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An Analysis of the Significance of the Ulster Workers' Strike

May 14th - 30th, 1974

A Series of Articles from
RED PATRIOT Editorial Staff

**An Analysis
of the
Significance of the
Ulster Workers' Strike**

May 14th - 30th, 1974



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☆☆☆

A QUOTATION FROM THE MANIFESTO OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY

K. MARX & F. ENGELS,
1848

The essential condition for the existence, and for the sway of the bourgeois class, is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage-labour. Wage-labour rests exclusively on competition between the labourers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the labourers, due to competition, by their revolutionary combination, due to association. The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie, therefore, produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.

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"The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

WORKING MEN OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE !"

- The Manifesto of the Communist Party -

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels
1848

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August 27th, 1974

Dublin

Strike of Ulster Workers Deals Severe Blow to the British Monopoly Capitalist Class and Marks Growing Revolutionary Trend amongst Ulster Workers

The recent strike in May this year of Ulster workers dealt a severe blow to the British monopoly capitalist class, as well as to the Irish comprador bourgeoisie north and south. It was also a great step forward for the working class in Ulster, and strengthened their class consciousness, unity and revolutionary sentiment.

The strike represented the rapidly intensifying contradictions throughout the capitalist system in the world today, in which economic crisis is deepening and the monopoly capitalist governments -- the erstwhile superpowers like British imperialism and the present day superpowers -- U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism -- are being thrown out from their old colonies and neo-colonies and are attempting to make the working class at home pay for their sorry economic state. This is forcing the working class of the various countries to unite and launch rigorous struggles to defend their right to live and earn a decent wage. It is also leading the working class into making actual attempts at overthrowing the entire capitalist system, and more and more workers are coming to the conclusion that this is the only way forward and are dedicating themselves to making full scale preparations for this.

The Ulster strike was part of this trend and significantly showed that:

1) There is no part of Britain or Ireland in which there are not basic

and antagonistic contradictions between labour and capital, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The British monopoly capitalist class have long done propaganda that in Ulster there are no class contradictions and that there the workers are 'loyal' to the crown and to the capitalist system. This so-called 'fact' (which has never been a reality) has been held up to the workers throughout Ireland who fight for national independence and socialism in Ireland, and to the working class of Britain who fight for the elimination of the capitalist system, as a reactionary model.

2) British imperialism's sole 'justification' for its military and political interference in the affairs of the Irish people is a complete fallacy, i. e. that the Ulster workers love British imperialism and consider it their greatest ally.

3) The Ulster workers are breaking with British imperialist propaganda on a wide scale and are becoming more and more conscious of the interests of all oppressed sections in Ulster and Ireland as a whole to unite against British imperialism. This is leading them into more and more political and military confrontations with British imperialism.

4) The Ulster workers are also beginning to break with the influence of the comprador bourgeoisie in the north, both of the Fitt, Faulkner section and also the Craig, Paisley and West section and are becoming daily more conscious of their interests as a working class, in direct contradiction with the interests of the Irish bourgeoisie. In this sense the Ulster workers are objectively aligning themselves more and more with the entire working and oppressed people of Ireland against British imperialism and the Irish bourgeoisie north and south.

5) The Ulster workers are more and more realising their power as part of the working class, who when united and organised can definitely defeat the internal bourgeoisie and British imperialism. The relative speed and ease with which the workers of Ulster, by uniting, managed to break British imperialism's plans and bring the bourgeoisie in the north to its knees -- the Assembly section resigning and the non-Assembly section (Paisley, Craig and West) being forced to support the action of the workers or lose all credibility -- greatly inspired the workers. It taught them that the working class itself can achieve various short term reforms and temporary decreases in exploitation by uniting, and that it definitely has the capacity and strength to actually seize state power from the hands of the monopoly capitalist class. More and more workers have directly come forward

to see the need and possibility for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of socialism as a direct result of this.

All these features of the strike are definitely in the interests of the entire working class of Ireland and of Britain and in favour of proletarian socialist revolution, and it is no wonder that the British monopoly capitalist class and the Irish comprador bourgeoisie north and south were so upset by the strike. The British monopoly capitalists through their various mouth pieces -- the Conservative, Labour and Liberal Parties -- resorted to hysterically condemning the strikers, calling them thugs, and 'spongers' and 'not representative of the working people of Ulster' (not that British imperialism was or is itself interested in reflecting the interests of the people of Ulster). They were so affronted by the strike that they retreated in their propaganda to trying to unite the British working class against the Irish people as a whole, unable as they were to use their normal divide and rule logic on the Irish people, which uses one section -- the Ulster workers -- to defeat the desire of the Irish people for national liberation and an end to the capitalist system and all its trappings.

The comprador bourgeois parties in the south -- the Fianna Fail, Fine Gael and Labour Parties -- were equally horrified at the prospects of the growing revolutionary trend in the north, and criticised their British masters, not for the British imperialist interference in Ireland's affairs, but for letting the situation 'get out of hand' and 'go this far', expressing dire concern that they must not let the same thing happen in the south. To this end the compradors in the south have since called for an extra vigilante police force to be established to try and prevent the occurrence of similar situations in the south.

The comprador bourgeoisie in the north fell into great disarray and divisions over the strike and ended up with even greater disunity in their ranks than ever before. The main division was between those who straightforwardly opposed it and those who gave it reluctant support. Faulkner and Fitt, representing the main pro-Assembly section of the bourgeoisie, openly opposed the strike. The SDLP called it a rebellion against the British government and asked for armed intervention against the workers, whilst the Craig, Paisley and West contingents vacillated between opposing it, calling it 'ill-timed' and generally trying to sidestep it at the beginning and later adopted positions of verbal support when they saw that without so doing they would be bound to lose all support.

However all the opposition put up by the bourgeoisie of Britain and Ireland came to no avail, and the workers won their strike. The bourgeoisie of both countries, earnest to maintain the status quo and to continue amassing profits from the backs of the Ulster workers and the Irish working class as a whole, put more and more emphasis on trying to oppose the strike and what it signified by spreading divisive pro-imperialist propaganda within the ranks of the strikers. This they did under the hoax of supporting the strike, thereby aiming to divert the revolutionary sentiments and interests of the workers and turn them into reactionary channels.

The Ulster strike highlighted the fact that the British monopoly capitalists as well as the Irish bourgeoisie are intensifying their attempt to win the workers over to their side and try and divert from within the growing revolutionary and pro-working class trend. A massive struggle between two lines is in fact occurring throughout Ulster, reflecting the fact that whilst the Ulster workers are coming forward more and more to defend and to champion their interests as members of the working class, the inherently revolutionary class that can march ultimately in no direction but proletarian socialist revolution, the Irish bourgeoisie and their British imperialist masters are putting up a life and death struggle to maintain their political influence there, and thus maintain their basic economic interest in Ireland of amassing profits, superprofits and more superprofits.

* * * *

I. BRITISH IMPERIALISM'S INTEREST IN NORTHERN IRELAND

Despite all the propaganda done by the British monopoly capitalist class that its interest in northern Ireland is one of answering the desire of a section of the Irish people to be ruled by British imperialism, nothing could in fact be further from the truth. According to official British imperialist propaganda, the British government is doing the people of northern Ireland a 'favour' by maintaining control of northern Ireland and is spending a lot of money on the people there. (See accompanying article entitled "The British Monopoly Capitalist Class Reaps Superprofits from Ulster Workers and Small Farmers - not Vice Versa: a Reference Article on the Northern Ireland Economy", on p. 37.)

The very nature of British imperialism and the capitalist system on which it is based shows that this propaganda is simply not true. If what British imperialist propaganda said was true, then the nature of British imperialism would be that of a charitable power 'helping' the people of other countries. However nothing could be further from the truth; whilst British imperialist propaganda has on record as claiming such altruistic motives for British imperialism in India, Malaya, Cyprus, Africa and Aden and a host of other countries around the world, the real activities of British imperialism in all these places are marked by bloodshed and exploitation. British imperialism always has been and always will be a blood-thirsty force interested in nothing but the amassing of capital from the exploitation of the land and labour of peoples of other countries and from the labour of its own working class. To defend its assets and maintain and defend these interests it has groomed a massive professional armed force whose sole purpose is the defence of British imperialist profit-making out of the ordinary people. British imperialism never has, and never will of its own accord stop at any amount of violence and murder in order to defend its interests. The nature of British imperialism is a direct result of the nature of the capitalist system, in which a minority parasitical class controls the means of production and amasses capital by hiring the workers, the vast majority, who own nothing but their own labour power, and forces them to work, giving them in return not what they have earned, but a bare minimum necessary to keep the workers alive and able to keep on working for the monopoly capitalists.

British imperialism became a wealthy power by exactly this process of amassing profits from its own work force as well as extending an empire all across the world and subjecting the people of many lands to ruthless and bloody exploitation.

How then could the interest of British imperialism in northern Ireland or any other part of Ireland be so much in favour of the people and as charitable as the British imperialist propaganda machine makes out? In fact the opposite is true and British imperialism's interest in northern Ireland is that it is a strategic area for its economic, political and military interests.

Briefly, the main interests of British imperialism in northern Ireland are as follows:-

1. Direct exploitation of the labour force there. British imperialism has historically controlled all the main industries in northern Ireland and despite the U. S. imperialist attempts to become the main

exploiter in northern Ireland, the British imperialists still retain the dominant control of the economy. Some of these industries are run with such ruthless exploitation by the imperialists that they produce at a very cheap rate, with the workers receiving lower wages than those in Britain, and, in many instances, in the Republic of Ireland too, whilst others are very strategic industries for the production of armaments, ships etc. Agriculture in northern Ireland is totally geared to serving the needs of British imperialism, in such a way that production on the land is dictated by the needs of the British imperialist home market. Because of this all the labour of the small farmers and agricultural labourers goes to serving British imperialist profits.

2. In order to control the industry and agriculture of the whole of Ireland. By partitioning off the north in the 1920s the British imperialists knew full well that they were taking the most highly industrialised section of the country with a very heavily concentrated population of workers. Through controlling the most industrialised area, and bringing the majority of the Irish working class (as it then stood) under its direct control, British imperialism hoped to keep control of the industry and hence control the largely agricultural south.

3. In order to maintain a direct political and military presence in northern Ireland. This is important from the point of view of preventing the Irish people being able to achieve their goals of national independence, and from achieving socialism.

4. As a military base at the strategic east coast-line of the Atlantic. British imperialism has for years been concerned to control Ireland, so as to have military control of the east coast-line of the Atlantic in times of inter-imperialist war. If British imperialism were to relinquish its colonial domination of northern Ireland and the accompanying military presence it is certain that U. S. imperialist military presence would increase in Ireland (U. S. imperialism already has a strategic communications centre in Derry). Thus Ireland, northern Ireland specifically, is being used as a pawn in the superpower politics of the British and U. S. imperialists as well as the Soviet social-imperialists who, in their interest to divide and redivide the world between themselves, use smaller and weaker countries such as Ireland to increase their sphere of influence and military control.

5. To try and divide the Irish people in order to prevent revolution. When British imperialism divided the country in 1922, it divided the bulk of the fairly young Irish working class -- the new revolutionary force that alone would be able to liberate Ireland from British domination -- from the vast majority of the Irish peasantry who for years

had been the bulwark of the revolutionary struggle for national independence. Today British imperialism's rule in Ireland depends on its ability to 'divide and rule'. As long as they can turn one section of the working class against another or at least make them feel that they have completely different interests from one another, British imperialism will be able to maintain its domination. Once the workers north and south realise their common revolutionary interest to determine their own future as one class together, the fate of British imperialism will be sealed. On account of this British imperialism has in the past as well as in the present striven hard to win the political allegiance of the Ulster workers, to make them feel that they can have a good life only through competition with, or at the expense and suppression of the rest of the Irish working class and people. It is also because of this that the British imperialists have been the main propagandists for sectarianism in northern Ireland, in which pursuit they have been accompanied and helped by the Irish bourgeoisie. They also depend on the continued imperialist exploitation of the Irish workers and small farmers north and south for the realisation of their own class interests -- being given a cut in the imperialist profits amassed from the workers, and holding political power in the colonial and neo-colonial regimes.

6. In order to prevent revolution in Britain. British imperialism hopes to keep amassing superprofits out of Ireland and other colonies and neo-colonies in order to keep its profits high. The more these profits are threatened and the more the economic crisis intensifies within British imperialism, the more the British imperialists try to load the entire crisis off onto the backs of the workers at home. This intensifies the wrath of the British working class who launch more struggles against these encroachments of capital, and thus come objectively to stand with the people of the colonies and neo-colonies against the British monopoly capitalist class. But not only is it necessary for the British workers to be objectively standing alongside the peoples of other countries in joint opposition to British imperialism, it is also necessary, in order for the revolutionisation of the British working class to advance, that the British workers consciously go against the position of the British imperialist bourgeoisie. Instead of looking at its future from the point of view of supremacy over the rest of the world, the British working class must consciously, politically and deliberately associate with the people of the colonies and neo-colonies as comrades -in-arms on a completely equal basis, not fighting for advantage at the expense of the people of other countries but fighting together for the destruction of monopoly capitalism and for socialism. As long as British imperialism can there-

fore confuse what is going on in Ireland, i.e. confuse the British workers that this is not a just struggle for national independence and self-determination but a directionless, religious and narrow nationalist war, then they hope the British working class will, instead of advancing, never associate their own interests directly with those of the Irish people. As long as they can confuse this question they hope that both the Irish people's struggle will be damaged by losing the support of the British workers, and the British workers will instead of advancing their revolutionary consciousness, remain to that extent under the ideological and political sway of the bourgeoisie.

However, life has never been as smooth as the imperialists would like it and the Ulster workers have never succumbed to playing British imperialism's projected role for them. The history of the Ulster workers shows just the opposite, that despite times when imperialist propaganda was high and revolution suffered temporary setbacks, the inevitable trend of history always brought the workers of Ulster again and again into battle with imperialism and the internal bourgeoisie and to take up a revolutionary stand. Likewise the British workers, despite the propaganda efforts and financial crumbs offered as bribes by the British monopoly capitalist class have never given up fighting for revolution and again and again have come up in the past as at present to support the Irish people and their struggle.

The British imperialists' propaganda that the Ulster workers and the British workers should consider their interests as one with imperialism wears thin at times of great revolutionary disorder and severe economic crisis. More and more workers can see that they have in fact nothing in common with the British imperialists whose sole interest in the Ulster workers is to economically exploit them and use them to achieve their political goal of suppressing the entire Irish working class or in the case of the British working class, to exploit them and use them to exploit the people of the rest of the world.

In the world of today, there is great revolutionary disorder and the superpowers are no longer able to exert their hegemony around the globe, without having to face massive opposition as nations and working and oppressed people stand up all over the world to assert their right to control their own lands and their own future. Today nations want liberation, countries want independence and people want revolution; this is an irresistible trend. Revolution is the main trend in the world today! The Ulster workers' strike shows that despite the frenzied attempts of the British imperialists, the world's once most powerful imperial force, despite all its propaganda to divide the workers, and despite its superior force,

the workers of Ulster are going to participate in proletarian socialist revolution, are going to unite with their fellow Irish workers to settle matters with the British imperialists; the British working class is going to throw off the mantle of the imperialists and organise for revolution itself, and the British and Irish workers and people are going to unite for the complete defeat of British monopoly capitalism and the establishment of two friendly, equal and neighbourly socialist states!

* * *

II. IN THE ULSTER STRIKE TWO LINES REPRESENTING TWO ANTAGONISTIC CLASS INTERESTS CONTEND FOR INFLUENCE, BUT REVOLUTION IS THE MAIN TREND.

The British imperialist class and the comprador bourgeoisie in the north of Ireland, unable to deal with or arrest the growing revolutionary trend amongst the workers in Ulster, which was only too clearly manifested by the strike, are resorting to other means by which to try and divert this revolutionary trend and protect their strategic interests. One of the main methods through which they have tried to divert the workers has been through their various representatives and agents who under the guise of supporting the strike and backing the workers' cause are in fact actively working to direct it along pro-imperialist channels. This contention of interests between the British imperialist bourgeoisie and the Irish comprador bourgeoisie on the one hand and the workers of Ulster and the whole of Ireland on the other is marked by a fierce struggle in the political arena as to which policies, programmes and strategies should the Ulster workers adopt to serve their interests? Which system, capitalism or socialism, will serve their interests? With whom should they ally -- the Irish working class and people and the British working class or with the British monopoly capitalist class and their colonial and neo-colonial puppets in Ireland? Which way for Ulster -- with the Irish working class to socialism and national independence or with the British imperialists to exploitation and monopoly capitalism -- is the central issue facing the people of Ulster today. As more workers make their answers felt in the practice of opposing British imperialism and developing and strengthening their class unity through revolutionary struggle, and as more and more workers come out to express their independence from the political parties of imperialist capital and the

internal bourgeoisie, the two lines and two ways forward are becoming daily clearer and the bourgeoisie daily more frenzied. In the recent July 12th demonstrations in northern Ireland for example, the Reverend Martin Smyth, Grand Master of the Orange Order and a Vice-President of the Official Unionist Party, expressed the concern of the bourgeoisie for the growing influence of socialist ideology amongst the people as follows:-

"Many of us were ready to acknowledge its ('international communism') presence in Republican associations. Too few of us recognised its power in loyalist circles."

In a vain attempt to try and counter this growing revolutionary awareness in the Ulster workers, the National Front, the Ulster bourgeoisie (Craig, Paisley and West section), the SDLP and a fascist grouping calling itself the British and Irish Communist Organisation have been trying to work their way into the good books of the Ulster workers and misdirect their struggle.

The National Front, that organisation of cowardly fascist elements, financed by big capital and nurtured by the British bourgeois parties -- Labour and Conservative alike for use when normal bourgeois parliamentary methods fail to halt the tide of revolution in Britain, has been one of the most earnest to execute their masters' interest and mislead the strike and the Ulster workers. The National Front applauded themselves for supporting the strike as

an example of allegiance to the British Crown, i.e. to British imperialism, and as a manifestation of "spiritual protestantism", "Ulsterness", "Britishness" and various other spiritual characteristics all reminiscent of Hitler's concept of the spiritual qualities of the Aryan race. The National Front tried to oppose the Ulster workers' strike in the name of supporting it by disclaiming the realities of the situation and the real problems and demands of the people and attributing the entire strike to people fighting for a 'spiritual goal'. It was in the name of the 'spiritual purity' of the Aryan race that Hitler justified the mass murder of the Jewish people in Germany, and it is the last desperate resort of the British monopoly capitalists to resort to people's 'spiritual Britishness' as the only plank left to try and win the Ulster workers and other workers in support of British monopoly capitalism. The National Front thereby interpreted the opposition to the Council of Ireland as a stand to preserve the people's "Britishness", and dismissed the concrete opposition to British imperialism's interference in Ireland's internal affairs as epitomised by Sunningdale as opposition to this British government in particular but not to British imperialism in general.

The National Front has been working to establish a branch in northern Ireland and establish links in the UDA and UVF, but have met utter contempt from the majority of people who have refused to ally with them and have gained support from only a few, most backward and reactionary elements.

The SDLP although verbally and in every other way coming out against the Ulster workers' strike did so in the name of the so-called 'catholic working class'. They claimed to be speaking in the interests of the 'catholic working class' for example when they called for the British imperialist army to be turned on to the Ulster workers, using their social democratic logic that then there would be 'fairness' and everyone would be exploited and murdered equally. This shows that the SDLP are institutionalised supporters of British imperialist exploitation of the Irish people and their armed suppression, and rather than wanting to remove that exploitation they only want everyone to suffer from it equally. This is the 'equality' that the social democrats are advocating for the working people! The SDLP thus reflect all the propaganda of British imperialism to divide and rule, run scuttling around at the gun points and boots of their masters saying, 'master, don't forget to exploit and rob here' or 'murder' here or else there will not be equality. Trends like SDLP are responsible for actively encouraging the divide and rule logic amongst the people, rather than advocating that everyone, no matter whether they are more or less exploited, should unite to oppose British imperialism and the capitalist system. The SDLP advocate dividing the people on the basis of 'who is exploited most' and then starting a fight between those who are so-called exploited most and those who are so-called exploited less at any one time. This entire logic just fosters the divide and rule attempts made by the British imperialists and tries to turn workers against one another on the basis of competition for houses, wages etc. In fact the entire people of northern Ireland are basically exploited as wage slaves in industry who do not control their own production, or as small farmers who are forced to work for British imperialism. Regardless of unevenness in wages, standards of living etc. from one section of workers to another, the basic feature of all the people is that they are economically exploited by British imperialism. Thus the people have a common bond around which to unite and eliminate the central problem of British imperialist and capitalist exploitation. By raising such slogans as 'equal rights for catholics' and 'equal houses for catholics' and now 'use the guns of British imperialism equally on the protestants as on the catholics', the SDLP have carried out a pernicious campaign to intensify

competition between the people in order to prevent them from UNITING AROUND THEIR BASIC CLASS INTEREST.

The Craig, Paisley and West section of the bourgeoisie have been most active in trying to mislead the workers. This is for two reasons: firstly, to serve their imperialist masters whom, although they may many times denounce and criticise, they basically support and believe in; and secondly, in their interest to maintain their political credibility and to be sure to get elected so that they can persist in their policies of colluding with British imperialism to exploit the workers in northern Ireland.

At the beginning of the strike Craig, Paisley and West were the last people to applaud the workers because what they fear more than anything else is the workers taking the question of political power into their own hands, organising themselves and having done with the bourgeoisie. During the strike they were literally told on what basis the workers would have anything to do with them, and were forced to accept. During and since the strike their influence and ties with the working class have weakened still further; their ideas have again and again been turned down or discredited and they have been relegated in the main to 'elected representatives' who if they want to keep their seats must represent exactly what the workers say or lose their support and thereby ultimately their seats. It is not a matter of whether Craig, Paisley and West have agreed to this but that they have no choice but to make definite concessions to the workers if they wish to retain any political credence. . Even this minimal use which the workers are putting them to will definitely be done away with before long as more and more workers see the necessity to join with the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist), the only party based uncompromisingly on the interests of the proletariat.

The class interest of these groupings is reflected in the pro-imperialist, pro-capitalist, anti-working class and anti-socialist ideas and views which they use to try and influence the workers. On all major issues there is fierce contention going on between the lines and policies reflecting the interests of these sections of the imperialist or comprador bourgeoisie and between the lines and policies which reflect the interests of the working class.

The main overall attempt made by the bourgeoisie during the strike was to suggest that the struggle against British imperialist interference through the Sunningdale Agreement was just against a particular wrong done by an otherwise correct system to the people of Ulster, and to suggest that the Ulster workers uniting to oppose this was synonymous with sectarianism and opposition to the unity with the Irish

workers. In short the bourgeois forces claiming support for the strike did so on the basis of the Ulster workers fighting for advantage against the rest of the Irish workers and fighting to maintain some 'privilege'. For example:-

- 1) The bourgeoisie tried to suggest that opposition to the Council of Ireland was in opposition to uniting with the Irish workers, whereas for the majority of Ulster workers opposition to the Council of Ireland was opposition to British imperialist imposed dictates on how their life should be run. The Ulster workers having had quite enough from British imperialism and their own colonial bourgeoisie were against having the neo-colonial bourgeoisie from the south brought into the arena as well, and this is all that the Council of Ireland represents.
- 2) The forces of the bourgeoisie inside the strike tried hard to make out that the strike was essentially pro-British and was fighting for a mere adjustment of the terms of colonial exploitation and not that the workers were reflecting their basic anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist sentiments. This line in fact reflects very clearly the interests of the comprador bourgeoisie of the Craig, Paisley and West section who would like to use the growing unrest amongst the working people to further their own ends of getting more reward out of the British imperialists for running the capitalist system and exploiting the workers. In other words they would like a bigger share of the profits reaped from the labour of the very workers whom they claim to represent. Craig, Paisley and West and the National Front all tried to suggest that the problem was merely to get rid of Sunningdale and get some more freedom within the colonial system, and thus try to divert the workers from overall opposition to British imperialism.
- 3) In this context the comprador bourgeoisie also desperately, but to little avail, tried to turn the strike into a narrow Ulster nationalist strike in which there was opposition to British imperialism but complete unity between the workers and bourgeoisie of Ulster for 'Ulster's sake'. In fact despite their efforts during the strike and for a long period of time to cultivate such apparently a-class but in practice bourgeois nationalism, their efforts have worn very thin and achieved very little results, and the strike did more than anything to drive a wedge between the Ulster bourgeoisie and the Ulster workers. The strike was not, despite the attempts of the bourgeoisie and the propaganda efforts of the imperialists, a narrow nationalist and pro-capitalist strike, but was militantly anti-capitalist and against narrow nationalism as far as the majority of workers were concerned.
- 4) The Craig, Paisley and West factions of the comprador bourge-

oisie and the National Front on behalf of British monopoly capitalism tried as a final resort to rally the Ulster workers on the basis of opposition to and advantage over the rest of the Irish working class. The National Front suggested that one of the points of the strike was to retain the 'Britishness' of the Ulster workers, keeping them pure from the southern workers in the Irish Republic, whilst Paisley and Co. kept up their backward sectarian propaganda against the 'roman catholics' and the 'backward forces of republicanism'. The desperate appeal made by these elements to try and split the working force came to little avail and in fact met with growing opposition as the workers saw more and more the strength of the united and organised force of the working class. Despite attempts to make the strike sectarian, and despite British imperialist propaganda to make it sectarian, the vast majority of workers had a strong desire to prevent sectarianism and to win the support of all Irish workers. Sectarianism, the ideas of dividing the working class, are only of benefit to the bourgeoisie to keep the workers divided and therefore exploited by the capitalist system. These ideas are of no use to the working class and every time the working class in northern Ireland has broken out into revolutionary storms the first bourgeois appendage to go has been the ideas of sectarianism.

5) The Ulster strike represented a serious lesson in class warfare to the Irish working class, and through the course of it the Ulster workers especially learnt the necessity to unite, learnt the necessity for organisation and the power of the strike weapon. However, desperate to try and prevent the Ulster workers from directly associating themselves with the massive strike wave passing throughout Ireland and Britain, the National Front, comprador bourgeoisie and other such forces all attempted to minimise the significance of the strike and make out that it was something entirely different. A 'constitutional stoppage' in favour of the 'British Constitution', 'against violence' etc. was how it was described, and it is no wonder for until recently the British imperialists and their hatchet men in northern Ireland had been boasting of the 'excellent industrial relations record' in northern Ireland and had been taking full advantage of this to get as much profits out of the workers as possible, and were thus earnest to prevent the Ulster workers exercising the power of the united strike action of the working class.

6) The comprador bourgeoisie of northern Ireland and the British imperialists vehemently attempted to oppose the growing interest in socialism and communism which developed before, during and since the strike, and the fact that the strike represented the revolutionary

and progressive trend in the world today and instead tried to push anti-communism in the strike. The National Front went as far as saying that the strike represented the trend of loyalty to British imperialism and opposition to the forces of international communism and revolutionary nationalism. Nothing could be further from the truth, and it is significant that the National Front who represent the most backward, decadent and parasitical forces of British imperialism should clutch onto the retrogressive, dying and least prominent ideas in the strike like a drowning man clutching at a straw. What is important in the world is what is new and revolutionary and coming into being, because that is what will shape the future; what is least important is what has been dominant, but is now dying, retrogressive and counter-revolutionary, because it is just a matter of time before it is completely eliminated once and for all.

Revolutionary, not reactionary ideas, ideas of unity, not disunity, ideas of class and national struggle not class collaboration and national suppression, are what characterised the strike of Ulster workers and are what represent the growing trend in Ulster and throughout Ireland today.

* * *

III. THE REVISIONIST BETRAYAL OF THE IRISH PROLETARIAT AND ITS EFFECT ON THE ULSTER WORKERS.

Whilst the bourgeoisie would like to oppose the strike and growing revolutionary upsurge in the Ulster workers, and at best try to divert in the name of supporting it, various left-wing trends are suggesting that a revolutionary upheaval in Ulster is 'unusual', or that the strike does not represent the growth of revolution but of fascism. Both of these interpretations are completely wrong and reflect either narrow nationalism, Irish bourgeois nationalism -- i. e. the nationalism perpetuated by the imperialists that national independence is not the revolutionary demand of all the people but just the demand for some reform on the part of one section of the people and bourgeoisie -- or a dogmatic and one-sided application of Marxism-Leninism.

Ulster has in fact in the past been a centre of revolution. During the 16th to 18th centuries it witnessed some of the most militant peasant rebellions in the whole of Ireland, and indeed it was partly because it was the centre of revolution in Ireland at that time that the

English colonialists went out of their way to establish the most rigorous plantation in Ulster and create maximum division amongst the native Irish peasantry and the Scots Presbyterians which they brought in after forcing them off their lands in Scotland. However despite the attempts of the English colonialists, the peasantry of native and Scots origin inevitably began to unite and launched joint struggles and in 1798 fought side by side under the leadership of the United Irishmen led by Wolfe Tone and Henry Joy McCracken and others who were themselves Ulster Presbyterians. The 1798 rebellion led by the United Irishmen went down in history as the most valiant and widescale attempt by the peasantry led by the emerging national bourgeoisie to establish independence for Ireland and it met with merciless opposition and brutal suppression from the colonialists.

Later on in the time of the formation of the working class and the development of the trade unions the Belfast workers played a very active role with the workers of the rest of Ireland and in the early 20th century it was the Belfast workers who launched massive strike struggles in the docks, backed by a strike in the Royal Irish Constabulary in Belfast; strikes which were followed by the Wexford Strike in 1911 and the General Lockout in Dublin in 1913. Throughout the 1920s, 30s and 40s, the Ulster workers united in their class organisations -- the trade unions -- and waged massive struggles against exploitation, against unemployment and against the imperialist war effort. The advanced elements, with the founding of the Communist Party of Ireland in 1921, played a vigorous and active role in building the communist movement throughout Ireland. History therefore shows that the workers of Ulster are not -- as suggested -- some peculiar brand of workers but like all workers are inherently revolutionary and against the capitalist system and are inevitably forced into class struggle against capitalism and the capitalist system. As Karl Marx pointed out long ago: "The working class is revolutionary or it is nothing", and with this profound statement highlighted the fact that the working class through the very nature of its economic and social position in society, as wage slaves owning nothing but their labour power, are given no choice but to resist capital and its continuous attacks on labour, or be reduced to mere slavery and even starved out of existence. Because of these continuous and unabated attacks on the workers by capital and because of the necessity for the workers to resist, the workers inevitably learn to unite and to organise themselves into trade unions as defence organisations. However the repeated attacks of the capitalist system and the revealing of its nature to the workers also inevitably leads the workers to make actual attempts to overthrow the capitalist system, and leads the ad-

vanced workers therefore into the question of politics and building an independent workers' party -- the Communist Party. This inevitable process is a result of the actual contradictions inherent in the capitalist system and the social conditions and status of the working class. The workers of Ulster are no exception! And this is true despite the fact that the Ulster workers are subjected to the most continuous barrage from imperialism and the comprador bourgeoisie aimed at turning them into an Irish labour aristocracy, and using them as pawns in the imperialist strategy of domination of Ireland. Despite all this the workers of Ulster have risen up time and again to demand revolution, to unite with their class brothers and to espouse communism and put an end to all systems of exploitation of man by man.

Where then does this propaganda emanate from that the Ulster workers are 'not usually revolutionary' or are 'reactionary' or that the strike was fascist?

The centre for this reactionary and non-Marxist thinking is to be found in modern revisionism and in the modern revisionist betrayal of the Ulster working class and the whole working class of Ireland. The politics of modern revisionism are not left-wing politics but are a direct extension of the politics of the bourgeoisie into the working class for the sole purpose of propagandising the view that socialism can be achieved by parliamentary means and with the bourgeoisie left in power. It is the modern revisionists who are responsible for spreading reactionary ideas in the name of communism and creating confusion on all the major issues facing the working class movement in various left-wing and progressive circles.

The modern revisionists took over the Communist Party of Ireland systematically from the mid-1930s on and by the late 1940s and early 1950s turned the Communist Party into an extension of the bourgeoisie amongst the working class to preach class collaboration, national subjugation, the peaceful road to socialism, etc. and doing all in their power to oppose the working class organising to seize political power. It was not until 1970 that the betrayal of the modern revisionists was exposed and repudiated and the Party refounded as the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) on correct proletarian lines, with strict adherence to Marxism-Leninism - Mao Tsetung Thought and based solely on the interests of the working class of Ireland and all other oppressed Irish people, and on proletarian internationalism.

The takeover of the Party by the modern revisionists had caused serious setbacks all over Ireland in the struggles of the people, attempting to lead the youth and students into the acceptance of the de-

generate imperialist culture, and using their leading roles in the working class movement to promote class collaboration in the economic struggle of the workers and to alliance with the bourgeois political parties instead of strengthening of an independent working class party. They also tried and mislead the fishermen and small farmers and businessmen along the same path. This deadlock in the struggles was broken by the militant and revolutionary rise of the youth and student struggles in the 1960s led by the Internationalists (who later led the refounding of the Communist Party). One of the main betrayals of the revisionists was to give up fighting for national liberation and independence and to oppose the armed struggle for an independent Ireland. Thus when they wormed their way into Sinn Fein in the early 1960s the first thing they did was to sell the guns and advocate the parliamentary road to national independence. In Ulster the modern revisionists stopped doing any propaganda whatsoever for national independence and instead led the line of peaceful coexistence with British imperialist domination of Ireland. On the economic front the genuine Communists had, before the revisionist betrayal, fought militantly for the workers, but under the influence of the modern revisionist line the erstwhile communists systematically betrayed the workers' interest in the trade unions as well, preaching class collaboration, faith in imperialism and failing to unite workers on a militant class basis in the trade unions. It is with these policies that the revisionists have deliberately left the workers completely at the mercy of the imperialist and comprador bourgeois propaganda in the national arena as well as in the trade unions. It is because of their betrayal of the workers on the front of fighting for national independence that the workers in Ireland and especially those in Ulster -- whom the bourgeoisie regard as so strategically important -- have been left completely open to the pro-British imperialist and narrow Ulster nationalist propaganda of British imperialism and the compradors. The Party which should have militantly stood up for the interests of the Irish people to self-determination is the very Party which in fact first of all preached peaceful coexistence with imperialist propaganda and in the last decade or so has actually gone right over to advocating openly pro-British imperialist propaganda. For example the modern revisionists in the Communist Party of Great Britain claim that the British troops must be kept in Ireland, and the modern revisionists in the Communist Party of Ireland openly call on the British imperialist government to solve the problems in the north of Ireland and grant a so-called Bill of Rights to 'bring Northern Ireland democracy up to the level of British democracy'. During the strike the complete and utter betrayal of the revisionists was marked by their appeal to the British imperialists to use their troops

against the Ulster workers, thus echoing the sentiments of the old revisionists, the descendants of Kautsky -- the Social Democratic and Labour Party.

Again it was the capitulation of the very Party which should have fought for the workers on the economic front, to strengthen their trade unions and resist the attacks of capital, that systematically betrayed the workers. In fact it is the modern revisionists who actively appeal for British imperialist and other imperialist industry to come to northern Ireland to exploit the workers under the hoax of 'supplying jobs'. This shows that the modern revisionists have altogether given up organising the workers for revolution and the seizure of state power. In the trade unions, instead of uniting the workers on the basis of economic exploitation whilst also fighting for revolutionary proletarian politics amongst the workers, the modern revisionists have treacherously betrayed the interests of the working class by claiming that there should be no politics in the trade unions. This is nothing but a shameless trick and subterfuge for leaving the bourgeoisie free to propagate their ideas amongst the workers in the trade unions but giving the proletariat no right to represent proletarian politics in the trade unions. Over these last three decades then the revisionists used the wide acclaim and support the genuine Communist Party used to enjoy amongst the workers to systematically sell out the workers, weaken their defence organisations and completely take over the proletarian party. The modern revisionists are responsible for the betrayal of the working class by leaving the working class completely open to bourgeois politics and providing no leadership to the workers to oppose the politics and propaganda of British imperialism and the Irish comprador bourgeoisie. It is not the workers of Ulster who should be labelled 'right wing', 'reactionary' etc. but the so-called leaders of the working class -- the modern revisionist leaders of the "Communist" Party of Ireland.

In every country there is a life and death struggle to win the majority of the workers by the bourgeoisie and by the proletariat. In capitalist countries it is the bourgeoisie who are forever trying to win the workers' support for capitalism and stop them uniting for revolution. In socialist countries the bourgeoisie continuously tries to re-establish itself in power by trying to win the support of the working class. This life and death struggle therefore occurs under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and continues under the dictatorship of the proletariat when the workers have seized state power, and in fact continues all the way through to communism when the conditions for the existence of the bourgeoisie are completely eliminated. It is the revisionists' desire, as an arm of the bourgeoisie in the working

class movement, to prevent the proletariat from winning this battle and to ensure victory for the bourgeoisie. This is exactly the role they have been trying to play in northern Ireland, but it is certain that with the growing revolutionary awareness amongst the working class and with the refounding and regrowth of the genuine Communist Party -- the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) -- it is just a matter of time before their treachery is recovered from and they are exposed in the people's ranks and removed from the head of the people's movement. It is shameful therefore to look at the revisionists' comments about the Ulster strike, their open claim that the strike was fascist, that it was against the trade union movement, and their participation in the 'back to work' march to fight for the 'right to work' against the striking majority of Ulster workers. The modern revisionists treacherously blame the workers for standing together and taking a militant stand despite the betrayal they have suffered at the hands of their so-called leaders. They accuse the strikers of breaking the trade union movement whereas it is they who have for years weakened the fighting spirit of the trade unions and left them wide open to bourgeois politics. Now that the workers have sat together to try and find a more militant and revolutionary way forward, albeit though they formed a separate headquarters from the national trade union headquarters, instead of applauding the revolutionary sentiment of the workers and providing leadership so that this militancy would lead to the strengthening of the trade union movement as the genuine class organisations of the proletariat, the modern revisionists echoed the horror and disgust of the British imperialist class and condemned the strike as fascist. They arrogantly claimed that they were the only genuine trade unionists whilst all the workers on strike were not, whilst they were the people who formed the bulk of the 'back to work' movement under the slogan of the 'right to work'.

It is the modern revisionists in the "Communist" Party of Ireland who are responsible for betraying the revolutionary interests of the Ulster workers, just as they have betrayed the revolutionary sentiments of the entire Irish working class, just as the modern revisionists in the 'Communist' Party of Great Britain have betrayed the interests of the British working class, and just as the Khrushchevite revisionists betrayed the people of the world and turned the glorious socialist state of Lenin and Stalin, of the Russian workers and peasants,

into a social-fascist state based on capitalism and imperialism. The modern revisionists will have to pay for their crimes; it was with the utter contempt for the people that they have buried the revolutionary proletarian line of the genuine Communists as epitomised by the following statements from "Workers' Republic", organ of the Communist Party of Ireland:-

"The first step to the attainment of Communism in Ireland will be the establishment of a United Workers' Republic of Ireland. On the achievement of this step, the initial method of completely uniting the Irish working class with the other emancipated peoples for the better development of their common economic, political and social interests will be the voluntary formation of a Socialist Federation of Workers Republics of Ireland and Great Britain. The common co-ordinated struggle of the Irish and British working class against their imperialist and domestic exploiters before and after the accession of the proletariat to power will be, and is, the only solution to the so-called "age-long Irish question". The struggle for Irish national emancipation can only succeed in the form of the struggle of the working class for social emancipation; only the victory of the Irish working class can achieve the long-fought-for national independence. At the same time, the creation of a Workers Republic for the whole of Ireland will unite the working class of the North and South of Ireland in a class-struggle against their common exploitation by the financial and industrial kings of Belfast and Dublin, thereby obtaining the real unity of Ireland and disposing forever of the so-called "Ulster problem". The rigorous prosecution of the class-war is the only solution to the two outstanding Irish political problems."

(from "Provisional Programme of the Communist Party of Ireland", "Workers Republic", June 9, 1923)

"'Unity of Ireland' on a capitalist basis can only mean the worsening of the conditions of the workers and agricultural labourers. The only 'Unity of Ireland' which will benefit the workers, agricultural labourers and poor farmers is unity at the expense of the capitalist exploiters, by means of a Workers and Peasants Republic. Such unity does not mean worse social services for the workers, nor greater taxation for the poor farmers, but expropriation of the capitalists, distribution of the land to the poor farmers, and the creation of a socialist commonwealth".

(from "Workers Republic", August 16, 1930)

The modern revisionists overthrew and buried the genuinely revolutionary line of the Communist Party in Ireland under the hoax that the workers did not want revolution, and it is with the utter contempt for the people and enthusiasm for imperialism that they have now come out to label the Ulster workers as fascist and call for the British imperialist troops to be used to massacre even more Irish people.

DEATH TO MODERN REVISIONISM !

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IV. ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM IN THE ULSTER WORKERS' STRIKE - ECHOING THE REVISIONIST MYTHS AND CONTRIBUTING TO DISUNITY AMONGST THE WORKERS.

As a direct result of the confusion surrounding the betrayal and class collaboration by the modern revisionists of the Ulster workers, various progressive, nationalist and left-wing trends have come forward to preach that the Ulster workers' strike was 'fascist' and to create open propaganda for a divided working class in exactly the way British imperialism would desire. On the 'left' these trends can be described as anarcho-syndicalists, who whilst claiming to be Marxist, instead of working to rectify the situation left by the modern revisionists and strengthening the unity of the workers on a revolutionary basis, actually INSTITUTIONALISE the divisions amongst the workers in the name of opposing modern revisionism. There is nothing the British imperialists would like better than to have the Irish people permanently divided into the Ulster workers and the 'rest' on the basis of support for British imperialism and partition, or opposition to these.

For example:

1. Various 'left' trends that claim to be Marxist called the strike fascist and labelled the entire Ulster workers as fascist. The conclusion which these elements then come to is that one section of the Irish working class is inherently revolutionary whilst the other is not. How did the basic motives and interests of the Ulster workers somehow or other irreversibly turn into fascist and reactionary, pro-imperialist interests? The 'left' wingers do not explain. From this entirely superficial and divisive analysis these 'left' groups can only draw one conclusion: that the Irish people are forever divided and that the only way to organise is just to organise half of the people and to oppose the rest. These people fail to see that the Ulster workers

are at one and the same time so strategically important to British imperialism, and such a revolutionary force that it is largely on the success or failure of mobilising them that the continued British imperialist domination of Ireland rests. Likewise if the genuine revolutionaries want to work for the cause of the entire Irish people for national self-determination and socialism their success also depends on their ability to arouse and mobilise the Ulster workers, unite the entire working class and oppressed people of Ireland and mobilise them around the Communist Party. By making such a superficial and one-sided analysis these left-wing trends in fact relegate the Ulster workers to a life of domination by imperialism and capitalism and the Irish people to national subjugation, by making the cardinal mistake of echoing and not opposing the divide and rule logic of the British imperialists.

2. Various sections of the 'left' -- a growing section -- faced with the revolutionary wave sweeping through the Ulster workers have been forced to acknowledge that there must be "something revolutionary" in the Ulster workers' movement. These sections however, instead of reexamining their basic theory and approach, which is to draw perceptual conclusions, to consider the temporary influence of the bourgeoisie on the workers as basic and permanent, and to declare one large section of the Irish working class as not inherently revolutionary in the way that Marx pointed out all workers were, move to the other extreme. That is, to maintain the good old British imperialist 'divide and rule' logic and to declare that in fact the Ulster workers are revolutionary whilst everybody else in Ireland is not. In recent propaganda from the revisionist-backed Official I. R. A. the papers declared the strike as fascist on one page and 'better than the Provisionals' on the other (another way of dividing the people), and a few weeks later declared that the Ulster workers have now become more revolutionary than the Irish working class in the south and have 'learnt more from the Civil Rights campaign'. Again this is just agreeing to divide the workers instead of applauding and supporting the revolutionary stands taken by all the different sections of the people in the many different ways that these stands are at present taken. It is significant that in some areas (not all) representatives of this organisation advocated getting the support of the British imperialist army for strike-breaking.

However the most ardent section of the so-called 'left' to follow this line of claiming that the Ulster workers are fine whilst the southern workers are not is the notoriously fascist group -- the British and Irish "Communist" Organisation. This organisation has in fact

no claim to be a left-wing trend today other than its use of the name "communist" all its policies being directly and openly in support of imperialist domination of Ireland and monopoly capitalism in Britain. This organisation considers the Irish working class as divided permanently into two Irish nations, and declares the majority of the Irish people in the south as reactionary for advocating national independence and the unity of the working class for socialism. The Ulster working class they have, for the past few years, championed as heroes. (It is worthwhile noting that they used to be adherents of the British imperialist line that 'all protestants are reactionary'.)

However an examination of the so-called support that the B & ICO gave to the strike shows that they in fact acted as nothing but a mouthpiece for the bourgeoisie in the workers' movement. They in no way supported the revolutionary and dominant aspect of the strike but claimed some flimsy kind of support for the strike on the basis that it was 'pro-British Constitution', 'non-violent', and against the unity of the Irish working class. For example: in the Strike Bulletin No. 8 produced by the "Workers' Association for a Democratic Settlement of the National Conflict in Ireland", a mouthpiece of the B & ICO, they say:-

"The UWC methods are most practical and in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution (British)", and "the UWC has no intention of using violence".

Going out of their way to develop credence amongst the strikers for British imperialism, they further stated:

"The only alternative to government by consent is government by the army and that is against the spirit of the British Constitution. The use of armed force either to overthrow a parliament or to maintain a parliament against the will of the people, is considered completely out of order"... and "the Americans are having great trouble with their system at the moment. It is an inflexible system, and is quite alien to the spirit of the British Constitution"... "The British Constitution is based on no set of rigid formalities. Its great virtue is that it takes account of substantial social powers regardless of formalities."

Thus the B & ICO are trying to make out that the British government is not an imperialist and capitalist government that is run by the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and with the use of a standing army, and also that the people have no right to overthrow such a system by any means necessary. Revealing their absolute faith in British imperialism the B & ICO then claim support for the strike on that

basis and completely oppose the basic anti-British imperialist and anti-capitalist sentiment behind the strike.

They also made no attempt to hide their daily advice to the British imperialist bourgeoisie about how the strike could have been avoided, how the British imperialists and the Faulkner and Fitt sections of the comprador bourgeoisie could have been more sensible. For example in one of their Strike Bulletins they said:

"Political bungling caused the present strike. The issue that is forced into the forefront of politics might have been avoided with a bit of political tact" and again, "this crisis could have been easily averted".

In another place the B & ICO suggest that if Whitelaw had been there the problem could have been averted, showing their deep love of the pro-British imperialist policies -- the very policies which the Ulster workers were opposing: "(Whitelaw, having done his bit in Ulster, seems to have dismissed it from his thoughts. But it is certain that if he was still in Stormont things would not now be in the mess that they are. It is not pleasant for a workers' organisation to have to regret the absence of a Tory and the presence of a 'socialist': but a fact is a fact.)"

All the B & ICO propaganda on the strike carried on in this reformist trend of making out that all of the problems were due to the individual mistakes or characteristics of members of the British imperialist ruling class; not that Labour and Conservative all act for their class regardless of individual characteristics. The fact that the B & ICO carry on this sort of propaganda shows that above all they were working in the strike for the workers to have faith in British imperialism, and to have them believe that a more efficient member of the British imperialist ruling class would be better for them. For example, when referring to Merlyn Rees, Whitelaw's successor and the representative of British monopoly capital in northern Ireland, the B & ICO say: "How does it happen that an otherwise sane man can suffer from such delusions". In other words, they are trying to make out that Rees, rather than acting as a member of the British monopoly capitalist class, is doing what he is because he is 'insane' or suffering from 'delusions'. A fine way to let the blood-and profit-thirsty imperialists off the hook and to mislead the workers into faith in the system, by replacing a few individuals. Also, they say:

"Harold Wilson, whose irresponsible selection of personnel for the Northern Ireland Office is the original cause of all the trouble",

again suggesting that if Mr Wilson was more responsible things would be better. But Wilson, like every other member of his class, is responsible to his class interests and by asking for more responsibility the B & ICO are in fact preaching more efficient imperialist exploitation.

Referring to the support given by Rees and Orme to the trade union return to work, the B & ICO said that this shows: "That they are politically inept rather than malicious." Again another call for the bourgeoisie to deal out its exploitation more carefully and an attempt to confuse the entire issue at stake in northern Ireland. B & ICO served their masters -- the British imperialist class -- by in fact making such 'analyses' of all the many politicians in northern Ireland, showing how they could have avoided the strike, in other words avoided the advancing of the revolutionary movement of the workers. Their downright social fascist nature is shown by their stand not just of approving and advocating British imperialist domination but also in their special applause for all the most reactionary activities of British imperialism in northern Ireland. For example, their support for William Whitelaw, Conservative ex-Secretary for northern Ireland who pursued the most deliberate and devious anti-working class policies of divide and rule in the north and who was responsible for organising the widescale sectarian assassinations carried out by the SAS in order to try and intimidate and divide the people. A further example of this is seen in the following quotation in which the B & ICO advocate what have been the most backward, pro-capitalist and imperialist leaders and trends in the colonial domination of the north:

"The action of the Ulster Workers Council has cut through a lot of nonsense, and has pulled the mass of the protestant community out of the swamp of frustration, and given it a sense of confidence in itself. What the leadership of Carson and Craig did in 1912, the Ulster Workers Council has done today."

Carson and Craig were representatives of the landlord and capitalist class in Ireland who tried to rally the workers in favour of imperialism and capitalism, and have nothing in common with the mainstream of the Ulster workers' strike, who were opposing the policies of the British imperialists and internal capitalists. The B & ICO are in fact giving the same line as the Hitlerites of the 1930s, and the fascist National Front and that is that what the people need is a 'spiritual boost' and leaders that can induce that, and not that the people need revolutionary politics and a revolutionary Party that can resolve their problems and meet their demands in the real world.

In short they attributed the entire strike to sectarian motives--i. e.

the desire of the Ulster workers to be separate from the rest of the Irish working class, which they applaud, and to the 'political bungling' of the British imperialists and the northern comprador bourgeoisie. The only conclusion that can be drawn from this is that the British imperialists should be 'more efficient' and 'sophisticated' in their interference in Ireland's internal affairs and their exploitation and division of the Irish people. The B & ICO have in fact given up the idea of proletarian socialist revolution altogether and have become glorified social democrats seeking reform from the bourgeoisie. This is shown in their 'solution'. For example they say: "Unless the British working class is able to do something to induce the government to change its lunatic policy, a period of complete chaos cannot be avoided". As if the British imperialists are being lunatics and are not carefully following out their imperialist interests. They also suggest that the British workers should try and adjust this lunacy of the British imperialists, thereby asking the British workers to make themselves appendages of the British imperialist bourgeoisie to make their policy of exploiting other countries more efficient.

"In the long run", according to the B & ICO, "the democratic aim must be for forms of politics which cut across the community division..." This deliberate and vague statement of 'long term aims' by the B & ICO is comparable only to those of the modern revisionists who stand in support of imperialism today whilst suggesting in the vaguest terms that some day somewhere in the future, some 'other kind' of politics is needed. By the stand of the B & ICO on all the major issues in the strike it is clear that the only politics they were interested in was the politics of supporting the British imperialists and trying to treacherously canvass the Ulster workers in the name of British imperialism under the signboard of 'communism'. Their objective policies are most similar to those of the National Front and their use of the name 'communism' synonymous with the National Front's description of itself as (national) 'socialist'.

3. The B & ICO also advocated the anarcho-syndicalist line that the trade union movement should be kept free from politics, i. e. left open to bourgeois politics and go so far as to claim that it is because the modern revisionists introduced politics into the trade unions that the strike occurred. They say:

"There is a tacit understanding in the trade union movement that political and economic matters will be kept separate. In circumstances of sharp political division this is a necessary condition for keeping the trade union movement united in economic matters."

According to this logic there is a 'tacit understanding' to keep proletarian politics away from workers. The only people amongst whom there is such a tacit understanding is the bourgeoisie who try to claim that the trade unions should be kept apolitical in order that they can push their politics in them unopposed.

The Marxist-Leninists, the genuine communists, always stand for the unity of the entire working class in the trade unions on the basis of opposing economic exploitation and competition. As well as this the Marxist-Leninists always advocate participating in the trade unions in the struggle over what politics the working class should adopt, not from the point of view of dividing the workers but from the point of view of opposing the politics of the bourgeoisie and rallying the vast majority of workers for revolutionary politics. The bourgeoisie always oppose the unity of the workers in the trade union movement and try to suggest that 'politics should be kept out of the trade unions', by which they mean revolutionary politics should be kept out whilst their politics should be unopposed amongst the workers. It is the social democrats and the revisionists who are the most strenuous advocates of this position of the bourgeoisie in the trade union movement, and this treacherous policy adopted by the revisionists is now being propagated by the B & ICO as a matter of fact not to be questioned or opposed but just accepted. It is imperative to the development of the revolutionary movement that trends that try to divide the trade unions on the basis of politics, or trends that try to keep politics (i. e. revolutionary politics) out of the trade unions are opposed and that the trade unions are strengthened on a militant class basis, and revolutionary politics disseminated in them in order to bring the working class to the necessary goal of the complete elimination of the capitalist system.

The 'left' trends, and anarcho-syndicalists who have given these lines that the workers are fascist in the north and revolutionary in the south, are objectively working hand in glove with the modern revisionists to prevent the revolutionisation of the entire working class and its unity in the trade union movement, and unity of its advanced sections in the Communist movement. In the past the workers of north and south have contributed with their blood to building the trade unions and building unity, and to building the Communist movement. Just as today the present revolutionary upheaval in Ireland is not because one section of the people fought despite the others or vice versa but because slowly and slowly all sections of the people are being brought into the revolutionary struggle and are opposing the policies of British imperialism as they affect them. This is a great step for-

ward, out of which is already coming a massive revolutionary debate on how to unify the various mass movements of the people and build and strengthen the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) in order to provide revolutionary leadership to all these struggles to one overall struggle for national independence and proletarian socialist revolution.

* * *

V. BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS THROUGHOUT IRELAND BY STRUGGLING AGAINST BRITISH IMPERIALISM AND THE INTERNAL CAPITALIST SYSTEM.

The revolutionary situation in Ireland is excellent; the working class is becoming revolutionised and that is shown by its increased militancy and by the refounding of the genuine Communist Party, the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist). The British working class, the most precious ally of the Irish people, is also astir. British imperialism is riddled with contradictions, beset with a severe and basically insoluble economic crisis, and the British monopoly capitalist class is riddled with contradictions. The entire world capitalist system is suffering setback after setback, whilst the socialist system and the struggles for national independence are advancing. The People's Republic of China today plays a beacon role for the world's people. Revolution is the main trend in the world today, but the danger of a world war being launched by the two superpowers -- U. S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism -- is very great as they desperately search for a way out of their irreversible morass. This is a great opportunity for the Irish people to increase their struggles and launch even fiercer attacks on British imperialist domination and the internal capitalist system. It is a time of great necessity for all genuine Marxist-Leninists to unite in the Communist Party to lead the people's movement and reverse the betrayals of the modern revisionists.

All-out struggle is developing against:

1. British imperialist economic exploitation,
2. Political domination through the colonial regime in the north and neo-colonial regime in the south,
3. British imperialist military intervention,
4. British imperialist cultural subversion, and
5. a) the internal capitalist system propped up by the Irish comprador bourgeoisie north and south, and b) the armed forces of the internal bourgeoisie.

In the course of this struggle the unity of the people is being built. Only by resolute struggle against modern revisionism can the unity of the people be achieved and the enemy defeated. Anarcho-syndicalism, as an objective ally of modern revisionism, is a source of disunity amongst the people, it confuses the struggle against modern revisionism and must also be resolutely opposed.

What do the Irish people need in order to achieve victory?

- 1) The working class united militantly intrade unions to fight against the economic attacks by capital and to strengthen the workers through struggle, and weld them together as a class. To achieve this the influence of modern revisionism (to sell out) and anarcho-syndicalism (to divide) must be opposed.
- 2) A Communist Party based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, uniting the advanced sections of all the people.
- 3) A national united front of the working class and all oppressed classes based not on narrow nationalism but on revolutionary nationalism; nationalism that does not advocate just a better deal from the British imperialists or an advantage for one section of the people at the expense of the other, (narrow Irish bourgeois nationalism and Ulster narrow nationalism) but revolutionary nationalism based on the unity of the workers and small farmers and their right to control their land and their labour. This revolutionary national united front requires the complete exposure of the hypocrisy of the so-called nationalism of the comprador bourgeoisie north and south, all of whom have no interest in a national state as they are totally foreign-dependent.
- 4) A workers' and small farmers' army to resist the attacks of the British imperialists and the internal bourgeoisie and to defend the people and assist them in achieving their goals, of a) complete independence for Ireland and b) a socialist state based on the dictatorship of the proletariat. Just as Connolly built the Citizens' Army to fight for the interests of the working class, and to ally with the genuinely patriotic forces in the national struggle, so the Irish people today need a genuine workers' army which fights for the interests of the working class and small farmers and against the imperialists and the comprador bourgeoisie.

The only way forward for the Irish people is to achieve national independence as a first step in the process of proletarian socialist revolution. Only by the working class uniting can the designs of the British imperialists and the Irish compradors to prevent this be def-

eated. Therefore it is essential that the Ulster workers oppose the imperialist idea that they should fight for advantage over the other workers and imperative that they should make unity with the Irish working class for a country run by the workers and small farmers for the workers and small farmers their goal. Only revolutionary nationalism and revolutionary socialism can provide a way forward for the Irish people as opposed to bourgeois nationalism and narrow nationalism, capitalism and national socialism (i. e. fascism).

The Irish working class and people have a glorious history of struggle; this struggle so far has achieved reforms from British imperialism but has not succeeded in achieving complete independence and the overthrow of the entire capitalist system because the leadership in the past has always been in the hands of the national bourgeoisie, who after fighting in the war of independence subsequently sold out everything the people had fought for, with the only difference being a sham of independence and a fat salary for the compradors from the exploitation by British imperialism of their own people. It is only through the working class, the most revolutionary class in the history of mankind, the class which bears the historic responsibility of destroying the capitalist system and ALL SYSTEMS OF EXPLOITATION OF MAN BY MAN, leading the people's struggles on all fronts that victory can be achieved. It is only through the working class building its own party, the proletarian party, in opposition to the betrayals of modern revisionism that the proletariat can be united and led as a force to lead the entire people for the two-fold goal of national independence and proletarian socialist revolution.

IRISH WORKERS AND SMALL FARMERS UNITE ON THE BASIS OF COMPLETE OPPOSITION TO BRITISH IMPERIALISM AND THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM!

IRISH WORKERS AND SMALL FARMERS UNITE FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM!

THE IRISH PEOPLE WILL NOT FOREVER BE THE SLAVES OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM OR THE OBJECTS OF IRISH CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION!

**THE IRISH PEOPLE CAN AND WILL EMANCIPATE THEMSELVES!
LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADITIONS OF THE ULSTER WORKERS!**

LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADITIONS OF THE IRISH WORKING CLASS!

The British Monopoly Capitalist Class Reaps Super-profits from Ulster Workers and Small Farmers — Not Vice Versa

A Reference Article on the Northern Ireland Economy

On May 25th, midway through the Ulster General Strike, the British Prime Minister Harold Wilson made a broadcast in which he made a series of racist attacks against the northern Irish people calling them "bullies" and "thugs" and accused them of "sponging on Westminster and British democracy". These comments showed the utter class hatred of the British imperialists for the Irish working class, working farmers and other working people who dared to organise and unite to oppose them. This hatred is based on their determination to exploit and oppress the people of Ireland to the maximum of their ability, and to use any means to defend this exploitation. They saw the General Strike as a serious threat to their domination of the northern economy and the large profits they reap from it. Attempting to turn facts on their heads they turn round and try to mobilise public opinion in Britain to support the suppression of the strike by the British imperialist forces, by accusing the northern Irish people of being the "exploiters".

Wilson's speech expressed the view that northern Ireland is dependent economically on Britain, and that 'Westminster' or 'British democracy' is very generous and charitable in donating over £ 300 million per year to the Northern Ireland Exchequer. The facts are the opposite: the State of Northern Ireland was set up by the British imperialists and their puppets in Ireland in order to preserve British imperialism's economic and political control of the whole island. The entire economy of the six counties was established and is main-

tained to provide the maximum advantage to foreign monopoly capital and is organised with this in view. 80% of all industry is controlled by British monopoly capital, the entire banking and insurance system is similarly controlled, and the vast majority of the large land holdings are owned by British landowners. Add to this the control of the distribution system in the hands of British monopoly capital, and the basic nature of the exploitation of the people of Northern Ireland becomes clearer. In fact the high rate of exploitation of the people in Northern Ireland is deliberately covered over by the British monopoly capitalists with the full cooperation of the government of the day in order to prevent the Ulster workers and small farmers finding out in cold statistics the rate of their own exploitation and their actual relationship to British monopoly capital. This covering up is easily brought about because of the fact that most of the firms operating in Northern Ireland are subsidiaries of British or U.S. corporations and therefore the figures of the subsidiary are never declared, only the figures for the entire corporation. An examination of some of the details of the financial and economic relations between Northern Ireland and the British monopoly capitalist economy reveals the hypocrisy and downright lies of Harold Wilson's accusation.

BRITISH IMPERIALISM'S 'SUBSIDY'

The latest estimates for British government expenditure on Northern Ireland, published at the beginning of this year, give a total of around £300 millions. It was this figure that Harold Wilson was referring to in his speech. This total is divided as follows:-

£ 38 million	Social Services
£ 18 "	Health
£ 11 "	Regional employment premium
£ 2 "	Agricultural remoteness grant
£ 28 "	National Insurance fund
£ 28 "	Farming and fisheries subsidies
£ 175 "	'Grant-in-aid' from the British 'Northern Ireland Office'

It should be first pointed out that these sums do not in any way come as charity out of the coffers of the monopoly capitalists in Britain, the class which is represented by Mr Wilson. They are instead physically expropriated from the pockets of the British workers as well as northern Ireland workers through the taxation system and are used exclusively to serve the interests of the British monopoly capi-

talists and to facilitate their profit-making. In Northern Ireland the entire State and economy has been set up and has organised to provide the best conditions for the foreign monopoly capitalists to exploit the labour of the northern Irish working class. All the government expenditure in Northern Ireland, even that which is used for 'social services' etc. is spent in such a way as it directly or indirectly benefits the foreign monopoly capitalists, and only as a mere side-line activity provides benefits to the working people. Harold Wilson, under whose leadership successive British Labour governments have highlighted their so-called 'aid' to the countries of the Third World, is a past master at the art of dressing up as 'charity' and 'world redistribution of wealth', the most direct forms of imperialist economic interference and control of colonial and neo-colonial countries. In his speech, he attempted to suggest that the same was true of the financial 'assistance' to Northern Ireland. A quick look at the uses to which this 'assistance' is put will show just how totally it is used to the benefit of foreign monopoly capital and against the interests of the working people.

GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIES TO INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE

Between 1949-69, 250 foreign firms moved into northern Ireland, attracted by cheap rent (sometimes this is free rent), free rates, 40% outright grants for setting up and training grants etc. These included a provision that allows companies who export to reap profits tax-free for the first ten years. The colonial administration in northern Ireland in 1973 issued grants to industry totalling almost £8 million. This included grants to help investment into new buildings, plant and machinery, direct capital grants and other assets. This does not include the many factories built by the government to be rented at minimal or even free rents.

The present Act which covers this aspect of government policy, the Industrial Investment (General Assistance) Act Northern Ireland (1966), prescribes a 40% grant on approved capital expenditure on new plant, machinery, building and mining and 20% grants for transport equipment. From 1967 to 1968, the main grant rate was increased even further to 45%. Since the war (1945) the Ministry of Commerce (Northern Ireland) has supported or financed 317 factory building projects, and has bought 13 more, and has thus provided 12.2 million square feet of factory space for monopoly capital. In 1969 alone, there were 29 new factories under construction and 21 extens-

ions to existing plant, either entirely financed or part financed by the Northern Ireland Government. This clearly shows the sell-out and colonial nature of the Northern Ireland Government which provides all these services to enable foreign monopoly capital to exploit the working people of the six counties.

It should also be noted that a 'Regional Employment Premium', in excess of these inducements to the foreign monopoly capitalists, is paid to employers who establish industries in areas of extreme unemployment such as Newry. These are also, as the recent strike at the Osborne Electronics factory shows, areas where the capitalists try to force the workers to accept less than the normal rate of pay because of the lack of other employment.

The British imperialist government pays agricultural subsidies to the tune of £28 million per annum, and also pays an 'Agricultural Remoteness Grant' of approximately £2 million per annum. These grants are of direct benefit to the monopoly capitalists. They are used to assist the process of expansion, mechanisation and consolidation of larger and larger farms, and to force the smaller producer off the land and into industry. This process aids the formation of more 'capital intensive' farming methods and allows large scale investment to be made by the monopoly capitalists in agriculture, which is impossible while the farms remain small. The process can be seen from the fact that agriculture now accounts for as little as 8% of the total working population, where in 1945 it accounted for 30%. Northern Ireland also provides very important sources of live animals, dairy and meat products for the British monopoly capitalist economy. (See Table A on p.46)

Thus a vast amount of money paid by the British monopoly capitalist government goes straight to the interests of their profit-making industry and agriculture. Rather than the 'charitable' government giving to the workers it is in fact the other way around - not only do the workers produce and create all the wealth in society, the majority of which is amassed as the profits and super-profits of monopoly capital, but they are also then further robbed through taxes which go to furthering monopoly capitalist exploitation. This leaves the large sums paid by the U.K. government to subsidise the welfare services etc. of Northern Ireland which are:-

£18 million	Health Services
£38 "	Social Services
£28 "	National Insurance Fund

These figures are part of the overall expenditure of the Northern

Ireland government on Welfare Services which in 1972 amounted to:-

Health	£ 70,222,000
Education	£ 72,057,000
Others	£ 108,091,000
TOTAL	£ 250,270,000

These funds, which officially are examples of the 'beneficial' nature of monopoly capitalism, have in fact also been developed to benefit the monopoly capitalist system. This history of the working class shows that these 'services' and the 'welfare state' have only come about because of the need of the monopoly capitalists to train and maintain a healthy, well-educated (from monopoly capitalism's point of view) and so efficient labour force. It was for this reason, and also as a 'sop' to divert the rising struggles of the working people from the path of revolution onto that of accepting the superficial reform of the system, that such 'welfare services' were set up and developed in the twentieth century, at a time when the imperialist economy demanded a technically sophisticated labour force in its home areas, in order to man and run highly advanced industry and also to man the highly technical armed forces that it needed to protect its interests around the world. This was a 'good investment' for the monopoly capitalist class, which could be provided for out of national taxation, and which would provide them with higher rates of profit in industry.

All these services provide assured markets for the monopoly capitalist system. The health service alone (which in Northern Ireland consumes over £70 million per year) provides a massive assured market for the pharmaceutical industry and it is this aspect of the health service (the distribution and sale of drugs) that is most emphasised and developed. This is true throughout Britain, but is especially so in Northern Ireland where the British monopoly capitalists boast of a large number of hospitals including quite a number of very new, large and super-equipped hospitals. This so-called 'service' is one of the carrots they offer to the workers to persuade them to stay with the United Kingdom rather than joining the rest of Ireland, where up until recently there has been no semblance even of a national health scheme. In fact this 'service' is not primarily constructed for health reasons but as an outlet for imperialist capital through the highly profitable construction of large scale and highly equipped hospitals, and through the hospital equipment industry which is widespread in Northern Ireland.

The same is true of the large sums paid by the U.K. government

into the Northern Ireland Exchequer for social services, unemployment payments etc. In an area of large scale unemployment, well above the average for the U.K. as a whole, or any other part of England, Scotland and Wales, it is of great importance for monopoly capitalism to maintain the level of the consumer market as high as possible, even where people are not engaged in productive work. Northern Ireland as a whole provides a market for over £937 millions' worth of exports (most of which come from Britain) and a vital part of maintaining this market consists of diverting taxation gleaned from the pockets of the British working class to maintain a bouyant consumer market in Northern Ireland which the British monopoly capitalists can then exploit.

The distribution of social service, unemployment payments, etc. by the monopoly capitalist system is also of vital importance to them as an attempt to prevent the development of revolution. It is advantageous to the monopoly capitalists to pay low wages such that the workers find it difficult to live and it is crucial to the workings of capitalism that a pool of unemployed is maintained. The payment of social services and unemployment benefits, from the money produced by the workers through their productive labour in the first place and of rights belonging to them, is thus robbed from them by the monopoly capitalists and then made available in small amounts, to small sections of the people to alleviate minimally the miserable social and economic conditions under which they are forced to live because of the monopoly capitalists' deliberate policies.

THE PROFITABILITY OF INDUSTRY IN NORTHERN IRELAND

Mr Wilson asserted that northern Ireland receives more from the British economy than it contributes. This may be true in terms of governmental expenditure, but in terms of the profits gained in northern Ireland by the foreign monopoly capitalists (80% of whom are British), the opposite is clearly the case. Ever since the setting up of 'Northern Ireland' in 1920, the British State has purposely surrounded all the statistics and facts relating to the profit made by British enterprises out of the land and labour of the Irish people in the north, with a thick web of secrecy. Most of the companies operating in the north are British concerns and issue financial reports for the whole of the United Kingdom, and others which are registered in northern Ireland are often subsidiaries of foreign parent companies and can, therefore, by management of their accounts, avoid making any accurate public statement about the profits they make out of their activit-

ies in the province. In 1936 Mansergh, a bourgeois economist, stated: "The Imperial Government has displayed no little anxiety lest any public discussion of the (financial) relationship between Great Britain and Northern Ireland should re-open the Irish Question as a whole. This anxiety is shared by the Government of Northern Ireland". This exposes the interest of British imperialism and its puppets in the north to conceal the large profits which British capital has reaped from Northern Ireland and which would show in a very real form the benefits that the Irish people would gain if they seized control of their country and utilized its very rich natural and human resources for the benefit of their own people.

However there are many facts which point to the existence of these large profits. First, the average rate of wages for manual workers in the north is at least 12% lower than in the U.K. and in some industries, the hourly rate of wages is not much more than 50% or half the rate paid in the U.S. as a whole. This is particularly true of mining and quarrying. (See Table B. on p. 47)

These figures immediately show that the rate of profit gleaned from the northern Irish working class can be at least 11% higher than that in Great Britain. For agricultural labour the figures are even more widely separated. Weekly earnings in April 1977 for agricultural labour were:-

Northern Ireland	£ 16.37
Great Britain	£ 23.38

This shows that not only are the workers in Northern Ireland being exploited daily by the capitalist system as their British working class brothers are, but also that they are selected for 'extra-exploitation', not for extra favours as the British monopoly capitalist government would like to make out.

Another indicator of the large profits gleaned from the Northern Irish economy lies in the fact that due to the political manipulation of the British imperialists and their puppets in the north — the politics of sectarianism and divide and rule — and the betrayal by the revisionists of the working class movement, the strength and militancy of the trade unions has been undermined and weakened. The recent General Strike and the wave of economic strikes that preceded and have followed it, show that this situation is changing and the working class is once more astir, but for many years the monopoly capitalists were able to boast that the number of working days lost through strikes in Northern Ireland were much less than in Britain. According

to figures published by the Northern Ireland Office, the relative days lost were as follows:-

Year	Number of days lost per 1,000 workers	
	Northern Ireland	Great Britain
1969/70	208.3	431.4
*1970/71	531.0	707.7
** 1971/72	572.4	845.5

*in this year only 200 per 1,000 were locally organised in Northern Ireland

** in this year one single strike accounted for 498.1 of the Northern Ireland total.

These figures not only show the low relative level of the strikes in Northern Ireland in these years but they also show the growing trend of the awakening of the working class movement which has taken place over the past few years. These figures together with the figures for industrial production show how profitable industry has been and is to the British monopoly capitalist economy.

Industrial Production

	Increase of industrial production from 1963 to 1973
All industry increase	73%
Manufacturing industry	76%
Other manufacturing trades	149%

According to David Howell, the Minister of State for Northern Ireland during the Conservative administration, the output of Northern Ireland manufacturing industry was estimated in 1973 (December) to have exceeded the percentage increase of industrial production in the U.K. as a whole, by 27% over the last ten years (Northern Ireland = 70%, U.K. = 43%). He also said that productivity was estimated to have increased much faster in Northern Ireland (44% compared with 25%). From 1970 to 1973, Northern Ireland manufacturing output increased by 16% compared to 12% for the U.K. as a whole. This economic expansion is motivated by the greed for profit of the monopoly capitalist class. They have expanded their industry in the six counties because they see Northern Ireland as an area of cheap labour and intensive exploitation of the working class, especially at a time when the resistance of the working class throughout Britain, Europe and the rest of the world is making it impossible for the British monopoly capitalists the super-profits they dream of.

Industry in northern Ireland has a great importance in terms of its contribution to British monopoly capitalism's balance of payments. It has been estimated that in 1972, production per head in northern Ireland for export exceeded three times the level of the rest of the United Kingdom, or by a quantity of over £600 per worker. This shows again that in order to help get out of its difficulties, the British monopoly capitalist class is exploiting the workers of the north of Ireland even more viciously than it is the British workers.

From some of the large monopoly capitalist companies which at present operate in Northern Ireland, it is possible to see the large profits that they have gained in the last year or so. These figures, however, do not show the amount of profit that the companies reap from their activities in northern Ireland alone.

Courtaulds	1973 - increase of £23 million to £68 million
Unilever	1972 - £257 million, to £338 million in 1973
I.C.I.	U.K. divisions and subsidiaries trading profit: 1972 - £135 million 1973 - £290 million
Viyella International	Trading Profit 1969 - £7,898,000
Rothmans International	Trading profit 1972 - £9,120,000; 1973 - £40,622,000
Goodyear U.S. (U.S. owned)	Trading profit 1972 - £3,977,000 1973 - £6,850,000
Hoechst U.K.	Pretax profit 1972 - £2,757,000 1973 - £4,726,000

In short, the large subsidies and grants afforded to the foreign monopoly capitalists in Northern Ireland, the low wage levels, and low rate of industrial disputes, the enormous increase in industrial productivity over the past ten years, and the high declared profits from the companies operating in Northern Ireland, all show how much benefit the control of the Northern Ireland economy is to British monopoly capitalism, even leaving aside its economic, political and military interest in Ireland as a whole.

TABLE A

Agricultural trade 1972

	x £1,000	
	Exports	Imports
<u>Live animals</u>		
Cattle	15,800	15,768
Sheep	1,095	683
Others	1,238	484
TOTAL		
TOTAL	18,133	16,935
<u>Meat</u>		
Beef	23,924	12,465
Mutton	152	654
Pork	3,732	3,115
Poultry	6,287	478
Bacon and hams	23,404	4,411
Sausages	47	9
Other meats	2,783	67
Preserves	765	1,950
TOTAL	61,093	23,149
<u>Dairy Products</u>		
Milk and cream preserved	13,247	613
Butter	977	3,065
Cheese	5,722	1,012
Eggs	17,987	57
Others	122	647
TOTAL	38,054	5,394

TABLE B

INCOMES

Distribution of gross weekly earnings, April, 1972 %

	UNDER	£18	£20	£22	£25	£30	£35	£40	£45	£50	£60	£80
Full Time Men	G.B.	2.6	5.7	10.3	19.3	37.6	55.7	70.1	80.1	86.3	93.5	97.9
	N.I.	7.3	13.6	21.5	33.8	52.7	68.0	78.8	85.5	91.8	96.2	98.7
	UNDER	£10	£12	£14	£16	£18	£20	£22	£26	£30	£35	£40
Full Time Women	G.B.	2.9	9.1	19.5	33.1	46.4	58.0	67.4	78.5	88.7	93.4	96.1
	N.I.	7.7	19.0	32.6	45.4	56.2	66.3	75.2	84.7	90.2	94.1	95.7

Average Gross Hourly Earnings (Manual), April, 1972

		Men	Women
All Industries	G.B.	71.4p	43.1p
	N.I.	62.2p	39.2p
Manufacture	G.B.	75.8p	44.4p
	N.I.	67.7p	40.6p

Earnings and Hours of Fulltime Manual Men, October 1972

	Amount in £	Average hours worked	Average hourly earnings
Manufacture only	U.K.	36.20	44.1
	N.I.	32.69	44.1
Same as above but as % of U.K.			
	N.I.	90.3	100
Amount in £			
Manufacture and others	U.K.	35.82	45.0
	N.I.	31.59	44.8
Same as above but as % of U.K.			
	N.I.	88.2	99.6

Sectarianism in the North of Ireland

A Reference Article

Historically, sectarianism has been the main weapon by which first English colonialism and later British imperialism attempted to divide the Irish people and thus prolong its subjugation of the people and its exploitation of the land and labour of Ireland. The history of Ireland has been a history of attempts to unite and throw off their oppressors on the part of the people, particularly since the rise of capitalism and the concurrent emergence of the working class, and of attempts to divide the people and continue the oppression on the part of the ruling class in Britain and their local agents in Ireland - the Irish comprador bourgeoisie.

Approximately a hundred years after the Normans had invaded and conquered Ireland in 1169, the Normans had begun to become very integrated with the Irish people. This caused some concern to the ruling class in England, who wished to preserve the distinction between the Norman rulers and the subjugated Irish. Consequently in 1367 they introduced the Statutes of Kilkenny, which made intermarriage with the Irish a crime comparable to high treason.

In the early 17th century the struggle between the rising forces of capitalism and the decaying forces of feudalism came to a head in England with the victory of the parliamentarians led by Cromwell, who espoused protestantism, over the royalists led by Charles I who espoused catholicism. This struggle had its reflection in Ireland, where the parliamentarians in Derry, Antrim and Down fought the

royalists who were joined by the Catholic Confederation. In 1649, Cromwell came to Ireland at the head of the so-called New Model Army and conducted a two-year campaign unrivalled in the viciousness of its suppression of the Irish peasantry. Many hundreds of peasants were mercilessly butchered, while the remainder were driven off the fertile lands into the province of Connaught, one of the most barren areas of the country.

In 1660 the monarchy was restored in England, but the status quo was maintained in Ireland. In 1685 James II came to the throne. James was a supporter of those powers in Europe associated with Louis XIV who upheld catholicism, and he blatantly gave all important jobs to catholics. He was opposed by the bourgeoisie represented by the Whigs and their leader the Duke of Monmouth, as well as by the oppressed masses in the form of the Leveller Movement (Leveller because its aim was to see the destruction of the feudal system followed by the levelling of wealth.) The bourgeoisie, afraid that they would not be able to contain the Levellers, made an agreement with James so that he suppressed the Levellers. No sooner had he done this than the bourgeoisie opposed him again and obtained the support of a representative of the League of Augsburg - William, Prince of Orange. The Whigs then overthrew James and William and Mary were established as joint monarchs, whereupon James fled to Ireland and set up the so-called Patriot Parliament, which called for the revocation of the Cromwellian settlement. Thus the man who had organised the shattering of the movement of the oppressed peasant masses in England now claimed to uphold the interests of the self-same class in Ireland. William and his armies followed James to Ireland, claiming to be fighting for civil and religious liberty, while James upheld the interests of the catholics. These religious claims, however, were merely the hoax under which James and William rallied their mass support. The struggle was essentially one between the forces of feudalism and the forces of capitalism, reflecting the European struggle between those supporting Louis XIV and those supporting the League of Augsburg. The Pope, in fact, was also a member of the League of Augsburg alongside William of Orange, and when William finally defeated James II at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690, his victory was celebrated in the Vatican by the singing of the Te Deum.

Following this the viciously anti-catholic Penal Code was passed in the Dublin Parliament in 1692. This code, when fully applied, forbade the practice and teaching of the catholic faith, and even when applied more leniently, prevented catholics from possessing arms,

working in the professions, or carrying on trade above a certain level. From that time on in Ireland sectarianism was used either directly by the colonialists or imperialists or on their behalf to divide the people on a religious basis, suppressing and discriminating against one section, blaming the oppressed masses themselves, both catholic and protestant, for any strife which resulted, while themselves parading as the innocent peacemakers. When inevitably the oppressed masses of all religions united to throw off the yoke of colonialism and imperialism, the ruling class used sectarianism to disrupt this movement, and depicted the struggle whenever possible as a purely religious one.

Thus in 1791, responding to the international movement to oppose feudalism and colonialism, and in particular responding to the French Revolution of 1798, the United Irishmen were founded in Belfast by Theobald Wolfe Tone and Henry Joy McCracken. This movement united the Irish people, particularly the peasants, on a class basis. This could be seen, for example, in County Armagh, where the English colonialists had attempted to foster divisions amongst the peasantry. The country had been settled during the Ulster plantation of the late 16th century by Scots crofters, themselves driven from the land in Scotland. The English colonists had driven the indigenous Irish peasantry off the good farming land and into the hills, allowing the Scots crofters to take the good land. A contradiction then existed among the people in that the indigenous peasants had to pay more for the land than the Scots peasants were prepared to pay, and strife occurred between the indigenous Defenders organisation and the Scots Peep o'Day Boys. The United Irishmen, however, united these two peasant organisations into a Volunteer force on the sole basis of defending the rights of all sections of the peasantry against the attacks of local landlords and also the English colonialists. This growing anti-feudal and anti-colonial movement so worried the English colonialists that they took violent measures to suppress and divide the movement. They organised a yeomanry to terrorise the indigenous Irish population under the hoax of searching for illegal arms, thus attempting to divide the indigenous peasantry from the Scots peasantry, carried out the murderous "dragooning of Ulster", and set up in 1795 an anti-Irish organisation, the Orange Order, purely to smash the United Irishmen, to recreate the contradictions among the peasantry and raise these secondary problems to primary problems. During this period a Brigadier in Dungannon made a statement which typified the intentions of the English colonialists: "I have arranged a plan to scour a district full of unregistered arms, and this I do not so much

with a hope to succeed to any extent, as to increase the animosity between Orangeman and the United Irish. Upon that animosity depends the safety of the centre counties of the north."

Another example of where sectarianism was used to destroy the unity of the Irish people occurred during the tithe war of the late 19th century. The Land League of Michael Davitt which had close links with Parnell's Home Rule Movement was following a policy of ostracising any landlords who went against fair rents. This was used successfully in 1880 in the Lough Erne area where a Captain Boycott, who had evicted a large number of the local peasantry, was completely ostracised by the whole village. Only by organising a force of 50 Orangemen to come and smash the campaign was complete success for the peasantry prevented.

Sectarianism was the main weapon used by the British imperialists to disrupt the Independence Movement in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. At the time there was a serious contradiction between different sections of the British ruling class over how best to continue the exploitation of the Irish people. One section, represented by the Tory Party, wanted to retain Ireland as a direct colony, while the other section, represented by the Liberals, wanted to grant Home Rule, i.e. maintain control of Ireland through neo-colonialism, the Liberals being influenced partly by the fact that the Irish Party held the balance of power in the Westminster Parliament. Until 1911 Home Rule had been blocked by the House of Lords, even when passed by the Commons, but in that year an Act of Parliament made it impossible for the Lords to continue this practice. The section of the British ruling class wishing to maintain Ireland as a colony and the landowners and industrialists in the north thereupon organised a counter-revolutionary fascist movement to oppose the just demand for independence from British imperialism. A Dublin lawyer and prominent member of the Tory Party, Sir Edward Carson, later a Tory Cabinet Minister, was brought in to lead the movement.

First, the Ulster Covenant was launched. Contrary to the Unionist claim that the Covenant was in the tradition of the "Protestant people", workers and small farmers were blackmailed on a large scale to sign. Many employers had their workers sign the Covenant in the factories on threat of dismissal and landlords used the threat of eviction to force their tenants to sign.

Secondly, the Ulster Volunteer Force was formed in 1912 as a fascist force directly sponsored by British imperialism supported by local industrialists and landlords to smash the independence movement.

A retired British Army officer, Lieutenant-General Sir George Richardson, was appointed GOC of the Ulster Volunteer Force in 1913, and many British imperialists gave large donations, including Rudyard Kipling, who donated £30,000 and Lord Rothschild, Lord Iveagh and the Duke of Bedford, who each gave £10,000. The Diaries of Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson who was Director of Military Operations at the War Office in 1913, and who later was responsible for the organisation of the Black and Tans and was shot dead by Irish patriots in London, show that he was in day-to-day communication with the preparations for serving British Army officers to refuse to obey orders should they be sent against the Ulster Volunteer Force.

In this century the rise of the working class movement has posed the greatest threat to the continued domination of the north of Ireland by British imperialism. Whenever, as they inevitably have, the workers of the north have begun to unite to demand higher wages and decent living conditions, and to throw off the oppression and exploitation of the capitalist system, the British imperialists and their local agents have attempted to whip up sectarianism to disrupt the movement. Following the Belfast General Strike of 1919, for instance, which demanded a 44-hour week, and in which protestant and catholic workers united, the Unionist politicians led by Carson and Sir James Craig began a systematic campaign to stir up sectarianism and break this unity. A speech by Carson in July 1920, in which he said that the activities of the labour movement could only lead to the "Protestant people" being sold into "slavery and bondage", signalled the beginning of a campaign in which 10,000 workers lost their jobs, the workers being mainly catholic but including many protestant progressives and trade unionists. In 1932 an outdoor relief workers' demonstration on the Falls Road was attacked by the police, and workers from the Shankill marched to the Falls to defend their class brothers. Again this signalled a systematic campaign of sectarianism on the part of the local comprador bourgeoisie.

During the forties, again on a united basis, the workers took part in massive demonstrations in Belfast led by communists. In order to try and introduce sectarianism the British imperialists carried out such vicious activities as having snipers shooting into the demonstrations from rooftops and then blaming the IRA. At this time, in fact, a Shankill MP is on record as having broken down and wept in Stormont, saying that he did not know what to do, because the people in his constituency were uniting with the people of the Falls and all were of one voice - that the government was bad.

Since 1969, when the mass upsurge in support of democratic rights and for national independence resurged, and armed struggle has broken out once more against the British imperialist occupying troops, the British imperialists and their local agents have stopped at nothing in their attempts to divide the people. SAS and irregular killer squads, for instance, have been sent into the communities to try and create a climate of fear and sectarian hostility. The political representatives of the most reactionary and backward sections of the comprador (i. e. foreign imperialist dependent) bourgeoisie, such as William Craig, have advocated and condoned the assassination of Catholics in order to divide the society on a sectarian basis and avoid the class war which would inevitably and justly turn the guns upon themselves, and the entire British imperialist propaganda machine is working overtime to portray the contradiction in northern Ireland as one between the Irish people of two religions rather than that between the British imperialists and the comprador bourgeoisie and the capitalist system on the one hand and the working class and small farmers on the other hand.

History shows therefore that the inevitable movement among the Irish people, of whatever religion and of whatever descent, is to unite to struggle against feudalism, capitalism, colonialism and imperialism. Sectarianism has always stemmed from the ruling classes, and serves only their interests to try and disrupt and divide the forward movement of the working and oppressed people. However, a just cause enjoys abundant support and an unjust cause always enjoys little support. It is certain that the just cause of the Irish people, united as one to defeat British imperialist exploitation and the internal bourgeoisie will win out over the unjust cause of British imperialism and all its attempts at creating sectarian divisions amongst the people.

The 'Council of Ireland' is an Attempt to Further Unite the Irish Comprador Bourgeoisie against the Irish People

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The 'Council of Ireland', elaborated at Sunningdale in England in discussions lasting from the 6th to the 9th December, 1973, is a sham and in no way answers the aspirations of the Irish people for genuine unity. It offers no chance of 'unity' and 'lasting peace' as British imperialism and the Irish comprador bourgeoisie promise. Unity brought about by the 'Council of Ireland' set up by British imperialism is for the sole purpose of attacking the Irish people and maintaining British imperialist control of the country. For unity and peace to be sustained in Ireland it is necessary to overthrow the cause of any disruption, i. e. the capitalist system propped up by British imperialism. It is the working class who must lead the struggle to do this, and must organise themselves as the ruling class.

One of the main myths that British imperialism and its agents promote in order to confuse the struggle in Ireland is that the problems are caused by sectarian differences between 'two communities'. They say the talks saw the representatives of the Catholics and Protestants sitting together and the result has been more unity of the Irish people. However the divisions in Ireland are not divisions of a religious or sectarian nature but are divisions of a class nature.

The comprador bourgeoisie have not waited till the Sunningdale talks to suddenly unite in such a cordial way. They have always been united in opposing the interests of the working people and in supporting British imperialist rule in Ireland. Thus when workers north and

south have opposed the unjust exploitation of the capitalist system, the response they have met from Stormont or from the Dail has been no different. They have both defended the capitalist system. They are both dominated by British imperialism and have always looked for British imperialist investment to exploit the people, with themselves as lackeys getting the crumbs from such exploitation. The 'Partition' saw no halt to cross-border trade, nor to trade in money. In their actions against the anti-imperialist campaigns, both states took the same policy of suppression, harassment and internment of the anti-imperialists. So what is the extent of all this sectarianism that the comprador bourgeoisie talk about? Between this class, no matter what religion, there has always been unity against revolution. In 1907 when the dockers of Belfast were locked out in struggle against the capitalist system, striking for better living conditions and for recognition of the right to organise, the comprador bourgeoisie tried a number of ways to break their unity. First they brought in blacklegs from England. This only succeeded in making the workers more angry and militant. Then they tried to isolate the workers from their leader Jim Larkin, on the one hand saying that he was a catholic, and on the other sending troops in to occupy and terrorise the working people of the Bogside, trying to make out that the strike was a 'papist plot'. (The people of the Bogside were not even involved in the strike.) But the struggles of the workers were not based on religion; they were against the capitalist system. This they showed when they refused the offer their leader made to resign if the issue was to split the strike. The Irish comprador bourgeoisie have participated in these sorts of attempts to divide the working people continuously. If they are so interested in 'unity', why do they persist? This is because unity is not an abstract phenomena, but is based on class interest. Thus the comprador bourgeoisie want unity of their own class, but disunity of the working and oppressed people to weaken them against the attacks of the comprador bourgeoisie and British imperialism.

The anti-people and pro-imperialist nature of their unity can be seen from the things they claim to have reached unity on at the Sunningdale talks. They claim to have won unity on the following points:-

1) On the issue of law and order, they claim to have reached agreement on how to deal with terrorists who commit murder (by this they mean anti-imperialist elements and not those who have been responsible for perpetrating numerous murders of the Irish people - British imperialism and its mercenary troops). Mr Cosgrave agreed to the point that 'murders' committed in either part of the country could be tried in either part. Because of the large scale opposition there has

been to the efforts of the Cosgrave government to extradite anti-imperialists into the hands of the British troops, Mr Cosgrave could not easily give in on this. So although extradition was not agreed to, they agreed instead to set up a commission to 'look into' the question and give recommendations to the formal session of the 'Council' when it meets in the New Year. The 'Council' still shows itself to be only a puppetforce of British imperialism, which maintains the right to control policing of the area and not give this into the hands of the 'Council of Ireland' till such time as the 'security situation improves'. On this they agreed that the present security forces would have the right of pursuit for ten miles either side of the border. Not only is the Coalition government prepared to try anti-imperialists for the British imperialists but now they are making incursions of the border by the British imperialist troops legal.

2) They agreed that within the EEC they should investigate common areas of economic interest, in order:

- i) To achieve the best utilisation of scarce skills, expertise and resources
- ii) To avoid in the interests of economy and efficiency, unnecessary duplication of effort
- iii) To ensure complementary rather than competitive effort where this is to be advantageous to agriculture, commerce and industry.

In particular, these studies would be directed to identifying for purposes of executive action by the Council of Ireland, suitable aspects of activities in the following broad fields:

- a) Exploitation, conservation and development of natural resources and the environment.
- b) Agricultural matters (including agricultural research and animal health and operational aspects of the Common Agricultural policy), forestry and fisheries.
- c) Cooperative ventures in the fields of trade and industry.
- d) Electricity generation.
- e) Tourism.
- f) Roads and transport.
- g) Advisory services in the field of public health.
- h) Sport, culture and the arts. "

("Irish Times, Monday 10th. December, 1973)

In this they are seen to be looking for more efficient ways of serv-

ing British imperialism and seeing to it that the labour and land of Ireland is exploited in its interest.

3) They agreed to various details of how the 'Council of Ireland' should operate, i. e. to have a 'Council of Ministers' composed of 7 members from the Dail and 7 from the 'Northern Ireland Assembly', to have under this a 'Consultative Assembly' composed of 30 members from the Dail and 30 from the 'Northern Ireland Assembly'. For those in the Dail and in the 'Northern Ireland Assembly' who were not elected to these there would be a second tier of the 'Council of Ireland' in which they could participate. The Chairmanship would rotate between the different parties and the British government would not be (directly) represented.

4) While saying that the British government would not be represented they say that it will only be represented in so far as it is necessary to safeguard her "financial and other interests", thus in a sinister way expressing British imperialism's actual role in Ireland and in the 'Council of Ireland'. This is just rhetoric. The whole system in Ireland, with the partition and the so-called 'two communities', the British troops are there to safeguard its interests. The 'Council of Ireland' is to do this, as can be seen by its preoccupation with the pursuit of anti-imperialist elements.

5) Agreement was reached that when the agreement was formally agreed upon in January that it would be registered at the United Nations. This fulfils a long sought after aim of the British imperialists - to have Ireland registered as a partitioned country internationally.

This then is the unity that the comprador bourgeoisie boast of having reached with British imperialism. This unity does not fulfil the aspirations of the Irish people for national unity and national independence, for which throughout the centuries Irish men and women came forward in their thousands to make countless sacrifices. It does not mean the ending of the capitalist system in Ireland, the end of exploitation of the labour and land of Ireland by foreign monopoly capital. On the contrary it means the propping up of this system, blatantly allowing British imperialism the right to safeguard its interests. It is as Mr Bradford himself pointed out, an attempt to bring about a situation whereby "... a united people under a united government could impose 'much stiffer penalties' against those who opposed the democratic process by force of arms".

The comprador bourgeoisie when under constant attack from the people very quickly unite to protect their interests and the interests of

their master, British imperialism. Thus it is seen that people unite principally on the basis of class and not of religion, and that it is inevitable that the Irish people will and are uniting on a class basis, sorting out any differences between them to overthrow the class enemy, British imperialism and the Irish comprador bourgeoisie.

It is not the first time that a 'Council of Ireland' has been promoted as a solution to British imperialism's problems in Ireland. In 1921, (when Ireland was artificially divided), there were also efforts to establish a 'Council of Ireland' to try to oppose the rising struggles of the Irish people. At this time the whole machinery was set up which has been used to maintain control of Ireland over the past half century, i. e. the Stormont and Dail Assemblies. The fact that the Dail gave the impression of 'independence' helped pacify the working people who were prepared to 'give it a try'. The 'Council of Ireland' proposals at this time were also used to make out that real unity of Ireland was about to be achieved. However the past 50 years have shown the 'independence' and 'democracy' to mean democracy only for the imperialists to exploit the working people and no democracy for the working people not to be exploited. This being exposed has meant continual opposition from the people, realising that their aspirations have not been attained. So the British imperialists and their agents have to get together once again to try to reach another 'agreement' that will ostensibly offer something, but actually mean no difference. Thus the 'unity' and 'independence' offered by the 'Council of Ireland' is aimed at spreading confusion amongst the people on the issues at stake.

A clear example of an attempt to distort Irish history was the "Irish Times" comments on the talks in 1921 and at Sunningdale. It talks about the present negotiations as an "attempt to improve upon the Anglo-Irish Treaty signed 52 years ago". (On the 9th December, the same day as the last day of the Sunningdale talks, the original Anglo-Irish Treaty was signed). They say: "Ireland's 1921 representatives negotiated, also, from a position of hideous weakness. They had no economic strength whatever, their military strength was waning and their political strength was in some doubt. They were under the threat of 'immediate and terrible war'. They feared - rightly - repudiation at home". This is a total distortion of what actually happened, and makes no effort to analyse the historical events in such a way as would help the Irish people learn from past mistakes to avoid future mistakes. In 1921, large numbers of Irish people were coming forward to take up arms against British imperialism and all the signs pointed towards this trend continuing. The people were becoming in-

creasingly united around the political line of winning national independence and removing the main obstacle holding up the advancement of the country. The most reactionary and sold-out sections of the Irish bourgeoisie were weak at this time because the revolutionary upsurge had the possibility of overthrowing them. The working and oppressed people were however growing in strength at this time. Lloyd George's threat of all-out war against the Irish at this time was a complete sham. It would have led to his overthrow in England and would have further united the Irish people against their principal enemy.

In the negotiations at Sunningdale the working and oppressed people were not even represented. The comprador bourgeoisie has a firmer (although very weak) grip on the Irish people than it had in 1921 and in that way Mr Cosgrave could be said to be negotiating from a position of strength. The "Irish Times" is, on behalf of the comprador bourgeoisie, attempting to distort history and romanticise and play up the significance of the Sunningdale talks. This attempt is doomed to failure. The Sunningdale talks are yet another elaborate attempt to fool the ordinary people while basically changing nothing. The "Irish Times" goes on to say: "Things are far otherwise today. The Taoiseach, Mr Cosgrave, leads to the talks a team of sufficient unity, strength and talent. His control over his own 26 county jurisdiction is not in question. He has less to lose if the talks fail than any other participant... but in reality, he has more to gain for himself and the whole of Ireland, than anyone else: the dazzling prize of a just, peaceful and - above all - a lasting settlement". It goes on to say: "The British (those of them who have learnt anything) have learnt a great deal in half a century. What they want now above all is a graceful withdrawal". Because the Irish people have persisted in opposing the British imperialists, British imperialism has been forced to learn a good many things over the last half century, having always to try to think up new ways of fobbing the people off. One of the lessons that they have learnt is that the government of the south is willing to act out its role as agent of British imperialism. The other is that the Irish people want national independence and unity and they have to make their offers seem to be moving towards that. Thus the 'Council of Ireland' is supposed to bring closer together the 'two communities in Ireland'. The 'Council of Ireland' will not solve any of the problems facing the Irish people. Only unity and peace gained under the leadership of the working people, and not the comprador bourgeoisie, will last or have any significance in Ireland.

Anti-Sunningdale Strike Reveals the Strength of the Irish Working Class

Statement of the Dublin Branch
of the Communist Party of Ireland
(Marxist-Leninist)
May 27, 1974

The anti-Sunningdale strike in the north of Ireland, which began on May 15th reveals the tremendous strength of the Irish working class. The strike, which was called by the Ulster Workers' Council, has the support of considerable numbers of workers and on account of this has been highly effective, entirely damaging the normal life of the area. The strike was called after the puppet 'Northern Ireland Executive', arbitrarily and illegally set up by British imperialism, attempted to finally commit the also arbitrary and illegal 'Northern Ireland Assembly' to the Sunningdale Agreement. The vast majority of the people of the north of Ireland have, since the Sunningdale Agreement was publicised, shown their opposition to this 'solution', through the way they have voted in the Westminster and other elections as well as through various other methods. Despite this massive and firm opposition, the British government has persisted in trying to force the Agreement onto the people and this has aroused increasing resentment. The present strike has been called to force the British government to dissolve the present 'Northern Ireland Assembly' and to call a new election in order that the people of the north can more democratically determine their own affairs.

During the strike the workers and the groups that are leading them have more or less completely taken over the affairs of the province. They have almost completely closed down industry and all the major factories in and around Belfast, including Harland and Wolff and Shortt Brothers, have been brought to a standstill. The workers are

determining the quantities of electricity, gas and petrol that are available and up until now have been allowing adequate amounts to maintain essential services. In the cities the workers have organised the supply and distribution of all kinds of basic essentials and in the course of the strike all kinds of committees run by the workers themselves have been set up to run local services. The strike is revealing that the workers themselves are more than capable of running their own affairs and in no way need the present ruling bourgeoisie and still less the reactionary forces of British imperialism. The fact that no services and no industry can be run without the support of the workers brings home the fact that it is upon the backs of the workers that modern capitalist societies have been built and that the only role of the ruling bourgeoisie is to hinder the efficient organisation of the society and cream off surplus value for their own pockets.

The anti-Sunningdale strike is basically democratic and anti-imperialist. It reflects the just opposition of the working and oppressed people of the north of Ireland to the exploitative system under which they are forced to live and in particular to the interference in the area's internal affairs by British imperialism. It is objectively contributing to the growth of the overall proletarian socialist revolution. The struggle has been widely supported by various democratic and progressive individuals. In the course of such a struggle, and particularly in the conditions that at present exist in the country, it has been inevitable that all kinds of opportunist and backward elements should latch onto and express support for this present strike. However it is the responsibility of the genuinely pro-working class and other progressive organisations and individuals to work both inside and outside of the present movement to ensure that the reactionary forces are not allowed to monopolise the leadership. Both the reactionary forces and the progressive forces are at present contending for influence within the mass movement and either the reactionaries win out or the progressives win out. The response of various representatives of the nationalist and left forces tended to assist the influence of the reactionary forces and has failed to make full use of the excellent rebellious struggle that has emerged and this we feel it is necessary to oppose.

In the north of Ireland there are a number of basic movements amongst the people occurring. Some of these movements are objectively reactionary and some are objectively progressive. This phenomenon is in operation amongst both the 'catholic' and 'protestant' sections of the people. Some of the people who are claiming leadership of the present strike movement in the north have made reaction-

ary, anti-socialist statements (and in response to this some people have tried to imply that this is the entire content of the present upsurge). On the other hand many of the leaders have made democratic and pro-working class statements. Some of the fellow travellers of the present upsurge who are known to have anti-working class aims have been obliged to make progressive statements in order to hold a position of credibility amongst the masses. On top of this, amongst the broad masses of the 'protestant' people there is a fierce contention of ideas, and the vast majority of the people are standing up for and expressing support for democratic and anti-imperialist trends.

Just previous to the calling of the present strike an extremely significant, anti-capitalist strike movement had begun to emerge in the north. This strike movement had already begun to involve engineering workers, busmen in Belfast, railway workers and nurses. This movement was against capitalist exploitation and for higher wages and improved working conditions. This movement is emerging as the end result of years of discussion and preparation on the part of the workers who have gradually been getting more angry and more organised for struggles on the economic front. Amongst the particular sections of workers who were already on strike the largest proportion of them were 'protestant' workers, and there is no reason to suggest that this underlying and inherent characteristic of the working class of whatever origin is ever going to change. The existence of this movement amongst all sections of the people in the north and especially at this moment amongst the 'protestant' workers is of tremendous significance in the overall movement to unite all sections of the working and oppressed people of Ireland against foreign monopoly capitalism and against all forms of exploitation. The fact that it is so persistent in the entire working class and the fact that a particularly militant series of strike struggles is beginning to emerge at this point is of great importance in accelerating the present anti-Sunningdale movement.

The movement of the working class on the economic front is the most basic, most powerful and significant movement contributing to the preparations for the task of uniting the entire people to establish genuine independence and eventually socialism in the country. But apart from this movement there are many other progressive mass movements in motion amongst the people in the north. Many of these command tremendous respect. There is the movement of women against feudal and capitalist exploitation. There is the movement amongst the farmers against the growing economic pressure being developed by the monopoly capitalists to force them off the land. There

is the movement inside the universities against the decadent bourgeois educational institutions. There is the movement to improve the housing conditions of the people, especially in the cities. There is the movement against unemployment and the consequent forced emigration. And there are many others - some of a more minor, some of a more major nature. All these movements, JUST AS THE MOVEMENT WHICH IS OPENLY DIRECTED AGAINST THE BRITISH IMPERIALIST ARMY, are all objectively anti-imperialist and are all objectively part of the proletarian socialist revolution. None of these movements can advance except by preparing for the overthrow of foreign monopoly capitalist control of the country and in the final analysis except by establishing the socialist system, with the working class as the ruling class. Opposing the development of all these movements is the need of the bourgeoisie to suppress democracy and deprive the working masses of any initiative in the say of the affairs of the country. The point is that most of these movements in the north are NOT CONSCIOUSLY LINKED TO THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM. This is an inconsistency in the thinking of the people on account of the failure to properly grasp the overall nature of the situation in the country. On the one hand powerful objectively anti-imperialist movements are merging and on the other, many of the participants are not conscious of the goal. It is the responsibility of the advanced elements to transform this situation and introduce advanced and scientific ideas which correspond with and provide actual guidelines for dealing with the actual state of affairs in the country.

Exploitation constantly generates resistance. It is the objective class position of the working and oppressed 'protestant' people which forces them to resist. Even if for a brief time in the overall history of the society the large mass of the people do not fully grasp the direction of the struggle that will never stop the constant forceful generation of resistance on every conceivable front against the various forms that the oppression is manifesting. The vanguard organisations of the people must SUCCESSFULLY SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF LINKING THE DAY TO DAY STRUGGLES OF THE MASSES TO THE TO THE CONCRETE POLITICAL TASKS NECESSARY AT EACH ERA. It is not correct to superficially look at the mass of the working people in the north of Ireland, take the expressions of the most backward sections and then condemn the entire people because they at that moment are expressing some degree of support for the ideas of that section. The vanguard elements must also solve the problem in the real world of going amongst all sections of the people, supporting their actual struggles against oppression and consciously linking

them into one almighty torrent with the entire people united to complete the practical tasks. If at one stage that means that it is necessary to work indirectly then it is up to the vanguard to know this and act on it. If it is necessary at a particular point to give the call for immediate insurrection then the vanguard should also know this and act on it.

In the north of Ireland there are also reactionary mass movements in operation, and in the present situation these at times and in certain circles command a lot of respect. The main aspect of the present anti-Sunningdale movement is definitely progressive and this in itself is a gauge of the overall healthy state of affairs in the country. The particular way in which this strike developed gives some insight into the struggle that is going on between the different trends in the attempts to assume leadership of the mass movement. In the first place none of the main bourgeois leaders supported the strike right from the beginning. Mr Paisley, Mr Craig and Mr West who all support capitalist forms of exploitation and all openly support sectarian activities, expressed reservations about the strike when it was first announced. All three of these are now expressing full support for the strike, although they are clearly not at this moment the main leaders of it, whilst the members of the Ulster Workers' Council are. In the recent interviews that Paisley, Craig and West have given on television they openly show reservations about the strike. This is because although the workers can be used to support their own personal and class interests the possibility exists for that situation to turn into its opposite. Paisley, Craig and West support capitalist exploitation and in order for that to continue it is necessary to have subdued workers. The participation of the workers in running their own affairs during the present strike, and the daring way in which reactionary capitalist authority has been opposed, are all raising the consciousness of the masses and are going to create difficulties for anyone who tries to lead a society which maintains capitalist exploitation. The history of a number of other revolutionary movements shows that at times the capitalist class has had to arouse and arm the broad masses of the workers, and has had to promise concessions in order to win their support. However after the particular stage has been completed, the question of which class should lead then becomes the main question. In Portugal the bourgeoisie were only able to overthrow the fascist Caetano regime with the assistance and support of the working class. Now the new Spínola led regime is facing the problem of how to disarm and deal with the aroused and organised working class in order that capitalist exploitation on a new basis can continue.

The struggle against the fascist Caetano regime has already assisted the growth of organisation of the working class and the struggle has already produced improvements on the economic front for the workers. But the new ruling Portuguese clique are only interested in freedom and democracy to a degree and only in so far as it serves their interests. They are not interested in genuine equality and they are fighting to consolidate their power against the interests of the workers. As long as the capitalist class and any of its vestiges exist then true equality can never exist and in fact it is only in practice by the working class assuming state power in these countries, establishing itself as the ruling class, and suppressing the bourgeoisie that advances can be consolidated and the conditions eventually established for real freedom and equality.

In the south of Ireland following the revolutionary struggle against British imperialism which led to the establishment of partial independence in 1922, a similar struggle emerged over the question of which class should rule, the bourgeoisie or the working class. Unfortunately for the entire working and oppressed people at that stage, although the powerful and partially successful struggle was only able to develop because of the participation of the working class steered in the previous period of strike struggles, the working class did not assume leadership. A number of the leaders of the working class were shot in the 1916 rebellion and for a time no group emerged capable of commanding adequate support and prepared to stand up to the bourgeoisie. Right from the beginning of the state the bourgeoisie that took power was sell-out and has pursued policies both of maintaining the country backward and economically dependent on British imperialism and also of suppressing the just resistance of all oppressed sections of the people against exploitation. This same government has been partially responsible for trying to force a sham, semi-feudal, catholic and anti-working class nationalism onto the people, thereby contributing to creating serious and unprincipled divisions amongst the Irish people and assisting the prolongation of the present era of oppression and serious hardship.

Paisley, Craig and West support the demand for new elections because in the present situation they are most likely to be successful and will take leadership of the 'Northern Ireland Assembly'. These same leaders who opposed the 'Northern Ireland Assembly' when it was first set up last year are now, when they are confident that they will end up on top, prepared to work within it. What is going to happen to the ordinary working and oppressed people who are contributing to bringing down the 'Executive', when these new leaders take

over? The new leaders have not expressed any opposition to the capitalist system and they are bound to maintain capitalist forms of exploitation. The new leaders are totally opposed to uniting with the south and so they are not going to attempt to unite the country on a genuinely independent basis in order that indigenous and basically self-sufficient capitalist relations of production can be fostered. They have not expressed any serious interest in a genuinely independent Ulster in which capitalist relations of production can be fostered. They have not expressed any serious interest in a genuinely independent Ulster in which capitalist means of production would develop without interference from foreign monopoly capitalist control. So how on the economic front is life going to be any different for the working people? Paisley, Craig and West are bound, with their present policies, to maintain the country economically dependent on foreign monopoly capital. They may more vigorously pursue the foreign monopoly capital of other imperialist countries such as the United States, Japan, Germany or the Soviet Union. But in all these situations the same basic economic life, which gave rise to the force precipitating the present and the past upsurge since 1968, is still going to be the same. The imperialists will only invest in the colonial and neo-colonial countries if they make a big enough profit. If they aren't making a big enough profit in Ireland then they won't come in the first place or they will transfer their industries to other colonial and neo-colonial countries or back to their own heartlands, to a place where the resistance is lower and where they think that they will make maximum profits. The reason why wages are so low in Ireland and conditions of work so bad compared with the imperialist heartlands is precisely because of this foreign dependence. Ireland cannot survive independently because the greedy lackey capitalists who have held state power in the north and in the south since 1922 have taken the 'easy' way and failed to develop a basically independent and self-sufficient economy. Both parts of the country are not even independent agriculturally and do not produce the means of producing the means of production. Thus food, basic machinery and raw materials and consequent upon this all kinds of commodities have to be imported from the imperialist heartlands or via the imperialist monopolies. Ireland is forced to turn its labour force to produce for export to pay for these imported goods and in various ways to satisfy the foreign monopolies who have the country's economy in their control. As well as all this the comprador bourgeoisie north and south have made the country massively in debt to finance capital and we are also continuously under threat on account of this fact. Only the development of

basically independent economies in the north and south which receive assistance from other countries only on the basis that the assistance in no way ties Ireland, will allow for the development of real prosperity and real progress in the country. Once the basis for all antagonisms has been removed, i.e. once the foreign monopoly capitalists have been thrown out, and in the final analysis once the working class is established as the ruling class, then it is inevitable that the Irish nation will be reunited.

Paisley, Craig and West with their present class interest can in no way solve the basic problems of the working people of the north of Ireland. This fact is bound to give rise to resistance to their rule and this resistance will inevitably be linked to the destruction of all foreign monopoly capital and this course the removal from power of Paisley, Craig and West. Already the contradictions between the interests of the working class and the foreign dependent bourgeoisie are in the open and in the course of the next period these are bound to develop and intensify. It is the role of the leaders of the oppressed people to arouse the working people to isolate the wrong trends in the present mass movement and to speedily bring about the overthrow of the authority of this reactionary clique.

The only way that Paisley, Craig and West can hope to temporarily continue their rule is by the development of sectarianism amongst the 'protestant' sections of their supporters and this they are already attempting to do. In television broadcasts, Paisley, who always claims to be non-sectarian, has been pushing the line that it is the SDLP who run the 'Northern Ireland Executive' and not the 'Faulknerite Unionists'. He says it is on account of the SDLP that the present situation has arisen. By these and other statements Paisley is trying to blame the entire 'catholic' population and all the politicians that claim to represent it as the cause of all hardship in the north. These politicians are trying to popularise the theory that what is needed in the north of Ireland is a government to protect the 'protestant' people from the south and from the 'catholic' minority in the north, both of whom are interested only in wrecking the country and subjecting it to 'romanism'. This fascist theory is the crude expression of the 'two-nation theory' expressed by the British and Irish Communist Organisation and by various other politicians. On the basis of this theory the comprador bourgeoisie in the north are hoping to be able to unite one section of the people, to subdue the other, and allow highly profitable and exploitative capitalist production to develop throughout the north at the expense of the working people of all origins. This theory and its influence can only be opposed by arousing

the broad masses of the people against all objective forms of exploitation and by hitting scientifically all manifestations of sectarianism.

In the north of the country because of the way that the struggle has developed, because of the way that the English and British ruling classes attempted to divide the Irish people on a religious basis over the centuries, then at the beginning of the present upsurge in 1968 certain sections of the people were more easily able to grasp the concept that the basic problem in the country is British imperialism, while other sections were less easily able to grasp this. It is the responsibility of the advanced forces to solve the problem of uniting all sections of the people around the common task. If this means taking time to win over the more backward sections then this work is absolutely essential. The development of the struggle in the north over the last few years has more firmly than ever united the 'protestant' people against British imperialism. Yet at this stage the different communities are not fully united and many of the leaders of the 'protestant' workers are either antagonistic or else have relatively little unity with those leaders who have emerged amongst the 'catholic' section of the people. The present anti-Sunningdale struggle is an excellent struggle and to a large degree has been precipitated as a result of the just resistance of all the forces in the country against imperialist control of the country and against all other forms of exploitation. However in summing up the last 60-70 years and in particular the last 6 years it is clearly necessary to further develop the methods of struggle and the overall analysis held by various of the advanced forces to ensure complete victory for the working and oppressed people. It is in the interests of all the oppressed people no matter of which origin or national minority that the problem of overthrowing British imperialism and establishing socialism is solved. Not even the most militant sections of the people are going to be thankful if the struggle in the final analysis doesn't eventually lead to success.

The attitudes towards the present anti-Sunningdale struggle have clearly brought out the different positions of the different classes and of a number of the organisations working in the country. Mr Cosgrave has stated that the strike is a complete disaster (i.e. a complete disaster for his class), and he blames the nationalist forces for precipitating this situation. A number of other people have also attempted to 'blame' the nationalist forces for the situation, all of whom are united around the common view that it is a disaster to wreck the present 'Northern Ireland Assembly' and to oppose British imperialist

rule. These people for various reasons have failed to grasp the essential characteristics of the present struggle and have absolutely no faith in the working class and in its inevitable movement in the direction of socialism. On the contrary, in the present situation the nationalist forces should be praised for their contribution to creating the present excellent situation. The line of condemning the nationalists is a line presented under the hoax of trying to stop civil war. In fact it is having the direct opposite effect and is contributing to creating public opinion against active resistance to the British imperialists. It is attempting to build a reactionary united front with one section of reactionary leaders in the north and with the comprador government in the south, all of whom want the same basic thing, bourgeois democracy and foreign monopoly capitalist control. This united front is being lined up to oppose this equally reactionary so-called 'protestant' united front which Messrs. Paisley, Craig and West have expressed interest in leading. Genuinely nationalist forces should participate in and develop the national struggle on a more principled and effective basis and not become bogged down by the superficial, philistine and hypocritical moans of the bourgeoisie and their pacifist allies.

Another serious wrong line which is being presented is that the present struggle is entirely reactionary and since a considerable number of protestants support it all the protestants are reactionary. This line is a narrow nationalist catholic chauvinist line, that is also a line of making preparations for sectarian civil war. It comes from taking a superficial view of struggle in the country and seeing only the overt anti-British imperialist form of struggle as being important. This is either as a result of ignorance of the importance of the other struggles on other fronts, or else is, as in the case of the social-fascist SDLP, a result of complete opposition to all other forms of resistance to exploitation. Within the leadership, or close to the leadership of the present anti-Sunningdale movement there are reactionaries, and these have to be opposed. It may be that these will establish, if the progressive forces don't organise properly, a powerful grip on one section of the people and it may be that pogroms and attacks on 'catholic' areas on a large scale could be initiated. Obviously it is necessary to resist these. However this resistance must be from the point of view of trying to develop the progressive forces within the reactionary led camp. In the war against Nazi Germany, it was necessary to fight against the German army and to wipe out as many troops as possible if Europe was to be saved from fascism. However it would be useless and incorrect to condemn all Germans

as innate fascists and not to work within the ranks of the German people to end the monopoly capitalist domination of the country which was the force giving rise to the fascism. In the same way it is useless and incorrect to label all 'protestants' as fascists. One of the objective effects of this is to develop seige mentality amongst the 'protestants' which can easily, if it is not opposed, be developed by the reactionary leaders. The greater prevalence of reactionary ideas amongst the 'protestants' gives more ammunition to opportunist leaders of the 'catholic' population and in the south. In this way the conditions are more and more developed for reactionary civil war.

The working people of Dublin are bound to learn from the struggle of our fellow Irishmen in the north against British imperialism's control of their internal affairs. We should learn lessons from both the mistakes and the good things that have occurred in the struggle. The main force in both our struggles is the working class. If the working class organises and seized its destiny in its own hands it is an invincible force and capable of uniting the entire oppressed sections of the people. The Dublin Branch of the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) calls on the oppressed people and especially the workers to develop the just resistance against exploitation on all fronts, to consciously link the struggle to the task of winning genuine independence for the country and removing the comprador bourgeoisie from holding state power. In particular the Dublin Branch of the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) calls on the workers at the place of work to develop the movement to strengthen the unions and expand the numbers of unionised workers, and in the course of this to struggle in the economic front against capitalist exploitation. By arousing and organising the vast majority of the working class and linking their struggle to the concrete political problem of the taking of state power a vanguard force of indomitable strength will be created, and the long-sought-for organised unity of the entire Irish working class established.

SUPPORT THE JUST STRUGGLE OF THE WORKING CLASS IN THE NORTH AGAINST THE IMPERIALIST IMPOSED SUNNINGDALE AGREEMENT !

LONG LIVE THE GREAT UNITY OF THE IRISH WORKING CLASS !
DOWN WITH BRITISH IMPERIALISM - MAIN ENEMY OF THE IRISH PEOPLE !

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Down With British Imperialism's Latest White Paper

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29th July, 1974

On Thursday, July 4th, Merlyn Rees presented the Westminster Parliament with its second White Paper in sixteen months, outlining the British government's proposals on how to maintain its colonial and imperialist domination of the north of Ireland. This latest White Paper is a result of the tactical retreat forced on the British imperialists by the collapse of the "Northern Ireland Executive", brought about by the mass struggles waged by the working and oppressed people throughout Ireland against the repressive and anti-democratic policies pursued by the British government and, in particular brought about by the recent Anti-Sunningdale strike led by the Ulster Workers' Council.

In its presentation of "The Problem" the White Paper gives recognition to the fact that in the past six years tremendous forces have been generated by the working people to oppose the designs of the British government to impose illegal and anti-democratic 'solutions' on the north. The White Paper bemoans the fact that four different patterns of government have been tried in that time by the British imperialists and have either collapsed or been withdrawn -- the old colonial Stormont Parliament (from 1920 to March 1972); direct rule from Westminster (from March 1972 to January 1974; The Northern Ireland Assembly and Executive (from January 1974 to May 1974) and finally the present period of direct rule which will be withdrawn if and when the proposals in the recent White Paper are implemented.

No sooner had the carefully designed plans of the last two years collapsed and direct rule again been implemented than the British imperialists produced another White Paper which, far from acknowledging the just resistance struggles of the working people, openly attacks all the forces which have led these struggles against exploitation and repression and reaffirms its designs to regroup the various different sections of the sell-out bourgeoisie to run a colonial administration in the north. This obstinate refusal to desist from exploiting and oppressing the people is the very nature of British Imperialism and it will never change. For the working and oppressed people it is of vital importance that they persist in struggle, strive for greater unity and develop their opposition to the new and latest designs of the British imperialist government contained in the White Paper.

The White Paper foresees four stages in the implementation of its proposals; i) discussion amongst various political parties in the north; ii) elections to a 78-seat constitutional convention; iii) further discussion amongst those elected to decide what form of government they desire; and iv) a report on the result of the discussions to be given to Westminster for approval. According to the White Paper this is giving the people in the north of Ireland "the chance of seeing whether they could resolve the problems of Northern Ireland themselves". Yet nothing could be further from the truth because a) All the while discussions are taking place the British imperialists will hold onto the reins of the bourgeois state and continue to direct their army against the progressive and anti-imperialist forces in society. (They announced their intentions of carrying on with repression on the very day they put forward their White Paper when they decided to prolong the Emergency Provisions Act for another six months.) b) In the discussions themselves that will follow the elections the British imperialists retain for themselves the right to appoint an "impartial" chairman to "guide" the discussions and ensure British imperialism's interests are represented. William Whitelaw carried out the same role of "impartial" chairman in the discussions leading to the formation of the Northern Ireland Executive. c) When the discussions are concluded and the report outlining the proposals is presented, the British government retains for itself the right to veto them if it considers them against the interests of the British government. d) Finally, should it emerge that the working and oppressed people oppose this right to veto and persist in building resistance struggles to British imperialism's interference in Irish affairs, then in those con-

ditions, "not least any resumption of industrial action for political ends", the British government in the White Paper threatens that it will withdraw tax subsidies and investment.

From start to finish this "chance" for the people in the north of Ireland to resolve their own problems is littered with interference, both direct and indirect, with economic blackmail and with military repression from the British imperialist government. Under the guise of allowing discussions the British imperialists ensure that they maintain control of the centralised bourgeois state, whose repressive organs are aimed at ensuring that its interests are never overlooked.

The White Paper has received support from all the main parties of the sell-out bourgeoisie in the north of Ireland. The reactionary alliance of Paisley, Craig and West said that it was a step in the right direction (for their section of the sell-out bourgeoisie). Since the end of the Anti-Sunningdale strike Paisley, Craig, and West have been working overtime to ensure that they get all the credit for the success of the strike in toppling the Executive. In this they have been encouraged by the British government who refused to talk to the striking workers and would only meet elected representatives. Using this position of influence to bolster their image which had been tarnished because of the way they only came out in full support of the strike when it was ensured of success, Paisley, Craig and West have been giving speeches calling for "loyalist unity" in order to undermine any progressive trend from developing further amongst the protestant workers, to continue dividing the working class on a sectarian basis and to attempt to reestablish the 'all class alliance' of unionism under the hegemony of the sell-out and most fascist sections of the bourgeoisie. The SDLP are emphasising the fact that the White Paper recognises the realities of the "Irish dimension" and "power-sharing" and are also thereby frantically attempting to work up sectarianism in order to get support for their anti-working class programme.

While greater and broader sections of the people have come to take up active resistance to British imperialist policies both these sections of the sell-out bourgeoisie, represented by the SDLP and UUUC, continue to sow confusion by promoting the view that one section of the working class is out to dominate the other and this is therefore the main problem. At the same time they both appeal to their masters, the British imperialists, to extend greater privileges and re-

wards from the crumbs of monopoly capitalist profits to their section of the bourgeoisie. In order to defend its interests the British imperialists have been engaged in a campaign of suppression and deception. In order to keep the working class divided it has conceded some minor reforms to 'Catholics' when they seemed the most militant and vice versa when it seemed that the 'Protestants' were most militant. In each case they have maintained their attempts to divide the workers and have received the active cooperation of the sell-out bourgeoisie in this. Some people maintain that these reforms are a reflection of the democratic wishes of the British imperialists, whereas in fact the stated objects of the British imperialists are to suppress all active resistance and to reestablish a workable colonial administration from the small minority of comprador bourgeoisie. The White Paper states that this administration must command the "loyalty of all sections of the community" i. e. be good at deceiving the working people. So far all attempts by the British imperialists to go back to peacefully exploiting the working people have been upset by the mass resistance to its every policy. Whatever the outcome of these new illegal and anti-democratic elections and the constitutional convention, the British imperialists are going to try to ensure that its wishes are carried. For the working people the only road is one of active resistance and the building of unity on a conscious and proletarian basis, overthrowing the dictatorship of British imperialism and its allies, and smashing the centralised bourgeois state machine.

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