

Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist)

Hails the Internationalists

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Text of the speech delivered by the representative of the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist), Comrade Carol Reakes, in Montreal on March 17, 1973, in celebration of the Tenth Anniversary of the Founding of the Internationalists:

The Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) proudly celebrates the Tenth Anniversary of the Founding of the Internationalists with its fraternal parties - the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), the Communist Party of England (Marxist-Leninist), the American Communist Workers Movement (Marxist-Leninist) and all other fraternal organisations and comrades and revolutionary people and greets the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPC (ML) - the second since the repudiation of the revisionist leadership.

The Internationalists contributed to the revolutionary struggle of the people in a most significant way. In brief, that contribution was:

(1) the destruction of the stultifying capitulationist atmosphere created by the rise of revisionism in the late 50's and early 60's, (2) providing of Marxist-Leninist leadership of a vigorous and powerful youth and student movement, (3) out of the struggle to provide that leadership to the building of a disciplined Marxist-Leninist vanguard, (4) detailed scientific analysis of imperialist superstructure providing the conditions to mobilize youth and students into the overall struggle against imperialism and for waging struggle against imperialism and revisionism within the vanguard group, (5) by building the party in the mass movement. All of these factors provided the basis for the establishment of a Proletarian Party, based On Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought - and this is what the Irish people need more than anything.

It is beyond all shadow of doubt that the workers, peasants and other oppressed peoples of Ireland are instilled with a great anti-imperialist and patriotic sentiment and have a deep desire for revolution. The Irish people constitute a small, weak nation which has suffered brutal aggression and extreme subjugation for many centuries, yet rather than being cowed down by endless years of imperialist and feudal domination, the people daily grow more earnest to defeat imperialist domination for once and for all. As they are at present demonstrating to the world, no amount of British imperialist goons with all their fascist activities, no amount of propaganda about the strength of imperialism and no amount of attempts to try and turn the people against one another will ever force them to lay down their guns

and reconcile their future to imperialist domination. Yet all genuine revolutionaries, who are concerned to actually translate the sentiment into a material force and to lead this struggle to a victorious conclusion, must put the question- Why, after so many years of struggle and sacrifice have the Irish people's attempts at achieving liberation never yet succeeded? And history reveals the answer to this question and that is that what is decisive has been which class had led and will lead the national liberation struggle. Since the emergence of the Irish working class, which due to imperialist suppression was considerably later than the emergence of the working class in England, there have been various attempts to organise this class. These attempts, although providing experience for the proletariat, have not yet succeeded in making it an influential and indeed leading force in the struggle for national liberation and emancipation of the working people from the yokes of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Due especially to outright imperialist suppression of the workers attempts to organize, by murder and jailing of their leaders, etc. and especially due to the betrayal of the revisionists soon after the founding of the Communist Party of Ireland (in the 1920's), the working class and oppressed people have not had by the 1960's: the chance to carry out any sustained activity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and to build actual guidelines as to how to organise a revolutionary party. The experience of the Irish revolutionary struggle shows that without the leadership of the proletariat through its vanguard party, the national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeois elements and even direct representatives of imperialism are bound to as unie leadership and therefore the struggle. (1) for national liberation cannot be led through but will be compromised at crucial times -- (as in the 1920's), (2) the struggle cannot be led through to socialism and eventually communism to bring about complete emancipation of the working people, and (3) due to the influence of the national bourgeoisie and other elements, wrong methods of struggle - eg. terrorism and reformism - will be adopted instead of the waging of People's War on a Marxist-Leninist basis.

Thus the question of who leads the oppressed masses - the national bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie or the proletariat is a question of life and death struggle for the Irish people. The founding of the Internationalists in Ireland provided a decisive answer to this question, and for the first time in Ireland, a well organized, compact organisation, based on proletarian discipline and style of work was formed. This created the conditions for the widescale dissemination of Mao Tsetung Thought and the founding of the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) in 1970. This trend is inevitably going to lead to the proletariat assuming leadership of the Irish peoples' struggle.

This significant contribution of the Internationalists, the spirit, political line and methods of work adopted in the work to build the party have been indelibly imprinted upon the revolutionary tradition in Ireland. No amount of imperialist suppression, distortion, mystification, or setbacks in the revolutionary movement can ever remove this experience. With this experience and with the deep sentiment of the Irish people, it is inevitable that a People's Republic of Ireland, based on national independence, reunification and sovereignty, be established in the not too distant future, as a first step towards building a socialist country under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Today, ten years since the founding of the Internationalists, we are living in a rapidly moving world with intense contradictions between the forces. of reaction and the forces of revolution. Today, in 1973, the proletariat, oppressed peoples and nations all over the world are standing up against imperialism, led by U.S. imperialism, and against modern revisionism, led by Soviet social imperialism. The imperialist economic system is in dire straights. The superpowers' dreams of subjugating the whole world have been exposed for the eyes of the whole world with the defeat of U.S. imperialism by the heroic Vietnamese people. Modern revisionism is exposed as yet another form of imperialism. The hegemony of the two superpowers has been shattered and the People's Republic of China, led by the Communist Party of China and Chairman Mao, enjoys the support of all

democratic and peace-loving governments and peoples the world over." The world united front of small nations and nations unwilling to be bullied by the two superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, is rapidly developing, beaded by the People's Republic of China, and represents an unshakeable force in the world of today. At home in the imperialist heartlands, the broad masses of the people are awakened and are rejecting the imperialist policies of their governments on the economic, political and cultural fronts.

But these were not the features of the world situation ten years ago at the time of the founding of the Internationalists, and it is very important to see how these conditions have changed, how the Internationalists marched forward with this change and in turn helped to bring about the change.

In the early 1960's, U.S. imperialism was jack-booting around the world stepping up its policies of aggression, violence, and subjugation of other countries. Modern revisionism, headed by the Khrushchev clique was beginning to take up its place as a social imperialist power and every effort was being made by both parties to isolate and destroy the People's Republic of China. On the ideological front, U.S. imperialism had just launched its cultural counter-revolution aimed especially against the youth and students and the rise of Khrushchevite revisionism in the Soviet Union had had a considerable influence on the revolutionary movement, consolidating revisionist camps around the world and creating a counter-revolutionary atmosphere of conspiracy and betrayal.

But these enemies of the people sowed the seeds of their own destruction and it is those seeds which are blossoming today and giving rise to such a favorable world situation.

In 1965 news of the movement to "Fight Self and Repudiate Revisionism" in China began to arrive - The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution had begun! Also in the early 1960's (1963, 64, 65), genuine Marxist-Leninists began to break with the old parties, now completely stifled by revisionism. This trend was reflected in England and Ireland by a break, in February 1963, led by Michael McCreary - a genuine communist and Marxist-Leninist who unfortunately was to die shortly afterwards. But it was left to the youth and students, led by the Internationalists, to make a clear cut stand against imperialism and the imperialist cultural counterrevolution and against revisionism - of the old and new type - and to re-establish a genuinely revolutionary centre.

Thus when the Internationalist were founded in Trinity College, Dublin(Ireland) in November 1965, there was absolutely no alternative existing to the prevailing conditions of imperialism and revisionism. None of the so-called left - the revisionists and neo-revisionists - or even the nationalist elements had anything to say to the people as to how to move forward and none of them were able or willing to provide any guidance. This was obvious just by looking at the conditions around, the whole conditions were stagnant, cold war abounded (the great contribution of the revisionists) and the only "salvation" being offered to the people was to "get hung up on self", develop bourgeois individualism, egocentricity, selfishness, degeneracy and parasitism to a new level and live in a dream world of individual salvation. This especially was the propaganda provided in the educational institutions. From our direct experience the so-called communists had least to offer. The old style revisionists long departed from Marxism-Leninism said that "as people didn't like communism" you should promote something else and slip the communism in at the convenient moment, whereas the new revisionists - who had in the main descended from the old revisionist parties in the early 1960's - repeated that "as the people didn't like communism" we should go away and study *Capital* and cook up some theories so that when supposedly the people woke up to life they could descend from their heights with an answer to everything. As young people with a real problem - that is being subjected to all the conditions of imperialist life, especially the decadent bourgeois educational system and the imperialist

culture and way of life, we were not inspired by these so-called great communists, for, despite our limited understanding of what was going on in society, we did desire actual change and elimination of oppression as did the large majority of the youth and students. We had great respect for these people calling themselves communists and despite everything, expected that they would provide leadership to us as youth and students. But it gradually became clear that the so-called communism of these revisionists and neo-revisionists was their method of finding themselves individual salvation and not leading the masses in overthrowing oppression.

The Internationalists were founded in Trinity College in November 1965 and the initial group was made up of two students and two teachers. Comrade Bains, then a lecturer in Microbiology in Trinity College, Dublin, was the founder of the Internationalists and it was no coincidence that the group of young people he brought together had no links with the revisionists old or new, but came directly from out of the oppressed students and lecturers in Trinity College. Thus the Internationalists, founded in University of British Columbia in Vancouver just 21/2 years earlier, were - established in Dublin - inspired by the advances made by the Canadian youth and students under the banner of the Internationalists. The Internationalists reflected the sentiment of the youth and students to overthrow the force of oppression on them. They were united by a deep desire to bring about change in society and were convinced that this was possible, but they were confused by the ideology of the imperialists and revisionists and hung-up on all sorts of crazy things that young people under imperialism are inclined to be hung-up on. It was from these humble beginnings, led by a revolutionary Indian who had already led the youth and student movement in Canada, and in Trinity College - the heart of the English aristocracy and colonialism in Ireland - and with ordinary students who were disdained by the so-called communists for not knowing Marxism in detail, that the Internationalist tradition began in Ireland and a new page in Irish revolutionary history was unfolded.

The sole item on the agenda in 1965 was how to move forward? What should we do and whom to follow? Dealing with this question was complicated by (1) the imperialist training which the young people had been subjected to which meant that theory v/as detached from practice; it was OK to say one thing, or a number of things and do something entirely different and which had also given rise to a good deal of bourgeois arrogance amongst the petty bourgeoisie of not wanting their ideas proven wrong, not wanting to hear things they didn't want to hear and everyone having "their ideas and there being no struggle for correct ideas, tested in practice; (2) by the effects of revisionism which meant there was a good deal of cold-war anti-communism such that people refused to listen to ideas that were labelled as communist and refused to consider the concepts behind them.

This situation was systematically transformed-by organising a discussion group under the slogan - "Create Academic Dialogue on Campus" between students and students and staff. This cut across the prevailing situation in Trinity College where there was absolutely no discussion of any serious issue, just sophistry and rhetoric engaged in by the official, self-promoted debating societies. Once this was achieved and people began coming together for serious discussion, an atmosphere was created whereby ideas could be challenged, and where participants could be called upon to justify the validity of their ideas and beliefs in the real world. In this way pre-conceived notions were attacked, serious questioning of the nature of society began and a trend of relating theory and practice and learning from practice rather than the imperialist propaganda machine, was created.

The overall effect of this process - the struggle to build a discussion group and create academic dialogue on campus - was that such an atmosphere was initiated on campus and large numbers of students began actively questioning all the ideas and practices of the status quo. A trend had been

initiated! Hand in hand with this was that a small number of people came forward most actively who were eager to carry the process to the next stage.

(In the process, various elements who had joined just for the excitement of an exciting atmosphere of discussion, but who did not want this discussion to lead anywhere, were eliminated).

The next phase in the development of the Internationalists began in October 1966 and lasted until August 1967. This stage not only provided important lessons and pointers as to how to move forward for the Internationalists in Ireland, but also developed various guidelines which were later to contribute to the further development of the Internationalists elsewhere. In October 1966, those elements who had participated in the activity of building the discussion group as a first step forward in the process of changing the world, reorganised to form the first step in building an active, fighting organization. Thus in October 1966, the Internationalists reorganised on the basis of building a disciplined group. An inner disciplined, tightly knit and compact group of the most active and staunch elements was formed which initiated a two-fold protracted struggle –(1) to build and consolidate this inner group as a leading force and (2) to lead the supporters and sympathizers and the broad masses of the students on the basis of providing a definite revolutionary programme. Right away this broke the Internationalists away from the bankrupt organisational methods of the revisionists, social fascists and so-called Marxist-Leninists. The revisionists and other social democrats believed in organizing on issues from time to time and not building any compact organisation, whilst the so-called anti-revisionists believed in building expert groups totally detached from the masses of the people in which the sole criterion for leadership was ability to intellectualize and self cultivate with no regard for practical problems. The Internationalists were different - they linked the problem of building the 'vanguard group to the process of leading the mass struggles of the people. In this way, they reflected actually what was going on in the mass movement and struggled to provide leadership to that; unlike the so-called anti-revisionists who tried to oppose revisionism in the abstract, on general theoretical questions and divorced from the people, the Internationalists came from and remained right in the middle of the mass movement and took up the struggle against revisionism and imperialism right there. This had two effects: (1) the concrete manifestations of revisionism in the mass movement were combatted - for example in the youth and student movement it was the revisionists, trotskyists and others who were openly advocating acceptance of the imperialist, degenerate culture and lifestyle, of "getting on in life", "obtaining one's career", etc. and who suggested that the way to rebel was to drink as much alcohol as possible, avoid as much work as possible, indulge oneself to the maximum sexually and later on to take to hippy life style, drug taking, etc. It is a well known fact that it was the so-called "Communist" Youth League of the C.P.G.B. that promoted and popularised drug culture, luring young men and women to holiday camps to engage freely in the imperialist way of life for 23 hours a day, and self-cultivate on Marxism for the remaining 1 hour.

The CYL is responsible for misleading many Irish and English young people who genuinely looked to the communists for a way forward in the imperialist way of life and this crime will certainly not go unpunished. The Internationalists not only made a break with what the imperialists were offering to the youth and students but also with what the revisionists and trotskyists were advocating. By opposing the ethos of serving self, having a good time, getting on in life, etc. with the ethos of "seek truth from facts", and "understanding requires an act of conscious participation by the individual - an act of finding out", serving the working and oppressed people and transforming oneself to do so, the Internationalists introduced a vital and vigorous trend. The Internationalists through their theory and practice showed that the highest dream of a youth was not to receive the maximum number of sensations to his body in the shortest possible time, to obtain a degree, get a wife/husband and family and settle down, but that what is worthwhile in life is to participate actively and consciously in the

struggle of the productive forces in society to move society forward, in the struggle of man with his environment, in this day and age in the struggle of the oppressed people against the imperialist control of the means of production.

The young people - because of their genuine desire to serve the people and participate in progress - responded to this and joined with the Internationalists and all of progressive mankind in this forward march, leaving the revisionists and trotskysts and others to the dust bin of history. Thus the concrete effect of revisionism was opposed in the middle of the mass movement itself.

(2) The second effect of the Internationalists style of work of remaining right in the middle of the mass movement, was on the internal life and struggle of the leading group. In other groups, especially the anti-revisionists who were detached from the daily struggle of becoming a communist, and a revolutionary was a matter of definition, of intellectually acquiring certain talents. Thus experts flourished in their groups - ordinary mortals who had not cultivated themselves in Marxism had no role to play, and the broad masses as a whole were granted no role to play in the making of history and specifically in the struggle against revisionism. In the Internationalists, however, the opposite was true - the question of becoming a revolutionary was not open to debate and definition but was based on the actual practice of the individuals in the struggle to lead the youth and students. Thus the orientation of the Internationalists to find a way forward for themselves and their fellow youth and students laid the basis for internal struggle - whether or not an individual contributed in practice to the movement forward. Thus the Internationalists did not develop a discipline on the basis of "degree of understanding" in the abstract, or ability to intellectualize or on some other arbitrary criterion but on the basis of making the revolution in practice. This differentiated the Internationalists from all other groups like differentiating the living from the dead, and this is why the broad masses could see that "the Internationalists" were "just different". It was on the basis of this orientation that the Internationalists established guidelines for consolidating the leading group. The concrete manifestations of imperialism and revisionism were isolated on a systematic basis as they came up to oppose progress. This was internal "struggle against bourgeois hang-ups" and all members were encouraged to struggle against hang ups such as bourgeois individualism, selfishness and egocentricity. A very good example of our struggle against bourgeois hang-ups was the internal struggle waged against bourgeois attitudes in selling the revolutionary newspaper. The imperialist "sloth like" attitude of apologetically selling an odd paper or two whilst hiding most of them behind ones back, and the egocentric approach of jumping down everyone's throat and denouncing all those who did not buy as reactionary, were both opposed. Comrades were encouraged to sell the paper in a manner reflecting our purpose- that was to humbly but vigorously sell it to the people talking to them and listening to their views. All the other "left" groups were amazed - How do you manage to have such vigorous sellers they said? We can't even get one person to sell our paper. They thought it was just a detail, but in fact it was a practical reflection of the fact that internal nausea brings external impotency whilst, internal consolidation brings external strength. Many struggles against bourgeois hang-ups were waged - especially against the bourgeois hang-up of saying one thing and doing another, against private property attitude towards ideas and for the collective development and implementation of ideas; against the division of the group into "ideologues"-who strolled in every now and then with a few ideas for everyone elses salvation and bureaucrats who just found a comfy niche and mindlessly executed a few tasks. This tendency was opposed by advocating the conscious participation of the individual in each step of the development of the movements. The guideline was developed that discipline entails (1) conscious participation in the process of making decisions and (2) conscious execution of all agreed upon decisions. Thus the organisational guideline was developed to oppose both ideologues and bureaucrats. The struggle on this question was especially fierce on what

constituted leadership and a consistent struggle was waged against various elements who considered themselves as the centre of the universe because they came around from time to time with a few ideas, had utter disdain for the ordinary members and did nothing to raise their level or unite with the other members of the group. These people got no support because of the revolutionary nature of Comrade Bains' leadership. The correct line was implemented by Comrade Bains and supported by the rest of the members, that was to oppose revisionist methods of leadership and put the main emphasis on unity with the ordinary members to raise their level and provide guidelines as to how to move forward which were appropriate at each stage to the level of the masses and the level of the members so that the group advanced. Various experts who would have foisted revisionist methods on the groups were prevented from doing so and all levels of the movement advanced step-by-step. It was in this way that Comrade Bains became our cherished leader and won the respect and deep support of all genuine Internationalists just as he has done in Canada today. Comrade Bains was not like any of the other so-called leaders - he was just different - he did not use the respect and trust placed in him to display his intellectual talents or to create an easy life for himself as an armchair revolutionary with task-executing members all around. He worked on every level with the members and supporters - taught them how to differentiate correct from incorrect ideas, executed practical tasks with them and always provided a way forward.

This whole process - struggle against imperialist culture and educational system and against revisionism amongst the masses and struggle against concrete manifestations of imperialism and revisionism internally, would not have been possible without making a detailed analysis of the imperialist culture, relating the problems of the individual to that analysis and thus showing concretely that the root cause of the "cultural oppression" faced by the young people was the imperialist economic system and the need of that system to create a consumer culture for the expansion of its super-profits. By showing that it was the imperialists who created false needs through their propaganda machine and who thus subverted the people into all sorts of divisions. The young were able to relate their situation to the basic characteristics of imperialist society and were eager to stand up against imperialism with other oppressed sectors. This scientific analysis was developed not by sitting on the sidelines but in the course of the actual struggle to mobilize the youth and students to fight against the effects of imperialism.

At the historic *Necessity For Change* Study Programme in February 1967, Comrade Bains expounded the "Necessity For Change" analysis of the imperialist corporate, sensate culture. This was a most important point in the development of the Internationalists. Now, all the problems of the youth, all the struggles against the imperialist way of life and against the decadent bourgeois educational system and all the internal struggles were summed up in one analysis which charted the only way forward for the Internationalists and the youth and student movement in general - to take up the position of building a comprehensive movement against imperialism and to unite with all other anti-imperialist forces in society and national liberation struggles in the world. Conscious opposition to imperialism now became the basis of internal discipline and the basis of the external programme. Thus the Internationalists had developed from 1965 with first:

External programme: create academic dialogue

Internal task: build a discussion group on the basis of no sophistry and rhetoric

October 1966 - February 1967

External programme: Various slogans and programmes geared at creating the possibility for a left-wing stand on campus. From October 1966 to December 1966 the programme was to take up the theory of the university, show the relation between its theory and its practice and how it was not in fact geared to encouraging scientific investigation to serve the people, but to promoting "accepted theories" to promote careerism and self-interest. From January 1967 to February 1967 the Internationalists raised the slogan "Combat Liberalism" to expose various half-hearted individuals and organizations who wanted to earn themselves a reputation of being progressive. These people were part of the so-called "liberal tradition, they fostered things like anti-apartheid on the basis that it was OK to oppose apartheid as a thing in itself but not to oppose imperialism as the cause of apartheid. They pretended to display support for the struggle on the basis that it "was bad" that the Vietnamese people were being bombed, "Make Love, Not War", but declined to denounce imperialism and support the just struggle of the Vietnamese people.

During this period - December 1966 to February 1967, the internal struggle was to build a disciplined group and struggle against bourgeois hang-ups.

Now in March 1967, the Internationalists issued a call for "youth and students to unite against imperialism", and internal unity was on the basis of organizing to oppose imperialism. On this basis the progressive trend led by Comrade Bains who wanted to move forward, came into sharp struggle with backward forces who just desired to remain at the same level and use the analysis of culture as a way of fixing up their personal problems. This line was soundly defeated and the Internationalists marched on at the forefront of the youth and students against imperialism.

After two Learn From the People Campaigns, one all around Ireland, in late February, 1967, and the other all over England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales in May-August, 1967, the Internationalists distributed the "Necessity for Change" analysis, called on all students to oppose imperialism and join the forward march and most important, confirm that the situation all over the four countries was basically the same as that in Trinity College, i.e. students and youth are totally fed up with the imperialist domination and the revisionists and so-called anti-revisionists were providing no leadership as to how to move forward. On August 1-15, 1967 in London, England the historic "Necessity for Change Conference" was held. This conference was a most significant conference. Youth and students as well as national liberation movements and all the organizations claiming themselves to be communist were invited. In the Conference the Internationalists put forward their analysis of the existing situation, the Necessity for Change Analysis and called for a discussion on that basis. Any hopes we still had that any of these groups would provide guidance were shattered. The Necessity For Change Conference proved beyond doubt that there was no group in the four countries that was willing or able to lead the people forward. All the so-called communists were suffering from degeneration and were hung up on being "pure" Marxist-Leninists" and giving a correct anti-revisionist line. This only highlighted their irrelevance to the practical struggles of the people and the problems of moving forward. Had not the People's Republic of China and the Albanian comrades denounced and exposed the incorrect theoretical position taken by the Khrushchev revisionist clique, and had not the CPGB, as many other communist (revisionist) parties divided on this question, What then was the need to purify the theoretical difference further? Of course there was none, but these dogmatists instead of taking up the struggle against revisionism and to build a new revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Centre amongst the masses became diverted into their intellectualized dog-fights. The Necessity For Change Conference was open testimony to the theory and practice of the Internationalists since their birth. It showed to the world that the Internationalists, led by Comrade Bains had emerged from out of the youth and students, had organized in this one cell of society to actively oppose imperialism and revisionism and in this way had developed a mass movement

amongst youth and students against imperialism and revisionism and had initiated the work of building a new revolutionary centre.

And what did our so-called communists have to say about this? Instead of providing overall leadership and assisting the Internationalists, they jumped up and down on the side lines gesticulating madly - "You do not have permission from China!" Another went on to claim his "superiority" by spouting that he had started studying *Capital* when he was 15 years old. "You are just students - what about the workers," said another. But the most despicable crew of all were those who claimed themselves to be revolutionary but who, in order to oppose revolution, came up with the bogus theory that objective conditions were not yet developed for revolution and all that the so-called communists could do was to develop theory for when revolution developed. The difference between these so-called anti-revisionists and the Internationalists was twofold: (1) they wanted to ignore what developments were occurring in society, (i.e.- the youth and student movement) and provided no analysis as to their failing to link themselves with the masses, (2) because they had no analysis of imperialist culture, they could not deal with its effect inside their own organisations. Their opposition to revisionism remained on the purely theoretical level and they had nothing to say about revisionism in style of work and method of organising- Their differences were the reflection of the fundamental difference between the Internationalists, who were part of the oppressed youth and were determined to overthrow that oppression and those revisionists and dogmatists who placed themselves above the people as manipulators of other peoples' struggle.

At the Necessity for Change Conference, it was clear that there was no other way forward but for the Internationalists to take up the task of building communist parties and ourselves struggling to acquire Marxist-Leninist ideologies and outlook- Irish, English and Canadian delegates present resolutely agreed on this task as the only way forward. In England, the English Internationalists were formed at this time as a first step in building an organisation in England. The results of this historic conference are here today for everyone to see - the Internationalists moved forward in each country to form the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), Communist Party of England (Marxist-Leninist), American Communist Workers Movement (Marxist-Leninist), Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist).

The next stage of the Internationalists after the Historic Necessity for Change Conference was labelled the "struggle to acquire ideology". From October 1967 to August 1968, various programmes were carried out to this end.

The "What is to be Done Study Programme" initiated serious study of the development of all aspects of the society-from a Marxist-Leninist standpoint. At this programme general ground work was begun for the formation of the Ideological Institute which was inaugurated two months later on February 1968. The internal programme of the Internationalists now' became investigation into all aspects of society to teach the members basic Marxist-Leninist viewpoint as well as regular internal summing up of experience, and the external programme of regular weekly paper and meeting was to give a serious Marxist-Leninist view on important issues in the society.

In May 1968, most important events occurred which proved overwhelmingly the correctness of the Internationalist analysis. The visit of the imperialist Belgium Royal Family to Trinity College provoked the deep indignation of the students and an open clash developed between the state, college authorities, and a few' fascist students and a demonstration organised by Irish Student Movement and Action Group on Southern Africa. Thousands of students came forward and mass democracies began upon the nature of the imperialist universities, imperialist domination of society and how to organise

against it. This historic upsurge in mass democracy in Trinity College in May 1968 had a profound effect not just on the students but on the whole society. It really shattered the effects of revisionism, showed to the working people throughout the country that at least one section of society was prepared to stand up and risk all the imperialist threats, and that this time the revolutionary youth were rising under the banner of Marxism- Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. An upsurge of the people's movement was bound to occur now that the shackles of revisionism had been broken. This is exactly what happened in August - October 1968. Struggle broke out against the colonial domination of the north of the country.

Throughout the period 1965-68 Comrade Hardial Bains directly led the Internationalists in Ireland. He was a staunch and vigorous Internationalist who fought alongside his comrades to build the movement. He made specific contributions in summing up the struggle against the imperialist culture and "the struggle against bourgeois hang-ups" and presenting the comprehensive analysis of the imperialist cultural superstructure - The "Necessity For Change" analysis which provided a scientific basis for the external and internal struggle. He also led and summed up the struggle to oppose revisionism on the organisational front, the struggle for the correct methods of work. This summation is presented in the document - One Struggle, Two Enemies, Three Guidelines, Four levels of Work.

Since 1968 Comrade Bains as leader of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) has always provided helpful fraternal advice to our party, the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist).

From 1968 -1969 the Internationalists developed into the Irish Communist Movement (Marxist-Leninist), and worked to establish branches in all major cities. In 1969 also the struggle to build a national newspaper was initiated and "Red Patriot" was launched. In 1970 the ICM (ML) launched a campaign to widely disseminate Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought. In all major cities, in the universities and in the working class communities, this campaign was vigorously carried out. Bookshops were consolidated and established in new areas, and propaganda teams were sent into various rural areas to distribute revolutionary literature to the peasantry. The reactionaries ran into a panic - using Irish chauvinism as a cover for their outright reactionary activity, they had first declared that "you will never be able to distribute communism and Mao Tsetung Thought in Ireland" - when the Internationalists achieved this in Trinity College (Dublin) they altered their story: "you will never succeed in the working class - working class people don't like foreign ideas. When they were defeated on this, they declared that the people outside of Dublin were the real backward elements. The peasants were supposed to be conservative and would never agree to Mao Tsetung Thought. But again the reactionaries, of course, were proved wrong. The only alternative was to begin attacks on the party and the systematic harassment began very soon. They fired on one of the bookshops and arrested and harassed many comrades. In reply to this the ICM (ML) launched a resistance movement to the attacks of the state. A large number of comrades were jailed or treated in psychiatric institutions, etc.

This resistance struggle - for the right to disseminate Mao Tsetung Thought and the right to organize - aroused many working people and interested them in communism. And it was during this year that the ICM (ML) gave rise to the Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist). Moreover, it also brought the backward elements inside the Party to the fore raising the banner of "self-sacrifice is not necessary", "all this going to jail is no use", "we can do more outside". They made various attempts to disrupt the campaign to expand the Party into new areas and to lead systematic and consistent resistance to the state attacks. To do this - like most revisionist elements - they used the method of attacking the party's organisational form and discipline and attempted to sow anarchy in the party by declaring themselves above the Party's basic units and above the Central Organs. Once they had

succeeded in raising themselves above Party discipline, they revealed ever more of their true features. They started peddling openly revisionist lines like "Mao Tsetung Thought is no good for Ireland", "we should not have inner party discipline and struggle, but should have a loose liberal sort of Party full of harmony", amongst the masses we should not wage ideological struggle and fight for what is right but should tail behind any spontaneous movement. Of course, any self-styled individual can afford to give any view once he is no longer under Party discipline and no longer has to justify his views in practice. These disrupters came up objectively to side with the state to prevent the party advancing. They openly sided with the state to create rumours and gossips against the Party gave information to the police and created pessimism and confusion by saying that CPI (ML) was finished. They were totally opposed to the fundamental Internationalist principle of building a disciplined group and waging struggle amongst the masses for the advanced ideas to be grasped.

To their despair, CPI (ML) was far from finished, and following after this disruption the Party regrouped and reorganised and early in 1972 began to re-establish basic Internationalist styled disciplined cells in key places and now it is the disrupters who are being exposed for their lies and distortions and outright counter-revolutionary activities.

During the whole period, many people became actively involved in resistance to the British imperialist occupation of Irish territory and aggression against the Irish working people. The country has divided into 2 camps - there is a tiny handful including the comprador bourgeoisie who are all out supporters of British imperialism and domination of Ireland and there is one large majority who are totally against British imperialist control and who declare that Ireland belongs to the Irish people and that the Irish people will settle their own affairs.

Throughout the country this contradiction is inspiring and arousing the people and the neo-colonial government of the Irish compradors has become extremely isolated. The neo-colonial puppets as well as their British masters and their allies in northern Ireland are all desperately hoping that entry of the country into the European Common Market and openly prostrating Ireland as a "stepping stone into the EEC" for U.S. imperialism, Soviet social imperialism and Japanese imperialism will save their skins. Under such conditions the British imperialists and their lackeys have no choice but to try and resort to deception. They are desperately trying to engineer a civil war between the so-called "Catholic community" and the so-called "protestant community" and turn the working people against one another. They try and make out that the people want to fight one another and that the working people of Ireland will never unite. They blatantly lie and distort the fact of the many attacks made on the imperialist troops and colonial administrators by the people and try to present the struggle as "sectarianism". They spend large amounts of their time decrying the "sectarian murder" while in fact the large majority of these murders are committed by British agents. Imperialist Heath and his class try and "justify" their plunder of Ireland and their presence there as being the "desired wish" of the two "nations" Catholic and Protestant. Thus they try and take their necks out of the noose and hypocritically lay all the blame for the problems they have created on the Irish people. Not only do the imperialists create the propaganda that they are not the No. 1 enemy and that sectarianism is the main problem but they also try and confuse the issue by suggesting that "murderers" and "terrorists" are the main problem- They try and obscure the fact that it is they who are the main perpetrators of violence through their aggression against the Irish people and that the people have every right to reply to that aggression with guns. The method the people adopt to wage struggle against the imperialists is a contradiction amongst the people and a question for the people to sort out themselves. Hoping to lay the blame for violence on the people they hypocritical[^] appeal for peace, collude with various social democrats who claim to support the people but not their use of violence, and in this way they are

making false promises of an "alternative" to be realised with the publishing of their "White Paper" and the establishment of a new form of colonial puppet government.

This class struggle -- the armed resistance of the people, the fascist propaganda of the imperialist state machine has created a focus on which everyone is taking and will take sides. But the Irish people have a long experience of struggle against British imperialism and who is going to support the imperialists? It is very instructive to see that the only dogs whom the imperialists could find to readily wag their tails at their masters were the so-called great communists of 1966-67. At that time they were shouting on the sidelines, gesticulating and saying that objective conditions were not ripe and that now' was the time for theory and always looking for some angle by which to oppose any revolutionary development. The intensification of class struggle has sent these so-called communists into a frenzy and they have openly come out to oppose the armed struggle, support counter-revolution and repeat, under the guise of Marxism, every lie of the imperialist propaganda machine. Thus they shamelessly support the fascist theory that the "protestant" working class have their interests with British imperialism. Instead of providing guidance to the struggles of the people and participating they shamelessly say that it is the people's resistance that is the cause of all the problems and fail to point out that 1) large numbers of the so called "terrorist atrocities" are imperialist created and 2) in any case, the question of whether to accept terrorism or people's war as a method of fighting is a question which will be decided within the anti-imperialist ranks.

Moreover, no amount of imperialist propaganda can hide the brutal suppression of the Irish people by British imperialism. For every working man, whether he be from Belfast, Dublin or Cork, British imperialism is his enemy and oppressor and his fellow worker his ally in the struggle to overthrow this oppressor. Armed with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and with a Communist Party the Irish people will surmount all difficulties, build unity and defeat the common enemy of all Irish men and women and found the People's Republic of Ireland.

The CPI (ML) firmly holds that the future of the Irish people is inseparably tied up with the future of the English proletariat and that the struggle to build a People's Republic of Ireland will set the first stage in establishing a united socialist republic in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales.