriously injured when a bomb exploded in the mini they were driving along Charing Cross Road.

In the early hours of Tuesday 18th August a bomb damaged the Regent Street offices of Iberia Airways, the Spanish airline.

These two explosions sparked off the most highly organised and vicious campaign of racial slander and lies ever perpetrated against the Irish national minority working in Britain and against the just cause of Irish national liberation.

Immediately banner headlines screamed out from the pages of the capitalist gutter press that these bombings, or at least the first one, were the work of "the Irish".

So desperately keen were they to get into print the press barons started to spew forth contradictory statements. For example, the front page leader story of the Daily Mirror of Tuesday 18th August told the whole story of the bombing of Anna Korhonen and Barry Burnett in a way that could only lead the reader to conclude that one or the other of them had dictated it from their hospital bedside to reporters Tullett and Vale, the writers of the "Mirror" piece. This vicious and polished piece of anti-Irish, anti-working class journalistic poison did not even grant the possibility that what was being said might not accord with the realities of the circumstances surrounding the blast.

The very same day another national paper, "The Guardian", made it quite clear that it was impossible for anyone to know first hand what had happened. It stated "Detectives were standing by to interview the couple, but it will probably be a further twenty-four hours at least before they can help to explain the mystery of Sunday night, when the explosion wrecked Mr. Burnett's mini car in Charing Cross Road". "Mirror" reporters Tullett and Vale had written the big lie. It was all supposition. They had come out with a story based not upon facts but upon the political requirements of the class of capitalist scabs who own the newspapers and employ them every day as an important cog in the attack against the working class. Their story must have been a lie. Because the only people who could have given them such an insight were still unconscious in hospital and certainly in no way capable of giving long interviews. Having commenced their slanders (and indeed requiring no facts for their purpose) by the fourth day the gutter press was talking in terms of "riddles", inevitably the position they would arrive at working from the starting point of the big lie. At this point their enthusiasm for the issue began to rail off, and within a few days people were beginning to ask "I wonder what happened to those two who got blown up?" What happened were two things: One was that the big lie was becoming so unconvincing in the total absence of any facts or arrests that the capitalist press considered the time had come to ease the slander off the front page and gradually phase it out; the other thing was that Anna Korhonen and Barry Burnett had ceased to be of any propaganda use to the ruling class in its attempt to whip up racial fervour against the Irish national minority working here and generally against the right of the people of Ireland to the unity and national liberation of their country. This showed their complete contempt not only for factual reporting but also for the two young victims of the bombing.

NO LOGIC

Upon close examination the newspaper slanders start to crack up under the weight of logic. First, the target does not fit in. It does not add up that a politically conscious group would go through all the planning and producing of a bomb geared somehow to the idea that

setting it off would aid the struggle against British imperialism and then just leave it anywhere at random. In the minds of such a group there would certainly be on the agenda targets much higher on the list of political priorities than a cinema. Neither does it seem at all likely that the bomb went off accidentally. Again this does not fit in with the careful planning and preparation that would characterise the work of a skilled Irish individual terrorist group. If such a group existed.

Secondly, whatever differences exist in the movement in this country all organizations have disowned the bombing and with it this style of political activity. Quite clearly anyone really concerned with winning support for the cause of Irish national liberation—and that is the job of the solidarity movement here in Britain—would understand that the perpetration of such an act could only have the effect of severely alienating the Irish people living in Britain from the rest of the working class and could only damage the support that has been built up here for the struggle of our people at home. The job in this country is to win the working class here to take the stand of the Irish people. It would be quite contradictory to that aim to go around letting off bombs. A lesson was embedded deeply into the minds of organizations here and at home that what happened at the Coventry post office all those years ago was not the way forward.

Thirdly, the capitalist press screamed out that it was an "IRA bomb plot", the start of another "bombing campaign". Again this simply does not fit in with reality. Whatever stories travel around about the romantic past of the IRA the fact is that both wings of Sinn Fein have utterly disowned the bombing whereas it has always been practice in the past for the Army to publicly claim the work it has done as its own.

Fourth, the imperialist press after a few days began to make soundings that the bombing just might have been the work of a crank. Floundering in contradictions of their own creation they were obliged in the absence of facts to sink yet further still into a quagmire of illogicality. British army bomb explosive experts have stated that the making of such a bomb would have to involve at least five people each having a thorough understanding of the various technical aspects of the work involved. Clearly this has nothing in common with the ramblings of a crank.

And yet a group of people working in accordance with a plan made a bomb, left it in a London cinema and this bomb blew up Anna Korhonen and Barry Burnett. If Irish political organisations in this country had no motive, and if the perpetration of this act could only alienate people in this country from the cause of Irish national liberation then the question must be put: which section of British society does have a motive and does have something very real to gain?

IMPERIALISM IN CRISIS

British imperialism is in a state of deep economic and political crisis. In times of crisis imperialism always looks for a scapegoat, something to blame the hardships of the people onto, something to divert the attention of the masses away from the imperialist system, the real source of their problems and their main enemy. On many occasions throughout history imperialism has singled out national minorities for this role. In Britain at the moment black workers occupy this position in the main. However, in accordance with its special needs as foreign dominator of the Irish people, British imperialism has always exercised a special racialism for the subjects of its oldest colony. Before black workers became the main scapegoat this lot fell to the Irish in Britain. "No Irish need apply" was the sign frequently seen in many parts of London and throughout the provinces. Now with the sharpest crisis on its hands since the second world war, the

British ruling class in dire straits in the north of Ireland sees the need to revitalise the slander campaign against the Irish national minority in Britain in an attempt to divide workers here and gain support for its vile campaign of oppression in Ireland.

It is vital for the British war effort in the north to get backing here in Britain for the troops who have been exposed to more and more people as the aggressor brutalizers of the masses. It is vital that the British ruling class break down the growing unity between Irish and British workers, particularly at a time when demonstrations are getting bigger and when black workers are uniting with their Irish and British class brothers in this country.

This growing working class solidarity and political unity must at all costs, from the standpoint of the British imperialist ruling class, be prevented from developing further because it is precisely such developments that constitute the conditions necessary for the emergence of a revolutionary mass movement here in Britain and the opening of a second front. Thus divide and rule tactics are intensified, racial and religious bigotry are worked harder than ever, and the slogan of "law and order" becomes the watchword of the ruling class programme, that is their law and their order which they use to keep workers down.

A RACIST SLANDER AND DIVERSION

Racist slanders against the Irish and other national minorities is nothing new. But the struggle in the north during the past year or so has added new dimensions to British rule in Ireland. Condemnation of that rule is widespread not only in Ireland, but throughout the world. In this situation something in addition to the normal divide and rule tactic is required to further imperialism's aims. And what better way is there in the present conditions of causing confusion and splitting the working class here, inciting racism against the Irish national minority, obtaining support for British aggressor troops who have been largely exposed as the brutalizers of the people in the north, and simultaneously diverting attention away from increasing attacks on the living standards of the British working class... what better way of attaining all these objectives vital to the interests of the British ruling class than to undertake the perpetration of a violent act, an act which would provoke outrage against the Irish people and the cause of Irish national liberation, an act which could easily, by employing the capitalist press, radio and TV, be attributed to "the Irish"? From the standpoint of logic, motive, and cause and effect the fact of this matter is that the Irish people, whether living here in Britain or at home in Ireland clearly had nothing whatsoever to gain from the bombing of Anna Korhonen and Barry Burnett, whereas the British ruling class for the reasons pointed out above did have a very real motive, did stand to benefit from its perpetration, and all that is logical points the finger in the direction of this class as being involved, directly or indirectly in this outrage. Such is the only position that after all the arguments have been gone through at the end of the process still stands intact on its own merits.

Supporting this position is the fact that the Special Branch refused to investigate the only piece of concrete evidence to emerge during the course of these events.

EVIDENCE SUPPRESSED

On Tuesday 18th August the editor of this newspaper received a letter threatening to blow him up. This arrived the same day as the "Mirror" ran its lead racist story against the Irish people and at a time when banner headlines screamed out slanders from the front pages of the capitalist press. The letter is of course anonymous. It is also violently anti-Irish, anti-Black people, and anti-working class. It is passionately pro-police and pro-Great

Britain. Unlike the normal scrawl in bad English the letter is perfectly spelt, written in good English and is typed. It is well laid out, the author using capitals to emphasise various points throughout its text. Quite clearly it was drawn up by a person with experience in laying out leaflets. Clearly it is the work of a person with political experience. Its content and form suggest that it could only be the work of a member of a fascist group.

This letter is the only evidence that provides any guidance as to the perpetrators of the bombings. On the evening it was received the INLSF convened a press conference. Only one Press Association reporter attended. Normally at INLSF press conferences at least six or seven reporters attend. It is important to bear in mind that this press conference was called when all the nationals and the London evening papers and the provincials were hot on the tale of "Irish bomb atrocities". No paper carried even a line on the evidence the following day. Subsequent investigation suggests that the Press Association suppressed the news of the press conference.

SPECIAL BRANCH HAVE GOOD REASON

There is one very good reason why the Special Branch have refused to even acknowledge that they know of the letter, never mind investigate it. The reason is that at the INLSF press conference it was pointed out that only the ruling class had the motive for perpetrating such an outrage and thus the Special Branch were faced with two choices: first, they could investigate the accusation made by the INLSF that it was the authorities here in Britain that as logic would have it were involved, which would have meant that the SB would have been forced to investigate their masters, the British authorities; second, they could simply ignore and suppress the evidence. A political decision was taken to adopt the latter course for obvious reasons.

A CLASS QUESTION

In this one example the class functions of police and press and other mass media are exposed thoroughly. The police point blank refuse to investigate evidence, whilst at the same time they hound Irish militants by raiding their homes and employing other harassment tactics. Without any evidence whatsoever the police, linking up with the media, put out the big lie that the bombing of Anna Korhonen and Barry Burnett was the work of Irish people. The newspapers which readily carried this gross slander then refused to carry news of the only evidence that appeared. When a free-lance reporter contacted Scotland Yard asking why they had not investigated the bomb threat letter the reply was "no comment". *The only organizations to be investigated were Irish ones. No right wing organization was investigated. A.K. Chesterton's National Front, Mosley's British Union of Fascists, Jordan's British Movement, the National Democratic Party, the Racial Preservation Society, none of these or other fascist groups operating in Britain were investigated! It is well known that Special Branch agents are in touch with these organizations some of whose members act as infiltrators of revolutionary groups.*

When Hitler wanted to find a national scapegoat and crush all revolutionary forces in Germany his agents executed the ruling class plan of burning down the Reichstag to attain these ends. The precise conditions are not the same. However, the parallel is there with the British ruling class in deep crisis. The fact that no fascist organization was investigated lends more credence to the logic that says the ruling class, possibly employing Special Branch agents to obtain the services of fascists who have the sort of technical knowledge (or who could be supplied with a ready-made bomb), is the source of this outrage, the perpetrators of the bombing of Anna Korhonen and Barry Burnett. Nothing else explains things.

1911

The revolutionary flames that raged during Easter Week, 1916, were given ignition by the theory and practice of one man more than any other. That man was James Connolly. The only way to understand the fundamental and lasting significance of Connolly and those gathered under his class-conscious leadership is to study what he himself said (as opposed to what others often say he said) about the nature of the struggle for Irish national liberation. What follows then are some of the most pro-

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- "As a Socialist I am prepared to do all one man can do to achieve for our motherland her rightful heritage— independence." "If you ask me to abate one jot or tittle the claims of social justice, in order to conciliate the privileged classes, then I must decline."
- "It may be pleaded that the ideal of a Socialist Republic, implying, as it does, a complete political and economic revolution, would be sure to alienate all our middle-class and aristocratic supporters, who would dread the loss of their property and privileges.
- "What does this objection mean? That we must conciliate the privileged classes in Ireland!
- "But you can only conciliate them by assuring them that in a free Ireland that their 'privileges' will not be interfered with."
- This "would be tantamount to a public declaration that our oppressors had, so far, succeeded in inoculating us with their perverted conceptions of justice and morality that we had finally decided to accept those conceptions as our own, and no longer needed an alien enemy to force them upon us."
- "But on whom devolves the task of achieving that downfall of the ruling classes in Ireland? On the Irish people. But who are the Irish people? Is it the dividend-hunting capitalist with the phraseology of patriotism on his lips and spoil wrung from sweated Irish toilers in his pockets; is it the scheming lawyer . . . , is it the slum landlord . . . ; is it any of these sections who to-day dominate Irish politics? Or is it not rather the Irish working class—the only secure foundation on which a free nation can be reared—the Irish working class which has borne the brunt of every political struggle, and gained by none, and which is today the only class in Ireland which has no interest to serve in perpetuating either the political or social forms of oppression—the British connection or the Irish capitalist system? The Irish working class must emancipate itself, and in emancipating itself, must, perforce, free its country." (Erin's Hope).
- "the Citizen Army was founded during the great Dublin Lock-Out of 1913-14, for the purpose of protecting the working class, and of preserving its right of public meeting and free association . . . The I.C.A. was the first publicly organised armed citizen force south of the Boyne. Its constitution pledges its members to work for an Irish Republic, and for the emancipation of labour. It has ever been foremost in all national work, and, whilst never neglecting its own special function, has always been at the disposal of the forces of Irish nationality for ends common to all.
- "When the great betrayal was perpetrated on Ireland, and John Redmond and his followers, aided by all the capitalist press of the country, joined in a conspiracy to rush the young men of Ireland into the ranks of the British army . . . it was the I.C.A. that sprang into the gap, and by its fearless presence gave new heart and hope to the dismayed people of Ireland . . .
- "Who on every occasion on which the enemy has struck his blow at those who stood for freedom has ever hastened to the side of the victims declaring the cause to be its own? THE IRISH CITIZEN ARMY." (Connolly: Workers Republic, Oct. 30th, 1915.)
- "Company after company locks out its men and then we bring them up to Liberty Hall and take advantage of the opportunity to drill them and train them. When each dispute is settled that squad of men goes back to work, and some other squad gets locked out, and we get a chance to train them. Thus the whole quays is getting drilled . . . The great danger is that the dispute may be over before the men are thoroughly drilled . . ." (Workers Republic, Nov. 6th, 1915.)
- "The Irish Citizen Army . . . pledges its members to work for, organise for, drill for, and fight for an Independent Ireland . . . It places reliance on the only class that never betrayed Ireland—the Irish Working Class . . ."
- "If here and there we find an occasional employer who fought us in 1913 agreeing with our national policy in 1915, it is not because he has become converted, or is ashamed of the unjust use of his powers, but simply that he does not see in economic conscription (forcing men into the British army by refusing them work—Ed.) the profit he fancied he saw in denying his labourers the right to organise in their own way in 1913.
- "Do we find fault with the employer for following his own interests? We do not. But neither are we under any illusion as to his motives. In the same manner we take our stand with our own class, nakedly upon our class interests, but believing that these interests are the highest interests of the race.
- "We cannot conceive of a free Ireland with a subject working class; we cannot conceive of a subject Ireland with a free working class." (Connolly: Workers Republic, Dec. 18th, 1915.)
- "An armed organisation of the Irish working class is a phenomenon in Ireland. Hitherto the workers of Ireland have fought as parts of the armies led by their masters, never as members of an army officered, trained and inspired by men of their own class. Now, with arms in their hands, they propose to steer their own course, to carve their own future.
- "Neither Home Rule, nor the lack of Home Rule, will make them lay down their arms . . .
- "We cannot be swerved from our course by honeyed words, lulled into carelessness by freedom to parade and strut in uniforms, nor betrayed by high-sounding phrases.
- "The Irish Citizen Army will only co-operate in a forward movement. The moment that forward movement ceases it reserves to itself the right to step out of alignment, and advance by itself if needs be, in an effort to plant the banner of freedom one reach further towards its goal." (Workers Republic, Sept. 30th, 1915.)
- "Always and ever the working class movement seeks after clearness of thought, as a means to the accomplishment of working class aims. The middle class may and does deceive itself with finely turned phrases, and vague generalising of still vaguer aspirations, but the working class can think and speak only in language hard and definite, as hard and definite as the conditions of working class life. We have no room in our struggle for illusions—least of all for illusions about freedom." (Workers' Republic, July 7, 1915.)

- "We are told that the English people contributed their help to our enslavement. It is true. It is also true that the Irish people duly contributed soldiers to crush every democratic movement of the English people: slaves themselves the English people helped to enslave others; slaves themselves, the Irish people helped to enslave others."
- "For us and ours the path is clear. The first duty of the working class of the world is to settle accounts with the master class of the world—that of their own country at the head of the list." (Irish Worker, November 29th, 1913).
- "I hold that every class-conscious worker should work for the freedom of the country in which he lives, if he desires to hasten the political power of his class."
- "Ireland not being an independent country, the election of a majority of Socialist Republicans would not, unfortunately, place the fruits of our toil so readily within our grasp." (Patriotism and Labour).

POBLAICHT NA H EIREANN.
THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT
OF THE
IRISH REPUBLIC
TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

IRISHMEN AND IRISHWOMEN In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom.

Having organised and trained her manhood through her secret revolutionary organisation, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and through her open military organisations, the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army, having patiently perfected her discipline, having resolutely waited for the right moment to reveal itself, she now seizes that moment, and, supported by her valiant children in America and by gallant allies in Europe, but relying in the first on her own strength, she strikes in full confidence of victory.

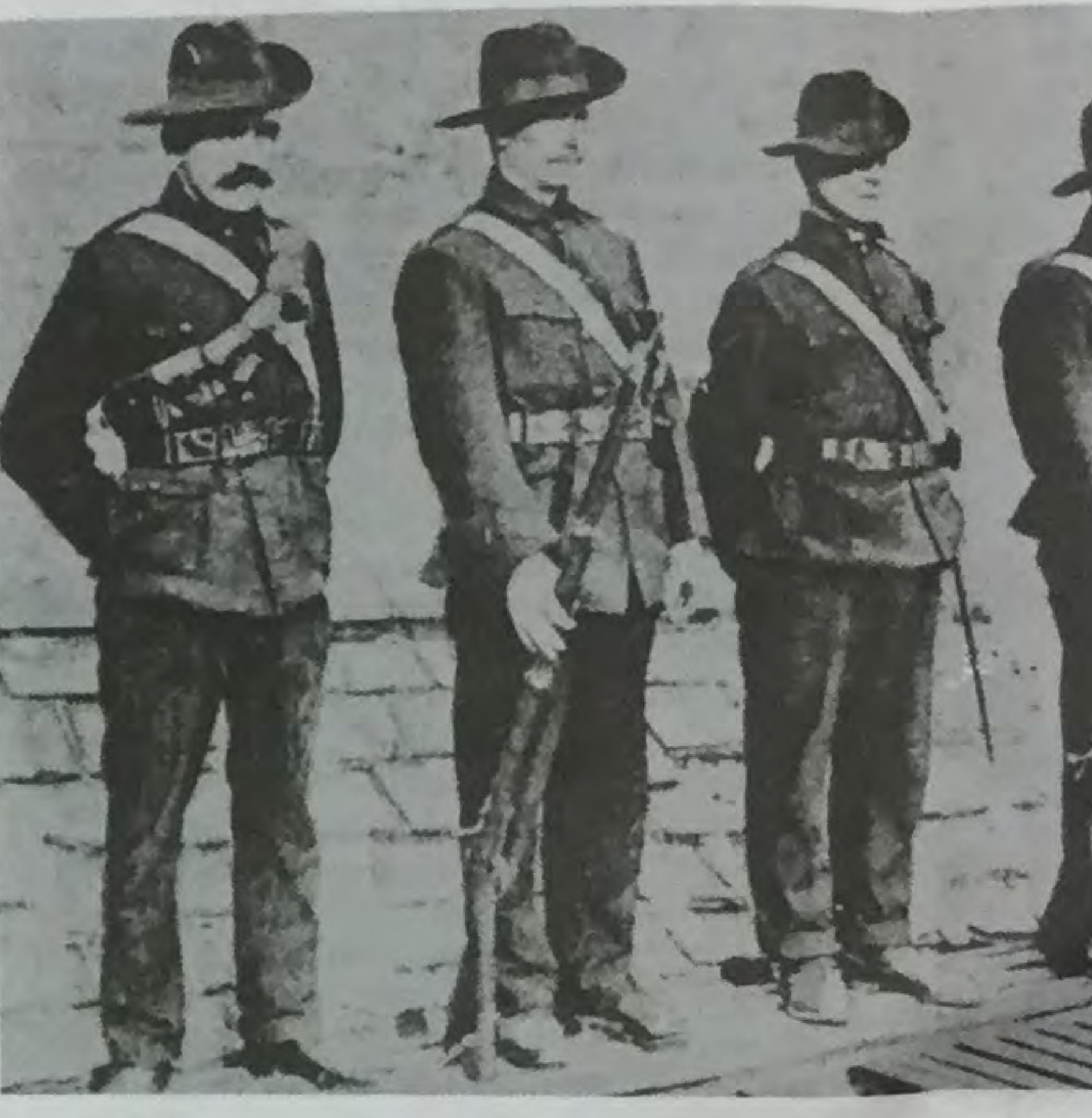
We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and government has not extinguished the right, nor can it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people. In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty: six times during the past three hundred years they have asserted it in arms. Standing on that fundamental right and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world, we hereby proclaim the Irish Republic as a Sovereign Independent State, and we pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades-in-arms to the cause of its freedom, of its welfare, and of its exaltation among the nations.

The Irish Republic is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman. The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally, and oblivious of the differences carefully fostered by an alien government, which have divided a minority from the majority in the past.

Until our arms have brought the opportune moment for the establishment of a permanent National Government, representative of the whole people of Ireland and elected by the suffrages of all her men and women, the Provisional Government, hereby constituted, will administer the civil and military affairs of the Republic in trust for the people.

We place the cause of the Irish Republic under the protection of the Most High God, Whose blessing we invoke upon our arms, and we pray that no one who serves that cause will dishonour it by cowardice, inhumanity, or rapine. In this supreme hour the Irish nation must, by its valour and discipline and by the readiness of its children, to sacrifice themselves for the common good, prove itself worthy of the august destiny to which it is called.

Signed on behalf of the Provisional Government,
THOMAS J. CLARKE,
SEAN NAU DIARADA, THOMAS MACDONAGH,
P. H. PEARSE, SAMONN CEANNT,
JAMES CONNOLLY, JOSEPH PLUNKETT.



- "I make no war on patriotism: never have done. But against the patriotism of capitalism—the patriotism which makes the interest of the capitalist class the supreme test of duty and right—I place the patriotism of the working class, the patriotism which judges every public act by its effect upon the fortunes of those who toil. That which is good for the working class I deem patriotic, but that party or movement is the most perfect embodiment of patriotism which most successfully works for the conquest by the working class of the control of the destinies of the land wherein they labour.

- To me, therefore, the socialist of another country is a fellow-patriot, as the capitalist of my own country is a natural enemy."
- "An Irish Republic would . . . be the natural depository of popular power; the weapon of popular emancipation, the only power which would show in the full light of day all those class antagonisms and lines of economic demarcation now obscured by the mists of bourgeois patriotism."
- "If you remove the English army tomorrow and hoist the green flag over Dublin Castle, unless you set

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IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

INLSF Easter Weekender

EASTER SUNDAY—11th APRIL
 Photo exhibition of Irish Revolutionary Struggle, 1798—1971. Camden Studios, Camden Street, nearest tube, Camden Town. Commencing 1 p.m., to be followed by meeting: "The Politics of James Connolly", 7.30 pm.

phone 455 6968

JAMES CONNOLLY

GET ORGANIZED TO FIGHT

This article was the editorial in volume 1, No6, October 1970

The British ruling class—currently represented by the Tory government—has just put down in black and white proposals which will by next summer—unless the working class takes urgent, organised and militant action—become law. The proposals, introduced by Carr, Secretary for Employment and Productivity, are in principle and in part even to the letter, precisely those put forward by the second party of the capitalist class in Britain—the Labour Party, of Incomes Policy fame, which was merely waiting for a general election victory in order to introduce them itself. Let there be no mistake or confusion. This blueprint for a new Industrial Relations Act shortly to go before parliament for adoption constitutes the most violent attack against the working class since working men and women have first organised against exploitation and oppression. In every respect these ruling class proposals are FASCIST.

The guts of it is a plan to completely crush the most politically conscious rank and file sections of the working class, whilst simultaneously incorporating scabby sell-out union misleaders into a new ruling class corporate state machine of vicious repression in order to give it a “democratic and fair” varnish which, it is hoped, will facilitate its apathetic acceptance. Specifically—and workers must concern themselves with the fascist essence of the proposals rather than getting bogged down in legalistic phraseology, which is just what the bourgeoisie wants—this blue-print ensures the fining and imprisonment of workers who strike; defines militant workers in law as “criminals”; sets up a special new National Industrial Relations Court with High Court Status to sentence “offenders” and order, at the whim of the capitalist class, workers back to work—at the end of a soldiers rifle or a police baton!—for a “cooling-off” period of sixty days, and secret ballots. It will be a punishable offence to fight for a closed shop, to strike in “sympathy” with workers in another factory, building site, transport company, or wherever, to pressure bosses not themselves directly involved in the dispute (for example, other bosses importing scab labour would be fully protected by the proposals), to organise strikes among workers who are part to a “legal” contract, and will establish a Registrar of Trade Unions as fascist overseers to ensure that the rules of registered, i.e.

“legal” trade unions, accord to the finest detail with what the ruling class considers “fair”. When at any time the bourgeoisie, its government, the National Industrial Relations Court, or the Registrar of Trades Unions deem fit, the misleaders of any “registered” trades union will be ordered to take policing action against unofficial (and what the hell sort of strike is the bosses class going to make “official”!) strikers and shop floor militants. So the order of the day is that so-called “neutral” institutions are to be set up under the phoney banner of “unfair industrial action”—read for this lying phrase “workers correctly struggling against growing fascist attacks on their trade union and democratic rights”—to be manned by a motley crew of reactionary employers, legal lackeys and scab trade union misleaders, whose task it will be to smash all principled militant action by workers by hurling them into prison. Already arch-collaborator George Woodcock and his Commission on Industrial Relations is swinging into action on behalf of the bosses class to “help along” the implementation of these fascist proposals. In addition the ruling class also intends to withdraw strikers’ entitlement to social security supplementary benefit for dependents, replacing this with loans to be repaid upon return to work. Clearly this is aimed at creating contradictions between striker and dependants, in most cases this will mean setting husband against wife and kids. Also, quite obviously, the loan, which will result in imprisonment if not repaid, will act it is hoped, as additional force pressurizing the striker not only to go back, but not to strike at all.

Logically the capitalist gutter press—from the “Mirror” to the “Times”—has without exception heralded the proposals as a great progressive step for “us all”. Clearly in a class-divided society, in which the two main classes—workers’ and bosses’—having diametrically opposite economic interests; there can be no such thing as proposals in the interest of “us all”. They are all in the interest of the workers or bosses. There is no third way. These proposals serve one class interest and only one—that of the bosses class, the capitalists, the ruling bourgeoisie. Hence the “national interest” is not the interest of workers but the profiteering of the bosses. So when the government talks of militants “harming” the nation” it means

working class struggle harming the ruling class and its profits. And the same goes for the courageous struggle of the Irish working-class when it strikes and organises against the Offences Against the State Act in the South and the Special Powers Bill in the North, the fascist Public Order Bill and the Criminal Justice Bill, with the Temporary Provisions Act already having been used to imprison several hundred politically conscious Irish workers in the North.

The IRISH LIBERATION PRESS says this in reply to these fascist proposals and the ruling class that intends to make them law: they must be smashed and smashed to smithereens by the red-hot clenched iron fist of the British working class. Hammer blow upon hammer blow must be delivered with dread-nought discipline and revolutionary hatred against the ruling class and its fascist plans. Fascism is the resort of the capitalist imperialist system in a state of crisis. It is the resort of a class facing decay, a class and a social system historically going out of being, the resort of a class that is growing weaker and more nervous as the days go by. There is no question but that fascism and the capitalist system can and must be overthrown. International examples such as that of the heroic Vietnamese peoples’ trouncing of US fascism, clearly establish that when the working masses are armed with revolutionary class consciousness and guts there is no force on earth capable of holding them down.

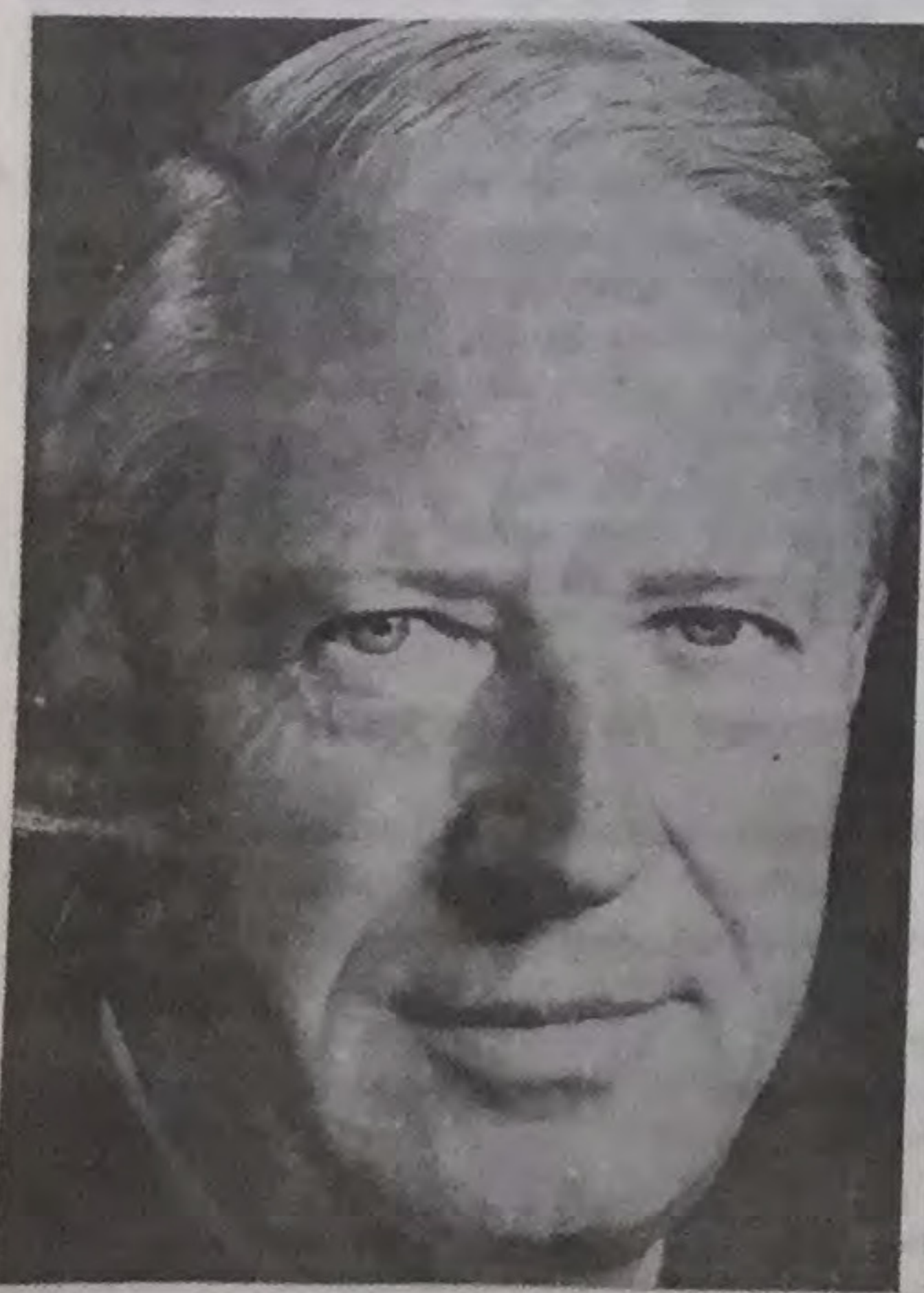
The current situation demands crystal clear thinking and leadership from within the working class, facts must be faced and all aspects of the war against developing fascism must reflect the political class interest of workers. It is crucial that all pitfalls be avoided. It must be understood that these proposals have a dual nature: on the one hand they are aimed at snatching from the working class its hard won trade unions and democratic rights, and on the other they are aimed at pushing workers into a fight with the bosses class at a time and in conditions that suit the bosses. As the ruling class has dual tactics, so it is with the working class. On the one hand, now—not tomorrow—is the time for every working man and woman to stand and resolutely fight growing fascism. On the other hand the working class must itself choose the time and conditions to launch selective political attacks that suit

it, not the bosses. And there is no carbon-copy, crystal ball, precision drawing that can be laid down to cover all contingencies. Political vigilance is the main safeguard vital to ensuring success in the coming fight.

There must be no illusions that scab sell-outs such as Feather (currently quibbling about the “timing” of the proposals rather than organising to fight them) and his ilk can lead the fight. The Feathers of the world have sided with the enemy, have played and are continuing to play the part of diverting the fight down channels easily accommodated by the ruling class, and are trying to lull the masses into a false sense of security. Those who side with the enemy must be treated like the enemy—they must be exposed, isolated and smashed. More important, it must be driven home with pile-driving force that it is not a question of the wrong people being at the top of the T.U.C or its affiliated unions, but that the Trades Unions as now existing are utterly and inherently incapable of acting as the vanguard of the working class struggle. The politics dominant in the British trades union movement is bourgeois politics. And the bourgeoisie cannot be defeated or in any way challenged by their own brand of politics. With the development of fascist attacks on the working class there will simultaneously and understandably develop a strong temptation to “forget past differences”, “bury the hatchet”, “let bygones be bygones”, and unite on just any old basis as long as it sounds right or is written using some right words. Unity is a political question. Unity built on compromising the working class interest is as doomed to collapse as the house built on sand. Only unity built through struggle and firmly based on proletarian, that is working class principles can flourish and serve working people. And the most important of all to recognise is that fascism and the capitalist/imperialist system can only be overthrown and destroyed through revolution that is ultimately an armed insurrection of the working class. There is no example—currently or throughout the long struggle against exploitation and oppression—of liberation being gained in any way other than this.

The fight against these specific fascist proposals is part and parcel of the fight to overthrow capitalism and establish the political class power of workers. This necessarily involves fighting opportunism,

One war criminal takes over from another as imperialism's chief lackey



This article was published in volume 1, No4, August, 1970

The general election fraud has come and gone. And for the workers of Britain and Ireland nothing has really changed. The people of both countries still live under the capitalist/imperialist system which is based upon the exploitation of the many by the few.

In the North of Ireland there are still the aggressor troops of British imperialism, the CS gas, the truncheons, the courts and the prisons. The only “changes” are the introduction of rubber bullets to break arms and legs and the high-powered water cannon recently tested on German workers and students. There are still the slums, the unemployed queues, and the anger of the people.

In the South lackey Lynch is still doing British imperialism's dirty work in the twenty-six county neo-colony.

In Britain the ruling class, currently represented by the Heath regime, have already commenced their expected attacks on the working class. Even during the short time they have been in power they have managed to cut workers’ living standards considerably, threaten the dockers with troop strike breaking, and have promised to return to their previous policy of supplying arms to the fascist mob in Pretoria.

WORKERS REJECT CAPITALIST “DEMOCRACY”
However, it would not be true to say that this general election is exactly the same as

all the others before it. At least two important differences can be discerned. The first is that the number of workers voting in the 1970 election is the lowest for a very long time indeed. Not only was there not a huge working class swing to the Tory party, but in fact a considerable section of the British working class did not bother to vote at all. The chief factor in the Tory “victory” was that the Labour party lost the support of many workers throughout the country. There is only one viable explanation for this: more and more workers have come to recognise that putting a cross on a piece of paper once every five years or so has nothing to do with democracy and certainly nothing to do with political power in society. Many, in reality, rejected parliamentary (i.e. capitalist) democracy. Although this does not mean that suddenly all British workers have reached a revolutionary consciousness, it most certainly does mean that disillusionment with election frauds is rife.

Secondly, more people have come to see the way in which the Trotskyites and Revisionists desperately work to give the imperialist Labour party an extra breath of life. In rejecting the Labour party workers also rejected Trotskyism and the Revisionists appeal for sham, unprincipled unity of the left.

One war criminal, Heath, has taken over from another, Wilson. Both are leaders of imperialist parties. The people are not fooled.

GROWING FASCISM NOW!



Pigs brutalize striking Pilkington worker

Left and Right, that is Trotskyism and Revisionism, both sharing the common denominator of being anti-working class. Trotskyite groups, such as the "Socialist Labour League" and "International Socialism" are totally counter-revolutionary, though there are no doubt some honest rank and file members who can be won to revolutionary politics. Their leaders contemptuously tell workers that "the Tories" are their real main enemy. Clearly this is a diversion. The main enemy is the capitalist class, the capitalist system of profiteering from the sweat, brains and blood of the working class. And in essence, in any meaningful way, it doesn't matter a damn whether this ruling class is represented by the capitalist Labour or capitalist Tory parties. Neither can serve the working class. Both essentially serve in all respects the capitalist class. The Trotskyites contemptuously tell workers that they can have "workers control" under capitalism, without the seizure of political power from the bosses class defended at every turn by police, courts and army. This amounts to their saying "Anything but revolution, anything but an armed class conscious proletariat!" Is this not precisely what the ruling class says? On the other side of the coin of counter-revolutionary opportunism the revisionist "Communist Party of Great Britain", in the service of the bourgeoisie, and masquerading as "Communist", separately tries to contain the struggle of the working class within the collaborationist framework of economism (a few shillings more in the wage packet to be quickly dissipated by rising living standards) and parliamentary, that is bourgeois politics. Trotskyism and Revisionism are objectively two advanced forms of capitalist ideology and politics operating from within the ranks of the working class. Neither can thus ever objectively constitute the vanguard of working class struggle against developing fascism, or serve that struggle in any way. A real vanguard party of the working

class can be identified as possessing the theory, practice and revolutionary discipline of Marxism-Leninism. It must use the methods of self-criticism. It must be directly linked with the working class and be composed chiefly of workers. It must be Marxist-Leninist because Marxism-Leninism is the science of the working class. It must be disciplined because the enemy is disciplined. It must be linked with the working masses for the working masses alone are the motive force of history and the makers of revolution. The struggle to smash the proposed fascist Industrial Relations Act and the capitalist class that has given birth to it can only ultimately reach victory under the leadership of a real Marxist-Leninist Party. Hence the struggle must be conducted in an all-sided way. Fighting fascism, exposing the dominance of bourgeois politics in the trade union movement, exposing Trotskyism and Revisionism, and struggling to fulfil the cardinal task of building a real Marxist-Leninist Party in this country can be looked upon as being fingers of the same hand the clenching of which into a mighty iron proletarian fist is the precondition for the successful establishment of the political power of the proletariat. But a really revolutionary vanguard party cannot just be declared, it must be built through concrete class struggle. The army of the working class with revolutionary class consciousness and ultimately guns is not a development that just drops out of the sky. Fascism will not disappear of its own accord. The difference between that which now exists and that which has to exist in order for the socialist revolution to take place is a gap that cannot be closed without certain steps being undertaken. In a word these steps are revolutionary agitation, education and organisation. There are no short cuts and these steps cannot be by-passed. The British working class, including, of course, Irish workers will not defeat fas-

cism by relying on spontaneity or any other anarchic practice. Now—not tomorrow—the clarion call "GET ORGANISED" must ring out in the workshops, mines, mills, along every political highway and byway walked by the working class in this country. A passionate yet scientific re-awakening of the working class masses is now called for at every level and from all sides the fight against fascism and for revolutionary socialism must now move into top gear. Every single trade union and democratic right must be defended mercilessly. Within (for there are still millions of workers within the trades unions who must not be abandoned to bourgeois politics) and without the trade union movement the heads of all lackeys, collaborators and compromisers must be politically pulled off. Simultaneously, class conscious workers must give a lead in developing new vehicles of struggle, in particular political unionism, which will have as its core the political struggle to make the socialist revolution, placing the necessary but secondary fight for better wages and conditions in its correct perspective. Shop floor level political study and discussion groups must begin to flourish and must accompany, and be practically and directly linked to the every-day struggle. Marxism-Leninism is the science of revolution and must thus be studied deeply as a science. All ruling class attempts to "divide and rule", such as the employment of racism in this country and religious bigotry in the North of Ireland, together with differential piece rates and bonus schemes aimed at buying off sections of the working class, and schemes designed to turn male against female worker, husband against wife, all attempts at splitting and thus weakening the revolutionary resolve and unity of the working class movement, must be explained and rigorously vanquished. Fascism is an attack against the whole of the working class, but in particular has severe repercussions for the most vulnerable sections of the proletariat—the various national minorities, who are already being singled out as first scapegoat for British capitalism/imperialism in deep crisis, black workers in particular, Irish workers only slightly less so. Hence an important component part of building a mass anti-fascist working class movement is the urgent need for the national minorities, generally the most oppressed and thus the most conscious, to come together on a revolutionary class basis to organise both defence and attack. This requires the building of a revolutionary co-ordinating committee of national minorities with a Marxist-Leninist orientation. The Irish National Liberation Solidarity Front is not, and can never be, a Marxist-Leninist Party. It is a broad front with Marxist-Leninist leadership, and is most definitely proud to be just that. It is also

an organisation which contains many who are not yet Marxist-Leninist, but agree with the INLSF aims and objectives. Party and broad front are different. But that does not mean that the INLSF lacks a responsibility to assist in whatever way it can the development of working class consciousness and the building of a strong Party. It most definitely does bear such a responsibility, and its working class composition, politics and discipline befit it—unlike others who pay lip-service to Marxism-Leninism yet practice only revisionism and bourgeois politics—to make such a contribution. And this vital task it has no intention of shirking. In this period of developing fascism this means categorically that as well as, and complementary to, wholeheartedly building a working class solidarity movement in Britain to give every support to the courageous fight against imperialism in Ireland, the INLSF must also fight against fascism and for socialist revolution here in Britain. This being so the INLSF is correctly giving the lead to Irish workers being exploited in this country by the very same ruling class that forced them to leave a jobless Ireland, on the question of building, together with their class brothers of all races and nationalities in Britain, a revolutionary socialist mass movement. Revolutionaries work where they are. And Irish workers in Britain are here, if only for a time. The bosses class that today uses its aggressor troops in an attempt to brutally suppress Irish workers on the streets of Derry and Belfast will tomorrow have no qualms in hurling them against the working class here in Britain. A socialist revolution here would mean no foreign troops in Ireland. A successful national liberation struggle in Ireland—and success is inevitable—would fundamentally cripple the political power of the bosses class here in Britain, which as an imperialist country relies heavily on its colonies and neo-colonies, with a particularly strategic attachment to its oldest "possession", Ireland. Hence, every Irish worker who wants to make a serious contribution towards the fight back home against British imperialism and for the national liberation and re-unification of Ireland and the building of a people's socialist republic of Ireland, and who sees the need for the duration of his stay to help fight fascism here, has a binding responsibility to get into the only principled anti-fascist, anti-imperialist Irish solidarity organisation existing in Britain—the Irish National Liberation Solidarity Front. Along these lines, and only along these lines will the proposed fascist Industrial Relations Act and the ruling class be crushed to pulp and the tain become an accomplished fact. The time is now to build a mass-based revolutionary movement of the working class and other progressive strata. Seize it! ■

Statement of aims and objectives of the INLSF



IRISH NATIONAL LIBERATION SOLIDARITY FRONT

The Irish National Liberation Solidarity Front:

1. acclaims the long and glorious history of the struggle of the Irish people for self determination.
2. unreservedly and resolutely supports the national rights of the Irish people to independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of their motherland and will strive for the achievement of the Republican and Social ideals of the 1916 Proclamation by organising effective propaganda and social activities in Britain, particularly among Irish men and women workers, in support of those who are struggling to implement these ideals within Ireland.
3. recognises that the most immediate task confronting the Irish people is the liberation of their motherland from the rule of British imperialism, which takes the form of the direct military occupation and administration of the six counties and the indirect control, together with other imperialist powers, of the economy of the South, and that national liberation is the

most necessary and vital precondition for the resolving of the problems of Ireland by the people of Ireland.

4. hails the fight in the six counties for civil rights, housing, employment and better living standards and opposition to the Stormont puppet regime, the fascist Special Powers Act, the Public Order Act, and the Criminal Justice (Temporary Provisions) Act, as an essential part of the resistance struggle against the denial of the most basic of democratic rights coupled with the brutal repression of Irish people in their own country.
5. hails the fight being waged by the people of the twenty-six counties against the Offences Against the State Act and the proposed Criminal Justice Bill, and wholeheartedly supports all struggles against British imperialism's puppet Dublin regime.
6. acknowledges that the solution of Irish problems can be brought about only within Ireland, by the Irish people, united under the working class on a clear programme based upon the determined pursuit of an independent, united Ireland free from all imperialistic obstacles currently blocking the road to real social

and economic advance.

7. understands that no imperialist power has ever ceased exploitation and stepped from the stage of history without a last desperate struggle and therefore wholeheartedly supports and pledges concrete assistance to all militant campaigns, particularly the strategy and tactics of People's War, by the people of Ireland in both defence of their inherent rights against injustices—political, economic, social and cultural—imposed by British imperialism and its puppets North and South and in their fight for national liberation.
8. opposes all suggestions from any quarter that the right of the Irish people to self determination is negotiable.
9. supports all demands for the immediate withdrawal of British troops, the dissolution of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, and the immediate and unconditional end of British imperialist political and military rule in the six counties.
10. will energetically campaign to unite and mobilize Irish exiles and Irish immigrant organisations in Britain prepared to work together to build a principled, massive front organisation in solidarity with the immediate goal of an independent, united Ireland in which all men are guaranteed religious liberty in accordance with their conscience.
11. condemns all divide-and-rule tactics, particularly the exacerbation of religious differences which serve to smash the unity of the Irish working class and divert the attention of both catholic and protestant from their real, common enemy British imperialism, the main beneficiary of such tactics.
12. recognises that the struggle in Ireland is part of the worldwide struggle to end

the system of imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism; that this system of imperialism based upon the exploitation of man by man is reaching the end of its tether in an era in the development of mankind in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and the forces of national liberation and socialism are advancing to worldwide victory.

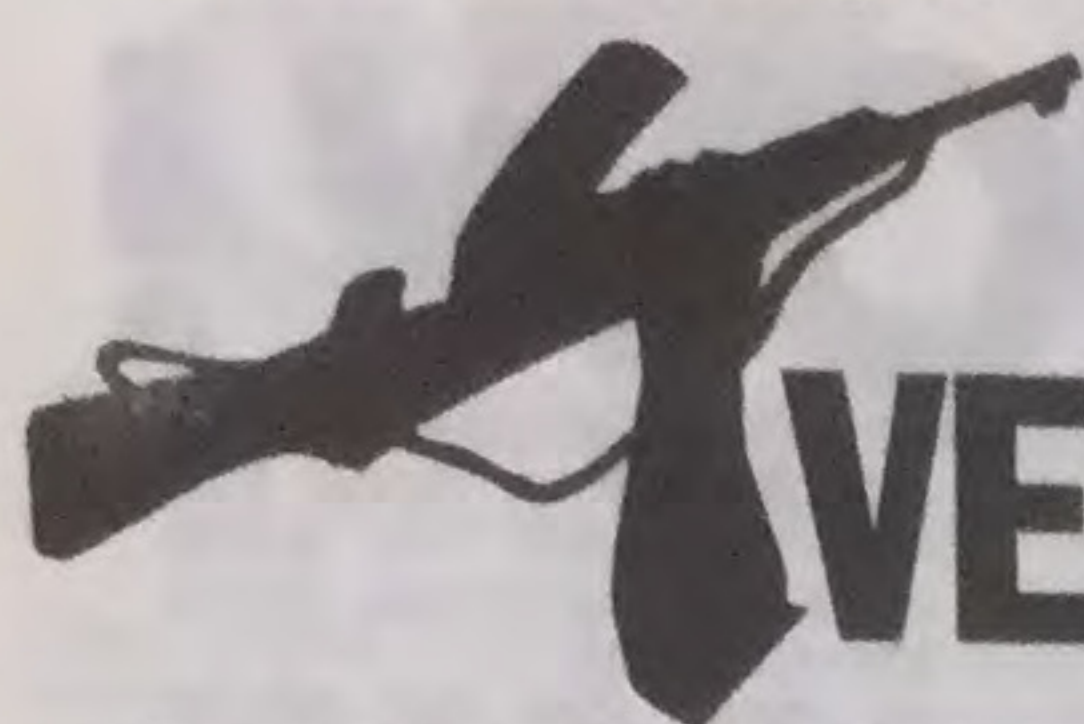
13. expresses its solidarity with the oppressed peoples throughout the world and the struggle they are engaged in; supports the struggle of the working class in Britain against intensified exploitation and repression and vicious attacks on their democratic and trade union rights and against the attempts being made to divide their unity on racialist grounds, and supports their struggle for socialism.
14. will promote among Irish workers a true understanding of the principles of Connolly and make available all writings relevant to the current struggle.
15. will work untiringly, for the social welfare of Irish exiles and their families in Britain.
16. resolves to build a mighty, mass-based organization throughout Britain to give solidarity and every possible assistance, in whatever form is required, to the Irish people in their fight for freedom, justice and independence.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

I (name)
of (address)
. phone, if any

agree with the aims and objectives of the Irish National Liberation Solidarity Front and agree to uphold these at all times.

I enclose ten shillings membership subscription for six months (to be forwarded to the general secretary, INLSF, 83a Golders Green Rd., London, N.W.11). ■



VERSUS

PEOPLE'S WAR INDIVIDUAL TERRORISM



The politics of individual terrorism is once again in the news. It is an issue of importance not only for the growing revolutionary movements in this country and in Ireland, but for every part of the world where people are struggling to liberate themselves from capitalism and imperialism. An incorrect approach is capable of setting the working class movement back years. Hence it is necessary to have a clear understanding of the class roots and significance of this negative form of political activity.

Individual terrorism is based upon three notions. One is that it is possible for a handful of people by engaging in single combat to overthrow the ruling class or deal it crippling blows which will result in its overthrow after a period of time. Another is that it will excite the masses and draw them to the side of the revolutionaries. A third notion is that it will force the ruling class to resort to fascist rule thus clearing away all confusion regarding the benevolent or peaceful nature of capitalist/imperialist dictatorship.

Reality establishes that each of these notions are romantic, idealistic and harmful to the great task of making the revolution. Individual terrorism is not new. It has been tried out in practice and practice is the acid test. Only by testing ideas in reality is it possible to discover the laws of things. In practice across long stretches of historic struggle against exploitation and oppression the abysmal failure of individual terrorism has had its barren core laid bare. There exists no example of revolution being made by this method. No example of a handful being able to substitute for the masses of the people.

Workers, whether here or in Ireland, are not going to be drawn to revolution by the thought that they "might be next" to be blown up or 'saved by the terrorists. It was noticeable that even after all the outrages committed by the RUC in the north there were still people who openly expressed dismay and sorrow for the two RUC who died as a result of the booby-trapped car a couple of months back. Far from winning the people to revolution and getting home the need to do consistent work, terrorism is capable of paralysing mass work and the raising of political consciousness and can turn even the most advanced workers away from the movement, even if they are to return at a later date.

The third notion of forcing on fascism is criminal, particularly here or in Ireland where there does not yet exist a mass-based movement with tried and tested leadership capable of leading the masses and smashing fascism. Fascism is coming at fast enough a rate without artificially spurring it on, even if this could be done. But it can't, for the class in power will resort to fascist rule when it suits it and at a rate that suits it, not the subjective desire of a handful of individual romantics. What such acts can do is to provide the imperialist class with the excuse it is hoping for to launch a fascist onslaught, an excuse which if not provided for it, it will organise itself.

ONLY THE MASSES MAKE HISTORY

Those who advocate and practice individual terrorism fail to grasp the laws determining the course of human history and in particular that the masses of the people make history, not a handful of individuals however determined or sincere. They underestimate the masses and reject their role as the main force and leader of liberation. They do not see that all major transitions (from primitive communalism to slavery, from slavery to feudalism, from feudalism to capitalism and imperialism) have been a product of mass revolutions involving many millions of oppressed people armed with revolutionary consciousness and arms. Counterposed to this the individual terrorists rely on artificial stimulants, such as the bombing of buildings and the assassination of individuals. They are romantics who seize the line of least resistance rather than engaging in the unromantic arduous work of organization, education and agitation. Such harmful illusions can only result in retarding the vital work of preparing the masses of the people for an all-out attack against the capitalist system.

INDIVIDUAL TERRORISM IS A DESERTION OF THE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE

Terrorism stems from frustration born of a sense of defeatism and impotence at ever being able to win the masses to the

struggle against capitalism and establish the socialist order. It satisfies only the frustrations and individual ego of small groups of "heroes" who condemn the real heroes, the people, as being passive bystanders. Individual terrorism is based upon romantic dreaming, whereas revolutionaries are realistic materialists. Terrorism is a desertion of the people's struggle and the task of preparing their political consciousness for revolution. Terrorists are false friends of the people and it befalls all serious comrades to undertake the responsibility of exposing this individualistic form of struggle by delivering well-aimed political blows whenever this issue is raised. If correct ideas do not combat this incorrect idea then the movement will be harmed and the imperialist class objectively served. The essential point to be driven home is the leading role of the working class as the only force capable of rallying around it other exploited strata discontented with the system. Also it must be stressed that when one representative of imperialism is assassinated there is always another to take his place. The terrorist should be asked what difference did it make to the lives of the American working class when Kennedy was shot in Dallas. Of course his death solved none of the problems of American workers, black or white. And neither could it for it left intact in power the imperialist class which is in a state of perpetual war with workers and oppressed peoples at home and throughout the world. Similarly, what would it matter in Ireland were Lynch or Chichester Clark to disappear from the stage of treachery in the absence of the destruction of the political power wielded by their masters, the British imperialist ruling class? It would matter very little, for there would still be Ireland the colony and the Irish people the oppressed. Individual terrorism has only a confusion of the real enemy to offer, and imperialism thrives on confusion.

AN ARTIFICIAL STIMULANT

It is the imperialist ruling class, not the working masses of Ireland or Britain, that needs some artificial stimulant. Individual terrorism often fits in neatly with its plans as it flounders in growing economic and political crisis in a new era in which mankind is advancing to worldwide victory over the system of imperialism which is heading for total collapse. At all costs the imperialists wish to isolate the revolutionaries from the masses. Every revolutionary, it is argued in the imperialist press, radio and television, is an animal, a terrorist, a bomber with no human values, a mindless thug fit for only the rope or the cell. They exploit individual terrorism for their own ends which are, of course, diametrically the opposite of those serving the people they always exploit and oppress. Is this the revolutionary movement? Is this socialism? say workers seeing film on their TV sets and pictures in the press of debris and death after a dose of individual terrorism. And even the politically conscious hold back from giving their all to the movement as they misguidedly think that what they see is the work of revolutionaries, when clearly it is not and cannot be when real terror and violence in the world today is caused not by the people correctly fighting for the liberation of their class but by imperialism denying the masses liberation. Thus no matter that some of the individuals concerned may pursue terrorism with the best of intentions and may be sincere in their support for this erroneous notion; the hard fact is that when the smoke drifts away it is the ruling class not workers who gain from the act.

INDIVIDUAL TERRORISM AND REVISIONISM

Moreover it must be pointed out that individual terrorism is linked with the revisionism of those who seek to contain the working class struggle within the reformist bounds of a few more crumbs from the table of the imperialists in the form of a few more shillings in the wage packet and better hours and conditions at the point of production. This is not to say that to struggle for these ends is wrong. It is to say that to make these ends the main issue and sidestep the central task of seizing political power is to present no challenge at all to the capitalist system. Wage rises amount to their cost being passed on to workers later. Revolution amounts to the passing on of the ruling class into history. The link between individual terrorism and economism is their common denominator of a worship of spontaneity. In his great work "What is to be Done" Lenin explained the link in this way: that there was in reality no paradox in the unity

between economists whose position rests up on the "drab everyday struggle" and the terrorists who "call for the most self-sacrificing struggle of individuals". He went on to state: "The economists and terrorists merely bow to different poles of spontaneity; the economists bow to the spontaneity of the 'pure and simple' labour movement, while the terrorists bow to the spontaneity of the passionate indignation of the intellectuals who are either incapable of linking up the struggle with the labour movement or lack the opportunity to do so. It is very difficult indeed for those who have lost their beliefs or who never believed that this is possible to find some outlet for their indignation and revolutionary energy other than terror".

The revisionists extend the argument against individual terrorism and have developed a "theory" to attack all forms of revolutionary armed struggle, particularly People's War. Taking the Moscow line of "peaceful transition", which amounts to collaboration with the other leading world imperialist power, America, they desperately try to trick people into believing that imperialism will allow itself to be overthrown and socialism built without the need for a mass armed revolt of the people led by the working class. So they too, just like the British ruling class and every other reactionary force, put before the people the lie that terrorism and People's War are the same, when in fact they are essentially different.

If individual terrorism is anti-working class, diverts people from a conscious understanding of the class enemy, alienates the masses who have not yet adopted the revolutionary road, has a history of total failure, and is an instrument of the imperialist class... then what is the way forward for the masses of the people who more and more wish to make revolution, build the socialist system and establish the dictatorship of the working class?

NEW ERA

First, it is crucial to grasp firmly that there is no need for frustration or despair. There is no need to resort to the depressive and negative practice of individual terrorism. Mankind has now entered the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to world-wide victory. It is an objective truth that workers and oppressed peoples across the globe are grasping that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun and are now waging fierce struggles for national liberation and socialism in country after country and continent after continent. Throughout Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean imperialism is being subjected to the hammer blows of the national liberation movements. Within the very heartlands of imperialism mass struggles are step by step unfolding, and as the reactionary authorities increase their fascist reprisals against the people so the scope of the revolutionary movement broadens and political consciousness intensifies, filling the people with a new hatred for capitalism and new courage to pursue the fight through to the end.

In America, for example, the growing black movement is uniting about it other revolutionary sections of society and white, black and students are slowly but surely coming together. Such is the raw material of making the revolution and opening a second front within the largest imperialist nation on earth.

All over the world people are coming to understand that imperialism really is a paper tiger, outwardly fierce and strong, inwardly weak.

In a word this great and historic new era will surely witness the downfall of imperialism as a system and the establishment of people's power throughout the world.

REVOLUTION IS THE MAIN TREND IN THE WORLD TODAY

In a word the struggle is on and the objective conditions render revolution the main trend in the world today. This development is true for Ireland as it is for the rest of the world's peoples. Despite all the many problems and the confusion sown by imperialism the conditions in Ireland are growing riper day by day for the emergence of a mass movement of the people. "A weak nation" said comrade Mao in his historic message to the people of the world on May 20th. this year, "can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat

a big. The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country. This is a law of history."

It is this correct reading of history, as opposed to an incorrect reading by those who advocate individual terrorism, that is the source of confidence and determination shared by revolutionaries, Marxist-Leninists throughout the world. The people are winning, and no force, no force is capable of turning back this historical upsurge, for there exists no force mightier than the revolutionary masses armed with class consciousness and guns.

INVINCIBLE PEOPLE'S WAR

Only the masses armed with the invincible weapon of People's War can hurl the imperialist system into its grave: the masses, not a handful of individual "heroes" bent upon, objectively, relieving their pent up frustrations at the expense of building the movement, but a vanguard party forging ahead leaving in its wake the opportunists right and left.

If the masses are the depository of the task of smashing imperialism, and if People's War is their invincible weapon, then the first step and the only possible starting point, taking into account the conditions that exist rather than those we would like to see existing, is for serious revolutionaries to go to the masses and learn from them. In the spirit of "From the masses to the masses" we must, as comrade Mao points out "Take the ideas of the masses and concentrate them, then go to the masses, persevere in the ideas and carry them through so as to form correct ideas of leadership—such is the basic method of leadership".

The task is to go to the people with a programme of agitation, education and mobilization. There are no short cuts here, in Ireland or elsewhere. The people and the people alone are the motive force in the revolution and these tasks must be undertaken. Only the working class is directly connected to the most advanced form of economy and production. There is no class more exploited and thus revolutionary than the masses of the proletarians. Only the proletariat grows bigger day by day, only this section of society bears the historic burden of liberating the masses through leading the revolutionary movement as a whole.

The task before revolutionaries in the great cities of Ireland and Britain is to conduct many-sided agitation and take up the problems of the people and show through patient argument and discussion that all these problems are linked to capitalist society and that the only way to end the problems is to end capitalism and the only way to do that is to unite all the forces that can be united into a principled mass-based movement headed by a truly workers' revolutionary party composed of the most advanced elements of the working class and other exploited strata.

MASS AGITATION, EDUCATION AND ORGANIZATION

The practice of mass work must be linked to the theory of the masses, the theory of revolution, Marxism-Leninism. Without a theory there can be no revolution. Going to the people is not enough. We must go to the people with revolutionary politics, not add to their confusion by preaching right or left opportunism, e.g. economism, peaceful transition, individual terrorism, and so on. Both the Tory and Labour Parties go to the masses. They go with their politics, the politics of capitalism. We go to the masses with our politics. The politics of smashing capitalism. To attack individual terrorism and to expose its weaknesses is in no manner of speaking to attack revolutionary mass violence. Only through armed struggle can Ireland and ultimately Britain be rid of the capitalist system. But armed struggle by the working masses in their class interest, not by a handful for other reasons which amount to misleading the course of things and confusing aims and objectives. A People's War alone will free Ireland. There is and can be no other way. Imperialism will leave Ireland the same way as it entered—at the point of a gun. A People's War is just that: a war by the oppressed and exploited people to smash the oppressor beast. To reach this point of struggle the stages of agitation, education and mobilization simply cannot be bypassed. Theory and practice, city and country must be linked. Here and now this is what must be done.

Imagine the workers all coming together. The Falls marching shoulder to shoulder with the Shankill. Men of all religions and none embracing each other as comrades, brothers and sisters, seeing clearly that they have one real common enemy—British imperialism, which through its ownership of industry, the banks and the land, exploits and plunders all of them from their date of birth to their date of death.

Imagine what life then would be like for those who wheel and deal in the dirt of divide and rule bigotry and hatred. What then would be the position of Paisley? What then would be the position of the equally bigoted catholic hierarchy misleaders, who are as concerned as Paisley is to prevent the working class grasping the truth?

These bigots, these fascists that don the mantle of their god would be no more. Their last hallelujah of hatred would have rattled from their lifeless throats. True, they might live on with a physical presence for a time. But, socially their base would have been whipped from beneath them. Their fear campaigns that once were capable of instilling unquestioning loyalty from their "flocks" would on that day cause spit from the new Irishmen and Irishwomen to fly in their twitching, scared faces.

The secret Mafia of the whispering Roman and Orange orders would no longer have the capacity to police the people. The new unity would see to that. On that day these reactionary holders of high office, who never represented any interest other than their own and that of their imperialist masters, would indeed be dealt with politically at a swift pace.

CAN THERE BE UNITY?

But will it come? Is it possible to arrive at that sane point? Remember the burnings-out, the slaughter, the never to be forgotten sound of the big Lambeg drum. The church, the voice of Mr. Paisley, is too powerful, say the disbelieving. "We know there's something wrong. But we've joined them because we can't beat them".

But the new unity will come. And there is nothing more certain. Was there ever a more bitter hatred generated by the imperialists than that generated in an attempt to turn black American worker against white American worker, South Vietnamese catholic against South Vietnamese buddhist against South Vietnamese communist? Hardly! And yet it is true that there is no organisation in America more respected by the white section of the working class than the Black Panther Party. Across the jungles, valleys and hills of Vietnam, indeed across

WHY PAISLEY IS A PAPER TIGER

this earth, the National Liberation Front composed of communists, catholics, buddhists, and other revolutionary patriots, has fired the minds and become a material force for millions and millions of workers and oppressed peoples everywhere. And examples of such revolutionary unity born of the womb of class struggle are to be found in country after country, continent after continent. Thus the question becomes if in other lands, why not in Ireland?

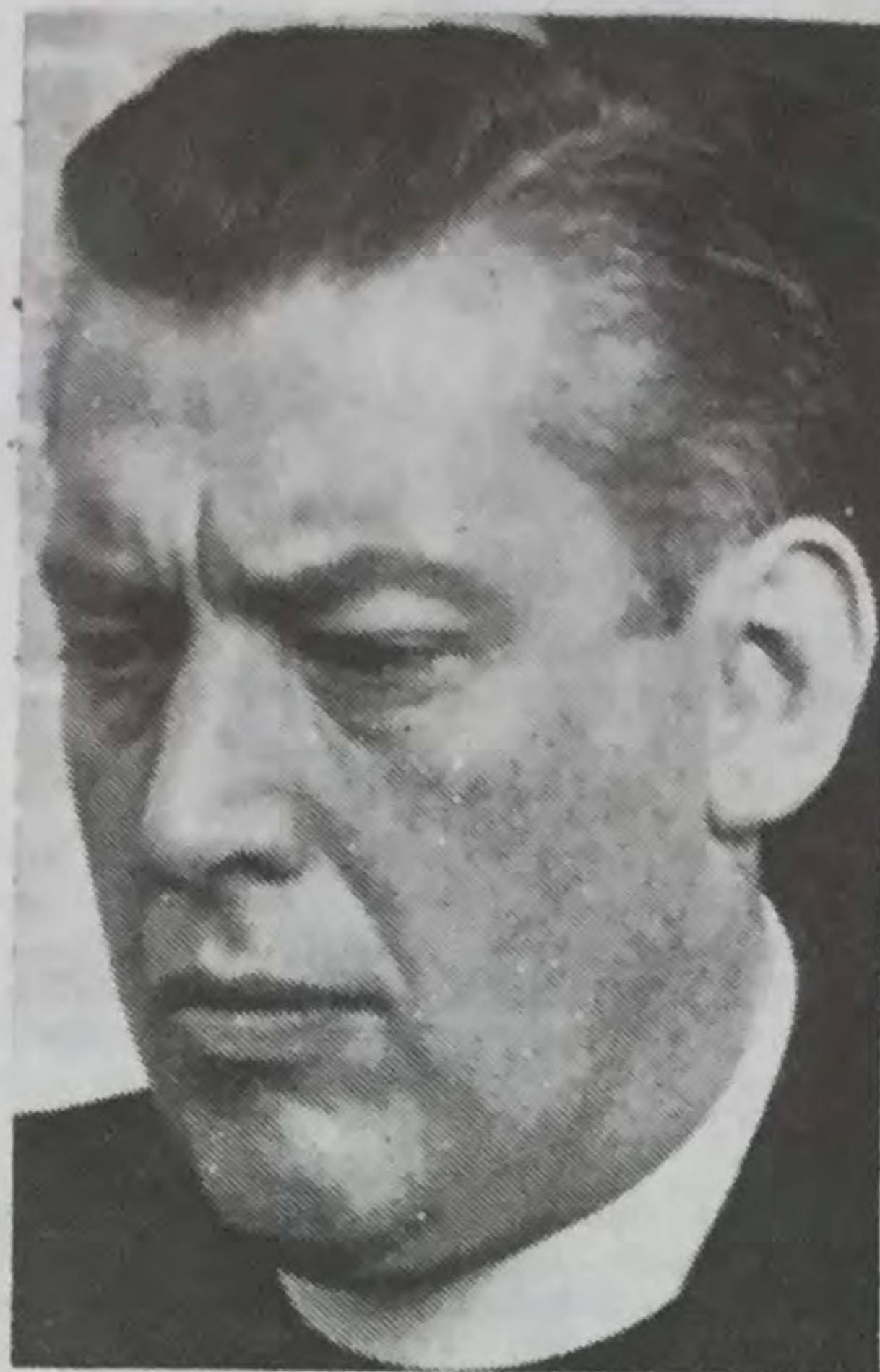
What is the secret of defeating the plans of the imperialists who want so desperately to divide us workers in order that they may keep us forever in poverty and chains?

THE TASK BEFORE US

There are three aspects to the task of smashing the fascist splitters, building principled working class unity, and achieving liberation.

The first aspect is recognition of the hard fact of life—and as you read these lines, Paisley, you know in your stinking guts the kernel of truth that they contain—that a million Paisleys coupled with his catholic hierarchy cohorts can't fill empty stomachs, can't provide jobs for the unemployed, can't build decent homes, can't solve the many, many acute problems of the working class—protestant, catholic and workers of no religion at all. The bigots just can't solve these problems and all the bellicose shouting, the bombastic bragging, all the raving in the world does not make one iota of difference when you're broke, hungry and angry.

The second aspect of the task is the growing anger, the intensification of



hatred being experienced by a daily growing number of working people who see that the bit of wallpaper peeling from the wall today, that started its peeling last year, will be even worse this time next year. They know that the one pair of boots that now keep out the wet aren't going to be able to stand up to the job forever. They know that this time next year there still won't be a toilet in the house, or hot running water. They experience poverty, unemployment and deep-felt anger and they know that we workers always have to bear the brunt of this capitalist/imperialist system, rotten to the core as it is. This growing consciousness, this recognition by more and more workers that the poverty of the Falls is in essence no different from the poverty of the Shankill, and that the stooge Stormont and Dublin regimes have nothing in common with the class interest of workers is the second aspect of the secret.

GET ORGANISED NOW

The final aspect of the task is the need to get organised, the need to get a mass revolutionary movement off the ground; the need to reject utterly the reactionaries who try to steer things in the direction of saying "it's a religious problem", when clearly it is a class question, the need to say to the men and women who for years you've never had a friendly conversation with, brother, you are my brother because you are a worker like I am, and the only way we are going to create a better life for ourselves and our kids and those yet to come is to forget our minor differences that have been used by the bosses' class to divide us, and get together

and organise to smash completely the system of imperialism that is holding us both down—a system of profiteering from our blood, sweat and brains, a system of violence, bigotry and oppression.

The need to organise rests upon the responsibility at all times to point out clearly the main enemy of all Irish workers, which is British imperialism, and that only the working class has the power, the numbers, the revolutionary hatred, and the historic mission to defeat imperialism, win the national liberation of Ireland and march on to build a socialist people's republic in which industry, technology and science, finance, commerce and the land of Ireland are owned, controlled by and run in the service of the great and heroic Irish working class. Moreover, that this historic transition from colonial status to liberation and the unity of Ireland can only come about by grasping firmly that the Irish working masses can seize political power only when they are armed with revolutionary class consciousness, and guns aimed not at each other, but at their real, common enemy.

DARE TO STRUGGLE, DARE TO WIN

But running dogs, such as Paisley—for they are servants not masters—whatever they are they are not ignorant as to their coming downfall. They recognise that the people are starting to see through them. Thus they fight frantically to preserve themselves and their privileged position. But in reality they are like the man in the boat being swamped by the angry waves of the Atlantic ocean and trying desperately to bale himself out armed only with a teaspoon. He can't win. He will drown. And so will the Paisleys and all fascist bigots thrown up, like grubs from the apple, by the imperialist system. No matter how feverishly such fascists attempt to prevent the unfolding of history they lie helpless in its path. Before history, such reactionary puppets are incapable, pathetic. Of course, the road to politically uniting the working class is by no means all downhill. The struggle will experience many twists and turns and will at times be very arduous. However, no serious revolutionary expects to be able to overcome centuries of imperialist-sponsored divide and rule in a flash. The point that must be constantly borne in mind is that it is inevitable, despite all the confusion, that the working class will come to adopt its own politics. Hence, the just-discernible trace of nervousness at the edges of the bombastic facade exhibited by the bigoted "strongmen". Outwardly strong and confident, inwardly weak and nervous, such scabs are truly paper tigers. ■

Black workers wholeheartedly support their Irish class brothers and sisters

On Sunday 26th July members of the INLSF attended a conference in London organised by the Black Unity and Freedom Party (formerly the Universal Coloured Peoples Association) to move a resolution on Ireland. Following is the text of the resolution, which was adopted unanimously by the many black workers present:

1. We recognise the people of Ireland, as they fight against fascism, for democratic rights, and for the total destruction of British imperialism and its lackeys north and south, as our class brothers and sisters.

2. We recognise that the Irish people, like black people, are in Britain not by choice but by force: force engendered by the imperialist exploitation, oppression and terrorization of our peoples.

3. We recognise that racism and religious bigotry are both weapons employed by imperialism to smash the unity of the people. Racism and religious bigotry are attacks against our peoples. As the

imperialists are determined to smash our unity, we more than match this with our determination to unite all forces who can be united on a truly proletarian, revolutionary basis.

4. We recognise the essential class unity of the exploited and oppressed peoples of Ireland, Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean and the whole world.

5. We recognise the heroism, the determination and the courage of the Irish people. We have faith that they will unite and take their struggle to a great new level.

6. We demand the immediate and unconditional release of all Irish political prisoners imprisoned both here and in Ireland North and South, including Conor Lynch, Patrick O'Sullivan, Barry Bruton, Alan McIlveen, Eamonn Smullen, Gerald Doherty, Frank Keane, James Roche, Ian Purdie and others.

7. We recognise that the Irish peoples have braved eight centuries of torture,

terror and brutality at the hands of British imperialism. We now witness their heroic fight against the fascist RUC, the Ulster Defence Regiment, the British Army, CS gas, tanks, automatic rifles, rubber bullets to break our peoples arms and legs, water cannon, truncheons, the courts, etc etc ... all weapons of imperialist exploitation. We salute the Irish people's fight against all these odds.

8. We spit on British imperialism for what it is, a paper tiger.

9. We recognise the inherent right of the people of Ireland to the National Liberation, unity and complete sovereignty of their motherland.

10. We today place our faith in the Irish masses, North and South, protestant and catholic, to rise as one man and make National Liberation and the destruction of imperialism, an accomplished fact.

11. We recognise that the road to final victory is the invincible road of People's War.

12. In London today, headquarters of Black and White together express total support for the fight of the Irish people to win National Liberation and then establish a socialist republic, a people's republic of Ireland. At the same time we pledge our revolutionary hatred of British imperialism, of its running dogs, and of the whole imperialist system throughout the world.

We say today:

VICTORY TO THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION! BRITISH IMPERIALISM AND ITS AGGRESSOR TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND NOW! IRISH POLITICAL POWER GROWS OUT OF THE BARREL OF A GUN!

IRISH PEOPLE FORWARD TO VICTORY WITH PEOPLE'S WAR! DEATH TO THE IMPERIALIST SYSTEM AND ALL ITS RUNNING DOGS!

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE TO SMASH IMPERIALISM, WIN NATIONAL LIBERATION, AND ESTABLISH ACCROSS THE GLOBE THE POLITICAL POWER OF THE WORKING CLASS!

A YEAR OF CLASS STRUGGLE

workers and oppressed peoples

imperialism and

Following is a brief review of just some of the main world struggles during the twelve months since the Irish Liberation Press was first published.

MARCH

The People's Liberation Army of Dhofar shell a British airbase, destroying one enemy fighter and killing two British pilots and wounding eight others.

New York postal workers are on strike for higher wages and better living conditions. The number of workers taking part is estimated at 700,000.

Pathet Lao forces deal a heavy blow to U.S. imperialism in their liberation of the Plain of Jars from U.S. and puppet troops in the early part of March.

APRIL

China smashes the stranglehold of American imperialism and Russian social-imperialism in space technology with her first man-made earth satellite. The satellite orbits Earth every 114 minutes. Millions of radio listeners the world over hear the music of the East is Red transmitted from the satellite. Once again China demonstrates to the world the tremendous advances she has made under socialism. Such advances are possible only because China has upheld the dictatorship of the proletariat and the slogan 'the working-class must exercise leadership in everything' is strictly observed.

The world celebrates the one-hundredth birth anniversary of the great proletarian revolutionary V.I. Lenin. An important article, 'Leninism or Social-Imperialism?', is published by the Chinese press. The article condemns the Soviet revisionists for betraying Lenin and turning the Soviet Union into a fascist dictatorship ruled by a new bourgeoisie.

MAY

Chairman Mao Tsetung issues a historic statement in support of the world people's struggle against U.S. imperialism. Recent U.S. aggression against Cambodia receives special mention. Mao says the three Indo-Chinese peoples 'will certainly overcome all difficulties and win complete victory'. He also says 'revolution is the main trend in the world today'. 'In the world today', he asks, 'who actually fears whom?' and answers the question, saying 'it is not the Vietnamese people, the Laotian people, the Cambodian people, the Palestinian people, the Arab people or the people of other countries who fear

U.S. imperialism; it is U.S. imperialism which fears the people of the world'.

JUNE

One million Japanese workers and peasants hold militant demonstrations throughout Japan against the Japanese government's security Treaty with U.S. imperialism allowing it to use its Japanese bases to carry out aggression in Indo-China.

In June figures were released that from late March till late May the heroic Indo-Chinese people killed or put out of action 132,000 U.S. imperialist and puppet troops.

JULY

People in Portuguese-occupied Guinea, Mozambique and Angola are especially active this month. News reports this month show that the Guinean freedom-fighters in the first half of the year attacked eleven enemy bases. As a result of attacks on enemy strongholds the Portuguese aggressors are becoming more and more reluctant to leave their barracks.

In Angola the Portuguese are forced to abandon a number of towns. An attack on a Portuguese barracks at Mumbwe in Bie region results in 20 enemy troops being killed and a large quantity of weapons being captured.

175 Portuguese colonialists and puppet troops in Mozambique are reported to have been killed in operations between May 6 and June 13.

News is released of a new people's armed struggle for liberation from imperialism. The struggle is in Oman, the Arabian Gulf, which is dominated by British imperialism.

Four American students are viciously shot to death by 'National Guardsmen' at Kent State University, Ohio, during a demonstration against the U.S. bosses' class aggression in Indo China, the murders spark off a new wave of protests all over the United States.

AUGUST

The Arab people condemn the U.S. 'Rogers Plan' which would sell them out to Israel. Demonstrations take place in many Arab countries. The 'Rogers Plan' is a product of U.S. imperialist-Soviet social-imperialist collusion.

500,000 U.S. railway workers go on strike, bringing the U.S. railways to a standstill.



Mozambique guerrilla fighters at shooting practice.

revolution is main trend

A new upsurge in the struggle against imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism working in collusion with Soviet Social imperialism, is now emerging throughout the world. The imperialists are picking up rock after rock, in country after country by launching wars of aggression against workers and oppressed peoples everywhere. And each time the aggressors attack the people, whether it is in Vietnam, Palestine, Ireland, or anywhere else in the world, the political consciousness of the people is raised and they get organised to fight back in a more determined manner than ever before.

The imperialist murderers cannot possibly find any long term solution to their problems. The peoples of the world have most definitely entered into an historic new era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to world-wide victory. The imperialist powers are in reality capable only of making vain attempts to patch up their tottering system. As Chairman Mao, leader of the great Peoples' Republic of China, has said "All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful."



Valiant Palestinian guerilla woman joins with her comrades in assault against the fascist ruling Hussein clique in Jordan.

At General Motors 370,000 employees come out.

The Vietnamese people celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam.

SEPTEMBER

Palestinian guerrillas show that imperialism is a paper tiger. Fierce fighting takes place in Amman and North Jordan and many enemy military vehicles are destroyed or captured. Many Jordanian troops desert and join the Palestinian freedom fighters.

In the U.S.A. 200 fascist police supported by a helicopter attack the office of the Black Panther Party. One Panther member was murdered and several wounded. A Panther said "they can kill a revolutionary but they can't kill the revolution."

Indian police commence a war of extermination against the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist).

Ten thousand workers strike at the U.S. military base in Okinawa (Japan).

French people demonstrate in Paris against British imperialist aggression in Ireland.

OCTOBER

Chinese people celebrate the 21st Anniversary of the Founding of the great People's Republic of China. Premier Chou En-lai gives a reception. Many comrades from abroad attend. Speeches warmly support the workers and oppressed peoples of the world in their struggles against imperialism and monopoly capitalism, and for socialism.

Strike of 370,000 American workers



Fascist U.S. National Guard pigs murder four anti-imperialist students at Kent University, Ohio.

THROUGHOUT THE WORLD of all countries unite to smash build socialism



Happy and spirited young communist Chinese boys and girls, proud of the massive achievements that have been made in their country, join together to sing the "Battle March".

From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are powerful."

Revolution is the main trend in the world today. In country after country, continent after continent, imperialism is being dealt hammer blow after hammer blow. Throughout Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, the storm centres of world revolutionary developments, imperialism is running hither and thither in a panic stricken endeavour to suppress one struggle after another. But no matter what they try to do it is the people's struggle

that develops momentum all the time.

The scientific truth of the statement that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun has been grasped by the peoples of the world. In Vietnam, which represents the main contradiction in the world today between the forces of imperialism on the one hand and the forces of the people on the other hand, it can be clearly seen that once the people are armed with revolutionary politics and ideology and guns and have commenced a People's War they are invincible and capable of bringing the biggest imperialist power to its knees.



A contingent of the Albanian People's Army. This socialist army guards the class interest of the 1 1/2 million Albanian people and is integrated very closely with them.

employed by General Motors enters its 4th week. To date the cost to the firm is 3,000 million dollars.

In Paris 10,000 shop workers hold a massive demonstration to the Chamber of Commerce to demand higher wages and better working conditions.

NOVEMBER

The heroic Guinean people and armed forces deal heavy blows to the Portuguese colonialists, killing 200 and capturing many more.

In France 17,000 dockers go on a 24-hour nationwide strike on November 25 to protest against exploitation by monopoly capital.

Indian workers in Calcutta and other places hold large-scale strikes and demonstrations this month. 2500 stevedors go on strike in Calcutta and paralyse the port. In Maharashtra state 200,000 government workers strike for better living conditions.

On November 4 the electrification of all villages in socialist Albania is completed. Albania is a small country in eastern Europe only two-thirds the size of Ireland.

DECEMBER

Thousands of Polish people show their hatred of the revisionist authorities in violent demonstrations in many major centres of Poland sparked by stinging price rises. Revisionist party headquarters in several cities are put to the torch. Fascist militiamen open fire on the masses and kill many people. Soviet troops in Poland and neighbouring countries are put on the alert ready to suppress the people at a moment's notice. Eventually the authorities have to back down and announce a ban on further price rises. A number of revisionist leaders are sacked. A noticeable feature of the

Polish struggle is that many demonstrators sang the 'Internationale', thus indicating their belief in real socialism. Poland like all other east European countries except Albania has degenerated into a new-type capitalist country where the means of production are superficially in public hands but where in reality the wealth produced by the workers is expropriated by a small clique of privileged overlords.

In Spain protest actions against death sentences imposed on six Basque fighters for democratic rights force Franco to commute the sentences to life imprisonment.

The Dhofar People's Liberation Army launches successive attacks on British colonial troops, scoring many victories.

A one-day strike is held in Holland on December 15 against the government's wage-freeze policy.

In Canada many workers of U.S.-owned motor plants are on strike against ruthless exploitation and oppression.

JANUARY

Cambodia's liberation forces step up their activities. High explosions set off by patriots rock Phnom Penh airport on January 22nd. Many buildings and planes are destroyed. Twelve puppet-regime warships sailing towards Phnom Penh are sunk and 300 Cambodian puppet troops aboard are wiped out.

Delegates of nine Latin American governments meet in Peru for a conference aimed at protecting their 200 nautical-mile territorial waters. In Canada a similar contradiction develops between the Canadian ruling class government and U.S. imperialism when the Canadian authorities warn the U.S. that they too will protect their territorial waters.

The American workers continue to hammer the enemy capitalist class. 50,000 telephone workers come out on strike. Even the New York police are affected by the strike movement. The city's police come out in America's first big police strike since 1919.

One and a half million Italian building workers strike for full employment and against exploitation.

ITALY

The bosses class government in Italy, scared stiff of its own people, sent 10,000 troops to attack the town of Reggio Calabria where workers had taken control. The people are bitter of government neglect of them. The government uses

fascist groups to attack communist revolutionaries.

BULGARIA

Bulgaria, continuing the revisionist policies of restoring capitalism as handed down from Moscow, has embarked on a policy of much greater contact with openly fascist Greece. Collaboration is stepped up especially on tourism and trade.

INDO-CHINA

In early February the U.S. imperialists using mainly their Saigon puppets launched an invasion of Laos. The new aggression has moved from one defeat to another. So far in February alone, nearly 8,000 enemy troops have been wiped out and 234 U.S. aircraft shot down by the Laotian patriotic forces defending their homeland. In one battle alone on February 27th the Saigon puppet troops lost a whole battalion.

In Cambodia the Saigon puppet troops again suffered massive defeats this time at the hands of the Cambodian patriotic forces, losing 5,500 troops plus a top general.

In south Vietnam the U.S. troops and their puppets were attacked by the N.L.F. at Khe Sanh and 1,500 of them were wiped out, including 900 GI's. In the city of Qui Nhon there was an uprising recently when 3,000 people attacked property belonging to U.S. imperialists.

Nixon has threatened to renew all-out bombing of North Vietnam. In the meantime several villages there were bombed between February 13th and 16th.

PALESTINE

At a meeting in Cairo on March 1st representatives of all the Palestine liberation fighters including Yasser Arafat chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, again correctly rejected all sell-out peace schemes peddled by Washington and Moscow.

AMERICA

The passport office of the United States keeps a computerised file on 243,000 "suspects". The computer is programmed to report to the secret police anyone on the list who makes an application for a passport. Commercial credit banks in America keep personal computer files on 72 million people, available to anyone paying 10 dollars.

The U.S. gross national output dropped last year for the first time since 1958. Also inflation is increasing and more companies are collapsing. Last year 10,000 did just that. The U.S. economic crisis like that in Britain is part of a world crisis of imperialism.



Spanish workers and students hold militant demonstration against the fascist Franco regime.



Masked against their own poison gas U.S. aggressor troops in Vietnam proceed into a village.

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Miss Devlin attacks the struggling people

For those who have examined the politics of Miss Devlin her recent speech made at Carickmore, Co. Tyrone, upon her release from Armagh Prison, contained no surprises. In it she launched an attack against the heroic workers of Derry, Belfast and the rest of the North, who have been giving hell to British aggressor troops who have no right to be in Ireland. Nowhere in her lengthy speech were the aggressor troops attacked or exposed as being the final back-stop of the murderous rule of British imperialism, the main enemy of workers of all religions and none in Ireland, North and South. Only the men, women and children, who have displayed fantastic courage and bravery, came under the hammer of Miss Devlin. She even employed the word "luxury" to describe the atrocities that are currently being perpetrated against the people of the North by British imperialist troops: "Our rioting is over because we cannot afford the luxury of rioting in the streets," she stated, refusing to point out that it is not the people and their correct struggle for democratic rights against the fascist Stormont junta that is the source of the violence, but British imperialism which violently exploits the people for profit. The ruling class gutter press immediately latched on to her arrogant appeal to let the troops off the hook and gave it much prominence in their reports. In the same speech she laid down her plans for the future. There is to be a "loose alliance" of all who want a "socialist republic." This alliance will go to the people on the factory floor and in the farming areas. The fight will be about a £20 a week minimum wage and rent increases. Regularly she referred to her hope that "we have finished rioting." In place of supporting the people's just struggles was substituted the need to establish a centre for academic research.

NO PROGRAMME

Clearly, Miss Devlin's speech, and those of her platform cohorts, have nothing whatsoever in common with the real interests of those they claim to represent—the Irish working class. Vague phrases about the "socialist republic" are no substitute for a genuine working class revolutionary programme. The truth is that neither Miss Devlin nor her accomplices have a programme that in any way presents a real challenge to the main exploiter, and thus the main enemy of the Irish people, British imperialism. Every single one of her demands could at a push be accommodated by the British ruling class. In fact, this real enemy is never pointed out by Miss Devlin as being the source of the problems of the people of Ireland, let alone does she put forward any concrete proposals or programme for actually freeing Ireland

from its robber clutches.

Miss Devlin talks aimlessly about establishing a socialist republic, seemingly unaware, at best, that the transition from that which now exists to that which must exist for socialism to be a living reality in Ireland is a step which just cannot come about as long as foreign domination persists. In her Carickmore speech she referred to the need to struggle for better wages and against exploiting landlords. Whilst such struggles are a necessary and correct part of the fight, unless it is understood that there will always be landlords and exploiting employers until such time as the people have seized political power and have established the state power of the working class, no real progress can be made to eliminate these and all other forms of social problems. But Miss Devlin does not point to the basic need to overthrow British imperialism and its Stormont and Dublin running dogs. She said at Carickmore, "Now our main task is to organise ourselves to eat right into the heart of that system (Toryism, ed.) and to do so in the most effective manner." Whatever she is, Miss Devlin is certainly not one who speaks without first having thought out her speeches. Hence all the more importance is to be attached to her formulation of "eat right into" Toryism, rather than smash completely British imperialist rule. Once again, it can be seen upon examination that it is not on the agenda as far as Miss Devlin is concerned to destroy the rule of British imperialism, rather only should "Toryism" be eaten into a little, reformed here and there, and made a bit more palatable. Moreover, it is ridiculous to argue that the "Tories" are the main enemy. It is the British imperialist ruling class that must be dispossessed of its political power, and in essence as far as the working people are concerned it matters not a damn whether this ruling class is represented by the imperialist Tory or imperialist Labour party. Hence, not only is Miss Devlin completely failing to organise the fight against the real enemy, British imperialism, she is in addition also giving cover to this real enemy by concealing it from the people.

PUT POLITICS IN COMMAND

"Going to the people" is, no-one would disagree, vital to the success of liberating Ireland. The question is, however, what do you go to the people with, i.e., what sort of politics do you take into the factories, into the housing estates, into the farming districts? Going to the people is something that all the political parties do. But to serve the people, it is the politics of the people, that is the politics of making revolution, that must be advocated from every platform, in every newspaper, in every leaflet, on every occasion. And the politics of



the people is based upon the hard, scientific fact that imperialism is not going to, one fine morning, as if by magic, leave its colonial profit haven of Ireland like a mist rises from the moor. British imperialism will leave Ireland only when the people of Ireland, under the leadership of the Irish working class, drives it from Irish soil.

Miss Devlin, in fact, has no understanding of the class nature of Irish society and has nothing to offer in the way of a real solution to the problems of the Irish working masses. Those who disagree with this statement must point out in clear and concise terms why they consider it to be invalid. Of course, there will be no replies to such a challenge, as there is no scientific answer to this factual statement. Miss Devlin is basically a Trotskyite. Like all Trotskyites, she adds to an already abundant supply of confusion, and imperialism thrives on confusion. She, like her cohorts, employs the language of socialism in order to oppose the winning, in practice, of socialism. She attempts to conceal her utter inability to provide anything other than more diversions behind a facade of "loose alliances" and loose language. In this anti-working class task she is joined by others of this ilk, namely Mr McCann of the Derry Labour Party, Mr Farrell of People's Democracy, Miss DeBurca of one wing of Sinn Fein, together with leading sell-outs of the Irish Labour Party, and others who have failed to provide any working class leadership and who have now degenerated to the point of attacking Irish workers for correctly trying to wear down British aggressor troops. If there is one outstanding reason for the existence of political confusion in Ireland today, then that reason is the abysmal failure of Miss Devlin and her cronies to point out the main enemy and how it must be dealt with. In this way the conscious efforts being made by British imperialism to sow confusion and steer the working class along blind alleyways has been actively endorsed by her brand of opportunist politics.

SUPPORT THE PEOPLES' JUST STRUGGLE

It is not those who have shown immense courage in the face of the British imperialist terror machine of rubber bullets, CS gas, brutal troops, armoured cars, etc that must be attacked. To the contrary, their bravery on the streets of Derry and Belfast has become a watchword across the world for working class heroism. For these workers the retreat and luxury of the parliamentary life-style does not exist. It is the new line-up of Miss Devlin and those who shared her platform at Carickmore, a

motley collection of Trotskyites and Revisionists, that must now be subjected to exposure as diverters of the struggle and as objectively serving the imperialist oppressor. This is not to say that mindless adventurism on the streets should be applauded. It is to say that it is completely incorrect to counterpose the necessary defensive struggle of the people against British aggressor troops with the need to do serious mass work among the people, taking to them revolutionary politics and pointing out the need to relate social poverty and degradation, unemployment and low wages, and high rents and declining living standards, to the real, root cause of these social manifestations; that is, to relate these problems of working class people to the basic fact that Ireland is a colony and the main enemy is British imperialism, which can be defeated only through an armed revolution led by the Irish working class. To pretend, as Miss Devlin and her cronies pretend, that there is any other solution to the problems of the Irish people is to subordinate the class interest of the people to the class interests of imperialism. All the "loose alliances" in the world are no substitute for a clear class analysis, which is something Miss Devlin has never had, does not have now, and displays no inclination for. And neither is it any use saying, as some say, that she is young, or that she is under the influence of bankrupt political forces who have led her astray. The politics of Miss Devlin relate to the lives of working people. And their interest must remain at all times the main consideration of any serious person. That is why her politics, Trotskyism, must be consistently exposed. The links which she has been active in forging between Trotskyite and Revisionist elements in Ireland have been mirrored recently by the coming together under the umbrella of the already disintegrating "Irish Solidarity Campaign", here in Britain, of what is left of ICRSC, NICRA, IMG, Clann na hEireann, Campaign for Democracy in Ulster, the Connolly Association, and representatives of People's Democracy. Between all of these so-called solidarity organisations it is doubtful if they could muster more than fifty people for a demonstration, such is the sharpness of their desertion by workers in Britain. Too many times have the people of Ireland been led astray, and their potential mass support in Britain diverted. Too long has this state of affairs gone unchallenged. The time must be now for all people who are seriously concerned to free Ireland and win national liberation to stand up and be counted, and take sides in sorting out the mess created by the opportunists. ■

Focus on Russia—WHAT WENT WRONG?



A poisonous poster published by the State Commission for the Press, advertising that when one has money, one has everything. The caption reads: Here is Our Profit!

The road of the October 1917 revolution in Russia carried through under the leadership of comrade Lenin is the road of the working class achieving political power through violent revolution. In no other way can the transition to socialism be made. In its historical perspective the October revolution constitutes a mammoth, world-shattering example for all workers and oppressed peoples throughout the world. The October road is the only way forward. The October road means grasping the central point that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.

But the success of the revolution was only one stage in a long struggle in Russia. Lenin fully understood that the class which had been overthrown would not simply give up or disappear. Lenin pointed out in 1917 that the socialist revolution covers "a whole epoch of intensified class conflicts" and that "until this epoch has terminated, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope is converted into attempts at restoration." Hence Lenin based the socialist struggle on the need to establish and maintain the dictatorship of the working class, that is the rule of the masses of the people over the expropriators who through revolution have themselves been expropriated. The class struggle, therefore, continues for long after the revolution and the overthrown class does not just disappear but to the contrary plots for a return to political power and its profits haven.

Being the first state of the dictatorship of the working class, the Soviet Union lacked experience in consolidating this dictatorship and preventing the restoration of capitalism. Stalin

cleared out quite a gang of counter-revolutionary representatives of the overthrown bourgeoisie and imperialism who had wormed their way into the party—Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek, Bukharin, Rykov and the like. After Stalin's death, Krushchev, a capitalist-roader in hiding in the Soviet Communist Party came out with a vicious attack in his kind of treacherous manoeuvre usurped Party and government power in the Soviet Union. This was a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat which turned the dictatorship of the working class, the proletariat, into the dictatorship of the capitalist class, that is the bourgeoisie, and which overthrew socialism and restored capitalism in Russia.

In the name of the "state" this new-type bureaucratic monopoly capitalist class unscrupulously plunders the state treasury and embezzles at will the fruits of the labour of the Soviet people in every possible way. Indulging in luxury and debauchery it rides roughshod over the people.

As comrade Mao has pointed out "the rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie". "The Soviet Union today is under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the German fascist type, a dictatorship of the Hitler type". (Mao's 1964 statement)

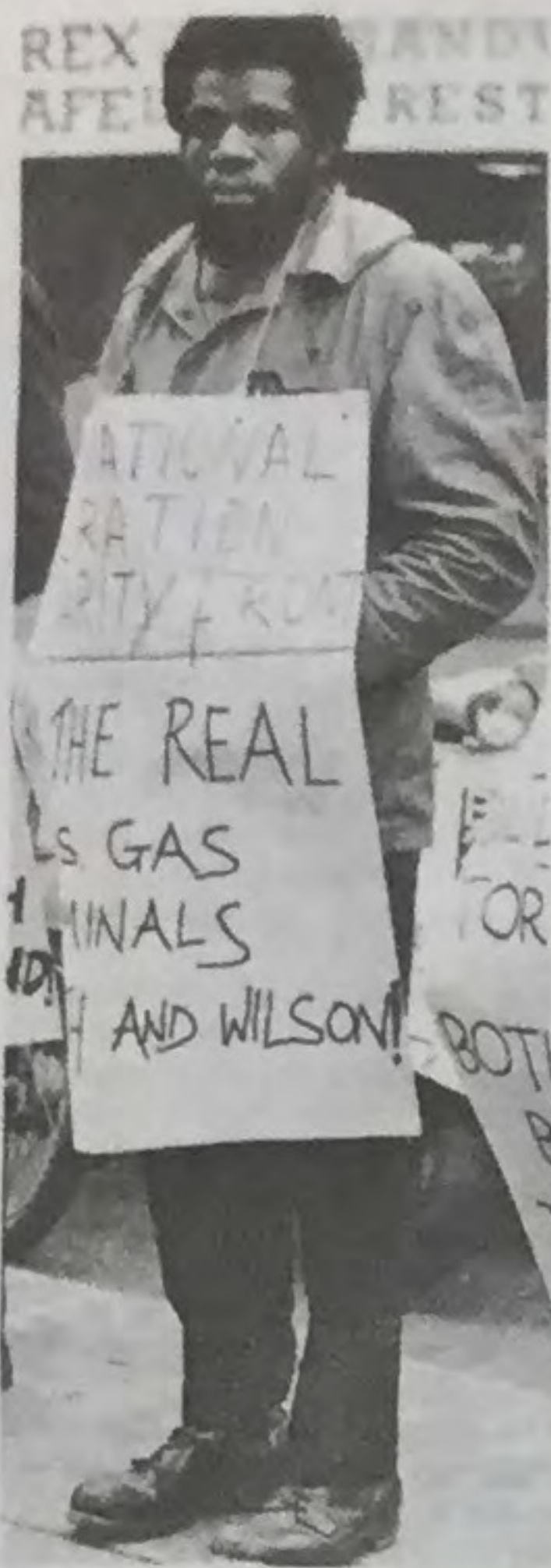
In staging the counter-revolutionary coup d'etat after the death of Stalin, the Krushchev-Brezhnev clique played a role which no imperialist or reactionary was in a position to play. As Stalin said "the easiest way to capture a fortress is from within". The fortress of

socialism, which had withstood the 14-nation armed intervention, the whiteguard rebellion, the attack by several million Hitlerite troops and imperialist sabotage, subversion, blockade and encirclement of every kind was finally captured from within by this handful of renegades. The Krushchev-Brezhnev Kosygin clique have committed towering crimes against the great and glorious Soviet people.

Not only has this fascist clique attacked the Soviet people but it has also set its sights on building a vast imperialist empire, has invaded Czechoslovakia, exploits the peoples of the Warsaw Pact countries which it looks upon as its colonies, whilst simultaneously vying and colluding with US imperialism for footholds in the areas of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. Recently these scabby representatives of the new-type bureaucratic monopoly capitalist class in the Soviet Union joined forces with US imperialism, Zionism and war criminal Hussein in stabbing the Palestinian liberation struggle in the back and supporting the Rogers Plan for crushing all anti-imperialist forces in the Middle East. Just like US China, bastion of world revolution, as something to be crushed.

In accordance with the recommendations of Liberman, reactionary Soviet capitalist economist, the new-type bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union has forced onto the people a "new system" based on the profit motive and all production is now geared to profit and not, as must be the case in a truly socialist country, to the needs of the working class and peasants. ■

First published in Vol. 1 No. 4



A black worker stands on picket in condemnation of British imperialist atrocities in Ireland.

He is a member of the Black Unity and Freedom Party. The INLSF and the BUFP recently formed an alliance under the banner of the Anti-fascist Revolutionary Co-ordinating Committee of National Minorities. The political basis of the RCC is (1) joint national minority self-defence groups to move efficiently into action as and when required; (2) political education; (3) co-ordinating demonstrations and other political activities; (4) solidarity with all genuine national liberation struggles; (5) building links with genuine revolutionary working class organizations throughout Britain; (6) physical training; (7) taking care of the political and other needs of anti-fascist political prisoners and their dependents. The RCC has already organized many political activities and the ruling class most certainly does not like the kick in the teeth the RCC is giving to its divide and rule policies.

Appeal

THE WORKERS who make this paper possible are seldom farther from destitution than one week's wages. They spend almost every minute of their out of work time in activities all in the interest of the working class. It is a working class paper, therefore it is your paper and it relies on you for its support in every way. There are no rich supporters of the "Press" and not even any paid advertisements.

If you bought this paper in Britain, then give a donation to it to help in a very real way the struggle of the Irish people.

If you bought this paper in Ireland, then make a donation however small to this British working class paper which alone completely supports your struggle.

A sample of facts the "Press" has made available to the working class during recent months.

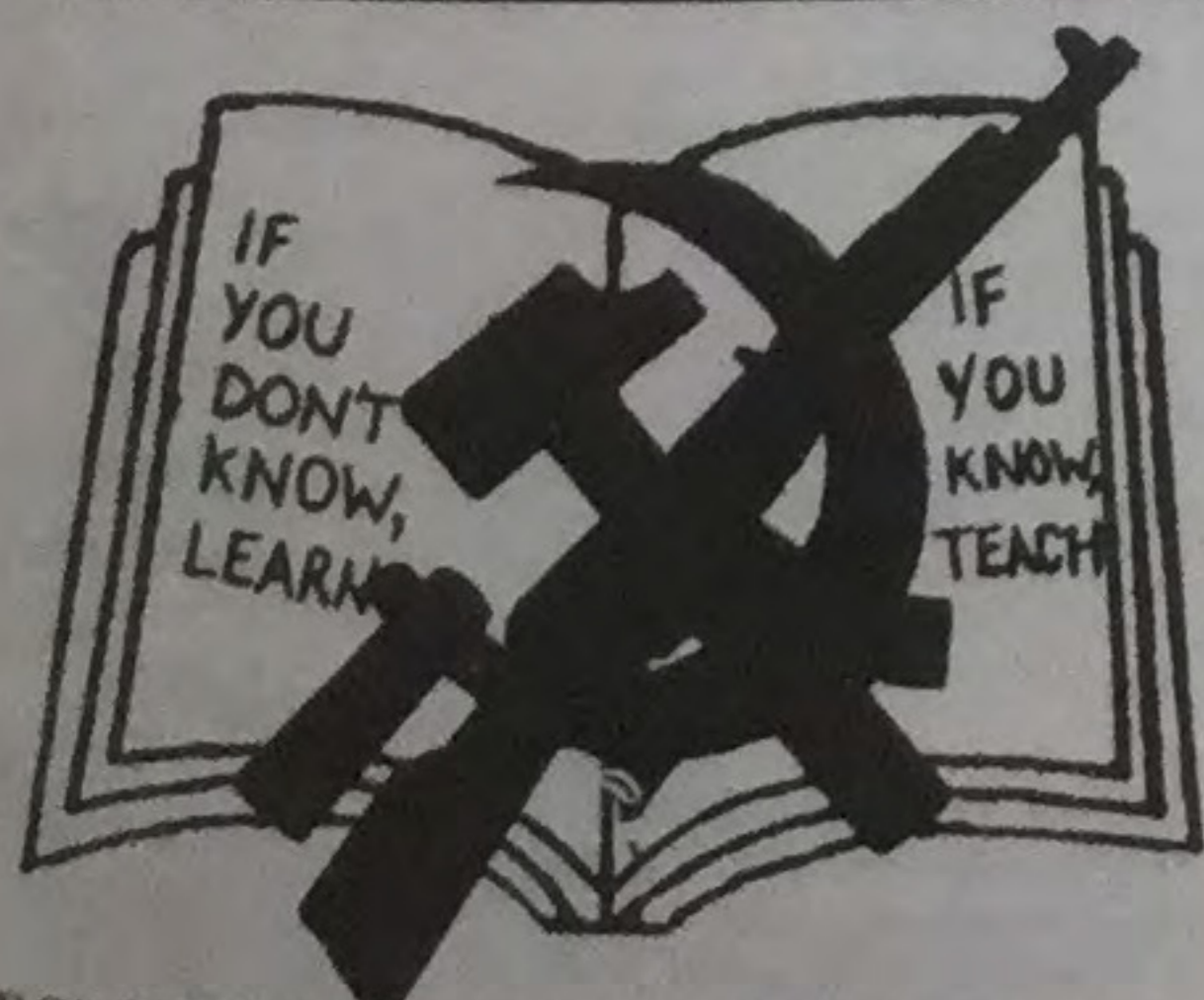
Facts and Figures: How the bosses' class robs you

CONTRAST THIS WITH THE WAY YOU AND YOUR FAMILY HAS TO LIVE (OR EXIST RATHER)

Life is rosy for Lord Aldington. Once merely a plain 'mister'—he was Mr. Toby Low, Tory MP and Minister—his financial star has been rising and twinkling ever more brightly since he forsook Westminster for the City. Lord Aldington is chairman of The General Electric and English Electric Companies, and has had his pay increased from £10,000 a year in 1968 to £19,000 in 1969, rising again in 1970 to £40,000 a year. The £192 a week he had to manage on in 1968 has grown to a more comfortable £770 a week in 1970. The average pay of the 206,000 GE & EE Co. employees in the UK in 1970 was £1,135. At this rate, if they keep to it, the average GE & EE Co. employee will only have to work another 35 years to earn what Lord Aldington did last year. Perhaps they ought to ask for their pay to be quadrupled every 2 years to help them catch up.

Lord Aldington also no doubt managed to pick up a bit of pin-money from his part-time jobs: he is a director of another 17 companies including Alliance Assurance, English China Clays, John Brown, National and Grindlays Bank, Lloyds Bank and Sun Alliance and London Insurance.

Carr, Secretary for Employment and Productivity, and architect of the new proposal for the "Industrial Relations Act", which contains provisions for the imprisonment of workers who go on strike, was, until he became a minister, director of Britain's largest private police force, "Securicor". The company employs over 20,000 people here and abroad in guard and security duties of various kinds, including the policing of factories, and owns over 1,000 armoured vehicles and 738 dogs. Turnover is currently running at £24m and pre-tax profits will not be less than £900,000, against £714,000 last year—a rise of nearly 27 per cent.



POLITICAL EDUCATION CLASSES
The INLSF holds political education and discussion meetings each week and shows a

revolutionary film once a month. These INLSF meetings are held each Sunday throughout the year at 7.30 pm at the Marquis of Clanricarde pub, Southwick St, off Sussex Gardens, 2 minutes walk from St Mary's Hospital, Praed St., Paddington (nearest tube stations Paddington and Edgware Road). You do not have to be a member of the INLSF to join in these meetings.

WRITE This paper is produced for workers by workers. This makes it your paper. What's on your mind? Do you know something we should know? Write to the Press about anything relevant to the struggle in Ireland or here. Don't worry if you have never written

IRISH POST ATTACKS IRISH POLITICAL PRISONERS AND INLSF

In the March 6th issue of "The Irish Post" there is contained an attack on the INLSF campaign to "Free the Irish political prisoners now!" The article, written by "Doolan", opposes demonstrations and the like being organized by the INLSF and peddles the reactionary notion of asking favours from the criminals who put the many Irish patriots in prison for having committed the "crime" of wanting to free Ireland from British imperialism. The article places faith in the Labour and Tory parties and advises the political prisoners to be good boys. This question will be dealt with more fully in the next issue of the "Press".

EDITORIAL NOTE: This Special Historic issue of the "Irish Liberation Press" will be on sale for six weeks, rather than four as normal. Post or phone in your order for bulk quantities NOW to the editorial address. Sell some to your friends. Help the campaign to sell ten thousand copies.

PRESS CONFERENCE

On February 13th last the INLSF held a press conference to release evidence printed in the "Irish Liberation Press" relating to recent bombing incidents in Britain. Scotland Yard and the national capitalist gutter press were invited. The pigs were so afraid they just didn't dare come. The detailed information was there. The witnesses were available with statements. A photograph of "Jackson", Irish Special Branch agent was there. And the pigs were somewhere else—panic stricken! Although out of interest several gutter press reporters attended, from the "Daily Express" and some Irish papers, not a single one of their rages printed even one line. The so called worker's paper, the "Morning Star" also failed to cover the conference and thereby assisted the ruling class in its fascist-type censorship of the truth concerning the bombers.

IF YOU ARE BEING PUSHED AROUND BY A LANDLORD, OR THE POLICE OR ANY SECTION OF THE CAPITALIST STATE MACHINE, GET IN TOUCH WITH THE "PRESS". WHEN WRITING ALWAYS SUPPLY FULL DETAILS AND YOUR NAME AND ADDRESS, WHICH WILL NOT BE PRINTED WITHOUT YOUR

REVOLUTIONARY POSTER FOR WORKERS

The INLSF has produced three working class posters they are of James Connolly, The Irish Citizen Army and Wolfe Tone. Posters such as these are unobtainable elsewhere. The price has been deliberately kept down to make them more available for workers. They can be purchased at 15p each(3/-) or 37½p(7/6) for the three. The posters are 24"x18" and are available from the editorial address.

JAMES CONNOLLY—A MARXIST

Connolly made his position quite clear regarding Karl Marx, founder of scientific socialism. For example in "Labour in Irish History" on page 9 Connolly describes Marx as "... the greatest of modern thinkers and first scientific socialist..."; on page 75 he praises Marx for recognising the class was the factor in the transition from capitalism to socialism, and on page 132 he refers to "Karl Marx on his great work on Capital...". Thus it is beyond dispute that James Connolly was the greatest MARXIST revolutionary patriot Ireland has ever known.

TWO INLSF members were arrested recently while doing political work. They were taken to Stamford Hill police station where futile attempts were made to intimidate them by the pigs for one and a half hours. The pigs stole several copies of the "Press" and other INLSF property.

EDITORIAL NOTE: Due to lack of space in this issue the article by Mrs. Mary Chimutengwende, an Irish immigrant married to a black immigrant, which describes the racial discrimination they are subjected to is being held-over to the next issue.

PERMISSION. IF YOUR LANDLORD IS THREATENING TO PUT YOU ONTO THE STREET RING 455-6968 AND THE INLSF SOCIAL WELFARE COMMITTEE A GROUP OF STRONG, DETERMINED, NO-NONSENSE WORKERS WILL CALL ON THE BULLY FOR A QUIET CHAT TO IMPRESS UPON HIM YOUR RIGHTS.

Whenever workers even ask for a wage increase (never mind when they start to assert their political militancy), they are immediately and viciously attacked by the bosses class for "sabotaging the 'National interest'", for "Endangering the economy", and for "Stabbing Britain in the back", and so on.

The "Irish Liberation Press" feels that it is time that the working class was given the truth; time that the facts and figures were made available. Hence, the "Press" will feature a regular column exposing the truth and showing clearly, in straightforward language, that it is not the working class that is the guilty party, but the capitalist class, the profiteering pimps who have the arrogance to attack workers.

THE BIGGEST RULING MONOPOLY CAPITALIST CLASS FIRMS (every penny of their profits taken from the sweat, brains and lives of workers)

Position	Company	Mkt. cap. £ millions	Previous mkt. cap. and position
1	Shell	2085	1920 1
2	BP	1366	1301 2
3	ICI	1067	963 3
4	BAT	675	662 4
5	Marks & S	648	625 5
6	GEC	525	488 7
7	RTZ	498	538 6
8	GUS	482	429 10
9	Unilever	446	421 11
10	Distillers	437	445 8
11	Rank Org.	427	367 12
12	Imps	419	433 9
13	Burmah	371	349 13
14	Thorn	363	331 14
15	Beecham	306	286 15
16	Nat. West	293	284 16
17	Royal	292	271 —
18	Prudential	291	283 17
19	Courtaulds	288	278 19
20	Woolworth	284	257 —
		£11,563m.	£10,931m.

before. Stories welcomed from workers in Ireland—particularly those involved in struggle at any level. Write to the Press now. Tell us what you think of the contents. Tell us if you are under attack from any wing of the capitalist state machine.

CRITICISE the Press in order to make it an even better organ of struggle.

SELL the Irish Liberation Press—take a few copies for your friends on a sale or return basis. Ask you newsagent to sell the Press—ask him to contact us for terms.

INLSF SERVICES The INLSF offers the use of the following political services:- 1. Research into companies,

details on profits, assets, directors, interlocking directorships etc. 2. Legal help for all cases falling within scope of the aims and objectives of the INLSF. 3. Revolutionary literature and reading list available from the INLSF Literature Secretary.

for information ring 455-6968

There must be at least one or two people you know in Britain or in Ireland who would like a copy of the Irish Liberation Press. Why not buy them a copy and send it to them?

SMASH TROTSKYISM!



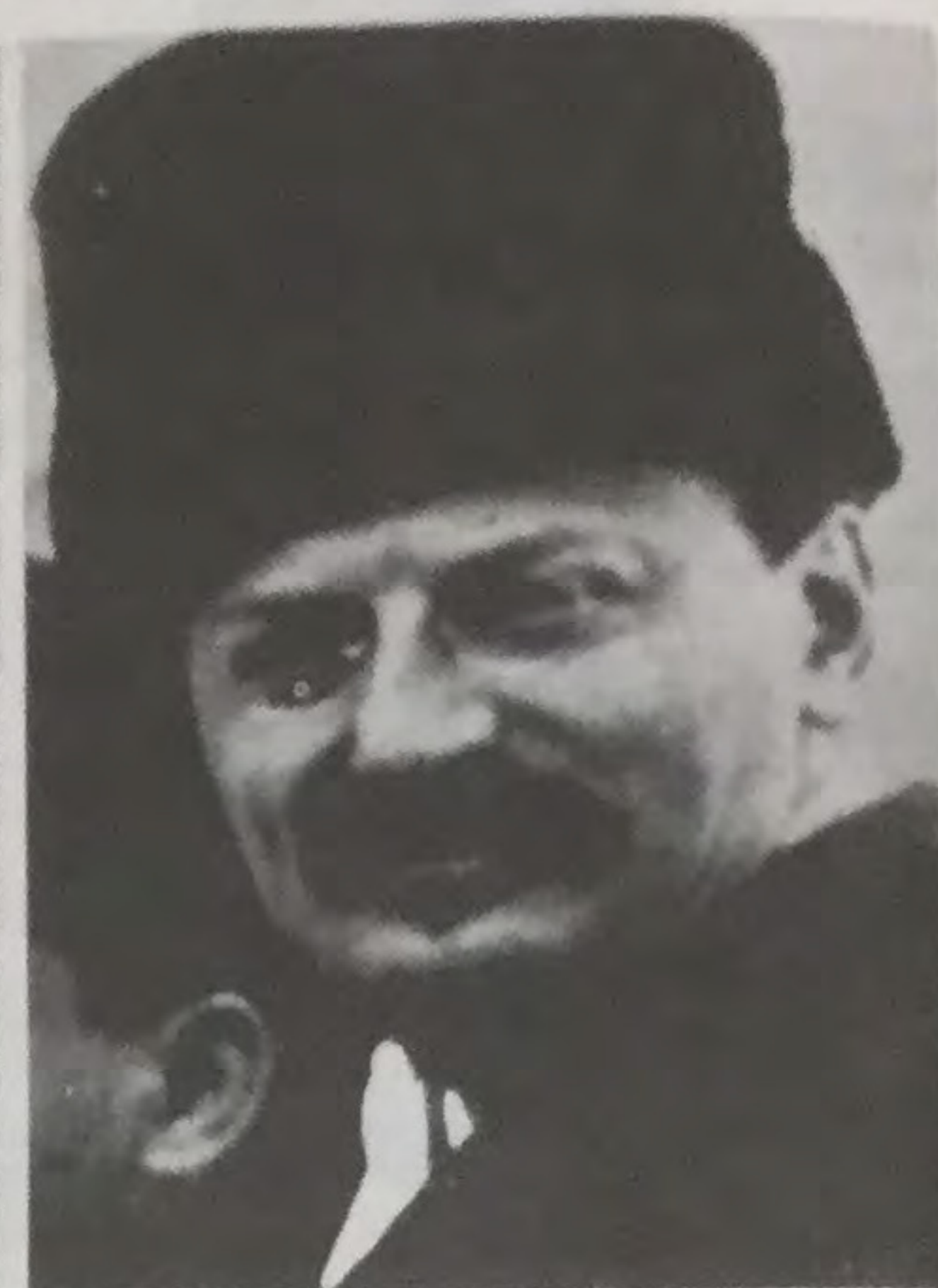
Comrade LENIN



Comrade STALIN



HITLER



TROTSKY

close comrades

arch collaborators

IRISH PEOPLE DEMAND TO KNOW THE TRUE FACTS ABOUT
COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY TROTSKYISM

Counter-revolutionary Trotsky orders the murder of Gorky

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part five

CHAPTER XVIII

MURDER IN THE KREMLIN

1. Yagoda

In May, 1934, six months before the assassination of Sergei Kirov, a heart attack caused the death of Vyacheslav R. Menzhinsky, the long-ailing Chairman of the OGPU. His post was filled by the forty-three-year-old OGPU Vice-Chairman, Henry G. Yagoda, a short, quiet, efficient-looking man with a receding chin and a trim little moustache.

Henry Yagoda was a secret member of the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites. He had joined the conspiracy in 1929, as a member of the Right Opposition, not because he believed in Bukharin's or Trotsky's programme, but because he thought the oppositionists were destined to come to power in Russia. Yagoda wanted to be on the winning side. In his own words:—

I followed the course of the struggle with great attention, having made up my mind beforehand that I would join the side which emerged victorious from this struggle. . . . When measures of repression began to be taken against the Trotskyites, the question as to who would come out the victor—the Trotskyites or the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—was as yet not finally settled. In any event, that was what I thought. Therefore I, as Assistant Chairman of the OGPU, in carrying out the punitive policy, did it in such a way that it would not arouse the anger of the Trotskyites against me. When I was sending Trotskyites into exile, I created for them such conditions in their places of exile as enabled them to carry on their activity.

Yagoda's role in the conspiracy was at first known only to the three top leaders of the Bloc: Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky. In 1932, when the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites was formed, Yagoda's role became known to Pyatakov and Krestinsky.

As Vice-Chairman of the OGPU, Yagoda was able to protect the conspirators from exposure and arrest. "I took all measures, in the course of a number of years," he later stated, "to guard the organization, particularly its centre, against exposure." Yagoda appointed members of the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites as special agents in the OGPU. In this way, a number of agents of foreign Intelligence Services were able to penetrate the Soviet secret police and, under Yagoda's protection, carry on espionage activities for their respective governments. The German agents, Pauker and Volovich, whom Yagoda sent to effect the arrest of Zinoviev and Kamenev, were appointed to their OGPU positions by Yagoda himself. "I considered them," Yagoda said later, referring to the foreign spies, "as a valuable force in the realization of the conspiratorial plans, particularly along the lines of maintaining connections with foreign Intelligence Services."

In 1933, Ivan Smirnov, the leading organizer of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite Terrorist Centre, was unexpectedly arrested by Soviet Government agents. Yagoda could not prevent the arrest. On pretext of examining the prisoner, Yagoda visited Smirnov in his cell and "coached him" on how to behave under questioning.

In 1934, before the murder of Kirov, the terrorist Leonid Nikolayev was picked up by OGPU agents in Leningrad. In his possession they found a gun and a chart showing the route which Kirov travelled daily. When Yagoda was notified of Nikolayev's arrest, he instructed Zaporozhetz, assistant chief of the Leningrad OGPU, to release the terrorist without further examination. Zaporozhetz was one of Yagoda's men. He did what he was told.

A few weeks later, Nikolayev murdered Kirov. But the murder of Kirov was only one of a number of murders carried out by the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites with the direct aid of Henry Yagoda. . . .

Behind his quiet, efficient exterior, Yagoda concealed an inordinate ambition, ferocity and cunning. With the

secret operations of the Bloc of the Rights and Trotskyites depending more and more on his protection, the Vice-Chairman of the OGPU began to conceive of himself as the central figure and dominating personality of the entire conspiracy. Yagoda had dreams of becoming Russia's Hitler. He read *Mein Kampf*. "It is a worthwhile book," he confided to his devoted henchman and secretary, Pavel Bulanov. He was particularly impressed, he told Bulanov, by the fact that Hitler had "risen from a top sergeant to be the man he is." Yagoda himself had started his career as a top sergeant in the Russian Army.

Yagoda had his own ideas about the kind of government which would be set up after Stalin was overthrown. It would be modelled on that of Nazi Germany, he told Bulanov. Yagoda himself would be the Leader; Rykov would replace Stalin as secretary of a reorganized Party; Tomsky would be chief of the trade-unions, which would come under strict military control like the Nazi labour battalions; the "philosopher" Bukharin, as Yagoda put it, would be "Dr. Goebbels."

As for Trotsky, Yagoda was not sure if he would permit Trotsky to return to Russia. It would depend on circumstances. Meanwhile, however, Yagoda was prepared to make use of Trotsky's negotiations with Germany and Japan. The *coup d'état*, said Yagoda, must be timed to coincide with the outbreak of war against the Soviet Union.

"All means will be required for the achievement of this *coup*—armed action, provocation and even poisons," Yagoda told Bulanov. "There are times when one must act slowly and extremely cautiously, and there are times when one must act quickly and suddenly."

The decision of the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites to adopt terrorism as a political weapon against the Soviet regime had Yagoda's endorsement. The decision was communicated to him by Y. S. Yenukidze, a former soldier and official of the Kremlin secretariat, who was the chief organizer of terrorism for the Bloc. Yagoda had only one objection. The terrorist methods employed by the conspirators seemed to him too primitive and dangerous. Yagoda set out to devise a more subtle means of political murder than the traditional assassin's bombs, knives or bullets.

At first, Yagoda experimented with poison. He set up a secret laboratory and put several chemists to work. His aim was to contrive a method of killing which made exposure impossible. "Murder with a guarantee," was the way Yagoda put it.

But even poisons were too crude. Before long, Yagoda developed his own special technique of murder. He recommended it as a perfect weapon to the leaders of the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites. "It is very simple," said Yagoda. "A person naturally falls ill, or he has been ill for some time. Those who surround him become accustomed, as is also natural, to the idea that the patient will either die or recuperate. The physician who treats the patient has the will to facilitate the patient's recovery or his death. . . . Well? All the rest is a matter of technique." One had only to find the right physicians.

2. The Murder of Menzhinsky

The first physician Yagoda involved in his unique murder scheme was Dr. Leo Levin, a corpulent, middle-aged, obsequious man, who liked to boast of his disinterest in political affairs. Dr. Levin was Yagoda's own physician. More important to Yagoda was the fact that Dr. Levin was a prominent member of the Kremlin Medical Staff. Among his regular patients were a number of prominent Soviet leaders, including Yagoda's superior, Vyacheslav Menzhinsky, the Chairman of the OGPU.

Yagoda began showering special favours on Dr. Levin. He sent him imported wines, flowers for his wife and various other gifts. He placed a country home, free of charge, at the doctor's disposal. When Dr. Levin travelled abroad, Yagoda permitted him to bring back foreign purchases without paying the regular customs duty. The physician was flattered and a bit puzzled at these unusual attentions from his influential patient.

Soon, under Yagoda's manipulations, the unsuspecting Dr. Levin had accepted what amounted to a number of

brides and had committed some minor infractions of Soviet laws. Then Yagoda came bluntly to the point. He told Dr. Levin that a secret opposition movement, of which he himself was one of the leaders, was about to come to power in the Soviet Union. The conspirators, said Yagoda, could make good use of Dr. Levin's services. Certain Soviet leaders, among them some of Dr. Levin's patients, had to be put out of the way.

"Have in mind," Yagoda told the terrified doctor, "that you cannot help obeying me, you cannot get away from me. Once I place confidence in you with regard to this thing, you must appreciate this and you must carry this out. You cannot tell anybody about it. Nobody will believe you. They will believe not you, but me." Yagoda added: "Let us now drop this conversation; you think it over at home, and I shall call you in a few days."

Dr. Levin subsequently described his reaction to Yagoda's words. He stated:—

I do not have to convey the psychological reaction, how terrible it was for me to hear this. I think that this is sufficiently understood. And then the ceaseless mental anguish. . . . He further said: "You are aware who is talking to you, the head of what institution is talking to you!" He reiterated that my refusal to carry this out would spell ruin for me and my family. I believed that I had no other way out, that I had to submit to him.

Dr. Levin helped Yagoda to enlist the services of another physician who also frequently treated Menzhinsky. This physician was Dr. Ignaty N. Kazakov, whose distinctly unorthodox therapeutic methods were the cause of some heated controversy in Soviet medical circles during the early 1930's.

Dr. Kazakov claimed to have discovered an almost infallible cure for a wide range of illnesses by means of a special technique which he called "lysatotherapy." The OGPU Chairman Menzhinsky who suffered from angina pectoris and bronchial asthma had great faith in Kazakov's treatment and took it regularly.

On Yagoda's instructions, Dr. Levin went to see Dr. Kazakov. Dr. Levin said to him: "Menzhinsky is a living corpse. You're really wasting your time."

Dr. Kazakov looked at his colleague in astonishment. "I'll have to have a special talk with you," said Dr. Levin.

"About what?" asked Dr. Kazakov. "About Menzhinsky's health."

Later, Dr. Levin came to the point. "I thought you were cleverer. You still haven't understood me," he told Kazakov. "I'm surprised you've undertaken Menzhinsky's treatment with so much zeal and you have even improved his health. You should never have allowed him to get back to work."

Then, to Dr. Kazakov's mounting amazement and horror, Dr. Levin went on:—

"You must realize that Menzhinsky is actually a corpse, and by restoring his health, by allowing him to get back to work, you are antagonizing Yagoda. Menzhinsky is in Yagoda's way and Yagoda is interested in getting him out of the way as soon as possible. Yagoda is a man who doesn't stop at anything."

Dr. Levin added:— "Not a word of this to Menzhinsky! I am warning you that, if you tell Menzhinsky about it, Yagoda will destroy you. You'll not escape him no matter where you hide yourself. He would get you even if you were underground."

On the afternoon of November 6, 1933, Dr. Kazakov received an urgent call from Menzhinsky's home. When Dr. Kazakov arrived at the home of the OGPU Chairman, he was met by a heavy, stifling odour of turpentine and paint. Within a few minutes he found himself gasping for breath. One of Menzhinsky's secretaries informed him that the house had been freshly painted and that "a special substance" had been added to the paint to "make the paint dry more quickly." It was this "special substance" which caused the pungent, overwhelming odour.

Dr. Kazakov went upstairs. He found Menzhinsky in great agony. His bronchial condition had been terribly

aggravated by the fumes. He was sitting in a cramped, awkward position, his face and body swollen, barely able to whisper. Dr. Kazakov listened to his breathing. It was laboured and rasping, with greatly prolonged exhalation, characteristic of a serious attack of bronchial asthma. Dr. Kazakov immediately gave Menzhinsky an injection to relieve his condition. He then flung open all the windows in the room and ordered Menzhinsky's secretary to open all doors and windows throughout the house. Gradually the odour died away. Dr. Kazakov stayed with Menzhinsky until his patient was feeling better. When the attack had passed, Dr. Kazakov went home.

He had scarcely entered his house when the telephone rang. It was a call from OGPU headquarters. Dr. Kazakov was informed that Henry Yagoda wished to see him at once. A car was already on its way to pick up Dr. Kazakov and bring him to Yagoda's office. . . .

"Well, how do you find Menzhinsky's health?" was the first thing Yagoda said when he and Dr. Kazakov were alone in his office. The short, neat, dark Vice-Chairman of the OGPU was sitting behind his desk, coldly watching Dr. Kazakov's expression.

Dr. Kazakov replied that with the sudden renewal of the asthmatic attacks, Menzhinsky's condition was serious.

Yagoda was silent for a moment.

"Have you spoken to Levin?"

"Yes, I have," replied Dr. Kazakov.

Yagoda abruptly rose from his seat and began pacing back and forth in front of his desk. Suddenly, he whirled on Dr. Kazakov, furiously exclaiming, "In that case, why are you fiddling about? Why don't you act? Who asked you to butt into somebody else's affairs?"

"What do you want of me?" asked Dr. Kazakov.

"Who asked you to give medical aid to Menzhinsky?" asked Yagoda. "You're fussing with him to no purpose. His life is of no use to anybody. He's in everybody's way. I order you to work out with Levin a method of treatment whereby it will be possible to bring about a quick end to Menzhinsky's life" After a pause, Yagoda added: "I warn you, Kazakov, if you make any attempt to disobey me I'll find means of getting rid of you! You'll never escape me. . . ."

For Dr. Kazakov, the days that followed were full of terror, fear and nightmarish events. He went about his work in a daze. Should he or should he not report what he knew to the Soviet authorities? To whom could he speak? How could he be sure that he was not talking to one of Yagoda's spies?

Dr. Levin, who saw him frequently during this period, told Kazakov of the existence of a vast undercover conspiracy against the Soviet Government. Famous, powerful state officials like Yagoda, Rykov and Pyatakov were in the conspiracy; brilliant writers and philosophers like Karl Radek and Bukharin had joined it; men in the army were secretly behind it. If he, Dr. Kazakov, performed some valuable service for Yagoda now, Yagoda would remember it when he came to power. There was a secret war going on within the Soviet Union, and doctors, like other people, had to choose sides.

Dr. Kazakov succumbed. He told Levin that he would carry out Yagoda's orders.

Here, in Dr. Kazakov's own words, is the technique he and Dr. Levin used for the assassination of the Chairman of the OGPU, Vyacheslav Menzhinsky:—

I met Levin and together with him worked out a method which consisted of the following. We took advantage of two main properties of albumen and albuminous products. First: the products of the hydrolytic decomposition of albumen possess the property of stimulating the effect of medicines. Second: lysates increase the sensitivity of the organism. These two properties were taken advantage of. Thirdly, advantage was taken of the peculiarities of Menzhinsky's organism, of the combination of bronchial asthma and angina pectoris. It is a well-known fact that in a case of bronchial asthma the so-called parasympathetic section of the vegetative nervous system is excited. Therefore, in cas-

cont'd

of bronchial asthma, substances are prescribed which excite the corresponding section, that is to say, the sympathetic, the thyroid gland. Such a preparation is the extract of the suprarenal gland, a preparation of the medulla stratum. In cases of angina pectoris it is just the sympathetic section which starts from the subjugular plexus of the sympathetic ganglion that is excited. That was the fine point which was taken advantage of. . . .

Gradually, one set of preparations was introduced, while another was put aside. . . . It was necessary to introduce a number of heart stimulants—digitalis, adonis, strophanthus—which stimulated the activity of the heart. These medicines were administered in the following order. First, lysates were administered; then there was an interval in the treatment with lysates; then heart stimulants were administered. As a result of this sort of treatment, a thorough weakening was brought about. . . .

On the night of May 10, 1934, Menzhinsky died. The man who took his place as chief of the OGPU was Henry Yagoda.

"I deny that in causing the death of Menzhinsky I was guided by motives of a personal nature," Yagoda later stated. "I aspired to the post of head of the OGPU, not out of personal consideration, but in the interests of our conspiratorial organization."

S. Murder with a Guarantee

The murder list of the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites included the following top Soviet leaders: Stalin, Voroshilov, Kirov, Menzhinsky, Molotov, Kulibyshev, Kaganovich, Gorky and Zhdanov. These men were well guarded. The Soviet Government had long, bitter experience in dealing with terrorists, and few chances were taken. Yagoda knew this very well. When the Right terrorist organizer, Yenukidze, communicated to him the decision of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite Terrorist Centre to commit a public assassination of Sergei Kirov, Yagoda at first objected. As Yagoda put it—

I expressed my apprehension that a direct terrorist act might expose not only myself, but the whole organization as well. I pointed out to Yenukidze that there was a less dangerous method and I reminded him, Yenukidze, how Menzhinsky's death was brought about with the help of physicians. Yenukidze replied that the assassination of Kirov must be carried out the way it was planned, that the Trotskyites and Zinovievites took it upon themselves to commit this murder, and that it was our business not to place any obstacles. As for the safe method of causing death with the help of physicians, Yenukidze said that in the near future the centre would discuss the question as to who exactly of the leaders of the Party and Government should be the first to be done to death by this method.

One day, towards the end of August, 1934, a young secret member of the Right Opposition was summoned to Yenukidze's Kremlin office. His name was Venyamin A. Maximov. In 1928, as a student, Maximov had attended the special "Marxist School" which Bukharin then headed in Moscow. Bukharin had recruited him into the conspiracy. A clever, unscrupulous youth, Maximov had been carefully trained by the Right leaders and, after his graduation, placed in various secretarial posts. At the time he was summoned to Yenukidze's office Maximov was the personal secretary of Valerian V. Kulibyshev, Chairman of the Supreme Council of National Economy, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, and an intimate friend and co-worker of Stalin.

Yenukidze informed Maximov that "whereas formerly the Rights calculated that the Soviet Government could be overthrown by organizing certain of the more anti-Soviet minded strata of the population, and in particular the kulaks, now the situation had changed. . . . and it is necessary to proceed to more active methods of seizing power." Yenukidze described the new tactics of the conspiracy. In agreement with the Trotskyites, he said, the Rights had adopted a decision to eliminate a number of their political opponents by terrorist means. This was to be done by "ruining the health of the leaders." This method, said Yenukidze, was "the most convenient because of the fact that on the surface it would appear in the nature of an unfortunate issue to an illness and thereby make it possible for this terrorist activity of the Rights to be camouflaged."

"Preparations for it have already begun," Yenukidze added. He told Maximov that Yagoda was behind all this, and the conspirators had his protection. Maximov, as Kulibyshev's secretary, was to be used in connection with the assassination of the Chairman of the National Supreme Economic Council. Kulibyshev suffered from a serious heart condition, and the conspirators planned to take advantage of it.

Maximov, startled at this assignment, showed some signs of hesitation.

A few days later, Maximov was again called to Yenukidze's office. This time, while the assassination of Kulibyshev was discussed in more detail, a third man sat in a corner of the room. He did not utter a word during the entire conversation; but the implication of his presence was not lost on Maximov. The man was Henry Yagoda. . . .

"What is demanded of you," Yenukidze told Maximov, "is, first, to give them [Yagoda's physicians] the opportunity of being unhindered so that they can be in frequent attendance on the patient, so that there should be no hitch in their so-called visits to the patient; and, secondly, in the event of acute illness, attacks of any kind, not to hurry in calling in the doctor, and if it is necessary, to call in only those doctors who are treating him."

Toward the fall of 1934, Kulibyshev's health suddenly took a sharp turn for the worse. He suffered intensely, and could do little work.

Dr. Levin later described the technique which, on Yagoda's instructions, he employed to bring about Kulibyshev's illness:—

The vulnerable spot in his organism was his heart, and it was this at which we struck. We knew that his heart had been in a poor condition over a considerable period of time. He suffered from an affection of the cardiac vessels, myocarditis, and he had slight attacks of angina pectoris. In such cases, it is necessary to spare the heart, to avoid potent heart stimulants, which would excessively stimulate the activity of the heart and gradually lead to its further weakening. . . . In the case of Kulibyshev we administered stimulants for the heart without intervals, over a protracted period, up to the time he made his trip to Central Asia. Beginning with August, until September or October, 1934, he was given injections without a break, of special endocrine gland extracts and other heart stimulants. This intensified and brought on more frequent attacks of angina pectoris.

At two o'clock on the afternoon of January 25, 1935, Kulibyshev suffered a severe heart attack in his office at the Council of People's Commissars in Moscow. Maximov, who was with Kulibyshev at the time, had previously been told by Dr. Levin that in the event of such an attack the correct thing for Kulibyshev to do was to lie down and remain absolutely quiet. Maximov was told that his job was to see that Kulibyshev did exactly the opposite. He persuaded the desperately ill man to walk home.

Ghastly pale and moving with extreme difficulty, Kulibyshev left his office. Maximov promptly called Yenukidze and told him what had happened. The Right leader instructed Maximov to keep calm and not to call any doctors.

Kulibyshev painfully made his way home from the building of the Council of People's Commissars to the house where he lived. Slowly and with increasing agony, he climbed the stairs to his apartment on the third floor. His maid met him at the door, took one look at him and immediately telephoned his office that he was in urgent need of medical attention.

By the time the doctors arrived at the house, Valerian Kulibyshev was dead.

4. "Historical Necessity"

The most brutal of all the murders carried out under Yagoda's supervision were those of Maxim Gorky and his son, Peshkov.

Gorky was sixty-eight years old at the time of his murder. He was known and revered throughout the world not only as Russia's greatest living writer but also as one of the world's outstanding humanists. He suffered from tuberculosis and a bad heart condition. His son Peshkov had inherited an extreme susceptibility to respiratory infections. Both Gorky and his son were patients of Dr. Levin.

The murders of Gorky and his son, Peshkov, were carried out by Yagoda following a unanimous decision of the upper leaders of the Bloc of the Rights and Trotskyites. In 1934 Yagoda communicated this decision to Dr. Levin and ordered him to carry it out.

"Gorky is a man who is very close to the highest leadership," Yagoda told Dr. Levin, "a man very much devoted to the policy which is being carried out in the country, very devoted personally to Stalin, a man who will never tread our road. Then again, you know what authority Gorky's words have both in our country and far beyond its borders. You are aware of the influence he enjoys and how much harm he can cause the movement by his words. You must agree to undertake this and you will reap the fruits of it when the new government comes to power."

When Dr. Levin showed some perturbation at these instructions, Yagoda went on: "There is no need for you to be so upset, you should understand that this is inevitable, that this is a historical moment, that it is a historical necessity, a stage of the revolution through which we must pass, and you will pass through it with us, you will be a witness of it, and you must help us with the means you have at your disposal."

Peshkov was murdered before his father. Dr. Levin later said:—

There were three systems in his organism which could very easily be taken advantage of: they were the exceptionally excitable cardiovascular system, his respiratory organs, inherited from his father, not in the sense of suffering from tuberculosis, but in the sense of weakness, and finally the vegetative nervous system. Even a small quantity of wine affected his organism, whereas, despite this, he drank wine in large quantities. . . .

Dr. Levin worked methodically on the weaknesses in Peshkov's "organism."

In the middle of April, 1934, Peshkov caught a serious chill. Croupous pneumonia set in.

When it seemed that Peshkov might recover, Yagoda was furious. "Damn it all," he exclaimed, "they are able to kill healthy people by their treatment, and here they cannot do the trick on a sick man!"

But finally Dr. Levin's efforts achieved the desired results. As he himself later reported:—

The patient was very much enfeebled; his heart was in an abominable condition; the nervous system, as we know, plays a tremendous role during infectious diseases. He was altogether overwrought, altogether weakened and the ailment took an exceptionally grave turn.

The progress of the sickness was aggravated by the fact that the medicines capable of bringing great benefit to the heart were eliminated, while, on the contrary, those that weakened the heart were applied. And finally . . . on May 11 he died of pneumonia.

Maxim Gorky was murdered by similar methods. During 1935, Gorky's frequent trips away from Moscow, which took him out of Dr. Levin's hands, temporarily saved his life. Then, early in 1936, came the opportunity for which Dr. Levin was waiting. Gorky contracted a serious case of grippe in Moscow. Dr. Levin deliberately aggravated Gorky's condition, and, as in Peshkov's case, croupous pneumonia set in. Once again, Dr. Levin murdered his patient:—

As regards Alexei Maximovich Gorky, the line was as follows: to use such medicines, which were in general indicated, against which no doubt or suspicion could arise and which could be used to stimulate the activity of the heart. Among such medicines were camphor, caffeine, cardiosol, digalen. We have the right to apply these medicines for a group of cardiac diseases. But in his case they were administered in tremendous doses. Thus, for example, he received as many as forty injections of camphor . . . in twenty-hours. This dose was too heavy for him. . . . Plus two injections of digalen. . . . Plus four injections of caffeine. . . . Plus two injections of strychnine.

On June 18, 1936, the great Soviet writer died.

On December 23, 1943, Dr. Henry E. Sigerist, Professor of the History of Medicine at Johns Hopkins University and outstanding American authority on medical history, wrote the authors of this book regarding Dr. Ignaty N. Kazakov:—

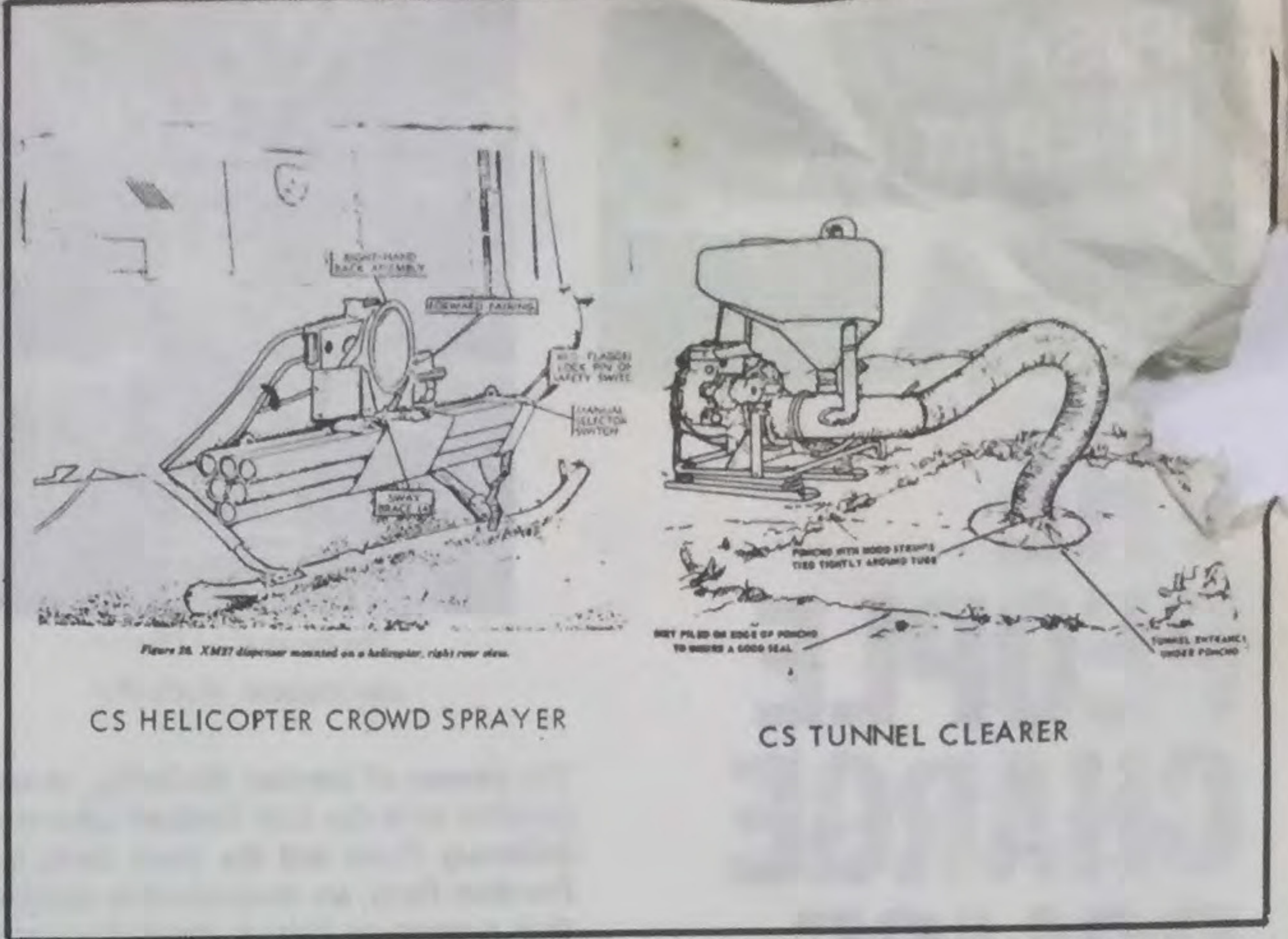
"I spent a whole day with Professor Ignaty N. Kazakov at his clinic in 1935. He was a big man with a wild mane who looked more like an artist than a scientist and who reminded you of an opera singer. Talking to him, he gave you the impression that he was either a genius or a crook. He claimed to have discovered a new method of treatment which he called lysatotherapy but refused to disclose how he was preparing the lysates with which he treated a great variety of patients. He motivated his refusal with the argument that the method might be discredited if it were used carelessly or uncritically by others before it had been fully tested. The Soviet health authorities took a most liberal attitude and gave him all possible clinical and laboratory facilities to test and develop his method.

"Professor Kazakov expected my visit the day I came. He had invited a large number of his former patients in order to demonstrate them to me. . . . It was a regular circus and made a very bad impression. I had seen miracle cures performed by quacks in other countries. . . . A few years later it was evident that his method was no good and that he was not only a crook but a criminal."

Despite his age, Gorky was hated and feared by the Trotskyites. Sergei Bessonov, the Trotskyite courier, related that as early as July, 1934, Leon Trotsky told him: "Gorky is very intimate with Stalin. He plays an exceptional role in winning sympathy for the U.S.S.R. among the democratic opinion of the world and especially of Western Europe. . . . Our former supporters among the intelligentsia are leaving us very largely under the influence of Gorky. From this I draw the conclusion that Gorky must be put out of the way. Convey this instruction to Pyatakov in the most categorical form; Gorky must be physically exterminated at all costs."

The fascist Russian émigrés and terrorists, who were working with the Nazis, had also placed Gorky on the list of those Soviet leaders they planned to assassinate. The November 1, 1934, issue of Za Rossiyu, the organ of the fascist Russian National League of New Regeneration, published in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, declared: "Kirov in Leningrad must be removed. We must also do away with Kossior and Postyshev in the South of Russia. Brothers, fascists, if you can't get to Stalin, kill Gorky, kill the poet Demyan Bieni, kill Kaganovich. . . ."

Yagoda's motive in murdering Gorky's son, Peshkov, was not only political. Previous to the murder, Yagoda told one of the conspirators that Peshkov's death would be a "heavy blow" to Gorky and would turn him into a "harmless old man." But at his trial in 1938, Yagoda asked permission of the court to refrain from publicly revealing his reasons for having Peshkov killed. Yagoda asked that he be allowed to give this testimony at one of the in camera sessions. The court granted his wish. Ambassador Davies, in his book Mission to Moscow, gives this possible explanation for Peshkov's murder: "Beneath it runs the tale that Yagoda . . . was infatuated with young Gorky's beautiful wife. . . ."



distinguished solely by their outstanding ability to irritate the sensory nerve endings of the eyes, nose, throat and lungs—in much the same way as pepper—even when present in only minute amounts. CS, introduced some ten years ago, is more potent than CN (the old tear gas) and affects the breathing passages as well as the eyes. In spite of its very high effectiveness as an irritant, it is several times safer to use than CN."

CS has been used in Derry and Belfast and will, as the British ruling class finds itself more and more incapable of suppressing the Irish people, no doubt be used again. No doubt, also, that the type of equipment and missile capacity now in possession of the US imperialists is also in the possession of the British capitalist class, and that the twenty-six county caretaker regime in Dublin has access to this weaponry capability and would use it as efficiently as its counterpart in the North. It is inconceivable that this killer gas would have escaped the clutches of the Dublin puppets.

Here again the working class is told a blatant lie. The charred arm of the American soldier should be studied, together with the statistics of death in Vietnam, in particular. Two points must be made. The first is that CS is not a tear but a lung gas, which accounts for "its very high effectiveness". This fact is acknowledged by even reactionary politicians. One example of such an admission appears in the document produced a few months ago entitled "Hearings before the Subcommittee on National Security Policy and Scientific Developments of the Committee on Foreign Affairs House of Representatives. On page thirty-five Richard D. McCarthy, New York State Congressman, states: "Now, as I mentioned, the CS gas is really a lung, not a tear gas". The second point is that CS has replaced CN because the toxic (i.e. lethal) content of CS gas enables it to perform a political function in the interest of the imperialist powers that could not be performed by the old type CN tear gas. Also, because of its low cost (35/- per pound) and the fact that it can be carried in conventional aircraft (albeit with some modification), at least at this stage, and can be fired from conventional guns, including mortars, it has an additional attraction. In the case of Britain, a nation not excluded from the world-wide economic crisis of imperialism, this is particularly helpful and it is only when the switch to chemical (and biological) warfare is grasped that Heath's promise to return to a military presence "East of Suez" can be understood.

Five months before he was murdered by British imperialism, comrade James Connolly, Ireland's greatest revolutionary and patriot, wrote in the Workers Republic: "Let the working class of Ireland note that, whilst working peacefully they may, they must keep constantly before their minds the truth that the British ruling classes are beasts of prey, and cannot be moralised, converted or conciliated, but must be eradicated. They will continue to rob, plunder and murder until confronted by an armed united Irish working class who will also stop at nothing to overthrow them".

The CS, developed at Porton, manufactured in the state's plant at Nancekuke in Cornwall, is taken by rail to the factory of Schemurly Ltd, a Charterhouse subsidiary at Dorking in Surrey. From there it is exported to over sixty countries. Charterhouse has three subsidiaries in Ireland: Charterhouse (Ireland) Ltd., Irish Forest Products Ltd, and Hume Holdings (Ireland) Ltd. Also it has subsidiaries in South Africa. One of Schemurly directors, G.E.D. Bonham Carter, is a close relative of the Bonham Carter, chairman of the Race Relations Board. In Dun and Bradstreet's Guide to Key British Enterprises Schemurly is listed as, among other things, manufacturers of "life-saving equipment".

THE HEROIC IRISH MASSES WILL DEFEAT CS

The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese, which has brought the largest imperialist power in the world to its knees, has set a magnificent example to the peoples of the whole world as they struggle for national liberation and socialism.

Connolly correctly placed supreme faith in the Irish working class, the men of no property, the only class that has never betrayed the interests of the masses of the Irish people to British imperialism, main enemy of the Irish people, north and south, of whatever religion. The Vietnamese have shown that in the new era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to world-wide victory, imperialism, no matter that it may have technical superiority and an outward look of strength, in reality is a paper tiger in the face of the working masses armed with revolutionary politics.

As the Vietnamese have braved CS gas warfare as well as many other weapons of imperialist aggression and plunder, so will the great Irish people also march forward, for, no matter the problems, no matter the sacrifices, no matter the dirty tricks and weapons the imperialists resort to, it is a historical certainty that the Irish people will achieve national liberation, will smash the vile rule of British imperialism and will build a great and glorious united socialist republic of Ireland.

The following drugs, medicines and ointments were used to treat the US soldiers during the Edgewood Arsenal tests: for severe burns, open compresses of cold silver nitrate (1:1000) applied for 1 hr, six times per day. For the most serious case suffering from edema, vesiculation, and discomfort a short course of oral prednisone and overnight applications of basitracin ointment. The larger vesicles were incised. In the case of those involved in the field accident tetanus toxiod, topical bacitracin ointment and Furacin dressings were used.

PORTON DOWN'S SECRET WORK
Dennis Healey, Secretary of State for Defence, denies that secret offensive work is being carried out at Porton and states that the work is, to the contrary only defensive. Again this is a lie. Porton has developed (or been instrumental in the development of) the following chemical war agents over a period of years, some lethal, some not: T (US army code); Sesqui-mustard; Nitrogen mustard; Soman; Adamsite; OCMB; and no doubt others are being worked on at this time in view of world developments.

Political Dictionary

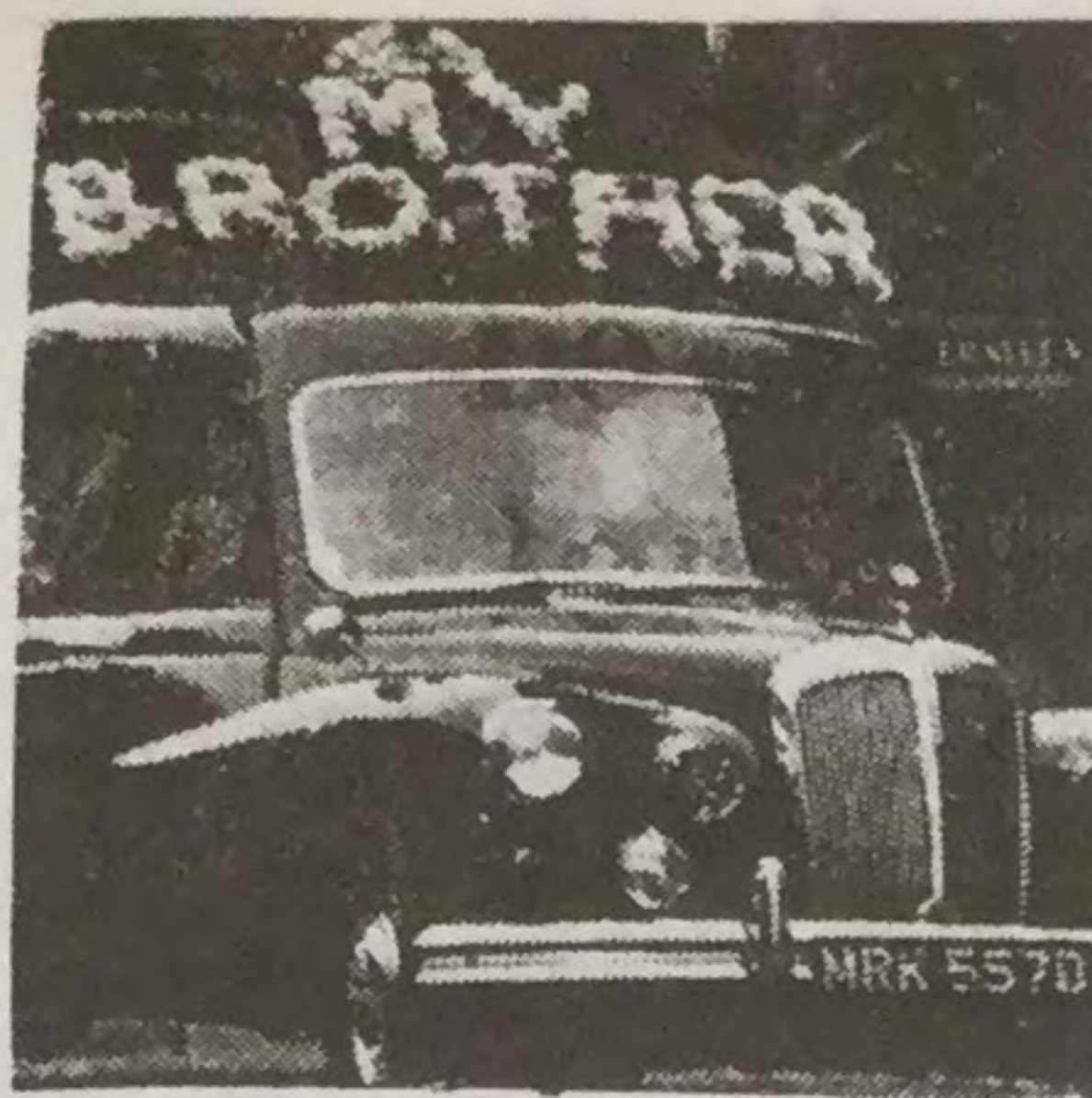
Proletariat

By proletariat is meant the class or modern wage labourers who, having no means of production of their own are reduced to selling their labour-power in order to live.

Bourgeoisie: By bourgeoisie is meant the class of modern capitalists, owners of the means of social production, control and exchange and the employers of labour.

IRISH LIBERATION PRESS

THE PEOPLE CHARGE POLICE WITH MURDER



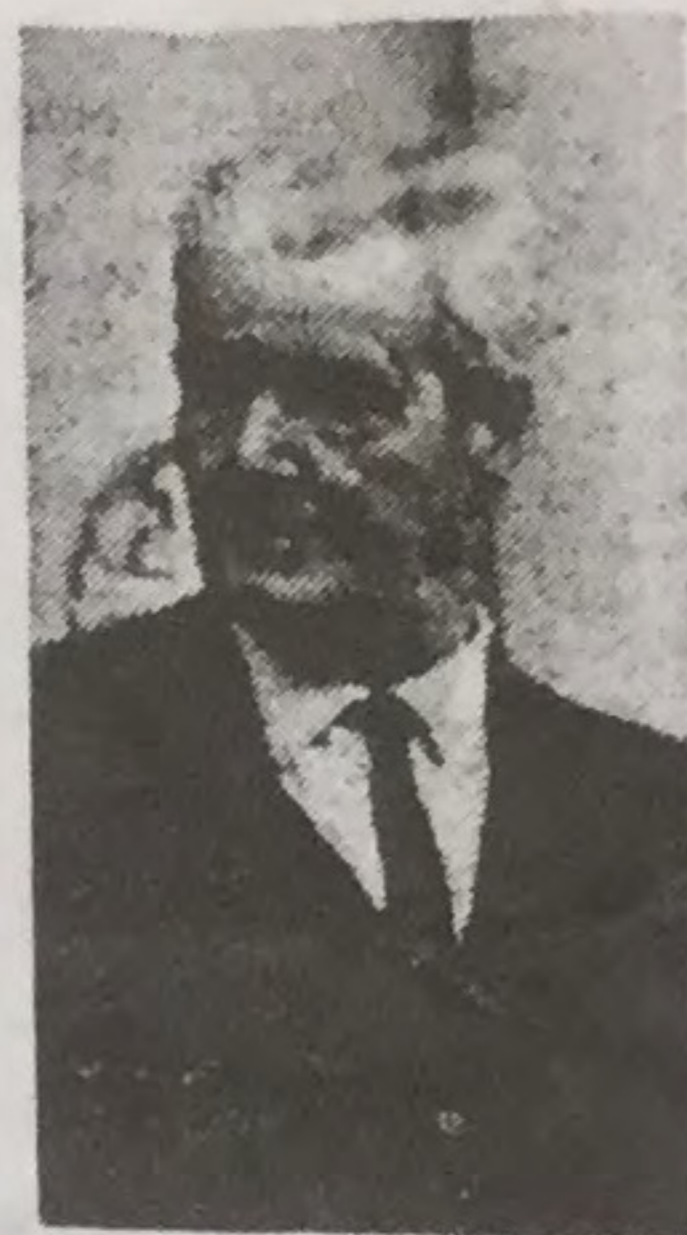
The funeral of 19 year old Stephen McCarthy

The parents of Stephen McCarthy, in conjunction with the Irish National Liberation Solidarity Front and the Black Unity and Freedom Party, are determined to continue their courageous fight to break the ring of conspiracy and silence that has surrounded the death of their 19-year-old son who was brutalized by two policemen on November 16th last. Stephen was walking with friends along Upper Street, Islington on that date when he was set upon by two policemen who put his arms up behind his back and, gripping him by the hair, rammed his head several times against a bus stop. Stephen died as a result of this barbarous act of state violence (see the last issue of this paper for the first full account of the events surrounding his death).

Mr. and Mrs. McCarthy and the brothers and sisters and relatives of Stephen in conjunction with the INLSF and the BUFP



Stephen McCarthy, murdered by two pigs in the prime of his life



Mr. Christopher McCarthy, the dead boy's father



Mrs. Bridget McCarthy, Stephen's mother

(with these two organizations acting under the banner of the Anti-Fascist Revolutionary Co-ordinating Committee of National Minorities) have made public the following statement in a leaflet which is being distributed in tens of thousands in the working class communities in London and other parts of Britain: WE CHARGE 1. Policemen N456 Leonard and N385 Kilshaw with the murder of Stephen McCarthy; 2 Policemen from Upper Street Station, Islington and others with conspiracy and perjury; 3 Coroner Davies with returning a false verdict, i.e. "accidental death"; 4. The Governor of Wormwood Scrubs, Wheeler, with gross negligence contributing to Stephen's death; Maudling, Home Secretary, with conspiracy to cover up a murder.

WE DEMAND: 1. The murderers be held in custody pending trial; 2. Full com-

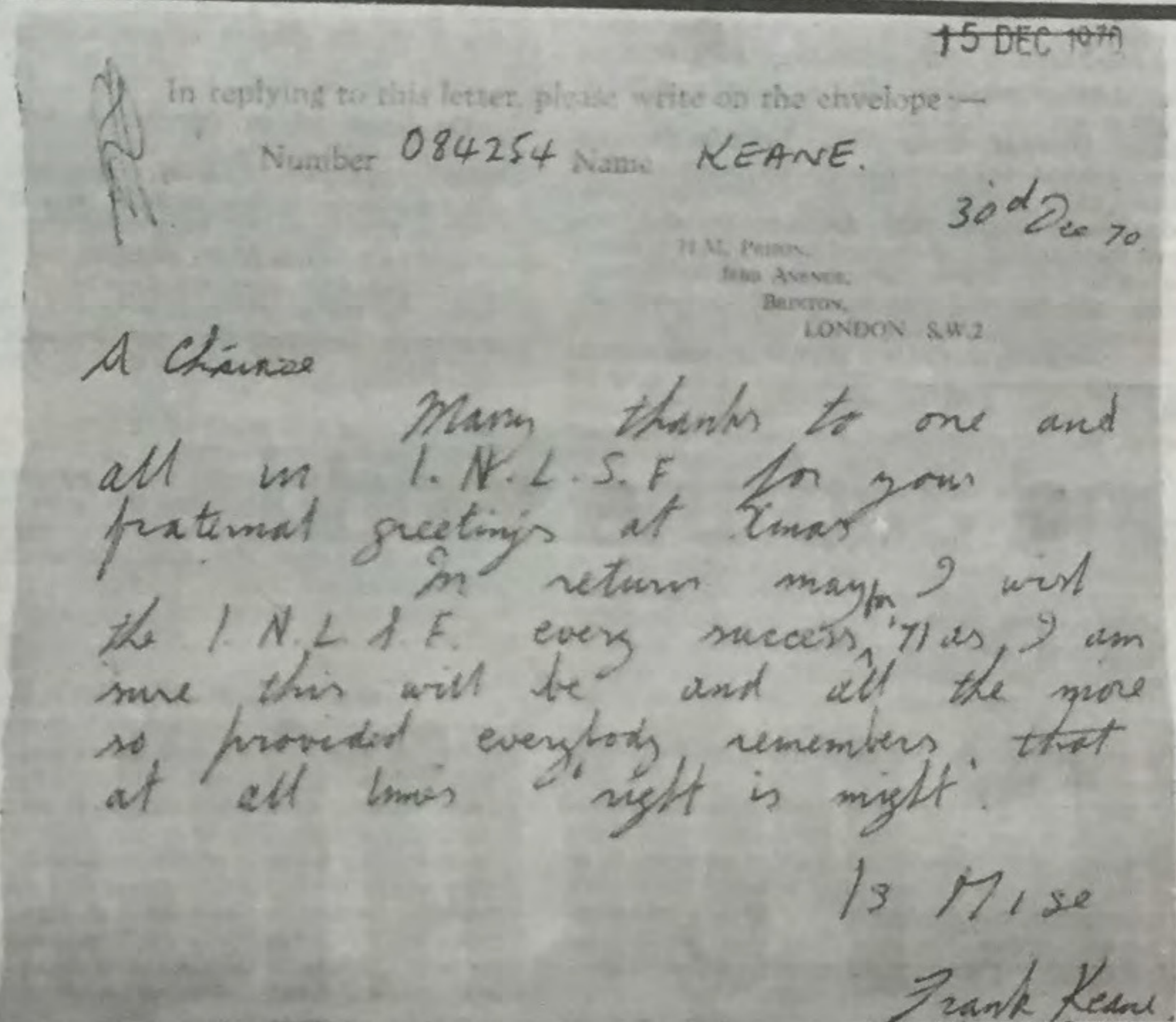
pensation to the McCarthy family for this murder; 3. Access to all medical evidence including the coroner's report; 4. The list of names and addresses of all who have contacted the police regarding this murder; 5. An apology from TV and newspapers for having slandered Stephen McCarthy in their reports.

WE APPEAL: To witnesses and all people interested in breaking the ring of silence surrounding the murder of Stephen McCarthy to get in touch immediately with the following phone number: 01-455-6968.

This campaign should be supported by every worker. Remember, with fascism developing in Britain, unless these ruling class atrocities are exposed, isolated and smashed, it could be you or a member of your family next. GET ORGANIZED NOW!

FREE THESE PATRIOTS NOW!

The campaign being waged by the INLSF for the immediate and unconditional release of all Irish political prisoners in British ruling class jails in this country and in jails throughout Ireland has moved into top gear during the past month or two. Many thousands of copies of Vol. 2 numbers 1 and 2, which gave the working class here in Britain details of the political prisoners and the INLSF campaign, were sold; thousands of stickers with the photographs of six of the prisoners have been put up throughout London and elsewhere; many discussions have been had with workers of all nationalities and colours concerning the imprisonment of these patriots. The response has been very good and more and more workers are coming to understand that it is the INLSF alone that is struggling to free these men. During the coming months the INLSF is planning many demonstrations, pickets and public meetings around this important question. The INLSF Easter campaign is but one of a whole series of activities aimed at mobilizing the working class here in Britain to demand the freeing of these men whose only "crime" it is to want the freedom of Ireland from the rule of British imperialism.



A recent letter to the INLSF from Frank Keane who has since been sent back to face the Dublin henchmen of British imperialism. Frank Roche, the Irish patriot who gave the parliamentary prostitutes who sent CS gas to Ireland a taste of their own medicine, has been sentenced to one

year imprisonment. The day will surely come when it is the real criminals, the Heaths and Wilsons of the ruling class who will find themselves in vans on their way to prisons for the crimes they have committed against the working masses of Ireland, Britain and the world.

STOP PRESS

- ★ Mary McConigle gets house for herself and daughter after struggle with the help of INLSF. (See Vol. 2 No. 1)
- ★ Six black workers shot in Fort Elizabeth, South Africa during demonstration.
- ★ 100th Anniversary of the Paris Commune to be celebrated March 18th.
- ★ Harland & Wolff makes loss of £8,329,770 in 1969. More workers to lose jobs.

IRISH NATIONAL LIBERATION

SOLIDARITY FRONT

BRITISH IMPERIALISM AND ITS AGGRESSOR TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND NOW! RELEASE ALL IRISH POLITICAL PRISONERS NOW! STOP CS GAS WARFARE ATROCITIES NOW! NO INTERNMENTS! VICTORY TO THE STRUGGLE OF THE IRISH PEOPLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION! OUT WITH ALL STOOGES OF IMPERIALISM NORTH AND SOUTH! IRISH POLITICAL POWER GROWS OUT OF THE BARREL OF A GUN! IRISH PEOPLE FORWARD TO VICTORY WITH PEOPLE'S WAR! IRELAND IS ONE, THE IRISH PEOPLE ARE ONE! WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE!

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We are workers just like you. There are no rich backers for this working class newspaper. To the contrary, the ruling class would dearly like to put an end to the Irish Liberation Press. For the workers who produce it this is excellent, for it is good to be hated by your class enemy, as this shows that a clear line of demarcation between the politics of the people and the politics of their enemy has been drawn. Subscriptions really help us out. Please subscribe to the Irish Liberation Press now and support the fight. GET INFORMED AND KEEP INFORMED! SUPPORT THE FIGHT NOW! SUBSCRIBE NOW!

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I (NAME IN BLOCK LETTERS) ..
.....

Title: Irish Liberation Press, Vol. 2, No. 3

Organisation: Irish National Liberation Solidarity Front

Date: 1971

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