



PROLETARIAN

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST LEAGUE OF IRELAND

40p/IR45p

AUGUST 1988

VOL. 1, NO. 4

SINISTER SPECIAL BRANCH OPERATION

CONTENTS:

Privatisation – a capitalist necessity

Corporatism in the EETPU

Anniversary of internment – a historical review

Building the vanguard party
– towards a critique of the IRSP

SF seeks change in military strategy

Imperialism manipulates Iranian bourgeoisie

Perspectives of the ISL on Unionism, the working class and the revolutionary party

THE RUC SPECIAL BRANCH has been intimidating active trade unionists in the electricity industry as part of a concerted state effort to weaken trade union strength and cohesion to pave the way for the announcement of the intended privatisation of Northern Ireland Electricity.

The Branch secretly organised and controlled a series of meetings of shop stewards, setting them up under cover of NIE with the apparent purpose of discussing ways of improving trade union organisation. NIE internal mail was utilised to anonymously invite shop stewards, and a Special Branch handler attended and directed the meetings, creating a conspiratorial atmosphere.

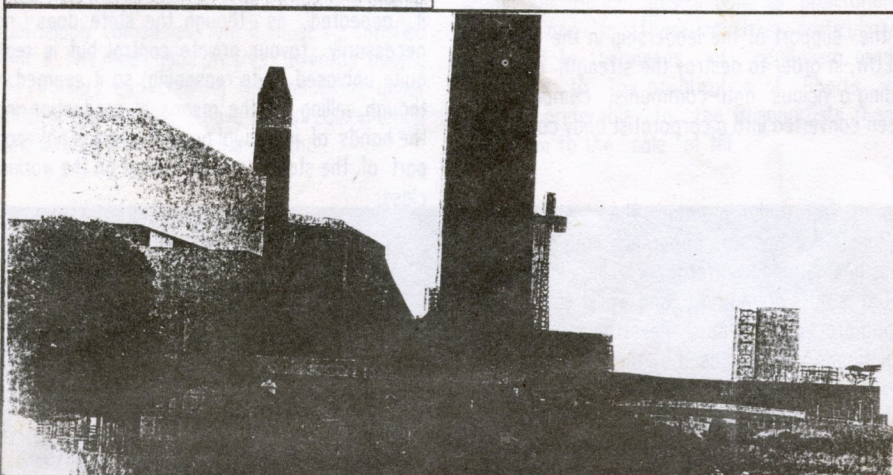
A small number of shop stewards, having taken the bait in this way, soon found themselves the subject of Special Branch terror tactics. In particular their cars were followed. The pursuers drove dangerously close first to the rear bumper, then to the front, then alongside, making sure that the targets were suitably terrified.

Most of the stewards involved suddenly and mysteriously resigned their positions in the union and dropped out of sight as trade union activists, only to be conveniently replaced by pliant chosen men. Those who had courage enough to remain attempted to unearth the source of the intimidation which turned out to be directly traceable to the RUC Special Branch. It transpired that the meetings had not, as they originally thought, been officially organised from within the EETPU, and that internal NIE union mail had been used in order to give the deliberately false impression that it was official union business.

The suspected instigator was identified gathering information on the May day trade union march through Belfast. He was photographed and challenged at which point he took off never to be seen again.

But the local leadership (e.g. Kirkwood), whose ineptness and willingness to bend to the needs of management had been responsible for the original dissatisfaction of the stewards, refused to take the matter seriously, and the remaining stewards found themselves completely undefended and exposed by their own unions.

This made it practically impossible for any action to be taken either in defence of those who had personally been threatened or in defence of the



Power, a key element in political control

EDITORIAL:

ESSENTIALS OF PRIVATISATION

PRIVATISATION OF INDUSTRY is very far from being just a personal bee in the government's bonnet. It is an essential element in the attempted stabilisation of a rapidly degenerating capitalist system. A system which rests upon exploitation of a working class and which, because of economic and political laws beyond its control, is in such crisis that it can no longer survive without dramatically increasing that exploitation. Privatisation is a class response to class crisis.

But the historic defence mechanisms of the working class in the form of trade unions must be destroyed by the state if the ruling class is to succeed in its aim. Resistance must be crushed and the way cleared for unimpeded exploitation. Hence the co-incident and ferocious assault on the trade union movement as a whole which has taken place in the last decade in almost every capitalist country in the world, and which has seen the labourites and social democrats in leadership positions in the trade unions being quietly drawn in to the ruling class conspiracy by one means or another.

Should NIE be privatised there will be a massive push to increase the profits extracted from the industry, which necessarily means stepping up the level of exploitation. Yet the trade union bureaucrats and social democrats confine their opposition to claiming that privatisation will result in price rises, and that it is "inappropriate" because of the "lack of competition from other sources of energy" - Pat McCartan of the Federation of Unions Supplying Electricity (FUSE). Apparently radical expressions of disapproval about the loss of jobs and so on, allows these self-acclaimed working class representatives to obscure the real damaging and far reaching implications.

In fact private ownership of the means of production results by its very nature in exploitation of the working class for private profit. And, in the international capitalist crisis, such exploitation must be ruthless or profits cannot be secured. Prices are indeed likely to rise. Jobs are certain to be lost. But many other results will be forthcoming. These include speed-ups, increased overtime, reduced wages, inferior health and safety precautions, job insecurity, and so on. In the recent past there has already been considerable trimming of the workforce, and at present management is intent upon enforcing 70 redundancies amongst meter readers.

This shrinkage will intensify still further upon privatisation as the industry is squeezed to produce higher profits. And the competitive operation of the industry will also mean the cutting of corners with an associated increase in hazards and therefore in the number of accidents, injuries and perhaps even deaths amongst the workforce and the population as a whole. All these phenomena are the natural excretions of privately owned industry in a decaying capitalist order.

But in order to bring them about it is essential for the fighting trade unions to be nullified, the workers to be disorientated and misled, and new forms of control to be initiated. The British government has been hyper-active in its efforts to undermine the trade unions, particularly in the power industries. In the mining industry it has succeeded in creating an element of confusion and disunity by the introduction of a scab union (the UDM), though it has failed to completely cower the NUM despite a nation-wide state terrorist operation mounted throughout its historic 1984 strike.

Excessive energy has also been expended on enlisting the support of the leadership in the electrical and engineering unions, such as the EETPU and the AEUW, in order to destroy the strength and unity of purpose of those unions. By various means, including a vicious anti-communist campaign, the EETPU leadership in particular has slowly but surely been converted into a corporatist body completely at the beck and call of the employers and the state.

The adoption of the 'no strike deal' policy has removed from union members the most crucial of all their weapons in defence of jobs, wages and conditions. That this was apparently supported by a majority is merely further proof that the electoral process has nothing to offer the working class. Whilst it can be noted that 83% of the less than 50% who voted is not a majority, and whilst there must be a certain amount of suspicion attached to the counting procedure, it must nevertheless be taken as an indication of the extent of the counter-revolutionary threat posed by these collaborators.

If unchallenged they can and will, by means of deception, witchhunting campaigns and any other tactics they find expedient, disarm the proletariat and lead it into a fatal clash with the bourgeois state!

SINISTER

union. Activists had been identified, isolated and intimidated by the Branch for the purpose of chopping off the most class conscious advance guard of the workers organisations in the industry.

For naturally it was only those shop stewards who had been dissatisfied with the present organisation and activity of the unions who were attracted to the meetings.

In this way the Branch have attempted to emasculate the unions and to lay the basis for introducing the idea of privatisation. Then when the idea was floated it was done so in such a way as to ensure there would be minimal resistance to it.

Firstly the privatisation announcement was made simultaneous with the announcement that Kilroot power station was to be completed as a coal/oil burning station rather than being converted to lignite under the privately owned supply company called Antrim Power.

The trade union leaders (McCartan etc.), the newspapers and the political parties (especially the 'Workers' Party) rushed to praise the decision on fuel, and the decision to privatise was held up as merely the bad half of a good decision.

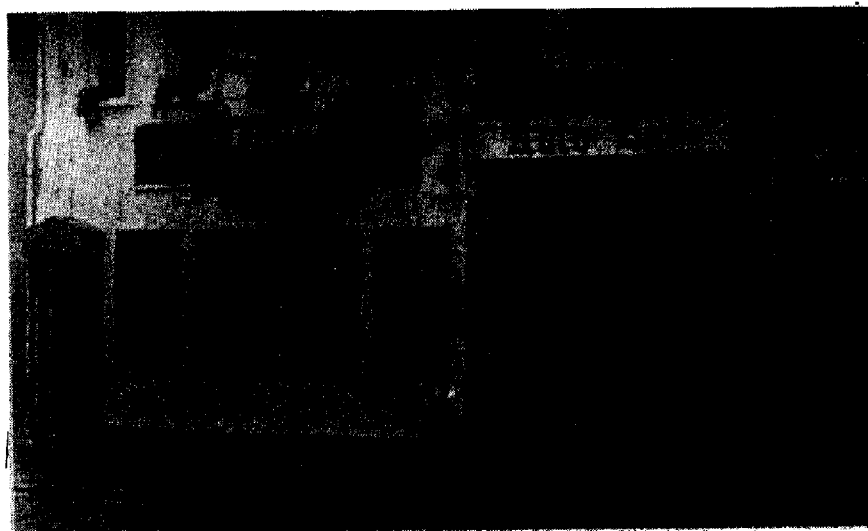
The clear-cut nature of the issue of privatisation appeared to fade in significance amid a muddle of concerns such as whether or not one particular power station should run from one particular fuel or another, or whether one fuel supply company would be better than another, all of which are completely irrelevant in terms of the attacks which are launched against the working class by means of privatisation.

It appeared as though the state does not necessarily favour private control but is really quite unbiased in its reasoning, so it seemed as though selling off the means of production into the hands of individual profit seekers is not really part of the state's overall assault on the working class.

No doubt it was decided to make the announcement in this way for precisely those reasons. Certainly Antrim Power was shocked and confused by the decision as it had evidently been led to believe that its proposal was a foregone conclusion. It's chairman stated that the company is

"bewildered at the government's decision not to proceed immediately with the lignite station".

SPECIAL BRANCH OPERATION



One of the venues for the meetings controlled by Special Branch

And it probably would have been a foregone conclusion had it not been for the advantage of creating a diversion which denial of the proposal offered. Viggers himself indicated that the government had favoured the proposal and found the making of its final decision on the matter "fiendishly difficult".

The dilemma created in ruling circles by having to decide between one form of privatisation and another can well be imagined. Amongst the representatives of capital, who know well the necessity for capitalism to privatise all industry, there must have been great bitterness at having to sacrifice one to the other because workers will not accept exploitation lying down.

However, even if Antrim Power is despairing, the state must be consoled by the fact that it can privatise NIE now and still later on bring in private fuel supply companies. And it must be satisfied that it has made good progress towards duping the workers and creating the conditions under which it can eventually have all its requirements, and without much opposition at that!

Nevertheless, the state and its allies in the media did not take any chances. They still found it necessary to underplay the importance of privatisation of the electricity service by instantly pasting the news of it over with speculation about the privatisation of Short Bros.

From the proletarian point of view of course privatisation of the one is no more significant than privatisation of the other. In each case ferocious attacks will be made on trade union rights and determined efforts will be made to destroy union opposition.

Not so from the point of view of the capitalists. For them the power industries are much more fundamental since opposition to an increase in the rate of extraction of surplus value may result in disruption of the entire capitalist system of production. Hence destruction of proletarian organisations in these industries particularly is crucial to the needs of capitalism, and opposition to the privatisation of Shorts is infinitely preferable to the Bonapartists than opposition to the sale of NIE.

Terror reigns in the hearts of Thatcher & co. at the thought of a power strike or general strike, and this accounts wholly for the multiple manoeuvres entered into by the state for the purpose of nipping any reaction to the privatisation of NIE in the bud.

That aim may indeed be well on the way to being fulfilled. The plan has been carried through not only with the help of the Special Branch, but with active collaboration by the treacherous trade union burueacracy of Hammond and crew in the EETPU, and with the help of both the bourgeois media and the social democrats inside the local trade union leaderships.

The scene looks set for the privatising of NIE without any REAL opposition from the workers organisations, though many may still be forced to act in order to at least appear to be responding to the demands of their members or supporters.

In particular the various unionist parties, including the Workers' Party, have been stung into action over the privatisation of all three of the large nationalised industries. This is due to the necessity to stabilise or develop their separate bases inside the protestant working class.

But in the final analysis these organisations can only pay lip service to the needs of the proletariat. On the real battlefield they every time must bow to the laws of capital.

So the state may well accomplish its goal of marginalising resistance in the short term. If so it will be an indication to the government that it can carve up industry with impunity and toss trade union rights to the mercy of its clients — the increasingly desperate private entrepreneurs whose sole aim is to maximise the exploitation of labour power. The class struggle then will emerge in its most painful and fully developed form.

SF SEEKS CHANGE IN MILITARY STRATEGY

by Leigh Ann Murray

STRIKING CONFIRMATION of the ISL's analysis of Sinn Fein's movement towards an alliance with the Irish bourgeoisie is to be found in Gerry Adams' statements in an interview with Ed Moloney published in the Sunday Tribune of 17th July.

From Adams' statements it is apparent that he considers it would be better for only BRITISH ARMY personnel to be targeted by the IRA, in order to make it easier to win the support of those loyalists and bourgeois nationalists who support the RUC and UDR.

He evidently feels that the IRA should not in any way offend the Irish bourgeoisie by attacking its armed forces in the RUC and UDR, or, as previously stated, the Garda.

This has clearly revealed that it is not the proletarian, but the bourgeois element of loyalism and nationalism which his leadership is appealing to.

He stated that

"people don't have any problem about operations against British crown forces and particularly against what you would call British army units which are not domestically recruited - no problem whatsoever."

Then he indicated that the killing of members of the indigenous population is unacceptable to 'broad' sections of the 'community', and went on to claim that the 'right' and 'clever' thing to do is to:

"pursue the armed struggle in such a way that it helps either to broaden the base or doesn't obstruct the broader aims of the movement."

Further indication that this new approach is to be officially adopted by SF is proffered in the An Phoblacht Editorial of 14.7.88 which states that:

"It suits the British government to let the RUC and UDR bear the brunt of casualties. They are of less account than soldiers from Britain to the military strategists who run war because their deaths have less impact."

This may of course be true, but the Ulsterisation policy of the British government has ensured that its political and military control over Ireland (as a whole) is not primarily enforced by British troops but by precisely those forces whom SF says are of lesser account - the RUC and UDR (and their counterparts in the south). If those forces are to be left unharmed then the bourgeois state itself is to be left unharmed.

In the Sunday Tribune of 24.7.88 Ed Moloney quoted an anonymous IRA source as having claimed that

"in an ideal situation the IRA would concentrate on British targets but there are fewer of them than the RUC and UDR and if the IRA concentrated exclusively on trying to hit Brits frustration would set in and people would think the IRA had become inactive. If the opportunity is good the IRA will attack the RUC and UDR."

Here, whilst recognising the minor role played by the British Army in Ireland, they state that the RUC and UDR are in

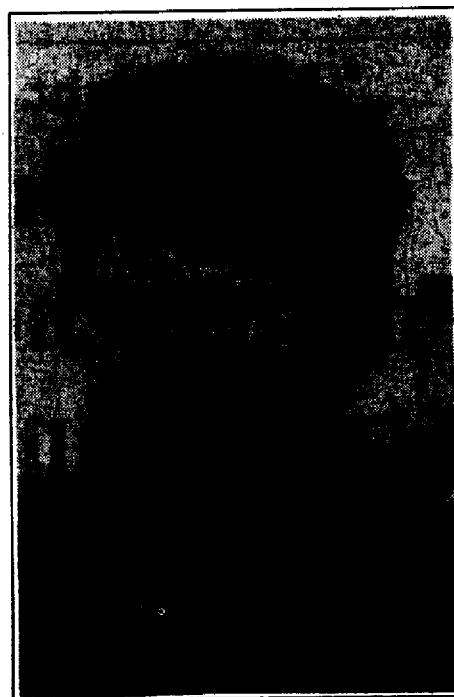
future to be attacked not because they are the forces of the most vicious class state but because republicans might get frustrated with the IRA!

The struggle against the Orange state is therefore to be sacrificed in the name of cross-class unity with loyalists and bourgeois nationalists.

Workers be warned. Irrespective of the death of the occasional RUC or UDR man, under such a policy those forces would be left in place to terrorise, control and suppress the working class. These bodies have not and cannot miraculously change their nature. They were and remain instruments for the brutal repression of our strong working class.

Their sole purpose is to secure the conditions under which the ruling class, British and Irish alike, can continue to ruthlessly exploit labour, increasing the level of exploitation as and when the deepening crisis makes it necessary. No amount of tampering with national borders and government structures can alter that fact.

In any future bourgeois Ireland it is not the British presence that will enforce class conditions on the working class, but the forces trained in brutal British techniques in support of the Imperialist master. This is the lesson from its colonial history.



THE WEAPON OF INTERNMENT

by Rosie Squires

ON THE 17TH ANNIVERSARY of the last introduction of internment, and at a time when all the indications are that it will again be used in the near future, 'The Proletarian' seeks to draw anew the lessons of internment through a study of its history.

Internment was first introduced in Ireland in 1916 at the time of the Easter rising as a means of crushing the determined struggle for Irish national self-determination. It remained on the statute books and was used during the 2nd World War and during visits by the British royal family. It was widely introduced again in 1971 in response to a resurgence of republican resistance to British/Unionist oppression.

Early in 1971 Ballymurphy was a stronghold of republican resistance, and in the lead-up to internment it was one of those to suffer most. At one point 700 troops invaded the estate, sealed off the area and conducted house-to-house searches, a repressive tactic which has since become well known to

republican communities throughout the north.

In spite of negotiations with the IRA concerning "peace", a foreshadow of what was to come was cast on 7th February when Chichester-Clark announced that "Northern Ireland is at war with Irish Republican Army Provisionals". Chichester-Clark resigned the following month to make way for Brian Faulkner, a vociferous anti-republican.

In April the RUC Special Branch and British Army Intelligence drew up a list of those who would be candidates for internment. This included officers and members of the IRA and their sympathisers, ex-internees, Socialists and Civil Rights activists. These latter two Faulkner declared to be dangerous because they would call meetings to "protest against internment". Meanwhile the strategy of the Provisionals was to keep the British army occupied and out of the nationalist areas which they were terrorising, by forcing them to deal with

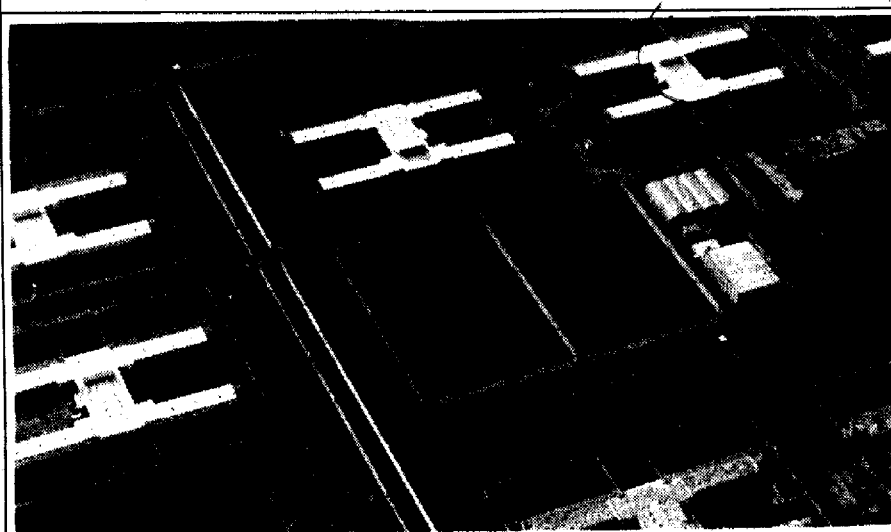
explosions designed both for that purpose and to damage the British economy. The Provisional IRA set off 134 explosions in the next three months.

In Derry, during July, CS gas and rubber bullets were among the weapons used against youth in particular, in a clash with the army which lasted for seven days. In the end two men were shot dead. The ranks of the IRA swelled with a new influx of youth.

In July, Faulkner and his allies increased their push for the internment of Republicans and supporters. On the 23rd of that month 18,000 dawn raids were conducted on Republican homes by 1,800 military personnel of the British Army and the RUC. The intention was to gather information for Internment day - set for August 10.

In the face of heightened resistance, Internment was subsequently moved forward 24 hours and at 4.00a.m. on the 9th of August 1971 the Internment swoops began. 342 men were taken, under Section 12 of the Special Powers Act, from all over the north to three holding centres. Only approximately 56 of these were IRA volunteers as the IRA had forewarned its members.

The interrogation of those on the outskirts of PIRA was expected to lead to information indicting members within. British intelligence used internment for information gathering at ground level on names, meetings, arms, etc. 116 of the first batch were simply lifted, interrogated and then released within 48 hours of their capture.



Long Kesh - originated as an internment camp

When the troops made arrests they smashed up homes, and abused whole families. In the interrogation centres they subjected the internees to deprivation of food and sleep and to physical and psychological brutality.

Almost all internees were beaten up. Some were blindfolded and thrown from a moving helicopter which, although they had been led to believe was high in the air, was actually hovering just a few feet from the ground.

They were forced to run barefoot across obstacle courses of stones, glass, tacks and stumps of trees, with troops lining each side wielding batons with which to beat them. Others were given exhausting exercises lasting for hours.

This continual abuse was designed to break the spirit of the volunteers and make them comply with British wishes. But the nationalist communities had risen in defiance of Internment and rallied strongly behind the IRA.

Loyalist paramilitaries, believing the British propaganda that most of the leading IRA men had been interned, thought that nationalist areas were defenceless and launched pogroms against them.

The IRA retaliated in full force. Gunfights raged in all nationalist areas between loyalists and republicans. In Ardoyne large numbers of Catholic and Protestant houses were burnt out. Refugee camps were set up in the 26 counties to take 7,000 people from the North.

Earlier British claims about the extent of the coup against leading IRA members, were exposed as false when the Army claimed to have killed between 20-30 IRA gunmen during these battles, although PIRA leader Joe Cahill stated that only 2 men were killed in action at this time.

During August the explosion of 100 highly effective bombs began to exert great pressure on the British government. No-go areas like 'Free Derry'

were created in which the communities policed themselves. A Rent and Rates strike, instigated by the republican working class, was strengthened by the support of a mass of the nationalist middle class.

News filtered through that 12 internees had been secretly moved to an unknown place, which some were told was England but which turned out to be Palace Barracks. They were kept there for seven days and were used as subjects for "sensory deprivation" techniques, and to see how much torture could be endured. They were also used as guinea pigs for a battery of psychological tests.

They were stripped of their own garments, clothed in loose boiler suits, and made to stand spread-eagled until they collapsed. They would then be brought round and made to repeat the process, sometimes continuously for two or three days.

They were mostly put on diets of bread and water, though some later said they had been deprived of water entirely. Black hoods were kept over their heads to disorientate them and increase their sense of isolation. They were not permitted to sleep and were forced to listen to tape recordings of screams, cries and other distorted noises whilst another machine continuously emitted a monotonous sound ('white noise').

These methods were specifically intended to confuse their minds, to test their resistance to interrogation. These men were randomly picked as typical of a mass western population to test numerous techniques and theories.

Opposition to internment was intense. On Sunday 30th January, at a large anti-internment rally in Derry, British troops reacted ferociously. After attacking the crowd with CS gas they opened fire indiscriminately on the unarmed demonstrators, killing 13 and wounding many more.

'Bloody Sunday' was a key factor in the public outcry which forced the government to hold an inquiry. The government conceded, and a previous ombudsman for the Unionist government - Sir Edmund Compton - was appointed to chair it. 340 of the first internees refused to comply with the proceedings, considering them to be farcical. Even as the Compton report was being compiled men were still suffering at the hands of the torturers.

As predicted by those who had refused to comply, the report, when published in November, was a complete distortion of the facts. It excused the practice of forced exercise by stating it was to counteract the cold.



Internment once again being discussed in ruling circles

Forcing detainees to stand for long periods of time with their arms against a wall was, it claimed, security for guards against physical violence. A similar reason was given for the use of hoods, and it was claimed that this practice was beneficial because increasing the sense of isolation was "helpful to the interrogator".

The noise machine was "a security measure" to stop the men being overheard or hearing one another. And the report stated that there was no physical brutality "because the interrogators did not enjoy their work".

Permanent psychological damage was suffered by all those who were put through the "sensory deprivation"

trials. Many of the internees sued the British government for compensation for the damage inflicted on them. One of these, Pat Shivers, was awarded £15,000 damages for "false trespass, false imprisonment, assault and battery, torture and inhuman and degrading treatment". Other internees also received compensation. The cases were not contested by the British government.

Public reaction to the Compton report forced the British government to try to justify its actions by announcing another inquiry into Internment and methods of interrogation. On the same day that the inquiry was announced, the Dublin government declared that it would be taking the case to the European Court of Human Rights at Strasbourg.

saying that the methods were not "morally justifiable" and were "illegal".

More and more information about what occurred has gradually emerged over the years. Amnesty International was obliged to make numerous interventions, and to conduct a detailed investigation of its own, which in 1976, culminated with the judgement that Britain had been guilty of "inhuman and degrading treatment".

Despite this however, the British government still maintains that its actions were valid. In this way it has left the way clear for re-introducing Internment providing it can create the conditions under which it is possible to claim that Internment is necessary.

Thatcher has stated that she is very "reluctant" to introduce Internment. Clearly what she means is that she will introduce it given the right conditions, she just needs to be supplied with an excuse so that it may appear as though her hand has been forced.

It is also clear that Internment today would be a very different affair from what it was in 1971. Then it was used in the north primarily against republican activists and sympathisers. If it is introduced again it will occur both north and south, and will primarily be directed against revolutionaries and against the proletarian elements in the republican movement who refuse to be bamboozled by the present British/Irish conspiracy.



Brian Faulkner, a prime mover for internment

The second British inquiry again argued that the interrogation procedures were justified on the grounds that "new information was obtained" and that they enabled the government to identify "700 IRA members", "arms caches", "safe houses" etc. But splits were beginning to develop in the British ruling class, and one of the members of the committee of inquiry (Lord Gardiner) produced a counter report

DEVELOPMENT FUND

The building of a Marxist party in Ireland as part of the world revolutionary party, is crucial to the task of giving leadership to the working class in its coming struggles. The party cadre must be armed with the theory of Dialectical Materialism as the only theory capable of guiding the proletarian revolution to successful completion.

The ISL is fighting to build such a cadre at great sacrifice to its members and supporters. Contribute to this process by donating to our development fund. Send all contributions to:-

Proletarian Development Fund
P.O. BOX 256
Belfast BT1 4EU

WHAT PRICE HAMMOND'S FREEDOM ?

by Kevin Mulvaney

THE EETPU LEADERSHIP has recently issued a pamphlet entitled "The Price Of Freedom", the intention of which is to present the erroneous view that they are the most democratic, open and accountable leadership.

To attempt to disguise their extreme corporatist and right wing politics, and thereby to pose as the solid defenders of workers rights that they aren't, they have carefully and skilfully over many years fabricated and peddled massive illusions within their union.

The essence of their "real story" is simple and relies heavily on the viciousness of the Thatcher regimes' attack on workers to cow and subdue its own union members. As enemies of the working class, and fearful of the latter's strength, the EETPU leadership make the basis of their leadership not defence of the proletariat against the state onslaught, but a vigilant watch and 'defeat' of a 'Communist' conspiracy!

Those old enough to remember McCarthyism; the beatings which were meted out, the touting that occurred, and the way that it deflected attention away from the right wing, can see the lessons learnt by Hammond and his gang and which have been buried into the pamphlet.

Firstly it falsely identifies as Communists, the 'Stalinists' of the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB). In fact these are the people who feverishly supported Stalin in the mass murder of Bolsheviks in the Purges of the 1930s in the

Soviet Union and elsewhere. Comrades of Lenin, the majority of Lenin's Central Committee and the Red Army, were all applauded to their brutal death by the stalinist CPGB.

Secondly, it asserts that there is a continuous conspiracy within and without the union to destroy it, bind and gag the members and make the union "political". This from a leadership which refuses to even defend the right to strike, which accepts the political nature of the anti-union laws, and which has banned "communists" from holding union office.

Thirdly, that the EETPU leadership are the salvation of the working class, the 'Knights in armour', against which are reined not just the Stalinists but in reality nearly the whole trade union movement, who "hate" EETPU members.

Throughout, no mention is made of the deep attacks on the working class, the need to fight the class enemy, the massive unemployment, slave labour schemes, anti-union laws, privatisation of nationalised industries; in short, that the working class is under the severest attack by the capitalists in recent history. Ridicule is heaped upon the miners for their refusal to accept pit closures, pompous smug 'I told you so' platitudes are issued about how to combat the "management".

From the EETPU leadership, who organised the stealing of printers jobs in Wapping and who coldly watched the massive state beatings, their

"rejection of the outdated class war and our open advocacy of co-operation not conflict", clearly shows their allegiance. Co-operation with Murdoch and Thatcher, conflict with workers!

No strike agreements are the harvest of co-operation with the capitalists. Under these the union won't support strike action and the capitalists don't have to give any no sacking agreements. Other workers on strike are forced to enter into conflict with the EETPU to try and secure support.

How is the EETPU to defend a sacked worker under these circumstances? How will the EETPU nationally defend the closure of complete installations involving their members? These questions are not addressed, nor the most fundamental question of why the rest of the Trade Union movement's rules and procedures can be so flagrantly flouted by the EETPU.

The leadership claim they "stand on principle". But what principle is it that breaks democratically arrived at rules and procedures of the body (the TUC) to which they belong? They claim "We believe in Unity". But what unity is it that, when the unified body makes decisions in the best interests of the overall body, the EETPU chooses disunity?

Besides conspiracy theories the EETPU leadership have produced nothing else to explain to their members why the rest of the Trade Union organisation should be 'out of step with them'. The reason is in fact simple, and can be gleaned from an analysis of the statements of the EETPU leadership themselves. "We believe in unity - but not at any price" they claim, thus indicating that unity has a price and is certainly not a principle for the EETPU, even though it pledged this unity when it joined the TUC. To such Tories of course, everything has a price, Health, Public Housing, Education etc., to the great physical cost of the masses.

The EETPU leadership are the bow wave of corporatism in Britain. They are the Special Branch within Trade Unionism, and their members the unwitting implementors. Behind them in their wake trail the rest of the corporatists, not so sure of the pace but unable to face the fight with the state.

In this period the Trade Unions are increasingly under pressure from the state to capitulate even

the real story

They have sustained a hate campaign of distortion and misrepresentation

We have some 30 strike-free deals and the total rises steadily



EETPU

Hammond's story is a fabrication. The witchhunt is 'real'.

more, and from their members to defend their jobs and conditions. But this defence cannot be achieved from within the confines of a crisis ridden capitalist system whose path has been to intensify the impoverishment of the working class.

Concessions are impossible. Only a complete break with capitalism can improve matters and this requires revolutionary leadership. This is the complete opposite of the EETPU leadership and is what haunts them in their conspiracy fears.

This is the true content of the EETPU pamphlet, a desperate attempt to force workers down the path to capitalist run unions, where the workers fundamental right to govern their own labour power and ability to exercise that right is denied. Achievement of this requires the destruction of workers solidarity, their primary weapon when confronted by the capitalists.

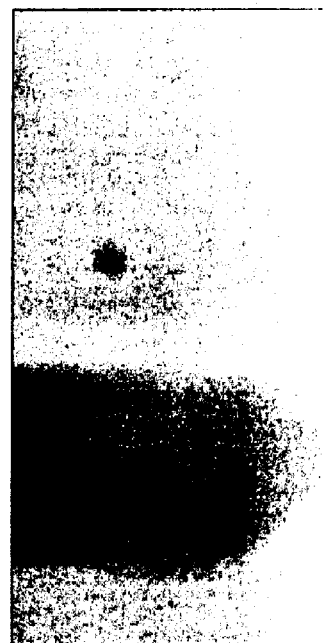
The EETPU leadership are the vanguard of Thatcherism in Trade Unionism, espousing co-

operation with capitalists in this most vicious period, advocating the smashing up of Trade Union unity, screaming hysterically about conspiracy and quietly leading their members into the situation where if they ever again strike, they will receive no support.

As long as the EETPU is a corporatist union having every intention of assisting the Tories in their crushing of the working class and completing of the counter-revolution, it is certainly right for them to fear communism most of all. For revolutionary Marxism is the only genuine defence of the working class, and workers will recognise this fact and be drawn towards it.

Even where many may be misled by the pretend communism of the Stalinists in the official 'Communist' parties, this attraction is clear and for very good reasons strikes fear into the hearts of all counter-revolutionary collaborators.

.....



US PUPPETEERING IN THE GULF

BEFORE EVEN the cease-fire between Iran and Iraq is in place, Bob McFarland, Reagan's former national security adviser, brags of the manoeuvres of the Bonapartist American imperialist state in rolling back the Iranian revolution.

In an article in the Los Angeles Times, reprinted in full in the Guardian (29th July) he openly boasts of the role played by the imperialists which had 'little to do with "freedom of the seas" or neutrality'.

By the recent shooting down of a civilian Iranian airliner, at the cost of 291 lives, American imperialism has broadcast its willingness to escalate the dispute in that region.

But, as is clear from the article, it was always willing to enter into any activity, whether terrorist or not, to further its own strategic aims. "When in early 1987 Iran made a strategic gain on the Faw peninsula, we tilted blatantly in favour

of Iraq as we had at similar moments before" declares McFarlane. Widespread use of poisoned gas by Iraq caused no problems to the Whitehouse who, the article hints, had their hardware built up by western allies.

Then by American, (along with British and French) warships being sent to the Gulf to back up Iraq's attack on Iran's "interdiction of oil production, refining and shipping -- Iran's source of hard currency", Iran, says McFarlane, "lost the ability to import weapons for the war and food for its population."

None of this would have been possible without the divisions in the Iranian Bourgeoisie occurring simultaneously with the mounting of these attacks by world-wide Imperialism on the Iranian revolution. Nor without a massive propaganda exercise to isolate the Iranian masses.

McFarlane asserts that "Finally there

was one more important factor in the minds of Iranian pragmatists. Since at least May, 1986 they have known that the United States was prepared to accept their revolution within Iran and, subject to their agreement to renounce terrorism and to foreclose expansion beyond their borders, that we were ready to work out a modus vivendi. They also knew that we would never allow them victory over Iraq."

Here is an open declaration that, apart from the complete arrogance of the imperialists, and the complete lack of morality which they profess to be defending, stands the connivance of a section of the bourgeoisie.

Whatever section Rafsanjani claims to represent, it is clear that Iraq could not have assured itself its present dominant position in the war had it not been for the activities of this 'defender' of the revolution. Without such 'negotiators'



IN STALIN'S

IT COULD BE said by any radical, and by any would-be revolutionary, that there is need of a revolutionary party. This is quite obviously undeniable by any who seek to represent the hegemony of the proletariat. But the road to hell is paved with good intentions.

The IRSP's third publication of the 'Starry Plough' carries a centre page article on building the vanguard party. We will give some attention to this article as those who produced it have a record of dedication and commitment and the issue is central to the needs of the proletariat.

Lenin's formula, which Trotskyism can be said to have blazoned on its banner, is that 'without revolutionary theory, no revolutionary party, and without a revolutionary party, no revolution.' Our analysis must begin with this. For Trotskyism is the living embodiment of Marxism.

Stalinism, which represents a stale uncreative bureaucracy, has left its mark on the IRSP ever since its break from the 'stickies' in the early seventies. The common threads between the IRSP, Sinn Fein, and the 'Workers Party' can be traced to this connection with Stalinism, for its policies of 'Socialism in one country' and the 'stages theory' of history can be discerned in the shaping of all three.

What is revolutionary theory and why is it relevant? The revolutionary party of the 'new type' is not just a collection of like minded people, but is specifically organised to train cadres of the party in the method necessary for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism.

When the IRSP states that the proletariat

"needs its own working class party and ideology to guide it." [p.6], this misses the whole point that dialectic materialism is not the ideology of the working class but is the scientific method of Marxism.

As a syndicalist, Connolly tended to view the needs of the working class in terms of theory as a spontaneous out-growth of the struggle of the working class. This is the view of the misnamed 'Militant', as well as of the anarchists and syndicalists. They reject the science of Marxism that is based on the specific method of dialectic materialism.

Objectivity is the constant refrain of this conglomerate of radicals and hobgoblins. Yet what they are actually doing is preaching subjectivism. Being only aware of themselves and only willing to recognise themselves, they mistake this awareness for objectivity.

The IRSP uses the words 'guided by the most advanced, revolutionary ideology (communism)'. This is the most shameful confusion from those who set themselves up as the keepers of the keys. Communism is an economic system of a classless society with no class rule, that is, having an absence of classes. Those struggling towards that end may call themselves communists, largely for propagandistic reasons, but their method of theory is not 'communist' which, as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky stressed is Dialectical Materialism.

Theory, in general, is the holding of concepts either individually or as some unified whole, while thinking, in general, is the reflection of the objective world within the subjective,

that is, the reflection in the mind of the world outside itself.

Theory is therefore an abstraction from the many processes of thought that have taken place. Theory (for example the history of the struggle in Ireland) may involve all the threads being presented abstractly as a string in forms suitable for movement in the mind, and then being held in the mind as a single whole, even though that is not the order in which they developed outside the mind.

But still, that is not the method of Marxism, it is only the most general idea of theory and thinking. Objective matter moves according to laws inherent within it, and those laws are reflected in the mind according to laws inherent both in the mind and in the interaction of the mind (the subject) with the objective world.

The general laws of these two areas, the objective and the subjective, the one subsumed under the other, we call dialectical materialism and dialectical logic respectively. These are the laws we call theory in the sense of the method of Marxism.

But that is NOT what is referred to by all these would-be Marxists when they refer to theory. If we were to be generous we would say that they refer to a body of knowledge. But of course, in that sense, religion and indeed 'religious experience' is a body of knowledge.

Matter is dialectical. We will not here go into the laws of dialectics, but when we refer to society as a form of organisation of matter, then we call that presentation historical materialism. This dialectical motion is not

SHADOW



mystical but graspable by any average worker. But is there any awareness by the IRSP that it is actually dialectical? NO!

The IRSP FAILED to make a conscious break from the Stalinists in the 'stickies', and never, once the organisational break was complete analysed (that is, carried out a dialectical and theoretical analysis) the roots of those whom they had broken from. They were content, in subjective fashion, to state that their opponents were incorrect BECAUSE they were correct.

Following in Stalin's footsteps their approach is thoroughly mechanical. They state that "from the perspective of historical materialism we can chart the development of society into different classes and social strata...."[p6]

But the fact that we have historically gone through STAGES of development is not a peculiarly Marxist analysis. Dialectics shows classes arising from within one another, developing and passing away. This is one of the corner stones of historical materialism, and another is that classes are in definite relations with one another holding the social formation together. The internal contradictions bring about the transformation into a higher social form.

For the mechanical materialists in the IRSP it is the 'built-in contradictions' (identifiable with one class) that render the system corrupt. They later compound the problems created by a more or less consistent, rather than mistaken, mechanical approach - they fail to concisely state that the basic contradiction in capitalist society is between the private ownership

of the means of production and the relations of production.

Not grasping the truth of this, they cannot see the genuine and revolutionary role once played by the bourgeoisie, nor that there is a relationship of a most contradictory kind between the rate of surplus value and profit. This allows them to say "simple observation shows us that, even with the growth of the world socialist system, capitalism is still very much alive and well in the world", a statement which is fundamentally incorrect. Even formal logic warns that appearances can be deceptive.

Their given "reasons for the well-being of capitalism" in fact expose them as thorough-going moralists with a terror

of the state. This terror comes from an underestimation of the role of the working class in the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the building of a new society, and it results in the elimination of the role of the vanguard party and its replacement by a small elite clique.

The dialectical relationship between class and party is replaced by a mechanical one, and Stalinism is used to confuse and mislead our most enthusiastic youth. Contrary to what the IRSP maintain capitalism is in fact in terminal crisis and Trotsky's warning about "barbarism or socialism" MUST ring in our ears.



**THE STARRY
BUILT THE
PARTY NOW!
PLOW!**

Capitalism can truly be said to contain the seeds of its own destruction! But simple observation shows us that, even with the growth of the world socialist system, capitalism is still very much alive and well in the world.

Lessons from history:

THE LITTLEJOHN AFFAIR (continued)

A MOST MYSTERIOUS BANK JOB

AT DAYBREAK on October 12, 1972, three armed men arrived at the Dublin home of Mr Noel Curran, manager of the Grafton Street branch of the Allied Irish Bank.

They held the manager's family hostage at gunpoint while he drove them to the bank to open the vaults. The robbery went off without a hitch - £67,000 was taken in the biggest bank robbery in the history of the republic.

But it had certain aspects which were profoundly suspicious. For instance, the robbers, Kenneth and Keith Littlejohn, made no attempt to disguise themselves or hide their tell-tale English accents. They chatted about the Irish telephone service and the Joe Bugner fight which had been staged the previous night.

Kenneth wasn't wearing gloves and left fingerprints all over the building. Keith stood in front of the bank employees he was guarding for almost half an hour without attempting to shield his identity.

At the trial no less than 14 witnesses were able to positively identify them.

Even more strange, Keith drove Kenneth's car to Dublin airport, wiped off the fingerprints but carelessly left an electricity bill with Kenneth's Dublin address on the back.

The question is simply this: would hardened thieves have conducted a job with such casualness or stupidity? Or was this the action of men who were operating under some sort of immunity and couldn't care less what clues they left behind?

From the welter of incriminating evidence the Dublin CID soon worked out who was responsible. One 'clue' discovered early in the investigation - £11,000 in £1 and £5 notes, five guns, ammunition, a Spanish dagger, five two-piece suits, five false beards, one false moustache and five hats found in the brothers' Dublin flat in Drumcondra Road. Have you ever heard of thieves leaving behind in a ventilation shaft a large chunk of the loot?

Having established that the Littlejohn brothers and Barney Mathers were among the six-man gang, the Dublin police issued warrants for their arrest. They traced the Littlejohns to a flat in Edgware, North London, the residence of Robert Stockman. But Scotland Yard appears to have been less than enthusiastic about carrying out the arrests.

When two or three days elapsed, a senior garda officer flew to London and virtually embarrassed the Yard into going to Edgware and arresting them.

Kenneth Littlejohn, his wife Christine and the Stockmans were astonished when the police burst in. Littlejohn said there must have been 'a mistake'. He asked the senior officer to telephone Inspector Sinclair at the Special Branch.

In his evidence at the Dublin trial, Chief Inspector John Parker admitted phoning Sinclair at Littlejohn's request. Parker said he told Sinclair, who is in charge of the Branch's Irish desk, that he had arrested Littlejohn. Sinclair admitted knowing Littlejohn but added, "So what."

Cross examining Parker, Littlejohn said: "Didn't Inspector Sinclair say to me and you 'You have been disowned'?" Parker: "No."

Keith was picked up in Torquay and the whole family plus Stockman were re-manded in Brixton on the bank robbery charge.

DISOWNED BY SPECIAL BRANCH

To explain why the Littlejohns were disowned it is necessary to examine the complex network of intelligence agencies operating in Britain.

There are four organisations:

MI6 - the counter-espionage outfit which conducts Britain's offensive spying operations overseas and to which Kim Philby and George Blake belonged.

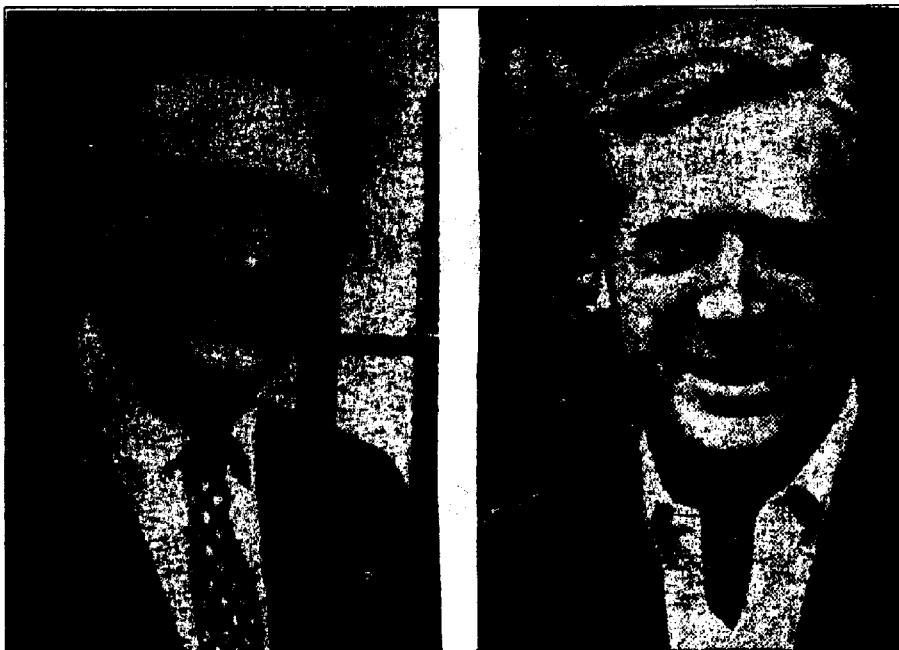
MI5 - the internal security service which keeps a colossal surveillance on the left and the trade-unions and is ferociously anti-communist.

Special Branch - the section of the police force which deals with political and industrial unrest and which has come into prominence in the Stoke Newington Eight case and the Saor Eire frame-up.

Military Intelligence - a secret wing of the army which co-operates with all three services, but prefers to run its own intelligence-gathering operation.

Each of these services accuses the other of crass stupidity and ineptitude; the rivalries and jealousies reach almost childhood proportions. Their paranoia about each other's activities is so bizarre that not long ago a group in MI6 was investigating a group in MI5 ... and vice versa!

It is significant that although their controllers were MI6 men, if the Littlejohns got into trouble they were to



Lord Carrington & Geoffrey Johnston-Smith, the Littlejohns' spymasters

phone a mere inspector at the much-derided Special Branch. In other words, if there was a foul-up M16 planned to make it look like another Special Branch botched job.

Evidence collected from a variety of sources in Dublin shows that the Littlejohns were 'disowned' because a section of the Irish Police not unsympathetic to the Republican cause decided to put an end to the wholesale manipulation of 'law and order' by British Imperialism.

This group found themselves in an increasingly untenable position. Each day they were being hammered in the Press for failing to apprehend the so-called 'IRA troublemakers'. When they knew that the culprits were none other than British agents provocateur willing to join in the servile Fianna Fail government in a conspiracy against the Republicans, they decided to declare war on the men who had been given a licence to steal in Ireland by British Intelligence.

And once the warrants had been issued, the arrests made, the judicial process could be manoeuvred but not halted.

CHRISTINE IS MADE THE BAIT.

The first part of the campaign to make the Littlejohns keep their mouths shut involved Mrs Christine Littlejohn who, we

have noted, was originally arrested and charged with robbery.

Asked at the trial why she had been taken into custody, Chief Inspector Parker said: "She was in possession of Irish money and the Beretta pistol and she was in fact married to you".

Littlejohn: "You arrested her because she was married to me?" Parker: "We couldn't overlook the possibility of her being involved".

Littlejohn then asked the witness if he was aware that there was a nine-month old baby in the flat when its mother was taken away and that Mrs Littlejohn was kept incommunicado at the police station until the following morning; that she was charged on a warrant issued in Dublin with conspiracy to rob and had spent ten days in Holloway Prison before being granted bail and that four months later she had been released without a stain on her character?

Parker replied that a police-woman had been left at the flat with the child.

Littlejohn said his wife had been arrested primarily for the purpose of "exerting pressure on me" and for "political reasons".

At this point the trial judge, Mr Justice Finlay, interrupted to tell Littlejohn to "confine yourself to the evidence that is relevant and the question of what was

or was not done by the British authorities is not relevant".

It is important to grasp that during their first three and a half weeks in Brixton prison the Littlejohns made no mention of their spymasters like Lord Carrington, Geoffrey Johnson-Smith and John Wyman, alias 'Douglas Smythe'. This is because the Littlejohns were confident that, despite the uncharitable attitude of Inspector Sinclair of Special Branch, a deal could be hatched. Robert Stockman who was arrested with the brothers, confirms the following in an interview with the 'Sunday Mirror' on August 12:

"It was his [Kenneth Littlejohn's] birthday. We called back at my house and then went to a restaurant for dinner. After we came out I saw a Mini with a girl driver and this car stayed with us right back to my house. We were arrested a few minutes later. The girl in the Mini was with the police. After our arrest we were put in a police car together. Kenneth whispered that everything would be all right because he had a deal that he could not be sent to Ireland for anything criminal there because everything he did was for the Ministry of Defence".

"He said it would be cleared up by a telephone call to a special secret number he had been given. He was absolutely confident. Anyway, Kenneth got a detective to call the number and he came back later and said that Kenneth had been disowned".

Littlejohn's first concern was his wife Christine and how to get her out of the case. Stockman recalls:

"Kenneth decided he would call Lord Carrington and Geoffrey Johnson-Smith as witnesses. Kenneth's wife Christine had been arrested too. One morning, just before an appearance at Bow Street magistrates court, Kenneth told me he had made a deal. He had agreed not to call Carrington and the Irish would not press their case against Christine. A few minutes later he told me that it was announced in court that the Irish were no longer looking for the extradition of Christine and that she was free".

TO BE CONTINUED.

Perspectives Of The International Socialist League Of Ireland

revised May 1988

SECTION 5: UNIONISM, THE WORKING CLASS & THE REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION.

THE DEVELOPMENT of the world crisis has created the conditions under which British imperialism in recent years has found itself no longer able to rely on the Orange State and has been forced, against its own will, to make a turn to the nationalist bourgeoisie.

By virtue of its purely apparent independence from British imperialism the nationalist bourgeoisie offers a better chance in the midst of the crisis of compelling obedience from what is, for imperialism, a dangerously rebellious republican working class.

This all the more so because, as the protestant working class acquires consciousness of its role in the struggle for social revolution, the more it will tend to unite with the republican struggle for the completion of the national revolution.

In this way the objectively changed relationship between unionism and British imperialism, created by the growing consciousness and resistance of the international working class has manifested itself in a divergence of interests and has become reflected in conflict between the two over the Anglo-Irish deal.

For British imperialism the Hillsborough Agreement represents a turn to the southern bourgeoisie in its fight to control the petty-bourgeoisie and to crush the organised force of the working class.

For this aim it is quite prepared to sacrifice its established forces of reaction in the country whose role is no longer sufficient for the present tasks.

In Unionism this has meant that decades of faithful service have been rewarded with betrayal, and the real financial interests of the northern protestant bourgeoisie have actively been endangered by the new form of alliance between the ruling class and the Irish bourgeoisie.

Regular financial benefits which previously accrued to

them within the confines of the six-county state, are now threatened with erosion or even destruction.

This threat posed to the Northern unionist bourgeoisie however is not uniform throughout. The variation of material interests and the contradictions therein, have produced a myriad shades of opinion within this section of the ruling class with respect to the Anglo-Irish deal, and has split unionism in a host of different directions.

While the pro-union 'Alliance Party' supports the Anglo-Irish deal, the Official Unionist Party (OUP) and the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) have desperately tried to hold together an extremely fragile unity in opposition to it. And, in the current phase, they are searching frantically for an acceptable alternative which they may be able to persuade British imperialism is also more advantageous to them.

Crisis in Unionism

The pressures have caused major contradictions to emerge within the various unionist parties and have brought about a diversity of views amongst what was beforehand a relatively homogeneous body.

Advocates of integration, devolution and independence have been waging a bitter struggle against one another. Physical fights have erupted in unionist headquarters and the initial campaign of abstention from participation in government structures has gradually disintegrated causing further contention and rancour.

While the approach taken by the 'left' of unionism was to stimulate a 'Campaign for Equal Citizenship' whose line was that the north should be completely integrated into 'British democracy' at a time when British bourgeois democracy no longer exists, the extreme right, represented by the fascistic Ulster Defence Association (UDA) and Ulster Clubs, in conjunction with the National Front, attempted to cash in on disillusionment within the protestant working class and steer them towards UDI.

At the heart of this storm stands arrogant British Imperialism imposing its needs on the Irish people; as always irrespective of the needs of the working class, and now even irrespective of the needs of its long-standing allies - the unionist bourgeoisie in the north.

Anglo-Irish Agreement

The Anglo-Irish agreement is fulfilling several important functions for British Imperialism. In particular it is, with the assistance of the southern government, enabling the co-ordination of attacks on the Irish working class as a whole which are necessitated by the world crisis. This has brought to the fore serious contradictions within the struggle for national self-determination, and is threatening to undermine republican working class resistance by eliciting a mood of compromise within the movement.

These results are so absolutely necessary for British imperialism, and for international capitalism, that it is forced to sweep aside the objections of sections of its own class whose interests are, while in conflict with those of the working class, nevertheless intimately tied to and dependent upon the relative affluence of the working class or sections of it.

Hence the unprecedented dismissive attitude of Britain to the ranting and raving of the unionist parties. For British imperialism the protestant labour aristocracy has served its purpose and outlived its usefulness. The unionists may

bewail the fact and hanker after this past which, politically speaking, was the basis of their own existence, but in the final analysis they are compelled to bow to the relentless laws of capitalist crisis.

They now find themselves helplessly caught in an unhappy contradiction. Whilst needing to retain the protestant ascendancy as the life blood of their own capitalistic concerns, they are having to concede that the time has come for the exploitation of the protestant working class to be intensified and for ruthless oppression to be meted out to them just as it has been for many years to the catholic working class.

The tears shed by them are similar to those of the local supermarket proprietor who, while needing to depress the wages of his locally employed workers in order to realise profits, then finds his profits hit by the inability of the low waged locals to purchase his goods.

It is just such contradictions within world capitalism which have made the 'local' capitalist solution in the north of Ireland untenable and compelled Imperialism to move to a new phase of counter-revolutionary practice. The creation, in the process of the ongoing conflict between British imperialism and Ulster unionism is no more nor less than the unwanted by-product of that process.

For the Irish working class this movement holds both extreme dangers and great possibilities. While the republican working class is having to deal with overtures to compromise, the protestant working class is having to

Letters, articles & requests for information can be sent to:-

P.O. BOX 256
Belfast
BT1 4EU

A wide range of books and pamphlets are available on request. Amongst these are:-

Towards Socialism or Capitalism?
Leninist dialectics & the metaphysics of positivism
Terrorism and Communism
Petty-Bourgeois socialism
Oppression & Revolt in Ireland
The Stalin school of falsification
Materialism & Empiric Criticism
The Permanent Revolution
Studies in Dialectical Materialism
In defence of Marxism

Trotsky
Ilyenkov
Trotsky
Lenin
Jack Gale
Trotsky
Lenin
Trotsky
Healy
Trotsky

This material can either be obtained from the above address or from the Young Socialists Student Society (YSSS) book store held in the students union of Queens University, Belfast and the University of Ulster at Jordanstown.

confront the reality that unionist ideology no longer even appears to serve its interests and can no longer be uncritically adhered to.

This upheaval has created an extremely volatile situation. On the one hand, the protestant working class, left leaderless and vulnerable, are open to becoming infected with the fascist ideology of the National Front which callously utilises low level workeristic terminology to capture the hearts and minds of a disillusioned, fearful and alienated section of the working class.

On the other hand, the republican working class are exposed to confusion created by Bourgeois and petty-bourgeois layers in the republican movement who, by cashing in on the increasingly stark contradictions between the national and social questions, are seeking to steer the republican working class off the road of proletarian revolution onto the Irish bourgeois parliamentary road of counter-revolution.

But precisely because of this radical flux, the scene is one of wildly oscillating positions out of which is emerging great revolutionary potential. There now exists a revolutionary situation in Ireland which can and must be fostered and transformed into revolution itself by the conscious activity of a revolutionary party giving essential leadership to an otherwise politically disorganised proletariat.

Only in this way can the Irish working class and rural masses as a whole unite in action, expel British imperialism from Ireland, expropriate the Irish, British and International capitalists and set up a workers government based on soviets (Community councils).

"What we are discussing is the indisputable and fundamental duty of all socialists - that of revealing to the masses the existence of a revolutionary situation, explaining its scope

and depth, arousing the proletariat's revolutionary consciousness and revolutionary determination, helping it to go over to revolutionary action, and forming, for that purpose, organisations suited to the revolutionary situation."

Lenin, Collected Works Vol 21, p.126

It is therefore urgent that an Irish revolutionary party be built out of the ISL to lead the Irish working class and its allies to revolution.

In the process, the corporatist links of the trade unions must be broken, the bureaucrats replaced by revolutionary fighters and the unions transformed into active revolutionary organisations.

Factory and Community Councils (Soviets) must be set up and organised to replace the existing bourgeois administrative structures. Unable to provide the necessary community services and facilities, the latter must be smashed and their resources expropriated.

Hospitals, schools, nurseries, old people's homes, health centres, recreational centres and so on must all be taken over, staffed and run by the communities to prevent the total destitution of those communities and towards becoming the foundational organs of revolutionary government.

The aims of the all-Ireland party must be the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship based on soviets, the rigid separation of church and state and the relegation of religion to the status of a private affair; the nationalisation of all banks and major farms and industries, and the implementation of revolutionary socialist policies.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST
LEAGUE OF IRELAND

Title: The Proletarian, Vol. 1, No. 4

Organisation: International Socialist League of Ireland

Date: 1988

Downloaded from the Irish Left Archive.

Visit www.leftarchive.ie

The Irish Left Archive is provided as a non-commercial historical resource, open to all, and has reproduced this document as an accessible digital reference. Copyright remains with its original authors. If used on other sites, we would appreciate a link back and reference to the Irish Left Archive, in addition to the original creators. For re-publication, commercial, or other uses, please contact the original owners. If documents provided to the Irish Left Archive have been created for or added to other online archives, please inform us so sources can be credited.