



RED REBEL

MAOIST NEWSPAPER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY VANGUARD (RV)
IN BRITAIN. ISSUE No 5. JANUARY 1991.

THE PEOPLE MAKE HISTORY AND THE PARTY LEADS THE PEOPLE IN MAKING HISTORY!



THE BLACK PANTHERS

and lessons
for today

Rapping Against the



“War on Drugs”

Celebrate The First
Anniversary Of The
R.V.

RV... Declaration of Intent...



IMPERIALISM DECLARES A WAR ON THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE, UNDER THE COVER OF "WAR ON DRUGS". IMPERIALISM DECLARES A WAR ON WOMEN, THROUGH THE ATTACK ON ABORTION RIGHTS & OTHER VICIOUS WAYS. REVOLUTIONARY VANGUARD (RV) SAYS WE'VE GOT TO DECLARE WAR ON IMPERIALISM. THE PEOPLE ARE THE MAKERS OF HISTORY, THE PROLETARIAT ARE THE FORCE FOR REVOLUTION & WHAT WE NEED IS A REVOLUTIONARY WAR OF THE PEOPLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM.

FOR THE POOR & OPPRESSED, LIVING UNDER THE POWERS-THAT-BE GETS HARDER EVERY DAY & WHEN THE PEOPLE LOOK OUT THERE, THEY DON'T HEAR NO VOICE SPEAKING FOR THEM. THIS PAPER IS A VOICE FOR THE PEOPLE & IT'S GOT TO BECOME MORE OF A VOICE. IT'S A PAPER FOR ALL THOSE BRUTALISED BY THIS SYSTEM, ALL WHO REFUSE TO TURN THEIR EYES AWAY FROM OPPRESSION, ALL WHO THE SYSTEM TREATS LIKE SHIT & COUNTS AS NOTHING, BUT WHO ARE EVERYTHING TO THE PROLETARIAT. IT'S A PAPER FOR REVOLUTION.

THE QUESTION FOR US IS: HOW DO WE GET FROM WHERE WE ARE TODAY, WHERE A MAJORITY OF THE WORLD'S PEOPLE LIVE UNDER IMPERIALIST OPPRESSION, TO WHERE WE WANT TO BE - A WORLD FREE OF IMPERIALISM, A WORLD FREE OF OPPRESSION? TO ACHIEVE THIS LEAP, WE HAVE TO BUILD A BRIDGE TO THE FUTURE TODAY. THIS BRIDGE HAS TO BE BUILT THROUGH THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OF THE MASSES OF PEOPLE & THE EXPERIENCE OF BUILDING THAT BRIDGE HAS TO BECOME CONCENTRATED IN A PROLETARIAN VANGUARD ORGANISATION. THE REVOLUTIONARY VANGUARD (RV) IS THE AGITATOR & ORGANISER FOR THIS TASK IN BRITAIN, AS ONE DETACHMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT.

TODAY, WE HAVE A PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONAL, THE REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT (RIM). A VITAL & YOUNG ORGANISATION. THE BATTLELINES ARE BEING DRAWN AROUND THE WORLD, BETWEEN THE OPPRESSED & THE OPPRESSOR. IT'S OUR DUTY TO THE MASSES OF PEOPLE OF THE WORLD TO STEP UP & JOIN OUR COMRADES IN STRUGGLE. IF YOU'RE OPPRESSED BY THIS SYSTEM, IF YOU DREAM OF A FUTURE WHERE THIS SYSTEM IS RUBBLE, IF YOU'RE A REBEL, ILLEGAL DOWN-CAST, NOTHING TO LOSE, THEN STEP FORWARD. TAKE UP THE TASK & HELP PREPARE THE GROUND FOR REVOLUTION!

OUR IDEOLOGY IS MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM.
OUR ORGANISATION IS REVOLUTIONARY VANGUARD (RV)
OUR NEWSPAPER IS RED REBEL.

IF YOU WANT TO BURY THE SYSTEM, THIS IS YOUR PAPER. TAKE IT UP!

REVOLUTION IS THE HOPE OF THOSE WITH NO HOPE AND R.V. STANDS FOR Revolution!

DON'T KEEP THIS PAPER TO YOURSELF! GET IT TO YOUR FRIENDS. TALK ABOUT IT WITH YOUR CREW. GET IN TOUCH FOR MORE COPIES & RED REBEL FLYING HIGH FLYERS. OPEN A COMMUNICATION LINK WITH US & SET UP RED REBEL CELLS. GET IN TOUCH ABOUT WHAT'S GOING DOWN IN YOUR AREA. GET HOLD OF THE LITERATURE WE HAVE FROM ALL ROUND THE WORLD, FROM PERU TO AFGHANISTAN, THE U.S. TO KURDISTAN. SEND US ANY MONEY YOU CAN: THE REVOLUTION DON'T HAVE NO RICH BACKERS TO RELY ON. SEND US YOUR QUESTIONS, SUGGESTIONS & OPINIONS & GET TUNED IN TO MAOISM. WE CAN'T BUILD A REVOLUTION WITHOUT THE PEOPLE GETTING INVOLVED.

CONTACT

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A MESSAGE TO YOUNG PEOPLE OF ALL AGES, PARTICULARLY THE YOUTH, AND PEOPLE OF ALL NATIONALITIES WHO WANT TO CHANGE THE WORLD:

TAKE THIS PAPER UP!

Get it out there!

BACK ISSUES AVAILABLE.

PIGS , JACKALS & DINOSAURS Piling up in the GULF!

With a total of over half a million imperialist-led troops in the Gulf, the western imperialists are lurching towards all-out confrontation with Saddam Hussein, their disobedient puppet. The consequences of such confrontation could spread wider than the region itself, with world significance.

A SHITLOAD OF PROBLEMS FOR THE IMPERIALISTS!

For these cold-blooded strategists in Washington & London, there is no guarantee that they will be able to finish what they start. For all their military swaggering & bullying in the Gulf, the imperialists do face a shitload of problems. And the recognition of this fact lies behind their frenzied last-minute attempts to negotiate some compromise.

The Gulf crisis concentrates a number of potentially explosive contradictions. Will Israel, the U.S. Rotweiler, survive intact out of a war? Will the rival Soviet imperialists sit back while one of their client regimes is bombed out of existence by the U.S. & the U.S. advances its interests in the region? Or will the Soviet generals draw the line at this & put the Cold War back on the agenda? Will pro-western Arab puppet regimes be able to survive an upsurge of the Arab people against U.S.-led aggression or will the puppet crowns roll? These are all questions hurled onto the agenda by the crisis in the Gulf.

WHITE-SUPREMACIST RACIST DOGS!

Britain, being the imperialist dog it is, can't latch itself on eagerly enough to the warmongering of the U.S. Because Britain knows its bloody interests will be secured & advanced by standing alongside the leader of the western imperialist bloc, the U.S. At the moment, British forces in the Gulf are costing millions of £s a day, but Britain sees this as an investment for the future & a guarantee of its share of the booty. And if that investment comes at the cost of massive bloodshed, on both sides, even nuclear strikes, well that has never bothered them before & it won't bother them today.

"We've got to oppose their war moves & we've got to expose the real reasons why they've invaded the Middle East. The imperialist Mafioso wouldn't think twice about carpet-bombing out of existence tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of Arab people, as though the people are nothing. Just like they tried to bomb Vietnam & Cambodia out of existence. Why? Because the imperialists are all a pack of white-supremacist racist dogs, that's why. To them, the oppressed people mean nothing except a means of making super-profits & they casually calculate large-scale slaughter of the people to defend their bloody empire". (Red Rebel 4)

FRATERNITY OF THIEVES

As January 15th approached (the deadline which the imperialists coldly & calculatedly set) there were beginning to open up splits within the imperialists alliance or, as it would be better called, the fraternity of thieves. Within the western bloc, France has shown itself to be reluctant to fully co-



THIS PAST AND PRESENT HAS NO FUTURE.

operate with the US-led war drive, because the French imperialists happen to have a vested interest in the present Iraqi regime. France has been the second biggest arms supplier to Saddam Hussein. France refused to give the U.S. details of high-tech missiles it had sold to Iraq, for fear that this would undermine its "credibility" as a major dealer in the Middle East arms market.

It is no surprise that the Soviet Union has a lot of unity with France in trying to restrain the US. war drive. The Soviets have been the number one biggest arms supplier to Saddam Hussein. And the Soviet Union has a vested imperialist bloc interest in not seeing the US. advance further in the Middle East, as well as in not seeing their client regime in Iraq toppled. It was reported on January 9th that the US. had stopped & boarded a Soviet ship in the Red Sea which was bound for Iraq & laden with military hardware, like command & control vehicles, rocket launchers, explosive detonators, tank parts & communications equipment, most of which broke UN. sanctions.

DIRTY IMPERIALIST GANGSTER DEALS.

TODAY, THE "HONEYMOON" OF THE SUPERPOWERS "END OF THE COLD WAR" IS LOOKING MORE LIKE A QUICK DIVORCE COULD BE ON THE CARDS. THE SOVIETS HAVE SAID THEY WILL WITHDRAW THEIR LIMITED SUPPORT FOR THE US. LED WAR DRIVE IN THE GULF, IF AMERICA INTERFERES WITH SOVIET ATTEMPTS TO QUELL THE REBELLIOUS BALTIC REGION. THE WEST DOESN'T WANT TO SEE ANARCHY IN THE SOVIET UNION BECAUSE THIS WOULD HAVE WIDER DE-STABILISING EFFECTS, NOT LEAST IN THE GULF CRISIS. SO THESE RIVAL IMPERIALIST GANGSTERS, THE US. & USSR HAVE STRUCK SOME KIND OF TEMPORARY DEAL. THE USSR SAYS IT WILL NOT OPPOSE THE US. MASSACRING THE ARAB PEOPLE IF THE US. DOESN'T OPPOSE THE USSR MASSACRING THE PEOPLE IN THE BALTICS. THIS IS THE STINKING HYPOCRISY OF THE IMPERIALISTS & EXPOSES THEIR BLOODY UNITY WHEN THEIR FUNDAMENTAL INTERESTS ARE

THREATENED. THEY ARE UNITED IN TRYING TO PUT THE PEOPLE DOWN. BUT IF EITHER IMPERIALIST THREATENS THE OTHER'S STRATEGIC INTERESTS, THEN THEY MAY VERY QUICKLY REVERT TO COLD WAR WARMONGERING AGAIN.

TWO KINDS OF PEACE AND WAR.

A lot of forces are talking about "peace", but we got to remember that there's two kinds of peace & two kinds of war. When the imperialists' United Nations talk about "peace", or the British imperialist Labour Party, they mean defending the status quo & the existing imperialist world order, which means massive suffering on a daily level for the oppressed people of the world. And we oppose this "peace", cos it means continuing their war on the people. And when the imperialists talk about war, they mean carrying out any brutalities to keep their status quo & protect their empires & their war is gonna be a reactionary war & we got to look to stop this bloody war & expose it & oppose it all the way.

SANCTIONS EQUALS WAR BY OTHER MEANS.

We also got to be clear that the call by sections of the ruling class, including calls by the so-called "left-wing" of the Labour Party, to "give sanctions a chance to work", are nothing more than cold & calculated starvation politics. An attempt to starve the Iraqi people into submission to the imperialists, a cold & calculated attempt to weaken their disobedient puppet Saddam Hussein before they go to war, at the expense of the suffering of the Arab people. This sanctions talk is just an anti-people tactic of the imperialists.

The present situation in the Gulf has the potential to see an uprising of the Arab people to a higher level in a righteous & revolutionary way, spearheaded by the Palestinian intifada. This is the way we got to oppose the imperialists reactionary war moves, with a people's war. You can't defeat these imperialist dogs with "peace", you got to defeat them in a righteous revolutionary war of the people. That's the only way the people of the world will really get peace. And this people's war is what the international proletariat got to look to develop in the Gulf, to stop the imperialists in their tracks & smash their advancing war machine.



Here we are in the belly of British imperialism, one of the oldest mass murderer systems in history & they're getting ready to do it again. What have the proletariat & its allies got to do? First & foremost, we got to look to see Britain BURIED IN THE SAND in the Gulf & completely defeated, because there ain't no justice in the British & Americans having victory & they've got no right to send their forces half way round the world, to impose their "law". Yeah, Saddam Hussein is a reactionary dog, but he's a small-time dog who was put in place & trained by the big imperialist dogs like US. and Britain. If the imperialists win this war, they'll only replace him with someone just the same & tighten their own bloody grip on the people of the region. Their victory would be a reactionary victory. On the other hand, if Britain & the US. are defeated, particularly by an upsurge of the oppressed Arab people, this can only strengthen the hand of the oppressed & exploited throughout the world & hasten revolutionary developments in the Middle East.

Here in Britain, we got to stand completely against Britain & what it does in the world & lay the basis in today's struggles for insurrection when the time is ripe. And as we're on the brink of war in the Gulf, we got to say, STOP THIS BLOODY IMPERIALIST WAR. But if they do go to war, we got to raise up the call:

**many more defeats
FOR
BRITISH IMPERIALISM!**

The Gulf War;

The truth WILL not

BE TELEvised

Preparing For A Bloody War And Preparing For A Bloody Cover-Up!

On both sides of the Atlantic, from Britain to the U.S., western imperialism is saying that if war breaks out in the Gulf, the bloody truth of this war will not be televised. They're already giving orders to their media machine what they can & cannot report and these reports are going to contain everything of war propoganda.

Britain's defence secretary, Tom King, has laid down the rules for media censorship of the Gulf War. All pictures & reports will first be screened by the British Military Command. If they don't like what they see, then it doesn't go out on air. The big media barons of ITN, BBC, satellite news channels, national newspaper editors & the radio, have agreed to this, SURPRISE, SURPRISE. All the shots of brutalities, disfigured bodies & devastation on a mass scale which such wars bring about, are certain not to be shown on prime-time TV, if at all. Any news report received from other imperialist or foreign news agencies will be monitored by the Ministry of Defence, before its transmission in Britain.

The powers-that-be are having nightmares at the prospect of a televised war & they want to make sure this one is directly censored by them. The British Military Command also plans to restrict the movement of reporters & their contact with soldiers in the Gulf, in case soldiers spill the beans about what's really going on out there or reporters pass on information which could "demoralise" the troops. The news information the soldiers receive is already being carefully screened & edited. Part of

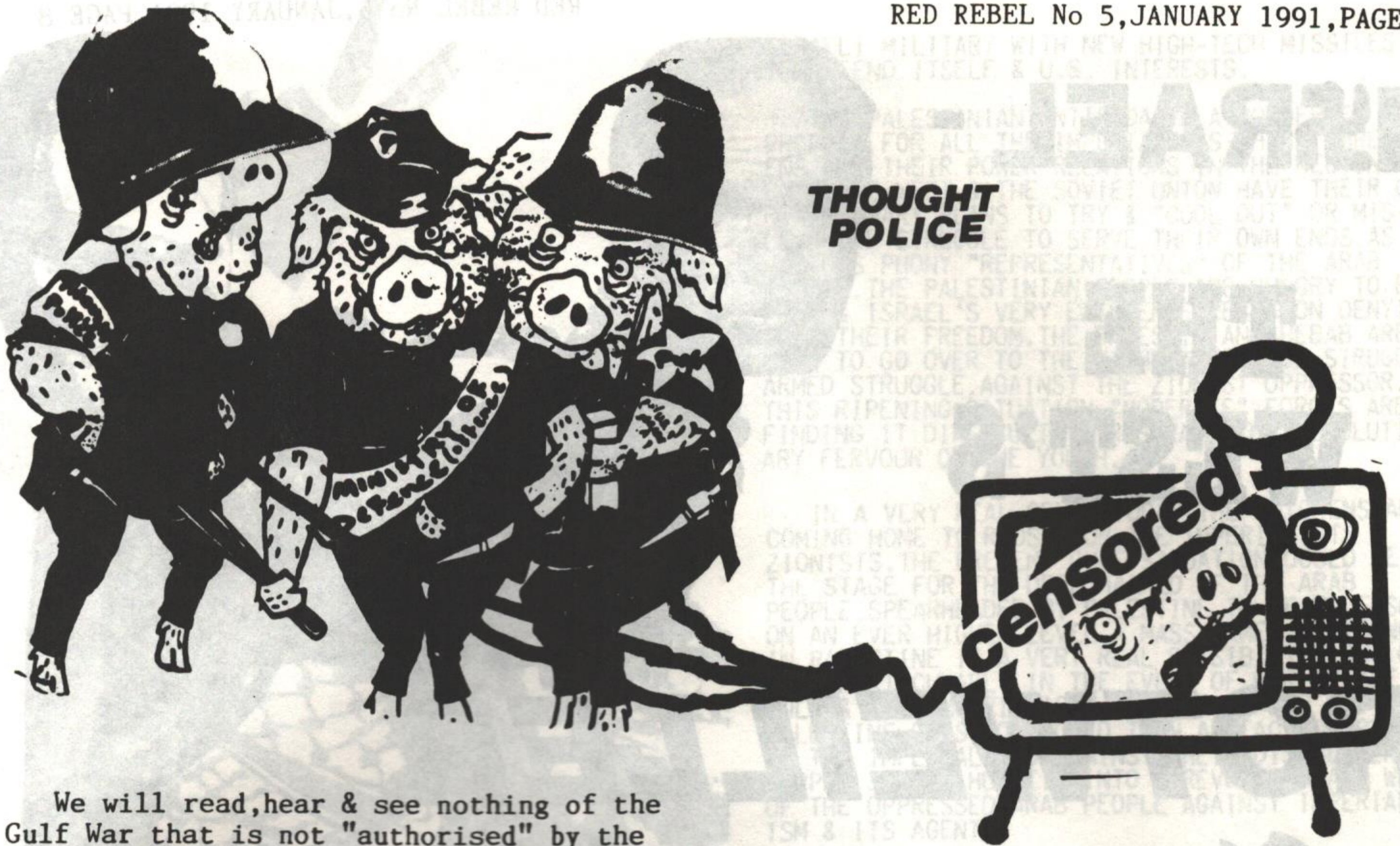
keeping a loyal army to be used as cannon-fodder is making sure they don't know too much about what's really going on. And what soldiers do come to know of the bloody massacres that are carried out, then the government is taking precautions that it is not passed on to news reporters.

The U.S. is carrying out the same kind of censorship in the Gulf War build-up. The "selected" news correspondents who are allowed into the war zone will have an "escort" & face severe restrictions & a stringent vetting process. Here is part of the U.S. government's orders for the media:

Rules for the Press

The Pentagon's draft rules allow the press to interview or photograph wounded soldiers only in the presence of a military escort and with the consent of patient, doctor and commander. Other restrictions, quoted from the ground rules:

- The visual and audio recordings of personnel in agony or severe shock are not authorized.
- Imagery of patients suffering from severe disfigurement or undergoing plastic-surgery treatments are not authorized.
- Interviews with or visual imagery of patients undergoing psychiatric treatment are not authorized.



We will read, hear & see nothing of the Gulf War that is not "authorised" by the military. So what is "authorised"? For the imperialists to massacre thousands, even millions, in a bloody war to protect their empires, THIS IS "AUTHORISED". For us to see their crimes, THIS IS NOT "AUTHORISED".

Quote "The Independent", January 7 :
 "The MOD insists that the vetting does not amount to censorship, arguing that it is intended primarily to ensure the safety of troops in the Gulf & to protect military security, rather than to impose political control -for instance, over public opinion".

THIS IS BULLSHIT. These dogs are planning to carry out atrocities in the Gulf & they don't want the people to see it, they don't want the people to know the truth. The U.S. learnt some hard lessons from Vietnam, where TV war coverage was not restricted enough & exposure of American casualties & American crimes lost them a lot of public support. When they invaded Panama in December '89, there were severe press restrictions & the press were not allowed in until after the invasion. Only later did it begin to come out that the Americans had killed possibly thousands of civilians & been burying them in mass graves & rumours of dumping dead bodies in the sea.

Britain has learnt from over 20 years of military occupation of Northern Ireland the importance to their power of a systematic media campaign of lies, cover-ups & deceptions in the news coverage. When it came to the Falklands War any news coverage was heavily vetted by the military. When the war was over, what we saw was a sickening dis-

play of British patriotism. What we didn't see, what was kept quiet, was the military hospitals that were full of horribly burned & psychologically scarred soldiers.

Let's face it, the media ain't about to tell us the truth of what's going down in the Gulf, they're gonna tell us what their masters, the government, want us to know. This is because in a war the real naked interests of the imperialists are on the line & clear to see. Their "democracy" is based on these kind of wars & in keeping the people in the dark about what these wars really involve. And beneath their "democratic" cover, there is a whole state apparatus with the military operating as its guardians & enforcers.

So, 1984 ain't just some book on the shelf, it's operating in Britain. They've got their THOUGHT POLICE, pushing out a systematic dis-information campaign to try & keep public support for their war drive. So remember:



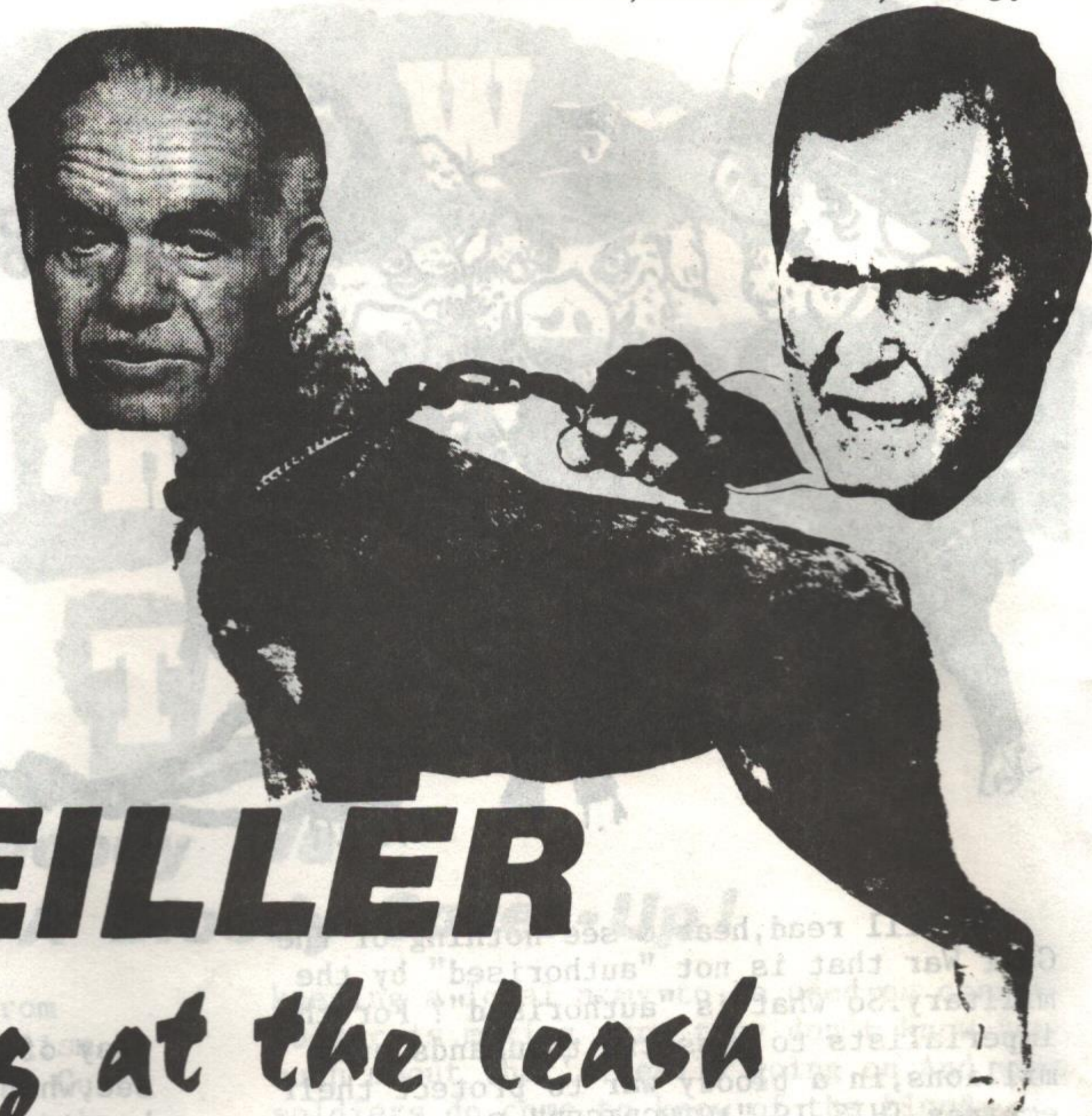
The Truth
 will not be
 televised.
 So don't
 believe
 the bullshit!

ISRAEL -

THE WEST'S

ROTWEILLER

Straining at the leash



* OCTOBER 8TH, FASCIST ISRAELI TROOPS MASSACRE AT LEAST 21 PALESTINIANS & WOUND HUNDREDS AT THE TEMPLE MOUNT IN JERUSALEM. THE ISRAELIS SHOOT TEAR GAS, RUBBER BULLETS, LIVE AMMUNITION & A LARGE-CALIBRE MACHINE GUN IN A REACTIONARY FRENZY LASTING OVER 1 HOUR.

* EARLY NOVEMBER, IN THE GAZA STRIP AT LEAST ONE PALESTINIAN IS MURDERED & 300 INJURED OVER TWO DAYS OF FIERCE CLASHES WITH THE ZIONIST TROOPS.

* DECEMBER 29TH, FIVE PALESTINIANS SHOT DEAD & OVER 150 WOUNDED BY THE ISRAELIS IN RAFAH. ACCORDING TO ISRAELI SOURCES, SOLDIERS OPENED FIRE ON A GROUP OF YOUNG PALESTINIANS WHEN A SENIOR ISRAELI OFFICER WAS HIT IN THE FACE BY A STONE. IN RESPONSE TO THE ISRAELI KILLINGS, THOUSANDS OF PALESTINIANS IN THE GAZA STRIP CAME OUT TO BATTLE ISRAELI TROOPS. AT LEAST TWO MORE PALESTINIANS ARE KILLED, BOTH SHOT IN THE HEAD.

JITTERS, MANOEUVRES & ALARM BELLS RINGING!

THESE MURDEROUS ACTIONS BY THE ZIONISTS ARE TAKING PLACE IN A STORM CENTRE OF RISING TENSIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THE ISRAEL/PALESTINE QUESTION IS A FOCAL POINT OF THIS STORM AND OF THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND ITS AGENTS.

ISRAEL & ITS WESTERN BACKERS FEAR THE ARAB NATIONAL QUESTION OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE AND ISRAEL HAS BEEN STEPPING UP ITS VICIOUS CLAMP-DOWN ON THE PALESTINIANS. AFTER THE OCTOBER MASSACRE, THE ZIONISTS RE-INTRODUCED CURFEWS, SEALED OFF THE BORDER WITH THE WEST BANK & GAZA STRIP & EXPELLED PALESTINIANS FROM ISRAELI-OCCUPIED TERRITORY. WITH THE EXPLOSIVE SITUATION AROUND THE ARAB NATIONAL QUESTION & THE WAR PROSPECTS IN THE GULF, ISRAEL IS BECOMING EVEN MORE OF A REACTIONARY ROTWEILLER, BECAUSE IN THIS SITU-

ATION ITS VERY EXISTENCE IS COMING UNDER THREAT.

ISRAEL COULDN'T EXIST AS A POWER IN THE REGION FOR 1 DAY WITHOUT THE BACKING & SUPPORT OF U.S. IMPERIALISM, WHICH GIVES ISRAEL OVER \$3 BILLION A YEAR, MORE THAN IT GIVES ANY OTHER REGIME ON EARTH. THE U.S. FINANCES ISRAEL TO BE ITS MILITARY OUTPOST IN THE MIDDLE EAST & SUCH MASSACRES AS ISRAEL CARRIES OUT ARE PART OF THIS MILITARY FUNCTION & HAVE NEVER WORRIED THE "DEMOCRATIC" WEST - IN FACT THEY SANCTION SUCH ATROCITIES. BUT IN TODAY'S TENSE SITUATION IN THE GULF, THE WESTERN MASTERS ARE ALARMED AT THE CONSEQUENCES OF ITS ZIONIST ROTWEILLER BREAKING OFF ITS LEASH & RABIDLY GOING AFTER ITS OWN INTERESTS - EVEN IF THAT MEANS GOING AGAINST THE INTERESTS & INSTRUCTIONS OF ITS U.S. MASTER.

ISRAEL HAS BEEN KEPT OUT OF ANY OPEN POSITION IN THE U.S.-LED WAR COALITION AGAINST SADDAM HUSSEIN. THE U.S. FEARS THAT ANY OPEN ISRAELI INVOLVEMENT IN THE WAR DRIVE WOULD SPLIT THE U.S. ALLIANCE WITH ARAB PUPPET REGIMES LIKE EGYPT & SYRIA. IF ISRAEL CAME IN, THEN SYRIA & EGYPT WOULD BE IN THE POSITION OF OBJECTIVELY ALLYING WITH THE ZIONISTS AGAINST A FELLOW ARAB NATION, IRAQ. TO BE SURE, THE ARAB MASSES WOULD REBEL AT SUCH A SITUATION AND THREATEN THE OVERTHROW OF THESE ARAB PUPPET REGIMES. SYRIA, A SOVIET PUPPET, HAS ALREADY STATED THAT ANY ISRAELI INVOLVEMENT IN THE WAR & SYRIA WOULD SWITCH SIDES & UNITE WITH IRAQ. EGYPT'S PRESIDENT MUBARAK, FAVOURED SON OF THE U.S. HAS SAID "IF ISRAEL INTERVENES... EGYPT WILL ASSUME A DIFFERENT POSTURE".

THIS CLEARLY SHOWS THAT ISRAEL COULD SPLIT THE U.S. ALLIANCE & SADDAM HUSSEIN KNOWS IT & IS USING IT FOR HIS OWN ENDS. HE'S THREATENED, IF WAR BREAKS OUT, TO ATTACK ISRAEL AS ONE OF HIS FIRST TARGETS. IN THIS SITUATION, THE ISRAELI ROTWEILLER IS STRAINING AT THE LEASH TO ATTACK

ISRAELI MILITARY WITH NEW HIGH-TECH MISSILES TO DEFEND ITSELF & U.S. INTERESTS.

THE PALESTINIAN INTIFADA IS A POWDERKEG PROBLEM FOR ALL THE IMPERIALISTS, WHICH THREATENS ALL THEIR POWER RELATIONS IN THE REGION. BOTH THE WEST & THE SOVIET UNION HAVE THEIR OWN REACTIONARY PLANS TO TRY & "COOL OUT" OR MISLEAD THE STRUGGLE TO SERVE THEIR OWN ENDS, AS DO VARIOUS PHONY "REPRESENTATIVES" OF THE ARAB PEOPLE. THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE ARE HUNGRY TO BE FREE & ISRAEL'S VERY EXISTENCE RESTS ON DENYING THEM THEIR FREEDOM. THE PALESTINIAN SHEBABS ARE KEEN TO GO OVER TO THE HIGHEST FORM OF STRUGGLE, ARMED STRUGGLE, AGAINST THE ZIONIST OPPRESSOR. IN THIS RIPENING SITUATION, "MODERATE" FORCES ARE FINDING IT DIFFICULT TO RESTRAIN THE REVOLUTIONARY FERVOUR OF THE YOUTH.

IN A VERY REAL SENSE TODAY, THE CHICKENS ARE COMING HOME TO ROOST FOR THE IMPERIALISTS & ZIONISTS. THE PRESENT GULF SITUATION COULD SET THE STAGE FOR THE DEEP HATRED OF THE ARAB PEOPLE, SPEARHEADED BY PALESTINE, TO BE UNLEASHED ON AN EVER HIGHER LEVEL. A MASS ARMED UPRISING IN PALESTINE IS A VERY REAL POSSIBILITY OUT OF THIS, PARTICULARLY IN THE EVENT OF WAR IN THE GULF & THE IMPERIALISTS KNOW IT & FEAR IT. THE PALESTINE QUESTION COULD TURN A REACTIONARY WAR OF THE IMPERIALISTS AGAINST THEIR DISOBEDIENT PUPPET SADDAM HUSSEIN INTO A REVOLUTIONARY WAR OF THE OPPRESSED ARAB PEOPLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM & ITS AGENTS.

OUR CLASS, THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT, MUST PLAY ITS FULLEST PART IN THIS. WE GOT TO SUPPORT SUCH AN ARMED UPRISING IN PALESTINE, PULL IT AWAY FROM COMPROMISERS & FALSE FRIENDS LIKE SADDAM HUSSEIN, LINK IT UP WITH THE ALL-THE-WAY REVOLUTIONARY SCIENCE OF MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM & LEAD IT IN THE DIRECTION OF ITS DEEPEST INTERESTS & TOWARDS ITS FIRMEST FRIENDS, THE OPPRESSED & EXPLOITED THE WORLD OVER.

FREE, FREE PALESTINE!

DEATH TO ISRAEL!



IRAQ FIRST & HAS ITS WAR MACHINE, INCLUDING NUCLEAR WEAPONS, ON FULL ALERT & POINTING IN THE DIRECTION OF ISRAEL.

THE WEST IS SHITTING ITSELF AT THE PROSPECTS OF ISRAEL CARRYING OUT AN INDEPENDENT FIRST STRIKE AT IRAQ, OR ANY OPEN ISRAELI INVOLVEMENT IN THE GULF WAR, WHICH WOULD EXPLODE THE ARAB NATIONAL STRUGGLE THROUGH THE ROOF. THE U.S. IS HAVING ITS WORK CUT OUT TRYING TO KEEP ITS ROTWEILLER RESTRAINED IN A TENSE SITUATION. ISRAEL HAS ALREADY SAID IT WILL RESPOND TO AN IRAQI ATTACK EVEN IF IT RISKS SPLITTING THE U.S.-LED COALITION. DAVID LEVY, ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER, TOLD REPORTERS THAT "ISRAEL IS NOT CANNONFODDER... & CANNOT ALLOW ITSELF TO BE ATTACKED WITHOUT RESPONDING, JUST TO PRESERVE SOME COALITION WHICH IS FOLLOWING THE UNITED STATES".

THE U.S. HAS MADE AN AGREEMENT WITH ISRAEL THAT IT WON'T LINK SADDAM HUSSEIN'S WITHDRAWAL FROM KUWAIT WITH A DEAL OVER PALESTINE. IN RETURN, ISRAEL HAS PROMISED NOT TO CARRY OUT A FIRST STRIKE AGAINST IRAQ, BUT TO LEAVE SUCH FIRST STRIKES IN THE HANDS OF THE U.S. OF COURSE, BOTH SIDES IN THIS AGREEMENT, ISRAEL & THE U.S. WILL BREAK THEIR "PROMISE" IF EITHER OF THEIR FUNDAMENTAL INTERESTS OR THEIR VERY EXISTENCE ARE THREATENED, WHICH THEY ARE.

THE U.S. HAS A DOUBLE PROBLEM HERE. ON THE ONE HAND, IT MUST KEEP THE ISRAELI ROTWEILLER MILITARILY STRONG IN A "HOSTILE" ENVIRONMENT. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT HAS TO RESTRAIN ISRAEL FROM ACTING IN ITS OWN INTERESTS WHERE THOSE INTERESTS CONFLICT WITH THE U.S. MASTERS. THE U.S. HAS BEEN PUTTING PRESSURE ON ISRAEL NOT TO SETTLE MORE SOVIET JEWS ON PALESTINIAN SOIL BECAUSE OF THE EXPLOSIVE SITUATION BUILDING UP. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY'VE BEEN SUPPLYING THE

ON THE BRINK OF NEW WORLD DEVELOPMENTS

TO UNDERSTAND THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE GULF & THE POTENTIAL THAT HAS FOR ADVANCING REVOLUTIONARY POLITICS, YOU'VE GOT TO LOOK AT IT IN THE CONTEXT OF THE RE-DIVISION OF THE WORLD THAT CAME OUT OF WORLD WAR TWO AND WHAT TIME IT IS IN THE WORLD TODAY.

A RE-DIVISION OF THE WORLD TAKES PLACE WHEN THE RIVAL IMPERIALIST POWERS GO TO WAR WITH EACH OTHER TO PARCEL UP THE WORLD IN THEIR OWN INTERESTS, TO GAIN POSSESSION OF THE COLONIES FROM THEIR IMPERIALIST RIVALS THROUGH FORCE OF ARMS. SUCH A BLOODY RE-CASTING OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, AS TOOK PLACE THROUGH WORLD WAR TWO, SETS THE STAGE FOR A NEW SPIRAL OF IMPERIALIST ECONOMIC "GROWTH" & "DEVELOPMENT". TODAY, WE ARE NEARING THE END OF THIS PARTICULAR SPIRAL OF DEVELOPMENT. THE POST-WORLD WAR 2 WORLD ORDER IS STRAINING & GROANING & IN PLACES PARTIALLY UNRAVELLING UNDER THE PRESSURE OF IMPERIALIST CRISIS. ALL THE IMPERIALISTS TODAY ARE RUNNING UP AGAINST THE LIMITS OF THE EXISTING DIVISION OF THE WORLD FOR THEIR PROFIT EMPIRES & THEY INCREASINGLY FACE THE NEED TO RE-DIVIDE THE WORLD IN THEIR OWN INTERESTS.

FROM THE LATE 70'S RIGHT UP TO THE MID TO LATE 80'S, THE 2 IMPERIALIST BLOCS HEADED BY THE SUPERPOWERS, THE U.S. & USSR, WERE PREPARING FOR AN ALL-OUT CONFRONTATION WITH EACH OTHER, TO DECIDE WHICH WOULD HAVE WORLD DOMINANCE. THE MASSIVE ARMS BUILD-UP ON BOTH SIDES THROUGH THE 1980'S REFLECTED THIS. IT WAS WITH THE COMING TO POWER OF GORBACHEV THAT SOVIET POLICIES TOWARDS SUCH AN IMMEDIATE CONFRONTATION BEGAN TO SHIFT, REFLECTED IN THE POLICIES OF GLASNOST & PERESTROIKA. THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE DIRECT SOVIET MILITARY OCCUPATION OF AFGHANISTAN & THE SHORING UP OF ITS PUPPET REGIME THERE, WAS A REFLECTION OF THIS SHIFTING POLICY. THE DRAMATIC EVENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE TOWARDS THE END OF 1989 WERE TO NO SMALL DEGREE THE RESULTS OF SOVIET EFFORTS TO RE-STRUCTURE THEIR IMPERIALIST BLOC. IT WAS THESE DRAMATIC EVENTS IN E. EUROPE THAT MARKED WHAT WE WOULD CALL TODAY A SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENT IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE 2 IMPERIALIST BLOCS. THAT IS, THE TACTICAL & TEMPORARY STEPPING BACK BY THE SOVIET UNION FROM ALL-OUT CONFRONTATION WITH THE WEST.

THERE WAS A VERY REAL POSSIBILITY OF WAR BETWEEN THE RIVAL IMPERIALIST BLOCS FROM THE LATE 70'S ON. BUT RATHER THAN THIS CONJUNCTURE SHAPING UP THE IMPERIALIST SUPERPOWERS & PARTICULARLY THE USSR, STEPPED BACK FROM THE BRINK. AND THE WORLD HAS SEEN A TEMPORARY & PARTIAL LESSENING OF THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE IMPERIALIST SUPERPOWERS & A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF

COLLUSION DEVELOPING BETWEEN THEM. BUT WITH THE TEMPORARY LESSENING OF THIS CONTRADICTION, OTHER CONTRADICTIONS HAVE RISEN TO THE SURFACE & BECOME MORE INTENSE & THE TEMPORARY LESSENING OF THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE IMPERIALIST BLOCS HAS PLAYED NO SMALL ROLE IN CONDITIONING THIS. THE STEPPING BACK OF THE IMPERIALISTS FROM ALL-OUT CONFRONTATION WITH EACH OTHER CREATED AN OPENING IN THE MIDDLE EAST FOR SADDAM HUSSEIN TO PURSUE HIS OWN REGIONAL INTERESTS, OCCUPYING KUWAIT WITH THE VERY SAME WAR MACHINE THAT THE IMPERIALISTS BUILT UP FOR HIM IN THE COLD WAR YEARS & WHICH IS NOW DE-STABILISING THEIR INTERESTS.

WITH SHIFTING WORLD CONTRADICTIONS & THE OVERALL INTENSIFYING OF IMPERIALIST CRISIS, THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE SOVIET IMPERIALISTS & THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES & NATIONS INSIDE THE SOVIET UNION HAS BECOME SHARPER & ALSO WITH THE SMALL CAPITALIST COUNTRIES IT DOMINATES.

WITH THE TEMPORARY LESSENING OF THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE 2 IMPERIALIST BLOCS, RIVALRIES INSIDE THE WESTERN BLOC ARE OPENING UP. THERE'S THE POSSIBILITY OF A TRADE WAR BETWEEN EUROPE & THE U.S. & CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN IMPERIALISTS, WITH THE RISE OF A UNITED GERMANY & ITS DEVELOPING DOMINANT ROLE IN EUROPE.

THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE IMPERIALISTS & THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES & NATIONS THEY DOMINATE COULD WELL BECOME THE NEW PRINCIPAL CONTRADICTION IN THE WORLD, WHICH WILL PLAY A LEADING ROLE IN INFLUENCING WORLD DEVELOPMENTS.

THOUGH THE CONJUNCTURE THAT WAS SHAPING UP TO IMPERIALIST WORLD WAR DURING THE 80'S DIDN'T DEVELOP TO ALL-OUT CONFRONTATION, WE DO FACE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 90'S A KIND OF CONJUNCTURE. IN THE GULF CRISIS, A COMING TO A HEAD OF CONTRADICTIONS OF WORLD SIGNIFICANCE. THE KIND OF CONJUNCTURE THAT'S SHAPING UP IN THE GULF COULD UNFOLD & ESCALATE IN A NUMBER OF DIRECTIONS.

TODAY, THE USSR IS COLLUDING IN A LIMITED SENSE WITH THE US-LED WAR DRIVE AGAINST THE DISOBEDIENT PUPPET SADDAM HUSSEIN. THE SOVIETS HAVE AGREED TO THE IMPERIALISTS' UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTION CALLING FOR HUSSEIN TO WITHDRAW FROM KUWAIT. THEY'VE ALSO ALLOWED THEIR PUPPET SYRIA TO SEND TROOPS TO THE GULF ON THE SOVIET BEHALF. BUT THERE HAVE DEVELOPED CLEAR LIMITS TO THIS COLLUSION BETWEEN THE USSR & US. FOR INSTANCE, THE SOVIETS HAVE REFUSED STRAIGHT OUT TO SEND THEIR OWN IMPERIALIST ARMY TO THE GULF. WHILE THEY HAVE SUPPORTED THE GENERAL CALL FOR IRAQI

"The existing world order is straining & groaning under the pressure of imperialist crisis. The imperialists are being propelled into defending the existing order, while at the same time developing plans to change it. The fragility of the world order today means that nothing is fixed and anything is possible".

(Red Rebel issue 4)

WITHDRAWAL FROM KUWAIT, THEIR POSTURE HAS BEEN ONE OF LOOKING FOR A "PEACEFUL" SOLUTION OF THE CRISIS. THIS ISN'T BECAUSE THE SOVIETS HAVE SUDDENLY BECOME ARBITERS OF "PEACE" IN THE WORLD. IT'S BECAUSE THEIR STRATEGIC BLOC INTERESTS ARE THREATENED BY THE US-LED BUILD-UP IN THE GULF & THE SOVIETS HAVE A VESTED INTEREST IN NOT SEEING IRAQ, ONE OF THEIR CLIENT REGIMES, BOMBED OFF THE FACE OF THE EARTH OR CARVED UP IN U.S. INTERESTS.

THE SOVIETS STEPPED BACK FROM THE BRINK OF CONFRONTATION WITH THE WEST AS A TACTICAL MANOEUVRE TO TRY & RE-STRUCTURE & STEM THE CRISIS OF ITS EMPIRE. BUT TODAY, CONTRADICTIONS INSIDE THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF ARE THREATENING TO EXPLODE WITH FULLER FORCE THAN EVER. RATHER THAN THEIR EMPIRE BEING LESS PRONE TO CRISIS TODAY, WITH THE "END OF THE COLD WAR", IN FACT THEIR CRISIS IS EVEN DEEPER, THEIR RULING CLASS POLICIES SEEM TO HAVE LITTLE EFFECT IN PREVENTING THIS & THE VERY HOLDING TOGETHER OF THE SOVIET EMPIRE IS INCREASINGLY COMING UNDER THREAT OF FRAGMENTATION & DISINTEGRATION.

DESPITE THE "END OF THE COLD WAR", THE IMPERIALIST BLOCS STILL HAVE CONTENDING INTERESTS IN THE GULF & IF WAR BREAKS OUT, WHAT IS ADVANTAGEOUS TO THE U.S. MAY WELL TURN OUT TO BE VERY DISADVANTAGEOUS FOR THE USSR. THE RISING TENSIONS IN THE GULF ARE MAKING FOR TENSE RELATIONS INSIDE THE SOVIET RULING CLASS & SOME FORCES ARE SAYING THAT THE SOVIETS SHOULDN'T HAVE WITHDRAWN FROM AFGHANISTAN OR E. EUROPE OR MADE THE DEAL THEY DID OVER E. GERMANY & SAYING THAT THEY'RE GIVING TOO MUCH LEeway TO THE U.S. IN THE GULF. THE FACT IS, THE SOVIET'S POLICY TO STEP BACK FROM AN ALL-OUT CONFRONTATION WITH THE WEST HAS TO SOME DEGREE WEAKENED THEM TO THE BENEFIT OF THE WEST. THE U.S. SEES THIS AS

AN OPPORTUNITY TO ADVANCE ITS IMPERIALIST INTERESTS WITHOUT FACING MUCH RESISTANCE FROM THE SOVIET IMPERIALISTS.

THE PRINCIPAL CONTRADICTION IN THE WORLD IS THE ONE WHICH PRINCIPALLY INFLUENCES WORLD EVENTS & IN THE 1980'S THIS WAS THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE RIVAL IMPERIALISTS. TODAY, THE PRINCIPAL CONTRADICTION IN THE WORLD IS SHIFTING, BUT IT HAS NOT YET DECISIVELY SHIFTED TO A NEW PRINCIPAL CONTRADICTION, NAMELY THAT BETWEEN THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES & NATIONS AGAINST IMPERIALISM. THE KIND OF CONJUNCTURE WE HAVE IN THE GULF CRISIS TODAY IS A CROSSROADS FOR THE SHIFTING WORLD SITUATION.

A MASS UPSURGE OF THE OPPRESSED ARAB PEOPLE AGAINST U.S.-LED AGGRESSION COULD DEAL SEVERE BLOWS TO THE IMPERIALISTS. IT COULD SEE THE TOPPLING OF ARAB IMPERIALIST PUPPET REGIMES & IT COULD WELL SEE THE IMPERIALIST BLOCS UNITE TO CRUSH SUCH AN UPRISING WHICH THREATENS ALL THEIR STRATEGIC INTERESTS. SUCH AN UPSURGE OF THE ARAB PEOPLE IN THIS KEY STRATEGIC REGION OF THE WORLD, COULD MARK THE SHIFT TO THE NEW PRINCIPAL CONTRADICTION IN THE WORLD BEING THAT OF IMPERIALISM AGAINST THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES & NATIONS & THIS WOULD INFLUENCE DEVELOPMENTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

ON THE OTHER HAND, THE TENSE SITUATION IN THE GULF & INSIDE THE SOVIET UNION (WHERE THERE IS INCREASING TALK OF A MILITARY TAKEOVER WITH OR WITHOUT GORBACHEV), THIS COULD WELL GIVE RISE TO A SIGNIFICANT SHIFT IN SOVIET POLICY AWAY FROM THE "END OF THE COLD WAR" PROGRAMME. THE POTENTIAL OF WAR IN THE GULF THREATENS TO DISADVANTAGE USSR IMPERIALIST INTERESTS EVEN MORE, IN RELATION TO THE U.S. IN SUCH A SITUATION, THE SOVIETS MAY TRY TO MANIPULATE AN ARAB UPSURGE AGAINST US-LED AGGRESSION FOR THEIR OWN INTERESTS. THE COLD WAR COULD BE BACK ON THE AGENDA WITH A VENGEANCE & THE GULF COULD BECOME A REGION WHERE A NEW ROUND OF IMPERIALIST RIVALRIES BEGIN TO PLAY OUT.

A THIRD ALTERNATIVE OUT OF THE GULF CRISIS IS THAT THE IMPERIALISTS COULD ACHIEVE A TEMPORARY SETTLEMENT WITHOUT DE-STABILISING THEIR INTERESTS IN THE SHORT-TERM. BUT ONE THING IS CERTAIN IN ALL THIS SPECULATION & THAT IS EVEN IF THEY DO MANAGE TO GET SOME TEMPORARY SETTLEMENT OF THE GULF CRISIS, THE UNDERLYING CONTRADICTIONS THAT GAVE RISE TO THIS CRISIS, THE CRISIS OF IMPERIALISM, WILL NOT GO AWAY. THIS IS BECAUSE NO PARTIAL RE-STRUCTURING LIKE THE USSR ARE TRYING TO CARRY OUT CAN SOLVE THE DEEP CRISIS THAT ALL THE IMPERIALISTS ARE FACING. ONLY A RE-DIVISION OF THE WORLD THROUGH WAR COULD RE-DRAW THE MAP IN THEIR INTERESTS. THE IMPERIALISTS MAY BE ABLE TO GIVE THEMSELVES A BIT MORE TIME HERE & THERE. BUT SOONER OR LATER, & PROBABLY NOT SO MUCH LATER IF THE PRESENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE WORLD ARE ANYTHING TO GO BY, THEY'LL BE FORCED INTO A SHOWDOWN WITH EACH OTHER. BECAUSE THEIR EMPIRES ARE NOT GUARANTEED BY TACTICAL WITHDRAWALS FROM CONFRONTATION BUT BY IMPERIALIST CONFRONTATION & WAR TO RE-DIVIDE THE WORLD.

WHAT WE CAN SAY TODAY IS THAT THESE ARE NOT QUIET TIMES WE'RE LIVING IN. THESE ARE NOT TIMES OF "PEACE" BREAKING OUT IN THE WORLD. THESE ARE TIMES WHEN WE BETTER GET READY FOR INCREASINGLY SHARP & UNPREDICTABLE ERUPTIONS. AND WE'VE GOT TO BE PREPARED TO TURN ANY REACTIONARY WARS THE IMPERIALISTS START, WITH ALL THEIR HORRIFIC CONSEQUENCES, INTO REVOLUTIONARY WARS OF THE PEOPLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM & MAKE SURE THAT WE, THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT, FINISH THEM.



THE BLACK PANTHERS

and lessons for today

"You'd have Fred out there rallying them and he'd say...all right, Power to the People. Everybody'd say Power To the People. He'd say, now I'm not gonna die on no aeroplane. Everybody'd say No. He'd say, I'm not gonna die slipping on no ice. They'd say No. He'd say, I'M GONNA DIE FOR THE PEOPLE COS I'M GONNA LIVE FOR THE PEOPLE. They'd say Right On. He'd say, I'm gonna live for the people cos I love the people. They'd say Right On. He'd say, I love the people. Why? And they'd say, cos we're high on the people, cos we're high on the people". (Speaker remembering FRED HAMPTON, a leader of the Black Panther Party.)

In the late 1960's, the Black Panthers electrified AmeriKKKa and sent shock waves round this imperialist world. Right inside the supposedly all-powerful USA, they led Black people and others in refusing to put up with life under this system and calling out the powers-that-be for the racist oppressor dogs they are. It was the Panthers who first stuck the tag PIG onto the police enforcers of the State and they made sure it stuck. Where other forces had preached slow, reformist "business as usual" politics, the Black Panthers put the question of armed revolution, "doing the dog in Babylon" firmly on the agenda where it belongs. Here is another speech by Fred Hampton, all the more inspiring with the knowledge that this brother was himself murdered by the pigs:

"We always say in the Black Panther Party that they can do anything they want to us... I might be in Jail, I might be anywhere, but when I leave you can remember I said, with the last words on my lips, that I am... A REVOLUTIONARY - and you're gonna have to keep on saying that. You're gonna have to say that I am a proletarian. I am the people. I'm not the pig. You've got to make a distinction and the people are gonna have to attack the pigs, the people are gonna have to stand up against the pigs. That's what the Panthers are doing here, that's what the Panthers are doing all over the world".

Seeing Black people with power, armed and organised to defend the community against pig brutality, this really inspired a whole lot of people and helped turn many thousands onto revolutionary politics. For the masses of oppressed people in the ghettos, the Panthers gave them a feeling of strength & pride up against the pig system, they gave them hope for the future, that they could get out from under all this shit, and a way to fight. And they pushed the powers onto the defensive and drove them to a freakin frenzy. The Panthers were "wearing guns and talking revolution", as one really pissed newspaper complained, and the powers hated it and the people loved it.

GOING UP IN THE FACE OF BABYLON.

The Black Panthers were formed in 1966 by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale in Oakland, California. In the face of police attacks & murders of Black people, they began armed self-defence patrols, patrolling the police, stalking the stalkers, to stop the police

brutalising the people. Here, Bob Avakian, (Chairman of RCP, USA) describes these early Panther patrols:

Huey would have his shotgun and Bobby Seale had a 45 in a holster and they'd go out and they'd find the cops jacking up some Black person...

And they'd get out of the car and position themselves sort of strategically around the cop. The cop would naturally freak out [laughter]. A cop came over one time and he said to Huey, "What's your name?" and so Huey said, "What's YOUR name racist dog?" [laughter]. And the cop was actually reduced to saying, "I asked you first!" [laughter].

You can imagine... Here you are somebody Black being jacked up by the cops and here come these armed Black guys out of the car, standing strategically placed, not backing down from the cops, obviously ready to kick the thing all the way if it comes to that, and reducing this cop to saying [whiny] "I asked you first!" [much laughter].

Huey Newton said he didn't expect to live more than a year when they started the Panthers like this, going up in the face of armed police. They put their lives on the line and what they started gave rise to a whole new tide of the people's fight. The powers-that-be reacted with ferocity to this bold and daring challenge to their "authority". Huey Newton was almost killed back then by pigs and was framed up and jailed for the murder of a pig. But this back-fired on the power structure, because in response a broad-based and powerful movement sprang up with the battlecry "Free Huey!" and the Panthers organisation spread rapidly through major U.S. cities. Asked by a reporter in prison why he was in such high spirits, when he was facing the death penalty or a life sentence, Huey Newton shot back: "I have the people behind me and the people are my strength".

The Panthers came out of a whole decade of Black people's struggle and they were the highest organised expression of that struggle. Martin Luther King had preached non-violence in the face of a system that relies on violence against the people for its very existence, but that didn't stop the powers from gunning him down. Malcolm X put out the truth that the "American dream" had always been an AmeriKKKan nightmare for Black people, from slavery days up to the present, and he put forward the gun as one solution. The Panthers provided revolutionary leadership to Black people's national oppression in the U.S. Those forces who tried to sucker the people into looking to the system for salvation were dubbed bootlickers and forced onto the defensive by the Panthers in their early years.



Huey Newton (right) and Bobby Seale—the early days.

THE PANTHERS AND LIFE IN THE GHETTOES.

In America back then, like in Britain today, you had a situation in the ghettos where the people are pushed down into life conditions that nobody should have to put up with. If they don't have no "legal" way to get by and they turn to some crime, then the REAL criminals, the powers-that-be, hit them for it, unless they do crime against other people like themselves, and then the system often leaves it alone. If people take out their anger and frustration at these brutalising and degrading conditions by hitting out at each other, like brothers attacking sisters, or if they just try to escape this life, then the system sits back happy, cos they don't give a shit if the people get hurt or strung out on drugs. Sometimes for the people it can seem like there ain't no way out of this.

This is apartheid Britain and what the powers try to do is to put a wall round the ghettos and wall the people in and if the people fight each other, then that's fine for the powers. But everybody knows that if the people step beyond that wall and that line, if they put the oppressor system in

their sights, if say the gangs out here were to target the oppressor instead of each other, then the oppressor and his pigs, they attack the people viciously, cos that's a line they don't want the people to cross. They don't want the people to put this Babylon system itself in their sights.

What the Panthers did, and this is an inspiration for us, is that they stepped over that line and they broke through that wall. They showed the people a way to do what they really wanted to do anyway, and they gave them something to live for and something to die for, not to fight each other, but to FIGHT THE POWER. Like Bob Avakian says: "by declaring war on the system, they were able to bring forward the best in people".

THE PANTHERS AND WHITE PEOPLE.

One of the things the powers put out to Black people and other oppressed people in countries like the U.S. and Britain is that the people are isolated, they don't have no allies in the rest of society, cos this IS a white-supremacist system we're living under. What the Panthers experience shows is that the people DO have allies. When the Panthers put forward a bold revolutionary position, this began to break down the colour lines among some people. The Panthers struggle and the vision of a different kind of life inspired all kinds of people to support them, including a lot of white youth. For example, there was one week in 1969 when Panthers offices were being subjected to murderous military assaults by government forces. The Panthers put out a call for people to come out and defend their offices. Obviously a

lot of Black people stepped forward to do this, but also a lot of white people too. Bob Avakian remembers this:

people were there because this was something very precious to us, the Black Panther Party—something to defend, even with your life if that's what it came to, because everybody sort of thought that's what it might come to.

MAO, THE PANTHERS AND THE WORLD.

The Panthers stepped onto the scene at a time of rising national liberation struggles in the world against U.S. imperialism. One of the good things about the Panthers is they didn't only look at their own situation, they drew the link between Black people's oppressed position in the U.S. and other oppressed peoples struggles round the world, especially Vietnam and Palestine. Huey Newton put it like this:

"In America, Black people are treated very much as the Vietnamese people, or any other colonised people, because we're used, we're brutalised, the police in our community occupy our area... as a foreign troop occupies territory".

The Panthers offered to send troops to help the Vietnamese people fight the U.S. and issued calls to Black GI's in the U.S. Army in Vietnam to "Either quit the army, now, or start destroying it from the inside".

In the late 60's, the Panthers were struggling in a world of earthshaking developments and they were themselves shaking the world. This was a time when our class, the proletariat, had power in one-fifth of the world, China. With Mao's leadership, revolutionary China, especially the



Black Panther Party instructor explains Mao's slogan "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."



Cartoon from *The Black Panther*.

whole upsurge of the Cultural Revolution, was an inspiration to oppressed people round the world and a red base area for the world struggle against imperialism. The Panthers were strongly influenced by this, like many other revolutionary nationalist groups were then. It was in fact Mao who said "POLITICAL POWER GROWS OUT OF THE BARREL OF A GUN" and the Panthers took this up and put it out among the people. They distributed thousands of copies of Mao's "Little Red Book" (the Quotations of Mao) including among the youth and others who gathered when they did their armed self-defense patrols.

Why was proletarian China and Mao such an inspiration for the Panthers? Because our class, the international proletariat, stands for the most all-the-way revolutionary overthrow of racism, national oppression and every kind of oppression, that's why. That's also why one of the Black Panthers leaders, Eldridge Cleaver, said: MAO TSETUNG IS THE BADDEST MOTHERFUCKER ON THE PLANET EARTH!"

BABYLON ATTACKS.

In the summer of 1969, the director of the FBI, J. Edgar Hoover, declared the Panthers to be "the number one threat to the internal security of the United States". The full force of the police state was brought down on the Panthers. At least 27 Panthers were killed and many others jailed or hounded out of the country. When Bobby Seale was put on trial over an anti-Vietnam War protest, the Judge ordered him to be bound and gagged in the court, symbolising in fact that Black people don't have no Justice in this system.

Through these murderous attacks, the powers exacted a heavy toll on the people, but there's something to see here of what the Panthers achieved. When Fred Hampton was buried, the priest was giving a talk to youth & children about the meaning of Fred's life and after a while he broke down, he couldn't carry on talking. And at this point, one of the youth got up and said, "I am Fred Hampton!" and then another stood up and said the same, then another, and soon the whole room was shouting "I am Fred Hampton", because Fred Hampton stood for the people and the people wanted to carry on Fred Hampton's fight.

FOR ALL THESE REASONS, THE BEST OF WHAT THE PANTHERS STOOD FOR IN THEIR EARLY YEARS IS SOMETHING WE TREASURE AND WHAT THOSE BROTHERS AND SISTERS DID HAS A LOT OF LESSONS IN IT FOR US TO LEARN FROM, AS WE BUILD THE REVOLUTION TODAY.



Armed Black Panthers demonstrate at the California State Capitol.

LOOKING BACK TO SERVE THE FUTURE.

Some people maybe look at what happened to the Panthers and can get demoralised, because the Panthers weren't able to carry through with the revolution, and part of this was because a lot of their best and most revolutionary people were attacked and murdered by the State. Some people look at the fact the Panthers are not around anymore, in the way they were in the late 60's, and think, well, there's another revolutionary organisation that didn't survive and they think that maybe revolution ain't possible after all. But, first, you got to look at what the Panthers did achieve and you got to uphold that. In America, in the late 60's & early 70's, you had a situation where tens of thousands, maybe hundreds of thousands of people were thinking about and seriously talking about the possibility of revolution, right inside the richest, most powerful bloodsucker country on the planet Earth. And the Black Panthers were the highest organised expression of that and played a leading role in bringing this atmosphere about.

HELLRAISER, a 25 year old rapper from Detroit, USA, put it like this:

"My dad was in the Panthers, and he died in the 60's, by the police, in some of the riots and things... When a kid is growing up and he barely remembers his father and he asks more about him, and finds that he gave up his life for a struggle, well, you say, "That must've been a hell of a struggle".

Today, twenty years on from the Panthers, our class around the world have learnt a lot of lessons in the struggle and we got

to build on the best and most revolutionary aspects of the Panthers. Where they weren't able to go beyond a certain point, where they ran up against limits, we got to understand how to carry on through. It wasn't that the Panthers lacked the courage and the burning desire to overthrow the oppressor system. In fact, a lot of them gave their lives and suffered in other ways to try and bring this about. What they didn't have was the kind of political line that can cut through the very difficult and complex situations facing the revolutionaries in the imperialist citadels, like police offensives and infiltrations and what kind of organisation you needed to build in the face of this and to actually prepare for the seizure of political power. And this is in no way to underestimate the vicious and murderous offensive that was brought down on the Panthers by the powers-that-be.

REBELLION IN THE GHETTOES.

As much as the Panthers righteously put the armed struggle on the agenda, some of their leaders didn't get clear on the relationship between the uprisings of the masses of people in the ghettoes and the vanguard political party and the revolutionary struggle as a whole. Huey Newton, for example, thought that if the people rioted, it only gave an opening for the fascist pigs to murder the people and, at hot times, he even put out statements telling people to stay cool and not to riot. (See for example, his book called "Revolutionary Suicide").

Black Panther "Sisters" marching in Defermery Park, Oakland.



Today we've learnt much more deeply, with the inner city risings in Britain in the 80's, the burning importance of when the people uprising against the Babylon. What the powers-that-be call riots are in fact important training grounds for the people in preparing for future battles. And the revolutionaries have got to stand with this and seek to influence it and lead it.

GETTING RID OF POVERTY AND MUCH MORE THAN THAT TOO.

Huey Newton came out of jail in 1970 at a time when the Panthers organisation had been heavily attacked and infiltrated by the State and Panthers had been killed and forced into exile. This became a turning point for the Panthers of how to get their organisation over and through these very difficult times.

What the Panthers tried to do was to set up Survival Programmes for the people, where they'd give food and clothes to the people. The Panthers tried to have a short-term aim of relieving poverty and through this, and after this had been solved, then turning the people to revolutionary politics. Huey Newton called this "survival pending revolution".

What the powers-that-be did was to use this situation, because they wanted to turn the people away from the gun and revolutionary politics. So, for a time, they even gave out some free food, to try and make the people believe that they didn't need a revolution after all. And then later, and not that much later, the powers started to take back these few concessions that they'd given and they attacked the people all the more. Because, after all, the people DO need a revolution.

Well, we've got to look to get the people out from under this poverty, too, we got to get rid of hunger and every form of deprivation. But if we're gonna do that, we got to lead the people to overthrow this system, because the people will never get out of this poverty while the system is around, cos poverty is one of the system's main weapons to keep the people down. And even if the people do manage to get some material possessions and a little bit better standard of living, that still don't change the fact that this is a racist system and a woman-hating system we're living under. Like the Bob Marley song says: "THEM BELLY FULL, BUT THEY HUNGRY".

So we got to go further. We got to lead the people to seize political power and take it into their own hands, so that we can

get rid of ALL the oppressive relations of this world.

YOU CAN'T HAVE A REVOLUTION WITHOUT A REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE.

The Panthers were in fact weakened to the extent that they backed off from relying on and seeking to unleash the people for revolutionary struggle. One way this developed was centred round Eldridge Cleaver. He said the way to go was to get a few people together with guns today and carry out urban guerrilla actions, like a few isolated attacks against the State by a few individuals would somehow "wake up" the people to the need for revolution, as if the people are just sleeping.

The people who tried to carry out this kind of line, a lot of them were brave, but a small number of people by themselves can't overthrow the power of this State. And this led to people getting picked off & murdered by the powers-that-be, and then the people that were left got demoralised in the face of the State's attacks, cos they'd got cut off from the people, and they lost faith in the people's ability to make revolution.

It's very important, it's correct, to be impatient to overthrow this system and to put forward armed revolution as the only solution. We don't want the people to live under this shit one day longer than we can avoid it. But we got to do it in a way where we got a real chance of winning & building a whole new kind of life. The revolutionary war we're preparing has got to be a revolutionary war of the people. The people have got to be trained through these battles, through the political struggles we wage today, to be able to take power in their hands and consciously change society.

The people make history and the vanguard party leads the people in making history. No vanguard by itself can make history FOR the people, though we can and must be out there preparing the ground today to make revolution and change the world. But when you get down to it, there ain't no handful of people that can "hand" the people their "freedom" on a plate. The people, with their vanguard party, have got to be their own liberators.

For us today, we got to build deep links with our class, the nothing to lose proletariat. We got to build a vanguard in close connection with influencing and politicising wide sections of people. We got to draw the people into the revolutionary process more and more and lead them forward. That's the way we're gonna have a real

chance of winning when the situation ripens up.

PREPARING THE GROUND TODAY TO DO THE DOG IN BABYLON.

TODAY, LIFE CONDITIONS FOR THE BASIC PEOPLE ARE EVEN WORSE THAN TWENTY YEARS AGO WHEN THE PANTHERS WERE AROUND, AND THE NEED TO HOLD UP FRED HAMPTON'S CALL, "I AM A REVOLUTIONARY", IS ALL THE MORE IMPORTANT. FRED HAMPTON ALSO SAID: "POLITICS IS NOTHING BUT WAR WITHOUT BLOODSHED AND WAR IS NOTHING BUT POLITICS WITH BLOODSHED". (And we'd add today, as the murder of this brother shows, that even before the revolution politics can mean bloodshed, cos the system attacks and kills the people).

THERE'S SOMETHING VERY IMPORTANT IN THIS STATEMENT BY FRED HAMPTON WHICH WE'VE GOT TO DEVELOP TODAY. OUR POLITICS TODAY HAVE GOT TO BE A DECLARATION OF WAR ON THIS FILTHY BLOODSUCKER SYSTEM AND EVERYTHING IT STANDS FOR AROUND THE WORLD. WE GOT TO EXPOSE THE ENEMY AND HOUND THE ENEMY AND ORGANISE THE PEOPLE AGAINST THE ENEMY AND THIS NEWSPAPER, RED REBEL, HAS TO BE A KEY WEAPON IN DOING THIS. WE GOT TO BUILD A PROLETARIAN LEADERSHIP & A PROLETARIAN PARTY THAT SPEAKS FOR THE PEOPLE, BASED ON THE MOST REVOLUTIONARY OUTLOOK ON THE PLANET EARTH, AND THAT'S MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM.

WE'RE PUTTING OUT A SLOGAN TO PEOPLE WHO GRASP THE NEED & WANT TO JOIN THE REVOLUTIONARY RANKS. IT'S A MAOIST PRINCIPLE. IT'S THE ATTITUDE REVOLUTIONARIES NEED & IT LINKS UP WITH THE BEST OF THE PANTHERS...

**LIVE FOR THE PEOPLE!
DIE FOR THE PEOPLE!
FIGHT FOR THE PEOPLE!
POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

IN MEMORY OF ALL THE REVOLUTIONARIES
WHO GAVE THEIR LIFE IN THE STRUGGLE
AND WHOSE SPIRIT LIVES ON.

THIS IS PART OF A SPEECH GIVEN BY HUEY NEWTON AT THE FUNERAL OF GEORGE JACKSON, A BLACK PANTHER & REVOLUTIONARY POLITICAL PRISONER, MURDERED BY PIGS IN SAN QUENTIN, 1971.

"TO COVER THEIR MURDER THEY SAY THAT GEORGE JACKSON KILLED 5 PEOPLE, 5 OPPRESSORS, & WOUNDED 3 IN THE SPACE OF 30 SECONDS. YOU KNOW, SOMETIMES I LIKE TO OVERLOOK THE FACT THAT THIS WOULD BE PHYSICALLY IMPOSSIBLE... HE DEMONSTRATED HOW THE UNJUST WOULD BE CRITICISED BY THE WEAPON & THIS WILL CERTAINLY BE TRUE, BECAUSE THE PEOPLE WILL TAKE CARE OF THAT. GEORGE ALSO SAID ONCE THAT THE OPPRESSOR IS VERY STRONG & HE MIGHT BEAT HIM DOWN, HE MIGHT BEAT US DOWN TO OUR VERY KNEES... BUT IT WILL BE PHYSICALLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE OPPRESSOR TO GO ON. AT SOME POINT HIS LEGS WILL GET TIRED, & WHEN HIS LEGS GET TIRED, THEN GEORGE JACKSON & THE PEOPLE WILL TEAR HIS KNEECAPS OFF..."

Red Rebel Letters Page...

WRITE TO US AT; BM RV. LONDON. WC1N 3XX.



War on women debated;

IN RESPONSE TO OUR ARTICLES "WOMEN FIGHT THE POWER" (RED REBEL 2) & THE INTERVIEW "PROLETARIAN WOMAN SPEAKS OUT" (RED REBEL 3) WE RECEIVED A NUMBER OF LETTERS ADDRESSING THE QUESTION OF WOMEN'S OPPRESSION FROM DIFFERENT ANGLES & OUTLOOKS. THE FIRST PLAYS DOWN & UNDERESTIMATES THE SYSTEM'S WAR ON WOMEN. THE SECOND, FROM AN OPPRESSED GUY, THINKS THE ISSUE IS IMPORTANT BUT STILL THINKS WE'RE EXAGGERATING IT. THE THIRD IS A RESPONSE FROM A YOUNG GUY WHO TAKES A VERY POSITIVE POSITION TOWARDS THIS EXPOSURE OF WOMEN'S OPPRESSION. AND THE FOURTH IS A LETTER FROM A SISTER WHO GIVES ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF THIS SYSTEM'S WAR ON WOMEN IN ITS EVERYDAY PRACTICE.

first letter...

"THE ARTICLE "PROLETARIAN WOMAN SPEAKS OUT" LIKEWISE TRIES TO CREATE THE IMPRESSION THAT LIFE FOR MOST WOMEN IS ONE ENDLESS ROUND OF BRUTALITY AT THE HANDS OF THE STATE & OF MEN. I KNOW THAT SOME WOMEN ARE TREATED AS ABOMINABLY AS THE WOMAN IN THE ARTICLE BUT THE VAST MAJORITY ARE NOT. I'M NOT SAYING THAT SUCH GROSS ABUSE OF WOMEN SHOULDN'T BE EXPOSED; IT SHOULD, BUT IT SHOULDN'T BE PORTRAYED AS THE NORM. THE PROBLEM FOR MOST WOMEN IS NOT THAT THEY'RE RAPED OR OTHERWISE GROSSLY ILL-TREATED BY THE SYSTEM. NO, THEIR FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM IS THE DAILY LIFE OF FAMILY, HOUSEWORK, POOR PAY, PETTY DISCRIMINATION, WOLF-WHISTLING & ALL THE REST OF IT THAT STEMS FROM WOMEN'S REPRODUCTIVE ROLE".
XXX, NORTH ENGLAND.

second letter...

"I FIND THE RED REBEL VERY INTERESTING & INFORMATIVE. IT IS GOOD TO LEARN THAT THERE ARE STILL TRULY REVOLUTIONARY PAPERS. I BASICALLY AGREE WITH THE ANALYSES. THE EXPOSURE OF THE VARIOUS TROTSKYITE FACTIONS & THEIR ROLE IN THE 'POLL TAX' ISSUE IS PARTICULARLY REVEALING. AND SO ARE THE ARTICLES ON 'WAR ON DRUGS'.

YOU HAVE TAKEN A CONSISTENTLY PROLETARIAN PRO-WOMEN POSITION ON THE GENDER ISSUE. SUCH A PRESENTATION OF MAOIST POSITION IS VERY TIMELY AS NOT A FEW 'FEMINIST' ORGANISATIONS & INDIVIDUALS HAVE ATTEMPTED TO MAKE IT OUT THAT MARXIST-LENINISTS OR REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISTS HAVE NOT ATTACKED PATRIARCHY- AS THOUGH THEY ALONE HAVE MADE A GREAT DISCOVERY, THAT SO LONG AS PATRIARCHY IS NOT DONE AWAY WITH, OPPRESSION & SOCIAL INJUSTICE WILL CONTINUE TO PREVAIL.

I HAVE, HOWEVER, SOME DOUBTS ON THE ARTICLES/ STATEMENTS DEALING WITH WOMEN'S OPPRESSION UNDER CAPITALISM. A (MALE) FRIEND OF MINE (AN ANTI-CAPITALIST & SUPPORTER OF 'SOCIALIST-FEMINISM') HAS REMARKED THAT THE RED REBEL'S PRESENTATION OF WOMEN'S OPPRESSION APPEARS EXAGGERATED. CAN IT BE BECAUSE OF SLOGAN'S LIKE "WOMEN-HATING SYSTEM"? WHILE I AGREE, THAT WOMEN ARE DOUBLY OPPRESSED COMPARED TO MEN, & THAT THE CAPITALIST SOCIAL SYSTEM WORKS MORE AGAINST WOMEN THAN IT DOES AGAINST MEN, IS IT RIGHT TO SAY THAT THE SYSTEM HATES WOMEN? I THINK MANY WOMEN RIGHTLY HATE CAPITALISM, BUT SYSTEMS FUNCTION REGARDLESS OF LOVE & HATE, EVEN THOUGH THEY ARE BROUGHT FORTH & DEFENDED BY DEFINITE CLASSES WHICH IN TURN ARE SERVED BY THEM (THE SYSTEMS).

I UNDERSTAND THAT AROUND A FIGHTING PAPER, LIKE THE RED REBEL, THERE IS THE NEED TO UNITE WOMEN, ESPECIALLY PROLETARIAN, POOR WOMEN IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM & CAPITALISM, & THE NEED TO STATE OUR POSITION STRONGLY & FORCEFULLY, BUT I ALSO THINK WE NEED TO WATCH OURSELVES FROM GOING OVERBOARD.

I THINK RED REBEL SHOULD PUBLISH MORE ON THE REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATION ATTEMPTED DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION BY CHINESE WOMEN UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF CHIANG CHING IN THE FIGHT AGAINST MALE-DOMINATION. WE NEED TO PRESENT DEFINITE EVIDENCES OF ATTEMPTED CHANGES & RESISTANCE TO THEM".
WARMLY, XXX. (FORMER POLITICAL PRISONER IN SOUTH ASIA, WRITING FROM EUROPE.)

third letter...

"I FIND THE PRICE OF RED REBEL A BIT OF A STUMBLING BLOCK AS 50p IS SOMETIMES A BIT ABOVE THE RANK & FILE, UNEMPLOYED PROLETARIANS HEADS. NORMALLY, I ASK PEOPLE TO PAY WHAT THEY CAN IF THEY CAN'T MANAGE THE FULL PRICE. I OFTEN FIND THIS APPRECIATED & PEOPLE WILL PAY OVER THE AMOUNT AS A RESULT... I WAS VERY IMPRESSED WITH YOUR ARTICLE "PROLETARIAN WOMAN SPEAKS OUT". IT SHOWS VERY CLEARLY HOW EASY IT IS FOR A WOMAN TO BE REJECTED FROM THE SYSTEM WHEN SHE DOES NOT FIT IN WITH ITS MIDDLE CLASS VALUES. ONE PERSON'S STORY BRINGS THE FULL HORROR TO LIGHT FAR MORE EFFECTIVELY THAN LINES OF STATISTICS".
FRATERNALLY YOURS, XXX, SCOTLAND.

Red Rebel Letters Page...

fourth letter...

"I WAS 14 YEARS OLD & STILL AT SCHOOL WHEN I MET MY CHILDREN'S FATHER. WE FELL IN LOVE & I SOON FELT THAT I DIDN'T WANT TO BE WITHOUT HIM. I STOPPED GOING TO SCHOOL JUST SO THAT I COULD SEE MORE OF HIM. SOON THE COURTS WERE CHASING SO I MOVED INTO A SQUAT WITH HIM. SOON AFTERWARDS HE STARTED BECOMING VIOLENT & SLAPPING ME EVERY NOW & AGAIN. I NEVER SAW MUCH OF MY FAMILY AT THAT TIME AS I WAS ON THE RUN FROM THE COURTS. WE WERE LIVING TOGETHER FOR ABOUT 6 WEEKS & I BECAME VERY THIN. I WENT FROM 8½ STONE TO 6 STONE MY BOYFRIEND SOON GOT INTO TROUBLE & WAS PUT INTO A DETENTION CENTRE WAS 8 MONTHS. I LEFT THE SQUAT & WENT BACK HOME TO LIVE WITH MY MUM, ON MOVING BACK HOME I FOUND OUT THAT I WAS PRÉGNANT I WAS ONLY 15 AT THE TIME BUT I WAS VERY HAPPY. MY MUM WAS GREAT & SHE SUPPORTED ME RIGHT THROUGH MY PREGNANCY. I WENT TO SEE MY BOYFRIEND EVERY TWO WEEKS & I WAS VERY HAPPY.

MY BOYFRIEND CAME OUT 2 WEEKS BEFORE I HAD MY SON, HE WAS THERE AT THE BIRTH. I CAME OUT OF HOSPITAL VERY DEPRESSED. I DIDN'T WANT MY BABY & I COULDN'T UNDERSTAND WHY. WE MOVED IN TOGETHER & THINGS BECAME REALLY BAD. HE WAS OUT THE WHOLE TIME & WHEN HE WAS IN HE WAS BEATING ME UP FOR ONE REASON OR ANOTHER, THAT ON TOP OF HAVING DEPRESSION I DIDN'T KNOW WHETHER I WAS COMING OR GOING. I STARTED TO DRINK VERY HEAVILY & BECAME VERY SLIM & PALE AGAIN. HE STARTED ACCUSING ME OF SLEEPING WITH HIS BROTHER & HIS FRIENDS, THATS WAS ABOUT THE FIRST TIME I FOUND OUT I HAD V.D. I WENT ON TO GET IT ANOTHER 4 TIMES AFTER THAT, EVERYTIME HE WOULD SAY HE WAS SORRY & HE WOULDN'T SLEEP WITH ANYONE ELSE ANYMORE.

HE GOT MORE & MORE VIOLENT HITTING ME EVRY DAY, THROWING ME DOWN THE STAIRS, HITTING ME WITH A BASEBALL BAT & BURNING ME WITH CIGARETTES. HE USED TO STRANGLE ME ALL THE TIME, I ALWAYS HAD BRUISES AROUND MY NECK. I WAS ASHAMED TO GO OUT JUST IN CASE ANYONE NOTICED MY BRUISES...

...THE VIOLENCE REACHED ITS PEAK THIS TIME. I WASN'T ALLOWED TO GO OUT, MY FAMILY WASN'T ALLOWED IN THE HOUSE, SO TO SEE MY MUM I WOULD GO WHILE HE WAS SLEEPING ON A SUNDAY MORNING & PRETEND I HAD BEEN TO THE SHOP. MY SON STARTED GETTING UP AT NIGHT & EVERYTIME HE DID MY BOYFRIEND WOULD BEAT ME FOR IT. HE THREW HOT CUPS OF TEA OVER ME, I WAS SO SCARED OF HIM I DIDN'T KNOW WHAT TO DO...

...MY HEAD WAS IN TURMOIL, I HAD TO GET AWAY FOR THE SAKE OF MY CHILDREN IF NOT FOR ME. WHEN SHE WAS 9 MONTHS (-HER BABY DAUGHTER) I DECIDED THAT I DIDN'T WANT HIM THERE ANYMORE, I WANTED TO LIVE MY LIFE FOR ME & NOT FOR HIM. THE FEAR OF WAITING TO HEAR HIS KEY GO IN THE DOOR WAS TOO MUCH, I HAD BEEN TAKING TRANQUILISERS FOR 6 MONTHS & I WANTED TO STOP THAT TOO, I THREW HIM OUT AFTER BEING WITH HIM FOR 7 YEARS. HE BOTHERED ME FOR A LONG TIME, KNOCKING THE DOOR BEGGING ME TO TAKE HIM BACK BUT I WAS DETERMINED & NOTHING OR NO-ONE WAS GOING TO CHANGE MY MIND.

I WRITE THIS STORY FOR OTHER WOMEN OUT THERE WHO ARE BEING BEATEN & ABUSED IN THEIR OWN HOMES. I GOT RID OF THE BADNESS IN MY LIFE & HAVE NEVER LOOKED & FELT BETTER IN MY LIFE. IT IS A STRUGGLE BRINGING TWO CHILDREN BY MYSELF BUT I HAVE PEACE OF MIND. I'M NOT SCARED ANYMORE & I NEVER WILL BE SCARED AGAIN. SO YOU CAN DO IT JUST HAVE SOME COURAGE & THINK OF A BETTER LIFE TO COME".
XXX, LONDON.

r.v. reply

WE ONLY WANT TO MAKE A FEW POINTS HERE BECAUSE WE THINK WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE FIRST LETTER IS PRETTY SHARPLY EXPOSED BY THE LAST LETTER FROM THE SISTER. AND ALSO WE'D LIKE TO OPEN UP THIS QUESTION OF THE WAR ON WOMEN, TO ASK MORE PEOPLE TO SEND US LETTERS WITH THEIR OPINIONS ON THIS.

TWO OF THE LETTERS HERE, WHICH ARE BOTH FROM MEN, MAKE THE POINT IN DIFFERENT WAYS THAT MAYBE WE ARE EXAGGERATING THE SYSTEM'S WAR ON WOMEN & THE FIRST LETTER SEES THIS AS A PETTY ISSUE WHICH DOESN'T AFFECT THE VAST MAJORITY OF WOMEN. THE REALITY IS THAT THE OPPRESSION OF WOMEN CUTS ACROSS CLASS LINES & CUTS ACROSS THE WORLD. PROLETARIAN WOMEN AT THE BOTTOM OF SOCIETY ARE THE MOST VICIOUSLY AFFECTED BY THIS, BUT IT DOES AFFECT ALL WOMEN IN MANY DIFFERENT WAYS. THE WAR ON WOMEN IS ONE OF THE KEY WAYS THAT THIS SYSTEM ENFORCES ITS DOMINATION IN THE WORLD. THE INTERVIEW WE HAD WITH A SISTER IN RED REBEL 3 (AVAILABLE FROM OUR BOX ADDRESS) FAR FROM EXAGGERATING THINGS WAS ACTUALLY ONLY THE HALF OF THIS SISTER'S LIFE EXPERIENCES, A LOT OF THINGS WERE LEFT OUT. AND THE EXPERIENCES THIS SISTER HAS HAD ARE THE EXPERIENCES OF MANY, MANY WOMEN ACROSS THE WORLD.



Red Rebel Letters Page...

THE OPPRESSION OF WOMEN INFECTS EVERY SINGLE ASPECT OF THIS WOMAN-HATING SOCIETY. WHEN WE TAKE OUR PAPER INTO THE GHETTOS, THERE ARE SOME SISTERS WHO CAN'T OPEN THE DOOR BECAUSE THEY'VE BEEN LOCKED INSIDE WHEN THE MEN GO OUT. BUT EVEN, SAY, WHERE A WOMAN BECOMES FAMOUS, SHE STILL DON'T ESCAPE WOMAN OPPRESSION. TAKE THE SINGER SINEAD O'CONNOR AS AN EXAMPLE. SHE DOES A LOT OF GOOD THINGS MUSICALLY & POLITICALLY & INFLUENCES A LOT OF PEOPLE. WHEN SHE DOES SOMETHING THAT GOES AGAINST THE VALUES OF THIS WOMAN-HATING SYSTEM SHE GETS VICIOUSLY ATTACKED. FOR INSTANCE, ON A RECENT AMERICAN TOUR SHE REFUSED TO PERFORM IF THE AMERICAN NATIONAL ANTHEM WAS PLAYED. AND SHE WAS ATTACKED FOR THIS IN THE BRITISH TABLOID NEWSPAPERS & IF YOU LOOK AT THE WAY SHE WAS ATTACKED, A LOT OF IT HAD TO DO WITH THE FACT THAT SHE'S A WOMAN.

BECAUSE OF WHAT LIFE IS FOR WOMEN UNDER THIS WOMAN-HATING SYSTEM, PARTICULARLY WOMEN PUSHED DOWN AT THE BOTTOM, IT IS DEFINITELY TRUE THAT SISTERS ARE GOING TO BE AMONG THE MOST FIERCE & FEARLESS FIGHTERS IN THE FRONT RANKS OF THE REVOLUTION. AND OUR PROLETARIAN ORGANISATION HAS GOT TO LOOK TO LINK UP WITH THEM & UNLEASH THEIR FURY. OUR PROLETARIAN ORGANISATION HAS TO BE BUILT IN SUCH A WAY THAT IT REFLECTS THE RELATIONS THERE'LL BE BETWEEN MEN & WOMEN IN THE FUTURE COMMUNIST SOCIETY. NOT RELATIONS WHERE MEN DOMINATE WOMEN & WE'VE GOT TO STRUGGLE WITH BROTHERS TODAY WHO DO THIS, BECAUSE MEN DOMINATING WOMEN AIN'T FIGHTING THE POWER. INSTEAD, WE'VE GOT TO BUILD THE KIND OF RELATIONS WHERE MEN & WOMEN STAND SIDE BY SIDE AS COMRADES WITH EQUALITY & RESPECT & DEDICATION TO THE REVOLUTION & CHANGING THE WORLD.

ETC. THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN CHINA WAS A STRONG REVOLUTIONARY POLE & WON MANY ALLIES AMONG THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES & NATIONS OF THE WORLD. IT WAS ON AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST BASIS THAT MAO'S REVOLUTIONARY CHINA GAVE SUPPORT TO THE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR IN KAMPUCHEA IN EVERY WAY POSSIBLE, INCLUDING MATERIAL AID.

THE KHMER ROUGE WAS A REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALIST GUERRILLA FORCE THAT WAS STRONGLY INFLUENCED BY THE INSPIRING STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIAT IN CHINA AT THAT TIME. (THE PROLETARIAT LOST POWER IN CHINA AFTER MAO'S DEATH IN 1976). BUT IT'S ONE THING TO DECLARE YOURSELF A FOLLOWER OF MAO & TO BE STRONGLY INFLUENCED BY THE REVOLUTIONARY POLE OF THE PROLETARIAT, WHICH WE THINK WAS THE CASE WITH THE KHMER ROUGE FOR A PERIOD OF TIME. IT'S QUITE ANOTHER THING TO BE A PROLETARIAN, A MAOIST, AND TO REFLECT THAT CLASS OUTLOOK.



A women's detachment of the Cambodian liberation forces marching to the front during the war against U.S. imperialism.

THE WHOLE REGION SURROUNDING KAMPUCHEA WAS A CONCENTRATION POINT OF WORLD CONTRADICTIONS. DURING THE 60'S UP UNTIL THE MID-70'S, IT WAS A STORM CENTRE OF WHAT WAS THEN THE PRINCIPAL CONTRADICTION IN THE WORLD, THE CONTRADICTION OF THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES & NATIONS AGAINST IMPERIALISM. WITH THE UTTER DEFEAT OF THE U.S. IN THE VIETNAM WAR BY THE MID-70'S & THE WEAKENED POSITION OF THE U.S. THAT THIS BROUGHT ABOUT, THE SOVIET IMPERIALISTS WERE MANOEUVERING ON THESE WEAKNESSES TO EXTEND THEIR EMPIRE & THEIR SPHERE OF INFLUENCE. THEY USED THEIR "SOCIALIST" COVER TO INFLUENCE VARIOUS NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES & TAKE OVER COUNTRIES NEWLY LIBERATED FROM THE WEST, LIKE VIETNAM. THESE MANOEUVERINGS REFLECTED THE FACT THAT THE PRINCIPAL CONTRADICTION IN THE WORLD WAS SHIFTING IN THE MID-70'S. THE PRINCIPAL CONTRADICTION WAS BECOMING THAT BETWEEN THE RIVAL WESTERN & SOVIET IMPERIALIST BLOCS.

WHEN THE KHMER ROUGE CAME TO POWER IN 1975, THEY REPRESENTED AN INDEPENDENT NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE WHOSE PROGRAMME WAS TO BUILD AN INDEPENDENT KAMPUCHEA NOT CONTROLLED BY ONE BLOC OF IMPERIALISTS OR THE OTHER. IN THE MIDST OF SHIFTING CONTRADICTIONS, THE IMPERIALIST BLOCS WERE COMPETING TO UNDERMINE & TAKE OVER THIS INDEPENDENT NATION OF KAMPUCHEA. IT WAS IN THIS CONTEXT THAT IN 1978/9 THE VIETNAMESE ARMY INVADDED KAMPUCHEA & OCCUPIED IT ON BEHALF OF SOVIET IMPERIALISM. THE KHMER ROUGE WERE OVERTHROWN & FLED TO THAILAND.

Pol Pot And Khmer Rouge

letter...

"I WOULD BE INTERESTED TO KNOW WHAT YOUR POSITION IS ON THE KHMER ROUGE AS IT WAS POL POT WHO DECLARED HIMSELF A FOLLOWER OF MAO. ALSO IT WAS CHINA WHO HELPED BRING THE KHMER ROUGE & SIHANOUK TOGETHER IN 1970 WHICH OF COURSE HELPED BRING ABOUT THE REGIME OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA IN 1975".
YOURS FOR SOCIAL REVOLUTION, XXX, THE MIDLANDS.

r.v. reply

IN THE EARLY 1970'S, THE KHMER ROUGE WERE LEADING A NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR TO FREE KAMPUCHEA FROM WESTERN IMPERIALISM & THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS WERE TRYING TO BOMB THE COUNTRY OFF THE FACE OF THE EARTH, IN KISSINGER'S DIRTY WAR. THIS NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE WAS CORRECTLY SUPPORTED BY THE PROLETARIAT, BY MAO'S CHINA, AT THE TIME, AS WERE OTHER GENUINE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES IN VIETNAM, PALESTINE, AFRICA

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WHILE THE KHMER ROUGE HAD BEEN IN POWER, THE WESTERN IMPERIALISTS HAD CREATED PROPOGANDA AGAINST THEM, LABELLING THEM COMMUNISTS & TELLING THE WORLD THAT THEIR REGIME WAS AN EXAMPLE OF MAOIST COMMUNISM, WHICH IT WASN'T. BUT AS SOON AS THE SOVIET UNION GOT POWER THROUGH THE VIETNAMESE INVASION OF KAMPUCHEA, WASHINGTON SOUGHT LINKS WITH THE OUSTED KHMER ROUGE, IN ORDER TO FIGHT SOVIET IMPERIALISM & ITS CONTROL OF KAMPUCHEA. IT WAS AT THIS POINT THAT THE KHMER ROUGE CAPITULATED TO WESTERN IMPERIALISM. WHERE YESTERDAY THEY WERE "FASCIST TOTALITARIAN COMMIES", ACCORDING TO THE U.S., TODAY THEY BECAME AN "ANTI-COMMUNIST" FORCE FOR THE U.S. AGAINST THE SOVIET PUPPET REGIME IN KAMPUCHEA.

TODAY, THE KHMER ROUGE HAS A SEAT AT THE IMPERIALISTS UNITED NATIONS & THEY'RE BEING TRAINED, ARMED & SUPPLIED BY CIA OPERATIVES & BRITISH SAS MERCENARIES, IN TRAINING CAMPS ON THE THAI BORDER, WITH ACCESS TO U.S. SATELLITE INTELLIGENCE. THE KHMER ROUGE TODAY IS A MILLION MILES AWAY FROM THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORCE THAT WAS FIGHTING AGAINST KISSINGER'S DIRTY WAR IN THE EARLY 70'S. (HENRY KISSINGER WAS THEN U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE). IN FACT, TODAY, BUSH'S DIRTY WAR IN THIS REGION IS BEING FOUGHT BY THE ANTI-PEOPLE GUERRILLA WARFARE OF POL POT & THE KHMER ROUGE ON BEHALF OF WESTERN IMPERIALISM. ■



SHINE THE LIGHT OF Revolution BEHIND THE PRISON WALLS!

We want Red Rebel to get to as many prisoners in the system's hell-holes as possible. If you know any prisoners who'd be interested in getting our paper, in Britain or elsewhere, please send us their address.

YO!

REVOLUTION IN MUSIC!

"REVOLUTIONARY CULTURE IS A POWERFUL REVOLUTIONARY WEAPON FOR THE BROAD MASSES OF THE PEOPLE. IT PREPARES THE GROUND IDEOLOGICALLY BEFORE THE REVOLUTION COMES & IS AN IMPORTANT, INDEED ESSENTIAL, FIGHTING FRONT IN THE GENERAL REVOLUTIONARY FRONT DURING THE REVOLUTION". (MAO TSETUNG, ON NEW DEMOCRACY)

*CASSETTE COMPILED & PRODUCED BY "A WORLD TO WIN". A WORLD TO WIN IS A MAGAZINE INSPIRED BY THE FORMATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT (RIM) IN 1984. IT IS DEDICATED TO THE "OLD" IDEA OF BRINGING TO BIRTH A WORLD WITHOUT EXPLOITATION & OPPRESSION. THIS COLLECTION, COMBINING MAINLY NEW MATERIAL WITH SOME SONGS FROM OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE, WAS MADE POSSIBLE THANKS TO THE EFFORTS OF A GREAT MANY REVOLUTIONARY ARTISTS, COMRADES & FRIENDS ON THE SAME SIDE OF THE BARRICADES IN THE FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALISM & REACTION.

TO THE MASSES OF PEOPLE OF THE WORLD WHOSE LIFE & STRUGGLE IS THE INEXHAUSTIBLE SOURCE OF ALL ART.

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SIDE 2: *Ready, Aim, Fire* - Pablo Moses (Jamaica) • *Corrido de Arturo Gámiz* - Judith Reyes (Mexico) • *Geli Şoresvan* - Sivan Perwer (Kurdistan) • *The East is Red* - Chorus of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers (China) • *Ay Sharqoharar Dawl* - Abdur Rashid (Bangla Desh) • *Presidente Gonzalo* - Grupo Ayacucho (Peru) • *Louder Than Thunder* RCYB (US) • *Yayından Fırlayan Ok* - Zaler (Turkey) • *The Internationale* - Bolshoi Theatre Orchestra & Chorus

Compiled and produced by *A World to Win*
* Co-produced by Darnell Summers

Celebrate The First A making a beginning and no



STATEMENT FROM THE LEADING CELL OF THE REVOLUTIONARY VANGUARD(RV) IN

YO! THE R.V. WAS FOUNDED ON JANUARY 1ST, 1990 AT THE START OF A NEW YEAR & A NEW DECADE. THE FOUNDING OF THE R.V. WAS A DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST THIS IMPERIALIST SYSTEM & EVERYTHING IT STANDS FOR AROUND THE WORLD. THE R.V. WAS FOUNDED AT A TIME WHEN PHONY COMMUNISM, THE STAGNANT BOURGEOIS BUREAUCRACIES OF THE SOVIET IMPERIALIST BLOC, WAS FALLING APART & HAVING TO GIVE THE GAME UP & ADMIT THEY WEREN'T REALLY COMMUNISTS AFTER ALL. ALSO A TIME WHEN THE REACTIONARY NATURE OF THE REGIME IN CHINA, WHICH SEIZED POWER FROM THE PROLETARIAT AFTER MAO'S DEATH, HAD BEEN EXPOSED FOR ALL THE WORLD TO SEE, WITH THE FOUL MASSACRE IN TIANANMEN SQ, BY DENG TSIAO PING, THE RUNNING DOG OF WESTERN IMPERIALISM.

THE EVENTS IN THE EAST REFLECTED THE DEEPENING CRISIS OF THE IMPERIALIST SYSTEM & THIS IS NO LESS OF A CRISIS FOR THE WESTERN IMPERIALIST BLOC THAN IT IS FOR THE SOVIETS. TODAY, THERE IS DEEPENING RECESSION, SHARPENING POLARISATION BETWEEN THE HAVES & HAVE-NOTS & THE DANGER OF WAR IN THE GULF. THE R.V. WAS FOUNDED AT A TIME WHEN THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS WERE CARRYING OUT THE BLOODY INVASION & OCCUPATION OF PANAMA, WHICH KILLED THOUSANDS, & THE BRITISH IMPERIALISTS MILITARY OCCUPATION OF NORTHERN IRELAND WAS ENTERING ITS 21ST YEAR. THE IMPERIALISTS WERE ALSO DEVELOPING THEIR ANTI-PEOPLE TERROR CAMPAIGN AROUND THE WORLD UNDER THE COVER OF "WAR ON DRUGS". THEY USED IT AS A COVER TO TRY & TIGHTEN THEIR GRIP OVER THE BASIC PEOPLE IN THE IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES & AS A COVER TO OCCUPY STILL FURTHER COUNTRIES IN LATIN AMERICA LIKE BOLIVIA, COLOMBIA & PERU.

THE R.V. WAS ALSO FORMED AT A TIME OF THE GROWING STRENGTH OF OUR INTERNATIONAL CLASS, THE PROLETARIAT. A TIME WHEN THE PEOPLE'S WAR BEING LED BY OUR CLASS IN PERU, LED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU, WAS ENTERING ITS TENTH YEAR, BLAZING FORWARD, TARGETTING U.S. IMPERIALISM & ITS DOMESTIC PROPS & SERVING THE WORLD REVOLUTION. AND A TIME WHEN OUR PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT, THE RIM, WAS ADVANCING WAVE UPON WAVE & CELEBRATING ITS 5TH ANNIVERSARY.

FOR TOO LONG, THE "LEFT" IN BRITAIN HAS BEEN A SEWER LED BY OPPORTUNISTS OF DIFFERENT TYPES, A LOT OF WHO GOT SHAKEN & EXPOSED BY THE CRISIS OF SOVIET & CHINESE REVISIONISM, AS WELL AS BY THE PEOPLE'S UPSURGE IN THE POLL TAX REBELLION. WE SAY IT'S TIME FOR A NEW POLITICS IN THIS SHIT-HEAP COUNTRY, A POLITICS THAT IS COMPLETELY OPPOSED TO THE SEWER OF THE "OFFICIAL LEFT". A NEW POLITICS THAT HAS THE MOST LOFTY PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONAL OUTLOOK TO IT, WHOSE GOAL IS TO END THE SUFFERING OF THE PEOPLE ROUND THE WORLD & FOR THE PEOPLE TO CONSCIOUSLY TRANSFORM THE WORLD. A POLITICS THAT BASES ITSELF ON THE ROCK SOLID BASE OF THE NOTHING-TO-LOSE PROLETARIAT. AND ON THIS BASIS IS ABLE TO WIN

ALLIES THROUGHOUT THE SOCIETY AMONG THOSE WHO HATE THIS SYSTEM. THESE POLITICS ARE MARXISM-Leninism-MAOISM, THE SCIENCE OF REVOLUTION & A WORKING TOOL TO CHANGE THE WORLD.

THE R.V. DOES NOT REPRESENT THE "BRITISH PROLETARIAT" SINCE THE PROLETARIAT HAS NO NATION & THIS IS A BLOODY IMPERIALIST NATION. WE DO REPRESENT ONE DETACHMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT IN BRITAIN, WITH THE AIM OF SMASHING THE BRITISH SYSTEM AS PART OF ADVANCING THE WORLD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION. WE PUT THE WORLD REVOLUTION FIRST & WE DECLARE NEVER TO FORGET THAT THE MAJORITY OF THE WORLD'S PEOPLE ARE SUFFERING EVERY DAY UNDER THE YOKE OF THIS IMPERIALIST SYSTEM & WE MUST DO EVERYTHING TO BRING FORWARD THE DAY WHEN WE CAN KNOCK DOWN THIS BLOODSUCKER SYSTEM THROUGH A PEOPLE'S WAR.

YEAH, THIS IMPERIALISM IS A BIG MOUNTAIN WEIGHING ON THE BACKS OF PEOPLE ALL AROUND THE WORLD. IT'S GOT ITS ROOTS IN THE OPPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE ALL AROUND THE WORLD. BUT WHEN THE PEOPLE SHAKE WITH ANGER & RISE UP, SO TOO DOES THIS IMPERIALIST MOUNTAIN SHAKE WITH FEAR. AND WE'VE LEARNT FROM MAO THE WAY TO GET RID OF A BIG MOUNTAIN. AS WE SAID IN RED REBEL 3: "WE'VE GOT TO SHOW RESOLVE, WE'VE GOT TO BE COMMITTED. OUR WORK TODAY IS PREPARATION FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR OF THE MASSES TOMORROW. ONLY BY STARTING TO MOVE THE MOUNTAIN, WORKING FOR REVOLUTION TODAY WILL WE EVER MOVE IT. SO GIVE ME A SHOVEL & LET'S START DIGGING!" TO DIG THAT MOUNTAIN WE NEED A PROLETARIAN OUTLOOK & A PROLETARIAN ORGANISATION & THE R.V. IS BUILDING THAT ORGANISATION TODAY. BECAUSE THE PROLETARIAT HAVE GOT TO SEIZE POWER, COS WITHOUT POLITICAL POWER IN THE PEOPLE'S HANDS NOTHING WILL CHANGE.

SISTERS & BROTHERS! IF YOU'RE PISSED WITH BEING DISSSED BY THIS SYSTEM, IF YOU DARE TO DREAM OF A WORLD WITHOUT ALL THIS FILTH WE'RE LIVING UNDER & YOU GOT THE SPIRIT TO FIGHT TO MAKE THOSE DREAMS A REALITY, IF YOU WANT TO GET RID OF CLASS OPPRESSION, WOMAN OPPRESSION, NATIONAL OPPRESSION & EVERY KIND OF OPPRESSION, THEN YOU GOT TO CHECK OUT THE R.V. BECAUSE WE'RE SERIOUS & WE'RE BUILDING.

**Live for the People
Die for the People
Fight for the People
Power to the People**

Anniversary Of The R.V.

It a bad beginning at that!

BRITAIN.



GUIDELINES FOR PARTY MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS.

SERVE THE PEOPLE WITH ALL YOUR HEART. PUT THE INTERESTS OF ADVANCING REVOLUTION ABOVE PERSONAL INTEREST. UNDERSTAND THAT THE PEOPLE ARE THE MAKERS OF HISTORY & THE PARTY LEADS THE PEOPLE IN MAKING HISTORY. NEVER USE YOUR POSITION INSIDE THE PARTY TO SHIT ON THE PEOPLE LIKE A BIGSHOT & TREAT THEM BAD. REMEMBER, CADRES ARE THERE TO SERVE THE PEOPLE & TO SERVE THE ADVANCE OF WORLD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.

WOMEN ARE THE EQUALS OF MEN IN EVERY RESPECT. THIS SOCIETY MAKES WOMEN A SLAVE TO MEN. THE SOCIETY WE'RE FIGHTING FOR IS AGAINST SLAVERY IN EVERY FORM, PARTICULARLY THE TREATING OF WOMEN AS PROPERTY & SEXUAL OBJECTS AND OUR GOAL IS THE FULLEST LIBERATION OF WOMEN. AND THIS HAS TO REFLECT ITSELF INSIDE THE PARTY.

WE ARE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISTS. WE SHOULD PROMOTE RESPECT FOR THE CULTURES & LANGUAGES OF OPPRESSED PEOPLE & EQUALITY AMONG ALL NATIONALITIES. DON'T INSULT OR RIDICULE OTHER PEOPLE'S RACE OR NATIONALITY, NOT EVEN IN JOKES.

OURS IS THE FULLEST & MOST COMPLETE REVOLUTIONARY OUTLOOK & WE KNOW THAT PART OF CHANGING THE WORLD IS CHANGING OURSELVES. COMRADES HAVE GOT TO BE CRITICAL & SELF-CRITICAL, HONEST & ABOVE-BOARD, NOT ENGAGE IN PERSONAL ATTACKS, AND SAY ALL THEY KNOW & SAY IT WITHOUT HOLDING ANYTHING BACK. THIS IS THE METHOD FOR RESOLVING CONTRADICTIONS AMONG THE COMRADES TO STRENGTHEN REVOLUTIONARY ADVANCE.

**Fear nothing,
be down for
the whole thing!**

Rapping Against the "War on Drugs"

Now tell me what the fuck am I supposed to do?

BOOGIE DOWN PRODUCTIONS (BDP) has got a rap on their album, "BY ALL MEANS NECESSARY" that gets into the role of the pig police in the distribution of drugs. The fact is the cops are up to their piglet ears in pushing it.

THE SAME TWO COPS THEY JUMPED OUT QUICK,
THEY PULLED A GUN,
THEY SAID DON'T TRY TO FIGHT & DON'T TRY TO RUN.
COOPERATE AND WE WILL BE YOUR FRIEND,
NON-COOPERATION WILL BE YOUR END.
HE JUMPED IN THE CAR & WHILE THEY RODE
THEY RAN DOWN A LIST OF THINGS HE OWED,
THEY SAID YOU OWE US SOME MONEY
YOU OWE US SOME PRODUCT,
COS YOU COULD BE RIGHT IN THE RIVER TIED UP.
HE THOUGHT FOR A SECOND & HE SAID, WHAT IS THIS?
YOU WANT ME TO PAY YOU TO STAY IN BUSINESS?
THEY SAID THAT'S RIGHT, OR YOU GO TO PRISON
COS NOBODY OUT THERE IS REALLY GONNA LISTEN
TO A HOOD...

Talk to some Black brothers in the ghetto & you'll hear the same story of pigs up to their ears in dealing & stealing. They carry out a bust of a brother over some small dealing. They take his stuff & throw him in jail. When it comes to the courts, the "offence" is "disturbing the peace". There's no mention of drugs, cos the drugs never left the "custody" of the boys in blue. Shit, they either used it themselves or it's back on the streets in the hands of "official" police dealers, with a nice wad of dosh in the pockets of the boys in blue - just doing their little bit for the community.

BDP got another rap called "LOVE'S GONNA GET CHA" (the love of material things). It sharply lays down the kind of life conditions that push the basic people into dealing. This is a racist world where Black people are shut out, where the only jobs are like 5 o'clock in the morning office cleaning or breaking your back for the Man for a few extra fs, where so many doors are firmly shut to oppressed people, but one door is

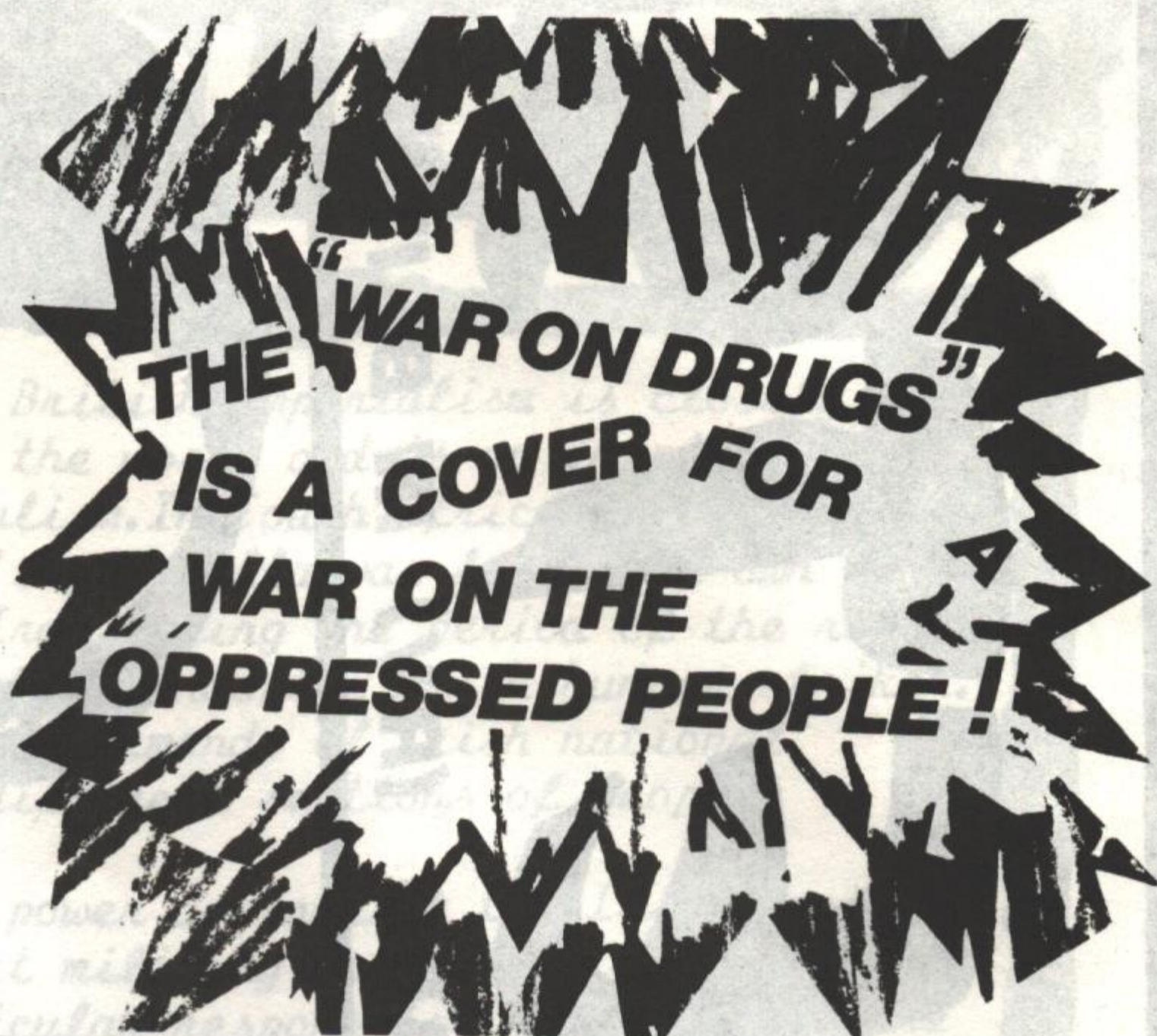
kept open by the system and they use this door of dealing to attack & criminalise the people even more. And BDP rap out a powerful question, as they run through the life of a young brother who turns to dealing: NOW TELL ME WHAT THE FUCK AM I SUPPOSED TO DO?

I GO UPSTAIRS & HUG MY MOTHER,
KISS MY SISTER & PUNCH MY BROTHER,
I SIT DOWN ON MY BED, TO WATCH SOME TV,
DO MY EARS DECEIVE ME? (GUNFIRE)
NO, THAT'S THE FOURTH TIME THIS WEEK
ANOTHER FAST BROTHER SHOT DEAD IN THE STREET.
THE VERY NEXT DAY WHILE I'M OFF TO CLASS
MY MOM'S GOING TO WORK COLD-BUSTING HER ASS...
THERE'S NO DOLLARS FOR NOTHING ELSE
I GOT BEANS, RICE & BREAD ON MY SHELF.
EVERYDAY I SEE MY MOTHER STRUGGLING,
NOW IT'S TIME I GOT TO DO SOMETHING.
I LOOK FOR WORK, I GET DISSSED LIKE A JERK,
I DO ODD JOBS, I COME HOME LIKE A SLOB.
SO HERE COMES ROB, HIS GOLD IS SHIMMERY
HE GIVES ME 200 FOR A QUICK DELIVERY.
I DO IT ONCE, I DO IT TWICE,
NOW THERE'S STEAK WITH THE BEANS & RICE.
MY MOTHER'S NERVOUS COS SHE KNOWS THE DEAL...
MY BROTHER'S MY PARTNER & WE'RE GETTING PAID FOR
3 MONTHS LATER WE RUN OUR OWN CAPER.
MY FAMILY'S HAPPY, EVERYTHING IS NEW
NOW TELL ME WHAT THE FUCK AM I SUPPOSED TO DO?

...ME & MY BROTHER JUMP IN THE BM
DRIVING AROUND OUR TERRITORY AGAIN.
I STOP AT THE LIGHT LIKE A SUPERSTAR
AND AUTOMATIC WEAPONS GO SPRAY MY CAR.
I HIT THE ACCELERATOR SCARED AS SHIT
AND DROVE ONE BLOCK TO FIND MY BROTHER WAS HIT.
HE WASN'T DEAD BUT THE BLOOD WAS POURING
& ALL I COULD THINK ABOUT WAS WARRING.
LATER I FOUND THAT IT WAS ROB & HIS CREW,
NOW TELL ME WHAT THE FUCK AM I SUPPOSED TO DO?

...I'M DRIVING AROUND NOW WITH 3 OF MY GUYS,
 THE WAR IS ON & I'M ON THE RISE.
 WE ROLL RIGHT UP TO HIS FAVOURITE HANGOUT,
 SAID HELLO & THEN THE BULLETS RANG OUT,
 SOME FIRED BACK SO WE TOOK COVER
 AND ALL I COULD THINK ABOUT WAS MY BROTHER.
 ROB JUMPED UP & BEGAN TO RUN,
 BUSTING SHOTS HOPING TO HIT SOMEONE.
 SO I JUST STOP & LET OFF 3 SHOTS,
 TWO HIT HIM & ONE HIT A COP.
 I THREW THE GUN DOWN & BEGAN TO SHOUT,
 COME ON I GOT 'EM, IT'S TIME TO BREAK OUT,
 BUT AS WE RUN THERE WAS THE BOYS IN BLUE
 POINTING THEIR GUNS AT MY 4 MAN CREW.
 THEY SHOT DOWN ONE, THEY SHOT DOWN TWO,
 NOW TELL ME WHAT THE FUCK AM I SUPPOSED TO DO?

So what the fuck are the people supposed to do? In Apartheid Britain if a brother's driving a fancy car or walking in the wrong neighbourhood, he's gonna be stopped for no other reason than the colour of his skin. This oppressor system creates life conditions where dealing in drugs can seem like the only way out of the ghetto, where brothers have to fight each other & even gun each other down to keep what little bit they got. And the price they pay for this little bit is to be attacked & criminalised by the powers-that-be even more. The system says, see, where there's Black people there's drugs & there's "trouble". So we gotta have a "war on drugs" they say, but what they really mean by this, is they've got to have a war on the people, to keep the people down.



We say DON'T BUY THIS BULLSHIT, cos the system uses drugs & it pushes them into the community to fuck people over, mess up their lives & criminalise them. THE SYSTEM TALKS ABOUT DRUGS & SAYS THE PEOPLE ARE THE PROBLEM. WE SAY THE PEOPLE AIN'T THE PROBLEM, THEY'RE THE SOLUTION. THE PROBLEM IS OPPRESSION, THE PROBLEM IS THIS BABYLON SYSTEM.

WHO ARE THE REAL CRIMINALS? WHO'S GOT THE PLANES & SHIPS TO MOVE THIS STUFF HALF WAY ACROSS THE WORLD? THOSE "RESPECTABLE" CITY GENTS IN THEIR SUITS, THEY'RE INVOLVED IN LAUNDERING £1.8 BILLION A YEAR IN DRUGS MONEY THROUGH THE LONDON BANKS, FROM COLOMBIA ALONE. AND NO-ONE TOUCHES THEM. AND THE REALLY BIG DRUG DEALERS, THEY COULDN'T OPERATE ONE DAY WITHOUT PROTECTION FROM THE BOYS IN BLUE.

HOW WE GONNA GET RID OF DRUGS? It ain't by attacking the people or the small dealers. It's by attacking the system & the really big dealers who are tied in with the system. We've got to make a revolution, knock down the system & put the power in the people's hands. Cos when we free the people, then the people ain't living under shit no more, so they don't need drugs no more to try & escape from this shit.

"War on Drugs" ain't about getting rid of drugs. It's about controlling their distribution in the hands of the authorities & through their "official" dealers & it's about a vicious clampdown on the people. This system don't have nightmares about drugs. They do have nightmares about the people who dream of killing this system organising & going up in the face of this system & getting ready to smash it down & THIS IS WHAT THE FUCK WE'VE GOT TO DO.

**Red
Rebel**

THEORETICAL JOURNAL:

BULLETS

ORGAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY VANGUARD (R.V) IN BRITAIN

FOR THE LIBERATION OF IRELAND!



**THIS BULLETS JOURNAL IS PUBLISHED TO MARK THE FIRST
ANNIVERSARY OF THE RV.**

BULLETS.... BULLETS....

The struggle in Ireland against British imperialism is closely followed by oppressed people round the world and is an inspiration in the common struggle against imperialism. In South Africa, young comrades debate the significance of the IRA's guerrilla war for their own struggle. In Tehran, the capital of Iran, during the period of the revolution a street was named after Bobby Sands, the Irish hunger striker. Across the world, support for the just demands of Irish national liberation is broadly based among different sections of people.

British imperialism is the main power dominating the Irish people and nation, in particular with direct military occupation of the North. The Maoists in Britain have a particular responsibility to expose the brutality of British imperialism, to oppose absolutely the British presence in Ireland and to unite firmly with the national liberation war against British domination. We also face a pressing need to develop a proletarian internationalist line on the Irish question. In doing this, it is vital to draw a firm line against the "tradition" of imperialist chauvinism that has characterised the British left.

This article does not attempt to address all the questions that must be addressed. It does not, for example, go into the last twenty years of revolutionary struggle or the strategic significance of a national liberation war being waged on the edge of Europe. These are subjects which require an article in their own right to do them justice. What this article will do is to address certain dividing line questions, which will lay the basis for further developments. These questions are:

the partition of Ireland into North and South in 1922; what was its role and who did it serve?

the nature of the Southern Ireland state; independent "Irish Republic" or dependent neo-colony?

the apartheid statelet of Northern Ireland and the relationship between the Catholics and Protestants.

the strategy for revolution in Ireland: a single-stage "socialist" revolution or the two-stage new democratic (national liberation) revolution?

the proletarian revolution and its allies among the revolutionary nationalists.

The R.V. welcomes any comments and discussions on this article from any individuals or groups on the left and will consider publishing and debating any correspondence.

BULLETS.... BULLETS....

THE PARTITION OF IRELAND... IN THE SERVICE OF IMPERIALISM.

To understand the role that partition plays today, we have to look to its origins in 1922 and the role it was designed to play. We have to look at the period it was implemented and the period leading up to that and how the international situation in the world as a whole influenced and impacted on events in Ireland.

The period leading up to the partition of Ireland, particularly the First World War (1914-18) and its aftermath, was a time of crumbling empires, imperialist invasions and revolutionary upsurge. Imperialism was baptised in the bloody massacre of millions in World War One, a carnage unprecedented in human history. It laid bare the nature of this modern era of imperialism and for many of those who survived, it brought the whole order into question. The old orders were collapsing and crumbling. Old certainties were under question and new questions of a new world order were rising. Stalin described the significance of the First World War as being "that it gathered all these contradictions into a single knot and threw them onto the scales, thereby accelerating and facilitating the revolutionary battles of the proletariat".

The monarchies of Germany, Austro-Hungary and Russia collapsed. The Ottoman (Turkish) empire disintegrated. In the colonies and semi-colonies, like China, India and Mexico, there were anti-imperialist revolts and upheavals on a mass scale that were to set the stage for future national liberation struggles. And in Ireland in 1916, James Connolly led the Easter Rising to drive the British out, seizing the opportunity for an insurrection when British imperialism was at war. The revolutionaries of 1916 declared an Irish Republic, which was viciously crushed by the British.

In October 1917, in the midst of imperialist crisis and war, a new world order burst onto the scene. The international proletariat seized power in Russia under the leadership of Lenin and the Bolshevik party. This victorious socialist revolution ushered in a new era of world proletarian revolution and spread insurrectionary fever across Europe and the colonies at the time. A revolutionary situation in Germany,

1918-19, threatened to destabilise the whole European order. Major cities like Berlin, Vienna, Warsaw, Turin and Budapest saw working class attempts to seize power.

Britain found it increasingly difficult to contain the rising tide of national liberation struggle in Ireland and was faced with a storm centre of civil war right on its doorstep and on the edge of Europe.

In Ireland, the defeat of the Easter Rising and the bloody execution of its leaders by the British, was followed by a resurgence of the Republican struggle for national liberation. (Under James Connolly the Easter Rising represented the proletariat leading the revolutionary struggle in Ireland, in a united front with the revolutionary nationalists. With the defeat of this insurrection, the leadership of the revolutionary struggle passed over to the revolutionary nationalists, Sinn Fein and the IRA.)

Britain found it increasingly difficult to contain the rising tide of national liberation struggle in Ireland and was faced with a storm centre of civil war right on its doorstep and on the edge of Europe. In 1918, Sinn Fein won an overwhelming victory in the general election and, on that basis, rejected Westminster rule, declared the Irish Republic of 1916 and an independent Irish parliament, the Dail Eireann. The only country to support Ireland's claims was the new socialist Soviet Union. Britain declared the Dail an "illegal assembly" and basically declared war on the new Republic.

The British government poured in troops to smash the Irish rebellion and the newly-named Irish Republican Army (IRA) launched guerrilla warfare against the British invaders in January 1919, with broad popular support. They adopted highly effective guerrilla warfare tactics, famously known as the Flying Columns. British imperialism intensified its attack when it introduced the Black and Tan death squads into Ireland. Mobilised from sections of unemployed British workers, they carried out white terror against the Irish people.

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In the North the Unionists, taking their orders from their British masters, were carrying out systematic pogroms against the Catholic community. In Belfast alone, between 1920 and 1922, 257 Catholics were murdered and thousands driven out of their homes and jobs. These attacks were part of consolidating a new settler mini-state in the North, which was to be ruled by the Unionists on behalf of British imperialism. The British had already promised the Protestants their own statelet in the 1920 "Government of Ireland Act". So was this sectarian statelet of Northern Ireland born, its very existence resting on the oppression of the native Irish people, and on land stolen from them.

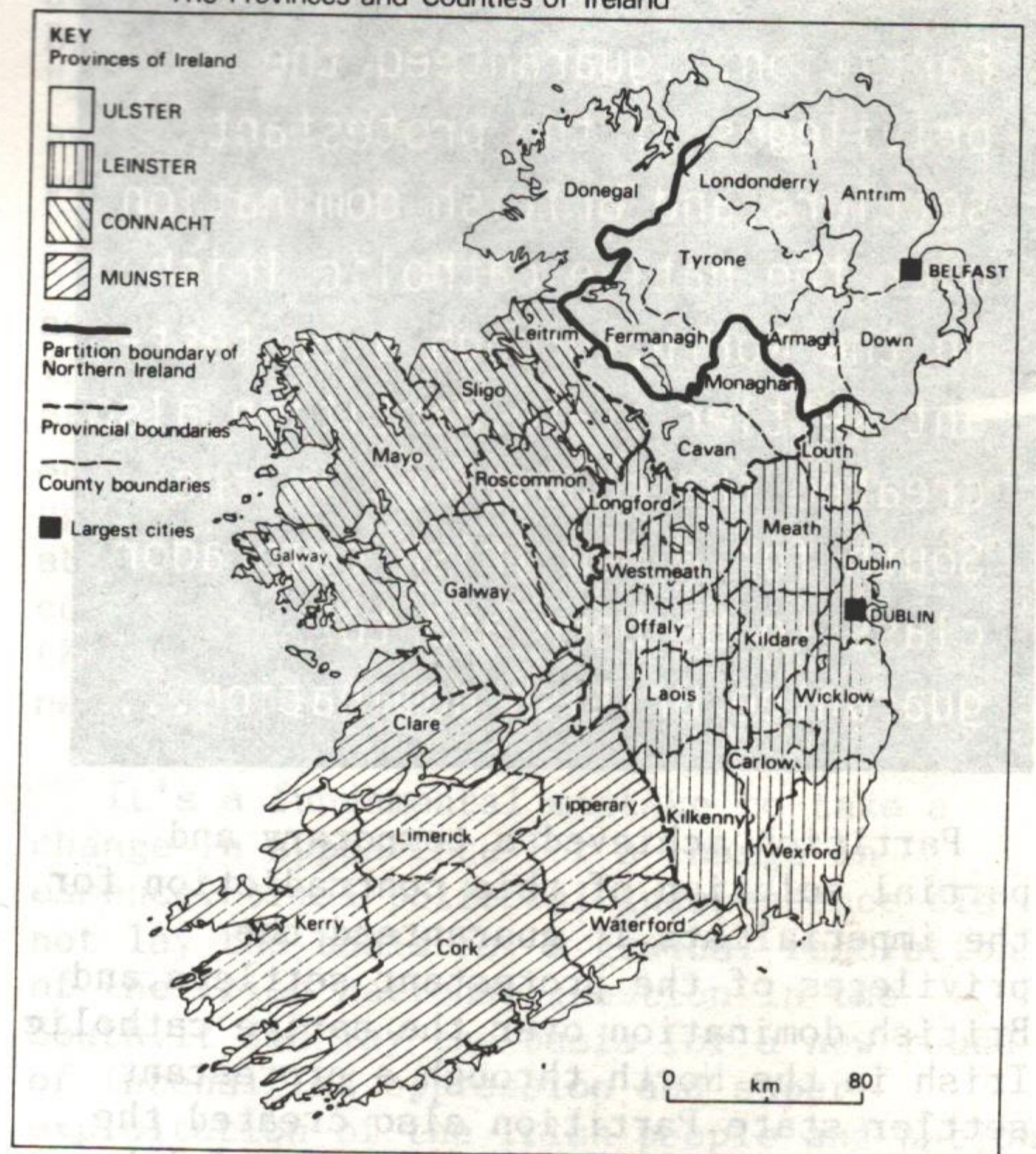
The other side of this equation for Britain was to set up a phony "independent" Irish state in the South, a "Home Rule" arrangement based in Dublin. The British had had plans going back to the mid-1880's to develop some form of neo-colonial "Home Rule" structure in Ireland. This policy was presented 3 times by the Liberal governments, the last being 1911, but it was blocked by the Conservatives and Unionists. In August 1914, with the outbreak of World War One (WW1) a "Home Rule" bill was passed, with the condition that it could not be implemented without Unionist (Protestant) consent and until the war was over.

At the end of 1921, the Republican guerrilla war took a decisive turning point. The British got a section of the Republicans to agree to this phony "independence" arrangement for the South, which was to become the "Free State" of the 26 counties. So the British succeeded in their aim of splitting the revolutionary front of the Republicans. Those Republicans who opposed this sell-out would fight on for an independent united Ireland of the whole 32 counties. Those who had agreed to the British deal, the "Free Staters", soon took a counter-revolutionary position against their former comrades. Taking their orders from the British to crush the Irish revolution, the new "Free State" government now opened fire on the Republicans with borrowed English artillery. The revolutionaries faced a pincer movement of the British, the Unionists and the "Free Staters". Civil war ensued with the "Free State" government until May 1923, when the IRA under de Valera laid down their arms. With the end of the civil war, the partition arrangement for Ireland could be consolidated by the British.

The partition boundaries were drawn up to guarantee a Protestant majority in the new sectarian state of "Northern Ireland". For example, if you look at a map of Ireland you see that the counties of Donegal, Cavan and Monaghan were within the old province of "Ulster", but they were not included in the state of "Northern Ireland" because that would have made it a Catholic majority.

Before partition, Ireland as a whole was treated as a settler colony of Britain. After partition, the South became a neo-colony, governed by comprador puppets of the British. While the North became a concentrated expression of the old settler colonial relations.

The Provinces and Counties of Ireland



The partition of Ireland in 1922 served both short-term and longer-term ends for British imperialism. In the short term, the partition offer succeeded in splitting and weakening the revolutionary front of the Irish national struggle. Pulling IRA leaders like Michael Collins and, later on, de Valera to the "Free State" structure gave some legitimacy to this British neo-colonial arrangement in the people's eyes.

In the longer term, partition served the pressing needs of Britain to re-structure its old colonial relations, which were

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increasingly pulling apart at the seams. This re-structuring took place in the international context of a new imperialist re-division of the world, coming out of WW1. In the case of Ireland, this re-structuring of old settler colonial relations had its own particular difficulties. On one hand, there was revolutionary upsurge among the nationally oppressed Irish, for the right of self-determination and to drive the British out. On the other hand, there was an unpromising protestant settler community, which was unwilling to negotiate over power-sharing with any would be bourgeois compradors among the catholics.

Partition...guaranteed the privileges of the protestant settlers, and British domination over the native catholic Irish in the North, through a protestant settler state. Partition also created the conditions in the South for a new Irish comprador class to be born and to guarantee British domination...

Partition achieved a temporary and partial solution of this contradiction for the imperialists. It guaranteed the privileges of the protestant settlers, and British domination over the native catholic Irish in the North, through a protestant settler state. Partition also created the conditions in the South for a new Irish comprador class to be born, and to guarantee British domination over the native Irish in the South, through the "Free State". Direct British rule was replaced with indirect rule, so removing the most obvious symbols of British domination. This kind of neo-colonial arrangement of phony "independence" which was given to the South in 1922, became more widespread in the colonies after WW2. The partition border was to prove a significant obstacle to the development of an all-Ireland struggle against British imperialism.

SOUTHERN IRELAND : "FREE STATE" OR PHONY INDEPENDENCE?

From the establishment of the neo-colony of the South in 1922, up to the 1950's, the Southern economy remained predominantly agricultural. Only one-fifth of the Southern workforce was employed in industry in 1950. It was from the late 1950's onwards that the South underwent significant industrial development, on behalf of foreign investors. The S. Ireland government in 1958 repealed the "Control of Manufactures Act", which opened the way for rapid post-war industrialisation to take place.

Between 1958 and 1965, British investment increased sharply. 40% of new firms established in S. Ireland between these years were British controlled. By 1971, 60% of the total profits of publicly quoted companies were going to Britain. Following the early 1970's, the major imperialist investor in the South shifted from Britain to the U.S. and it remains the biggest investor today. While the balance of foreign investment has shifted in the U.S. favour, Britain remains the principal imperialist power dominating the South of Ireland politically.

Origins of Overseas Capital Investment in Ireland 1960-83 at Constant 1984 Prices.

	IR£m
1 USA	3,775.3
2 UK	769.8
3 Germany (FRG)	641.7
4 Canada	436.0
5 Netherlands	378.6
6 Japan	323.0
7 France	193.1
8 Other Countries	857.5

Over 300 foreign firms set up manufacturing bases in the South between the years 1973-83. These new foreign firms are largely export-oriented and account for over 70% of manufactured exports. £1 billion in profits have been taken out of the South by multinational corporations in 1985 alone. U.S. firms do especially well out of this arrangement as they are the South's main employers, controlling 1 in every 6 manufacturing jobs.

The major re-structuring and industrialisation in the South in the post-WW2 period has been seen by various Trotskyists and social democrats as evidence of the growth and independence of Irish capitalism, the consolidation of the Irish national bourgeoisie and the development of the South as

BULLETS..... BULLETS.....

an independent capitalist country. In fact, this re-structuring and the development of an industrial base reflected a wider phenomenon of imperialist re-structuring of its international relations in the world as a whole, following WW2. Significant industrialisation was carried out in a number of the colonies which had phony independence, like Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, etc. This neo-colonial re-structuring was not about real independence for the oppressed countries. Industrialisation reflected the intensification of imperialist capital's penetration and exploitation. The productive forces were developed on behalf of foreign capital and its in this context that the so-called development of the Southern Ireland economy took place.

The granting of formal political independence to the South by the British in 1922 was in no way REAL independence from imperialist domination for the Irish people and nation. It was just a new form of old colonialism.

"The capitalist "development" (-in the colonies) which it (-imperialism) undeniably introduces to greater or lesser degrees does not lead to an articulated, national market and a "classical" capitalist economic system but to an extremely lop-sided development dependent on and in the interests of **foreign capital**". (Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. Our emphasis added.)

U.S. companies make an average of 5.6% profits in Europe as a whole. In Southern Ireland, U.S. profits are on average 24%. The fact that the imperialists can extract superprofits from S. Ireland reflects Ireland's national subordination in the imperialist division of the world. Though geographically Ireland is situated in Europe, its position in the division of the world is that of an oppressed nation, compared to the rest of Europe, imperialist and capitalist nations.

The South has a foreign debt of "third world" proportions, having to borrow heavily

to service its original debt. In a country of 3½ million people, public debt has swollen to the point where every worker "owes" £18,000.

The granting of formal political independence to the South by the British in 1922 was in no way REAL independence from imperialist domination for the Irish people and nation. It was just a new form of old colonialism.

Various Trotskyist and social democratic forces cover over this reality and so cover over the nature of imperialism and its domination of the colonies. For example, the Ireland-based Socialist Workers Movement (SWM). They argue that in 1922 the South achieved partial "independence" from the British, which gradually became complete "independence" by the late 1950's, through a process of economic development and political concessions from Britain.

"Despite the relative independence achieved by de Valera, British economic dominance persisted. Only the huge decline in British power and influence after the second World War, coupled with the opening up of the southern economy after 1958, was able to complete the removal of neo-colonial structures".

(Kieran Allen, SWM, "Is Southern Ireland a neo-colony?" p.19)

It's a fundamental mistake to take a change in appearance for a change in essence. Formal political independence did not lay the basis for a gradual resolution of the Irish national question in the South. It did lay the basis for a new round of intensified oppression and super-exploitation of the Irish people and nation.

Neo-colonial re-structuring, the building of a comprador class to rule on behalf of the imperialists, is not and does not reflect the "breaking down" of colonialism. Neo-colonialism is not the beginning of the end of colonialism. It is not the ushering in of a new era of post-colonialism. It is the strengthening of those very chains that enslave the oppressed countries, if in a more disguised form.

Though this "opening up" of the South to foreign investors resulted in the "development" of industry, this does not by itself reflect the development of an independent capitalist country. The question to ask is: industrialisation for who?

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The argument that formal political independence leads on later to complete independence for the oppressed nations and peoples is an outright distortion of the political economy of imperialism. Or it is sometimes said that today there is economic independence of Irish capitalism in the South, but still the leftovers of political domination. What makes both of these arguments wrong is that they separate off politics from economics, as if the colonies can achieve economic independence while still being politically dominated or they can achieve real political independence while still being economically dominated. In fact, as Mao said:

"economics is the base and politics the concentrated expression of economics" (On New Democracy, Selected Works, Vol. 2)

The politics of the South serve the economics of the South. The southern economy is penetrated by and subordinated to imperialist capital, to an integrated world market controlled from the imperialist citadels. And the politics of the South re-inforce that reality of domination.

No granting of formal political independence by the imperialists can create the profound conditions necessary to wrench a colony out of the clutches of imperialist domination. Independence for the colonies isn't achieved, either, through the bartering of comprador puppet governments for better terms of trade with their imperialist paymasters. (The negotiations of the de Valera government in S. Ireland, 1930's-40's, are sometimes said to prove S. Ireland's "independence" from Britain). Nor are the colonies freed through imperialist-sponsored industrialisation, through the imperialists developing the productive forces in the colonies and then "relinquishing" control of them, as SWM would have us believe. In fact, imperialism depends for its very existence on the control and subordination of the national markets of the colonies and neo-colonies, on the exploitation and oppression of whole nations across the globe. The scenario where a neo-colony develops into an "independent capitalist country" does not conform to the reality of the imperialist era.

No amount of concessions and reforms can make for a free Ireland, or bring freedom

from imperialist domination to a part of Ireland, in this case the southern state. Only a revolutionary war of the people led by the proletariat class can smash the deadly relations of imperialism. To promote fantasies that the imperialists can and do grant REAL independence to the nations and peoples they dominate is to promote naive and reformist politics. With this view of "liberation" of the colonies, what need do the people have for revolutionary war? Such a scenario proposes that colonial domination will "break down" and "disappear" through its own dynamic and through negotiated settlements etc. It would logically follow that if the colonies can cease to be colonies through this process, then imperialism itself can do the same, it can "break itself down" and "disappear". Such a notion of enlightened imperialist parasitism doesn't correspond with the real world.

The politics of the South serve the economics of the South. The Southern economy is penetrated by and subordinated to imperialist capital, to an integrated world market controlled from the imperialist citadels. And the politics of the South re-inforce that reality of domination.

The deadly relations of imperialism are not some bad dream from the past for the people of the world. They are a living nightmare of the present. Are we to believe that because imperialism is "declining" and "dying" that it therefore lets go of its hold on the colonies? No way. It must, at pain of death, oppress them all the more. As Mao Tsetung profoundly stated:

"just because it is dying, it is all the more dependent on colonies and semi-colonies for survival and will certainly not allow any colony or semi-colony to establish anything like a capitalist society under the dictatorship of its own bourgeoisie". ("On New Democracy")

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To promote fantasies that the imperialists can and do grant REAL independence to the nations and peoples they dominate is to promote naive and reformist politics. With this view of "liberation" of the colonies, what need do the people have for revolutionary war?

NORTHERN IRELAND : AN APARTHEID STATELET.

James Craig, one of the Unionist Prime Ministers of Northern Ireland, described this apartheid statelet in 1934 as "a protestant parliament and a protestant state". With partition in 1922, the old settler colonial relations that governed Ireland, protestant power and privilege, became concentrated in the "new" apartheid statelet in the North. As we said earlier, the North became a concentrated expression of the old settler colonial relations. Every aspect of the political and economic life of this sectarian state was engineered to protect protestant power and privilege and keep the catholic native Irish down, on behalf of British imperialism. The Northern state was tooled up with repressive measures like the "Special Powers Act", which were the stated envy of the fascist settler colonial regime of South Africa. (S. African minister Vorster said, in 1963, that he would exchange all his coercive legislation "for one clause of the Northern Ireland Special Powers Act"). Policing organisations like the notorious "B-Specials", later to become the UDR, carried out terrorism against the Irish people.

The British took a more open role in policing the North from 1969 up to the present day. In 1969, with the rising possibility of civil war, they put British troops on the streets of N. Ireland, to protect the established order and suppress the catholic Irish. This military occupation by British imperialism is a higher and more intense expression of its domination of the Irish people and nation.

THE ECONOMICS OF PROTESTANT POWER AND PRIVILEGE.

Protestants get the best or better housing and jobs. Highly or better paid industrial jobs go to protestants. Whole industries are dominated by protestants, vetted by protestant organisations like the Orange Lodge. The shipbuilders Harland and Wolff and Shorts aircraft manufacturers, the main heavy industry in N. Ireland, are overwhelmingly dominated by protestants. In comparison, catholics occupy low-paid manual jobs and work in the service industries.

Since 1911 up to the present, the nature of skilled jobs and manual jobs has changed significantly in N. Ireland, with the growth of a "modern" economy, but the position of catholics within that economy has not changed significantly. In 1911, one in every 5 catholics was categorized as unskilled, occupying manual jobs. In 1971, one in every 4 catholics was in this category.

With the deepening crisis of imperialism major industries in N. Ireland have been cut (and production shifted to other colonies where a higher rate of profit is extracted). Protestants who dominated heavy industry have been affected by the decline of industry and rising unemployment, but because of their privileged position in the settler colony, they have been cushioned from its effects to no small degree. For example, the shipbuilders Harland and Wolff is heavily subsidised by Britain. During the mid-1980's they received financial subsidies averaging £8,000 per worker, per year. This figure was almost enough to pay the entire wage and salary bill of the company.

Protestants experienced most of the job losses from the decline of heavy industry, because Catholics never held many of these better-paid jobs in the first place. But the consequences of this economic restructuring were again significantly different for protestants than Catholics. Those higher paid jobs which had been available to Catholics were taken over by protestants and the Catholics were pushed further down the job scale. Many of the new jobs in health, education and other public services have gone to protestants. Also, protestant unemployment has lessened through the expansion of the "security forces". The number of full-time members of

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the RUC rose by 38% over the period 1979-85. Today approaching 1 in 10 of all protestant men now work for the "security forces" in some capacity. This has meant that the overall level of protestant unemployment has been little affected by the economic decline, as more protestants have been recruited to be paid mercenaries of Britain.

Northern Ireland is a settler colony in the same way that South Africa and Israel are... In S. Africa, it's a white settler state and apartheid is enforced along colour lines. In Israel, it is a Zionist settler state and apartheid is enforced along religious lines. In N. Ireland, it is a protestant settler state & apartheid is also enforced along religious lines.

Catholic workers are increasingly finding themselves forced into low-paid and insecure forms of employment. Catholic unemployment has always been greater than protestant unemployment in this sectarian state (and the rate of catholic emigration is increasingly high). With the economic downturn, catholic unemployment has rocketed still further. Unemployment rates are two or three times higher for catholics than protestants. To give a typical example, in 1981 Belfast male unemployment was 15.6% for protestants and 31.4% for catholics. Or take an untypical example. The Shankill Road area of Belfast has the poorest living conditions of the protestant working class and unemployment there in 1981 was 27.6%. This high figure was however only half of the unemployment rate in the catholic ghettos of Belfast. This extreme example of protestant unemployment in the Shankill is still less than the average Catholic unemployment rate of 31.4%.

THE POLITICS OF PROTESTANT POWER AND PRIVILEGE.

Northern Ireland is a settler colony in the same way that South Africa and Israel are. The settlers occupy the land of the indigenous population and enforce imperialist domination of the oppressed peoples through fascist settler colonial relations. In S. Africa, it is a white settler state and apartheid is enforced along colour lines. In Israel, it is a Zionist settler state and apartheid is enforced along religious lines. In N. Ireland, it is a protestant settler state and apartheid is also enforced along religious lines.

The struggle in Northern Ireland is often presented in the British media as a conflict between different religions, catholic and protestant. But these religious divisions in fact reflect something much deeper and more fundamental to the domination of Ireland. That is, the struggle of the oppressed Irish people, the catholics, for national self-determination, against British imperialism and its settler colonists, the protestants. Whether a person is born catholic or protestant in Ireland reflects at base a political question and status. To be born catholic is to be born part of the dominated Irish nation. To be born protestant is to be born part of the privileged settler colony of British imperialism.

The division between catholic and protestant, which takes the outward appearance of a religious division, actually is a racist division. To be Catholic in Northern Ireland is to be Arab in Israel and black in South Africa.

Not all protestants in the world are defenders of the settler state of Northern Ireland, any more than all jewish people in the world are defenders of the settler state of Israel. In fact there are jewish people in the world who don't support Israel, just as there are protestants in the world who don't support the protestant state of Northern Ireland. The point here is not that we force the protestants in the North to give up their religion, but that we force them to give up their protestant state. In the eyes of the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the world, this sectarian settler

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state of Northern Ireland has no right to exist. This is because its very existence rests on suppressing the right to self-determination of the Irish people and nation. For as long as this sectarian state exists, imperialism will dominate the oppressed Irish people in the North. Only by smashing this settler state of N. Ireland will imperialist domination be smashed in the North, just as the road to liberation from imperialist domination of the South requires smashing the neo-colonial state there.

So, with this settler colonial state of N. Ireland, where the entire protestant community is in a position of domination over the Irish nation and people, what kind of revolutionary strategy flows from this? Various Trotskyists and social democrats in Britain call for the building of "working class unity" between catholic and protestant workers against the "capitalist class of Ireland".

"It is towards the working class and an aroused labour movement that the workers in Northern Ireland will turn and not the proponents of individual terrorism..." (MILITANT, "Marxism Opposes Individual Terrorism". By "individual terrorism" this reactionary British organisation, Militant Tendency, refers to the national liberation war waged by the revolutionary nationalists, the IRA.)

"...as in any other country in the world the key division in Ireland today is one of class, between the employing class and the working class".

"The Provisionals, tragically, cannot meet this task. They offer no perspective for workers who want to develop their own struggles into a challenge to the system. They fail to address Protestant workers in any meaningful terms".

(Socialist Workers Party, SWP, "Ireland's Permanent Revolution")

What stands out so sharply with both of these organisations is that they deny the national oppression by imperialism of the oppressed peoples and nations, such as Ireland, which is one of the **fundamental** features of the imperialist era. Under the cover of "the working class", they actually attack the national liberation forces struggling against imperialist domination,

such forces as the provisional IRA.

In our first "BULLETS" theoretical article, we said:

"When the Trotskyists say that class exploitation is the key question in oppressed countries, as we know them, they actually cover over and excuse imperialism - the principal target of the revolution in the dominated countries... When the British chauvinist SWP say that class oppression, not national oppression, is the "key division" in Ireland, they are apologising for and denying the vicious role of "their own" imperialism, British imperialism, in oppressing the Irish people".

(RED REBEL, Issue no.3, June 1990)

Whether a person is born catholic or protestant in Ireland reflects at base a political question and status. To be born catholic is to be born part of the dominated Irish nation. To be born protestant is to be born part of the privileged settler colony of British imperialism... To be Catholic in N. Ireland is to be Arab in Israel and black in South Africa.

To talk abstractly about uniting the catholic and protestant working class is to ignore and cover over the historical roots and present day reality of the division between these two sections of workers. In actual fact the division between these two sections of workers is worlds apart. The catholic workers are not only super-exploited as workers, but they are also oppressed as part of the Irish nation. The protestant workers on the other hand play an integral role in dominating the Irish nation as part of a settler community, on behalf of Britain, and receive significant benefits for doing this, particularly those who actively take part in the "security forces". It is not protestant workers who face the offensive of a police state and British military occupation every day of their lives. It

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wasn't for the protestants that Castle-reagh and other torture centres were built. Nor were protestants the target of Bloody Sunday, internment, shoot-to-kill policies and other British terror attacks against the Irish people.

Today, the struggle in N. Ireland, as in the rest of Ireland, is not principally a class struggle, between "the workers and the capitalist class". The struggle in the North is principally a national struggle of the oppressed Irish people and nation against imperialism, principally British imperialism, and its protestant settler colony. In this context, the protestant workers are settlers first and workers second.

We've shown the economic basis of this apartheid statelet of Northern Ireland, but the situation there is not reducible to simple economic factors, the different types of jobs and wages that catholic and protestant workers have. You cannot talk about "reconciling" the protestant and catholic workers on the basis that they are both working class i.e. they sell their labour power. To look at it in these narrow economic terms, you would say that unemployed protestant workers on the Shankill Road would be closer to Catholic workers, simply in terms of how much money they had in their pockets, than they would be to the protestant settler bourgeoisie and its leaders like Ian Paisley. But overwhelmingly, it has not been the case that these poorer protestant workers have therefore united with catholics on the basis of being "fellow workers". On the contrary, the deadly reality is that the Shankill is one of the main strongholds of fascist loyalist reaction. This reflects the real material basis for protestants, across class lines, to stand with British imperialism, because this is where the privileges of the settler community originate and British imperialism

remains the guarantor of these privileges.

Today, the struggle in Northern Ireland, as in the rest of Ireland, is not principally a class struggle, between "the workers and the capitalist class". The struggle in the North is principally a national struggle of the oppressed Irish people and nation against imperialism, principally British imperialism, and its protestant settler colony. In this context, the protestant workers are settlers first and workers second.

It's not a question of "reconciling" protestant and catholic workers (within a profoundly sectarian system). It's a question of getting the protestant workers, and other sections of the settlers, to renounce their privileged position and their protestant settler state of Northern Ireland, and to stand with the oppressed Irish people and nation in their just fight for national liberation. It is only by destroying the power base of protestant power and privilege, through a revolutionary war of the people led by the proletariat class, and achieving a New Democratic Republic as the first stage of advancing to socialism, that the material basis will be laid for these two sections of workers, catholic and protestant, to discover their unity as workers first.

It's not a question of "reconciling" protestant and catholic workers (within a profoundly sectarian system). It's a question of getting the protestant workers, and other sections of the settlers, to renounce their privileged position and their protestant settler state of Northern Ireland, and to stand with the oppressed Irish people and nation in their just fight for national liberation.

Within the protestant settler colony, there is a contradiction between the settler workers and the settler bourgeoisie, but this is subordinate to their unity as

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part of the protestant settler colony. Within the oppressed Irish national community, there is a contradiction between catholic workers and the oppressed section of the Irish bourgeoisie, but this is subordinate to their unity against foreign imperialism and the settler colony, in the national liberation stage of the revolution.

To be provocative, the catholic working class has more basis for unity with the oppressed national bourgeoisie of Ireland than they do with the settler protestant working class.

Today, the population of N. Ireland is 1½ million and 60% of this is made up of protestants. While all protestants benefit to some degree as part of the settler colony, it's not the case that all the protestants form one monolithic bloc. The proletariat must have tactics to try and avoid pushing all of the nearly 1 million protestants into fighting to defend the reactionary camp. There are secondary contradictions among the protestants, the class contradiction, the contradiction between men and women, the contradiction between Generals and footsoldiers, which the proletariat must seek to use to its advantage. Though the settler state of N. Ireland depends for its very existence on fascist terror against the oppressed catholics, this does not mean that every protestant is a fascist. There are protestants who don't agree with terrorist murders of catholics and the proletariat must aim to separate them off and win them over away from the hard-core fascist elements.

There have been individual cases where protestants have renounced their settler privilege and stood with the oppressed Irish people and this is the path that more protestants must take. On a rare occasion, protestant workers united with catholics on an economic basis during the non-sectarian rioting of 1932, during a time of severe depression. (Though this unity was speedily broken up by the Unionists playing the "Orange Card" of loyalist bigotry.)

While it is highly unlikely that large numbers of protestant workers will side with the oppressed catholics, so long as the settler state of N. Ireland is in existence, the proletariat's tactics must be to encourage them to come over to the revolution, at best, or more realistically to neutralise and pacify as large a section of protestants as possible.

THE BASIS FOR NEW DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION IN THE COLONIES.

In the new era of world proletarian revolution, there exists the unresolved bourgeois democratic revolutions of the colonies... Advancing proletarian revolution in the oppressed countries is inseparably linked to the proletariat resolving the national question of that country.

There is a span of history which marks the era of bourgeois revolutions, where feudalism was defeated and capitalism consolidated, so unifying a few capitalist nations of Europe and North America. This era spans roughly from the English Civil War of the mid-seventeenth century to the unification of Germany in 1870. The rise of these few capitalist countries was inseparably linked, from the very beginning, to the domination of other countries. For example, no sooner had the English bourgeoisie, led by Oliver Cromwell, seized political power than they set about colonizing Ireland on a higher and more bloody level than before, slaughtering the catholics and driving them off their land and planting protestant settlers on that land to enforce English domination.

The capitalist nation-states of Europe and North America rose to power in the era of bourgeois revolution. But in this era, not all nations had a bourgeois revolution. In fact, these few capitalist nations that did rise, and later became imperialist nations, did so on the basis of the suppression of the majority of the world's nations and peoples. The majority of nations and peoples were denied their bourgeois democratic revolution and were enslaved nations before they could pass through this period of history.

The old era of bourgeois revolution is today over and has been surpassed by the new era of imperialism and the world proletarian revolution. In the new era of

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world proletarian revolution, there exists the unresolved bourgeois democratic revolutions of the colonies and neo-colonies. Advancing proletarian revolution in the oppressed countries is inseparably linked to the proletariat resolving the national question of that country. Unless the proletariat include the resolution of the old type of revolution, bourgeois revolution, in their programme, they will not lay the basis to advance to the socialist stage of revolution in the colonies. This programme for national liberation of the colonies and advancing onto the socialist stage, takes concrete expression in Mao Tsetung's strategy of new democratic revolution. Today this strategy is being brilliantly applied by the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) who have been waging a people's war for over ten years against imperialism and its domestic props.

"New Democracy - one of Chairman Mao's most outstanding developments - masterfully gives concrete form to the bourgeois revolution of a new type that can only be led by the proletariat, in sum, the democratic revolution in the context of the new era of the world proletarian revolution in which we find ourselves. New democratic revolution means a new economy, new politics and new culture, obviously it means overthrowing the old order and building a new one with guns in hand, which is the only way to transform the world". (Document from PCP First Congress, published in "A World To Win" magazine, issue no.11)

MAO'S STRATEGY OF NEW DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION.

In a landmark essay called "On New Democracy", January 1940, Mao laid out the method to resolve the contradiction of passing from a country dominated by imperialism to a country free of imperialism, serving the advance of world proletarian revolution.

"Clearly, it follows from the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal character of present day Chinese society that the Chinese revolution must be divided into two stages. The first step is to change the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal form of society into an independent,

democratic society. The second is to carry the revolution forward and build a socialist society". (Mao Selected Works, Volume 2)

The proletariat, in the first stage, leads an anti-imperialist alliance made up of the classes oppressed by imperialism - the urban petit bourgeoisie, the peasantry or rural petit bourgeoisie where no peasantry exists, and the section of the national bourgeoisie that is kept down by the foreign imperialists. The target of the new democratic revolution in the first stage is not the oppressed bourgeoisie of the dominated nation, but the oppressor foreign imperialists and their domestic props, the comprador bourgeois class and big landlords, whose very existence depends on the further subjugation of the nation and people.

If the revolution in the oppressed countries does not pass through its first stage, that of liberating the nation from imperialism, it cannot go forward to the second, socialist stage. Unless the first stage is led by the proletariat, with a joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes, the second stage will not be reached and the first stage will be lost.

"Although such a revolution in a colonial and semi-colonial country is still fundamentally bourgeois democratic in its social character during its first stage or first step, and although its objective mission is to clear the path for the development of capitalism, it is no longer a revolution of the old type led by the bourgeoisie with the aim of establishing a capitalist society and a state under bourgeois dictatorship. It belongs to the new type of revolution led by the proletariat with the aim, in the first stage, of establishing a new democratic society and a state under the joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes. Thus this

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revolution actually serves the purpose of clearing a still wider path for the development of socialism". (Mao, "On New Democracy".)

If the revolution in the oppressed countries does not pass through its first stage, that of liberating the nation from imperialism, it cannot go forward to the second, socialist stage. Unless the first stage is led by the proletariat, with a joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes, the second stage will not be reached and the first stage will be lost. Only the proletariat class can chart this path for the liberation of the oppressed nations and peoples from imperialism. The goal of liberating the oppressed countries from imperialist domination and turning them into red base areas to advance world proletarian revolution, can only be achieved by passing through the two stages of the new democratic revolution.

"The democratic revolution is the necessary preparation for the socialist revolution, and the socialist revolution is the inevitable sequel to the democratic revolution".

(Mao, Volume 2, "Chinese Revolution And Chinese Communist Party".)

Though Mao's analysis was particularised to China, then a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country, with a massive peasantry and a very small proletarian class, this theory of new democratic revolution is universally applicable to countries dominated by imperialism. James Connolly, the leader of the Easter Rising in 1916 in Dublin, recognised the bridge from national liberation to socialism, when he said:

"We cannot imagine a subject Ireland with a free working class, nor can we imagine a free Ireland with a subject working class".

In the case of Ireland, it is not only the proletariat who are oppressed by imperialism, principally British imperialism, but the nation as a whole, North and South. The proletariat in Ireland suffers a double oppression, class and national oppression. The petit bourgeoisie and oppressed section of the national bourgeoisie suffer national

oppression. The proletariat therefore has as allies, the intellectuals, small shopkeepers, small farmers, small capitalists and a section of the national bourgeoisie in the catholic Irish population. The programme of the oppressed national bourgeoisie for national self-determination is reflected in the position of the IRA and Sinn Fein.

Only a small section of the Irish bourgeoisie benefit from imperialism, because they act as administrators of foreign imperialist capital. These are the comprador government forces in the South, Fianna Fail, Fianna Gael, and the compradors-in-waiting in the North, the Social Democratic Labour Party (SDLP). That section of the Irish bourgeoisie which are compradors is the enemy of the Irish people because its very existence depends on the further oppression of the Irish nation and people by imperialism.

On the surface Ireland, a capitalist-developed oppressed country, may seem to have more in common with small capitalist/imperialist countries like Spain and Portugal, than it does with oppressed countries like Peru & Bangladesh. But what is decisive is not the different levels of economic development of different countries in the world, but who controls that economic development and where do these different countries stand in the division of the world between oppressor & oppressed nations?

There are significant differences in the level of economic development among the oppressed countries of the world. For example, an oppressed country like Ireland has a high level of capitalist development, compared to an oppressed country like Peru which has semi-feudal relations in the countryside and other features of a "third world" country. Ireland today doesn't have a peasantry, but it has a rural petit

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bourgeoisie and it still has a land question. Ireland has a developed capitalist infrastructure and welfare system similar to Britain, though it is imperialist-sponsored and lopsided capitalist development. On the surface Ireland, a capitalist-developed oppressed country, may seem to have more in common with small capitalist/imperialist countries like Spain and Portugal, than it does with oppressed countries like Peru and Bangladesh. But what is decisive is not the different levels of economic development of different countries in the world, but who controls that economic development and where do these different countries stand in the division of the world between oppressor and oppressed nations? Ireland, Peru and Bangladesh stand on one side of the division of the world as peoples and nations dominated by imperialism. Spain and Portugal, for example, stand on the other side of that division, as oppressor nations.

When you look at the division of the world between imperialist and oppressed countries, there are some countries in one category that have features to them of the other category. There are oppressed countries with significant levels of capitalist development and small capitalist/imperialist countries that have features of oppressed countries to them, for example economic backwardness in the countryside. But you have to look beneath the surface appearance of things and get to the essence. There certainly are contradictory "grey areas" of appearance, but there are definitely not "grey areas" of essence. What is decisive is that the world is divided between a handful of imperialist countries and the vast majority of nations and peoples dominated by imperialism, and all countries stand on either one or the other side of this division. To confuse or lack clarity on this fundamental division of the world, as Lenin analysed it, is to confuse and deny the very nature of imperialism itself.

While capitalist development in the oppressed countries like Ireland in no way removes the need for the two-stage new democratic revolution, it can significantly alter the tactics for waging people's war, compared to oppressed countries with large pre-capitalist relations.

"The relative weight of the cities in relation to the countryside, both politically and militarily, is an extremely important question that is posed by the increased capitalist development of some oppressed countries. In some of these countries it is correct to begin the armed struggle by launching insurrections in the city and not to follow the model of surrounding the cities by the countryside" (Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, RIM.)

Real communists stand for liberating the whole world from imperialist oppression and exploitation. In this imperialist world, divided between oppressed and oppressor nations, how can you stand for the liberation of the world, if you don't fight for the liberation of the nations & peoples of the world dominated by imperialism?

NEW DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION VERSUS THE SINGLE-STAGE "SOCIALIST REVOLUTION" IN THE COLONIES.

It is the Trotskyists, in particular, who cover over the real nature of national oppression and who deny the democratic stage of the two-stage revolution in the colonies. This is often done under a "left" cover, raising the theory of a single-stage "socialist revolution" in opposition to the two-stage new democratic revolution. Such a view may pay lip service to the national question of the colonies, with the most superficial reference to "national discrimination" and "national tasks", that is if it mentions the national question at all. Such a theory subordinates the first stage of the revolution, that of national liberation, to the second stage of socialist transformation, or tries to merge these two stages into one "socialist" stage. This view obliterates the distinctive tasks of the democratic, national liberation stage of the

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revolution, and so obliterates the qualitative distinction between an imperialist nation like Britain and an oppressed nation like Ireland.

Those who subordinate and deny the national question in countries like Ireland often do so under the cover that they believe in "international socialism" and that the nationalism of the oppressed countries has no revolutionary qualities and is "backward", even "reactionary". This outlook, far from representing the "international working class", is completely opposed to the spirit of proletarian internationalism. Real communists stand for liberating the whole world from imperialist oppression and exploitation. In this imperialist world, divided between oppressed and oppressor nations, how can you stand for the liberation of the world, if you don't fight for the liberation of the nations and peoples of the world dominated by imperialism? The international proletariat do not stand ideologically for any nation as such; we have a world to win. But to win that world free of oppression and exploitation, we can and must fight for the liberation of the dominated nations and peoples and the international proletariat must lead that fight.

The theory of a single-stage "socialist revolution" in the colonies is, as Mao put it, "simply a theory of no revolution at all". This theory turns the allies of the proletariat, the oppressed section of the national bourgeoisie, into the main enemy and it lets the principal target of the revolution in the first stage, the foreign imperialists, off the hook. This can only lead to weakening the revolutionary united front against imperialism and opposing a thoroughgoing anti-imperialist revolution in the colonies.

The theory of a single-stage "socialist revolution" is applied by the Trotskyists to Ireland and it is in fact anti-Irish and deeply rooted in imperialist chauvinism. For the communists in Britain not to put the national liberation of Ireland firmly on the agenda, leads to the most criminal betrayal of our Irish sisters and brothers and of proletarian internationalism itself. The result would be to excuse British imperialism and its generations of bloody oppression of the Irish people and nation and to sanction the privileges that come from such imperialist plunder.

For the communists in Britain not to put the national liberation of Ireland firmly on the agenda, leads to the most criminal betrayal of our Irish sisters and brothers and of proletarian internationalism itself.

THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT AND ITS UNITED FRONT.

The domination of the majority of the world's nations and peoples is a vital and fundamental feature of imperialism. As such, the national liberation struggles in the colonies are not tolerated by the imperialists but are viciously suppressed by them. When the oppressed petit bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie of the dominated nations target the international bourgeoisie, the imperialists, as their oppressor, this renders their struggle a revolutionary character. It becomes a hated enemy of the imperialists and an ally to the world proletarian revolution. It stands in opposition to the reactionary character of the imperialists and is supported by the international proletariat. This is the material basis for a united front of the international proletariat and the national liberation struggles led by the revolutionary nationalist forces against our common enemy, imperialism.

For as long as the revolutionary nationalists do not capitulate to the imperialists, which would be to abandon the struggle for national liberation and would lead to the continued oppression of the nation, for as long as they continue with their revolutionary war, they are assured of the firm support of the international proletariat. In the interests of advancing world proletarian revolution, the proletariat will struggle to keep the united front against imperialism strong, so as to be a powerful material force for revolutionary change.

Supporting a national liberation war led

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by the oppressed national bourgeoisie or petit bourgeoisie is linked to the building of a proletarian vanguard inside the oppressed country, where no such vanguard exists.

We have to forge our anti-imperialist alliance between the proletarian forces in the world and the genuine national liberation struggles. For us in Britain, this has particular expression in relation to Ireland and the national liberation war there. We have to forge our revolutionary links strong, so as to make the position of the imperialists weak and hasten their overthrow.

FOR THE LIBERATION OF IRELAND.

Today Ireland, North and South, is a colony of British imperialism. Partition in 1922 divided Ireland into two different colonial arrangements. The South became a neo-colony governed by compradors of the British. The North became a concentrated expression of Ireland's old colonial relations, settler colonial relations.

Partition divided Ireland in the interests of imperialism and remains a significant obstacle to the development of an all-Ireland struggle. There is uneven development of the revolutionary struggle North and South and the imperialists benefit from this by trying to contain it to the North. The proletariat must aim to counter this imperialist tactic by building an all-Ireland revolutionary movement, while not foregoing revolutionary advance in one section of Ireland on the grounds that it has not spread to the whole of the country.

Mao's path of the two-stage new democratic revolution is the strategy that applies to Ireland as a whole. By grasping this strategy in its depths and heights and particularising it to Ireland, the friends of the revolution will be united and the enemies, British imperialism and its domestic props, will be isolated and smashed.

Ireland is locked into an integrated world system of imperialist domination. The task of the proletariat in the oppressed countries like Ireland is to liberate the nation from those chains of domination and advance onto socialism, as part of advancing proletarian revolution internationally.

The proletariat firmly unites with the anti-imperialist national liberation

A people's war in Ireland, made up of all the revolutionary classes led by the proletariat, cannot be realised unless emphasis is put on building the united front with the revolutionary nationalists. The proletariat cannot build its party without building its anti-imperialist united front and the united front will not be strong without an independent proletarian pole.

struggle led by the IRA and Sinn Fein. It is also necessary for the proletariat to develop its own distinct programme in Ireland, reflecting the outlook of our international class. A pressing task facing the proletariat is to build a vanguard party in Ireland reflecting such a programme. The proletariat in Britain must assist in every way possible with this task. The aim of this vanguard party in Ireland will be to sow the seeds of proletarian internationalism among the Irish people and organise forces to prepare the ground for a people's war.

A people's war in Ireland, made up of all the revolutionary classes led by the proletariat, cannot be realised unless emphasis is put on building the united front with the revolutionary nationalists. The proletariat cannot build its party without building its anti-imperialist united front and the united front will not be strong without an independent proletarian pole.

Because Britain is the main imperialist dominating Ireland, the communists in Britain have a particular responsibility in relation to Ireland.

We must:

uphold in a principled way the revolutionary war that is being waged today by the revolutionary nationalists.

expose completely the role of British imperialism in Ireland and its counter-revolutionary war.

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demand the unconditional withdrawal of British troops from N.Ireland and the release of all Irish political prisoners as part of the overall struggle to liberate Ireland from imperialist domination.

look for and work for the defeat of British imperialism here, in Ireland and throughout the world and uphold the right of the Irish people to self-determination.

expose the so-called socialists who in various forms attack and denigrate the task of liberating the Irish nation and people from British imperialism and who objectively unite with British imperialism through the labour movement.

spread a proletarian internationalist line on Ireland among the proletariat and other sections of the people in Britain and sow the seeds of proletarian politics in Ireland itself.

The proletariat internationally stand for eliminating every form of oppression including national oppression. We must advance proletarian politics in Ireland with the outlook that advancing proletarian revolution in one country is to serve the advance of revolution in the world.

The development of a people's war in Ireland will strongly influence the situation in imperialist Britain and will have an impact way beyond the borders of Ireland and the whole of Europe. The defeat of British imperialism in Ireland will be a powerful blow for the oppressed people of the world.

**FOR IRELAND'S LIBERATION,
DEVELOP PEOPLE'S WAR.**

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THEORETICAL JOURNAL:
Red Rebel BULLETS
 ORGAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY VANGUARD (R.V.) IN BRITAIN

THE NATURE OF IMPERIALISM
 Marxism Leninism
 Maoism versus
 Trotskyism

"THE LOGIC OF THE TROTSKYISTS ARGUMENT IS THAT THE IMPERIALISTS HAVE SELF-CONTAINED ECONOMIES WITHIN THEIR NATIONAL BOUNDARIES. BUT THE IMPERIALIST COUNTRY IS INTEGRATED INTO A WORLD MARKET OF EXPLOITATION ACHIEVED THROUGH THE COLONIES. THROUGH VIOLENCE & DOMINATION, THE IMPERIALISTS GET CHEAP RAW MATERIALS, LAND & LABOUR POWER IN THE COLONIES. TROTSKYISM LOOKS AT THE ADVANCED INDUSTRY IN THE IMPERIALIST CAPITALS & TRIES TO COVER OVER THE ESSENCE OF IMPERIALISM, AS SIMPLY "ADVANCED CAPITALISM" RATHER THAN WORLD PARASITISM.

... IN INDIA ALONE, THERE'S AN ESTIMATED 50 MILLION CHILDREN WORKING IN CONDITIONS OF SLAVE LABOUR. 6 YEAR OLDS WORKING 12 HOUR DAYS, 6 OR 7 DAYS A WEEK FOR PENNIES; THEIR HEALTH DESTROYED OR DEAD BY THE TIME THEY'RE 13. IN INDIA, PAKISTAN, BANGLADESH, NEPAL, SRI LANKA, THERE'S AN ESTIMATED 25 MILLION "BONDED" CHILD LABOURERS, WORKING FOR NOTHING TO PAY OFF "DEBTS". THE PHILIPPINES & TAIWANESE SWEATSHOPS, THE MOROCCAN & TURKISH CARPET INDUSTRIES, THE SUGAR PLANTATIONS OF HAITI, THE BRITISH-OWNED TEA PLANTATIONS OF SRI LANKA & MANY OTHER HELL-HOLES, ARE NOT "INDEPENDENT" OF THE ADVANCED CAPITALIST COUNTRIES, BUT AN INDISPENSABLE PART, THE VERY LIFEBLOOD OF IMPERIALISM'S MASSIVE WEALTH".

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Through this people's war, those who are pushed down & treated like dirt by the powers-that-be, those at the bottom who don't have a right to speak in this world, they are standing up & shouting out & taking their future into their own hands & ripping it out of the hands of the oppressor...

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**FOR THE
LIBERATION
OF IRELAND!**

