



CONQUER THE WORLD

The International Proletariat Must and Will

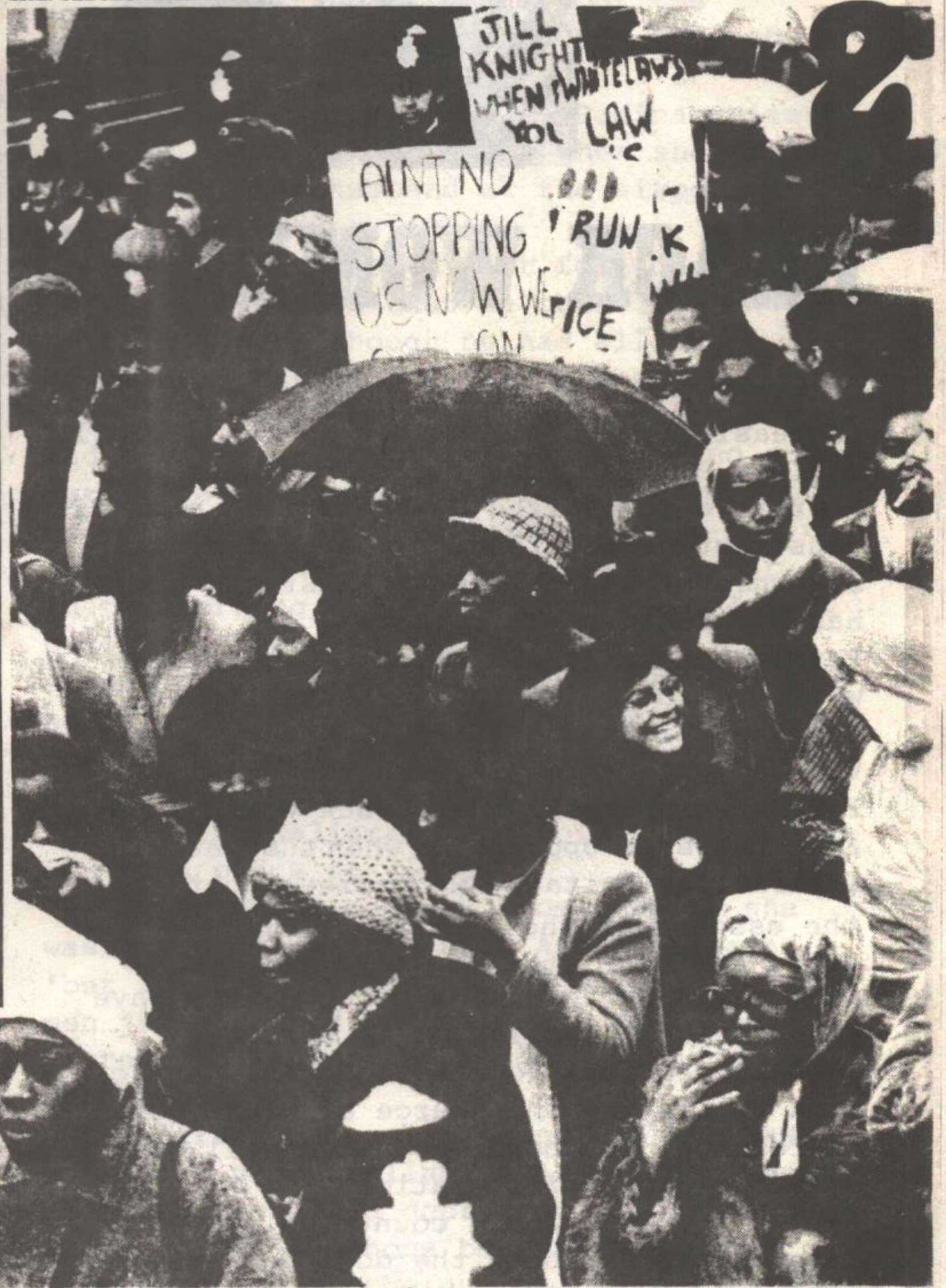
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BLACK WOMEN IN BRITAIN

Black women in Britain are playing an increasingly important role in the struggle against British imperialism, and are therefore recognized by the ruling class as constituting a threat to the system. The struggle of these women against the state has heightened their potential for revolution and their hatred for a system which is rooted in the perpetuation of fundamental inequalities. Contrary to the view of the Trotskyite and revisionist forces which think that Black women don't face the same oppression when they are in imperialist Britain, we believe that the essence of the oppression remains the same, although the form changes, and in some cases even worsens because they have an additional oppression to struggle against: national oppression. This article aims to examine the source of Black women's oppression, but before that we will give some background information.

In third world countries where imperialism has been the dominant social relation: in politics, economics, culture, etc., and so the oppression of women has been very much tied to social relations which are semi-feudal relations. The feudal along with the comprador class is relied upon by imperialism to maintain this domination. In the interests of imperialism

this backward relationship generally remains intact, unless capital sees the necessity to change that relation, to suit the expansion of capital. In any case women in these countries face the double oppression of patriarchy which operates fully under feudalism; and the oppression of imperialism, which the whole people face. In some of these societies women are denied even the basic human rights. In this article we are unable to examine this, but we will hopefully go into detail on this in a future article. These oppressive relations remain even when these women enter this country, the "colonization" continues in this country in different forms, and this is what this article is going to deal with.

After the redivision of the world at the end of the second world war, and because of British imperialism's victory in this war against its main rival Germany (despite the U.S. coming out on top), Britain stood to gain from the war: with the loss of its main rival, British capital was given a chance to expand. Britain was not slow to use this opportunity. To carry out this expansion capital needed extra labour to ensure that the expansion would not be too costly. Hence they turned to their colonies, which they have always plundered, this time

for labour for the homeland as well. Black women were recruited for the service industry and clothing factories, they did the low paid jobs that white people didn't want.

It was not long before the imperialists were hit with another crisis, and that was the 60's when revolution was shaking the foundations of imperialism, even in the homelands, like France, Ireland and America. And it was during this time that systematic attacks started against the immigrants, who could play an important part in revolution because of their hatred of imperialism in general. Even though the imperialists managed to come out of the 60's safely, they had to face another rival in the world arena, which was Soviet Social Imperialism. In the 70's the trend was changing from revolution to war, hence the necessity to tidy up the home front more than ever, because the disloyal section of the masses during war time becomes the enemy within for the imperialists, which must be taken seriously, hence the systematic attack on the immigrants intensifies. Thus it was precisely during this time that immigration acts become very prominent, that the National Front was given full support by the ruling class and allowed to march through areas highly populated by immigrants,¹ and the police were given special powers (i.e. the Sus law); all these policies were designed to create fears in the hearts of the immigrants. For instance there were 64 headline-making events relating to immigrants which happened just during the period 1972-74, compared to 84 events during the whole of the period 1946-1972.² The speed at which the changes took place, reflects the urgency with which the British government wanted to push through its policies on immigrants, and more than anything else exposes the grave danger that the immigrants posed to the ruling class. Black women were especially targeted as the following statement by Bradford council shows:

"since 1971, over 8000 immigrants have arrived in Bradford. But the significant effect on the population is not just the numbers, it is the fact that 90% of them are wives and children — including girls. This increasing number of non-white women will keep the number of non-white births high, no matter how quickly their birth rate falls, the non-white population would still go up because of the high number of children and wives and high level of birth rate."³

Hitler would have been proud of Bradford Council for this fascist statement. The bourgeoisie sees women only in their role as breeders of the next generation. Capitalism could not just stand by and watch its grave diggers increasing. In response to this "threat" the imperialists developed their policies: 1) to ensure that Black women get the message of hatred from the bourgeoisie for their being here in this country. In other words, immigration laws were brought in, to make it difficult for Black women to enter Britain, i.e. to reduce their numbers, as it is the women who have the babies. 2) To compliment this policy they want to introduce anti-abortion legislation, and encourage the anti-abortion mentality to ensure the increase of the white population, and to push women back into the home. 4

To understand the hatred of the bourgeoisie for immigrant women take the following two examples:

Look at what happened to Zahina Galiara, a young woman of eighteen, when she arrived with Aszal her husband at the airport in Britain in January 1976:

"Aszal was made to wait for four hours before being told that he could go [enter Britain], even though he had all the documents. But Zahira was told she had no right to enter, because although the couple had a marriage certificate she had no entry certificate. She was heavily pregnant but she was questioned and made to wait for the next twelve hours without food or water.... In the morning she had quite severe labour pains.....she says that she was superficially examined by a doctor and a nurse. Although she spoke no English, Aszal was not allowed to accompany her. The Doctor's opinion was that she was fit to travel, the Galiaras were told she would be put on a plane at 3.30pm.

"When she came back from doctor, she was crying in pain', says Aszal Galiara, 'but the immigration officials and security men just laughed and said she was pretending because she didn't want to be sent back'.

"Zahira's pains increased and she was screaming uncontrollably. Aszal says that he tried to call a doctor or an ambulance from the public phone but was prevented from doing so by the guards. Only when the baby's head began to emerge from the womb was a doctor sent for.

"By the time he [the doctor] arrived' says Aszal, 'the baby was half out, the only people to help were an Indian cleaning woman and myself'.....the baby.....was premature and, according to the hospital, born with abnormalities, she died.... →

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Black women have many experiences of struggle against imperialism which they can pass on to their sisters.

Zahira was eventually given permission to stay on in Britain."⁵

If properly treated maybe this child could have been saved, which means that British imperialism is to be blamed for its murder. This example shows how far the bourgeoisie is prepared to go in order to convey its hatred of these women. This inhumane treatment is not just an isolated incident, on the contrary, immigrant abuses are occurring everyday in detention centres around the country, offering a glimpse of what the bourgeoisie has in store for Black women. If all this was lawful, from their point of view, and was passed through their fucking parliament, the virginity test,⁶ which was carried out on immigrant women secretly from the mid 70's to 1979 was not, and it was only stopped when it was exposed by an Indian women. Despite the fact that it was not lawful it was carried out with the full consent of the ruling class, further more it was occurring under the Labour Party — which should shatter two illusions:

1) that the ruling class would not do anything except through parliamentary means, and 2) the myth that somehow the Labour Party is different.

The bourgeoisie does not stop here, in line with its feudal predecessors and the puppet regimes of the third world, they maintain and reinforce patriarchal relations. The Immigration Act only recognizes men as being the head of the household or family, and as such, they have the right to bring their children and wife with them; but women do not have the same right. This makes these women dependent

upon their husband, hence they are chained to their family and frequently have to put up with lots of shit because divorce from their husband could mean deportation, further reinforcing the idea that women have to rely on men. By ensuring this climate of dependency, imperialism hopes to stop women from rebelling against the system: the system which breeds their oppression. For instance the virginity test was not only degrading, but an outright insult to women, and an ideological offensive. It singled out the women who had "stepped out of line", those who were not virgins, hence the clear message was sent out by the imperialists that these women have no place in this society; and also reinforcing the idea that men should marry virgins. This goes hand in hand with the patriarchal immigration laws which are playing an important part in keeping the chains on women. It is not surprising that they are tightening up on immigrants again and again, because this is part of British imperialism's overall policy.

Work Place

Black women enter this country at the need of British capital, some came in with work permits, others accompanying their husbands. Out of all the immigrants entering from Commonwealth countries in 1963 with work permits 27,371 were men and only 2,754 were women.⁷ West Indian women form a substantial proportion of these women. However with women from Malaysia and the Philippines with work permits, they formed 90% of all the entrants from those countries from 1973 to 1977, and formed

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about 70% of all the entries of women with work permits. There were two reasons for this: (1) The migrant workers entry into Britain was tied to the need of employers in certain industries; the employer has to show that there is a labour shortage in the field in which they want to employ migrant workers, as work permits are granted to the employer, not to the worker. The worker has to apply annually for a visa for four years and only then will they be able to settle permanently and be free to change jobs. Now, not only was some women's entry into this country tied to their husband but now with some women their entry was also tied to their employer, who would exploit them as much as they could, because if they didn't put up with their employer they could easily be deported. (2) They were women, so they couldn't bring their family to settle here, so it was less costly and more efficient to use female rather than male migrant workers. This is how a floor manager of a Rochdale clothes factory summed it up: "They were the best girls we have ever had — keen, hard working, early-to-bed, early-to-rise types". In simple language they were able to exploit them as much as they could.

Black women were generally employed in the service industries, nursing and clothing industry. Due to the low paid jobs which immigrant men are forced to do, they are unable to support their family, which means that most of the immigrant women have to work as well. The 1981

Labour Force Surveys show 47.2% of white women to be economically active as compared to the higher rate for Black women which was officially put at 49.4%.⁸

Black women were pushed into the lowest paid jobs, often involving physically heavy work, long and anti-social hours, the work places are often cramped, with the women facing unbearable racial and sexual harrassment.

Here's another example of how these women work and how badly they are being exploited. Many Afro-Caribbean and Philippino women are employed at the lowest levels of the NHS. In 1981 a study found that with regard to ancillary and maintenance workers, 78% of ancillary workers, and within this 84% of domestic and catering workers were from overseas.⁹ Most other Black women are employed in industries (especially the clothing industry) where the conditions of the work place often involves definite health and safety hazards. The following is an interview with an Asian women in "Race Today" about where she was working:

"[In my work I] assemble motors in the store department. When I first started

work here I had to make 14 motors per hour. But then they raised the target to 16 then to 18 and so on. Now it is 22. To work at that speed we can't even drink a cup of tea. We have no official tea break but sometimes one of us goes out and gets tea for the others. But then if the foreman sees, he starts complaining about us in front of all the other workers, and even the supervisor, saying we always waste time and talk too much. Anyway we didn't complain about that. We complained to them about the target. We all said 22 is too high. However hard we work we can never make more than that — unless we make more we don't get the bonus. But on top of that if we make less than 22, say 20 or 21, they cut some money from our basic pay. We are mostly Asians in our section, but our shop steward is a white woman. She doesn't care and the union doesn't care. I pay 11p a week to be a member of the union but I really think it is a waste of hard earned money. Don't get me wrong. I am not against unions but our union is no different from management."

This is a typical description of the conditions endured by Black women, and this



is an example of super exploitation as well. The feelings expressed by this woman towards the unions, are very important as they are representative of immigrant workers generally towards the Trade Unions. This is because the Trade Unions have ignored these workers and sided with the employers and the government and its anti-immigration laws. As is traditional, Trade Unions take the position that the immigrants "depressed conditions for other workers by accepting lower rates of pay". Firstly it must be said that the immigrants were forced here due to the necessity of British capital and due to the conditions which imperialism had created in their home countries. They

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definitely didn't come to take low paid jobs, they were forced into them — either they had to starve or work like slaves. What choice is that? None. These days Black people are even being denied the low paid jobs, as many white workers are themselves forced into taking them, so Black people are pushed into unemployment. Trade Union thinking now says that Black people should be blamed for white workers accepting the low paid jobs. The continuation of this argument is that Black people should leave Britain and this is precisely what they are aiming at — an imperialist policy in disguise under the cover of protection for the workers. The Trade Unions enforce racist policies, and it is them and the British imperialists that must be blamed for what happens to the workers, and not Black people.

Family

Apart from the racial harassment and all the shit that comes with it., the oppressed nationalities find that their family and culture are being attacked in order to increase the racist climate which is already running high. The British government uses the issue of arranged marriage to form public opinion to support their racist immigration policy which is in actual fact aimed at preventing more immigrants entering this country. But the system as a whole relies upon the family structure to keep the women in "their place" and Black families are no exception. There are many reported cases where Black women have been prevented from taking part in the struggle and events going on in society by Black men. Even though men among the proletariat, among the oppressed, even among the revolutionary-minded, are oppressed and exploited and are the victims of the system. That's the most basic thing, but on the other hand, in one realm they are oppressors, or there is a basis and a pull, the operation of society pushes for them to be oppressors in one realm, and that is the realm of their relation with women. Men claim that it is "natural" for the woman to be subordinate to men, that is natural for man to be master, at least of his own house, that men should be masters over women and that women are inferior to men and so on and so forth. However, there is nothing natural about all this. As members of the international proletariat, as resolute



opponents of any oppression revolutionary men must consciously struggle against women's oppression, otherwise they become component parts of women's oppression. This question among the revolutionary communists is a dividing line, just as we do not accept a racist among ourselves, so we cannot accept an oppressor of women either.

Here we have demonstrated how Black women's oppression in this country in its essence remains the same, that it is only its form which changes. Unlike the Trotskyite and revisionist organisations who think coming to Britain brings limited emancipation. For instance RCP, U.K. in answering one of its readers letters sees the cause of women's oppression as being that the "third world has been denied access to technological advances which provide the basis for limited emancipation in the west". TNS 4/12/87

In simple terms this means they would keep the old empire going if they came to power, and just export more capital and technology to those countries making them more dependent on British imperialism. As if they have not had enough of that. The cause of oppression in these third world countries is imperialism and forced dependency on the imperialists. A revolutionary government should break this dependency which has always benefited imperialism, not reinforce it. If technology means the emancipation of women, you might as well forget about half of society, because "technological advances" have gone on for long enough for there to be no oppression of women in the imperialist countries. Equating technological advance and women's emancipation is bullshit, and any woman can testify to this.

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British imperialism:

Hypocrites, Reactionaries, and Warmongers!

With cries of "breach of national security" from the government a program called "Zipper" was pulled from BBC transmission. "Zipper" was one of a series of five programmes called "Secret Society". The date was 15th January 87, this first program was not to be shown alongside the other four, scheduled for mid-March of that year.

"Zipper hit a nerve of the "secret society" of British imperialist rule. It is a most sensitive exposure of its nuclear first strike policy in practice.

On the 30th September this year, 1988, "Zipper" was finally broadcasted, after a period of 1 year, 8½ months, time enough for this nerve to be desensitized, to some degree, in the face of public view. Just how sensitive this subject still is, reflected in the discussion that followed the program. The discussion did not concern itself with the fact that "Zipper" marked a historical development in the "British"

independent nuclear capability but more on the implications of the government pulling "Zipper" from the airwaves, concern for "freedom of the press" and its duty to report such developments to the public. As if the press of this country ever had a "duty" to the masses of this island and the world. To get a clearer picture of the contradictions within the ruling class on this point we need to go back to its first exposure in the press, directly following the subjects banning from the airwaves and the governments subsequent attempt at a coverup that followed.

Duncan Cambell was commissioned, by the BBC, to produce the series called "Secret Society" numbering five programmes in all. As a result of the banning of "Zipper", he published the programmes' sensitive information in the magazine "New Statesman" of which he is the editor. On the 23rd of January

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1987 the above article appeared in the magazine, to the horror of the government, exposing the development of a closely guarded secret spy satellite. The government, after stopping the broadcasting of "Zipper", attempted to stop the publication of the magazine by issuing a warrant under section two of the Official Secrets Act, giving Special Branch officers the "widest powers" possible to search and seize documents from the offices of the New Statesman and also from the home of its editor, Duncan Cambell, and other associates. But the government was a little slow off the mark on this one, the New Statesman magazine was already off the presses and distributed by the time the warrant was issued.

To curtail national/international exposure of its secret "national capability", the government contacted all the editors of the national newspapers and broadcasting channels "advising" them not to report or follow up on the article in the New Statesman (N.S.). As organs of imperialist rule they did this willingly.

The "Zircon project": developing the national capability to act in an independent way.

The "Zircon project" was the subject of the "Zipper" program. "Zircon" is the code-name for Britain's first independent spy satellite. The role of "Zircon" is signals intelligence, it is an electronic listening post in space, spying on the rival bloc of imperialists: the Soviet Union and the volatile areas of contention between them, Europe and the Middle East; relaying the information back to GCHQ, the government monitoring centre at Cheltenham.

The project received its go-ahead from, the then Defence Secretary, Micheal Heseltine, the intelligence services and the Prime Minister. The project received its finance, like so many others, from within the existing defence budget. Its cost is 1 billion a year, which is laundered through various channels so as to conceal its existence from the public.

To quote Sir Frank Cooper, Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Defence,

"The satellite would give us a standing in our relations particularly with the United States and...our European allies." It would "give us a national capability...so we knew what was going on in an independent way". (New Statesman article 23/1/87)

What does Cooper mean when he says the

development of this satellite would "give us a standing in our relations particularly with the US"?..

Today the US is the leading imperialist power of the Western bloc and stands as a strong rival to the Eastern bloc of Soviet Social imperialism. Imperialist interests are global interests, therefore, each particular imperialist has to think globally. Each cannot protect and advance its particular interests outside of its respective blocs of allied imperialists. For Britain to protect its interests it has to consider and strengthen its allies as well as itself. To secure its interests it has to forge strong military links with these allies, links that will not be easily broken in times of war. This is what Cooper means by "our relations particularly with the United States".

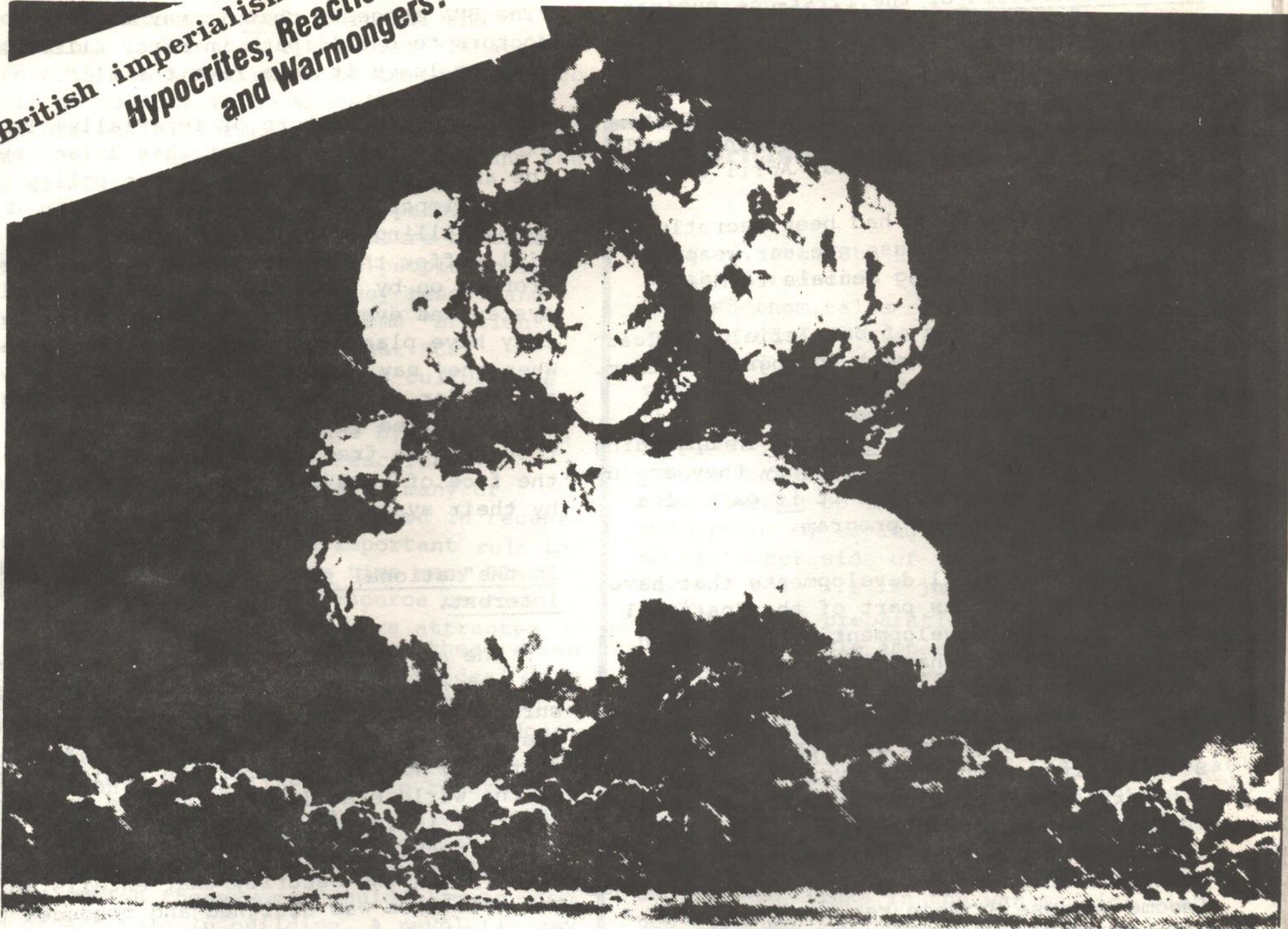
The development of an "independent capability" for Britain, aided by the US, indirectly serves the US. For instance most of the technology needed to build the satellite came on "technology transfer" from the US, from a corporation called TRW. This works both ways as said above, it serves British imperialism through NATO, to allow the U.S. national security agency's listening station to be at Menwith Hill in Yorkshire, this station controls several generations of U.S. listening satellites. Allowing U.S. interests to be served in this way, the U.S. serves British imperialism by "technology transfer", so Britain is able to build an independent nuclear capability, this is exactly what the "particular relation", referred to by Cooper, is all about.

The development of the "national capability"... "So we knew what was going on in an independent way" means that particular interests of British imperialism can be secured through the development of this capability. National interests for Britain are international interests and the development of a "national capability" is the development of an international capability. And this imperialist gangster is not spending billions a year on the development of this international capability to simply know what is going on in an independent way, they are developing this capability so as to act in an independent way.

Expansion of the British imperialist war machine

"Britain reckons to play a role in every aspect of NATO nuclear deterrence, an army in West Germany, a large air defence region, a North Atlantic fleet and reinforcements on offer for the Northern and Southern flanks". (Independent 18 May 1988.)

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The "particular relationship" Britain has with the leading power of the western bloc, the U.S., means playing the forward role in preparing the alliance for the coming showdown. Playing a forward role "in every aspect of NATO", the role of second in command of the western forces is the role of British imperialism.

"The select committee believes the Navy's ability to carry out international peacetime obligations such as patrolling the Gulf, taking part in NATO manoeuvres and keeping track of Soviet submarines is being stretched to breaking point". (Guardian May 18 1988).

"Peacetime obligations"bullshit.The Persian Gulf is a good example of the logic of the world imperialist powers.They are all there, the French,Germans,British,Americans and the Soviets,they are all there because they have obligations to themselves,obligations to the imperialist system.A sickening example of their obligation to peace is marked by the shooting down of a civilian airliner on

3rd July 1988,a commercial flight from Bander Abbas in Iran.The flight followed the same schedual as usual, this the Americans were only too aware of.What made that day different was:that flight was to play a significant role in US strategic interests in the region.The murder of the 298 passengers was a clear statement, on the one hand, to the Islamic regime to get back in line or else, and, on the other hand, to the Soviet imperialists not to overstep their mark and threaten U.S. interests in the region. This action by the U.S. is clear testimony of the "obligations" to "peace" all imperialists have. It is clear to us that all imperialists have obligations only to themselves, that they want peace only in order to protect what they have, and will go to war to protect and expand those interests.

In the above quote they speak of their war machine being"stretched to breaking point",translate this and it means they intend to advance their war machine.



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The modernization of the first-use nuclear weapons in Europe.

"The British/American Security Council uncovered details of a modernization plan for the first strike nuclear weapons based in Europe...." The Guardian April 27 1988.

The "British Government had been secretly modernising its first-use nuclear weapons in Europe, while issuing denials to MPs".

"Far from getting rid of battlefield nuclear weapons there was interest in upgrading them. It gradually became apparent there was a major nuclear weapons programme".

They are not only "interested" in upgrading their "first-use" nuclear weaponry, they are upgrading this weaponry. And it is part of a major nuclear weapons program.

The technological developments that have been taking place as part of this "national capability", the development of the Zircon spy satellite, goes hand in hand with the policy to upgrade the first-use nuclear weaponry based in Europe. It is part and parcel of the intensification and expansion of the British armed forces all over the globe... "in garrisons, giving training and on loan in more than thirty countries". (Sunday Times, February 21 1988). British spending on defence is "higher as a proportion of national income because Britain reckons to play a role in every aspect of NATO". (Independent May 18 1988).. Spending on defence this year made the Ministry Of Defence British industry's largest single consumer...

All imperialists are preparing themselves for an all round military confrontation in the near future. The intensification and expansion of their imperialist war machines is proof of this. If there is any one under any illusion to the contrary, that these developments are those of peace-loving imperialists and "the world is a safer place to day as a consequence of the arms build up", let us say that you are under a deadly illusion as to the reality of the world situation. Today the two superpowers are closer to world destruction than ever before.

Part of the imperialists war preparations involves preparing for the aftermath of nuclear war.

"The BMA said about half the population of Britain would die as an immediate result of a nuclear onslaught"..

"People who had injuries which would lead to lasting disability would be given a lower priority-in effect they would be left to die"..

"The BMA suggests that it may be better for doctors to participate in mercy killings than to leave it to a free for all"..

Again the real nature of imperialism is exposed to the people of this island by the above statements. It is open policy of the imperialists to "participate in mercy killings". The masses of the world will suffer the effects of a nuclear war brought on by the crisis of the imperialist system. And even after a nuclear exchange they have plans to consolidate themselves. When they say, rather "than to leave it to a free for all", it is because they want to ensure a free for them situation, where they will be free to continue their rule in the face of mass genocide brought upon us by their system of rule.

In the "national interest": British imperialist interest.

The cry of "breach of national security" and the subsequent clamp down on information surrounding the "zircon affair" makes us ask the question, "security for whom". It is certainly not security for the proletariat of the world, exactly the opposite. National security is imperialist security. This "security" has two parts (1) inter-imperialist rivalry and the security that entails. While the satellite was designed and produced to spy on rival imperialist communications etc, these rival powers would themselves have had the technology to know within hours of its launch exactly its purpose, perhaps they already knew of its existence? So this is only the excuse. (2) The second-part of this imperialist security was toward the masses themselves, based in the homeland. This particular security lies in not letting the masses inside the imperialist citadel know of its strategic war policy, this was the main reason for the cry "breach of national security". Such a breach undermined the "secret society" of imperialist rule and as a whole exposed their actions, giving the people of this country a fleeting glimpse of their real nature.

All imperialists, in these times, are propagating the illusion that they want peace and are working with that in mind. They show themselves to be actively working for a peaceful solution to the inter-imperialist rivalry (as if there can be a solution other than proletarian revolution to this contra-

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In the same reply TNS says "racism breaths new life into outdated cultural and religious influence. The racist climate prevents the integration of immigrants into British society". The so-called "outdated" culture has historical development, and is part of Black peoples identity, and the imperialists try hard to impose a reactionary outlook on Black people towards their culture. Therefore culture becomes a sphere of struggle by these people against imperialism. That is why they resent and resist the pressures to become "British" and it is this resistance that RCP belittles. To refer to other cultures as "backward" and "outdated" is racist.

There is much resistance by Black women in the fight against the reactionary policies of the ruling class, many of these women have stepped forward in recent years and are playing an important role in the struggle. At the same time many Black women organisations and resource centres have been established and have attracted many of the advanced sections of these women to them. They help Black women to deal with some of the oppression that they face, which is necessary but if this is not done in order to release these forces for revolution, this will turn into reformism, and will result in them fighting each other for funds from the government and so on. All this while there is no revolutionary party, which these women could play an important role in building. A revolutionary party would be a force which could overthrow this system and break every chain.

The feeling of Black women was summed up by Colin Reach's mother whose son was murdered by police in Stoke Newington Police Station, she had this message for the ruling class, "when our time comes, it is going to be hotter than hell for you". In order to create that hell, the fury of women in general and Black women in particular must be unleashed as a mighty force for revolution. ■

References:

- 1) John Rex and Sally Tomlinson, "Colonial immigrants in a British City", Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979. Page 39.
- 2) ibid
- 3) Wing, "World Apart" Pluto Press, 1985, Page 4
- 4) Conquer the World #1 "Alton Bill" article.
- 5) Amritt Wilson, "Finding a Voice" Virago, 1978. Page 79.

6) Virginty test: A test which purported to establish that a woman was not a virgin also established that she must be married. This was sufficient evidence to justify refusing her entry as a fiancée.

7) Wing, "World Apart". Page 128

8) Cited in "Feminist Review 17, autumn 1984

9) ibel

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diction. From the East to the West they speak of reducing the tension that exists between them, talks of arms treaties, reductions in nuclear stock piles etc.. All these words and actions are illusions, while they speak of peace and reducing tensions between themselves to the masses of the world, they wherever possible secretly prepare for the coming showdown. "Conquer the World", issue three, summed up the imperialist logic on this point by saying "The disarmament mirage or the other side of imperialist preparations for war coin". It is just that, the other side of their war preparations.

For the whole imperialist system this period is one of aggression and intensification of the war machine. The opposite of the peace and reduction which they would like us to think it is. The reality is that British imperialism is expanding its forces as well as consolidating those that it has. Consolidating inevitably means replacing those forces or weapons systems that have become weak links in the war machine with new stronger technologically advanced systems. No imperialist to date has removed or "negotiated away" a part of its weapons system which is vital to the overall strength of its war machine. They present these arms reductions to us in the guise of a reduction of tensions between the super powers, but the reality is different. What is happening is that the old, more out of date systems are being replaced by more up to date, more efficient and reliable ones, thus strengthening rather than weakening their overall nuclear capability. They present this consolidation to the concerned masses as living proof of their words. While amongst all the imperialists these war preparations are obvious. The bull-shit they throw out about themselves is to create doubts in the minds of the masses as to their intentions. Only by exposing their real intentions and by illuminating their unwitting self exposures can we begin to change these false ideas in the minds of the masses. ■

Against Economism

I, a son of the working people and citizen of the Soviet Republic, accept the title of soldier in the peasants' and workers' army. I commit myself to strictly observing revolutionary discipline. I commit myself to the cause of socialism, giving to it all my energy and my life....



In this second section we will be examining the line of the different brands of economist and revisionist forces with regard to the spontaneous struggles of different classes and stratas. (We urge you to read part one of "Against Economism" CTW No.3).

In brief, we emphasized that the task of revolutionary communists is to combat spontaneity, to divert the working class movement from this spontaneous trade unionist striving and to bring them under the wing of revolutionary communism. In opposition to revolutionary communists, the bourgeois opposition forces (such as the economists, revisionists, social democrats etc.) try to contain the struggle of the working class (as well as other strata's) within the bounds of

existing spontaneous struggles which are limited to "palpable demands". A few quotes with regard to some struggles makes it clear that they do try to limit these struggles:

" Willis should be contacting the UCATT and EETPU members who work for the P&O owned Bovis construction firm and demanding solidarity. He should be helping to get solidarity from the dockers. He should be putting his weight behind attempts to get backing from Belgium dockers, 200 of whom picketed in Zeebrugge this week."

" The last time the NUS were at ACAS the deal that emerged was barely an improvement on the original P&O offer."

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" Instead of wishing for negotiations McCluskie, Willis and Todd should be organising mass pickets and solidarity to stop the union busters."

From the article "The way to win"(?!)
"Socialist Worker" 7 May '88 - SWP

" If more is to be achieved it is vital that all health workers make common cause and demand adequate pay and conditions for all health service workers, an end to the use of private contractors in NHS hospitals and greatly improved standards of patient care."

The emerging unity of nurses and other health workers is the key to building effective opposition to the destruction of the NHS. Only this unity coupled with a systematic effort to reach out to the poor and oppressed sections of the working class whose lives are literally at stake can pose a serious threat to Thatcher's plans. The stakes are very high in this battle."

FRFI Feb '88 "Defend the NHS" - RCG.
(emphasis added).

" ... a fighting platform must be hammered out - this must include all out action, the abolition of the waiting lists, a minimum £180 pw wage for student nurses and £240 pw for all other health workers and the banning of all private patients in NHS hospitals."

" There must be massive, illegal, generalised strike action because that is what is needed if we are to shift the arrogant Thatcher government, bring it to its knees and force it to concede our demands."

The Leninist, April '88 No. 62

From "Health Workers: A winning strategy."

(all emphasis added)

" To unite our forces against the Tories we have to emphasize what all health workers have in common. If we drew up a set of demands covering the wages we need for a decent living and the safeguards we need to ensure decent working conditions we would

have the basis for uniting all health workers together."

TNS, RCP, 29 April '88

(emphasis added)


" The Labour Party could help by putting itself at the head of a big political crusade against the Tories and in defence of the NHS, with demonstrations, pickets, lobbies, rallies and stunts.

Strike action to defend the NHS is now very popular. Labour has nothing to lose and a lot to gain by backing it."

"Socialist Organiser" No. 349, March '88
"All out 14 March!"

The common line of all the above quotes is: to struggle for palpable demands, such as a higher standard of living and better work conditions, either through the trade unions, or by pressurising them, in order to put the Tories under pressure. They claim that this is the only road to "socialism". Here we will examine why this road will only lead to the continuation of imperialism and all it stands for.

The rest of the bourgeois "opposition" follow the same line and practice as those quoted above (such as: Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP), Communist Party of "Great" Britain, etc). Although all the different forces have differences in TACTICS, their STRATEGY is the same. It is not accidental that "The Leninist" calls it a "winning strategy" or SWP calls it "The Way to Win". The common factor among these forces is their AIM or rather their strategy, which is to use these struggles to: put pressure on the Tories ("pose a real threat to Thatcher's plans" — RCG, or "to unite our forces against the Tories" — TNS); to submit to the economical demands (some of them believe this can be done by putting pressure on the Trade Unions, some say by going through the Trade Unions, some say through direct leadership of the Labour Party, "...the Labour Party could help by putting itself at the head of a big political crusade against the Tories..." — Socialist Organiser). By considering the tactics of these forces, it becomes clear that to a certain degree there is a division of labour among these forces. One wants to rally the "oppressed sections" of the masses, others want illegal pickets, in order to put pressure on the "state". One by pressure on the Trade Unions and others through the Trade Unions. As the Trotskyite Socialist Organiser is itself in the pocket of the Labour Party, it tries to use these struggles to promote the Labour Party. Although these forces



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"criticize" each other, they are in fact all joined together to form the tail of a beast called The Labour Party. They are all pressure groups — or rather safety valves of a combustion engine, to ensure that the excess pressure is let out and the whole system does not explode in their faces by the force of heated revolutionary masses, who want to put an end to this blood sucking system, rather than just let out some "pressure" in order to save the "combustion engine". The differences

finally to consolidate its dictatorship by spreading the idea that people can have a "decent standard of living" (political, social, cultural and economical) under this blood sucking system. In short, their criticism of capitalist society never goes beyond, nor can it go beyond, the limits set by the capitalist system itself.

But how do they "justify" this?

The bottom line of these arguments of the economists is that by taking an active part in the economic struggle of the workers you can popularise and spread "socialism" (not, of course, communism).

In order to be able to reply to this argument, one must ask "what is the nature



1975—Teachers and students of the international politics department of Fudan University study the current economic crisis in the capitalist world together with worker-theoreticians at a Shanghai bakery. Groups like these were created and spread on a wide scale during the Cultural Revolution.

between them, and their "criticisms" against each other are basically manifestations of their strategic international alliances (whether they are siding with the Western or the Eastern bloc), in other words they are not about smashing capitalism, but rather, they are about which section of capital to side with. Their criticism of the bourgeoisie is intended to "reform" and

of the economic struggle which is able to take socialism into the working class itself"? Economic struggle is a struggle limited within the framework of the existing system. Such a struggle, despite its ability to inflict blows against the enemy, in the end, remains in the realm and possession of bourgeois politics and reproduces the same framework that the

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struggle started against. The reason for this is that the economical struggle is, in fact, a struggle for: better conditions for the selling of labour power (therefore for higher standards of living, better conditions of work, etc), and, for this reason, it completely remains within the limits of bourgeois relations. Such struggles cannot arm the masses to understand the existing system of bourgeois society and it does not lead (and cannot lead) to acceptance of revolutionary politics, and the need for the violent overthrow of the system (on the basis of eliminating exploitative production relations, by first of all overthrowing the super structure which protects such a base).

The working class can only prepare to seize political power if it puts aside the slogan of "a just wage for a just day's work", as Marx put it, and raise the banner of "abolition of wage labour". This can only happen if workers become conscious and struggle for the emancipation of all toilers. On this basis they can use these struggles to propagate communism among the workers, and use them in every sphere against their class enemies. Only on this basis (on the basis of such consciousness and political understanding of the nature of this exploitative and oppressive system) can they build a revolutionary movement which is preparing to (and is prepared to) abolish the system of "wage labour". But we can only do this if we can divert the struggle of the working class away from the bourgeois framework of bartering for more pay. This means bringing the working class out of the bounds of "itself" versus "the bosses" in order to be able to see the whole world and the whole struggle, and to understand the relationship between the different classes. Any other approach can only mean keeping the working class away from its principle task and its historic mission: the abolition of the system of wage labour. The PROLETARIANS who have not been trained on the basis of such conscious revolutionary politics, can never be successful in moving toward seizing political power, let alone establishing its leadership over the revolution. Limiting the working class to subordinate and minor struggles, can at best, only lead to "militant trade unionism and reformism".

The capitalist system especially at times of crisis throws the working class (because of its material position) spontaneously into confrontation with the

capitalist class. As Lenin correctly put it the working class does not need socialists in order to initiate and develop such struggles, the working class has done this since its birth, and so many of them have been murdered by the enemy during the course of such struggles. It is also true that these struggles get connected to political issues and they begin to learn the embryonics of their class consciousness. But as Lenin emphasized, these forms of resistance and struggle can only lead to conscious struggles if the "sparks" can lead to burning flames. This can only be done if communists systematically divert such struggles from the path of bourgeois reformism and trade unionism, to the struggle against the bourgeois illusions of such struggle and lead the movement to conscious revolutionary political struggle.

With regard to the economic struggle, we must say that it is an important factor of the class struggle, but it is not the essential and fundamental factor. Lenin said that politics is the concentrated expression of economics. The fundamental realm for the clashing of opposing class interests are concentrated and expressed in politics. In other words, the central question of every revolution, is the question of political power — without it, everything else is an illusion. The proletariat in order to carry out its historic mission of social revolution successfully, must be politically trained and prepared. The fundamental task of the proletariat is to radically transform society and eliminate all classes. Fulfilment of this historic mission demands revolutionary consciousness and leadership in every sphere and aspect of society, most important of all, in the realm of politics. This is the fundamental principle that has been emphasized and re-emphasized by our proletarian teachers, especially Mao Tsetung.

We have now talked about "economism" at some length, before more theoretical discussion, it must be said that the PRACTICE of one and a half centuries of working class struggle not only confirms all we have said above but also endorses it. Only those forces whose class interests are in opposition to the working class, can consciously ignore all this, which has been repeatedly proven during the protracted struggle of hundreds of millions of workers worldwide. A glance at the economic struggles of the workers in the imperialist countries in the past few decades proves that not ONE example can be given where the workers have gained COMMUNIST consciousness

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through their day to day struggles. It is a historical fact that the struggle of the miners in the 1970's brought down the Conservative government, but it is also a historical fact that it was replaced by the Labour government. One section of the bourgeoisie was replaced by another, in other words, bourgeoisie was replaced by bourgeoisie.

It is true that the proletariat is being exploited (and sections of them even super-exploited) and that they have a right to more pay and better conditions of work etc. But the fundamental right of the working class is their right to rule, everything else is subordinate to this, and every struggle should be used to propagate and prepare for achieving that and beyond (i.e. the world proletarian revolution). This is the only path and any other way is "the way to loose". (To rephrase the title of the SWP's article!)

We must emphasize here that the fundamental difference between us (the revolutionary communists and proletarian internationalists) and the revisionist groups is not over "economism", but more than anything else, over proletarian dictatorship, socialism and communism. In other words, over the science for the emancipation of the international Proletariat, that is, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought. Their ECONOMISM is their conscious liquidation of proletarian ideology. The banner of economism is a bourgeois banner and a bourgeois ideology. Lenin and Mao taught us that proletarian ideology is completely different from trade union consciousness and trade union consciousness is no more than bourgeois consciousness. Therefore a revolutionary party must be armed with the most advanced revolutionary theory and do whatever it can to struggle to raise the revolutionary consciousness of the masses and prepare them for heroic struggles, sacrifices, dangers, opportunities and REVOLUTION. Those who have been trained and educated on the basis of "raising your own standard of living", will not be prepared ideologically and politically to give a positive response to the highest form of class struggle (revolutionary war), when the time is ripe for such a call. And those who are engaged in training the working class in an economist way are contractors for capitalism. The history of the great successful revolutions, especially the

Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tsetung, powerfully endorse this historical fact: that struggle to achieve communist society, can only be done through the conscious activity of the masses, based on communist consciousness and revolutionary commitment. These historic struggles have also shown us that they are by no means easy and that there is no easy way out — they have shown us that although the road is tortuous, the future is bright. This has nothing in common with economism. As the DECLARATION of the REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT so powerfully states: "communists must remember and act in accordance with their reason for being, otherwise they are of no use to the revolution, and worse, degenerate into obstacles in its path". These bourgeois opposition forces of all brands are indeed an obstacle in the shining path of revolution and no revolutionary movement can be built without an ideological-political struggle against them, as part of the overall struggle and preparation for the overthrow of imperialism. Even though the conditions do not yet exist for the armed struggle of the masses, communists must carry out the necessary work in preparation for the emergence of such conditions. To sum up what we have already discussed, as Lenin correctly pointed out such a revolutionary movement could not grow spontaneously out of the day-to-day economic struggles of the working class, and that, further, these struggles were not the most important arena of revolutionary work. Revolutionaries must "divert" the spontaneous movement of the masses away from the narrow struggle over the conditions and sale of labour power. In order to do this, it is necessary to bring political consciousness to the workers from "outside" of their immediate experience, above all, through POLITICAL EXPOSURES and analysis of all major events in society in every sphere: political, cultural, scientific, etc. Only in this way can a class conscious section of the proletariat be formed, conscious of its revolutionary tasks and of the nature and role of other class forces in society, in order to lead the revolution to victory under the leadership of its vanguard organisation (the party). Lenin emphasised that although agitation and propaganda are crucial, they are not enough. Only through class struggle, especially political and revolutionary struggle, can the masses develop their revolutionary consciousness and fighting capacity. In THIS WAY, and together with the all-rounded work of the

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Expose The Revisionists On Ireland



Writing on the wall in Northern Ireland

Recent events concerning Ireland have involved vicious attacks upon the Irish people by the British state and its agents (for example, the murder of three IRA members by the British state in Gibraltar), as well as, more importantly, the resistance of Irish people in fighting against British imperialism.

Because of the fact that the imperialist system is a world system, the escalation of oppression and resistance in Ireland influences the struggle and resistance of people in Britain. The resistance of the people in this country is the essential form of political organisation, and some is generally influenced by revisionist and Trotskyite organisations, the so-called "left" in Britain. Revisionism is a counter-revolutionary bourgeois class theory under the disguise of Marxism and is the greatest hidden enemy of the working class movement. It is for this reason that the fight to overthrow the imperialist system must include a thorough exposure of the revisionists, who are boils on the backside of humanity which should be exposed with the red-hot lance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, which is the universal science of revolution.

The Revisionists Exposed!
The "Revolutionary" "Communist" Party in
Britain

The following are some quotes from the RCP's newspaper "The Next Step" (TNS) 13/5/88:

"The Warrenpoint attack was seen by many Irish nationalists as apt revenge against the regiment which had gunned down 14 unarmed Derry marchers on Bloody Sunday in 1972."

"Then, in October 1984, the IRA sought to avenge the hunger-strikers by killing the prime minister they held responsible for their deaths".

"Loughgall, Gibraltar, and the rest, may suggest that the British forces are now better able to hit the IRA activists. But events such as the attacks in Holland show that those fighting for Irish freedom retain the capability to give as good as they get."

The RCP portrays the Irish struggle as isolated revenge attacks against the British forces. The Irish struggle is not about Irish people taking revenge or "giving as good as they get", it is about the struggle for liberation aimed principally at the British imperialist political, economic and cultural exploitation and oppression of Ireland.

As Lenin stated, "War is the continuation of war by other means," and revolutionary war is not an end in itself but a means to achieving the political aim of liberation.

The RCP portray the Irish struggle as revenge, which undermines the political fight against the British state. The RCP portray war as separate from politics, which exposes their economism.

Here are more examples of how the RCP tries to isolate issues, in these cases by splitting up the different sections of the British state and trying to create the impression that the British legal and penal system, the British SAS and the British television companies are not all part of and working in the interests of the British state and portraying the fact that they have their own independent policies. TNS 13/5/88

"The IRA began a new campaign against the agents of the corrupt British legal and penal system."

"In Gibraltar, we have our own gun-law — executed by specialist SAS staff flown in from Britain. As recently as March, the SAS shot dead three Irish people without warning at point-blank range. Its their way of making republicans from the war zone in West Belfast feel at home."

"The Tories have already stopped any

coverage of the shoot-to-kill controversy within Gibraltar. Now they are going for a bigger and better ban, by leaning on both British television corporations to stop asking questions about the killings."

In the first quote the RCP describe the British legal and penal system as "corrupt", when in fact they do not corrupt the interests of British imperialism but serve those interests very well.

We, the Supporters of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement in Britain, have a slogan: "British State, hear us say, Irish people will make you pay". The RCP deliberately changed this slogan to: "SAS, hear us say, Irish people will make you pay".

It is not just the "Tories" or the "British Television Corporations" or the "SAS" but the whole British state apparatus which is responsible for the murder of Irish people. The RCP metaphysically separates everything, which leads to reformism. These three apparatus, and all the others, cannot be separated, they are all part and parcel of the British state, one cannot function without the other. As Mao said every class has to create public opinion in order to implement its policy. This is true for the bourgeoisie as well, the television corporation is there to create public opinion to enable them to carry out their policies without being questioned by the masses. It prepares the minds of masses to accept the judgement passed by their "legal and penal" system. The courts, judges etc are not here to protect us from so called criminals (because if they wanted to do that they should first arrest all the ruling class, who are the most vicious criminals of all), they are there to make us criminals, to prepare the ground for passing sentence on those who have broken their laws, and in their eyes deserve to be punished. Obviously they need an army to enforce their laws, and that is where the executioners (SAS) come in. All these do not act independently but work for the system to quell any rebellion and resistance. If the various parts of the system are not seen in relation to each other, then the conclusion will be that not every part is rotten; something that RCP has undoubtedly concluded, when it calls for the dismantling of the system (see following statement) which means taking the system apart, get rid of the bad parts or as they call it the "corrupt part" and leave the rest intact, instead of as Lenin profoundly stated, the proletarian society is built on the ruin of the old society, this can only be achieved by the

destruction of the state apparatus, anything short of that is reformism. This reformist outlook is reflected in the following passage: "To withdraw from Ireland and dismantle the state would do irreparable damage to the power of the British establishment throughout the U.K." (TNS 22/4/88)

The RCP claim that they want to "dismantle" the British state, which exposes the RCP's aim which is to reform the imperialist system for their own benefit, instead of smashing the whole system. The RCP want to end the war in Ireland, but they do not want to end the oppression of the Irish people.

The reformism of RCP fails to show that the whole imperialist system is rotten and based upon the exploitation and plunder of oppressed people throughout the world. There will be no basic change for the better for the vast majority of the world's population until the whole system has been violently overthrown and replaced with a qualitatively different human society based upon what the toiling people of the world need, instead of a world dictated to by the parasitic law of profit.

The RCP's view of the British states' policy in Ireland is exposed by the following: "Since 'the troubles' began in 1969, seven British governments — three Labour and four Tory — have pursued various strategies which were supposed to end it" (TNS 22/4/88). Bullshit!

What determines the principle aspect of these strategies of the British state? These strategies are aimed, firstly, at extinguishing the flames of revolution and suppressing and harnessing the genuine revolutionary content of the Irish liberation struggle; and secondly, aimed at advancing the global strategic interests of world imperialism and at strengthening the chains of colonial slavery overall. That is what is important not that they supposedly want to end the war, and this is something which is not supported by the facts either. It is a lie.

Because the 'various strategies' of the British state towards Ireland have been to ship in settlers to enforce British rule, partition and the loyalist veto to protect the privileges of the Unionist community and British interests, military occupation, internment, the criminalisation of the Republican movement, shoot-to-kill policies, as well as sabotage measures such as 'supergrasses' and 'peace agreements'.

The RCP are trying to create the impression that the British state is intending to withdraw from Ireland. The British state sent the troops in to enforce

Expose The Revisionists On Ireland

British imperialism, not to end the war.

"The more people we can convince that Britain is the force for barbarism in Ireland, the closer we will be to helping to force the troops out and ending the bloodshed." (TNS 24/6/88)

Since when has the British government listened to the masses or carried out their wishes, when it is against their own interests. Even if we convince all the people of this, the bloodshed will not stop, not until this system is overthrown, 'The more people we can convince' shows the RCP's line of 'majority rule' and 'bourgeois democracy'. It is not a question of the number of people that support a cause but rather it is a matter of consciousness and correct political line. There is a non-revolutionary situation at present in Britain, a period of relative calm before the great upheavals which are to come. And because of this objective situation it is not possible to have a mass movement based on revolutionary politics in a non-revolutionary situation. The quality and correctness of the political line of an organisation (and in this era that means understanding and applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in social practice) is far more important than merely the number of members an organisation has. The RCP merely tries to build its organisation in terms of numbers of members but based on reformist politics.

The RCP calls for the "troops out of Ireland" as an end in itself, or, as they say "ending the bloodshed". This is economist and reformist because this separates a withdrawal of British troops from using this as a means to advance the struggle towards the armed seizure of power to overthrow this fucking imperialist system.

To sum up the RCP's line on Ireland, it is economism, reformism, bourgeois democracy and national chauvinism!

The "Socialist" Worker Party

The following is a passage from the SWP's book about Ireland, "Ireland's Permanent Revolution":

"The crucial battle is not fought with bombs and guns. It is a battle of ideas, the struggle to break the hold of the past, the conservative traditions which weigh down the majority of the workers. But this

isn't a battle which centres on just meetings and making propaganda. It centres instead on the daily struggle in the workplace, the daily struggle against the foreman, the boss and ultimately the employing class itself, the struggle in which the workers transcend their own passivity and can be won to revolutionary ideas".

The SWP state that "the crucial battle is not fought with bombs and guns", this is the exact opposite of the truth. There can be no basic change for the better for people until the whole fucking imperialist system is violently overthrown and oppressed people throughout the world are in a position of political power. This is reflected in the following profound truths stated by Mao Tsetung: "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" (from 'Problems of War and Strategy'), and, "Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor. It is people, not things, that are decisive" (from 'On Protracted War').



The writing on the wall - Belfast

The SWP, with the above thoroughly economist summing up of the situation in Ireland ("the daily struggle in the workplace") completely avoid the fact that it is the struggle against the British state that is dominant in Ireland, and that it is the ideological, political and organisational preparation for the armed seizure of political power for oppressed and exploited people that is the order of the day.

The revolutionary proletarian political movement does not develop from the worker's day to day struggle, but from political exposures to develop proletarian consciousness and organisation to prepare for the armed seizure of power when the situation is ripe, by and in the interests of the oppressed people of the world.

The SWP's paralysing economism is shown in the following passage as well:



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"Many on the left and in the Provisionals argue that class unity between Protestant and Catholic workers is not possible. The ideology of sectarianism runs too deep, they say, the divide is too great. They reckon without the ability of the workers to change in the course of fighting capitalism. In the heat of the battle, class solidarity can cross that divide." (From 'Ireland's Permanent Revolution' SWP)

It is not a question of whether a person is Catholic, Protestant or has no religion, it is a question of whether people want to enforce the oppression of Irish people or want to get rid of that oppression. The Loyalist (Unionist) community in Northern Ireland enforces the British state oppression, whether they are workers or members of the Ulster Volunteer Force.

Ireland is a settler-colony, and the settlers in Ireland have no right to self-determination, only the Irish nation has a right to self-determination. Those descendents of settlers who live in Ireland who do not want to maintain the oppression by the British state and who do not want to protect the privileges of the Unionist community must join the Republican movement to smash British imperialism in Ireland, otherwise they are enemies of the Irish people.

To sum up the SWP's line on Ireland, they are a thoroughly reactionary group who serve the interests of British imperialism very well by playing the role of parasitic leeches on the backs of the masses who are fighting for self-determination against the British state.

The "Communist" Party of "Great Britain"

These revisionist lackeys of Soviet Social Imperialism approve, by their own name, of "Great Britain", when there is certainly nothing great about the blood-stained hands of British imperialism. These pro-Soviets support the leadership of the Soviet Union and all the atrocities that Soviet social-imperialism commits all around the world.

Here is a passage from the CPGB newspaper (7 Days) which shows their counter-revolutionary view of the Irish struggle against the British state:

"No one has ever destroyed terrorism with terrorism. The cold-blooded

execution of three IRA members in Gibraltar on Sunday was as good an example as one could find of the kind of behaviour that helped to recreate the IRA in the late '60s and '70s and has given it recruits ever since. Of course the IRA's campaign is wrong." ('7 Day', 12/3/88)

Here the CPGB label both the violence of the British state and that of the Irish people in the fight against British imperialism as "terrorism". There is no comparison between the two. The cause of the oppression of the Irish people is principally the desparate and vicious enforcement of the doomed British imperialist system by the British state and its agents and the CPGB condemn the struggle of the oppressed people of Ireland against British imperialism, denying the essential need for the violence of armed revolution to overthrow the imperialist system.

The CPGB condemn the Irish people for using violence, but it is not a question of whether to use violence or not to use violence. It is clearly necessary to use armed violence to smash the imperialists, who are not going to allow their rotten and decaying imperialist system be overthrown peacefully. It is a question of for what purpose the violence is being used and of whether that violence effectively meets the essential political aim of violently overthrowing the imperialist system.

While the IRA is not waging a revolutionary people's war relying on the masses of people in Ireland, they are fighting a progressive war against British imperialism. The IRA's military strategy is a reflection of their political goal, which is limited to driving the British troops out of Ireland.

Of course, it isn't only the IRA which is fighting the British state in Ireland, there is the just and progressive struggle of the Irish People generally.

In conclusion, the CPGB serve the interests of Soviet Social Imperialism in Britain.

Long Live the Irish Revolution!

To shoulder the historic task of ideologically, politically and organisationally preparing for the armed seizure of political power by the oppressed people in Ireland, the working class in Ireland needs its own vanguard political party based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. In particular, this party must demarcate itself from any trends aligning

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communists, the masses learn through their own experience, and are educated in the furnace of class struggle; NOT by bartering with capitalists over the sale of their labour power and searching to find the methods of achieving that, as the bourgeois opposition forces try to propagate.

"Economists" also seek to identify the interests of the proletariat with that of its "own" bourgeoisie. "The Labour Party could help by putting itself at the head of a big political crusade..." (Socialist Organiser). We must fight for a line of **REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM** in relation to "our own" imperialist rulers and constantly uphold the banner of **PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM**, in opposition to the tattered "national flag" of the bourgeoisie.

In the imperialist countries, such as Britain, the possibility for making revolution appears infrequently. These rare opportunities must be fully utilized in the service (and as an inseparable part) of world proletarian revolution. This can only be done, if a conscious revolutionary force is at the head of such events, capable of analysing the situation and acting upon it, with the vision to see the openings, and prepared to utilise them and lead the revolutionary masses in an actual and real bid for political power. Lenin analysed the error of the Second International of banking everything on the gradual and peaceful accumulation of socialist influence among the masses, and argued instead, that the task of communists, in relatively "peaceful" times was to **PREPARE** for the exceptional moments in history when revolutionary transformations in these types of countries are possible and when the activities of the revolutionaries mark the society and the world for "decades to come". (See the Declaration of RIM.) We must do what has to be done, and it is by no means easy. Our prescription is ideological, political and organisational preparation for a real and best shot to make revolution. Revolution is not only possible, it is the historical mission of our class. This is in opposition to the prescriptions of the economists which lead to no fundamental change and merely serve our oppressors. We, the revolutionary communist and proletarian internationalists, must grasp the above and act accordingly. ■

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with either the Soviet Union, or Cuba, Albania, present-day China etc., or with nationalism and social-democracy. Instead, it should look internationally to those forces grouping together in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, including the Communist Party of Peru (known in the media as Sendero Luminoso - the Shining Path guerrillas) who are currently waging people's war in Peru.

With such revolutionary leadership, based on the ideology of proletarian internationalism, the Irish struggle will become the leading force in the fight to violently overthrow the British imperialist system, as a part of the world proletarian revolution. ■

Forward With Revolution!

Death to British Imperialism!

Long Live the Irish Revolution!

Long Live the World Proletarian Revolution!

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Zia Goes to Pieces

Pakistan's president-general Mohammed Zia ul-Haq reviewed the latest American-made M-1 tanks in Bahawalpur, eastern Pakistan. He entered his American-made C-130 plane, together with the U.S. ambassador Raphel and the chief American defense attaché in Pakistan. The plane rose in the air toward the city of Lahore... and suddenly turned into a ball of fire and crashed to the ground.

Zia, a repulsive and hated ghoul, died in this August 17 crash. Thirty-seven others, mostly high-level Pakistani military brass, burned up with him and the two American officials.

The exact cause of the C-130 crash has not been made public, but all indications are that this was a political assassination, not an accident. One highly placed American source said that the well-serviced transport vehicles serving heads of state "don't just explode." A Pakistani minister summed up that his government was "one thousand per cent" sure that it was "sabotage."

The American ruling class is shaken. For weeks they had been congratulating themselves on their victory for the war-ready Reagan Doctrine in that region: Soviet troops are withdrawing from Afghanistan and the pro-Soviet regime in that country is tottering. Now, in one violent reversal, it is the key American puppet in the region who was wiped out of the scene, and it is a pro-U.S. regime that suddenly appears unstable. One U.S. commentator said: "In an instant, his death changed the political dynamics in the region."



Who Killed that Monster Zia?

The list of enemies who had a motive for eliminating Zia is almost endless:

- Zia ul-Haq was deeply hated by his own people. Even American commentators mentioned that there were no signs of mourning at all in the streets of Pakistan. From Karachi, the largest city in Pakistan, came reports of public celebration. Heavily armed troops now patrol major cities.

- Zia was bitterly hated by the secular-bourgeois opposition. In 1977 Zia overthrew and then murdered former President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the leader of the Pakistan People's Party, which is now the main opposition group. Members of that party had been accused of plotting assassination before.

These two articles (Zia goes to Pieces and Butcher of Pakistan) are reprinted from the Revolutionary Worker, August 22, 1988, No469. Voice of RCP, USA.

- Zia was hated by the Shiite minority within Pakistan because his brutal campaign for "Islamization" was based on the *Sunni* version of Islam and suppressed *Shiite* traditions and beliefs. Last month Zia was accused of assassinating a leader of the northern Shiites in Peshawar. Many of the other minority groups within Pakistan also hated Zia.

- Zia might well have been killed by members of his own military, for any number of reasons. Bitter infighting had erupted in Pakistan over the mushrooming drug and arms traffic, and it was well known that such intrigues and disputes reached very high up within his regime.

There are more. Zia was surrounded by enemies outside Pakistan's borders. Pakistan has waged three wars in recent memory with India, which borders Pakistan on the east. Zia's government is rumored to be close to developing nuclear weapons that could be used in any future wars with India, which already has such weapons. On Pakistan's western border is Afghanistan, and to the north the Soviets. Zia had allowed the United States to use his country as a military staging ground for the pro-West guerrilla forces in Afghanistan and for the Reagan Doctrine's campaign to "roll back" Soviet influence in the region.

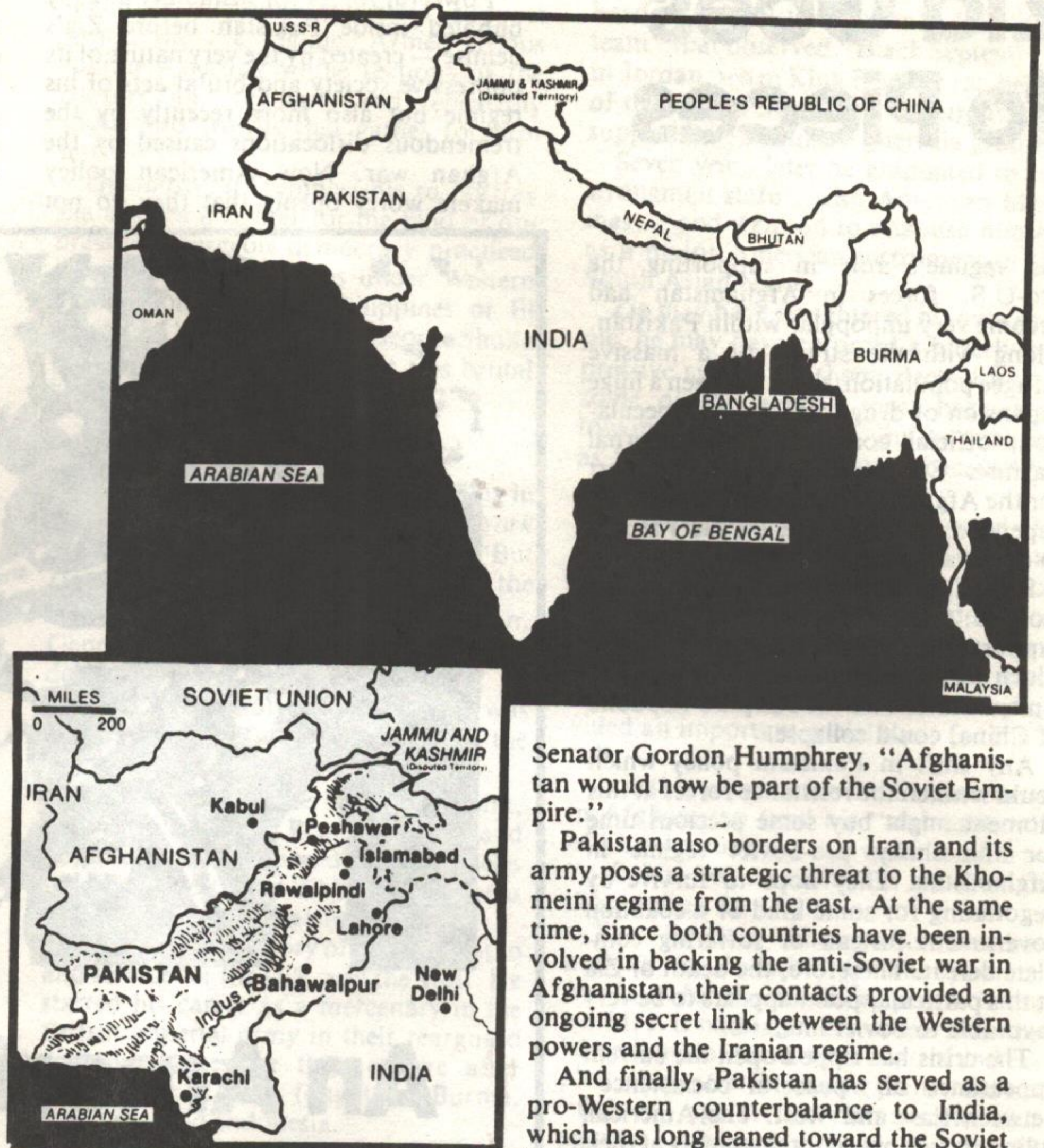
The question of who finally got to Zia may never be answered. But the long list of those in Pakistan who hated his guts reveals what an oppressive and brutal monster he was. And the lineup of his enemies in the whole region points to his strategic role on behalf of the Western bloc. Zia has only one real mourner — the United States.

America's "Loyal Friend" in the South Asian Region

Zia is being praised by U.S. officials as "America's most loyal and stable ally" in South Asia. The word "ally" hides the truth; he was a *puppet* of the United States.

Only one in four Pakistanis can read. The average income of people living there is \$330 for a whole year. Over decades the United States created a massive, swollen military machine to rule this poor country. It was only the brute force of this military that kept Zia in power, a military trained, armed, financed, and ultimately directed out of Washington. Publicly the U.S. sent \$1.5 billion in military aid to Zia over the last five years; if secret "aid" is counted, the total amount is almost certainly much higher. Some reports say that Pakistan may have surpassed Israel as the number one recipient of American military aid.

What the United States has gotten in return is a major base of operations for a whole region of the world. This has been especially important since the Shah of Iran, a previous "regional gendarme," fell in 1979. Pakistan's main borders touch countries the United States wants



Senator Gordon Humphrey, "Afghanistan would now be part of the Soviet Empire."

Pakistan also borders on Iran, and its army poses a strategic threat to the Khomeini regime from the east. At the same time, since both countries have been involved in backing the anti-Soviet war in Afghanistan, their contacts provided an ongoing secret link between the Western powers and the Iranian regime.

And finally, Pakistan has served as a pro-Western counterbalance to India, which has long leaned toward the Soviet bloc. The U.S. sometimes makes some public criticisms of Pakistan's development of nuclear weapons. But Pakistan has been able to get key elements for nuclear arms development through various Western countries, and it is clear that the U.S. has made a basic decision that Pakistan should have such weapons. By pumping up Pakistani military power, the U.S. keeps up the pressure on India — to be used in any number of ways.

In short, the military regime of Zia ul-Haq has been propped up by the United States as a hired gun in that part of the world.

The Quick Leap from Local to Global Affairs

Suddenly, with this strongman gone, all the simmering warfare within Pakistani politics reveals itself and threatens to boil over. Any post-Zia government, no matter how eager it might be to serve U.S. interests, may be too weakened by infighting and mass upheavals to effectively "project power" outside its borders. The death of this one man, General Zia, in a single stroke threatens American interests and plans in this whole South Asian region and beyond.

First and foremost, this assassination threatens the ability of the U.S. to push through its interests in the anti-Soviet war in Afghanistan — just at the moment when the pro-Soviet regime seems to be nearing collapse. After eight years, the

badly to counterbalance, to intimidate, or to militarily contain.

First and foremost, Pakistan stands between the Soviet Union and the warm waters of the Indian Ocean. Just over eight years ago, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. In response, a powerful guerrilla war has developed among the Afghan people. That resistance is rooted in a just struggle of the Afghan people for self-determination against Soviet social-imperialism.

However, serving its own imperialist interests, the U.S. government has infiltrated and sought to dominate the Afghan resistance by pumping in arms and money through Pakistan to reactionary pro-West elements within the resistance. (The revisionist rulers of China have also played a big role in supplying arms to the pro-West Afghan forces through Pakistan.) The Zia regime allowed these forces to use Pakistan as a key base area for guerrilla warfare against Soviet troops and puppet forces in Afghanistan. Pakistan's northern regions have been flooded with two to three million Afghan refugees. Zia's government eagerly distributed American arms to various anti-Soviet armies based among those refugees and played a key role in strengthening the most reactionary, fundamentalist, and corrupt forces within them.

"If it weren't for Zia," claimed U.S.

Zia Goes to Pieces

Powerful forces for instability already bubbled inside Pakistan before Zia's demise — created by the very nature of its oppressive society and brutal acts of his regime but also more recently by the tremendous dislocations caused by the Afghan war. Now American policy makers worry openly that they do not

have a powerful, reliable successor to Zia close at hand. It is possible that the status quo will tear apart far more quickly than Washington's CIA surgeons can stitch it up. The events that now follow will have an impact far beyond Pakistan and South Asia. □

Zia regime's role in supporting the pro-U.S. forces in Afghanistan had become very unpopular within Pakistan. Along with the strains of a massive refugee population, there has been a huge expansion of drug traffic, arms speculation, official corruption, and internal warfare. Continued Pakistani support for the Afghan war on behalf of the U.S. depended, in large part, on Zia's ability to dominate the politics of his country.

Ray Cline, a former head of the CIA, worried: "There's a possibility that the support structure for the Afghan rebels, which was worked out carefully with the United States and the People's Republic of China, could collapse."

Any shift in Pakistani policy which could weaken the resistance forces at this moment might buy some precious time for the shaky pro-Soviet regime in Afghanistan. They hope to survive by negotiating for some kind of a coalition government instead of suffering complete defeat. Therefore, the death of Zia at this particular point appears to be very favorable to Soviet interests.

The crisis has ripped open the current appearance of "peaceful coexistence" between East and West. The American ruling class growled threateningly at their Soviet rivals. Many authoritative spokesmen openly accused the Soviets of the assassination. Ray Cline, for example, said: "It's hard not to suspect someone on the Soviet-Afghan side was interested in wiping him out."

The American press reported that the Soviets had openly threatened Zia recently. They published parts of a letter sent by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to the Pakistani foreign minister early this month: "The Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan will find ways to counter the growing interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan. . . . We would wish they in Islamabad [the capital of Pakistan] become clear that this cannot go on indefinitely."

"Most Stable Ally"?

Crying over Zia's corpse, American spokesmen called Pakistan their "most stable ally" in an important region — and yet this whole affair only reveals how *unstable* their international empire really is!

In the air of emergency, the White House appointed a new ambassador within hours to replace the one who died with Zia. The new ambassador, Robert Oakley, a high-level operative and "counterterrorism expert" in the National Security Council, rushed to Pakistan to provide the steady hand of the big brother in Washington on the scene.



Pakistani commandos in training.

An American Ally: The Butcher of Pakistan



American-built F-16 fighters at Pakistani air base.

Within hours after President Zia hit the ground, American Secretary of State George Shultz solemnly mourned this man, saying he was "a great fighter for freedom." Looking more closely at Zia will tell us a lot about what Shultz and the U.S. ruling class mean by this favorite

word of theirs, *freedom*.

Zia: An Undisguised Tyrant

Zia came to power in 1977. The top military man in the country at the time, Zia led a military coup that overthrew

An American Ally: The Butcher of Pakistan

the elected civilian government of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. He replaced the Western-style parliamentary system with direct and brutal military rule. In the years that followed he had Bhutto hung on fabricated charges. He banned any public expression of "party politics." He had the former parliamentarians publicly flogged. His government jailed thousands of political opponents (including the bourgeois, pro-imperialist trends) without trial. Torture in his dungeons is common.

In other words, Zia was the hangman of the institutions of Western-style parliamentary democracy in his country — and *literally* the hangman of parliamentarians.

Zia rejected the ideology of Western-style "democratic pluralism," saying it is "unpatriotic and anti-Islamic." In its place he conducted an on-again, off-again campaign for "Islamization" — complete with Islamic courts rewriting laws to conform to the *Koran*. Anyone who believes Islam is somehow incompatible by its very nature with U.S. imperialism should look at the record of Zia's Pakistan, which matches quite a few other Islamic states in both its slavishness to big powers and its brutality.

A Pakistani woman was recently convicted of adultery and sentenced to death by stoning. It is not clear at the moment whether this sentence will be carried out, but this case shows how extreme forms of

social terror have powerful support within the Zia regime. Armed troops routinely occupy whole sections of the country and regularly and repeatedly shoot into crowds that gather for protests.

Obviously, it is impossible to portray Zia as even a fighter for the kind of oppressive bourgeois democracy practiced in some other countries under Western domination, like the Philippines or El Salvador. What, then, can George Shultz possibly *mean* when he calls this brutal general "a fighter for freedom"?

"Freedom" Is a Code Word

An American commentator, writing in the editorial pages of the *New York Times*, let the cat out of the bag: "But General Zia's Pakistan was not like the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's Iran. General Zia never mixed foreign with domestic policy. His nation would be Islamic, but its outward orientation was Western and his foremost friend was the United States."

So from the American standpoint, Khomeini's Islamic Republic is evil and despotic because it posed some obstacles to U.S. interests. But Zia's Islamization is a different story altogether.

Zia has a long history of connections to and service for the U.S. and the West. He started his career as a mercenary in the British imperial army in their rearguard actions to preserve their empire after World War 2. He fought in Burma, Malaysia, and Indonesia.

As British rule receded, Zia shifted his allegiance to the United States. He received training at the Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth in 1963. In 1970 he received advanced training in genocidal counterinsurgency: He

headed a Pakistani military "advisory team" that observed "Black September" in Jordan, when King Hussein (on behalf of the United States and Israel) savagely suppressed Palestinian guerrilla groups.

Seven years later he graduated to full strongman status, with American blessings — and went on to establish himself as a major American instrument in the South Asian region.

Zia may have slaughtered his own people; he may have enforced a bitterly oppressive system on them, decked out in some of the world's most backward-looking feudal ideology. But he qualifies as "a fighter for freedom" because *his* guns served the United States.

In particular, Zia actively served the American efforts against the Soviets in Afghanistan. Zia was lavishly paid for that support — half a billion dollars a year his regime has been receiving from the U.S. Part of that money goes to prop up Pakistan's upper classes, which provided an important social basis for Zia's rule.

It is this support for the CIA's efforts in Afghanistan (and his "stabilization" of his own country) that qualified Zia as "a fighter for freedom" in the view of those ruling the U.S.

The "freedom" Shultz talks about has nothing to do with genuine political freedoms for the masses of people in the world. It is nothing more or less than the "freedom" of the U.S. to control and exploit whole stretches of the planet. He is a "fighter" against his own people, and against America's rival for world domination, the Soviet Union. Look at the hideous face of this butcher, General Zia ul-Haq. What you see is simply American imperialism's vision of "freedom" with its mask off. □

Palestine:

Curfew and Confrontation

The intifada uprising has entered its tenth month, with more than 300 Palestinians killed and thousands more arrested and deported. But despite all this, the spirit of the intifada is stronger than ever.

The Israeli troops have increased the level of their reactionary violence in the region: the mass arrests of Palestinians, by implementing curfews, bulldozing their homes, with the vicious use of tear-gas, new plastic bullets (designed to cause more injury to those hit by them, and also with more capacity to kill) and by bombarding the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon. These are only some of the many unsuccessful measures introduced to put down the uprising.

On 14th September, Mr Shimon Peres, Israel's foreign minister and Labour Party leader, visited Mrs Thatcher in an attempt to counter Yasser Arafat's recent moves. During this visit British imperialism, the main founder of the Zionist state of Israel in Palestine, has reaffirmed its support for Israel and its brutal killing and suppression of the Palestinian people. He was also given firm assurance that Britain would not recognise any PLO provisional government, and would stick to its refusal to have dealings with the PLO until it renounced violence, recognised Israel, and accepted the U.N. resolutions

→



on the Middle East. Mrs Thatcher was also asked to use her influence to prevent EEC overtures towards Yasser Arafat.

On the other hand, the PLO leadership has done its utmost to bring the intifada - uprising - under its control, and as with every previous milestone in the history of the Palestinian struggle, to use it in their bargaining for "peace" with the imperialists. Soon after the heroic rebellion started, Yasser Arafat, the leader of the PLO, started to visit the reactionary Arab states, and international forums, in a move to use the uprising as a bargaining tool in order to push a quick "peace settlement" forward.

On September 13th, Yasser Arafat, told "socialist" members of the European parliament that he would accept all U.N. resolutions 181 of 1947 on the Middle East conflict, including those which guarantee Israel's right to exist. He reaffirmed a commitment made in Cairo in 1985 that the PLO would refrain from armed struggle against Israel.

The PLO leaders, including Yasser Arafat, have been openly discussing independence, and the idea of a "provisional Palestinian government" for some time, mainly to judge in advance the imperialists reaction to the move. Mr Jamil Hilal, director of the PLO's information department, said the PLO leaders had

agreed to recommend the declaration of an independent Palestinian state to a meeting of the Palestinian Parliament-in-exile.

The PLO policies to suspend armed struggle, and accept both the U.N. resolution 181, and the right of Israel to exist, does not represent a sudden departure from the previous policies of the PLO, but is a direct result of their continuing reliance upon the big imperialist powers in the world rather than upon the proletariat and the oppressed world wide. The PLO has long abandoned the task of launching a revolutionary people's war to overthrow the zionist state of Israel and to establish an independent new democratic Palestinian State.

Any move towards any "peaceful settlement" with Israel, which recognises the right of Israel to exist is a counter revolutionary action, and a blow to the 21 years of struggle of the Palestinian people.

The continuation of the intifada has shattered the dreams of the imperialists and Israel to suppress the Palestinian struggle and to normalise the situation. It has shown the world that the Western powers most reliable gendarme in the region (Israel) is vulnerable in the face of the Palestinian people's determination to achieve their liberation. ■

OLYMPIC WAR ZONE



The Olympic games, like any of the other main events of the day, have been used by the world powers globally for their political and economical needs. As the imperialists learnt more sophisticated ways of implementing their policies, the Olympic games became more of a focus for their political propaganda. The 1980 and 1984 Olympics were used by the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. to wage a propaganda war against each other.

The propaganda around the Seoul Olympics was to show to the world that "prosperity" and "development" under U.S. domination is not only possible but also something to be proud of and to be grateful for, and it is there to be used again. The sickening chauvinist imperialist gesture of waving the flags around the stadiums by their running dogs became part of the games.

Long before the start of the Olympics, the imperialist propaganda machinery waged a promotional showcase campaign

designed to sell the "success" of South Korea's membership of the "American empire" to the so-called Third World countries, especially to those countries which are worried by social upheaval and an uncertainty for their future in America's "empire".

South Korea is a country which was first created after World War 2 as a frontline military outpost for the U.S. "empire" (with the full military involvement of Britain) against the expansion of socialism and liberation movements in that region. Hundreds of thousands of South Korean military and the 40,000 nuclear armed U.S. occupying troops come face-to-face with the large number of North Korean forces equally armed by the Soviet Union, at the Demilitarised Zone (DMZ) which divides the Korean peninsula.

The U.S. military and political machinery has also used the Olympics as an

OLYMPIC WAR ZONE

excuse for a show of force against the Soviet Union, by sending nuclear warships and AWACS surveillance planes, as well as by putting on alert all the U.S. forces in South Korea, Japan and the entire region.

The reactionary ruling order of South Korea has been shaken in the last few years by powerful waves of uprisings, directly aimed at the regime and U.S. involvement in the country. In 1980, the South Korean army under U.S. military command massacred thousands of rebellious people in Kwangju, who had revolted against the government and held the city for ten days. Last year a radical student movement, supported by other sections of the people, forced an end to the open dictatorship of Chun Doo Hwan.

The student movement, using the Olympic issue and exposing the lies behind its propaganda, continued to fight the heavy military presence of the U.S. and its domination of South Korea, and the division of the Korean peninsula into South and North Korea. The movement has brought a sense of "anti-American" feeling amongst the proletariat and other sections of the people. The imperialist media began to play down this movement as the opening of the games approached. They tried desperately to show that this student

movement was limited to some traditional values, rather than it being a radical movement aimed at settling the account with the domination of an imperialist occupying force and its puppet regime. For example it was stated that in Korean culture "the students and scholars feel it is their duty to divert the government from their mistakes."

The South Korean army and police had to be specially trained for the games, as for the imperialists, nothing must be allowed to disrupt the games or show the ugly face of the hype behind the Olympics. The entire South Korean army and U.S. occupying troops were put on alert. Fascist laws like "The Peaceful Olympic Special Law" were implemented, "peace zones" were declared throughout the country, and all rallies, marches or assemblies were forbidden.

A massive military mobilisation was going on throughout the country and the entire region, "specific" measures were taken, in the name of "security preparations", mainly targeted at the masses of South Korean people.

In an attempt to prevent any embarrassment to the imperialists, who were running the show of "prosperity", "development" and "democracy" of South Korea, the South Korean and the imperialist media have decided not to comment on any of the incidences directed against the Olympic propaganda, government and U.S. presence and involvement in South Korea during the Olympic games. ■

Disasters

In recent years there have been numerous occasions when disasters have shocked the world: the famine in Ethiopia, the volcanic eruption in Colombia, the flood in Bangladesh, the Hurricane in Mexico and Jamaica, the Union Carbide Chemical plant in Bhopal (India), Chernobyl nuclear reactor in Russia, the Kings Cross fire, Papa Alpha, the Townsend Torrisen Ferry, and the list can go on forever. The two articles below analyse the underlying cause of all these disasters, and show how revolutionary China under Mao would deal with disasters. First however, let us take a short look at how disasters have been dealt with in Britain. The ruling class, as always, comes up with some sort of explanation, they sack an official and/or a

worker whom they blame for the disaster and as always there is an official inquiry to sort out what went wrong so that it doesn't happen again. Despite the claims to the contrary these inquiries are intended to quell the outrage in response to these disasters and to stupidify people into thinking that it won't be repeated, and into thinking that everything is under control. These inquiries always come up with some recommendations, but they never (and they are not supposed to) mention that it is the system, with its capitalist motive for profit, which is responsible. They never mention how safety is related to profits: it costs only one-hundredth as much to indemnify victims, as it would cost for safety equipment each year. It is generally more profitable for corporations to pay off casualties than prevent them. It is the system which should be smashed, anything else means the perpetuation of these disasters.



Union Carbide in Bhopal, India, December 1984, 3,000 people killed (40% under the age of 10)

It is reality that natural disasters such as floods, earthquakes etc., have always been a problem for human beings, that nature has challenged human beings in this way. On the other hand, it is again a reality that in the practice of changing nature — in the process of this struggle — humankind has improved science and scientific recognition and not only has neutralized the previously destructive effects of these natural events, but has utilized them to create better living conditions for people. But human society is a class society. There are certain groups (classes) in society which are in certain relations (class relations) in accordance with one another. There are ruling and ruled classes. These classes have opposite

interests and are engaged in a struggle to either change, or to keep existing conditions. And more particularly in today's world, in the world of the imperialist capitalist era, the guiding law of the predominant movements, actions and policies of society, is the law of value and the gaining of maximum profit. In the final analysis the same law determines how the ruling classes (imperialists and the reactionary compradors) should confront the whole situation, including the problem of "natural disasters" and the destructive effects of them on the lives of the oppressed masses.

Look at the whole of today's world, look at Bangladesh and how the continuous



Disasters

flooding and the death of uncountable people has become a "constant law", and look at Africa and India, the problem of starvation and the shocking mass death of people. Pay attention to the recent events in Mexico, Colombia, and China etc. What is the common factor of all these countries which are so defenceless in confronting these natural phenomena? Technological backwardness? Imperialist apologists and bourgeois reformists "prefer" to blame this on the backwardness of economics and technology and also on the people's low level of "culture and civilization" in these countries. And therefore they have immunized the ruling class and the whole system, and prescribed a unified effort for "industrial expansion" and the exporting of Western technology to these countries. Another propaganda uttered by these reactionaries, imperialists and reformists is that the "natural" disasters can not be prevented by mankind, but that some efforts can be made for those remaining victims to improve their situation. The international charities and "aids" which collect their donations, with a lot of noise for "humanity", after these events, are yet another example of this other propaganda system. As has been said the same law governs these actions of the ruling classes, and they are all based upon the aims (goals) and the strategic interests of the imperialists capitals and their corresponding powers. It is necessary to give an example of this. Bangladesh faced a shocking catastrophe in 1988. A flood created a huge catastrophe far more disastrous than the previous flood there. The whole country was completely devastated, thousands were killed and 25 million became homeless. This catastrophe was foreseeable, and in fact it was forecasted the previous month, but the Bangladeshi government refused to do anything to prevent it, and did not disclose the situation, for the "simple" reason: that this prevention was "very costly"!

After the flood and mass murder which was done in collaboration with "nature" by the Bangladeshi ruling compradors, "the flood of humanitarian aid" flew to Bangladesh from both Western and Eastern imperialists. After two months there is a huge shanty town filled with the survivors, and it is impossible to give a clear picture of their tragic conditions. It is enough to say that the anger and dissatisfaction of the people is to the extent that there is practically martial law. The money for these security forces in the shanty towns is provided by the "humanitarian"

imperialists and reactionaries. In this example, as with the others mentioned, the determining factor is the governing class relations in these countries which is mainly responsible for the way things are. In this era with its outstanding technology, the reason for humankind's inability to confront "nature's anger" is that this is the era of imperialism and what governs the world is a particular exploitative and oppressive relationship operating through a vast network. Being determinant means that this governing relationship has had its effects even in the realm of science and technology: because of the strategic needs and the imperialistic interests of finance capital, science and technology are orientated in such a way that not only does it not help humankind in confronting but it is also guiding human society towards a massive destruction and devastation. The concentration on nuclear energy and the expansion of its network, which is basically in the service of strategic military aims of the opposing blocks, has created a lot of potential and actual dangers for the world population. The Chernobyl disaster in the Soviet Union or the dangerous incident in the French power station or the fatal accidents in the nuclear and chemical centres of America, Britain, Italy, etc., are the exposed and well publicized examples of this destructiveness.

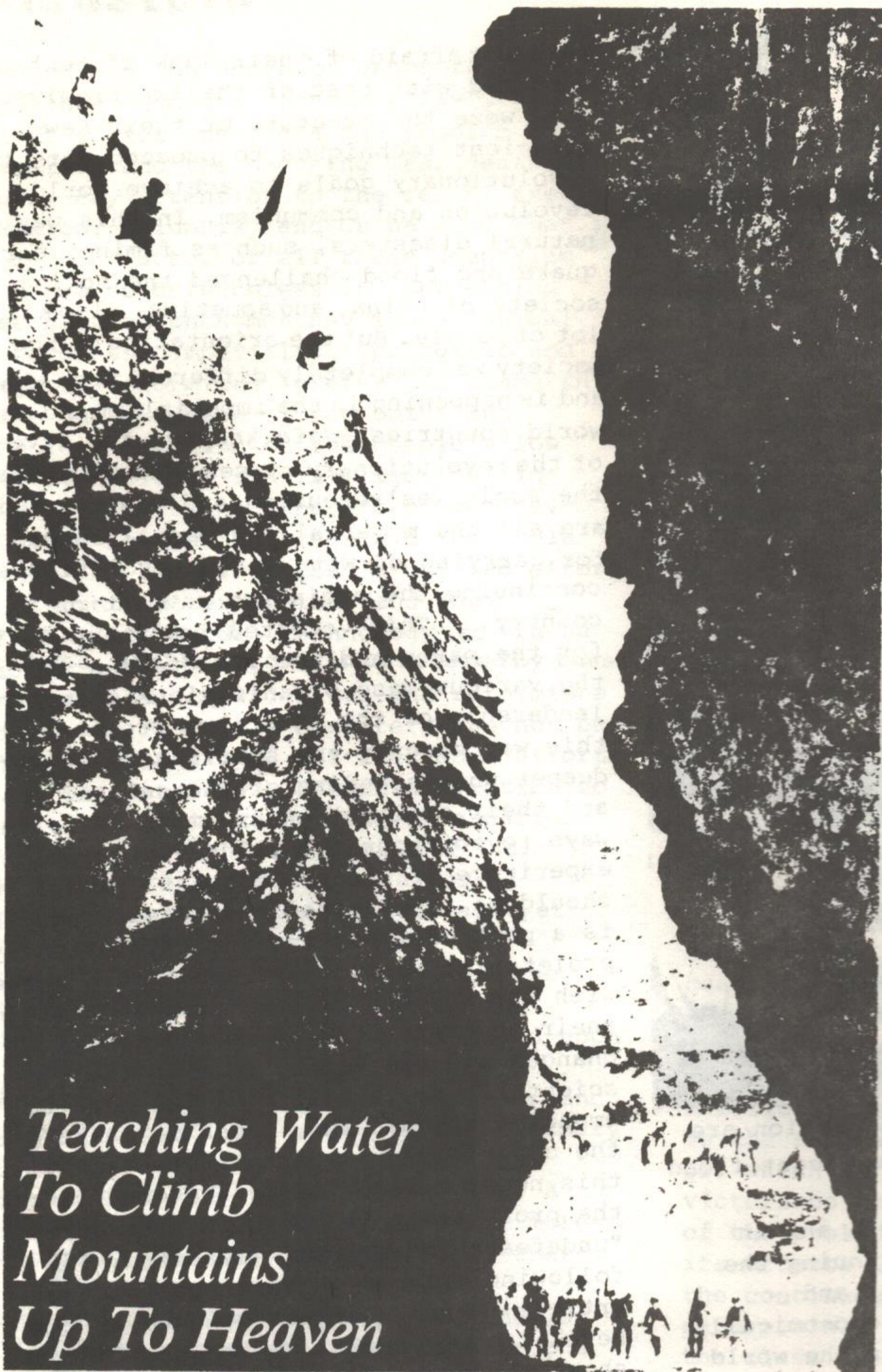
But if the governing social-class relationships are the determining factors, so the radical change of these relationships, which is only possible through a victorious revolution under the leadership of the proletariat, could and should have its effects in this particular realm: in the continuous war between humankind and nature. In a new socialist society in which the class relationship is fundamentally changed and the majority of society are in a governing position of their destiny and are moving towards continuing revolution, progressing along a socialist path towards communism on a world scale, certain effective steps towards deeper understanding of the laws of nature and efforts to conquer them can be made. The international proletariat has witnessed such steps in its victorious experiences. The "surprising" examples of this progress have been achieved by the proletariat in China, under new relations, under the condition in which the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established and strengthened, and in the process of class war with the new bourgeoisie. During the whole of the 50's, 60's and 70's until the bourgeois coup, China witnessed these developments which



At least 2,000 have died and 25 million are homeless in Bangladesh after the recent flood

came from the midst of a struggle and in confronting huge problems. Continuing the policy of relying on the masses, and consciously refusing to become economically and technologically dependent on the world imperialists, working to rebuild an economy based on new relations and increasing output and improving the life of the masses to safeguard and expand the base of world revolution, and all rounded efforts to further revolution on the world scale; were the particularities of the proletariat's rule in China. This was only made possible by releasing the immense revolutionary potential of the masses of workers and peasants and making way for their inventiveness under the leadership of the conscious proletariat. The masses who knew why they were working, the masses who were the governors of their own destinies and were guiding the scene with class consciousness, were ready to struggle with problems, they were finding out about the solutions to the problems and the techniques for achieving them and so they were eliminating their problems. They

were not afraid of their lack of technology compared with that of the imperialists! They were the creators of their new efficient techniques to proceed with their revolutionary goals to achieve world revolution and communism. In this way the natural disasters, such as famine, earthquake and flood challenged the socialist society of China, and sometimes also killed a lot of people. But the orientation of the society was completely different from what has and is happening in the imperialist and third world countries. Safe keeping the lives of the revolutionary masses, and safe guarding the societies' resources and wealth, which are all the material and mental requirements for carrying on with world revolution and continuing the socialist revolution in the country. This created important duties for the party and the proletarian state and the various mass organisations under the leadership of the conscious proletariat and this was exactly the starting point for a deeper understanding of the natural laws and their application and more efficient ways to confront them. The victorious experience of the proletariat in this realm should be re-examined and researched. This is a part of improving the revolutionary proletariat outlook and arming the masses with the science of revolution, deepening their understanding of revolutionary changes and convincing them of the scientific practicality of the path to emancipate humankind, which is charted by the conscious proletariat. Starting with this need, here we bring the experiences of the proletariat in China in confronting the "undefeatable" natural disasters. The following article is excerpts from an article which was first printed in the Revolutionary Worker, 10th June 1985 and shows the massive dimensions of this effort in China in the 60's and 70's by bringing the reports and summations of the Chinese communists. ■



Teaching Water To Climb Mountains Up To Heaven

Commune members cut through a mountain to create a spillway.

Scarcely a week after the giant tidal wave pounded the coastal areas of Bangladesh and left tens of thousands dead and many times more homeless, news from the affected region has all but vanished from the pages of the U.S. bourgeois press. Never mind that big questions remain about the accuracy of casualty figures quoted by official sources, or that the aftermath — hunger, injuries, lack of shelter — continue to have devastating effects. “Natural disasters have always been a part of the nation’s fate,” wrote one *New York Times* correspondent, dismissing the massive death and destruction with a casual wave of an imperialist pen.

If the imperialists and their foot soldiers want to believe that masses in Bangladesh and elsewhere will go on quietly accepting their oppression, let them keep their fragile delusions. What the Bangladesh cyclone *does* show is that

as long as oppressed people remain entangled in the poisonous web of imperialist domination, they will be subject to the violent whims and ravages of nature’s forces. The imperialists like to point out — supposedly as proof of their sincere intentions — that \$15 billion in “aid” has gone into Bangladesh since it came into existence in 1971. But such imperialist “aid,” in Bangladesh or anywhere else in the oppressed areas of the world, has never resulted in all-sided development in the interests of the masses, and the most recent cyclone disaster was a jarring reminder of this. The billions in “aid,” no doubt quite useful in bringing to power and propping up a pro-Western client regime in Bangladesh, led to no significant construction of concrete shelters, flood embankments, early warning systems and other protective measures in the fifteen years since the monstrous tidal wave of 1970.

Taming the Waters

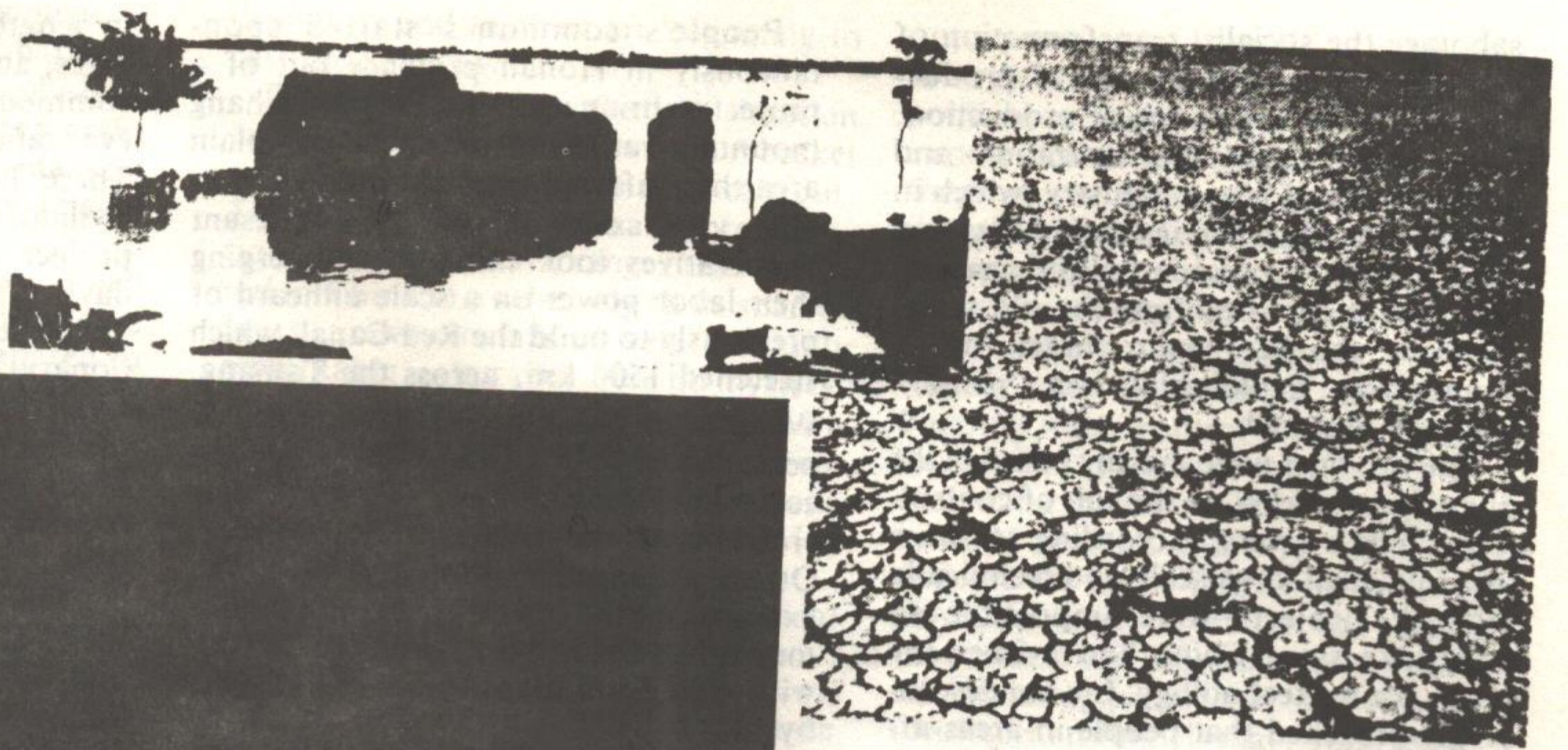
A dramatically different story unfolded in China, from liberation in 1949 until the reversal of socialism with the revisionist coup in 1976. Under Mao Tsetung’s revolutionary leadership, the Chinese people shed the fetters of imperialism, forged China as a socialist bastion for world revolution, and made giant strides in taming and transforming nature. They showed that “natural disasters” do not have to be an inevitable part of an oppressed nation’s “fate” and pointed the way out of the horrors and suffering of imperialist domination.

An old saying in China lamented that “drought parches the land while flood makes people homeless.” In many respects, life for the people in pre-liberation China was similar to what the masses in Bangladesh face today. In 1970, a *New York Times* reporter covering the wreckage of the cyclone that hit East Pakistan (what is now Bangladesh) noted: “It is the worst natural disaster of this century; if the total was a million or more, as some Pakistani newspapers report, it is the worst in recorded history. The Yellow River flood of 1887, which took the lives of 900,000 Chinese, is listed as the worst on record.”

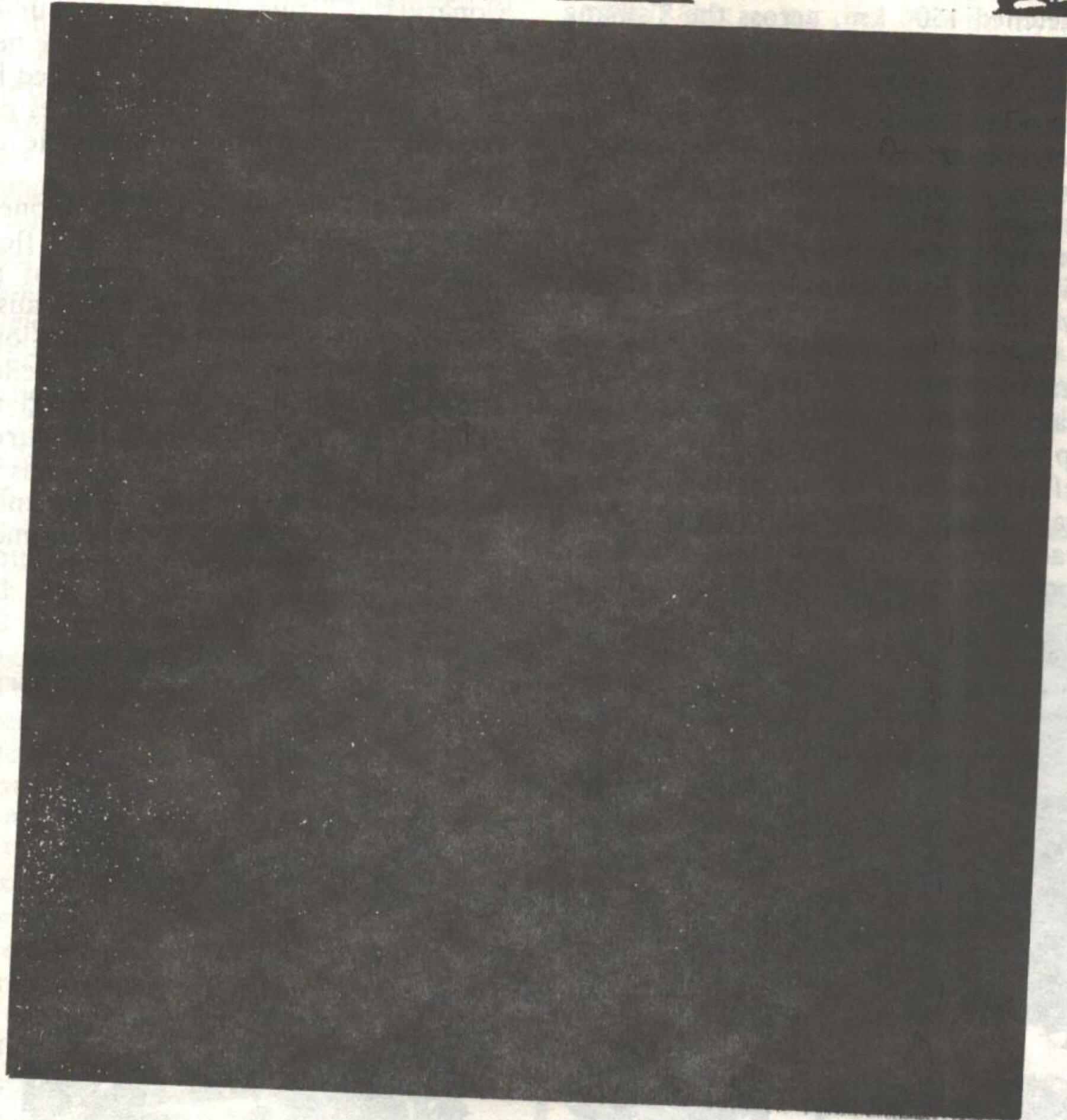
For hundreds of years, floods and droughts had been the “twin scourges” of China. A major flood or drought hit large parts of the land at a pace of almost once a year, destroying crops or making it impossible to plant and thus leading to terrible famines that took the lives of hundreds of thousands at a time.

Such disasters not only brought further misery to the peasantry but also sharpened the polarization in society between the great majority that lived in utter poverty and the small section of exploitative classes at the top. As one *Peking Review* article during the Cultural Revolution pointed out, “It was not uncommon in the old society to see armed strifes over water provoked by the landlords, capitalists and bureaucrats, strifes which took a heavy toll of the labouring people and which led to the breaking up of many families. When there was a flood, more often than not the landlords, capitalists and bureaucrats diverted the floodwaters to others’ fields, which aggravated the natural disasters.”

There were a number of widespread famines, triggered by floods and droughts, in the years leading up to liberation. In the famine that struck central China in 1927-28, up to 75 percent of the population starved to death in some areas. Perhaps close to a million people died in a famine which hit north China in 1941-43. In *Red Star Over China*, Edgar Snow described the aftermath of drought in one area in the 1930s: “I saw fresh corpses on the streets of Saratsi, and in the villages I saw shallow graves where the victims of famine and disease were laid by the dozens. But these were not the most shocking things after all. The



Above: Flood and drought in the Huai River Valley before liberation.
Left: "The Huai River must be harnessed," an inscription by Chairman Mao in 1951.



shocking thing was that in many of these towns there were still rich men, rice-hoarders, wheat-hoarders, money-lenders, and landlords, with armed guards to defend them, while they profited enormously. The shocking thing was that in the cities... there was grain and food, and had been for months; that in Peking and Tientsin and elsewhere were thousands of tons of wheat and millet, collected (mostly by contributions from abroad) by the Famine Commission, but which could not be shipped to the starving...."

With the defeat of the U.S.-backed Kuomintang (KMT) reactionaries in October 1949, the revolutionary regime led by Mao and the Communist Party of China faced an immensely difficult situation. U.S. imperialism and its reactionary allies surrounded and blockaded New China in an attempt to smother it to death. The land and the people had been ravaged by the decades of Japanese imperialist invasion and occupation and the rampages of the KMT army, which compounded the devastation from flood, drought, and famine. As a 1974 *Peking Review* article titled "Harnessing China's Rivers" recalled, "What did the Kuomintang reactionaries leave behind 25 years ago when New China was born? With all the waterways, dykes and em-

bankments long out of repair, the peasants were completely at the mercy of nature. Flood and drought were common occurrences, wreaking havoc alternately or concurrently and taking a heavy toll of millions of people, with tens of millions more rendered homeless. Such being the plight of old China, certain imperialist prophets gleefully awaited the collapse of New China in the grip of these twin disasters which all past governments had failed to cope with."

In fact, two of the disasters involving the Yellow River — known as "China's Sorrow" because of the catastrophic floods that resulted from periodic changes in its course — were the direct products of cold-blooded criminal actions by the imperialist-backed KMT. In 1938, KMT head Chiang Kai-shek, more intent on fighting Mao's Red Army than the invading imperialists, was fleeing from the southward advance of the Japanese army. With callous disregard for the lives of millions of peasants, Chiang breached the dikes to alter the flow of the Yellow River in an attempt to cover his rear. The turbid waters of the Yellow River inundated eleven cities and thousands of villages, taking hundreds of thousands of lives.

Nine years later Chiang Kai-shek, this time facing defeat at the hands of Mao's

army, blasted the Yellow River back to its earlier course in order to divide the communist forces and create havoc among the peasants in the Red areas. The KMT did this with not only the approval but also aid — in the form of technicians, funds and supplies — of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency. Hundreds of villages were submerged under water within days, and millions more people were threatened with high water. When the revolutionaries mobilized peasants to repair the dikes, Chiang sent his American-made planes to bomb the renovated earthwork and strafe the peasants.

For the infant revolutionary regime, the task of taming the great rivers — the Yangtze, the Yellow, the Huai (flowing in the central coastal plains between the Yangtze and the Yellow), and others — was a crucial aspect of transforming China from a dependent neocolony into an independent socialist country. Without protection from floods and new irrigation systems to fight droughts and open up new farmland, the peasantry — making up the overwhelming majority of the population — would continue to suffer. The worker-peasant alliance would be adversely affected and the ability of China to withstand the attacks of the imperialists and contribute to world revolution would be weakened.

In 1951 and '52, Mao declared that the Huai River and the Yellow River "must be harnessed." These calls were made amidst, and were very much a part of, the fierce two-line struggles within the Communist Party itself over China's direction after liberation. Under the rubric of "harmony" between capitalism and socialism and "consolidating" new democracy, revisionists like Liu Shao-chi fought to lead China down the road of capitalist development (which in China's context inevitably would have meant neocolonial development). In agriculture, these bourgeois-democrats-turned-capitalist-roaders tried to stifle and

sabotage the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production and all the relations of production. They argued that mechanization and development of heavy industry (which in turn depended on foreign technology and "aid") had to precede collectivization, and that in the meantime the old social relations should remain intact in the countryside. Exploitation is a "merit," Liu even declared.

The two lines were sharply posed in the question of taking on the job of controlling China's rivers. According to those like Liu, such large-scale and technically difficult projects were impossible to undertake since China had neither the funds nor the technology. Liu condescendingly preached that people in areas affected by flood or drought should rely on "relief." As one observer noted in the mid-'70s when the Huai River projects had been completed and the Yellow River brought largely under control, "had the masses waited for machines to do it, there would still be famines in North China."

Mao sharply criticized and fought

People's communes started spontaneously in Honan province out of a project to bring water across the Taihang mountain ranges to irrigate a dry plain area that suffered from drought eight or nine years out of ten. The peasant cooperatives took initiative in merging their labor power on a scale unheard of previously to build the Red Canal, which stretched 1500 km. across the Taihang. When Mao came to visit this merger of peasant associations, the name "people's commune" was chosen. "This is a new creation of the masses," Mao wrote. Others around the country followed the example: by the end of 1958, 26,000 communes had formed (increasing to 72,000, with new formations and subdivisions, by 1961).

One of the slogans raised by the peasants during the Great Leap Forward was: "Teach water to climb mountains up to heaven!" The slogan of course referred directly to the carving of waterways across mountain ranges to bring water and life to arid lands. But it also spoke more broadly to the grand strug-

in length, putting up numerous sluice gates, and setting up a safety area to accommodate 170,000 people in case of evacuation during an especially big flood. Three hundred thousand soldiers and civilians were mobilized, and the whole project was completed in seventy-five days. This contrasts starkly with the "achievements" during the years of reactionary KMT rule. In order to build a small drainage gate on the Yangtze near the city of Wuhan, the KMT begged for funds from five different countries and then took three years to complete the work.

The Huai River basin used to be one of those areas hit by almost yearly flood and/or drought. The diversion of the Yellow River in 1938 by the KMT caused devastation of even greater dimensions. The change in the course of the Yellow River brought down silt that filled the estuary of the Huai River, buried farmland and heightened the beds of many lakes. All this affected the entire Huai River system, making it even more susceptible to floods and droughts.



Millions of people worked on the Haiho River Project for flood drainage and irrigation.

against the revisionist and capitulationist line of Liu and others, and declared in 1955 that, "We must now realize that there will soon be a nationwide high tide of socialist transformation in the countryside." Indeed a tremendous upsurge swept through the countryside. The millions of peasants, mobilized in unprecedented forms of cooperation in big water projects, were an integral part of this — leading to the basic establishment of socialist ownership in agriculture (as well as industry) by 1956. The struggle further erupted into the momentous upheaval of the Great Leap Forward in 1958; it was out of this furnace that the people's communes were born. Water conservation projects played a key role once more in this new and major step in socialist transformation.

gles of the masses consciously transforming society and nature, and in the process transforming themselves. Under the oppressive order of the old society, who but the most brave and farsighted would have dared dream of teaching "water to climb the mountains up to heaven"?

The Scourge of the Rivers

Several examples illustrate the remarkable advances made by the Chinese people after liberation to control the forces of nature, in particular the "scourge" of the rivers. In 1952, the Chinese people completed a large-scale flood-diversion program on Chingkiang River, a harmful tributary on the middle reaches of the Yangtze. The project involved repairing and reinforcing existing dikes, building new dikes of over 200 km.

Mao's 1951 call — "the Huai River must be harnessed" — sparked millions of peasants to begin tackling various water-control projects along the Huai. This vast mobilization shattered the revisionist whinings about how it was impossible for the "backward" peasants without machines to take on such immense projects. In fact, except for key state-financed projects, modern machinery — such as bulldozers, excavators, earth removers, and heavy-duty trucks — were rarely available, especially in the earlier years. The rise of revisionists to power in the Soviet Union in 1956, and the subsequent Sino-Soviet split and pull-out of Soviet technicians, funds, and equipment from China, posed further difficulties. The "river-tamers" had to

rely on simple tools and equipment — hammers, chisels, picks, wheel-barrow, home-made machines, and explosives. And, most important of all, there was the powerful initiative of the masses, unleashed by the revolutionary line of Mao.

By the early '70s, one report noted "conspicuous changes" in the worksites of the Huai River projects compared to the initial stages: "China-made dredgers are working alongside other machines. The degree of mechanization has increased and the contingents of technicians has grown enormously. What merits particular attention is that large numbers of peasant-technicians with rich practical experience have come to the fore." The passage gives a glimpse of the actual development of productive forces during the years of Mao's leadership (contrary to the lies and distortions of imperialists and revisionists alike), and most importantly the big changes in relations of production, especially through the Cultural Revolution — the differences between mental and manual labor, between town and countryside, and between industry and agriculture were *beginning* to be broken down.

The changes in one county in the Huai River basin epitomized the night-and-day difference in conditions between the neo-colonial past and socialist China. In one township of 11,000 households, floods in 1931 brought death from hunger to 2,600 peasants and forced 6,700 families to flee to other areas. The same area experienced torrential rains in the summer of 1974 — over twelve inches of rain fell in two days and the water level of the Huai rose over six feet. Yet the dikes and the drainage pumps kept damage to a minimum — peasant homes were not washed away, and paddyfields remained green.

Since the revisionists took power in 1976 and restored capitalism, much of the advances made during socialist China — especially during the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution — have been overturned. The people's communes, for example, have been mostly broken up, with land divided again among individual households, and exploitative relations and class polarization making their return. While there may be some increases in production in certain areas and for a certain period, the larger picture raises the ominous specter of possibly disastrous consequences of capitalist restoration in the countryside. Some observers have noted, for example, that there has been an increase in the frequency of floods and severity of damages caused by them, and have linked these developments at least in part to the breaking up of socialized agriculture. Because the peasants are being increasingly driven to raise productivity on their private plots and contract businesses, there is mounting reluctance to participate in public works projects — water conservancy works, soil conservation, forestation programs — since they require pooling of labor and resources, and sacrifices on the part of individual units for the bigger whole. Images of pre-1949 floods,

droughts, and famines are beginning to cast their shadow.

The imperialists say that the situation in Bangladesh is hopeless — a "basket case," as Henry Kissinger once called it. The same was said of China before liberation. The enormous changes that occurred in China in a relatively short span of years under socialism were certainly remarkable — but they were no mystery. The motive force was the conscious initiative and activism of the masses, unbound from the yoke of imperialism and unleashed by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

In the wake of the Bangladesh tidal wave, imperialist vultures of the news media swooped down to focus on peasants praying to Allah for penance and salvation. As the article "Harnessing China's Rivers" in the *Peking Review* pointed out: "In the dark old days class

oppression went hand in hand with drought and flood; the reactionary political rule and the ideological fetters imposed on the people not only deprived them of the necessary objective conditions for combating floods but also made it impossible for them to see their own subjective strength in overcoming them. After each natural disaster, the reactionary rulers, while using the pretext of building water-control projects to fleece the people, spread the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and forced the people to build temples and offer sacrifices to appease the gods. The storm of socialist revolution since liberation has shattered the political and economic fetters binding the labouring people and swept away the ideological trammels that hampered their initiative and creativity."

To deal with cyclones and other disasters, "natural" and "unnatural," requires making revolution. □

AWORLD TO WIN 1988/11

UN MONDO QUE GANAR जीतने के लिए

PALESTINE

LET THE INTIFADA PAVE THE WAY FOR PEOPLE'S WAR!

Statement by the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

Youth Revolt Sweeps Algeria



The day after the rebellion in Algiers.

Stable, "non-aligned," "independent," "oil-rich" Algeria has exploded in the face of the imperialists and their local rulers, rebelliously announcing the end of the relative resignation to the compradors in power, who for too long have passed off their rule as "socialist" and "revolutionary." This powerful eruption by Algerian youth who took to the streets with stones and homemade torches setting ablaze all that symbolised the state machinery and private wealth is a refreshing and welcome sight. Indeed, although this was the outpouring of rage of youth with an empty future, it has posed much bigger questions challenging the social order and the future overall. Just as it also stirred the aspirations of hundreds of thousands of Algerians living abroad who spontaneously demonstrated their support, the imperialists from Paris to Washington and their lackeys throughout North Africa reacted with telling dread and apprehension, jolted that anything could go astray in "model" Algeria.

Significantly, as the youth in the poor neighborhoods of Algiers targeted Chadli Bendjedid's government and party offices, town halls, state-run stores, police stations (and their records) as well as luxury hotels, nightclubs and travel agencies, the rebellion spread quickly to other cities and towns. And Chadli's forces of repression snapped out their answer with all the confidence of a regime indeed taken by the throat; declaring a state of siege, the army occupied the streets they could enter with tanks, filled the sky with helicopters armed with rockets to intimidate the masses from assembling, and in the space of a short week, gunned down cold-bloodedly some 500 youth and arrested over 3000.

For not only has the regime's naked reliance on terror been brutally exposed to all, but the ugly helpless face of a neo-colonial, dependent state -- very unstable and very aligned to Western imperialism -- has been abruptly unmasked in the first major revolt shaking Algeria since the war of liberation fought against the French three decades ago. The uprising has helped to reveal the true nature of these post-"independence" leaders who have parasitically plundered the Algerian masses on behalf of imperialist interests, particularly French imperialism, in the name of their credentials in this heroic war waged by the masses of Algerians against French colonialism.

The Algerian war of national liberation led by the FLN (Front de Liberation Nationale) represented a sound defeat for French troops and forced the withdrawal of the colonial administration, shattering the notion that a smaller dominated country could not defeat an advanced imperialist one. However because this war was not led by the proletariat, it could not achieve its true goal of national liberation, and the bourgeois leadership of the FLN betrayed the cause of the war and the Algerian people. The Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement has summed up bitter experiences such as the aborted Algerian revolution: "While such revolutionary formations have led heroic struggles and even delivered powerful blows to the imperialists they have been proven to be ideologically and organisationally incapable of resisting imperialist and bourgeois influences. Even where such forces have seized power, they have been incapable of carrying through a thorough-going revolutionary transformation of society and end up, sooner or later, being overthrown by the imperialists or themselves becoming a new reactionary ruling power in league with the imperialists."

The Algerian government neither completely broke with reaction and imperialism nor was able to develop a self-reliant economy. Instead it has remained in the protective strangling tentacles of the Western imperialists, especially France and the U.S., and this is the root cause of all the grievances being righteously brought to the world's attention today.

An oil-dependent economy has brought increasing chaos and disequilibrium in nearly every sector with growing hardships to the masses that are reflected in inflation, water and food shortages, tremendous rises in prices and unemployment, particularly among poor youth (and even more specifically among those who could not or did not want to escape to France to find jobs) which has climbed to over 40% in some of the main cities. Coupled with widespread corruption, the building up of a small but fat and pretentious urban bourgeoisie underneath the regime, pseudo-revolutionary talk that in practice amounted to few means of political expression and other anticipated semblances of bourgeois democracy, these and other factors have all nourished the present crisis and the revolt by the youth, which was clearly a long time in the making. They are the expression of the painful

reality that far from being liberated, the masses still must resolve the question of political power. And the only way not to repeat the farce by the bourgeois betrayers of the first courageous war of the Algerian people, is to launch a people's war to make new democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat which ousts and completely ruptures with imperialism, reaction and all remnants of the old society. For this to be successful it must be led by a revolutionary headquarters based on the science and ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, which the Algerian revolution has never had. No representatives of the exploiting and oppressing classes of any hue or disguised in any militant-sounding rhetoric -- whether nationalist or Islamic -- can take its place.

The current revolt has served to disfigure the false progressive image of a non-aligned state which some advocates of the three-worlds theory count among their victories. And if the masses have paid heavily to learn that Chadli's Russian-trained murdering troops are not only not fighting on behalf of the people but now guard the fort for the West, let us not be falsely led by those illusions either the second time. It should furthermore be no surprise that the popular spontaneous sentiment for pluralism and (bourgeois) democracy is echoed in the citadels of Europe (where Chadli's "excesses" have been mildly criticised, but his firmness in handling the situation clearly upheld) because this solution too, a facelift of a few political reforms including multiple bourgeois parties instead of one, enables them



A tank stands in Algiers' Place des Martyrs after troops occupied the centre of the city

to maintain their same oppressor's grip on Algeria while the oppressed masses have the right to continue to be exploited and silent with the neo-colonial army at the ready if they should decide to "speak."

The revolt of the Algerian youth is a fine thing, breaking through the stale silence of the past with a new and defiant language that the oppressors hate. It provides a new and excellent opportunity for those rebels to pick up the weapon to finally liberate Algerian society from imperialism and reaction -- the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The enemies are preparing too. Take note of Yassar Araft's phone call to Algiers to make sure "everything is under control." Those worried neighbors of the Algerian ruling class, the Arab compradors who have come running to Cadli's support, from King Hassan II of Morocco to Tunisia's Ben Ali, to Khadaffi in Libya, are very aware of the dangers of such a spark in the dry kindling of the Maghreb. If the rebellion has temporarily subsided in Algeria, the underlying combustion certain has not, and chances are it will ignite again.

Let the Flames of the Algerian Rebellion Spread!
Down with Imperialism and the Reactionary Comprador Regime of Algeria!
Step Up the Struggle for Revolution Around the World!
Long Live Proletarian Internationalism!

October 1988

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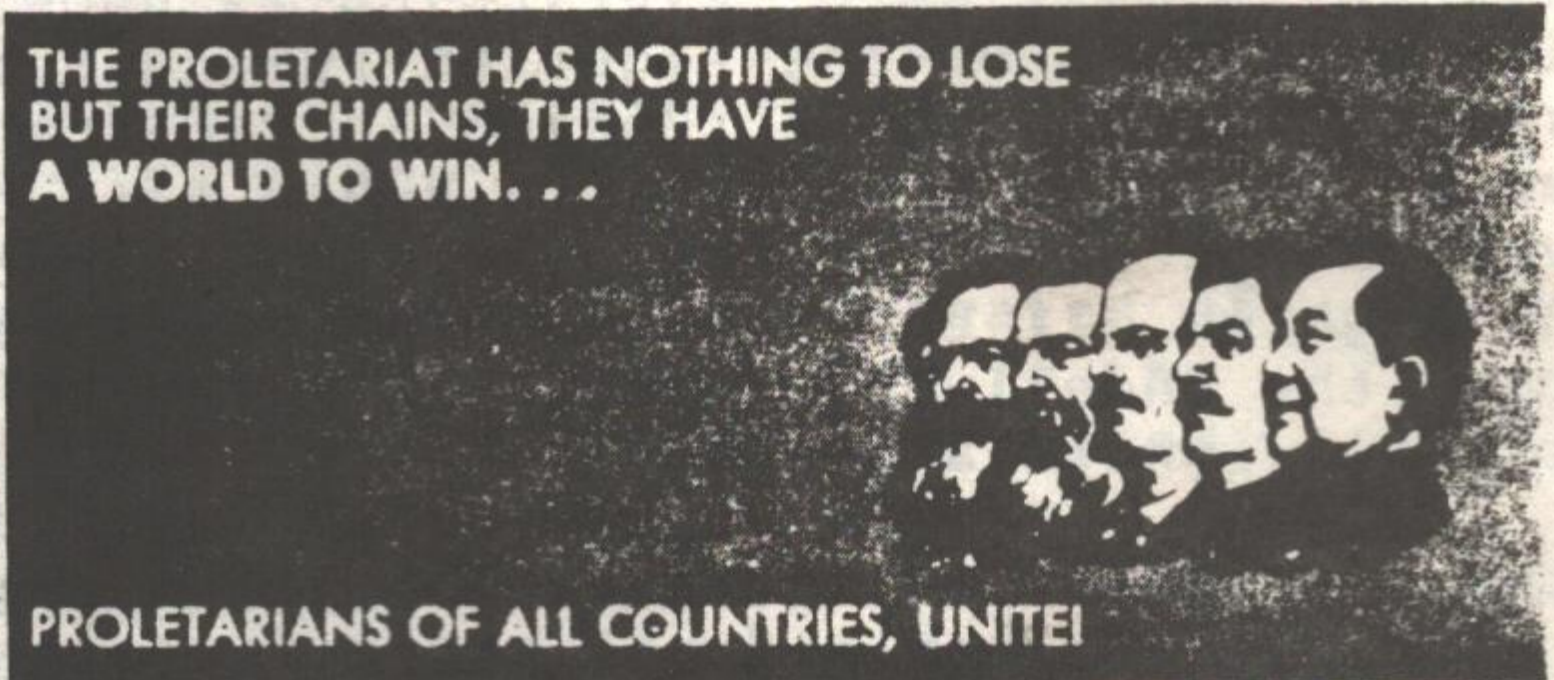


Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka's beautiful sea coast is world renowned. But in recent years the former British colony of Ceylon has been more known as the site of bitter warfare pitting the reactionary authorities against Tamil liberation fighters. An analysis shows that, far from bringing "peace," the recent agreement between India and Sri Lanka is another attack on the Tamil fighters and a new obstacle to revolution on the whole island.

Soviets on "Terrorism"

Under the guise of criticising "terrorism," a recent Soviet book sings the praises of the bourgeois state in the Western imperialist countries and condemns all who would dare to make revolution in these countries.



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AUGUST, 1988

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