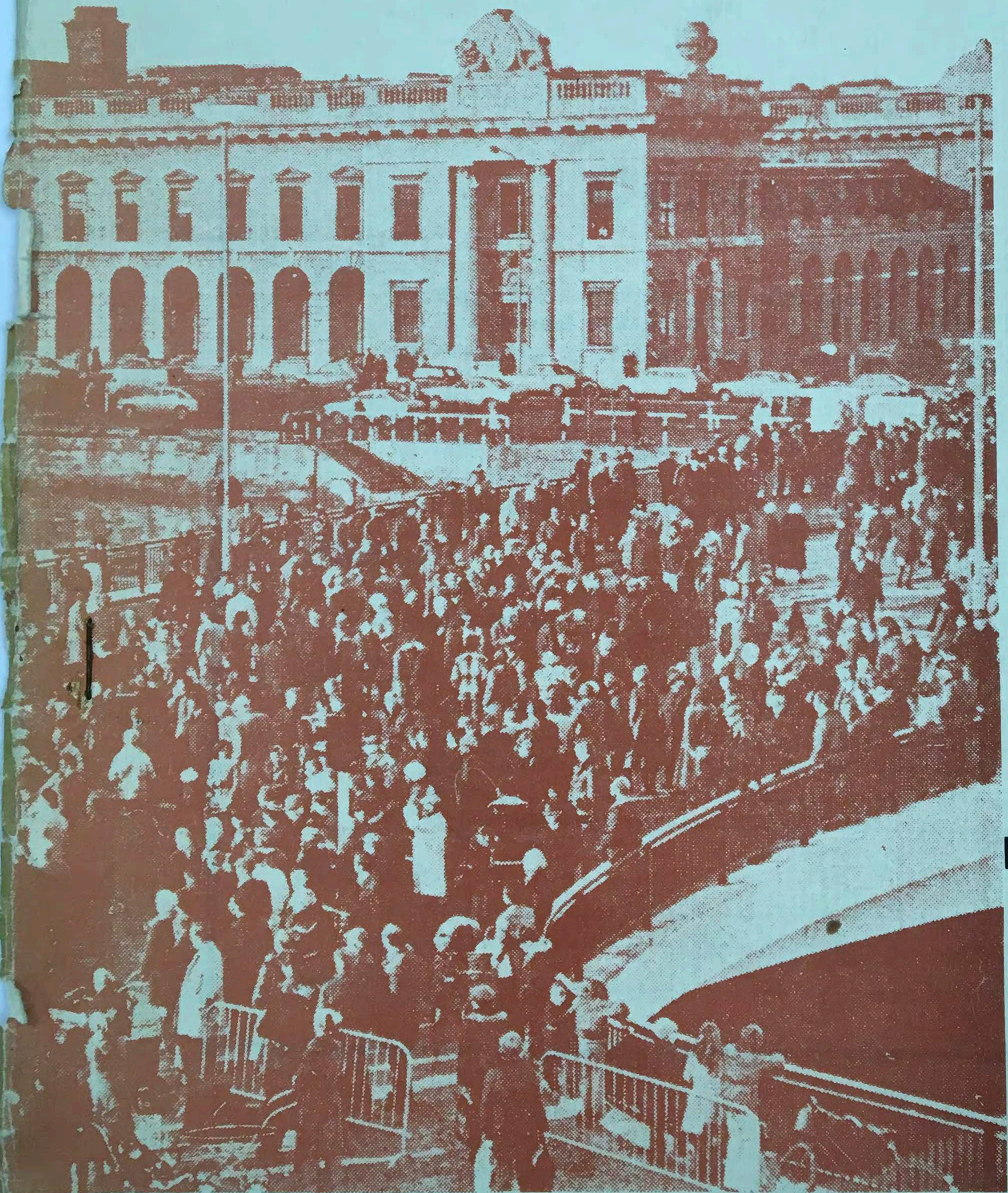


IRELAND

**32 COUNTIES  
IN STRUGGLE**

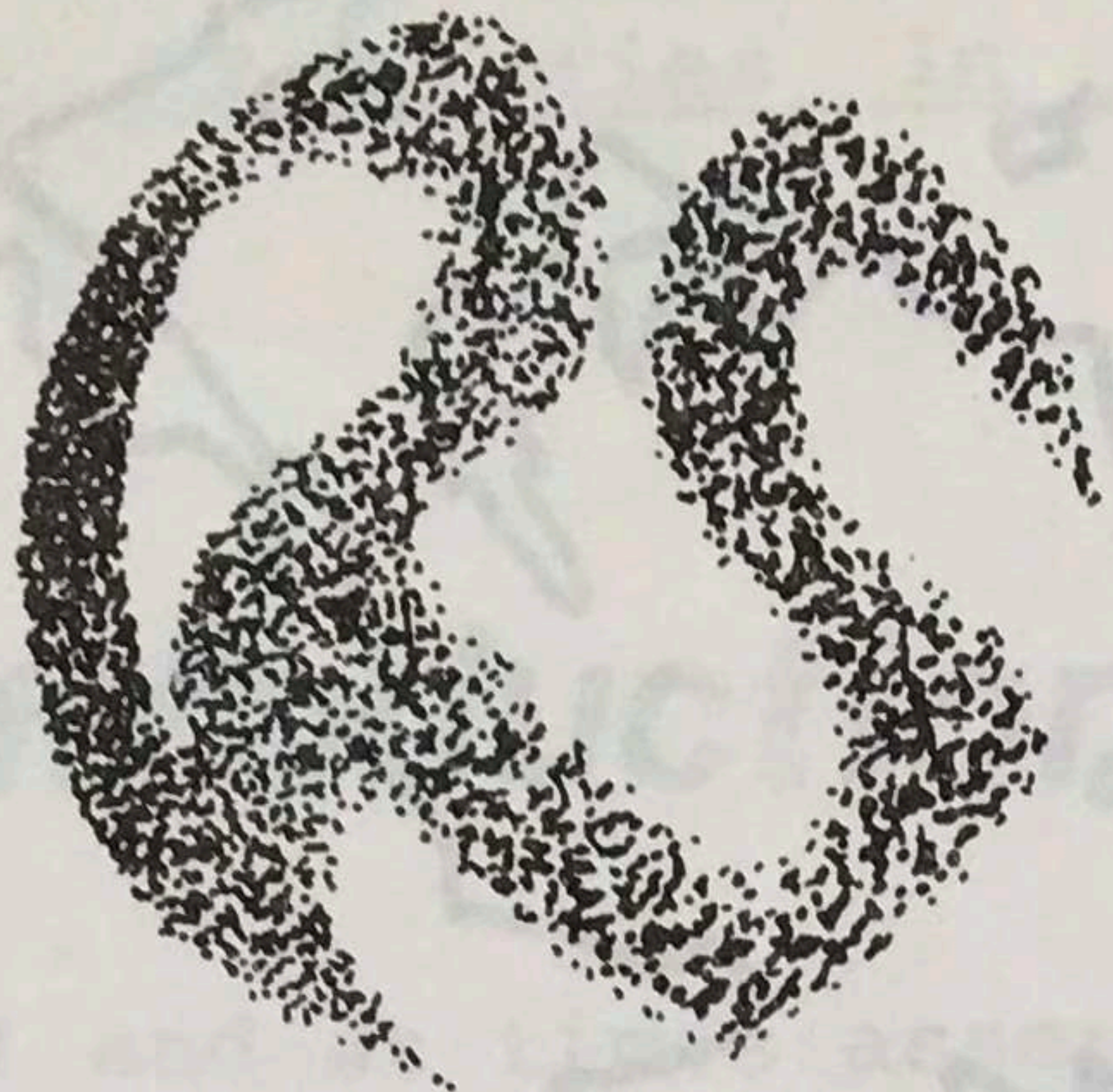


**REVOLUTIONARY  
STRUGGLE**

~~\$1.50~~

*READ*  
50p





STATISTICS ABOUT IRELAND  
AREA : 32,000 sq. miles  
POPULATION : 4 1/2 m.  
METROPOLITAN :  
Greater Dublin : 1 m.  
Greater Belfast : 1.5 m.  
POP. GROWTH : 12 per cent  
highest in Europe  
NATURAL RESOURCES :  
Gold, lead, gas, silver,  
coal and lignite  
NATURAL ASSETS :  
Climate, fertile land, young  
population

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32 Counties - Divided and Dominated

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FACTS ABOUT IRELAND

AREA : 32,000 sq. miles.

POPULATION : 4½ m.

URBANISATION :

Greater Dublin : 1 m.

Greater Belfast : .75 m.

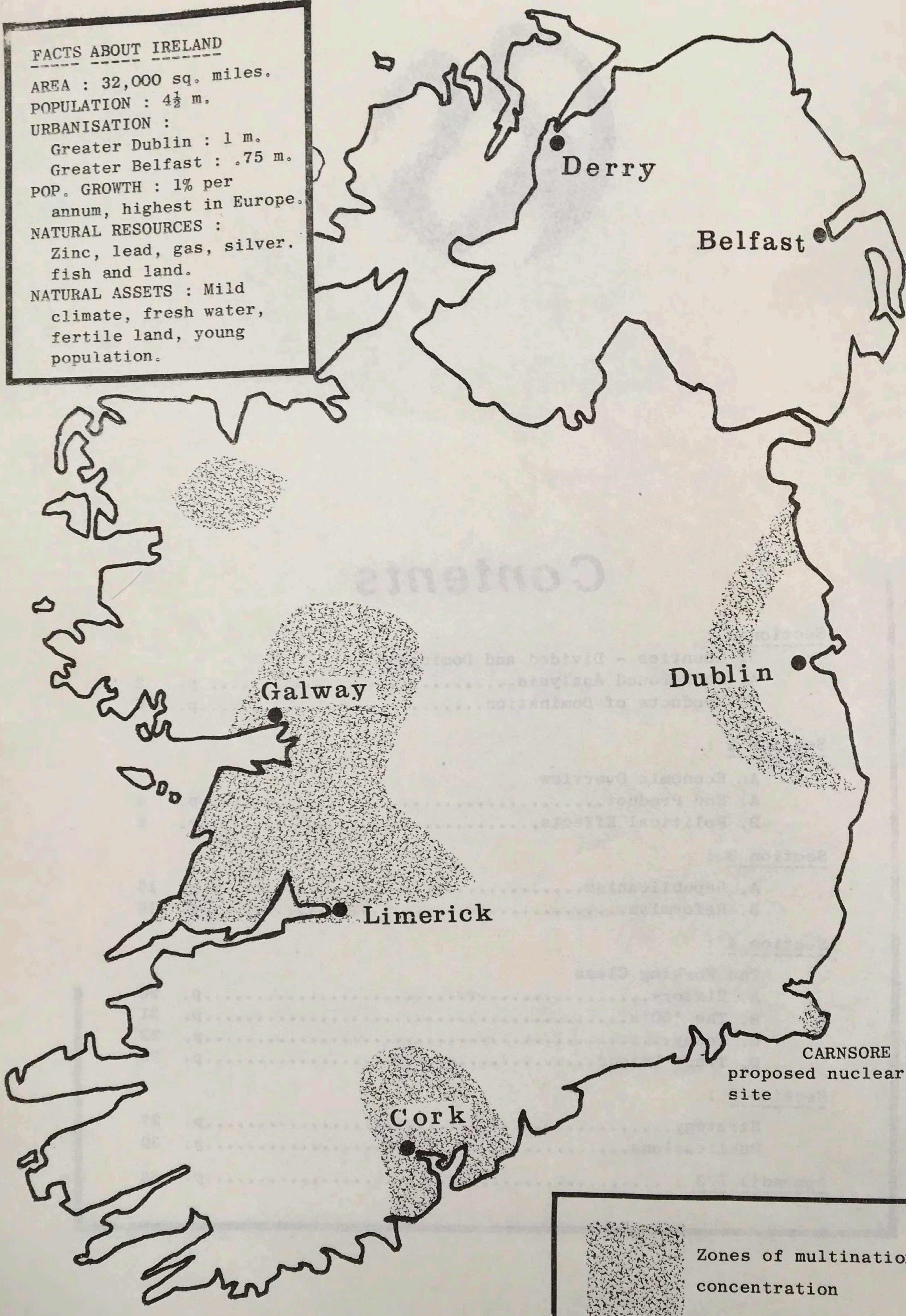
POP. GROWTH : 1% per annum, highest in Europe.

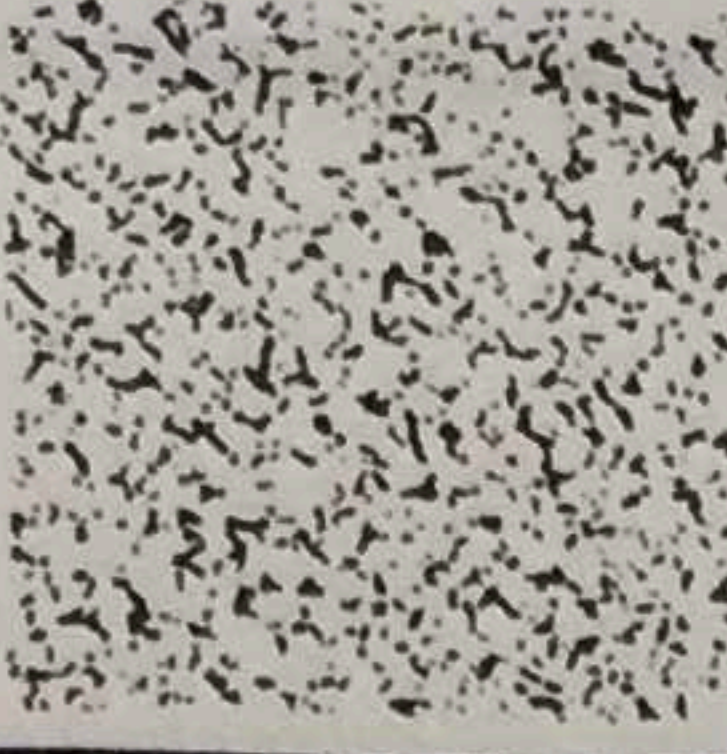
NATURAL RESOURCES :

Zinc, lead, gas, silver, fish and land.

NATURAL ASSETS : Mild climate, fresh water,

fertile land, young population.



 Zones of multinational concentration



## Introduction

This brief and at times assertive document has been prepared by Revolutionary Struggle on the occasion of our visit to the U.S. organised by our comrades of the Sojourner Truth Organisation.

It is a document of hope - it reflects the mood of our people in the present period. "Dawn is already more than a temptation"... that's how Carles Fonseca Amador put it to his judges in 1974. Amador, founding leader of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, was killed in battle two years later. But the Revolution moved forward in Nicaragua ; in the 32 Counties of Ireland though, dawn is still a temptation -

This is primarily a document of analysis - thus it demands study. It's not a summary of capitalist horrors... written to arouse sympathy. Neither is it a punchy exhortation to rebellion in arms. We have plenty of both in Ireland but we have no freedom, no equality, no self-determination, no independence. In fact, we have very little. That's why we believe analysis and study are important for our people and our friends.

Finally, it is simultaneously a balance sheet and a future projection. A sediment of our last 5 years of practice to be used as a catalyst for the next phase. 5 years? Nothing really but still a lot. You can judge that better after reading this document.

If there is an *international* Stock Exchange of revolutionary stock ..... ours will most probably find very few buyers at present. The same is probably the case of the Sojourner Truth Organisation or the comrades of the organisations who will help us and support us during the U.S. tour. So what? We are fighting with the people, few arms and little unity.

Simple idea - but always new. Think about it... and read the document.

Ireland Christmas 1979



**A.****Background analysis**

The 32 Counties of Ireland are one single social formation. (1) The political separation of the North Eastern part of Ireland (the six counties of Armagh, Antrim, Derry, Down, Fermanagh and Tyrone) from the 26 Counties of the south is an imperialist partition imposed by British rule for the last 60 years.

This partition divides the political structures and correspondingly the political position and situation of all the social classes of the island. This division is primarily the result of the defeat of the popular forces in the Civil War of 1919 - 22 which followed the Easter Rising of 1916 and still constitutes the primary - the essential - political contradiction of the social formation.

But inside this division, the 4½ million Irish people, live and produce under capitalist relations. Capitalism is the DOMINANT mode of production - though pre-capitalist forms of production still persist in certain parts of the country... especially the west and north-west. All struggle for a better life is therefore, essentially, a struggle against the rule of capital.... whether the people who are struggling are conscious of it or not.

This dominant rule of capital has historically assumed very particular national forms. This shows itself in the structure of social classes as well as in the form that the restructuring of classes is taking under the gigantic influx of international capital into the country over the last 15 to 20 years.

This particularity (the fact that capital is dominant in a non-unified social formation) is well reflected in the deep historical and political divisions of the various social classes. This is evident in their highly asymmetric inter relation of forces and especially in the form of the power of the state(s). While the state contains classic

(i) A historically and geographically determined territory where various modes of production coexist.



bourgeois democratic appearances, it is, in fact, a state with exceptional features.

This contradictory aspect of the state is the 'other side' of another important feature of the Irish situation - the weakness of the bourgeoisie. The owners and controllers of capital in Ireland are weak - primarily because they are divided. This division is deeper than the usual contradictions between fractions of the bourgeoisie in any country.

The divisions which criss cross the Irish bourgeoisie have wide historical roots which spread across economic, political, cultural, religious and social aspects. The essential source of that division was the desire of the major part of the dominant class to build an independent and sovereign capitalist economy unfettered by colonial domination; thus, the full participation of the bourgeois class in the "independent wave" starting in the late 19th century. A smaller part of the bourgeois class - mainly situated in the six counties - chose to continue its rule in close collaboration with British Capital. That 'choice' of the Unionist bourgeoisie (ideologically, culturally, politically and economically determined) still bedevils the Rule of capital in the 32 counties as a whole.

It is their choice, and the consequent capacity to draw some sections of workers as well as middle strata into their political projects, which constitutes the heart of the national question. Choice, no doubt, fanned by the imperialist interests of the British State up to very recently.

Thus has developed the very peculiarly national situation in Ireland; a situation in which the major part of capital - in which international capital is now dominant part - see economic and political unification as a desirable project. An ever diminishing and weakening part of the Unionist bourgeoisie - allied to a small fraction of British capital - see partition and the continuation of British rule as essential to their survival.....which, of course, it is!

The effect of those divisions among the bourgeoisie on the Irish masses provide the background to the highly explosive and charged situation of permanent war; 2,000 dead, prisons full to the brim, repression and all the bitterness and division which results from a partial war in a small country.

It is in this context that international capital is pouring into the country, north and south. It is international capital that has shaped and moulded the economic, political and social life of the people to suit its needs and interests.

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The British Army, in the six counties, is the sentinel of international capital; but the domination of the 32 counties is not only military. It is also economic, political and ideological.

## B.

### **Products of domination**

As a result of this domination, the standard of living of working people has been shattered over the last 7/8 years by a crisis which is the direct effect of the domination of the country by international capital. British, American and German capital EXPORT their crisis into the Irish economy. The 32 counties provides one outlet for this crisis of overproduction. Out-of-date technology is exported, outlawed production processes are imposed on the 32 Counties as capital desperately tries to resolve its crisis. The ever deeper penetration of international capital has deformed and disfigured the economy, politics and culture. Irish children are 'educated' by Kojak, The Professionals, Charlie's Angels. Both north and south, work, leisure, education, culture, media, press, food habits, transport, environment and language.....scarcely an area of everyday life has been left unmolested by the terror of capital.

At the economic level, domination means the complete uprooting of old traditional industries like textiles, shoe and leather manufacture, food processing and ship building in the North. In their place, capital imposes highly exploitative, high technology, capital-intensive 'new' industries like drugs, chemicals, electronics and synthetic textiles.

STC, SPS, ECCO, AKZO, SHELL, BP, TEXACO, PFIZER, ABBOTT, SYNTEX, ELYLILY, EXXON, COURTAULDS, BURLINGTON, DIGITAL, ALCAN, ASAHI, SNIA, RENAULT, VW, FIAT, WESTINGHOUSE, TOYOTA, BAYER and some 'Irish' monopolies like SMURFITS, CEMENT ROADSTONE, GULF, WATERFORD GLASS together with a number of semi-States share out to the Irish bourgeoisie a tiny fragment of their international production. And a tiny part of their International profits. Already we are experiencing the cycle of capital rationalisation, as multinationals close down, lay off and make redundant thousands of workers.



Another most clearcut effect of this deep penetration of capital in the country is that working people have responded and reacted in a process of counter violence. Both the British and the 'Free State' of 26 counties have been forced to come down with all their repressive might to crush that resistance. Both north and south, the bourgeoisie has rammed through a new round of brutal and exceptional laws to try and stem the tide of discontent.

These measures (Offenses Against the State Act, Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act) are reinforced by imprisonment without bail and preventive interment glossed as 'remand' with bail. Harsh and brutal sentences for "belonging to an illegal organisation" life imprisonment for taking up arms against an occupying Army are coupled with brutality in the detention centers and appalling conditions in the prisons, crowded with almost 3,000 prisoners.

Repression, coupled with internal political restructuring, is the only answer by a fragile bourgeoisie to resistance and revolt. The ruling class in the 32 Counties is not strong enough to give way to reforms and compromise. Demands for the smallest changes threaten and undermine the shaky authority of both States. Democratic changes, long ago conceived by advanced capitalism, such as "one person - one vote", contraception and 'separation of Church and State' provoke hostility and crisis. This is a WEAKNESS of Irish Capitalism.

The bourgeoisie of the 32 counties has not the economic and political power to follow through a bourgeois democratic process. It is divided and its contradictory parts are tied hand and foot to competing imperialist interests. In this respect, the most direct enemy of the Irish people is the relation of the various fractions of the Irish bourgeoisie to imperialism.

More specifically, British imperialism is the immediate and tactical enemy of the Irish revolution. The British Army and capital are the fragile link of the overall imperialist domination of the 32 Counties; but alongside this looms large another monster: U.S. capital which is increasing its hold over both North and South. - the single fastest growing part of international capital in Ireland.





The economy of the 32 Counties has gone through a deep process of reorganisation and upheaval over the past 15 - 20 years. This R E S T R U C T U R I N G has been the conscious policy of capital and State. Its objectives were to:

1. E L I M I N A T E some of the structural weaknesses of Irish capital by fully integrating the economy into a world process of capital accumulation.

2. D E S T R O Y the pockets of resistance and organisation built of the working class through the struggles of the sixties.

The resulting economic and political situation is one of a FULLY DOMINATED economy where the major decisions are carried out by international capital and its organisations ( International Monetary fund, World Bank, Trilateral Commission, E.E.C.) in co-operation with the 26 County and British States.

The 'structural weaknesses' referred to above all primarily the historical inability of the Irish bourgeois class to unite and see through an extended process of industrialisation... the essential attribute of an 'advanced' capitalist economy. This weakness is, in our opinion, the major cause of the widespread reliance of the Irish bourgeoisie on international capital. This reliance has a farreaching history.....but has been consciously and effectively accelerated since the end of World War II. Today, domination by multinational capital is so extensive that every aspect of daily life and relations are moulded and shaped by it.

## **A. End product**

On the side of capital, the widespread 'influx' of foreign capital has ruptured two crucial knots inside the power bloc.



Firstly, the delicate system of alliances worked out between the industrial and agricultural fractions of capital exploded, both in the six as well as in the 26 Counties. Unionism (which represented the political compromise in the six counties) and bourgeois republicanism (primarily articulated by the Fianna Fail Party in the 26 Counties) entered a period of intense crisis during the late sixties, which is still continuing 15 years later. The fractions of landed capital lost their last vestiges of power when their H.Q (the sectarian Stormont six County parliament) fell in 1972. In the 26 Counties, on the contrary, integration with sections of multinational capital helped the ranchers who have been able to secure their economic and political power base..... a process which hit the projects of Fianna Fail.

Secondly, the internal cohesion of the Irish bourgeoisie as a class, began to internally reproduce a new set of contradictions IN RELATION TO MULTINATIONAL CAPITAL. Whole sectors of traditional industries such as man made textiles, food, tobacco, footwear and leather industries as well as middle farmers were hit head on by the restructuring of the Irish economy under the control of international capital. Simultaneously, new comprador, collaborationist sectors of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie developed and flourished. This is a major contradiction because of the snowballing competition inside the bourgeoisie between sectors allied to U.S capital, and sectors allied to British, German, Japanese or Dutch capital.

On the side of the people this restructuring has produced a permanent crisis. About 200,000 workers are 'officially' unemployed in the 32 Counties as a whole..... 1 out of every 8 of the working population. In certain urban areas of Belfast, Dublin, Limerick, Newry, Derry or Strabane the rate of unemployment reaches 30 - 40%.

Another result of this restructuring is the internal re-organisation of the working population.... as old traditional industries went to the scrap heap, 'new' industries and a new, unskilled, farmer background, working class burst forth.

But in absolute terms, the working population in the 32 Counties as a whole, is smaller than what it was in 1922 - the year of independence of the 26 Counties State. As a result of this actually shrinking workforce, about 1.5 million people (one-third of the total population) depend on social welfare for their survival. 20% of the people live under conditions described as poverty - by the States. 62% of all adults own no wealth whatsoever while the rate of inflation has averaged 15% over the last 10 years.

These scanty but frightening figures are the REAL background to 10 years of war, 2,000 dead, thousands of prisoners, the highest strike rate in the E.E.C. and an economy whose external debt is one of the highest per capita in the world.



A dominated economy whose structure resembles many 3rd World Countries. For example, in the six Counties, a mere 34 non-Irish monopoly firms control over half of all manufacturing employment. Even within that pyramidal structure, certain branches of industry are even more vertical: for example six huge firms control the textile industry of the six Counties (one of the biggest employers): ICI and COURTAULDS (BRITISH), BRITISH ENKALON (DUTCH - despite its name), HOESCHT (German) and DUPONT and MONSANTO (U.S.)

Inside this general overview two further factors need clarification. The first is the already mentioned important - but unequal - role played by landed capital in the economy of the six counties where less than 10% of the people work on the land.

Notwithstanding its importance though, agriculture has not escaped the massive restructuring prevalent in the economy as a whole. The number of agricultural holdings for example has decreased from 650,000 to just under 200,000 in the last 70 years. And the destruction of the small farmer is continuing further by the planned marginalisation of a further 100,000 small farms 'destined' to disappear by 1985 in the 26 Counties alone according to the EEC. This process of conscious capitalisation of agriculture is helped and propped along by the STATE through a conscious and differentiated policy on taxation and credit.

The second point which necessitates study is the dislocation which exists between the plans and objectives of multinational capital and the needs of the economy as a whole. Most if not the entire, multinational industry, produces for export. As such, the ups and downs of the buying power of the Irish people are not a serious factor in the planning and accumulation mechanisms of these firms. As most of the raw material is also imported, the viability of these firms has little to do with the internal supply and demand mechanism and dynamic of the Irish economy. The resulting dislocation has economic and political effects which are only beginning to be felt at present. Some of these effects will be studied in the later section of this document on the working class.

## **B.**

### **Political Effects**

The most clear cut effect of this extraordinary influx of multinational capital is that working people have responded to this restructuring in a process of resistance and violence. Both the British and the Free State have been forced to come down with their repressive might to crush that resistance .



The use of the British army with an extraordinary battery of brutal and exceptional laws are characteristic bourgeois responses in the 6 counties. Equally, in the 26 counties, the extensive use of the Police ( Gardai) the Special (Branch) political police and the Army also propped up with a whole array of repressive legislation, is an able witness to the popular feeling about the situation.

\* \* \* \* \*

If we now look deeper into the power bloc, it becomes evident that the hardest hit fraction of capital was the non-monopoly section. In the 6 counties this influx of foreign capital began fragmenting the fragile unity of the bourgeoisie...this fragmentation has been exacerbated further by the people's struggle - led by the I.R.A. Partition was what gave Unionism its reason for existence...popular acquiescence to partition was what gave Unionism its breathing space. When partition and restructuring were challenged by a people in arms- Unionism shattered. Its H.Q. - Stormont Parliament collapsed.

Stormont itself, was never a 'normal' bourgeois State. Its roots were blood and terror. It was built and maintained on sectarianism and violence. It was a State in permanent crisis often at a high pitch. Never stable, never accepted- pumped up and defended by British garrisons - based on excluding a part of the people from the political process.

The political and ideological crisis of Unionism produced a highly dangerous situation in 1974/75. A political vacuum developed. This was the period immediately after the collapse of Stormont in which the pettybourgeois organisations stepped into the political vacuum. While the British State sought a political formula designed to eventually reunite the North and South of Ireland ( the Sunningdale Agreement), the



Ulster Workers Council ( a right wing organisation ) called a mass strike to destroy this agreement by paralysing the economy. The bourgeoisie lost its momentum under the force of the pettybourgeois reaction and resigned itself to regroupment under the hegemony of the pettybourgeoisie and its organisations : Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party, Ulster Defense Association and the Ulster Volunteer Force.

As this serious political situation was developing on the one side; on the other, the anti-imperialist resistance was in bits. The Provisionals were screaming victory, when victory was in reality very far away. They now recognise this as an error.

We were on the brink of a classic fascist take-over. In these years the 6 Cos recorded the lowest incidence of strikes in Europe, while the economic crisis was in full flight. The result of this has been that the D.U.P. the Paisley-led right wing pettybourgeois party is now the largest political party in the 6 counties. But neither the contradictions inside the loyalist/unionist area have been overcome, nor has the resistance been smashed -both of which would have been necessary for fascism to come to power - historically fascism has come to power constitutionally. The threat is not yet dead. (1)

The last 2 years have seen a new period open in the war. Inside the 6 counties the British State have been implementing a policy of 'containment' of the war rather than outright offensive against the resistance. After 11 years of war, time has proved itself to be on the people's side. The British State and British capital are in severe internal crisis. International capital is seeking a stable environment for extracting its huge profits. U.S. capital in particular,

(1) see 'Fascism the Threat in the North of Ireland' pamphlet produced by Revolutionary Struggle and Peoples Democracy. 1974.



has begun to actively play a political role in the 6 counties complementing its growing domination of the economy. Parts of U.S. capital attempt to stand in direct contradiction to British capital, displaying fully the role of British capital inside an overall scenario of a United Ireland dependent primarily on US capital. Other parts of U.S. capital seek a political future for Ireland which gives some space for British interests. The rate of profit on US manufacturing capital in Ireland is 29% - the highest in the world!

In the ghettos, the people suffer severely in housing, unemployment and inflation - the effects of a worsening economic crisis. More and more, the terror of capital is felt amongst the protestant workers. There are thousands of young people who have lived 10 years of war, who live by violence outside the direct control of any single political force, and to whom repression is the only means offered by the society for their integration.

As long as this situation continues, it is likely that the war will be 'resolved' while the interests of working people remain excluded from the political arena. It means that new imperialist forces will consolidate a new form of economic and political domination of the people, north and south. It means that the aspiring pettybourgeoisie, on both sides of the sectarian divide along with a comprador bourgeois class will attain political power.

And it is precisely this comprador fraction which has been emerging as the dominant force in the 26 counties. It is the victorious fraction of a shattered unity - a traditionally shaky unity of the Irish bourgeoisie hit by the increasing domination of international capital. As different imperialist interests began carving up the land, the resources and the labour of the working class - local capitalist



interests started taking sides.

The rupture has been a severe one - all the more serious because the Irish bourgeoisie has no coherent class ideology of its own. Its Republican tradition divides - it must constantly bury the past, distort its own bloody and short history. The gravesides of veteran Republicans, the Centenaries of executed leaders of rebellion, become sources of division and disunity among the bourgeoisie.

Charles Haughey, the newly elected leader of the Fianna Fail party is now Taoiseach (Prime Minister) in the 26 counties. Only 9 years ago, he was on trial for gun running into the 6 counties. His election takes place at a time when Fianna Fail are divided down the middle - independentist and comprador fractions are at each others throats. Haughey's election is a victory for the independentist fraction inside the Fianna Fail Party.

The capacity of the bourgeoisie to paper over its cracks and heal its wounds is determined directly by the degree of militancy of the people. The last 18 months have seen a surge forward by working people in the 26 counties, reopening the wounds of the bourgeoisie, deepening its divisions and undermining its fragile authority. Wage struggles, housing battles, demands for reduced taxation, distinct class lines emerging inside the fishermen and farmers - all serve to threaten the capacity of the ruling class in the 26 counties to retain political power. Ranchers, property speculators, foreign companies and those wealthy by inheritance pay no tax. 30% of wages and salaries go in taxation. Yet the ruling class makes no concessions as one quarter of a million working people demonstrate on the streets in Spring 1979. The Fianna Fail government in power since 1977, has been rocked time and again by the demands of the people, and each time responds



with indecisive foot shuffling. Nowhere to move. And quickly its own fragile unity, based as it is on right-wing populism weakens and shows signs of fragmentation.

The bourgeoisie in the 26 counties is stuck as the junior diplomatic partner of imperialism, in every sense. They can never get out of it. The Irish bourgeoisie is the direct enemy of the Irish revolution. The Fine Gael/ Labour centrist coalition of 1973 tried to unite its warring factions. They didn't succeed. Today, Fianna Fail are rapidly failing in the same game. It is the movement of the people which has inserted the strongest barriers to that process of unity.

Inside all this, repression continues unabated. New anti-terrorist squads are trained with the assistance of the West German State, institutes of ideological repression are bolstered by the American techniques. The State becomes the direct adversary in any struggle for economic demands. Right wing forces shout for deeper repression - anti-strike laws, more use of the army to break disputes, new prisons for women and kids, evictions of squatters, violent suppression of prison riots, conscription of the unemployed.

At the present time, the Fianna Fail government is the weak link in the chain of bourgeois command in Ireland. They are in deep crisis. Their vulnerable point is in their relations with imperialism, on which they depend so heavily. We are living in a period of counter-offensive by the working people. The State has been badly hit this last year... a five month postal strike on top of a series of other disputes in circulation as well as production. The more 'independentist' sections of the ruling class are making their voices heard - organising distinctly and sometimes



separately. Working people are constantly testing their strength and the weakness of the bourgeoisie. We predict a period of continuous crisis and instability, where contradictions accumulate and intensify. A period marked by violent confrontation, reorganisation of political parties, new faces without new projects. A future which can only mean deeper class confrontation and struggle, in which class lines cannot be camouflaged inside projects of national interest.

domination of Ireland by England. All three major social classes and their particular aspirations have moulded Republicanism and have in turn been moulded by the Republican ideology and practice. It is this multi-class aspect of Republicanism which gives it its non-united, and at times sharply contradictory, makeup. The historical role of Republicanism has gone through various changes since the period at the end of the 18th century when the founders of Irish nationalism, like Wolfe Tone, first worked out an organised Republican political expression in the form of the United Irishmen. Republicanism today continues to reproduce itself on the fertile contradictions generated by the lasting division and partition of the country.

## Reformism

In a historical sense, Republicanism is the political force attempting to complete the unfinished bourgeois-democratic revolution by Republicanism. It is a party which aims to the revolutionary Irish Republican Army and the organised Republicanism as well. The Irish Republican Army is a party which is a reaction to the centre-right. The Irish Republican Party of Republicanism is a solid segment of the nationalist movement of Ireland. Since the establishment of the Free State in 1922, it has steadily advanced and reorganised its projects and aspirations. To suit the political and economic interests of the bourgeoisie, the alliance that it represented, turning a way into organisations the economic and political interests of a British imperialism as well. It is the changing type of relation between the Irish bourgeois class and British imperialism which explains the fact that the Irish Republican Party is both the party of protection and the party of foreign capital in the early 20th century.



**A.****Republicanism**

Republicanism is Irish nationalism. It 's an ideological and a political practice of many classes. Republicanism alongside reformism are the two dominant political forces inside the people in the 32 counties. Both have stamped their mark deep inside the historical development of the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist forces in Ireland. In this section, we will examine Republicanism and reformism in turn.

Republicanism has its roots in the colonial domination of Ireland by England . All three major social classes and their particular aspirations have moulded Republicanism and have in turn , been moulded by the Republican ideology and practice. It is this multi class aspect of Republicanism which gives it its non-unified , and at times sharply contradictory, makeup. The historical role of Republicanism has gone through vast changes since the period at the end of the 18th century when the founders of Irish nationalism, like Wolfe Tone, first worked out an organised Republican political expression in the form of the United Irishmen. Republicanism today continues to reproduce itself on the fertile contradictions generated by the lasting division and partition of the country.

In a historical sense, Republicanism is the political force attempting to complete the unfinished bourgeois democratic revolution. By Republicanism here we do not simply refer to the Provisional IRA but Fianna Fail and unorganised Republican sympathisers as well.

Fianna Fail Republicanism is bourgeois nationalism. The Fianna Fail party is a bourgeois party, a reactionary party of the centre-right. The Fianna Fail type of Republicanism is a solid rampart of the imperialist domination of Ireland. Since the establishment of the Free State in 1922, it has slowly revamped and reoriented its projects and aspirations, to suit the political and economic interests of the bourgeois alliance that it represented, taking always into consideration the economic and political interests of British imperialism as well. It is the changing type of relation between the Irish bourgeois class and British imperialism which explains the fact that the Fianna Fail party is both the party of protectionism in the 30's and the party which threw open the 26 counties economy to foreign capital in the early 60's.



This bourgeois Republican Party still commands a considerable mass base both in the cities and in the countryside ; but huge contradictions implicit between its Republican aspirations of attaining unity of the 32 counties on the one hand, and its collaborationist practice on the other, divide the party. This creates a crisis and gives rise to many ruptures and splits inside the Fianna Fail party, as well as between the party and its mass base.

Sinn Fein and the IRA on the other hand, represent essentially petit bourgeois nationalism....though inside them bourgeois and working class elements coexist and fight it out. Sinn Fein Republicanism has a very crucial ideological role and a truly popular base, feeding off the unfinished tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution, as well as the anger and oppression suffered by the masses. As such it usually plays the role of the subconscious of the people, urging and reminding everyone that the British Army is still roaming the streets 60 miles north of Dublin. Sinn Fein is the peak of Irish nationalism and probably its last historical form.

The Republican movement today enjoys a large popular sympathy and support which are diffuse and mostly unorganised.

## **B.**

### **Reformism**

Reformism, as an organised and worked out politics of a section of the bourgeois class with petit bourgeois elements as support, is the most dominant ideology inside the working class. Reformism in Ireland has its roots in the IInd. International - that was an international organisation of social-democratic parties, among them the Russian SD Party with Lenin, the British LP and others.

The IInd. International dominated the working class movement of the European continent and indeed of the whole world during the 30 years between 1890 and 1920. The big



break inside the IIInd International came on the eve of the 1914-18 World War, when the revolutionary sections of the International opposed the war and argued that the workers had nothing to gain from a participation in this bosses war. Lenin, the great leader of the Irish working class - James Connolly and the leader of the Scottish workers, John McLean argued for revolutionary abstentionism - for workers not to participate in the war.

The chauvinist sections, on the other hand, took reactionary positions and supported the war effort of their respective ruling classes. The break between the two fractions consolidated and further deepened in the aftermath of the Great October Revolution in Russia. The revolutionary sections broke away completely and laid the basis of the future communist movement which got known as the IIIrd International. What remained formed the basis of the various reformist labour and socialist parties which today make up the Socialist International, including fully centrist or right wing organisations like the Israeli Labour Party - Mapai, the German SPD, the British Labour Party and others.

Reformism in Ireland is peddled mainly by the Labour Party in the 26 counties and the Social Democratic Party in the 6 counties...together reflecting the views and collecting the votes of about 20-25% of the population. But what is striking in Ireland is that both reformism and republicanism combine in a very particular national fashion. Though they are disparate, if not contradictory in objectives and stated aims, they include identical and strikingly similar political/ideological discourses and practices. Themes such as democratic socialism, regionalism, workers participation in management, co-operatives, control of national resources, and Representativity of the working class, are trotted out in a repetitive fashion.

The unresolved national question drives a serious wedge in this general convergence of republicanism and reformism. This is a real contradiction, dominated nevertheless, by its unifying aspect...the effect of the unifying aspects can be seen in the indelible mark of both ideologies and practices on the working class; Both act as a barrier to totalising and unifying the economic and political/military struggle of the people. Both are capable of extremism....neither are particularly legal. Both pull the independent core of the class out of place and channel it into fragmented dreams around bourgeois projects. They both viciously oppose all autonomous working class intervention and action.



Republicanism and Reformism tie the proletariat to capital and its logic: property, profit, to the politics of the bourgeoisie and parliamentarianism. They tie the proletariat to all types of bureaucratized and hierarchical forms of organisation which stifle initiative and dampen militancy. They both streamline the people and perpetuate divisions of age, skill, sex, region, economic and political struggle.

In that specific sense, we define them both as obstacles to the long term development of a mass based anti capitalist and anti imperialist movement in the 32 counties, although we accept that they can play a progressive role in some instances.

The fact that this peculiar combination is dominant inside the popular forces has provided the major headache and worry to socialist and revolutionary communist militants in Ireland. How to organise and politically define republicanism and reformism, how to conceptually situate this combination (if indeed it is agreed that it is a combination) and - most important - what attitude to adopt towards one and/or the other ... the various positions on those questions have been the dividing lines between the organisations of the revolutionary left in the 32 counties - and this for decades.

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One of the most 'popular' variants has been the "Shift them to the Left" policy, adopted by both militants of the Communist Party of Ireland and various shades of Irish Trotskyism. This apparently 'practical' proposition argues primarily a line based on a simultaneous expectation of a gradual radicalisation "through experience of struggle and/or revolutionary influences" as well as a horizontal rupture due to the revolutionary potential of the rank and file (or 'base') opposed to the traitors or decadent petit bourgeois leaders at the top!

Thus the line is to douse the scene with a good recipe of demands and programmes so that rank and file militants can see how wayward the eternal leaders are, while simultaneously profiting from the radicalisation that struggle inevitably is supposed to produce. Attack the leadership, try to recruit the base and hope for the best. It is easy to see that this line is completely marginalised and defeated 90% of the time, producing mistrust, bitterness and sometimes fratricidal violence and killings. As for the 10% of the time - when it is successful, it produces splits like the early Official Republican/Provisional Republican split, partly produced by the tinkering of Communist Party militants inside the Republican movement.



A more intellectual, softer and safer variant of the above position is the 'critical support' line. This position, very popular with most of the English Trotskyists as well as with the organisation Peoples Democracy, covers everything from unqualified support to deep and far reaching disagreement.

Finally, straight and outright anti-Republicanism has been practiced by a number of organisations who would like to see themselves as part of the revolutionary left. Organisations like the British and Irish Communist Organisation, the Socialist Party, Sinn Fein the Workers Party (the early Officials) and the Militant tendency of the Labour Party denounce and denigrate the Republicans as "green fascists", "nationalistic terrorists" and similar names. Most of these organisations base their position on the theory that there exist two nations in Ireland ... one Catholic and one Protestant... and that any attempt to unify the 32 counties is in fact an aggression on the rights of the Protestant nation who want to keep their ties with England.

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## A. - History

The rich lessons of the struggle of the working class against colonial domination and against capital - be it controlled by Irish bourgeois or not - are not yet the property of the class. Proletarian history is either brutally fragmented or else purely and simply distorted, to such an extent that its continuity ruptures and the historical effect of that experience is hopelessly diluted.

The appropriation of working class history by State and capital is the effect of the gaping absence of a revolutionary working class organisation as well as the corresponding proliferation of a petit bourgeois intelligentsia who constantly rewrite history to suit their Republican or reformist prejudices. From this arises an absolute necessity for the re-appropriation of that history by the class itself..... one of the major tasks of RS.

While the people are constantly bombarded with an array of trivia about the minutest detail of this or that 'historical leader' or 'event'.....truly mass experiences such as the General Strike/Lockout of 1913, the Limerick and Tipperary Soviets in 1919, the unemployed agitation of the 30s and the tremendous accumulation of working class struggles all through the 60s get demoted to - at best - a footnote in popular consciousness.

The result of this at times dreadful situation, is that the spontaneous explosion of anti-capitalist feeling and action finds little echo in the consciousness and collective memory of the workers - except perhaps in tiny pockets of organised urban proletarian concentrations. A historical void reigns where action appears cut off from its past and sort of hanging out in the vacuum.....a void well exploited by State and capital, and their organic intellectuals among the people.

This historical void reflects organisational weakness and fragile political consciousness; but it is further exacerbated - in fact reaches breaking point - there were historical divisions already ferment. In the six Counties, history - in the hands of capital and its ideologues - becomes a fully fledged divisive and anti-working class weapon. Protestant and Catholic workers stare each other as enemies across the historical divide where facts and myth converge to create the most frightening spectacle of fratricide. This is a fact....and no abstract talk of unity can blur the issue and the consequences arising from it.



# B.

## The 60s

The widespread restructuring of the social formation described in the preceding Sections has had an inevitable effect of recomposition on the proletariat. While large sections of the old workforce concentrated around traditional industries such as textile, food, leather, footwear and agricultural industry have been gradually marginalised, new and growing sectors of manufacturing and services industries - mostly under the domination of international capital - have become the material base of a 'new' working class. This recomposition is not only a numerical process of substitution of one set of workers by another but a profound and radical transformation of all the economic, political and ideological structures regulating the daily life of a working people. It is indeed a systematic transformation of the mass social and political practice of the Irish proletariat.

Everything that had once defined the Irish Working class - strong Trade Unions, rigidity, class consciousness, respect of working class traditions (pickets, shop stewards) - has come under a vast offensive initiated by the recent influx of foreign capital in the 32 Counties. This was the response of capital to the militancy of the sixties..... a well planned conscious response aided and abetted by the structures of international capital: International Monetary Fund, OECD, EEC Commission, World Bank, and lately the Trilateral Commission.

The upsurge of the struggles of the working class in the 60s ( 1 ) led by transport, power, building and dock workers (all traditional sectors of directly productive employment) gave a maturity and confidence to the proletariat never before experienced to that point. Unprecedented increases in wages and improved conditions at work gave Irish workers a much higher overall living standard during that period.....this powerful surge forward culminated in the late 60s in a new explosion of social struggles for better housing, against entry to the European Economic Community and the beginning in the six Counties of a truly mass civil disobedience campaign essentially directed against the Unionist ruling class.

The 60s were truly the apex but also the end of an era.... the response of the divided bourgeoisie was war, crisis, repression, an extensive array of anti-people legislation. This organised attack on working class living standards, exacerbated through inflation, gradually wore down the militancy and embryonic class organisation which was emerging in the late sixties. Social - democracy in the form of the Irish Labour Party was in coalition with Fine Gael (see Glossary), and acted as the privileged form of the development of new forms of capitalist command

(1.) See article in Ripening of Time no. 11 'Changing Patterns of domination since World War 11'.

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The early seventies was a sombre period of defeat and defensive for the working class. Unemployment, lay-offs, inflation, repression and violence hit the proletariat hard.

# C.

## Today

As we are entering the 80s the proletariat is emerging out of a long dark tunnel. Certainly a number of gains have been surrendered....working class living standards and working class organisation is in bad shape. But what is gradually becoming evident over the last two-three years.... and especially since Fianna Fail has come back to power in the 26 counties..... is that the deep economic and political crisis has provoked a mass climate of anger and discontent which is bursting regularly to the surface.

For two years now an incessant series of strikes, demonstrations and occupations highlighted by the occasional confrontation with the Law and Order forces of capital, have formed the background to an intensifying war effort in the six counties. All sections of the working class, from Post Office workers to dockers, to transport workers, to service workers, to nurses and social workers....are part of this new emergence of working class militancy. All of the working class people are fighting for more MONEY. In spring '79 250,000 working people marched in the biggest demonstration ever seen in Ireland this century against the Government and its policies on Taxation. This reflects in an unmistakable way the fact that the privileged tool of State/capital planning has been the use of money....not



so much in terms of 'hard cash' but money as capital. Money is beginning to be associated ever so tightly with capital. Devaluation and inflation, both destructive experiences of the Irish proletariat, were the primary mechanisms of this transformation of money from a relatively autonomous commodity to a weapon and tool of State intervention - the peoples' reaction did not take long to manifest itself.

Alongside this 'open' mobilisation, new methods of resistance have developed inside workplaces. Organised sabotage, high level of ripping-off of commodities and truly mass appropriation of robbed time through mass scale absenteeism from work (officially calculated at around 17% average) as well as general slow-working have been the social responses of the proletariat to the restructuring of capital.

### Internal picture

The picture we get from the above highlights the reality, demonstrates to all intents and purposes, that the project of restructuring undertaken by capital is not working very well. The extension of the multinational control (new phase of imperialism) has not been able to destroy the fundamental national/regional/continental/international opposition of rigidity of labour. On the contrary, it has created a situation where a socialisation of labour has produced a whole new series of identical political and social practices which hits capital at its weakest links.

This is not to say of, course, that the restructuring has been without results. It is though a political beginning of our strategy, in so far as the restructuring has failed to either smash the overall combativity of the class or to reverse the tendency of the rate of profit to fall. Which after all were its major two objectives.

What the restructuring has done though, is to accentuate and deepen divisions and contradictions among the people..... as well as create new points of rupture. It is this internal effect of restructuring which will prove to be the most difficult obstacle for revolutionary organisation in the next 10 years.

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The partition of the country divides not only the land and the political structures of Ireland but also acts as a primary weapon towards the smashing of the national unity of working people. It is the greatest wound of them all, the greatest barrier towards unity. This division is the historical price the working class has to pay for being incapable of asserting its own autonomy and wrenching control of its own affairs from the bourgeoisie in the last 50 years. To say this, to assert it as brutally, is to completely separate ourselves from all the shibboleths of 'relative privileges' being the source of the disunity. This imagery, very alive in the circles of the traditional left, argues that Protestant workers are politically backward because of their 'relatively' privileged economic position in relation to Catholic workers in the northeastern part of the island. This in a certain sense, shifts the problem from the bourgeois class and its imperialist allies and throws it back onto the shoulders of the working people - somehow partition is a political manifestation of 'economic supremacy'. The political significance of this is that partition becomes a contradiction among the people rather than a contradiction between the people and capital.

Partition is a political division imposed on the working class by capital.....not a reflection of inequalities reproduced among the people.

Another series of very important divisions also criss cross the proletariat....like between men and women, between those who have jobs and those who do not, between young and old, between those who work with their hands and those work with their heads, between town/city people and country people....all these divisions, whose source is the universal division of labour inherited by capitalism from pre-capitalist modes of production, but intensified and fortified hundredfold by capitalist system itself, rupture the unity of the proletariat and make political work among the people a very complex and sensitive process indeed.

The fundamental effect of these divisions, many of them overlapping at times, is the political reality of SECTORALISM which acts as the primary source against the development of revolutionary class consciousness. Sectoralism among working people is the one single most important barrier to independent working class organisation. As such it moulds and shapes our perspective, our fundamental starting point, the kingpin of our methodology:

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Everything that divides the people is regressive and reactionary, everything that unites the people around the interests of the most exploited is progressive and revolutionary.

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# D.

## Trade Unions

The level of unionisation among working people in Ireland is very high. Well over half of the workforce is in Trade Unions and in recent years whole sectors of white collar workers - including middle management - have contributed enormously to the increase of the numbers of members of Trade Unions.

There are up to a hundred different Trade Unions in Ireland....many of them small craft Unions dating back to the initial struggle to unionise the various trades: the bricklayers, the carpenter, the stone-cutters etc. Unionisation in Ireland started in the middle of the 19th century.....40 years later, at the beginning of the 20th century there was a long drawn out battle to form one big Union - a general Union for unskilled workers. This battle in which both James Connolly and James Larkin played a crucial part ( 1 ) had to overcome a strenuous resistance by Irish employers. They organised too, in the Federated Union of Employers ( FUE ) and that was the background to the historical 1913 General Strike / Lockout.

Today the two biggest Unions, the Irish Transport and General Workers Union ( ITGWU ) and the Workers Union of Ireland ( WUI ) are the result of that battle and together make up more than 50% of the total Union membership. Most of the smaller craft Unions are English based. Most of the Unions in Ireland are members of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions ( ICTU ) in the 26 Counties and the Northern Ireland Trade Union Committee in the six counties.

This vast patchwork of Unions means that in one single Workplace there can be anything from one to thirty Unions. The results of this are often lack of co-ordination , competition and conflict, and very often bitter inter-Union struggles which further divide the working class.

This institutionalised division and disunity of the Trade Union Movement - or the organised Labour Movement as it is referred to in Ireland - contrasts heavily with the overall homogeneity and consistency of working class political and social behaviour. It is this contradiction which is the heart of our perspectives on the Trade Union Movement.

(1) It is important to note here the influence of the early American Trade Union Movement on both men - both had been in the US and worked in various manual jobs.



Revolutionary Struggle draws a sharp distinction between the proletariat - as a class - and the organised Trade Union Movement. We look at the two as two separate poles inside the class... poles which at times converge or at times diverge widely. Two poles distinct and independent of each other.

In our opinion, it is only this position which can account for the fact that simultaneously, the Trade Union Movement was able to organise 250,000 people on the Tax Marches this Spring, while in other instances Trade Unions act as simple agents of the State inside struggles. It is an undeniable fact that most disputes in workplaces start completely out side of the control of the institutionalised instances of the Trade Unions.... and in many cases against their advice. Many working class comrades who have played leading roles in strikes have been expelled from Trade Unions..... Trade Union Officials have openly collaborated with the repressive forces.

Many trade Unions, dominated by reformist politics, see their role as the representatives of capital inside the people... others see it the other way around. But in both cases they play a vital role in crisis management.

A lot of working class militants have begun seeing their Trade Unions as still another instance of the opposition. The feeling that Unions do not represent the interests of the workers, the realisation that the maze of procedures, structures, layers of representation are little less than another instance of State control of struggles have created a situation where a very substantial anti-Union feeling is beginning to develop in workplaces. Workers begin to actively boycott Union meetings and the advice or feelings of Trade Unions do not get considered when action is decided upon.

This is a far-reaching situation which is going to influence the economic struggles of the proletariat in the next few years.



Section 5

strategy

The struggle to develop strategy is not only a theoretical confrontation. It has a material content. It's a human fight to evaluate knowledge, experience and analysis. It is a means to arrive at a new political ground. As such, strategy is a collectively arrived method of political practice of an organisation.

Our strategy has come from the welding of our experiences inside the class struggle of the 32 Cos with communist theory. Using the theory of Marx, developed since by Mao, Gramsci, Lenin, James Connolly and other communists in their own situations, we have applied the theory to the concrete conditions in which classes are struggling against State and Capital in Ireland today. From this, we have made analysis of our immediate situation. Some of the results of this analysis have been shared with you in previous sections of this pamphlet.

With this analysis, we have set ourselves a number of short and long term strategic objectives for the coming period. The only means for implementing that strategy is ORGANISATION. Revolutionary Struggle is a marxist-leninist organisation structured in a form appropriate to Irish conditions. Here are some of the main strategic objectives we have set ourselves in our organisational practice.

**1** The first element of our strategy is to attack the PROCESS OF RESTRUCTURING. New Agencies, Tribunals, Boards and Committees which have been charged with the implementation of capitals' plans. WE OPPOSE ALL REFORMIST ATTEMPTS to give credibility or legitimacy to these agencies of so-called 'development', 'modernisation', 'industrial relations' and 'New Projects'.

HITTING THE PROCESS OF RESTRUCTURING hits capital and State in their transition; at their weak points. By 'hitting' **we** mean opposition at any level..... theoretical investigation and counterinformation, refusal to cooperate and organised rebellion against the plans by ANY MEANS NECESSARY.



By 'hitting' we mean transforming the widespread individual or sectoral withdrawal of working class people from these plans into an offensive attack on State and capital. Our strategy sees the mistrust, apathy, cynicism and occasional hitting out by working people at these new institutions of change as a positive rejection of these new managers of new disorders.

Hitting the process of restructuring defines for us further, what our strategy will NOT be. We will not be simply 'exposing' capital and State's new plans. We do not imagine that organisation can be built through 'informed fear'. Rather, the power of a class is built through its practice of opposition. That practice of opposition we want to organise, solidify and extend across the breadth and width of the proletariat.

Neither are we democrats, hoping to invite participation in the self-management of oppression, imagining that working class people will thus be 'educated' as to the futility of capital. No! This part of our strategy is to hit back now, responding to the short and medium term NEED of the working class and other classes to disengage themselves from the logic of capital and State's solution to the crisis of profitability.

2 All of Ireland is dominated by imperialism. The immediate imperialist enemy of the Irish people is British imperialism. The short to medium term enemy is U.S. imperialism. In the chain of domination, we define the 26 County capital and State as the weak link. Politically weak, not only in its relationship to the British army presence in the 6 Counties, but also weakening daily in its economic and political relationship with Britain. The organisation of those international relationships - being so weak - is carefully controlled and supervised by American and European political directives. Our strategy is to focus, at any and every level, on Fianna Fail; the present 26 County Government's international relationships. Precisely, this means directing various forms of action and protest against individuals, organisations, occasions and study centres who organise, manage and direct their foreign policy. In this we join, where possible, with other organisations and associations concerned and outraged by the increasing political, military, economic and ideological interference in the daily lives of Irish people.



Our strategy in this instance, goes beyond the confines of the working class. We will seek groups and organisations of other classes seeking to overthrow imperialism and, by initiative or assistance, attempt to strategically centralise opposition to international penetration of Ireland. Inside the Anti-Nuclear Movement, for example, while not underestimating the strength of the Irish nuclear lobby, we carry out and propose forms of struggle which direct attention to the international nuclear link - both technically and politically, internationalising as much as possible through the great potential for international exchanges.

The struggle against the occupation of the 6 Counties, we situate in this perspective. Our analysis is that the present resistance against the British army, led by the Irish Republican Army, plays a historically progressive role. We support the war effort of our Republican comrades - and we are part of it.

We do not believe that Brit imperialism can be defeated with conciliation or cooperation. As such, the war must go on. But if the objective of that war is a "unified socialist Ireland", then this demands that the working people in the 26 Counties play a full part in the anti-imperialist struggle - not just as "a support base".

### 3

Who will carry out the strategy of hitting the restructuring process of capital and State? Revolutionary Struggle is attempting to create a political space for the development of vanguards inside working class struggles who will lead and direct the struggle towards the State. Our method of stimulating these vanguards is to discuss, promote and practically provide for INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS ORGANISATION. Such organisations are separate and autonomous from the plans of capital and State, be they community agencies, workplace employers or State bosses.

Independent working class organisation is born inside struggles of the working class, through direct control of ideas. It is a political form of organisation - an extension of the social needs of the working class - rather than an organisational extension of REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE.



Independent working class organisation involves the direct participation of each individual in decision-making...it is neither representative nor delegate. Its autonomy is not against the Unions or Tenants Associations in principle. Its autonomy is in the separate class-centred political relationship it establishes from the authority of capital and State. This form of organisation is anti-authoritarian, rebellious, inventive and imaginative. Our strategy of stimulating vanguards of the class inside new and experimental forms of organisation is no armchair manufacture. Already, across the country, car workers, building workers, postal workers, maintenance craftsmen, busmen and telephone workers are trying out new forms of organisation: in and out of Unions, in and out of committees and in and out of relationships with political organisations be they reformist, revisionist or revolutionary.

To be more specific, two sorts of workers or employees are leading this fresh wave of struggle: young rebellious workers with strong spontaneous attitudes and practices of sabotage, absenteeism non-cooperation with authority and disrespect for outdated procedures. Alongside them, often in contradiction, are the older, maturer, 'insurgent' workers. They have experience of political ideas, views on the Party-system and have been through the delegate/representative circle. So direct action and direct democracy are the tools of independent working class organisation - new vanguards of the class - conscious of what they are fighting for, agreed on how to get it and determined to fight for it NOW. Yes. It is right to rebel. Always.

To summarise : this organisational rupture is against situations where only the 'experts' have ideas, only the 'leaders' control, only the 'delegates/representatives' fight and where no one has the right to rebel. Independent working class organisation is direct control of the ideas behind our actions (theory), of the facts of what the world is like (analysis), and of the activity and objectives of action (programme). Direct control of the struggle for the material and ideological needs of the working class. A struggle where nothing can be delegated.

**4** Inside the disaster of bourgeois economics, contradictions constantly open up between the emerging needs of the proletariat and the projects of both Republicanism and Reformism. It is our project to transform those contradictions into antagonisms. The strategic practice of that objective necessitates a tight, disciplined, national communist organisation



capable of deepening the crisis of capital and out-flanking capitalist violence.

Crisis and restructuring by State and capital dis-organises the whole society right down to individuals and to their relationships. Communist organisation, separate and distinct, provides a clear pole of ideas, organisation and information, as well as a means for diffusion of lessons from abroad and from history, nationally and internationally. The clarity of organisation provides diffuse, scattered and sectoral struggles with focal points for debate and action. At a time of growing MASS struggles in some parts of the 32 Counties, the need is greater for communists, not to dissolve or disappear among activists and militants, but to provide distinct and recognisable leadership which can be tested in practice. With the attempt in working class struggles to experiment with new forms of organisation, the need increases for a communist organisation to politically strengthen and ideologically fortify this fragile experience.

Communist organisation is very weak in Ireland. The objective of building communist organisation in that sense is a constant need. We have set it as a strategic objective for each member of REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE for this period.

The attempt, on a world scale, of reformist and revisionist Parties to begin acting as 'managers' of crisis, so that their working class membership will circulate ideas among the working class mem-favourable to capitalist solutions to the crisis : like accepting pay cuts, living with inflation and austerity, accepting ghettos and marginalisation and tolerating repression - makes this objective a crucial one on a world scale.

## We are

Revolutionary Struggle is a communist organisation. Its method of analysis is based on Marxism and those Marxists who have enriched marxist theory. It is a marxist organisation. Our method of structuring ourselves is based on Lenin and the enrichment of Lenin's theory of organisation adapted to suit Irish conditions. We are a Leninist organisation, using internal democracy to make decisions and employing internal debate to guide our centralised decision-making, based on collectively agreed broad lines of strategy.

Many people ask us 'Is Revolutionary Struggle a Party?' The answer is NO. We are a communist organisation. There is a big difference. A Party is the fruit of a long fight, of discussions, of mass work



between like-minded organisations and militant workers belonging to no organisation. Parties can't be artificially created or decreed.

We aim to be part of the process of building a revolutionary party in the 32 Counties in the long term, carrying communism to the four corners of the island, defeating the British Army and leading the struggle against both native and international capital.

Revolutionary Struggle is an independent communist organisation - independent of any State. We consider ourselves part of the international communist movement - organised comrades fighting against capital all over the world.

Our internationalism is political and practical. We support politically organisations fighting for National Liberation by providing information on their struggles, through posters, meetings and books here in Ireland.

We exchange documents, organise tours, publish statements and exchange visits with organisations in Europe and elsewhere whose struggles provide lessons for the Irish struggle and whose politics and objectives are broadly similar to ours.

## Publications

Revolutionary Struggle publishes a fortnightly newspaper called REBEL. Every issue includes news from workplaces from the communities, from the Anti-Nuclear Movement and from struggles abroad. The paper is self-financing and is sold by hand in all the major cities. About half of each issue is composed of articles sent in by readers and supporters of the paper.

RS STRUGGLE NOTES are a series of occasional pamphlets on issues facing the people, like Nuclear Power, facing the working class in particular, like inflation and the co-munist movement as a whole, such as Struggle Notes on Chile, Palestine and Italy.

RIPENING OF TIME is Ireland's only theoretical Marxist journal. It appears every 3 months produced by an editorial collective of members of Revolutionary Struggle and individual militants of no Party or organisation. Its circulation of 1,000 finances its publication, and it is circulated by hand and through bookshops of other organisations, like the Communist Party of Ireland. The



journal carries out research for a Marxist analysis of Irish society. It is open to individuals and members of other organisations to submit articles and in this way promotes debate on fundamental questions among left-wing and republican organisations.

WE ONLY WANT THE EARTH

REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE is a relatively new organisation of young and older comrades, women and men, students, workers, employees and unemployed, of intellectuals, of town and country people. Our single most important aim is to dig deep into the heart of struggles of the people and root the organisation in them, directing those struggles into the heart of the State.

We want to build a communist classless society - we will fight alongside those who have nothing to lose but their labour power against all those who have to gain from capitalism.

We believe in the people....our most powerful force.

Publications

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# Appendix I

## REPRESSIVE FORCES

### 6 Counties :

The British Army of occupation numbers about 13,000. In 1972 it was 21,000. They live in special forts and fortified police barracks. They have executive powers to search and arrest and an extensive and computerised intelligence system which collects data on practically everybody in the 6 Counties. The Special Air Service (S.A.S.) is an elite undercover unit which has been responsible for for many unsolved killings.

The Royal Ulster Constabulary - RUC, is the State's police force. It numbers 11,000 - 6,500 fulltime members and 4,500 auxiliaries. The force is armed like a specialised infantry division, with .38 pistols, semi-automatic rifles and sub-machine guns. It has armour plated utility vehicles. It has units like the Special Patrol Group equipped to deal with riot, crowd control and siege situations. The Special Branch are political detectives and interrogators. Some are regularly involved in using torture and third degree methods on suspects. The force is 91% Protestant.

The Ulster Defence Regiment - UDR, although a separate unit of the British Army, is in fact locally recruited. Formed in 1970 to replace the discredited " B Specials ", the UDR has become notorious to the extent that calls have been made for its disbandment, after Loyalist extremists had infiltrated it. UDR men have been convicted for sectarian murder and weapons offences. They are particularly hated in Catholic rural areas. The force is 98% Protestant and numbers 8,000.

32,000 armed agents for a population of 1,530,000. Ratio 1 to 50.

The state security system also has unarmed auxiliaries. The prison service numbering 2,000 includes many 'screws' from England and Scotland. Also included are Government-employed 'civilian searchers' in Belfast and Derry and perhaps as many as several thousand security personnell employed by shops, offices, transport termini, factories and places of entertainment, whose job is to prevent arson and bomb attacks.

As well as personnell, sophisticated equipment like detectors and closed-circuit television are also used. The British Government generally pays for these services. It is estimated that security alone is costing \$10 every second.



26 Counties

The State police - An Garda Siochana - numbered 6000 before 1969. Today that figure is over 10,000 with further expansion planned. The Gardai are unarmed and carry out most state security duties, supported by troops. Roadblocks house searches and policemen in riot gear are now a regular feature of life in the 26 counties. The armed sections of the police are the Special Branch (political police) who are equipped with Israeli 'Uzi' submachine guns. A West German trained 'anti-terror squad' are now in operation. The force is being modernised at present to use computers and helicopters.

The 26 county state is not supposed to have an army! The Constitution permits only a 'Defense Force'. The army is professional - there is no conscription and numbers over 7,000. Despite its United Nations Image its main concern is with internal security. A massive restructuring has taken place, with improved pay and conditions, barracks, landing strips, arms and training. Emergency legislation passed in 1976 gave the army power of arrest and detention; similar powers to the British army in the 6 counties. Troops are used for escorting political prisoners, guarding sums of money and key factories and putting down prison riots. Some prisoners serve their time in the army detention camp - The Curragh. The army has a frontline of recently demobilised soldiers, liable to recall, and a 20,000 strong part-time volunteer reserve force, which has at times proved politically unreliable and is therefore given 2nd rate equipment.

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# Appendix II

## POLITICAL PARTIES

Fine Gael : (26 Cos.)	Formerly Right-Wing, pro-partition Party, now Christian Democratising itself, but deformed by partition.
Fianna Fail : (26 Cos.)	Conservative Centre-Right Party, presently in power. Also deformed by partition. The 'Republican Party'.
Labour Party : (26 Cos.)	Ind. International Social-Democratic Party, close to West German and Israeli Labour Parties.
Workers Party : (6 & 26 Cos.)	Revisionist-Republican Party.
Irish Independance Party : (6 Cos.)	Pro-U.S. Party, nationalist, 'constructed' in anticipation of unification talks.
Unionist Party of Northern Ireland : (6 Cos.)	Party of the monopoly fraction of 6 Counties bourgeoisie.
Official Unionist Party : (6 Cos.)	Non-monopoly fraction of bourgeoisie.
Democratic Unionist Party : (6 Cos.)	Fast-growing Right-wing Party of the petit bourgeoisie in the 6 counties.
Social Democratic Labour Party : (6 Cos.)	Social-Democratic Republican Party.
Alliance : (6 Cos.)	Social Democratic non-Republican Party.
Provisional Sinn Fein : (6 & 26 Cos.)	Reformist-Republican Party - the political expression of Provisional IRA Army Council.



# Appendix III

## READING MATERIAL

### General :

A History of the Irish Working Class, by Peter Beresford Ellis.  
 Labour in Irish History, by James Connolly.  
 Ireland - her own, by T.A.Jackson (first part).  
 Leaders and Workers, by John Boyle ; Mercier Cork (1964).

### Historical :

17th.century : To hell or Connaught, by Peter Beresford Ellis.  
 19th.century : The Great Hunger (Ireland 1845-49), by Cecil  
 Woodham Smith ; New English Library London.  
 Prison Writings of O'Donovan Rossa (parts 1 & 2).  
 20th.century : The Singing Flame, by Ernie O'Malley.  
 Liam Mellows and the Irish Revolution, by  
 C.Desmond Greaves.

### Novel-Histories :

Strumpet City, by James Plunkett.  
 Borstal Boy, by Brendan Behan.  
 The Gates Flew Open, by Peadar O'Donnell.

### Autobiography :

Constance Markievicz, by Jacqueline Van Voris.  
 James Connolly, by Nora Connolly O'Brien.

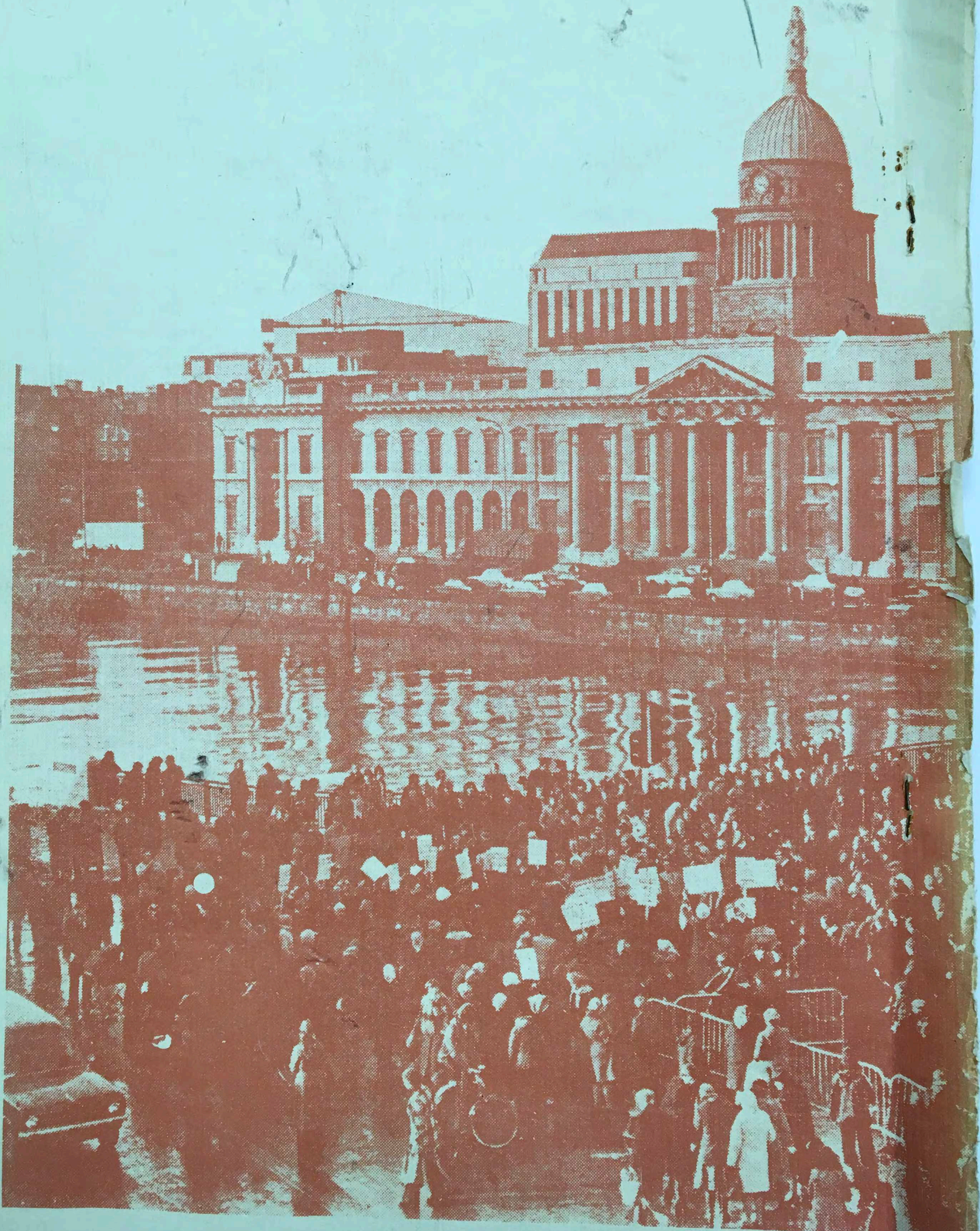
### Reference :

The Irish Republic, by Dorothy McArdle ; Corgi, London, 1968.  
 Ireland and the Irish.Question, by Marx & Engels (Progress, Moscow).

If you are interested in a C.I.A. version of recent Irish history,  
 read Bowyer Bell's " The Secret Army - the History of the I.R.A. "



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**Organisation:** Revolutionary Struggle  
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