## **AMADA - TPO**

## About the break-up of the Clarté group

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In 1963, Jacques Grippa split from the false PC with a large number of activists, and formed the first Marxist-Leninist organization in Belgium. Grippa himself never broke completely with revisionism, which made him turn against China in 1967.

The Clarté group continued Grippa's party. Clarity did not self-criticize the revisionism of the CP and Grippa. Clarté was in 1967 the only organization which claimed to be Marxism-Leninism and the Communist Party of China entered into relations with Clarté.

In the period 1969-1973, the bases of a true Marxist-Leninist party were laid by the struggle that TPO-AMADA waged against economism, reformism and anarcho-syndicalism, positions which, at that time were mainly expressed by Clarté. Clarté formed an unprincipled unity with Exploité, an organization which split from Grippa in 1967.

In July, the Clarté group split into two fractions.

TPO-AMADA has decided to strengthen the preparatory work for the foundation of the Unified Communist Party of Belgium. We must pay attention to organizations that claim to be Marxism-Leninism in order to unite all that can be united.

We publish the views of the two fractions for information.

Account of the group around the exploited fraction

On July 7, 3 members of the Political Bureau excluded two other members; these require a meeting of the Central Committee.



"It is clear that the reduced model Political Bureau which today claims to lead the Party is in no way anxious to assemble the Central Committee and wants to keep for itself for a long time all the powers in the Party. This is just one more step on the road to personal or, at the very least, family power in the Party. We have arrived at a curious period when the Party leadership only responds to the rules of "good pleasure" of the ruling family and its funder. "

On May 18, Lucienne Rapsaert refused to speak of the underground to the Central Committee; a few days later, she charged ER with the task of forming a clandestine organization in Charleroi.

"(...) The first secretary and his wife decided to create an underground network in the Charleroi region without informing the political leader of this region."

Who was contacted for the construction of this "underground organization"? ER contacted his son, and a comrade who had only been a member of Clarté since June; also a former resistance fighter who is not a member of Clarté and who does not agree with the line; finally a young worker from a factory committee who sympathizes with Clarté.

"It is because the clandestine organization in question (is) only the setting up of a replacement regional in the event that the current regional experiences" difficulties "such as ... the elimination of all his direction.

- (...) In support of this hypothesis, there are:
- ▶ the delivery of special cards to members of the "network";
- ▶ the absolute prohibition to say a word about this operation to the "people of the exploited";
- ▶ the direct link between the "network" and the first secretary, without the knowledge of the regularly elected regional directorate. "

For the past year, a delegation of Clarity has been invited to China. Lefebvre called a political office at the end of May.

"(...) in a few hours, under the sting of the eagerly eager first secretary, it was necessary to definitively appoint the comrades who should be part of this delegation. No consultation of the Central Committee. No consultation of regional. Obligation to rule in a few hours. This is

how we send a delegation to the People's Republic of China. (...) Out of seven comrades, the list proposed by Fernand Lefebvre included two permanent members of the Party and a semi-permanent (qualified as "minor worker" with general hilarity ...!) We demand a greater participation of workers, and, (...) a more representative composition of the Party. "

The conflict became violent because of the determination of the first secretary to defend the participation in the delegation of his private secretary (...). This comrade has no social practice (...) since having passed from the state of professional inactivity to that of a permanent member of the Party, his connection with the masses, his knowledge of the working class base are completely zero. "

"It is obvious that a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party cannot accept such methods of leadership. (...) To tolerate them is to accept that the Party becomes a Party of the fascist type. (...) The vast majority of the Party is united on a political and organizational line which is confirmed every day by new successes in all the Party regions. A tiny minority of saboteurs play the game of the bourgeoisie by sowing division in the Party. (...) We demand as soon as possible the holding of a central committee which will liquidate the headquarters of the bourgeoisie in the Party which has become the Political Bureau."

(Quotes from the text of MN and MB (July 11) and from the text of JP d'H.)

## Account of the group around clarity fraction

"The CC ... denounces the constitution of an anti-Party secessionist fraction systematically violating democratic centralism, aimed at undermining the activity of the Party and leading it on the revisionist path.

- I. This objectively counter-revolutionary activity began when the Party clarified its line in the fight against the two superpowers for national independence.
- (...) They find above all unbearable the designation of Soviet social-imperialism as the greatest danger for Europe and the main centre of war in the world.
- (...) They supported and spread the idea that in Belgium, revisionism is not the main danger for the revolutionary movement, but social democracy.
- II. "The rules of democratic centralism:
- ▶ Party premises open to all, members and non-members of the Party, without any control;
- ▶ meetings open to non-Party members; no meeting reserved only for Party members;
- ▶ the consumption of large quantities of alcoholic beverages during meetings;
- ▶ the uncontrolled disclosure, including outside the Party, of the content of meetings of the Party's governing bodies;
- ▶ the lack of partitioning between regional, certain elements subservient to them attending meetings in several regional and thus serving as informants. "

III. "A deviationist (...) sabotaged the sending of Party newspapers and documents to the Chinese Communist Party (...); it has systematically abandoned the work of liaison and organization (...) between the different regions.

A deviationist (...) used CILA (...) to take control of the Party's external relations. "

IV. "Three secessionist (...) revealed the existence of one of the underground sectors of the Party and indicted the First Secretary before an audience comprising non-members of the Party.

They are waging a campaign of lies, slander and invective against the First Secretary, the members of the Political Bureau.

- (...) The splitting group (...) has turned into an anti-Party, anti-Communist sect going as far as trying to sabotage and disintegrate the delegation of executives invited to China ... "
- V. The leaders of the Exploited in 1973 "accepted unity only out of opportunism, under pressure from the base."  $^{"}$

"The splitters could only lead a small number of activists"

## Position of the central committee of TPO-AMADA

- I. When the Clarté group was formed in 1967, the desire to make a "career" in the International Communist Movement played a big role. Similar pushy goals especially in relation to the Chinese comrades played a decisive role in the unification between Clarity and the Exploited in 73.
- 2. The break-up of the PCMLB proves that this organization has never acquired a true Marxist-Leninist unity in the political, ideological and organizational fields.

In the ideological field: the task of the systematic and permanent transformation of senior executives by participating in the class struggle and by studying Marxism-Leninism has never been asked; the struggle to discover the essence of Grippa's revisionism and to practice self-criticism on this basis has never been waged.

In the political field: the struggle between the two lines has never been consciously organized as a struggle between two classes; the different political points of view have never been clearly delimited or united by the struggle; there was no struggle for the effective putting into practice of the line during the class struggle.

In the organizational field complete liberalism and anarchy: no binding directives for the practice of all the members, no control, no systematic construction of factory cells, directed from the top, no construction and operation principles-based central committee and political bureau.

3. We hope that the breakup of the PCMLB will result in the comrades understanding the bankruptcy of the party-building ideas which date from Grippa's time and which were maintained after 1967. We hope they will understand that there has something fundamentally wrong in the conceptions of the party that have prevailed so far: these are mainly the

problems of the transformation of the highest cadres, the conscious struggle against revisionism in its own ranks, and of the organization of the party, with great firmness on principles, and directed from the top.

The essential criticisms that TPO-AMADA made in its analysis of Clarity retain all their value. It is necessary to study the development of the ideological, political and organizational line of TPO-AMADA and Clarté between 1967 and 1976: the whole of this development shows that the line that TPO-AMADA has drawn up is correct and that the line that Clarté has elaborate is wrong.

- 4. TPO-AMADA wants to conduct discussions both with individual activists and with the two groups. We want to conduct these discussions with the intention of arriving at a common understanding of opportunism and a Marxist-Leninist unity; we must unite all that can be united in order to be able to found the unified communist party in the year or two years to come.
- 5. We call on all the comrades of TPO-AMADA to conduct discussions with the militants of the two groups of the PCMLB on the basis of these principles. The TPO-AMADA CC will focus the experience and ideas of all party members and will develop a party resolution on the relationship between TPO-AMADA and the two groups of the PCMLB.