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INTERNATIONAL

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Revolutionary Communist League of Britain

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There may be unacknowledged disagreements with positions expressed, and these articles should not be regarded as representing official R.C.L. positions.

PTB

*pour les travailleurs
pour le Tiers Monde*

PARTI DU TRAVAIL DE BELGIQUE

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**IN A CAPITALIST WORLD
IN CRISIS,
LET US BE PREPARED
FOR
LARGE-SCALE STRUGGLE**

MAYDAY 1992

Speech by Ludo Martens,
Chairman of the PTB

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Two years ago, all the parties represented in the Belgian Parliament, from the Greens and the Socialists all the way to the Fascists, solemnly hailed the «popular revolution» in Eastern Europe, which was to guarantee «human rights» and bring «freedom, democracy and well-being» (1).

Two years ago, the PTB (Parti du Travail de Belgique-Belgian Labor Party) was alone in exposing this sham. The magazine «Humo» made fun of us: «A world is collapsing, but here, alone, the PTB stands firm».

Today, most supporters of our «democratic capitalism» do not dare make fun of us. This is because things are too clear now.

The promised well-being turned itself into the dismantling of the whole system of production. In Eastern Europe, industrial production has fallen by a third in 2 years. It dropped by 17.5% in 1990 and then by 19.5% in 1991 (2). In the Soviet Union, the Gross National Product dropped by 17% in 1991 and then by 19% during the first three months of 1992 (3).

Freedom turns out to be freedom for criminals, gangsters and corrupt people. In Moscow, the Russian Mafia has taken control of more than half of the privatised hotels and shops (4). In Latvia, the prime minister Godmanis himself had to admit that his government was «corrupt» and that «Latvia has become a banana republic where the maffia controls everything» (5).

The human rights that the West has defended are the rights of the reactionaries and the fascists; now that those rights are well established, millions of workers and retired people fall into deep poverty, do not have the right to work, have no dignity and no future. Poland already has 2.200.000 unemployed. In 1989, the Right assassinated Ceaucescu and his wife on the charge that they were starving the population. In 1991, prices jumped by 444% in Romania and real wages dropped by 23% (6). Today, the ex-Soviet Union counts 4 million unemployed but will number 15 millions by the end of the year. 30 million state employees will soon be fired. A headline in «Le Soir» reads: «45 millions people on the way towards unemployment... without compensation».(7) In Russia, one kilo of sausages costs 350 rubles. A pension is 200 rubles per month. Out of 150 million Russians, 85% live under the poverty level.(8)

And democracy? In concrete terms, it means the rehabilitation of the fascist leader Antonescu in Romania, of the Nazi Ante Pavelic in Croatia, of the leader of the collaborationist state, Tiso, in Slovakia, of the Hitlerian leader Stephan Bandera in Ukraine. And Yeltsin offered apologies to Vladimir Romanov, who claims to be the heir of the Tsars, «for the way you were treated under Communism, while you are the moral and intellectual elite of the country».(9)

In 1989, people were celebrating freedom. But the first freedom of a people is to be independent of foreign domination and exploitation. Now, in the name of freedom for multinational corporations, the former socialist countries fall into the dark age of neocolonialism.

The Russian vice-prime minister Igor Gaïdar has set up a privatisation plan which foresees that 30% of the Russian enterprises will become foreign-owned. Half of the petroleum industry will be sold to the West.(10)

In 1985, the USSR had a foreign debt of 30 billion dollars; today that debt exceeds \$ 70 billion.(11) Recently, the imperialist countries promised \$ 24 billion of aid to Yelstin. But most of this aid will have to be refunded with interest...(12)

This staggering debt will allow the West to dictate its law. This last offer was actually accompanied by extremely hard conditions: freedom of imports, reduction of the budget deficit, wage-cuts...

The colonisation of the ex-Soviet Union takes caricatural as well as classical forms: Yeltsin is now surrounded by a team of American advisers, including Jeffrey Sachs of Harvard University and Paul Volcker of the Federal Reserve...(13)

The great freedom, the most cherished freedom, seems to be the freedom of the

market. But the former socialist countries discover that, in the name of the free market, they will have to suffer the domination of the strongest. Western imperialism has forced them to cut their trade barrier with the West by 40%. Our multinational corporations can in this way conquer new markets. But the EEC will «liberalise» only one percent of its imports from Eastern Europe. All kinds of barriers will continue to protect «our» markets from cheap products of agriculture, steel industry and textiles (14). This «freedom» of the strongest will imply that the countries from the former Soviet Union will have a trade deficit of \$ 40 billion in 1993, deficit which will have to be matched by further borrowing....(15) The dictatorship of international finance capital will only increase, at the expense of those poor Russians who were for a time believing in «freedom and democracy».

In two years, this new bourgeoisie, greedy and grasping, whose origins are in the criminal underworld, has become hated by the majority of the population. In order to protect its new order of exploitation and injustice, this bourgeoisie puts itself under the military protection of the most aggressive imperialism.

Vaclav Havel, CIA and Radio Free Europe collaborator who pretends to be an artist, has officially thanked NATO for its attitude during the 40 years of the Cold War, saying NATO has been «an instrument to protect freedom and the values of Western civilisation»(16). Yeltsin went so far as to declare: «Today, we raise the issue of whether Russia should join NATO» (17). Manfred Wörner is already saying that «NATO has the duty to protect the countries of Central and Eastern Europe» and that it will react against «any attempt to retreat from the positive steps that have been taken towards freedom and democracy».(18) Imperialism has put the former socialist countries under military tutelage. NATO is ready to defend recently restored free-for-all capitalism against future popular uprisings by military means. Officers from Eastern Europe will be trained in NATO schools. The new bourgeois of the East will go regularly and humbly to the NATO headquarters in Brussels to attend their meetings (19).

Could it be that the present catastrophe is only the painful transition from socialist hell to a consumer paradise? Not at all. The new bourgeoisie is greedy and upstart and behaves like a parasitic mafia. Crucial parts of the national economy are in the hands of imperialism. The present catastrophe is thus only a long introduction to the process of reducing these countries to Third World status, supplying cheap labor and raw material and becoming dumping-grounds for manufactured goods.

The moral and physical misery into which free-for-all capitalism has plunged the masses of the ex-socialist countries, should reinforce our determination to defend the countries that uphold socialist ideals, Korea, Cuba, Vietnam, Laos and China. All are under the fire of imperialism which accepts no limits to its arbitrary rule and openly violates international law. The secretary-general of NATO dared declare: «We do not have to accept injustices simply because of the old rule of non-interference in the affairs of sovereign states».(19) For NATO, the worst «injustice» is the simple existence of socialist countries... All socialist countries are victims of interference and subversion, some of them have to submit to economic suffocation by blockade and embargo. Cuba and Korea show what small countries of the Third World can achieve when socialism has liberated the masses of the workers; these examples shine the more brightly that those countries hold on despite the diabolic subversion of imperialism and that the other Third World countries seem to be disappearing into the darkest night of neo-colonialism.

The future of the international situation, and of socialism, will depend largely, in the coming decades, on the evolution of socialist China. Today, in the light of what is happening in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, it is clear that the victory of the counter-revolution on the Tien An Men Square, in June 1989, would have been a catastrophe for the whole of mankind. Imperialism continues exerting permanent pressure on China and interfering in Chinese affairs in the name of «human rights», by supporting «Tibetan independence» and by denouncing Chinese «arms sales» to other Third World countries. At the same time, imperialism continues its policy of economic infiltration, of support for the new bourgeois forces that are developing in China with the intention of ideologically and politically

destroying the Communist Party, of helping the revisionist forces take power in the party and overthrow socialism along the East-European and Soviet path.

The collapse of socialism in the Eastern part of Europe and in the Soviet Union helps all communists understand that revisionism represents the bourgeoisie in a very real sense. Those who give in under the pressure of bourgeois ideology, those who slide along the downhill path of opportunism find themselves, in the end, in the company of the big bourgeoisie. Today, the analysis in depth of the political degeneration that has led to the destruction of the Soviet Union can conduct all communists to a new and revolutionary understanding of Marxism-Leninism. A renewed unity of thinking is possible among comrades who were previously and in an arbitrary way divided into «pro-Chinese», «pro-Soviet», «pro-Cuban», «pro-Albanian» and «independent» tendencies. But to forge this new unity, we all need to prove we have a sense of self-criticism, deepen our understanding of opportunism and revisionism and exchange our analyses of the degeneration process in the Soviet Union. For that reason, the coming together of about seventy communist, worker and anti-imperialist parties in Pyongyang, on the 15th of April 1992, on the occasion of the eightieth birthday of comrade Kim Il Sung, veteran of the international communist movement, was an important event. It has allowed us to reaffirm our confidence in the future of socialism and to begin exchanging analyses on the development of revisionism.

The danger of German Revanche

When it launched the second World War, German imperialism wanted to destroy Soviet socialism and establish German hegemony in Europe. The death of Hitler and the defeat of the Third Reich did not incite the German bourgeoisie to change its goals. They continued their fight, under new conditions and with other means, raising the flag of antistalinism and of anticommunism. It was in the name of antistalinism that the German nazis already in 1945 regained political respectability in the eyes of the dominant power of that time, the United States. Thousands of fascist officials and collaborators from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union were recruited by American imperialism to fight the Cold War. West Germany was never denazified, tens of thousands of Nazis continued their fight as leaders of the Federal Republic and the big industries. General Gehlen, Nazi spy chief in the Soviet Union passed over to the American side in 1944, with all his men, and later became the head of the secret services in so-called democratic Federal Germany.

In their constant fight against socialism, German revenge-mongers found unexpected allies among the revisionists who took power under Krushev in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In 1956, during the bloody counter-revolution in Hungary, statues of Stalin were destroyed; thirty-five years later, statues of Lenin were crushed. The breaking of the statues of Stalin and of Lenin denote the two points of rupture with marxism. In 1956, Krushev attacked Stalin in order to change the fundamental line of the leadership of the Communist Party; the slow degeneration of the political and economic system that followed has led to the global and final break with socialism, accomplished in 1990 by Gorbachev. The collapse of the Soviet Union denotes the failure of revisionism, introduced by Krushev 35 years ago. This revisionism has led to the complete destruction of the socialist economy, to a social catastrophe, and to an unconditional surrender to imperialism.

In the Soviet Union, the revisionists had to work 35 years to destroy Stalin. Once Stalin was destroyed, Lenin was taken care of quickly. That is worth remembering: the pulling down of the statues of Lenin was not preceded by a political campaign against him. The 35-year long campaign against Stalin was enough. Once all the political ideas of Stalin had been attacked, falsified, denigrated, it could only be observed that the ideas of Lenin and Marx had been got rid of by the same token.

The political burial of Stalin and Lenin was followed by the resurrection of Hitler. The triumph of rabid anticommunism and antistalinism was accompanied by the full-blown comeback of fascism on the European scene.

The German bourgeoisie has just won World War 2. In order to dominate Europe, they started wars in 1870, in 1914 and in 1939. Today, by political and economic means, Germany has reached all the goals it tried to reach earlier by wars. At no time during the last hundred years did German imperialism reach the dominant position that it now has in Europe.

To strengthen its domination in Europe and to reach world hegemony, Germany has a four-pronged strategy.

Firstly: Germany increases its own economic power and broadens its political influence.

In 1989, while a lot of noise was made about European unification, Germany decided to mobilise all its resources in order to realise German unification.

The West German multinationals have practically wiped out the industry of the former GDR: in 2 years, its industrial production has dropped by 70%. Almost 4 million jobs, 42% of all jobs, have disappeared. One million workers are unemployed, one and a half million are working part-time or are in training (20). In 1991, the German bourgeoisie invested 70 billion marks in the former GDR; in 1992, and during the next 8 years, it will be 150 billion marks.(21)

In order to attract the 1500 billion marks that are needed over ten years, Germany unilaterally has decided to raise its interest rate. All other European countries will face serious problems because this huge capital is being drained towards Germany. In the EEC, the total amount of transfers towards the development of poorer regions is only around 20 billion marks (22). Only 13% of what Germany spends to muscle its Eastern arm.

Within 8 or 10 years, the East of Germany will have an ultra-modern industry which will considerably strengthen Germany in the EEC and which will constitute a powerful base for conquering Eastern Europe and the former USSR (23). By weakening the other EEC countries, Germany prepares the strengthening of its own hegemony.

Secondly: in order to become a world superpower, Germany strengthens the European Community.

Kohl has declared: «European unification is as important for the Germans as German unification». The German bourgeoisie must widen its control over the other capitalist countries of the EEC, in order to be able to compete with the United States and Japan on the world stage. German multinationals need the large European market to deploy all their forces. Through alliances and takeovers, they get control over a large part of the bourgeoisie of the other EC countries. Through Europe, they penetrate the former colonial preserves of France, England and Belgium.

The German bourgeoisie demands the political unity of Europe to disarm and subdue the weaker bourgeoisies. Most capitalists of France, Italy, England need the firm support of their State. Only this State can help them, by pursuing a specific economic policy. In a unified Europe, Germany, the dominant economic power, will impose its law. It will have for allies satellite states and multinationals from other countries that need a strong Europe. The political unity of Europe means accepting the diktats of the strongest. On December 10, in Maastricht, the twelve EEC countries were speaking about unity. On December 19, Germany decided unilaterally to raise its interest rates, forcing the other countries to modify their economic policy.

Germany needs Europe militarily too. In this area, it is the French bourgeoisie, particularly the socialists of Mitterrand who feed the dragon.

Germany needs to wrap itself in the European flag in order to realise its military expansion and to send troops to the countries that were tortured by the nazis. Europe is the mystification that puts peoples off-guard in face of German expansionism. Germany must also change herself into a European virgin, to get hold of the nuclear weapons which remain, up to now, a French and British monopoly. Today, the German and French bourgeoisies are setting up an intervention force of 25.000 men which they call a European force. This army will be allowed to operate in regions not covered by the NATO treaty, like

the Gulf, or in areas where NATO does not want to intervene, like Yugoslavia.

Mitterrand claims that he wants European political and military unity so as to attach Germany to the West and to democracy. But a weakened sheep has never been seen enchainning a starving wolf.

Thirdly: Germany achieves an unchecked economic and political expansion towards the East.

With the collapse of socialism, Germany has recovered an immense zone in Eastern Europe and in the former Soviet Republics, where no force can counter its offensive. During the last hundred years, Germany has directed most of its expansion towards the East, since the access to colonies was forbidden by French and British imperialism. Today, Germany takes this route again.

Economically, Germany is already the dominant power in the East. Germany alone covers 60% of the \$ 53 billion promised or given to the former Soviet Union.(26) More than half of the exchanges between Poland and the EEC are made with Germany.(27) Half of the \$ 1 billion worth of foreign investment made in Czechoslovakia in 1991 comes from Germany. Germany is buying up the best companies there, making impossible any balanced and planned development. In the next 8 years, Volkswagen will spend \$ 6.5 billion in the newly acquired Skoda group. Mercedes-Benz has bought the truck companies Avia and Liaz (28).

Germany encouraged the division of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union in order to insure its political domination. Each day we can see that the Balkanisation of Africa and of the Arab World have permitted the continuation of Western domination. In the East, two political tendencies join their efforts to ensure the triumph of the most reactionary elements. The new bourgeoisies must rely on nationalism and chauvinism to get the masses to follow them and make them forget the cause of their misery. German imperialism waves the flag of self-determination for minority peoples, in order to increase divisions among them and to incite those peoples to fight each other so as to weaken them all.

The bourgeoisies of the former socialist countries being very weak, most of them seek the support of the strongest and nearest imperialist country, Germany. American, French and British competitors are in a position of weakness. For example, the German and Austrian bourgeoisies have for many years encouraged right wing separatists in Croatia and Slovenia. Without that support, Croatian and Slovenian reactionaries would never have dared declare war on Yugoslavia by becoming independent. Of course, the Yugoslav civil war has its origin in bourgeois nationalism. But it is German interference that gave its murderous and destructive character to this war. As a sign of its hegemony in the EEC, we see that Germany has imposed its policy of support for the destruction of Yugoslavia on the other members.

It has been said that the destruction of socialism would put an end to the Cold War and that we will now know peace and democracy. But armed conflicts in Yugoslavia, Georgia, Moldavia, Armenia, Azerbaïdjan prove that capitalism always means misery and war. Meanwhile, a more considerable conflict appears possible. In the Ukraine, the fascist movement, which is very powerful, has for a long time collaborated with Germany. On March 27, Germany and the Ukraine created a Council of Cooperation to strengthen their economic relations.(29) The Ukraine and Russia are ready to fight for the control of the Black Sea fleet and Crimea. The Ukraine now wants to keep its tactical nuclear weapons. 20% of the population there is Russian. The right-wing French newspaper «Le Figaro» writes: «The Ukraine is playing the Western card. It hopes to benefit from an insertion in the German Europe being formed from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Croatia, Slovenia and the Baltic States.»(30)

Fourthly: Germany increases its power and its influence by allying itself with the United States and Japan, whenever it is profitable.

While building up a European army, Germany continues to use NATO as a military guarantee to protect its expansion in Eastern Europe and in the former Soviet Union.

While working to put the EEC under its economic domination, the German Konzerns sometimes create links with Japanese multinationals to fight the American common enemy. Daimler-Benz - turnover \$ 54 billion, 365.000 salaried workers, 60% of German military industry - has formed a technological and industrial alliance with Mitsubishi, number one in Japan, turnover 144 \$ billion.(31)

Three Giants fight for the world markets

The year 1990 marked the victory of imperialism in the cold war against socialism. And it is a Japanese American, Fukiyama who has announced the «end of history». But in Germany, an ex-SS-officer, Franz Schönhuber raised the next question: «Which capitalism has won the cold war? Who has won?» This is a pertinent question. And indeed, a new cold war has started on the ruins of socialism, this time between the United States, Germany and Japan.

Of course, the capitalist system will always feed on wars. Ten years ago, Reagan told us that with a small supplementary effort, the Soviet Union - that devilish power - could install world domination. Today, the CIA agitates the yellow threat: Japan has launched itself in a struggle for «economic world domination». President Bush himself cannot do without the language of the cold war. As the Reds are no longer hiding, a knife between their teeth, behind the iron curtain, he has found their twin brother. Bush declared: «Japan is hiding behind its own iron curtain of protectionism, the European Community.» And he continues, «We have won the Cold War and will win the next economic wars.»

At the end of the Second World War, America had become the international policeman, installing their domination on the five continents. For free, they killed a few hundred thousand Japanese to test their nuclear weapons, and James Burnham, Trotsky's former lieutenant, who had become the ideological advisor of Truman, defended the use of the atomic bomb against Stalin. The United States were leading a secret war against all socialist countries, a war that led to the Korean war of 1950. This was the first big checkmate. After provoking anti-communist insurrections in Berlin in 1953 and in Budapest in 1956, the United States began their long war against Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos in 1960. They lost, and American power went on declining. Then, last year, the United States won one of the most impressive wars against a Third World country of 16 million inhabitants. Some people concluded that America had regained single superpower status and was pursuing a political domination as in 1945.

But can we really award them the title of only superpower in the world, this poverty-stricken country that had to beg 45 million dollars from Japan, Germany, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait just to be able to pay its last war that cost them altogether 55 million dollars. In a secret report, the Pentagon showed their determination to «discourage every country or nation from defying American supremacy.» This is a desperate attempt, which is bound to fail, to maintain American leadership by military means. And indeed, other - more dynamic - economic powers have already constituted zones where their economic and political domination is already a reality.

If it were so that a super power could survive only on its military strength, the Soviet Union would still exist. However, the United States, which still disposes of the most powerful military machine, is corroded by economic and social problems.

In 1982, Reagan had for the first time in American history lifted the central budget deficit over the hundred billion mark. Ten years later, Bush will multiply this deficit by four. In a period of four years, the total amount of American debts has risen from \$ 1,000 billion to \$ 4,080 billion. If we add that figure to the debts of all American companies and individuals, we come to a total American debt of \$ 10,300 billion. The United States have already used up their future.

Furthermore, America has never stopped accumulating incredibly explosive social

problems. In the United States, social differences are such that in certain districts or regions, one could be in the Third World. Of a population of 250 million, 7% of the active population, or 8.9 million, are unemployed. Hourly wage-rates have decreased by 13% since 1973. 25 million Americans, or one in ten, receive food tickets in order to survive. 40 million Americans have no medical insurance, and 37 million are insufficiently insured. 45% of black children and 39% of hispanic children live in poverty.

With all these highly explosive facts at home, it is simply impossible to be an international policeman for a world of 5 billion people.

And there we see that 4.000 American soldiers have to do a replay of Desert Storm, right in the heart of Los Angeles! The minorities of black and Asian people and Chicanos, alongside with white poor, who all have to face daily the terrorist oppression of the capitalist state, started a rebellion with nationwide significance. We pay tribute to the courage of all these oppressed people who, in different cities of the US, fight from within the greatest enemy of human rights, democracy and independence.

The world has become a small village. In the name of competition, the Belgian and American worker is pushed into competition with his brother working in a South Korean or Brazilian factory. In the name of competition, the French or Filipino worker is forced to accept over-exploitation and wage-cuts to get to the end of the tunnel.

The international market is not growing very quickly. But the modernised, automatised factories of Japan, Germany and the United States go on spitting out more and more cars, computers and plastic materials. The capitalist market has become too small to nourish its three hungry beasts.

Swearing eternal loyalty to the common ideals of liberalism and bourgeois democracy, Japanese, German and American imperialists throw themselves in merciless economic wars.

In 1990 Germany, with a population of a quarter of the United States, exported as much merchandise as its American competitor: \$ 391 billions worth against \$ 389 billions for America. Japan realised 70% of American exports, but for the last ten years it has known the biggest economic growth of the world. In a period of five years, Japan accumulated a positive commercial balance of \$ 425 billion, compared to \$ 353 billion realised by Germany. The United States however, has lost a large amount of money by importing more than it exports: the American deficit amounts to \$ 655 billion over the same period.

The American economic, political and military machine has been able to continue running between 1984 and 1990 thanks to the enormous quantities of money attracted from abroad. The net import of foreign capital during a period of seven years was \$ 912 billion. Actually the United States would never have been able to survive without German and Japanese financial imports. During that same period of time, Japan had a net export of capital of \$ 402 billion and Germany \$ 313 billion.

Formerly, the United States drained billions of dollars each year, thanks to their investments abroad and to the pay-offs of other countries. During the first five years of the eighties, America made about \$ 16.4 billion. But during the last five years, due to foreign debts and investments in the United States, they had a net loss of about \$ 13.2 billion in the form of interest and dividends. During that same period, Japan had a yearly import of \$ 18.7 billion and Germany \$ 7 billion, also in interest and dividends.

American imperialism is a military giant built on an ever subsiding base. Japanese imperialism however has become the first financial power and is extending its influence over the most rapidly expanding region of the world, namely South East Asia. German imperialism has become the first export power in the world and disposes of a fresh, and extremely vast, market to exploit: Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

The economic and political confrontation between these three capitalist centres on the five continents of the world will be inevitable. We can not exclude military confrontations in the future. Already in 1952, comrade Stalin said: «What guarantees do we have that Germany and Japan won't recover and try to do away with American domination so as to lead an independent life? We don't have such guarantees. But an inevitable consequence

is that the wars between capitalist countries will go on existing».

The United States, Japan and the European Community have become the three principal pillars of a criminal, barbaric and inhuman world order. Even if they differ in their strong and weak points, they still follow an identical policy of exploiting the working class, robbing the Third World and dominating the countries in between. Communists all over the world have to fight them with identical energy, and never let themselves be used by one in their rivalry with another. Of course, the people of Latin America are especially confronted by the United States, the people from South East Asia by Japanese imperialism, and the people of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union by Germany. But here in Belgium, we have to refuse both American supremacy through NATO and German imperialism through the European Community. We cannot feed the young European wolf in order to chase the old American one.

The more the imperialists insist on the eternal values common to mankind, the more they will inflict a filthy struggle on their competitors. The triumph of capitalism meant a complete return to the law of the capitalist jungle. All the alliances which yesterday seemed very stable, have now become the contrary. Germany, once the faithful ally of Washington, is now also aiming for the Soviet Union and Japan. Japan is also getting a firm foot on English territory. If Mitterand reiterates the solidity of the French German alliance, Madam Cresson is leaning towards a firm friendship with the United States against Japan and maybe, Germany.

If the United States show very clear weaknesses, Japan and Germany also have their serious contradictions. Sooner or later, German supremacy will be threatened by the interests of another imperialist member of the European Community. If the situation in the former Soviet Union or Eastern Europe becomes explosive, Germany will not be able to control the situation. At the beginning of April 1992, the shares quoted on the Japanese stock-exchange had declined by 54% since 1989. Their present total value being \$ 1,660 billion, about the same amount of money has gone up in smoke. The Japanese insurance companies alone have seen their assets decline by over \$ 280 billion. An expert of the Brussels Lambert Bank estimates that «in 1992-93 we could suffer a major economic crisis. The risk of an economic crisis and the incredible upsurge of unemployment has never been so high in sixty years.»

The economies of the three most imperialist countries are so weak that a couple of serious incidents would suffice to seriously destabilise the system. If the Berlin wall fell in a period as short as three weeks, the pillars of international imperialism could fall as quickly. Furthermore we have to bear in mind the following thought: with their policy of stealing and domination, the industrialised countries, with a population of about 280 million, are making life harder and harder for the remaining 4.2 billion people of this planet.

American aggression against Grenada, Panama and Irak, aimed at maintaining a barbaric world order, reinforces the hatred of the working classes for their oppressors. The new aggression that the United States are preparing with the support of Japan and the European Community, against nationalist forces in Libya and against the guerilla fighters of The Shining Path - Communist Party of Peru, will only provoke a new upsurge in the struggle of the Arab and Latin-American people.

Be prepared for important class struggles in Belgium.

Whether it is in the industrialised world or in the Third World, revolutionaries and progressive forces have to break with imperialism in all its forms and colours. Imperialism brings nothing but misery, oppression, hunger, destruction and war. Over here, there can be no European way to socialism, since the Europe in which we live is the Europe of big business, the Europe that steals from the Third World, the Europe of decreasing social

rights and of oppression, the military Europe wanting to maintain the new liberal world order for the East and the old neo-colonial system for the Middle East and Africa.

During the memorable year of 1990, we have also seen people in Belgium who were eager to bury the venerable Karl Marx for a fifth time. Here this funeral was led by Anne-Marie Lizin, in a book with a preface by Willy Brandt. However, it won't be long before it will be seen for the sixth time that revolutionary marxism is alive. It will be enough not to be blinded by the anticommunism of the fascists as well by that of the social-democrats. It will be enough to open our eyes on a world in which all economic and social contradictions are becoming sharper. Marxism shows that capitalist society is divided into two antagonistic classes, the capitalist class which owns the means of production and which dominates the state apparatus, and the working class which has only its labour to sell. The main idea of Marx is that class struggle and class war lie at the heart of any bourgeois society. Workers must wage class struggle against their own capitalists who loot the Third World and exploit, in a barbaric way, hundreds of millions of people there, our brothers in struggle. Workers must endlessly wage class struggle in order to limit capitalist exploitation and to have the right to democratic expression, education and health care. In this permanent class struggle, workers must be prepared in the end to overthrow the system based on exploitation and on the dictatorship of capital. The class struggle between the majority of the workers and the minority of the big capitalists aims at the destruction of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and at the setting up of the revolutionary power of the workers. There is no other way to escape the infernal cycle of exploitation, misery, fascism and war.

The counter-revolution in the East has only confirmed these ideas. The restoration of free-for-all capitalism has been accompanied by the resurrection of a fascist-type antimarxism in the East as well as in the West. But this fascist-type antimarxism has been fed and prepared by social-democratic-type antimarxism.

In Belgium, it is thus Mrs Anne-Marie Lizin who waged an antimarxist battle to defend capitalism openly. Willy Brandt wrote a preface to her book, to put her on the tracks of German imperialism. He basically says: «We whole-heartedly welcomed the peaceful revolutions of 1989». Mrs Lizin can then explain to us the meaning of this revolution of 1989. In a surprising way, she starts her analysis of the new ideas of social-democracy as follows: «Everything was said and well said in 1899. Bernstein claimed then that Marxism is not an adequate analysis of society and that the hope for a collapse of capitalism is an illusion» (A.L.Lizin, Demain, la social-democratie, ed Labor, 1990, p.54). She continues by praising H. De Man, the former president of the socialist party, who defined in 1935 «a technique of cohabitation with capital» (p.65). That H. De Man, president of the Socialist party, became a supporter of Hitlerian fascism did not change the ideas of social-democracy. Lizin writes: «The Socialist International, reconstituted in 1951 confirmed without ambiguity its renunciation of Marxism»(p.55) And Lizin has the honesty to summarise as follows the history of social-democracy: «A century of living with capitalism».(p.64) To be more precise, she should have said: one century of living with colonialism, warmongers and the worst exploiters.

During the Tournai Congress, Spitaels (president of the French-speaking socialist party) explained in another way that the Socialist Party has completely abandoned the class struggle of the workers against big business. He proclaimed: «Yes, we are inter-classists». This acknowledges that in the Socialist party one finds people who represent the interests of the bourgeoisie and that in the Socialist Party, workers are tied to the big capitalist class.

When Social Democrats announce the end of Marxism and class struggle, they do not adopt a neutral position. They actively help the bourgeoisie in its permanent class struggle against workers. The multinational corporations have in the last 20 years extended their hold over the entire world and, under an increased exploitation, the entire capitalist world entered a crisis. To maintain themselves, the different multinational corporations lead a

real class war against the oppressed people of the Third World and against workers here. The buildup of a Europe of big business constitutes a strategic plan in this war against the Third World and the workers.

In the whole of Europe, Liberal, Social-Christian, Social-Democrat and nationalist parties follow an almost identical policy based on the strengthening of big business and the build-up of this monopolistic Europe. In the last 20 years, each budget brings new sacrifices for the workers and for retired people. Workers are impoverished, step by step, by lay-offs, by restrictions and even cuts in wages, the dismantling of social security, tax increases. Workers are overexploited by restructuring, intensification of the rhythm of work, and the introduction of flexibility.

Year after year, the Liberal, Social-Christian, Social-Democrat and nationalist leadership have imposed new sacrifices with the help of demagogic slogans: «A better spirit», «The comeback of the heart», «So, wake up!». Each new attack against the workers is justified by the promise that the end of the tunnel is near. But, after two decades of sacrifices, nothing is solved, quite the opposite. The more big business controls the world, the more one hears of unemployment, misery, recession, war.

The rise of racism and fascism

The disgust of the workers for the bourgeois, so-called democratic parties, is understandable. But this disgust for a society that offers nothing but unemployment, flexibility, impoverishment, insecurity and the hypocrisy of the bourgeois politicians has expressed itself in support for fascist parties. The Social-Democratic parties have pushed the workers into the arms of the fascists. First of all, by waging a never ending anticommunist campaign. To justify the reconquest of Eastern Europe and of the Soviet Union for capitalism, all the democratic parties have presented communism as a dangerous, even a criminal utopia. Mrs Lizin says the same thing as the fascists when she claims that communism «has been one of the most dangerous and criminal illusions of this century». (p.59) In the same vein, Social-Democracy has been repeating for years that there is no alternative to bourgeois politics and that it is even absurd to try to question the domination of capital. The trade-union leader R. Piton has declared: «We do not think that it was possible to do much better». One must stop «constant criticism» against the Socialists and their «compromises». Finally, all the so-called democratic parties claim that the only possible choices are between different right wing policies.

Then, after having heard for years the variations on the theme of «more heart» and on «the true moral values of imagination, initiative, solidarity, and will-power», after having seen their condition becoming worse, workers seek more radical solutions in the only way which is supposed to be possible: the way of anticommunism and of right-wing policy. Social-democracy claims that the only possible way is to make capital stronger. One should not be surprised if desperate people want to go faster and more radically in this direction, if really that is the solution. This is how social-democracy opens the way to fascism.

Fascism does not represent another social class: like the Christian-Democrats and the Social-Democrats, the fascists want a European superpower and want to make capital stronger. But in a situation of general crisis, fascism wants to impose capitalist solutions through terror, by breaking workers' organisations, the communist party and the unions. Since social-democracy has never stopped declaring that one cannot undertake anything against big business, fascism exploits the disarray of the people in order to create a vicious hatred against part of the workers, those who are supposed to be the main cause of the crisis. Fascism is hatred, violence and terror against the weakest, the most oppressed and against the left.

What is the fascist programme for which 479.917 Belgians voted? There are three major aims: 1. to break the defence organisations of workers. 2. to help European

monopolies set up world domination. 3. to prepare terror and war.

1. fascist organisation are in the first place anticommunist and anti-union organisations. The goal of the fascists has always been to destroy the socialist countries, starting with the Soviet Union. Their goal is also to attack, persecute and outlaw genuine communist parties. The Vlaams Blok also announces that it wants to «put an end to union dictatorship in Belgium», that is to suppress all militant unionism.

2. Fascists want a greater transfer of funds to the monopolies to create a strong Europe built around German currency; a powerful European army must set up a protectorate over Eastern Europe, the Balkans and the Middle East.

3. Fascists are prepared to fulfill those goals of the big bourgeoisie through terror and war.

Racism prepares minds for terror. By exciting people to hate foreign workers, the Vlaams Blok prepares its followers psychologically to kill. The terror, experimented on migrant workers will then be extended to the left. For us, not to struggle step by step, day after day, against racism, is to make ourselves accomplices to the preparation of terror that takes place under our eyes.

Nationalism prepares minds for terror. The leader of the Vlaams Blok can denounce «the Walloon parasite on Flemish soil, the Walloon parasite on Flemish work» (54) Flemish and Wallon separatism have given full support to Croatian separatism. The civil war in Yugoslavia shows what fascists are ready for, in Belgium too, if there is a major crisis.

Racism against the masses of the Third World prepares minds for war, for the sending of a European army to the Balkans and the Middle East.

So, 479.917 Belgians voted for this programme written by former SS and collaborators who are proud to count as an honorary member J. François, former leader of the Nazi militia, the Verdinaso.

Has the lesson been grasped? Are the socialist parties ready to break radically with a policy which made the workers pay so that the richest could become continually richer? Quite the opposite. The social-democratic leadership repeats the same old story: one must be realistic, there is no alternative, one must strengthen the capitalists so that they will be competitive. Vandenbroucke declared: «One must have the courage to take unpopular measures» (55). This courage, they have had it for twenty years; it is this courage that opened the way to the fascists.

These people come and tell us that they represent democracy against fascism. What democracy? Their new programme of government is based on one main idea: so that the Belgian frank can continue to be linked to the German mark, one must apply the Maestricht agreements must be applied and 240 billions cut from the budget each year.

But these agreements are dictated by the German Central Bank and by German employers. The Maestricht agreements are an admission that it is the big capitalists who impose their dictatorship directly on the workers. The Social Democrat and the Social Christian politicians are there to execute the orders of the capitalists and mostly of the German capitalists. The main decisions concerning our lives are taken by the banks and the industrialists, without taking into account in the least the opinion of those who will suffer the consequences. Bourgeois democracy has become a farce.

This year, workers will again lose 25 billions in social security. Many workers will pay 1% of increased tax, unemployed people and sick people are again harshly treated. Is it the case that, by attacking the weak one tries to push them to attack even weaker people, the subhumans without rights, the migrant workers? Do the social democratic leaders want to keep on fuelling the fascist movement?

Besides, the governmental programme states: «The Government will respond in a firm but human way to the problems of immigration». (56) This formulation corresponds word for word with that of the Vlaams Blok. It says that the problem is immigration and not racism and fascism, it says that the problem is immigration and not the lack of equal rights for foreign workers. «The problem of illegal migrant workers is a plague and it will be faced in an energetic way», says Tobback, the minister of the Interior, echoing the fascist claim that

migrant workers are a plague in our society.(57)

Then, the government programme says that it intends «to continue to federalise the State»(58). Before the elections, Spitaels wrote: «A Walloon who wants to defend Wallonia votes socialist».(59) After the elections, Dehousse and Happart claimed that: «The Walloon people have the right to set up an autonomous nation».(60) These positions, a French translation of those of the Vlaams Blok, continue to feed fascist nationalism.

Let us now look at the chapter of European militarism and expansionism. Spitaels declared that «Europe can count as a world power». Coëme (Defence minister) said to Walloon employers: «The army will have to be able to project its forces abroad, so as to save vital Belgian and European interests».(62) Then, to give us an idea of future wars, Coëme quoted the problems of Africa, the Gulf, Irak, of the zone between Mauritania and Pakistan, of Yugoslavia and of Soviet Union to conclude that «a national defence policy is completely outdated».(63) All these declarations can be taken up by the Vlaams Blok without changing an iota.

All this indicates that the present government will continue to feed the fascist beast. Will the fascist parties accomplish a new breakthrough? This will depend a lot on the attitude of the unions. One of the goals of the fascists is to eliminate militant unionism. We have observed the following scenario in many factories for years: by capitulating in face of the attacks of the bosses and the government, by destroying the will of the workers to struggle through antidemocratic maneuvers, by punishing leftist shop stewards, the right wing union bosses provoke a disgust for the unions. Anti-union feelings pushed tens of thousands of workers into the arms of the fascists. If union leadership gives even only the impression of being on the side of the government, if they demobilise the workers, if they refuse a democratic debate on a radical leftist alternative, the consequences will be serious. Spitaels declared recently that «the reputation of constant striker given to the Walloon worker has been eradicated». The union leadership must radically depart from such positions and from the government measures, if it wants to prevent the plague of fascism and anti-unionism spreading even more among workers.

The lullabies on «realism», on the easy way, cowardice, capitulation, lead nowhere but to demoralisation and flight towards fascist radicalism. What have the union leaders gained by being «realist» for decades? They have gained the fact that the fascist theses, that were completely discredited 20 years ago, now appear as a realist program for many workers. By being realist and cowardly the most ferocious program of the bourgeoisie becomes «realist». Indeed, everyone must choose his realism and there are, basically, only two realist positions. The realism of the big capitalists and that of the workers. The realism of the big capitalists is increased exploitation, poverty, criminality, fascism and war. The realism of capital is 150.000 men slaughtered during the Gulf War and, closer to us, the 10.000 dead of the civil war in Croatia where some of our fascists take part in the massacre. Will the workers follow the realist way that pushed them to kill each other for the profit of the capitalists? Croatia and Bosnia are behind our door. The realism of the working class is the consciousness that one must fight and mobilise every day, that one must use the strength of numbers to impose radical measures against capital and the rich, that one must make a social revolution to end exploitation, oppression and war and to build a socialist society. The realism of the working class means not letting our working brothers be slaughtered but uniting all popular forces to attack our common ennemy, the big bourgeoisie.

The realism of the working class is to unify all popular forces to deal a blow to big business, common enemy of exploited and oppressed humanity.

Our anti-capitalist program

Disarray and despair have got hold of hundreds of thousands of Belgians. People are fed up hearing the same tune sung over and over again, on federalism and on Europe, on sacrifices and solidarity taxes, on rigour and other courageous decisions. The more sacrifices are made the more the tunnel seems to extend. It is certain that we have been cheated, swindled and stripped. But by whom? By the three Moroccans living round the corner? To believe this would be to lose sight of the real dimension of the swindle and theft suffered by workers: they actually amount to hundreds of billions of francs. And all these billions have not got into the pocket of the poor fellow you see in your neighbourhood. On the contrary, the Moroccans and Turks have been hit as much as you by austerity and rigour. No, these hundreds of billions went directly into the safes in the rich areas where you never set foot.

To paint the picture of the real thieves and criminals it is necessary to mention figures. 7,000 billions, 1,400 billions, 800 billions, 700 billions. Do these figures mean anything to you? It is true that the ten thousand francs child benefit allocated to a Moroccan strike the imagination of certain people more strongly.

So let's start with the **7,000 billions** Belgian Francs. This amount represents the value of all that is produced in Belgium in one year. 7,000 billions is the wealth owned by only one percent of Belgian households. One percent of the population owns 25% of all the fortunes in Belgium. 40.000 really conquering, invading, wealth engulfing households. One percent of the population which must be pointed at, rather than the one percent of Moroccan and Turkish households. Together they represent only 2.2% of the Belgian population, i.e. less than one percent of the households. Their wealth is amongst the lowest of the country. When the Vlaams Blok cries out «Eigen volk eerst» (our own people first) that means «Rijk volk eerst» (rich people first) and it defends that one percent of super rich people who possess a 7,000 billion francs fortune.

Our second figure is **1,400 billions**.

This represents the income on property, shares, deposits, real estate. From 1980 to 1991 the income from property has increased by 143%; it has risen from 580 billions to 1,400 billions. The income from property represents 40% of the total income produced by labour. If the income from property has increased by 143%, that of labour on the other hand has only increased by 63% (65). Would you like to know where the results of the 11 years of sacrifices made by the workers have gone? To find them, don't look in the direction of the immigrants or the Belgian (Walloon or Flemish) workers.

Those who own shares, large bank accounts, real estate, have seen their income increase by 830 billions during these 11 years.

The third figure is **800 billions**.

This figure represents the profits made by companies in 1991. Company profits have risen from 240 billions in 1980 to 800 billions in 1991. A leap of 560 billions, a jump of 50 billions per year, under the Liberals as well as under the Socialists. In the Gross National Product the wage share has dropped by 7.6% in 11 years, while the profit share has increased by 5%. Two thirds of the results of your salary sacrifices have simply been pocketed by the employers. Do you feel hatred against the injustice of which you are the victim and are you looking for those who are responsible for this injustice? Do not let the old Nazis set you up against the immigrants who as they pretend are pocketing huge amounts of unemployment benefits. In 1990, the Turks and Moroccans received only 5,6 billion of unemployment benefit out of a total of 200 billions. Turks and Moroccans have contributed as every one else to be entitled to these benefits. Moreover, their benefits have decreased as for every one, because the state has lowered its subsidies from 290 billions in 1983 to 170 billions in 1991: 120 billions stolen from the workers.

120 billions stolen by the capitalist state, 560 billions more profit pocketed by the employers, **that** is the great injustice and not the 5 billions unemployment benefits to which Turks and Moroccans are perfectly entitled.

A last figure **700 billions**.

720 billions to be more accurate. This amount represents the interest paid back by the state to its creditors in 1991. 700 billions of interests, a huge amount, equal to ten percent of the result of annual labour in Belgium. The 8,500 billions debts accumulated by Belgium have mainly served to help and support employers. And at the same time this mountain of debts ensures fixed profits for the banks which pocket 65% of the total interest paid by the state i.e. 460 out of the 700 billions of interest paid on the National Debt. Holding the biggest part of the 8,500 billions of state debts, banks are literally taking hostage the capitalist state. The state machine depends on banks and obeys banks. It does not in any way obey the democratic will expressed during fake elections.

Making the rich pay is possible.

Knowing those who are responsible for the salary and social degradation one also knows where to seek for solutions. Can a normal human being really believe that by creating a climate of hysterical hatred against the 2,2% of the population of Moroccan and Turkish origin (2,2% women, children and elderly people included) we will get out of the capitalist tunnel? When our Belgian Nazis start assassinating Arabs and Turks, like their German colleagues have already done, do you think that you will be closer to a solution to capitalist injustices? Doesn't the beastly, feeble-minded, irrational hatred which the right sows against the immigrants precisely serve to turn eyes away from the real culprits? Doesn't this hatred against immigrant workers serve to conceal the big thefts and swindles, the 7,000 billions, the 1,400 billions, the 700 and 800 billions?

First the **7,000 billions**: fortune of one percent of the super-rich.

In this period of crisis, it would only be right to register nominally all securities and real estate fortunes and to introduce a solidarity tax of one percent on all fortunes exceeding 20 million francs. This measure would bring in 40 billions.

Further the **1,400 billions**: property incomes.

Incomes which those who live on their unearned income receive without even lifting their little finger must be taxed in the same way as the salaries that others earn by their toil. Property incomes must be globalized with labour incomes. This measure would bring in 100 billions.

Next come the **800 billions** company profits.

In 1980, companies were paying a 41,7% tax rate. This rate has presently come down to 18%. By reestablishing the 1980 rate recuperate 130 billions would be recuperated.

Finally, there are the **700 billions** of interest on the state debt.

A decrease of 2 points of the interest rates paid on the long term debts owned by banks, would bring in 60 billions.

One more world on tax fraud. It is estimated at 150 billions. A youth of Moroccan origin who steals a few thousand Belgian francs can be expelled to a country where he has never set foot. Some unemployed immigrant youths, without any adequate training, without any future, fall into petty delinquency, in the same way as the young Belgians who share their living conditions. The fascists take advantage of this to lead a campaign in favour of harsh crime repression. Their aim is to increase the number of policemen and gendarmes and to improve their weapons and their technology, in order to repress the immigrants but also

and especially the social and union anticapitalist movements.

Now, real criminality does not concern small offences, not even big hold-ups which at the most bring in a few tens of millions. Big criminality, big thefts are in higher spheres of this society. The 150 billions fraud show their importance. The bourgeoisie which is ready to repress petty delinquency, refuses to go for the big criminals of high society. Money from big criminality goes through the banks in one way or another. They must be nationalized. Bank secrecy must be lifted and the administration must have access to the positions and movements of all accounts.

More courage, more militancy.

Catastrophes and civil wars in Eastern Europe, Germany hegemony in Europe, economic wars between the U.S, Japan and the EEC, the rise of fascism, the unbearable situation for 3 billion human beings in the Third World. For the whole of Europe a new period of instability and serious social and national conflicts is opening up. Only the real communists are politically and morally armed to face the coming struggles in total faithfulness to the workers, to the oppressed Third World. Last year we said that it was necessary and possible to widen the field of our propaganda and the ranks of our party by 25%. Some sections have gone beyond this, one can mention here especially our youth organization, Rebelle. Others must reach the 25% objective during this year. Unit by unit, we'll fix precise objectives. A few weeks ago the number of our «Solidarity» paper subscribers reached a «historical record»; never have we had as many during our 22 years of existence. This is a sign of the great interest of progressives in a thorough analysis based on marxist science. This also constitutes for each one of us an encouragement to militate with more intensity everywhere amongst the masses. More and more leftists realise that only the communists analyse the defects and crimes of capitalism and imperialism without any complacency and that only the communists have the courage of their leftist ideas. The absence of political courage is a source of revisionism and degeneration, with us too. When the anticommunist wave was breaking in 1989, those who showed courage obtained success, those who drew back reached nothing. In face of the aggression from employers and from government, in face of the madness of racism and of fascism, we must all prove our courage, determination, initiative and fighting spirit.

Long live the socialist revolution!

Long live Marxisme-Leninism!

Long live the international communist movement!

Long live the Belgian Workers' Party!

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First part of an article published in REBOLUSYON, theoretical journal of the C.C. of the Communist Party of the Philippines

REAFFIRM OUR BASIC PRINCIPLES AND CARRY THE REVOLUTION FORWARD

**DECEMBER 26, 1991
TWENTY-THIRD ANNIVERSARY
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES**

On the 23rd anniversary of the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines, let us reaffirm our basic principles and resolve to carry the revolutionary struggle of our people forward.

As set forth in the documents of the reestablishment of the Party, the basic principles are the following: adherence to the theory of Marxism-Leninism, repudiation of modern revisionism, the class analysis of Philippine society as semicolonial and semifeudal, the general line of the national democratic revolution, the theory of people's war and strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside, the united front along the revolutionary class line, democratic centralism, the socialist perspective and proletarian internationalism.

We celebrate today the achievements of the Party under the guidance of the foregoing principles. We base ourselves upon these achievements in order to advance. At the same time, we face up to problems and solve them. In the course of doing so, we further temper and strengthen ourselves.

The overwhelming majority of our Party cadres and members are determined to follow the revolutionary principles and line set by the Party at its reestablishment. The entire Party is resolved to solve and overcome not only those problems posed by U.S. imperialism and the domestic ruling system and the enemy campaigns of suppression but also those problems due to major deviations and errors which we must identify, evaluate, criticize and rectify.

The enemy tries and expects to weaken and destroy the Party and the

revolutionary movement in 1992 and 1993. But he will continue to fail and fail even more dismally as we further build upon the accumulated achievements of the Party, rectify errors and deviations, expand and consolidate our mass base and strengthen the Party and other revolutionary forces in an all-round way.

Under the leadership of our Party, the proletariat and the broad masses of the people are determined to throw off the yoke of oppression and exploitation; and fight to achieve national liberation and democracy against U.S. and Japanese imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

The crisis of the domestic ruling system continues to worsen and provides the fertile ground for the armed revolution. The world capitalist system is in an ever deeper crisis and in increasing turbulence, notwithstanding the triumphalist U.S. claim of a new world order.

I. FURTHER STRENGTHEN THE PARTY IN AN ALL-ROUND WAY

We must strengthen the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally. We cannot do so without taking stock of our strengths and weaknesses. We must assess and evaluate all these, identifying and understanding what are the major accomplishments and problems. Only then can we set forth our tasks correctly.

We must rectify the deviations and errors which violate our basic principles and negate the hard work, struggle and sacrifices of our Party, the people and the revolutionary martyrs. The central leadership of the Party is taking the initiative of carrying out a comprehensive and deepgoing rectification movement.

Study Marxist-Leninist Theory and Combat Subjectivism!

The Party has succeeded in integrating the universal theory of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. It has clarified Philippine history, the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society, the new-democratic stage of the Philippine revolution, the leading class, all the motive forces and adversaries, the strategy and tactics of people's war, the main tasks and socialist perspective of the Philippine revolution.

By clarifying these, the Party has been able to provide the theoretical and political guidance to the revolutionary movement as never done before

in Philippine history. The revolutionary movement of the people has won victories surpassing those of the old democratic revolution and all attempts to resume the Philippine revolution before 1968.

The documents of the Party's reestablishment and subsequent basic documents of the Party are the study materials for the basic level of Party education. Further, there are the distinctive content and study materials of the intermediate and advanced levels of Party education.

The intermediate level studies more thoroughly than the basic level our own revolutionary experience, compares it with and draws lessons from the most significant and most relevant experiences abroad in terms of building the Party, the people's army and the united front in the new democratic revolution. This entails the evaluation of the revolutionary experience of our Party and that of others and gives due recognition to the significance and relevance of the Chinese, Vietnamese, Korean, Cuban and other revolutions to the Philippine revolution.

The advanced level provides the Party members with a comprehensive and profound knowledge of materialist philosophy, historical materialism, political economy, scientific socialism and the world revolution as taught by such great communist thinkers and leaders as Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao and Ho. This provides us with the most extensive and deepgoing understanding of the basic principles of the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship.

All Party members are enjoined to engage in theoretical study not only through formal courses but also in the course of revolutionary mass struggle and in the course of Party life in leading organs and in basic units and to strive to raise their collective experience and practical knowledge to the level of theory. They must ceaselessly develop their Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method.

Since the late 1970s, however, there has been a gross neglect of theoretical education and a gross inadequacy of study courses and materials. Worse, there has been a departure from a structure of theoretical education that is based on our revolutionary experience, that is suitable to our situation and revolutionary struggle and that properly takes into account the significance and relevance of the advances of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice abroad.

We must be able to evaluate the significance and relevance or applicability of the teachings of all the great communist thinkers and leaders. We must know how the teachings can shed light on our conditions and struggle. We must know the historic conditions from which the

teachings have arisen. We must not take any successful foreign revolution or any segment of it out of the concrete context of its own national history as well as of world history.

The works of one great communist thinker should not be dogmatically used to squeeze out those of another, especially if the works of the latter which are more relevant in terms of historical and social conditions and can shed more direct light on the Philippine revolution. Lesser figures of revolutions that do not reach the socialist stage should not be evaluated more highly than any great communist thinker in an eclectic or dogmatic manner.

The basic writings of our Party, which are based on the analysis of our own concrete circumstances and our revolutionary experience, should never be laid aside nor depreciated in the desire to copy some recent model that is believed to be the easy way to victory, without full consideration of the history and conditions of such a model. We must not fly away from the actual conditions and level of the development of our own revolutionary struggle by pursuing any foreign model, be it a complete revolutionary process or a mere part of it.

There has been the subjectivist wish of certain elements to hasten the Philippine revolutionary process and bring it abruptly far beyond its actual level of development. They focus on and take out of historical context such dramatic events as the Bolsheviks' Petrograd and Moscow uprisings of 1917, the Vietnamese uprising of 1945 or Tet offensive of 1968 and the Sandinista's final offensive of 1979 in Nicaragua. These examples are counterposed to the entire theory of people's war and to the entire process of developing people's war in stages and the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside.

The mere wish for achieving total victory and a share of political power in the offing, unwarranted by the existing strength of the revolutionary movement and the objective conditions, is passed off as "new theory" and has been turned into a reason for reorienting and rearranging the revolutionary forces for armed urban insurrection, the premature formation of larger but unsustainable military units as well as topheavy staffing in both urban and rural areas. In areas where this "new strategy" has been carried out, mass work is neglected and the enemy gains ground in forcing the revolutionary forces into a purely military situation.

The basic principles and basic line of our Party have been put under question or denigrated by elements who have a narrow, one-sided and

fragmented view of things and processes in the country and abroad and who have not really studied both Marxist-Leninist theory and the history and conditions of our own revolutionary movement in a comprehensive and deepgoing way. Because of their failure to understand our own revolutionary experience, they do not even realize that they are actually seeking to resurrect and combine both the Sakdalista concept of insurrection of the 1930s and the Jose Lava adventurism of the 1950s.

The erroneous thinking that power can be seized or shared with the bourgeoisie, regardless of the actual strength of the people's army, by rousing and riding on the spontaneous masses has to be immediately cited because it has attacked the basic principles and line of the Party most systematically; and it has wrought the gravest damage — unprecedented in the history of our Party and the ongoing revolutionary movement.

Since its reestablishment, the Party has been committed to a cogent antirevisionist line as a result of the study of the Lavaite errors and the modern revisionism promoted by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on a world scale since 1956. The Party has never abandoned its Marxist-Leninist line. No leading or staff organ can overturn the decision of a Party Congress. The basic antirevisionist line in the basic documents of the Party's reestablishment has never been erased, notwithstanding any previous current of thought among some elements that the revolutionary struggle would either stagnate or regress without the foreign assistance of Brezhnev and his successors.

The critical antirevisionist line of the Party is proven correct and vindicated by the disintegration and collapse of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. There, capitalism and bourgeois class dictatorship have been blatantly restored after more than three decades of peaceful evolution (degeneration) from socialism to capitalism.

Gorbachov has the historical distinction of presiding over and carrying out the final stage of the destructive career of modern revisionism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The initial stage was that of Khrushchov who laid the foundation of modern revisionism by spouting bourgeois populism and pacifism and carrying out capitalist-oriented reforms in the economy. The middle and longest stage was that of Brezhnev who recentralized the bureaucracy and resources for the benefit of the new bourgeoisie as well as for the arms race and further promoted the so-called economic reforms of his predecessor.

The disintegration of the Soviet Union and collapse of the revisionist

ruling cliques and regimes mean the total discredit of modern revisionism as well as that of its consequence — undisguised capitalism — that continues to wreak havoc on the lives of the peoples in these countries. Contrary to the mocking propaganda claim of our enemy, it is not our Party which is embarrassed and orphaned by the fall of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes. It is the Lava revisionist group and its successors.

As far as the Party is concerned, Marxism-Leninism stands brilliantly as the proven correct guide in the new democratic revolution and in the future socialist transformation in our country. The new challenge in theoretical work is the further development of the theory of continuing the revolution, combating modern revisionism and preventing the restoration of capitalism in socialist society and resuming the revolution where modern revisionism has prevailed or has already passed on to blatant capitalism in the anticommunist and antisocialist counter-revolution.

Mao Zedong started theoretical and practical work on the problem of modern revisionism. The failure of the proletarian cultural revolution, after some years of success, has not invalidated the theory of continuing proletarian revolution in the same way that the failure of the Paris Commune of 1871, after a fleeting success, never invalidated the theory of proletarian revolution.

Persevere in People's War and Build the Mass Base!

There is no doubt whatsoever that under the oppressive and exploitative conditions of the semicolonial and semifeudal system the Filipino people have no choice but to engage in the new-democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class through its advanced detachment, the Party.

The people in their millions have been aroused, organized and mobilized by the Party as never before in Philippine history, in accordance with the general line of new democratic revolution. Through the revolutionary armed struggle and the united front, the Party has been able to lead the broad masses of the people in their millions.

By building the NPA and waging people's war, the Party has been able to arouse, organize and mobilize the largest oppressed class in Philippine society, forge the basic alliance of the working class and peasantry and answer the central question of the revolution.

There are now scores of guerrilla fronts in the countryside in the

overwhelming majority of Philippine provinces. Here the mass base is being expanded and consolidated. Organs of political power are not simply being built above the heads of the local people but mass organizations of workers, peasants, fishermen, women, youth, cultural workers and others are being formed to realize the most active and strongest participation of the people in the armed struggle and all types of mass campaigns for their benefit.

The key campaign is land reform. What is generally being carried out is the minimum program of rent reduction, control of interest rates, improvement of the wages of farm workers, better prices of farm products and raising production through rudimentary forms of cooperation, improved agricultural techniques and sideline occupation. Land confiscation is carried out against despotic landlords and restitution of land to the rightful owners is carried out in cases of landgrabbing.

Let us continue to remind ourselves that our people's war is a revolutionary political mass movement within the framework of the new democratic revolution and that it integrates the armed struggle, land reform and building the mass base along the antifeudal line. This is being restated in view of a gross misrepresentation that the waging of people's war and the building of the people's army is mainly or primarily a military process.

The NPA has been able to preserve and strengthen itself through guerrilla warfare. The Party spreads the people's army like a fisherman's net to do mass work and draws it in to concentrate a force in order to wipe out the enemy forces piece by piece by surprise. If they are to fight effectively and self-reliantly and accumulate strength in the long term, the NPA guerrilla forces must rely on an ever expanding and consolidated mass base in view of the vastly superior military strength of the enemy.

At the present stage of the development of the people's war, it is wrong to absolutely concentrate any company or battalion within the short radius of one, two or three villages or in a forest camp when it is not on an offensive mode or on training exercise. If such units are not spread out to conduct mass work, they become bogged down with problems of their own maintenance and other internal problems, they become isolated from a dwindling mass base and end up fighting less and less and becoming more and more vulnerable to enemy encirclement and attacks.

There has been a gross deviation from the line of developing the people's war and the people's army in stages and of building the foundation of victory through painstaking mass work. This deviation has caused setbacks through a process of self-constriction and has inflicted

unprecedentedly heavy losses in the strength of the Party and the people's army and gross reductions of our mass base. It has caused a reversal of what the Party has always been proud of: namely, when the enemy pours in his brigades and battalions on a particular area the revolutionary forces can flexibly fight back and grow in strength by leaps and bounds in so many other areas.

For nearly ten years, there has been the erroneous line of thought in certain parts of our Party that victory can be achieved sooner without so much the necessity of painstaking mass work and solid organizing by rapidly forming companies and battalions in absolute concentration and combining their offensive actions with urban uprisings of the spontaneous masses, the urban mass organizations and the armed city partisans. The armed urban uprisings, according to them, are the "highest form of struggle" that the movement is supposed to achieve. What is wrong and self-destructive about this deviation is that it argues against the necessity of developing the people's army in stages by encircling the cities from the countryside, disregards the current stage of the development of the revolutionary forces and in the name of "regularization" draws away cadres and resources from mass work and concentrates them into urban-based staff and staff of military units.

This erroneous current of thought and action has brought about the gravest setbacks and destruction to the Party and the revolutionary movement, first in one major island and subsequently on a nationwide scale. It has brought about the lopsided distribution of cadres and resources, the costly building of urban-based staff organs and topheavy military staff (which are vulnerable to the enemy), gross reductions of the mass base, the eventual isolation and passivity of the prematurely enlarged and unsustainable armed units, defeats and demoralization in a purely military situation and finally a wild surge of panic like the anti-informer hysteria.

This erroneous trend falls into the enemy's line of creating a purely military situation that allows him to effectively use his vastly superior military forces in his strategic offensive (war of quick decision) and blockhouse warfare (gradual constriction) in the countryside. The urban-based leading or staff organs which are supposed to coordinate and combine the urban and rural forces for the armed urban insurrection are also vulnerable to surveillance and punitive actions by the enemy, especially because many of the cadres are on the enemy manhunt list and can be easily identified.

In the exercise of its absolute leadership, the Party must in the first place decide the line and the strategy and tactics, and deploy cadres and resources correctly. No staff organ should be allowed to take away initiative from the comprehensive leadership of the Party in this regard.

The guerrilla forces of the New People's Army must develop under the principle of centralized leadership (especially ideological and political) and decentralized operations. They must create more guerrilla fronts and conduct guerrilla warfare on all types of terrain in order to effect extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare. They must be able to maintain initiative and flexibility and skilfully use the tactics of dispersal, concentration and shifting.

When the enemy concentrates his forces, he can grab a certain territory but in the process gives away more space to the guerrilla forces. When he disperses his forces, the dispersed parts become more vulnerable to guerrilla attacks. When he keeps on shifting his forces, he also opens his parts to attacks by the guerrilla forces. He cannot carry out the same war of fluid movement conducted by the people's army because he does not enjoy the popular support that the guerrilla forces have.

What spells victory for the NPA is the extensive and deepgoing mass participation and support, which keeps the enemy deaf and blind despite his superior military forces and war materiel. The people's army ceases to be what it ought to be when it concedes the people to the special operations teams, the paramilitary forces and other organizational devices of the enemy and fails to deploy the armed propaganda teams, local guerrilla forces and militia as well as to build the organs of political power and the mass organizations.

We must cast away illusions that we can capture and keep the cities without breaking the military backbone of the enemy in the countryside. The NPA must keep to the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside. And even in parts of the countryside where there are big and well fortified enemy camps which we cannot as yet raid and capture, we can wipe out part by part the small units that go out of such camps so long as we can encircle them with an extensive and powerful mass base.

We are on the strategic defensive. But we can launch the tactical offensives that we are capable of winning. We can carry out this strategy and tactics only by availing of the widest room for maneuver in the countryside and by constantly expanding and consolidating the mass base. We should not imagine that the U.S. and the local exploiting classes are easy pushovers in our country. We should ensure that we have the capacity

to seize power and hold it when in the future we decide to take their citadel.

Build and Broaden the Revolutionary United Front!

The party has amplified its strength and expanded its influence by building the united front. The purpose of this united front is to broaden the support for and strengthen the revolutionary armed struggle and the legal democratic movement.

The revolutionary united front cannot exist without the leadership of the working class through the Party and without the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry as the foundation. The Party branches, the people's army, the peasants' and workers' organizations, and the organs of political power built at the village level are the organized forms of the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry.

The National Democratic Front has been essentially the underground united front organization of the basic revolutionary forces (i.e., those of the working class, peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie) under the leadership of the working class through the Party. It is a united front for armed struggle and it serves to pave the way for the establishment of organs of political power, especially at levels higher than that of the village.

There have been proposals and attempts to erase the working class leadership and the leading role of the Party in the united front, to subordinate the Party to a specific formation of the united front and deny the independence and initiative of the Party and its allies and to negate the socialist perspective of the ongoing national democratic revolution.

Rather than try to attract more cooperating organizations within its fold by erasing the class leadership of the working class and the historical initiative of the Party in its formation and by diluting its new democratic program and socialist perspective, the NDF should maintain its character as the most advanced and most consolidated underground united front organization of the basic revolutionary forces under working class leadership and stay committed to the two stages of the Philippine revolution.

It must build its array of underground cooperating organizations, form confederal leading committees of representatives of such organizations and then proceed to invite worthy personalities from various organizations and trends to join the leading committees and commissions at various

levels. Rather than have a federation, which subordinates the Party to the united front and runs counter to the principle of independence and initiative in the united front and which puts the Party and the NDF leadership on a potential collision course, the relations of cooperating organizations within the NDF framework should be consultative and consensual as should be the case in a united front.

In the legal democratic movement, there are sectoral and multisectoral alliances which take a patriotic and progressive stand on issues. These include mostly organizations of workers, peasants and the urban petty bourgeois. They have been effective in raising the political consciousness of the broad masses of the people in the entire country.

The national bourgeoisie is one of the positive forces, which include the basic revolutionary forces. But this stratum in the Philippines has a dual character; it has a progressive aspect being progressive as well as a reactionary aspect and it is weak and vacillating, especially because it does not own basic industries in the specific case of the Philippines. It has articulate spokesmen but no strong organization of its own.

The members of this stratum are in certain businessmen's organizations together with the big compradors and the representatives of multinational firms. However, the national bourgeoisie cooperate with the revolutionary movement in areas where it is strong or when progressive political currents are strong as during the antifascist and anti-imperialist struggle against the U.S.-Marcos regime in 1983-86.

The concept and reality of the united front can extend to a formal or informal alliance of the revolutionary forces with sections of the reactionary classes. We have had extensive experience in dealing with local officials of the reactionary government and enlightened landlords and businessmen who comply with the laws of the people's government on land reform, wages, business, taxation and so on. They have also cooperated with us in mass actions, elections and other events. In the 1983-86 antifascist movement, anti-Marcos reactionaries at all levels allied themselves with us, especially before they could secure full U.S. support.

To take advantage of the splits among the reactionaries is to be able to isolate and defeat the most reactionary faction at a given time. The policy of the Party is to fight and defeat one reactionary faction after another and in the process strengthen the revolutionary movement.

When we have reactionary allies, we must describe them as such to the Party rank and file and explain to them that these are unstable and unreliable allies so that there can be no confusion. We must neither lump

them together with the petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie under the category of "bourgeois reformists" nor describe any big comprador-landlord political party or regime as "liberal democratic". Errors have occurred in this regard.

The legal democratic movement based in the urban areas is of indispensable and great importance. As a matter of fact, this movement through its pronouncements and mass actions reaches and inspires people beyond those that the Party, the NPA and the NDF can reach directly at any given time. When we describe the legal form of struggle as secondary to the armed form of struggle, we are clearly addressing the question of smashing the bureaucratic and military machinery of the reactionary state and seizing political power. In this connection, the legal and defensive character of the democratic mass movement in the urban areas must be respected and must not be prejudiced. We should not give the reactionaries the excuse to smash it.

The organizations of the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the middle social strata are of great importance. We can wage all forms of legal struggle effectively if, in the first place, there is solid mass organizing at the basic level. Through the mass organizations, it is possible to mobilize more people and launch all kinds of democratic action in their places of work, communities, in halls, in the streets and in the premises of official structures or offices of the reactionary government.

We can build Party units within all kinds of legal organizations, including the reactionary organizations and institutions. Without being publicly known as such, these Party units can utilize the legal processes to promote patriotic and progressive ideas and forces. But bourgeois elections, particularly those previously staged by the Marcos fascist regime in 1978 and 1986, have been the occasions for heated debates on whether to "participate" in them or "boycott" them. In this regard, the question properly is: Can the Party utilize the process through Party cadres who are not publicly known as such and allies who take a patriotic and progressive stand?

Regarding these elections, the Party can correctly call them farces as a whole and in essence. At the same time, the Party undertakes measures to use these to promote the national democratic line and encourage progressive parties and candidates. This is in the exercise of revolutionary dual tactics to counter the counterrevolutionary dual tactics of the enemy.

The boycott error of 1986 was a major sectarian error separating the advanced section of the masses from the middle and backward sections

of the antifascist mass movement and imposing the Party's puristic will on the legal progressive mass organizations for the duration of the electoral campaign period of December 1985 to February 7, 1986. The boycott decision of 1978, which practically remained unimplemented, was another major error insofar as it led to developments divisive among cadres and damaging to the Party organization.

Principal cadres of the national capital region refused to carry out the decision and were subjected to disciplinary measures. Worse, the Manila-Rizal regional and district Party committees were not properly reorganized and practically went into shambles. The upsurge of the urban mass movement, which was possible from 1978 onward, could not be realized until the 1983-86 period.

There are honest elements who criticize the errors of the Party involving electoral exercises staged by the reactionaries. But there are other elements who have overdrawn the boycott error of 1986 in order to promote a line of urban armed insurrection that is opposed to or subordinates the entire people's war to armed urban insurrection and to cover up the far more disastrous consequences of this erroneous line, which started to become clear in 1984 and extremely devastating from 1985 onward in one major island.

With regard to the forthcoming bourgeois elections, the Party describes them as farcical on the whole and in essence because these are controlled and monopolized by the political parties and agents of the exploiting classes. At the same time, we encourage and favor the most patriotic and progressive candidates in accordance with the revolutionary united front. We require all political parties and candidates to get safe conduct passes from the revolutionary forces before they can go into any area controlled by the revolutionary forces.

Since 1986, the question of peace negotiations has assumed a significance unseen in previous years of the Party. We have to learn lessons from the preceasefire talks and ceasefire agreement in 1986 and 1987. To this date, the enemy has clearly shown by his framework and actions that he wants the revolutionary forces to capitulate to his rule, his constitution and his armed forces; to split the revolutionary movement; and to surveil and attack the movement.

The NDF have clearly stated its willingness to negotiate with the reactionary government at the national bilateral level and in a proper venue abroad; and has presented the framework and strategic line for a just and lasting peace. These conform to the people's demand for national

liberation and democracy. The refusal of the enemy to negotiate with the NDF can only mean that the revolutionary forces need to fight harder and win more victories in order to change the balance of forces. The question of peace talks should not be allowed to undermine our revolutionary will to fight.

The duly-authorized representatives of the NDF have repeatedly met abroad in Europe and Hongkong with officials of the Manila government on an informal and preliminary basis regarding the question of peace talks since 1990. But Aquino has so far failed to formally reply to the September 20, 1990 letter of the NDF national chairman offering a new round of bilateral peace talks, with the U.N. secretary general as an intermediary.

Since 1991, the European Parliament in a resolution has called for peace negotiations between the NDF and the Manila government and the Swiss government has offered to both sides its good offices and Geneva as venue for the peace talks. But the reactionary government has been intransigent. It has also repeatedly frustrated the urgings of peace advocates in the Philippines and abroad for the start of a peace process.

All revolutionary forces at all levels have correctly and strongly rebuffed the calls of the Aquino regime and the reactionary armed forces for localized dialogues, localized ceasefires and localized surrenders, with revolutionary statements and actions. They have called on the local officials of the reactionary government and military and police forces to surrender to the revolutionary movement or to make a common front against the regime seated in Manila.

Uphold Democratic Centralism and Revive Basic Party Life!

The Party is a nationwide organization and is deeply rooted among the toiling masses. It has a few tens of thousands of members and thousands of cadres. It is supported by a far greater number of mass activists in the organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth, professionals and so on.

The organizational principle of the Party is democratic centralism. This means centralized leadership based on democracy and democracy guided by centralized leadership. There is a body of basic revolutionary principles to which all Party members must adhere. And there are the basic conditions and processes by which decisions and discussions are made democratically within the Party structure. These are thoroughly made clear in the Party Constitution.

A correct style of work is also demanded of all Party members. This involves adhering to the principle and practice of democratic centralism, belonging to a basic Party unit and performing basic tasks and functions, being closely linked with the masses and making criticism and self-criticism in order to improve work, rectify errors and strengthen the unity of the Party.

The overwhelming majority of Party members are dedicated and hardworking. But there are certain problems which we have to face up to in order to stop any trend of decreasing or stagnating Party membership anywhere so that we can perform the gigantic tasks in the revolution.

If there is any erroneous line that has resulted in the reduction of our mass base, we must do away with that line. Without an expanding mass base, we have nothing to consolidate and we become unfit to lead the revolution. A key point in consolidation is the recruitment of the advanced elements in the mass movement to the Party within the period of candidature made clear by the Party Constitution.

We have to increase our Party membership and strengthen basic Party life ideologically, politically and organizationally. We must build the Party branches and groups at the grassroots level in both urban and rural areas.

It is wrong to concentrate the majority of our Party cadres and members in urban-based staff organs, in Party groups above the grassroots level (even if these are in mass organizations) and in topheavy military staff organs in the countryside. The so-called regularization is bureaucratization which prevents a huge number of our Party cadres and members from doing mass work and having a basic Party life at the grassroots level.

Overnight we can further strengthen the Party and the mass movement in the local communities if we redeploy the Party cadres and members in the staff organs and let them attend to basic work at the grassroots level. Every Party member must belong to a basic Party branch. No Party cadre of whatever rank is exempt from membership in a basic Party unit. This is clear in the Party Constitution.

We must also stop the practice of recruiting advanced elements in the mass movement only to employ them as staffers and not developing them to become fullfledged Party members within the period of candidature set by the Constitution.

The source and base of bureaucratism is the accumulation of Party cadres and members in higher staff organs and their alienation from mass work and basic Party life at the grassroots level. Lower organs and basic units are depleted of Party cadres. And then the wrong attitude arises that

no one in these lower organs or units can represent them in higher organs. Thus, there is the phenomenon of the one-person layer of authority, the "political officer" abolished in 1986 but persisting as the appointive "secretary" who acts as a top-down representative of the higher organ to the lower organ and whose best argument is either the supposed command from above or his interpretation of the decision of the higher organ.

The most dangerous, most costly and most absurd situation has arisen, with the basing and proliferation of staff organs in urban areas, the concentration of cadres in these staff organs and the mixing and frequent contacts of cadres who are in the enemy's manhunt list with surveilled former political detainees and with legal personalities of the legal mass movement (who are themselves the subject of enemy surveillance).

The illusion that the staff organs have to be "positioned" in the urban areas in anticipation of "sudden shifts" in the situation that would bring about the opportunity for armed urban insurrection must be cast away. The staff organs must be streamlined so as to release cadres for work in the countryside and at the grassroots level. This must be done before the enemy "streamlines" them out of existence. All cadres in the enemy manhunt list must be redeployed to the countryside. Staff organs that are appropriate to the countryside must be shifted. In the countryside itself, top-heavy military staff organs must also be streamlined to release cadres for work with the masses.

It is wrong to set up the straw figure that the Party has neglected urban work and to encourage Party cadres to stick to the cities and discourage them from going to the countryside. The peasant masses and the countryside cannot by themselves produce certain types of well-educated cadres, with ideological, political, professional and technical competence, required for the revolutionary work in the countryside.

The enemy has obviously surveilled the urban-based staff organs for long periods of time and has repeatedly hit these with precision raids and arrests. It now plans to launch a crackdown on these urban-based organs before May 1992. Since 1989, as a result of the 1988 arrests, the Party has issued comprehensive and detailed security guidelines. But these have been complied with only in a token and passing manner. The most absurd was the continued basing of the NPA general command in Metro Manila despite enemy actions in 1988 and onward.

Leading territorial organs as well as staff organs characteristically generate overly long meetings, debates and papers. Oftentimes, the presiding officer is a mere moderator and not a leader. There is no lack

of discussion within these organs. Meetings on administrative and procedural matters eat so much time that no time is left for study or work. The disease of bureaucratism arises from the lack or inadequacy of basic Party life and the exaggeration of the top-down administrative structure, especially through the staff organs.

Bureaucratism has begotten ultrademocracy. In the long periods of noncontact with the leading territorial organs, staff organs acquire excessive discretion and authority and improperly issue policy directives, make major decisions and implement them without passing through the leading territorial organs to which these staff organs are subordinate and which they are supposed to assist. The leading territorial organs are made to chase after unauthorized acts, errors and debates of staff organs with other staff organs and even with some leading territorial committees.

When it suits them, certain staff organs invoke compartmentalization to shut off for long periods of time not only other staff organs but even the leading territorial committee of which they are mere appointive derivatives. Thus, there are unhealthy tendencies of "several centers", independent kingdoms and ultrademocracy.

There are staff organs and individuals that issue publications questioning and attacking the line of the Party. They are engaged in ultrademocracy or liberalism. They wish to turn the Party into a liberal debating club and ape the modern revisionists and anticommunists that have destroyed the revisionist ruling parties and regimes from the inside. They act as if the Party had no basic principles to uphold and were not in a life-and-death struggle with the enemy.

Any revolutionary party or any organization for that matter is bound to degenerate or disintegrate when it allows its members to cast doubt on, denigrate, revise and attack its basic principles and line. We have seen entire revisionist-ruled states and entire revisionist parties go this way. We still have to see a declared communist remaining as a member of good standing in any bourgeois party or a declared atheist remaining a member of the Catholic Church.

There are a handful of elements who are either unreconstructed petty bourgeois or with petty bourgeois tails whose idea of democracy is to be able to do away with the leading role of the working class and the Party in the new democratic revolution and other basic principles, including democratic centralism. They promote the theory of spontaneous masses, especially in connection with insurrectionism. And they are falling into an anti-Party conjuncture with petty-bourgeois populists, liberals, "social-

democrats", "democratic socialists", pacifists, advocates of pacification, Trotskyites and the like.

The Party must uphold democratic centralism. Inner Party democracy must be given free rein under the guidance of the basic principles of the Party and within the structure and confines of the Party and especially through an all-rounded basic Party life. There are both discipline and freedom within the Party. The Party does not allow any individual to enter the Party to attack its basic principles and general line and even use the personnel, facilities and resources of the Party against the Party. The Party is so guided by democracy that it recruits its members on a conscious voluntary individual basis and at the same time allows anyone to quit the Party when he can no longer accept its basic principles.



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There may be unacknowledged disagreements with positions expressed, and these articles should not be regarded as representing official R.C.L. positions.

Part four of a 50-paged article by Armando Liwanag
Chairman of the Communist Party of Philippines

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STAND FOR SOCIALISM AGAINST MODERN REVISIONISM

By Armando Liwanag
Chairman, Central Committee
Communist Party of the Philippines
January 15, 1992

IV. CERTAIN LESSONS FROM THE COLLAPSE OF MODERN REVISIONISM IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE

It is of crucial importance to make a precise description of the ruling parties and regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the crisis that conspicuously beset them since the early 1980s and their collapse from 1989 to 1991. These ruling parties and regimes were revisionist. Their crisis and collapse are not those of socialism but of modern revisionism or capitalist restoration masquerading as socialism. The blatant restoration of capitalism and the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie are the indubitable proof. The unraveling of the revisionist systems and the unfolding of the truth in the few years before the collapse occurred right before our eyes.

There is ideological and political confusion if the crisis and collapse of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes are described as those of

socialism or Stalinism rather than of modern revisionism. Such a description would continue to pass off modern revisionism as socialism. All Marxist-Leninists must firmly recognize the fact that modern revisionism had undermined and prevailed over socialism long before the former itself plunged into a crisis and led to the collapse of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes from 1989 to 1991.

One may speak of a crisis of socialism only in the thinking of some of those who presume modern revisionism to be socialism and observe the crisis and collapse of the ruling revisionist parties and regimes. The imperialists, the revisionists themselves and the bourgeois intelligentsia simplistically call the crisis and collapse of these anti-Stalin parties and regimes as the "crisis of Stalinism" or the "Stalinist model of socialism". Stalin has been dead for 38 years and a process of "de-Stalinization" has been going on for the last 35 years.

It is preposterous that long after his death Stalin is still being blamed for what his detractors have done or not done all these years in order to promote modern revisionism and restore capitalism. This is pure obscurantism and personality cult in reverse! The merits and demerits of any leader must be considered only within his period of responsibility, unless the objective is not to make a historical assessment but to demonize a leader and use psywar to attack Marxism-Leninism and socialism in a bourgeois personalistic manner. The modern revisionists should not be allowed to cover up their responsibility within their own period of rule. As a matter of fact, Stalin's great achievements in socialist construction and defense of the Soviet Union are diametrically opposed to the restoration of capitalism and the disintegration of the Soviet Union by the modern revisionists.

We must draw the correct lessons from the betrayal and sabotage of socialism by the modern revisionists from Khrushchov through Brezhnev to Gorbachov. We must combat those forces and elements that wish to destroy the Party and the revolutionary movement from within by aping Gorbachov and the like and opposing the basic revolutionary principles of the Party.

The Antirevisionist Line

The reconsideration of the revisionist ruling parties as Marxist-Leninist and the revisionist regimes as socialist since 1983 by certain elements within the Party has generated misunderstanding of scientific socialism and a deviation from the antirevisionist line of the Party. This must be

rectified in view of the undeniable fact of the collapse of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes and in connection with the correction of the exaggerated, incorrect and futile notion that these parties and regimes could extend assistance for accelerating the victory of the Philippine revolution.

As a result of the collapse of these parties and regimes, the CPP is ever more resolved to adhere to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism and to pursue the anti-revisionist line and persevere in armed revolution. The anti-communists who seek to use the collapse of modern revisionism as an invalidation and complete negation of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism deserve nothing but contempt.

The CPP upholds the fact that Marxist-Leninist theory has correctly guided the proletarian revolutionaries and more than a billion people to victory in new-democratic revolution and in socialist revolution and construction. As far as the Philippines is concerned, the working class is the leading class in the new-democratic and socialist stages of the revolution. The advanced detachment of this class is the CPP. Without this party, the revolutionary mass movement of the people would not have resurged in Philippine history along the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal line, with a socialist perspective. The petty bourgeois groups that seek to confuse, discredit, weaken and destroy the CPP can only continue being servitors of the oppressors and exploiters without the Party and the toiling masses of workers and peasants carrying out the revolution most determinedly.

What the CPP considers now as the greatest challenge in theoretical work among all proletarian revolutionaries, including Filipino communists, is learning lessons from the long-term and peaceful restoration of capitalism in socialist countries and understanding the way of continuing the revolution, combating modern revisionism and preventing the restoration of capitalism in socialist society as well as of fighting for socialism whenever it has been replaced by capitalism.

In countries where modern revisionism had its way and restored capitalism, the challenge in theoretical and practical work among proletarian revolutionaries is to bring back socialism and bring it to a new and higher level. The forces of socialism can probably win again only after undergoing the violence of capitalist oppression and exploitation and defeating this through revolutionary violence. There is yet no historical example of a non-exploiting society replacing an exploiting class society without revolutionary violence although it has

been demonstrated repeatedly in history that a higher form of society can degenerate into a lower form through peaceful evolution.

In the course of both the new-democratic and socialist stages of the Philippines, the basic factors of counterrevolution (big bourgeoisie and landlord class) are never obliterated completely (especially in the sphere of ideology and social psychology) by the main factors of revolution (working class and peasantry). And there are intermediate factors (urban petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie) that operate between the two poles of revolution and counterrevolution. The main factors of revolution can come on top of those of counterrevolution and in the process win over the intermediate factors, which in turn exert both positive and negative influences on the main factors of revolution.

In the complexity of waging the new-democratic and socialist stages of the revolution, the proletarian party must uphold its revolutionary integrity through adherence to Marxism-Leninist theory, from philosophy down to strategy and tactics, and must always conduct concrete analysis of concrete conditions in order to lead the broad masses of the people from victory to victory.

Marxism-Leninism is on the high road of human civilization, cherishing the heritage from the past, availing of all current factors that make for progress; and always aiming for a better future. But it is wrong to use such terms of idealism as universal humanism, classless populism, supra-class state, pacifism and such other abstract terms in order to obscure and negate the proletarian class stand and in fact give way to the hegemony of the bourgeoisie and other backward forces in the real world.

It is wrong to declare prematurely the end of exploiting classes and class struggle while in fact they continue to exist both domestically and internationally during the entire historical epoch of socialism. The seeming disappearance of the exploiting classes by socio-economic definition does not mean that the proletarian character of the ruling party and the state has become unnecessary and that the intelligentsia automatically becomes proletarian in socialist society. In fact, the bourgeoisie first reemerges through the bureaucracy and the intellectual sphere and then in the social economy.

It is wrong to propagate, under the cover of idealist and metaphysical terms, mechanical materialism, specifically in the form of the theory of productive forces which posits that the development of the "productive forces" can onesidedly and automatically bring about socialist progress. Revolution in the relations of production as well as in the superstructure must take the lead over production. Otherwise the idea gains ground that

socialism with a low technological and economic level can advance only through domestic capitalist-oriented economic reforms and submission to the industrial capitalist countries.

The Proletarian Dictatorship

Upon the basic completion of the new-democratic revolution through the seizure of political power in the Philippines, the people's democratic government is established. This is the form that the proletarian dictatorship takes in consonance with the basic worker-peasant alliance under proletarian leadership. Thus, the socialist revolution can begin in every aspect of society.

The people's democratic government or socialist state must of course serve the entire people. But it cannot be really classless or supra-class. There is a definite class hegemony, either proletarian or bourgeois. For communists to waiver about this is to concede to the initiative of the bourgeoisie and its intellectual and political agents. The socialist state is categorically a class dictatorship of the proletariat to preclude the counterrevolution of the exploiting classes and make instantly possible the substance and process of democracy for the entire people. The party must never relinquish its leadership over the entire state and the people's army and must retain its Party organization therein until the time comes for the state to wither away, after a whole historical epoch of building socialism, defeating imperialism and neocolonialism and preparing the way for communism.

The modern revisionist bureaucrats systematically opposed the concept of proletarian dictatorship under the cover of populism and "no more exploiting classes and no more class struggle" or the "dying out of the class struggle" in order to resurrect the bourgeoisie within the bureaucracy as well as in society through capitalist-oriented reforms. Proletarian dictatorship should comprehensively guarantee national freedom of the people against imperialism; class freedom of the exploited against the exploiting classes; and individual freedom against the ever potential alienation and abuse of state power.

The socialist constitution and the proletarian dictatorship must guarantee the civil rights of individuals and organizations that adhere to socialism, promote public participation in the affairs of the state and put restraints on the possible abuse of power by the state and its officials. These restraints include the basic freedoms, electoral process, popular power of recall, definite terms of office, age limits and restrictions on

personal incomes and privileges and against any kind of privilege or favor which is not based on merit.

No elective national leader may be elected for a period longer than two five-year terms and all officials may retire optionally at 65 and obligatorily at 70. Any individual or organization has the right to express anything in any legal way, be this criticism or constructive proposal without fear of reprisal. Due process is guaranteed. A person is presumed innocent, unless proven guilty in a court on the basis of evidence and through a fair trial. Thus, in the popular struggle against counterrevolution, the target is narrowed and the danger of abuse is averted.

But as already demonstrated in the collapse of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes, it is incorrect to promote individual freedom outside of the clear framework of anti-imperialism (national freedom) and socialism (freedom from the exploiting classes). Individual freedom should not become the license for the imperialists and the local bourgeoisie and other reactionaries to oppose socialism and regain control over society.

In the entire historical epoch of socialism, the proletariat must see to it that the leading role of the proletariat is upheld in the constitution. Subsequent to the democratic coalition government by consensus, there can be an upper house of congress as the house of the working people under proletarian leadership and a lower house of congress as the house of the district representatives of the people. Retired but still mentally able revolutionary leaders can be in advisory councils enjoying high moral authority, most useful in any moment of constitutional crisis that may threaten the revolution.

The proletarian revolutionary party should never be thought of as just any party, comparable to any party in the multiplicity of permitted parties in the bourgeois political system as in the current multiparty system of the Philippines which is actually monopolized by political factions of the exploiting classes. The Party is a revolutionary party that seeks and effects a radical rupture from private ownership of the means of production and all exploiting societies which have existed in various forms for millennia.

Notwithstanding the radical rupture sought and the mission of the working class to build socialism in a whole historical epoch, working class parties which come to power have limited their memberships to a small part of society (typically five to ten percent of the population), with the Party expanding its influence in society through mass organizations

and state agencies. It is understandable that the Party is a small part of society in the course of the fierce struggle to seize power because of the coercive power of the reactionary state and the dangers to life, limb and liberty to Party members and that there is a limit to the expansion of Party membership soon after the seizure of political power to avert the avalanche of overnight communists and opportunists coming into the Party. But after the consolidation of political power and proletarian control of all aspects of society, especially the educational and cultural system, there is no reason why the Party should not increase its membership up to the point of including the majority of the people.

The Party has a cadre and mass character now. It should continue to be so after the seizure of political power. The cadres can ensure the high quality of the Party and the mass membership, the strong democratic foundation formed by workers and peasants. The Party cannot ensure its high revolutionary quality by remaining small. On the other hand, it is liable to be swamped by an excessively high proportion of intelligentsia, including fictitious communists. Worse, the party will be increasingly regarded as a small and privileged part of society. If the Party remains small, it can be challenged any time by any political group or movement which has a comparatively large or even larger membership; or by the traditionally dominant church which claims the religious or moral allegiance of the majority of the people.

In accordance with the historic mission of the working class to build socialism, the representatives of the Party must be assured of at least one third of elective positions in the state alongside the representatives of the mass organizations of the working people and other sections of society. But within every slot allotted to the major components of society, the people inside and outside the Party must be able to choose candidates from a list in an electoral process.

With a large mass membership, the Party can confidently engage in multiparty cooperation along the united front line. The worst kind of model is a political system of only one party which includes only a small fraction of society. The socialist society must be able to allow the existence and cooperation of several parties which offer lists of candidates subject to the electoral will of the people and the constitutional framework of socialist revolution and construction.

Socialist Revolution and Construction

Upon the basic completion of the new-democratic revolution through the seizure of political power, the proletariat and the people under the leadership of the Party can begin socialist revolution and construction. The strategic enterprises and the main lines of production and distribution are nationalized. These comprise the initial base for socialist construction. But the socialist state sector of the productive system can be expanded with the use of available domestic capital, export income and productive foreign borrowing.

But there are bourgeois-democratic economic reforms that still need to be undertaken as transitory measures, such as land reform and concessions to peasants of all strata and petty and middle bourgeois nonmonopoly commodity producers. These reforms and concessions do not mean the building of a "national-democratic economy" in lieu of a socialist economy. The cooperativization of agriculture and nonagricultural enterprises as well as joint state-private ownership can be carried out from one stage to a higher one in conjunction with socialist construction and further industrialization.

In view of the fact that so far in history socialist economies have been established upon a low economic and technological level and worse after a ruinous war, the proletarian revolutionary party is obliged to adopt transitory measures. How long these measures should run depends on the concrete conditions. In the Soviet Union, Lenin had to adopt the New Economic Policy. And Stalin subsequently pioneered in drawing up and implementing the series of five-year plans of socialist construction. He succeeded in building a socialist industrial economy.

But even after a socialist industrial economy had been established, the modern revisionists misrepresented Lenin's New Economic Policy as the way to socialism rather than as a mere transitory measure. Thus, Khrushchov, Brezhnev and Gorbachov made this misrepresentation by using Lenin against Lenin. They justified the retrogression to capitalist-oriented reforms by counterposing Lenin's transitional policy to Stalin's program to build publicly-owned heavy and basic industries and collectivize agriculture in a planned way.

After the New Economic Policy served its purpose, Stalin carried out fullscale socialist construction. It was prompt and absolutely necessary to do so in the face of the growth of capitalism threatening the socialist revolution. Anti-socialist critics decry overinvestment in heavy and basic industries, the suppression of the rebellious rich peasants and the

exploitation of the peasantry. But they fail to mention that the hard work, the struggle against the counterrevolutionaries and the sacrifice resulted in the raising of production and standard of living, the mechanization of agriculture and the expansion of urban life in so short a period of time. If Bukharin had had his way and prolonged the NEP, the Soviet Union would have generated an unrestrainable bourgeoisie and a widespread rich peasantry to overpower the proletariat, would have had less economic well-being and less defense capability, would have been an easier prey to Hitler and would have been attacked earlier by Nazi Germany.

After World War II, China under the leadership of Mao Zedong and the Communist Party of China would be able to demonstrate that there can be a well-balanced growth of agriculture as the foundation of the economy, heavy industry as the leading factor and light industry as the bridging factor between the first two. The line of Mao was to provide as quickly as possible the producer and consumer goods for the people, especially the peasant masses. But even Mao was unfairly accused by modern revisionists of industrial overinvestment and premature cooperativization. At any rate, the Chinese example under the leadership of Mao bettered the Soviet example under the leadership of Stalin in well-balanced development in a poor country engaged in socialist construction. The theory and practice of scientific socialism, therefore, is ever developing.

All modern revisionists are carried away by the theory of "productive forces" and economism. They prate about the law of value but at the same time they obscure the critical Marxist theory of surplus value and the creative line of using what is otherwise private profit as social profit and of converting what is otherwise an anarchic yet monopolistic production for private profit into a system of planned production for use.

Marxists have always agreed with Adam Smith and his followers that the value of a commodity is equivalent to the average socially necessary labor time and that the exchange value (price) is realized in the market. In the socialist system, there is a system of wage differentials paid according to quantity and quality of work done. Within the system of public ownership of the means of production and economic planning, the new value created is allocated for the wages fund for consumption, economic reinvestment not only to cover depreciation but also expansion of production, general welfare (education, health, infrastructure, etc.), administration and national defense.

Aside from the wage system with differentials which corresponds to the system of commodity values, the commodities produced incorporate inputs which are bought from other parts of the domestic or world market at certain prices and which are taken into account in the market price of the commodities. Price comparisons can also be made with similar commodities produced abroad.

The socialist system of production has proven to be effective in creating full employment, attaining high rates of economic growth, responding to the basic needs of the people and providing social services until a new bourgeoisie starts to appropriate an increasing part of the surplus product and develops a taste for highgrade consumer goods which it at first acquires through institutional buying from abroad.

In addition to the high consumption and excessive privileges of the new bourgeoisie, another big drain is the misallocation of resources towards military expenditures because of the imperialist threat. This in fact constituted the biggest drain on the resources of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe under the long reign of Brezhnev. But this is obscured by imperialist propaganda whenever it asserts that socialism is inherently flawed or that the so-called Stalinist model pursued by the modern revisionists has failed. In going for the arms race, the Brezhnev regime deviated from the concepts of people's defense and all-round consolidation adhered to by Stalin when the Soviet Union was militarily weaker and faced bigger threats from the capitalist powers.

The fact is that the socialist economies progressed for a certain number of decades and it would take another number of decades for the modern revisionists to make these economies retrogress into capitalism, under such bourgeois notions as stimulating production and improving the quality of production through private enterprise and the free market.

The adoption of capitalist-oriented reforms to "supplement" and "assist" socialist economic development is thereby wrongly rationalized. But the bourgeoisie, the corrupt bureaucrats and rich peasants are recreated and generated to undermine and destroy socialism from within. After a certain period of liberalization of the economy, the bourgeois forces can demand further privatisation and marketization more vigorously and ultimately claim political power as in Eastern Europe and Soviet Union.

But usually at the beginning of their effort to subvert the socialist economy, when there are yet no significant number of private entrepreneurs within the country, they wage a campaign for learning "efficient management" from capitalist countries (unmindful of the

wasteful business cycles and wars and the centuries of exploiting the proletariat and the colonies and the spheres of influence), for expanded trade with the capitalist countries, foreign investments, loans and technology transfer and therefore for an investment law attractive to the multinational firms and banks as well as to the domestic bourgeoisie which must be promoted if even the foreign bourgeoisie is allowed to enjoy the freedom of investing and owning assets in the country and hiring local people.

Without having to breach or abandon basic socialist principles and without having to enlarge domestic and foreign private ownership of the means of production, it is possible to use wage differentials and bonuses as incentives for raising the quantity and quality of goods according to reliable and accurate information on productive capacity and consumer demand and according to the resultant economic plan, to satisfy the basic needs of the people first and then to proceed to produce nonbasic goods for improving the standard of living, to build one generation of better housing after another as a lifetime incentive and to decentralize economic activities with better results.

The production of both basic and nonbasic consumer goods are complementary and interactive. When basic needs are satisfied and private savings mount, the people start looking for things to spend on in order to improve or make their lives more interesting. Some highgrade consumer goods can be locally produced. Others can be imported without prejudicing the priority given to the development of the entire economy and the importation of essential producer and consumer goods.

In the case of the Soviet Union, before there could be a Gorbachov, there was the prolonged period of Brezhnev in which the new bourgeoisie developed domestically and resources were wasted in the arms race and in the costly commitments abroad under the theory of defending the Soviet Union by developing the strategic offense capability and by being able to wage wars abroad.

We have seen that the concept of people's defense or people's war against an aggressor, within the people's self-reliant capabilities, within their own national borders and without undermining the growth of the socialist economy, still constitutes the correct policy.

The Soviet corps of research scientists, engineers and technologists was the largest in the world. They made great advances in basic research, experiments and prototyping. But only those advances suitable to the high technology requirements of the arms race were used in a big way. And because of disorientation and some false sense of economy in civil

production, old and outmoded equipment tended to be kept and reproduced so that this exceedingly important area of the economy was deprived of the benefits of high technology.

In carrying out socialist construction, after the transitory period of reviving the economy from the ravages of war and completing the bourgeois-democratic reforms, we shall uphold the principle instituting the socialist relations of production to liberate the productive forces and promote their growth; and we shall never retrogress to the revisionist line of using capitalist-oriented reforms to push socialism forward.

The Cultural Revolution

In continuing the revolution, combating revisionism and other counterrevolutionary forces and preventing the restoration of capitalism in socialist society, the cultural revolution must be carried out coextensively and interactively with the political and socioeconomic revolution.

If we are to avoid the errors which caused the failure of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China, we must grasp that the cultural revolution is a persuasive democratic process with Marxist-Leninist theory in the lead carried out along the general line of the people's revolutionary struggle, that the process is a protracted one and so many times more protracted than either the people's war or socialist economic construction and should not be rushed in order not to be persecutory; and that to preempt anarchy institutions like the Party, the state, the people's organizations, the educational system, the mass media and so on should take on responsibility for leadership over the cultural mass movement, with due process rigorously followed and the rights of individuals and groups respected.

The cultural revolution is an important process for keeping high the proletarian revolutionary consciousness and the spirit of selflessness and service to the people. As one generation after another draws away from the accomplished process of seizing political power from the reactionaries and the heroic efforts to establish a socialist society, those who are in the bureaucracy of the ruling party, the state and even in the mass organizations can degenerate into a new bourgeoisie and adopt modern revisionism and other retrograde ideas and policies. The youth and intelligentsia can grow cynical towards those in power and adopt anticommunist views and adulate the ideas and fashions of the domestic and international bourgeoisie.

Even while we are still engaged in the new-democratic revolution in the Philippines, we are already carrying out a cultural revolution among the people. We are promoting a cultural revolution with a national, democratic and scientific character. At the core of this revolutionary mass phenomenon are proletarian revolutionary cadres guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

Our cultural revolution of a new-democratic type is distinct from and yet continuous with the socialist cultural revolution. Like now, we shall continue to combine Party leadership, the mass movement and a strong sense of the rights of the individual within the anti-imperialist and socialist framework. We shall take all the necessary time, no matter how long, to raise the people's revolutionary consciousness from one level to another through formal and informal educational and cultural activities and to isolate and defeat the ideas that run counter to socialism.

In socialist society, we shall carry out the cultural revolution to promote the proletarian revolutionary stand and the spirit of service to the people. The cultural revolution shall ceaselessly put revolutionary politics (patriotic and proletarian) and moral incentive in command of production and other social activities. The revolutionization of the superstructure shall complement and interact with the revolutionization of the mode of production.

When the bourgeoisie is deprived of its economic and political power, it seeks to make a comeback at first in the ideological and cultural fields. When it succeeds at ideological revision and cultural pollution, then it can undertake the changes in political and economic policies which favor capitalist restoration. The bourgeoisie is most effective when it can work through unremoulded and degenerate elements within the state and the ruling party. The proletarian revolutionaries have therefore to be ever vigilant and resolute in maintaining the correct line and in militantly waging the socialist cultural revolution.

The main contradiction in socialist society is the one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The more subtle it is the more it becomes intense in the ideological and cultural fields. When the proletariat loses the fight in these fields, the bourgeois revisionists can push the anti-proletarian change of political and economic policies under the guise of transcending classes and class struggle. By that time, the bourgeoisie shall have been well on the way of reimposing itself on the proletariat and the people and restoring capitalism. The restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe proves that the victory of socialism is not irreversible in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

All proletarian revolutionaries can learn important lessons from the way the bourgeoisie has come on top of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

In building socialism as the long-term preparation for communism, we shall strive to reduce the gap and solve the contradictions between the proletariat and peasantry, between mental and physical labor and between urban and rural life. We shall do so by mustering the capabilities of the proletariat and the rest of the people, utilizing science and technology and fostering a socialist civilization.

We owe to Mao the theory of continuing revolution, combating modern revisionism and preventing capitalist restoration in socialist society; and the application of this theory in the great proletarian cultural revolution, which succeeded for a number of years until it resulted in a Rightist backlash. If the positive aspects are upheld and the negative aspects are corrected, then Mao's theory and practice of the cultural revolution can be the treasury of knowledge on the basic principles and methods for continuing the revolution in socialist society. But theoretical work on the cultural revolution is still a wide and open field for study.

The failure of a revolution is never the permanent end of it. The Paris Commune of 1871 succeeded briefly and failed. But the theory of class struggle and proletarian dictatorship was never invalidated. After 46 years, the Great October Socialist Revolution triumphed.

Then, the forces of fascism wiped out the working class parties in many European countries and eventually invaded the Soviet Union. But soon after World War II, several socialist countries arose in Eastern Europe and Asia.

Modern revisionism would emerge to afflict a number of socialist countries. And finally from 1989 to 1991, we witnessed the collapse of revisionist parties and regimes. This confirms the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist criticism and repudiation of modern revisionism and eliminates a certain number of revisionist parties and regimes which have sowed a certain amount of theoretical and political confusion in the socialist and anti-imperialist movement.

Unfortunately, the capitalist powers have become more arrogant and cruel upon the disappearance of the Soviet Union as a superpower rival of the U.S. They are beset by the crisis of overproduction and contradictions are growing between them and their client states in the imperialist and neocolonial framework. The countries in which capitalism and bourgeois dictatorship have been restored in a blatant manner, are

becoming hotbeds of nationalism, ethnic conflicts, militarism and civil war.

Upon the aggravation of capitalist oppression and exploitation, the anti-imperialist and socialist cause is bound to surge to a new and higher level. The high technology in the hands of the capitalist powers has already deepened and aggravated the crisis of overproduction. The trade war among the capitalist powers is developing in the wake of the end of the bipolar cold war. The United States is disturbing the balance among the capitalist powers as it seeks to revive its productive capacity, expand its trade and solve its huge deficit and debt problems in an environment where the other capitalist powers are holding tightly on to their productive and trade advantages and all neocolonial client states (except a few earners of export surplus due to U.S. market accommodations) find no relief from deficits, debt problem and austerity measures.

For sometime, notwithstanding the disappearance of the two-superpower rivalry, the social turbulence and political violence will increase throughout the world. From these will reemerge the anti-imperialist and socialist movement at a new and higher level. The increased oppression and exploitation of the peoples of the world can only serve to generate the revolutionary movement. What has come about as a hostile environment for this movement is a precondition and a challenge for its resurgence.

Proletarian Internationalism

The ever worsening crisis of the Philippine ruling system provides the fertile ground for the continuance and growth in strength of the revolutionary mass movement led by the Communist Party of the Philippines. But to gain total victory in the new-democratic revolution and proceed to the socialist revolution, the Party must take fully into account the international situation and draw further strength from the world proletariat and other positive forces abroad.

In international relations, we must be guided above all by the principle of proletarian internationalism. Especially in the current situation, we must unite and close ranks with the working class parties and organizations that adhere to Marxism-Leninism and are waging revolutionary struggles in their respective countries.

Among these parties are those that continue to lead the proletariat and people in socialist countries, those emerging in countries where the

revisionist-ruled regimes have collapsed and those in the industrial capitalist and underdeveloped countries.

More than a billion people (a quarter of humanity) continues to live and work in societies that are committed to socialism and are led by working class parties. The crisis of world capitalist system shall have become far worse than now before the degree of socialism that exists in the world can be destroyed.

The disintegration of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and their counterparts abroad is part of the crisis of the world capitalist system and is in fact a positive development in the sense that it provides alerting lessons to all proletarian revolutionaries, demonstrate the folly of straying from Marxism-Leninism and from the road of socialism and argues against the illusions that the modern revisionists have conjured for a long time on a world scale.

The ever worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the ever escalating oppression and exploitation are prodding the proletarian revolutionaries in socialist countries, in countries where the revisionist rulers have openly opted for capitalism, in the industrial capitalist countries and underdeveloped countries to reaffirm the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism.

Even now, it is clear that the current decade is one of social turmoil in the world capitalist system and popular resistance to neocolonialism. It is not going to be a decade of Pax Americana and capitulation by the forces of revolutionary change.

In accordance with the principle of proletarian internationalism, the Communist Party of the Philippines is more than ever determined to engage in all possible ways to develop mutual understanding, fraternal relations, and mutual support and cooperation with all working class parties and proletarian revolutionaries the world over.

The Party is grateful to all fraternal proletarian parties for the moral and concrete support that they extend to the resolute revolutionary struggle of the Filipino people and for recognizing the Party as one of the advanced detachments of the world proletariat which can contribute to the restrengthening of the world socialist and anti-imperialist movement in theory and practice.

Like today when it sincerely follows the slogan, "Workers of all countries, unite!" and gives uppermost importance to the world unity of workers through party-to-party relations, the Party shall uphold proletarian internationalism as the highest principle and general line of international relations when it is in power and shall give the uppermost

importance to the world unity of workers through party-to-party relations as well as through the relations of the socialist state with other socialist states.

Fidelity to proletarian internationalism is a necessary measure of whether a party is Marxist-Leninist or not and whether a state is socialist or not. It is aimed at creating the world conditions for socialism to prevail over capitalism, for the working class to defeat the bourgeoisie and all reaction, and paving the way for communism; and therefore at realizing the mutual support and cooperation of all proletarian revolutionary forces, without any party or state infringing on the independence and equality of others.

We have seen parties and states that start out as proletarian but later degenerate and become revisionist and relate with other proletarian parties and states only as these become subservient and become their foreign policy tools. They subordinate the principle of proletarian internationalism to diplomatic and economic relations with bourgeois states. They stop mentioning proletarian internationalism as if it were a dirty phrase as cosmopolitan relations with transnational corporations and banks gain the uppermost importance.

Learning lessons from recent history, the Communist Party of the Philippines is resolved that in the future the foreign policy of the new Philippines shall encompass relations with other socialist states, with working class parties, with peoples and revolutionary movements and with states (irrespective of ideology or social system) in that order of importance, under the guidance of proletarian internationalism in basic correspondence to the socialist character of the state and the proletarian revolutionary character of the ruling party.

The Party is confident that the ever worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the resurgence of the socialist and anti-imperialist movement will create the global conditions favorable for their winning total victory in the new-democratic revolution and for establishing a socialist society that requires the proletarian party and state to practise proletarian internationalism at a new and higher level. ★

We reproduce Mike Davidow's report on the regrouping of former CPSU members for the purpose of information only. Mike Davidow is the Moscow correspondent for the People's Weekly World, the paper of the revisionist Communist Party, USA. The article was originally written in early 1992.

Few political parties in modern history have been dealt such sudden, savage blows as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. By edict, without any consideration and decision of the constitutional court, Boris Yeltsin, President of the Russian Federation, outlawed the party, stripped it of all its assets, buildings, schools, press, technical equipment. Moreover, in this moment of grave crisis, the CPSU was deserted by its General Secretary, Mikhail Gorbachev, who called upon it to dissolve itself!

While millions of its stunned, then enraged, members awaited a call for an effective form of protest from their leaders, headed by Vladimir Ivashko, Deputy General Secretary, none was forthcoming. Rarely was such arbitrary and unconstitutional action against a party met with such passivity! Why this came to be demands a probing, self-critical evaluation, in the first place, by the Soviet communists. But these catastrophic results reveal that much of the 19 million membership was built on sand, the sand of careerism, deeply-embedded bureaucratic practices, ideological disorientation, renegecy and crass opportunism on a mass scale rarely equalled. However, those who write off the party founded by Lenin underestimate the deep revolutionary roots of seven decades of Soviet history.

Rebirth of movement

Out of these setbacks, both inflicted and self-inflicted, there is now taking place a rebirth of the communist movement. I stress MOVEMENT because this rebirth is now in the stage of re-evaluation and reforming of the dissolved party in the process of which it is replenishing its ranks with fresh, particularly working class forces, as well as discarding outdated and bureaucratic practices.

It is also important to keep in mind that the fight for the reconstitution of the CPSU, the holding of a plenum of the Central Committee and the convening of the aborted 29th Congress, are now gaining in strength.

Briefs are being filed with the constitutional court of Russia calling upon the highest court to declare the outlawing of the CPSU and the Russian Communist Party unconstitutional and to return to them their illegally seized assets and property.

It will be a new CPSU stripped of its careerist fat and refreshed with a creative, Marxist-Leninist leadership. The struggle is being coordinated by the Committee for the Defence of the Rights of Communists. There is an urgent need for moral, material and legal aid from the international communist movement and other democratic organisations. Almost all the newly-formed parties contain a clause in their statutes providing for membership in a reconstituted CPSU.

The sharp ideological struggle within the CPSU centred around the character of the party: should it be a reformist, social democratic party or a revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist one? In this struggle, the latter forces were at a decided disadvantage since the General Secretary and a decisive part of the Political Bureau aimed at turning the party into a social democratic one.

Now, various platforms and initiative groups have been formed. These have crystallised into various parties; from a left social democratic to Marxist-Leninist and a small Stalin-oriented party.

Russian Communist Workers' Party

Perhaps the most active party with the closest ties to the working class of Russia, is the Russian Communist Workers' Party (RCWP). It has been the chief organising force behind the recent mass demonstrations: the 100,000 who massed in Red Square on November 7 and the 60,000 who demonstrated in Moscow against Yeltsin's impoverishment programme in January.

The founding Congress of the RCWP took place in Ekaterinburg on November 23-24, and the party is now officially registered. Its rules as well as the composition of its Central Committee demonstrate its stress on the role of the working class. Of its 85-member Central Committee, 45 are workers. Likewise, in respect to its Control Commission, nine of its 15 members are workers.

To fortify its struggle against privileges of party functionaries, Point 11 states all party full-time workers shall receive the average pay of skilled workers. Any income above it shall be for the party's needs.

Recognising the urgent need to recruit youth (with the dissolution of the Komsomol), membership is open to all from 16 years of age.

In response to the ideological and organisational destruction of the CPSU, the RCWP makes it clear that it is based on Marxism-Leninism and democratic-centralism. To insure against the cult of the personality, it limits leadership of the party organisation to two consecutive terms.

The RCWP works for the formation of united fronts and a left bloc based on a struggle against the march to capitalism, and for a Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics.

Among its leaders are: Viktor Tyulkin, former party secretary of a plant in Leningrad, Academician Alexei Sergeev and General A Makashov. One of the chief aims of the RCWP is to put into life the slogan 'All Power to the Soviets.' This is particularly urgent since the Yeltsin forces are consciously undermining the Soviets at all levels, replacing them with rule by 'pre-fects' and 'decrees'.

The RCWP is calling for an All-Russia Congress of Soviets on April 18-19, in Nizhni Novgorod. The aim is to set up all over Russia Soviets of workers, to be followed by Soviets of Peasants and of the Armed Forces. These are in the nature of grassroots political organisations. Already, Soviets of Workers, in their initial form, are being set up in Moscow, Leningrad, Nizhni Novgorod, Novosibirsk and Tver. The Leningrad organisation is demanding the resignation of Mayor Sobchak and the return of the historic Smolny to the RCWP.

Socialist Working People's Party

Another party based on the draft programme of the CPSU (which was never adopted) largely influenced by Gorbachev and of a social democratic orientation, is the Socialist Working People's Party (SWPP) which has the support of many of the Communist bloc in the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation.

The SWPP, however, includes many forces from the former regional and city organisations of the CPSU who are inclined toward a Marxist-Leninist organisation and are critical of Gorbachev.

Despite their differences both parties struggle unitedly for reconstitution of the

CPSU, for a USSR and against Yeltsin's impoverishment programme. Among the SWPP leaders are deputies to the former USSR Supreme Soviet, Roy Medvedev and Anatoly Denisov.

Union of Communists

The Union of Communists is based on a section of the members of the former Marxist Platform in the CPSU. It is led by Alexander Prigorin, a former Central Committee member of the CPSU. It is close to the RCWP with whom it differs on some theoretical points. It stresses more decentralisation and is for various forms of property although it regards public property as primary.

Another offshoot of the Marxist Platform is the New Party of Russia's Communists. It is also close to the RCWP. Among its leaders is A Kryuchkov, who is also a former member of the CC CPSU.

The All-Union CP (Bolsheviks) is led by Nina Andreyeva and is oriented toward a Stalin-type party. As one of the first organisations to oppose Gorbachev's policies, it has attracted sincere Communists who are active in today's mass demonstrations. It is the only 'all-union' party and also gives emphasis to the working class.

A VIP?

On the right flank is the right social democratic, Democratic Reform Movement, led by Alexander N Yakovlev and Eduard Shevardnadze, to which Gorbachev thus far is unofficially attached. It is largely composed of top level renegades from the CPSU. Though at present it has no mass membership, it had a considerable following among social democratic-oriented former members of the CPSU. In the name of 'unity,' it opposes struggles against Yeltsin's impoverishment programme.

Also in the right wing camp is the People's Party of Free Russia, led by Alexander Rutskoï, Vice President of the Russian Federation. Rutskoï earned his high post when he split the ranks of the bloc of Communist deputies and mustered support for Yeltsin at a crucial session.

Its founding Congress on October 26-27 was accorded official support and it draws on substantial financial sources. It is a firm supporter of Yeltsin's programme of capitalisation. However, with growing mass opposition to the hyper-inflation, Rutskoï had criticised some aspects of Yeltsin's programme.

Rebirth of Komsomol

Finally, an important part of the Communist movement is the Organisation Committee For Rebirth of the Komsomol, a leader of which is Igor Mayarov who presided over the January 12 demonstration in Moscow. It has several thousand active members in many cities of the former USSR.

Mayarov and others rallied the healthy Marxist-Leninist forces at the last Congress of Komsomols which decided by a majority to liquidate the organisation. A founding Congress will be held in April to which youth organisations from abroad are being invited.

The common feature of all Communist and left social democratic parties is that they form a growing, active opposition to the forced march to capitalism led by Yeltsin and the anti-communist 'democrats'. It is a new and difficult role for Communists who, for seven decades, were members of a ruling party.

Urgent need for unity

Life itself will help clarify the ideological differences that still divide them. Even the brief existence of the Commonwealth of Independent States has demonstrated the chaos, economic, political and military, that has come in the wake of the dissolution of the USSR. And Yeltsin's impoverishment programme has disillusioned many of his followers.

The urgent need today is the creation of a broad, patriotic-socialist movement for the reconstitution of the USSR. It is here that a left bloc of the Communist parties and the SWPP can play a key role. And it is in the course of leading the struggle against the mass impoverishment and for a united socialist state, that Communists can regain the confidence particularly of the working people and the working intelligentsia.

One recent Russian visitor to marxist-leninist meetings in Europe, notably the PTB's MayDay and a meeting organised by the MLPD, has been Nina Andreyeva of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) who came to media prominence for her Leningrad "letter" attacking Gorbachev's policies.

In an analysis written in 1990, she stated: "The Soviet Union slowly glides towards rightist opportunism and Menshevism, which, begun in the early sixties under the pressure of petty-bourgeois elements, now bears its poisonous fruits... the passage from socialism to capitalism can only be effected by the dictatorship of the new bourgeoisie, the barons of parallel economy, springing from corrupt bureaucracy and the elitist intelligentsia."

Her policy of restoration to pre-perestroika days was approvingly covered in the New Communist Party's publication, *The New Worker* of May 15 1992. Its introduction to Andreyeva's analysis stated:

NINA ANDREYEVA, President of the Communist Party of Bolsheviks, was guest of honour at the May Day celebrations organised by the Belgian Party of Labour. Born in 1938, she joined the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in 1966. Her father was a docker and her mother was also a worker. Her sister was killed in the Second World War. By profession she is a professor of chemistry at the University of Leningrad.

After leading the resistance to Gorbachev's revisionism within the CPSU, she founded, in March 1989, a movement called *Unity - For Leninism and the Communist Ideals*. This later led to the foundation of the Communist Party of Bolsheviks in 1991.

The Party has 35,000 members and a regular newspaper, *For the Motherland! For Stalin!* (a well-known slogan of the war years). The party recruits only after a period of candidate membership and only proven activists are admitted to its ranks. Many young workers have rallied to its call and it operates in conditions of semi-legality in Russia and all the republics of the former Soviet Union.

The Bolsheviks work closely with the Russian Communist Workers Party which they consider to be also Marxist-Leninist and together with patriotic forces which are not communist. They are currently campaigning around the slogan *For a general political strike to avert civil war and their programme centres around the fight to restore the old Soviet Union.* ♪



poetry

The Solution

by Bertold Brecht

After the uprising of the 17th June
The Secretary of the Writers' Union
Had leaflets distributed in the Stalinallee
Stating that the people
Had forfeited the confidence of the government
And could win it back only
By redoubled efforts. Would it not be easier
In that case for the government
To dissolve the people
And elect another?

Written after the East German workers' uprising of 17 June 1953 which was put down with the help of Soviet tanks.

- **August 18:** 1991: Coup leaders hold President Mikhail Gorbachev captive in Crimean dacha
- **August 19:** Coup leaders declare state of emergency



- **August 21:** Coup collapses. Gorbachev returns to Moscow
- **August 22:** Russian President Yeltsin suspends activities of Russian Communist Party in Gorbachev's presence
- **September 2:** Gorbachev and republican presidents agree to turn Soviet Union into confederation

- **October 28:** Yeltsin announces radical economic and political reform programme at Congress of Russian People's Deputies
- **November 11:** Yeltsin appoints Gennady Burbulis, Yegor Galdar and Alexander Shokhin deputy prime ministers in new reform cabinet
- **December 8:** Leaders of Russia, Ukraine and Belorussia create Commonwealth of Independent States. Eight more states join four days later



- **December 25:** Mikhail Gorbachev resigns as first and last President of the USSR
- **December 31:** Soviet Union ceases to exist
- **January 2, 1992:** Most Russian prices deregulated



- **January 31:** Yeltsin proposes sharp cut in Russian nuclear warheads at UN General Assembly

- **March 21:** Majority in Russian autonomous republic of Tatarstan votes in referendum for independence from Russia
- **April 6-7:** Russia and Ukraine exchange threats over Black Sea Fleet



- **April 6-21:** Russian Congress of People's Deputies denounces government, which offers to resign. Yeltsin promises to moderate reforms
- **May 30:** Russian cabinet reshuffle brings in industrial lobby representatives
- **July 8:** Group of Seven announces \$1bn in IMF funding for Russia. Yeltsin asks G7 for delay in debt repayments
- **August 3:** Russia and Ukraine agree to postpone carve-up of Black Sea Fleet until 1995



The new political line-up:

The coup destroyed the Communist Party. But it has not stimulated the growth of other strong, independent parties. The parties in Russia are weak, usually dependent on one or a handful of political personalities.

- The most powerful political force at present is the Civic Union, composed of three parties built round prominent individuals; Free Russia (formerly Communists for Democracy), created by Vice President Alexander Rutskoi; Obnovlenie ("Renewal") headed by Mr

Arkady Volsky, chairman of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs; and the Democratic Party, headed by Mr Nikolai Travkin, who claims the largest membership, of about 50,000. Their motto: reforms, with a strong central power.

- In the Russian parliament, factions dominate. They range from the Democratic Russia faction (liberal democratic) through the Industrial and Agricultural Union (corporatists) to the Rossiya (nationalist). During the Congress of People's Deputies in April, pro- and anti-government sides were reasonably well-balanced. Now, a

majority is anti-government.

- The political parties cover the same spectrum. Democratic Russia, which was an umbrella for a number of groups and parties, is hopelessly split: Its radical liberal wing opposes the government from the so-called "left", while constituent members like the Constitutional Democrats and Christian Democrats have left to join the nationalists. On the old left are a clutch of neo-communist parties - including the Bolshevik Party, headed by Mrs Nina Andreeva, and the Socialist Labour Party, headed by Mr Roy Medvedev.

Marxism and Asian Americans: The Struggle Continues!

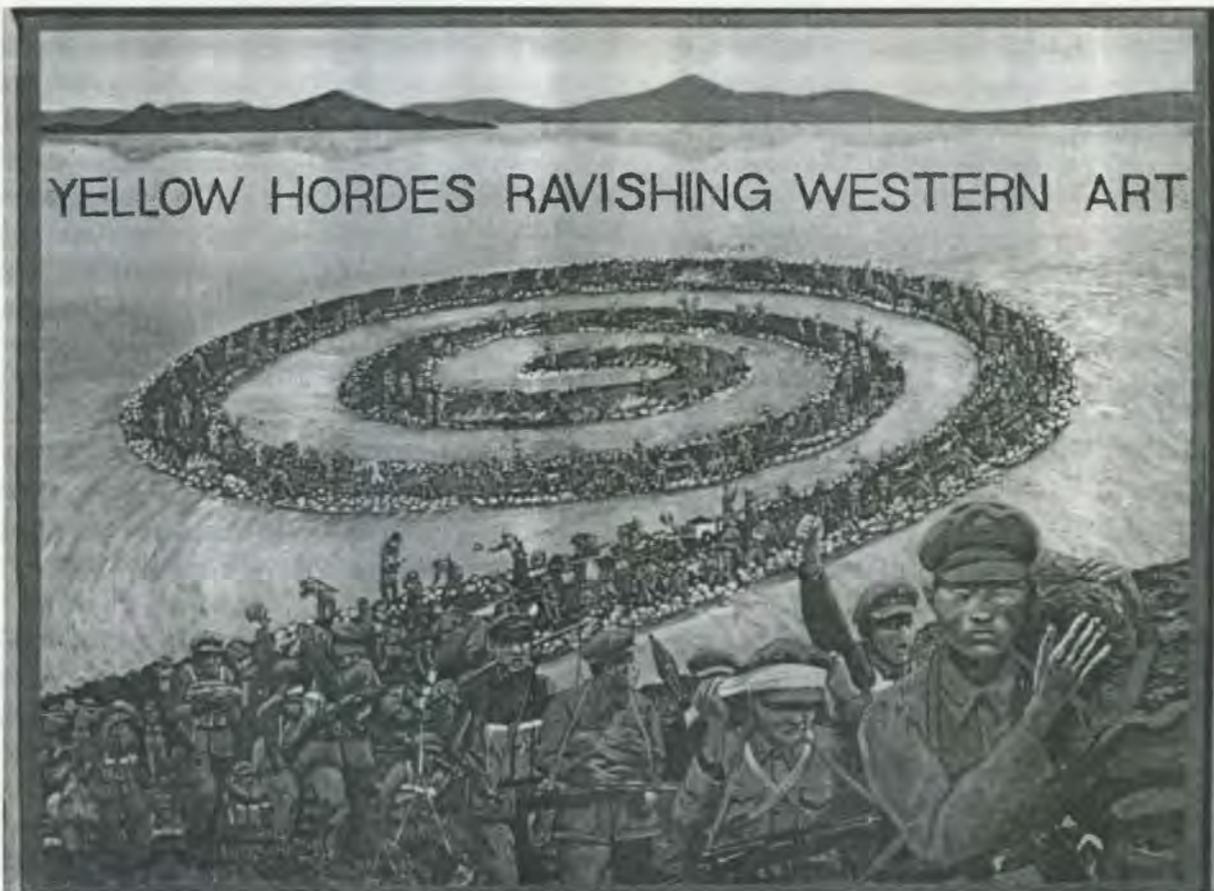
by Fred Wei-han Ho

Before I became a Marxist, I believed that the source of my oppression was the racism of white people. I regarded the "race question" as primary, and identified myself as a "revolutionary yellow nationalist." I had complete hatred for white racism and distrust of white people. As a teenager, I was one of only a few non-African Americans to join the Nation of Islam. Still, I didn't subscribe to the notion that all whites were devils. For me, it was OK if white leftists organized white people in anti-racist struggles; I just couldn't see that my struggle was the same as theirs or even fundamentally linked.

Experience in actual struggle, however, revealed to me the contradictions of a "race" analysis. I saw that many people of color, because of their class interests, couldn't be politically trusted. The more they were beholden to the system or entrenched in it, the more they tended to vacillate, retreat from and even outrightly oppose struggle. I also encountered the hypocrisy of militants of color who presented themselves as "Blacker(substitute any color)-than-thou" while they slept with whites, upheld patriarchy and male chauvinism, were egomaniacs and put forward self-serving, atavistic political and cultural rationalizations. Furthermore, their opportunist politics couldn't always be attributed to individual character defects; these people could be nice, friendly, and hard working and still be politically very wrong. And it became obvious to me that simply having progressive people of color in key positions in the system wouldn't solve anything, unless the system were changed.

I began to modify my anti-white position through further debate and ideological struggle, and—influenced by the anti-imperialist, national liberation movements in the third world—I moved to adopt Marxist ideology. It was now clear to me that European cultural hegemony and white supremacy in America had been constructed as a key element of capitalism and served to maintain that system (now in its monopoly-imperialist stage). Many activists of color of my generation were all greatly inspired and influenced by major third world revolutionaries who were also Marxists—Paulo Freire, Walter Rodney, Mao Zedong, Ho Chi Minh, Amilcar Cabral, Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, and a host of others, as well as some who weren't explicitly Marxist but were explicitly anti-capitalist,

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such as Malcolm X, who called the capitalist system a "bloodsucker." Marxism wasn't dismissable as a "European (re: white) thing."¹

Furthermore, as I embarked on an extensive study of Asian American history, I learned how Asian labor had initially been brought to Hawaii and the mainland United States in the service of capitalist exploitation. And it became evident that Asian American Marxists and socialists had played significant roles throughout our history in this country. Sen Katayama, a leading US socialist in the late 19th to early 20th century, was an *issei* (first generation immigrant Japanese American). Asian American immigrant communists were major organizers in the Asian labor

struggles of the first half of the 20th century. Premier. Filipino American writer Carlos Bulosan was a close sympathizer of the Communist Party USA. And a left-wing communist-inspired Chinatown literary movement spanned more than a decade from the 1930s to the 1940s on both coasts.

Chinese American historian Him Mark Lai (himself once part of a clustering of left intellectuals in San Francisco Chinatown during the 1950s) sums up the importance of the Chinese American left prior to the contemporary Asian American movement: They built support for the social revolution in their homeland (China's "national salvation"); opposed the traditional conservative Chinatown leadership (the Six Companies/Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association); opposed white chauvinism in the American labor movement and left movements; and fought discrimination and exploitation of Asian workers by organizing them. One of the key roles the Chinese American left played in the development of the Chinese American national struggle was "reaching out to groups outside the Chinese community" through the efforts of leftists in *China Daily News*, the *New York Chinese*

¹ As a Marxist, I still maintain that a crucial struggle is to "de-Europeanize the world" (*Kalamu ya Salaam*), i.e., to overthrow or strip away European cultural hegemony, translated in the American context as white supremacy, Eurocentrism and white-identification/assimilation, especially as it is internalized by oppressed nationalities: from the choice of our intimate partners, to the cultural forms and aesthetics which we embrace, to the communities in which we wage our struggles. Marxism isn't integrationism (an error made in our history), but the liberation of all peoples ("no nation can be free if it oppresses another nation"). Amiri Baraka has pointed out how oppressed nationality Marxists are the fiercest fighters for our respective national liberation and national equality, linking our particular struggle to the universal struggle to eliminate all forms of racism, national privilege, exclusivity and primacy. This is, as Lenin said, "internationalism applied."

Hand Laundry Association, and the Chinese Workers Mutual Aid Association (1937-1954). In the 1970s, the I Wor Kuen would build and lead the Chinese Progressive Associations of San Francisco, New York and Boston, modeled on these earlier mass organizations from the 30s-50s.²

Contemporary Asian American Marxism Emerges

The late-1960s and 1970s marked the resurgence of left-wing activism in many social movements in the United States: "Third World," women's, anti-war, ecological, etc.

The contemporary Asian American movement was born. A range of issues galvanized this activism: common anti-imperialist opposition to the war in southeast Asia and U.S. militarism in the Pacific region; the struggle against racism, discrimination and injustice in American society; and the growing consciousness of the need for radical, systemic change.

Asian American revolutionaries and communists could be found in just about every form of grassroots, community, campus and cultural struggles—from the struggles for U.S.-China normalization, to community social service programs to art and cultural centers such as Visual Communications. Many of the gains that Asian Americans benefit from today were fought for and organized by these young, radical activists who shared a general distrust and disdain for "the establishment" both white mainstream as well as the old community associations and

the small, upwardly mobile professional (then labeled as "poverty pimps").

Early revolutionary Asian American organizations of the contemporary period, such as Fande, I Wor Kuen, the Red Guard Party, the East Wind Collective, the J-Town Collective, etc., were inspired by the Black Panther Party (as were the Puerto Rican Young Lords Party, the Chicano Brown Berets, as well as the White Panthers of Detroit, the Grey Panthers, etc.). As Him Mark Lai has pointed out, unlike the previous era of Asian American left activism of the 1930s and 1940s, this new movement was largely American-born, predominantly made up of



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students, intellectuals and professionals with few workers, and more interested in other issues than the Chinese revolution or Asian homeland struggles. These factors made for an "Asian American identity and consciousness" that was pan-Asian and included Pacific Islanders such as Filipinos, Samoans, Guamanians, and native Hawaiians. Rejecting the Eurocentric, racist term of "oriental," activists from then primarily Chinese, Japanese and Filipino struggles emphasized unity in common struggles of being "yellow" and "brown."

In applying Marxism to the specific questions of the Asian American struggle, these

² For detailed, vivid accounts of early Asian American labor history and the role of leftists and communists, c.f. Karl Yoneda's *Gambette!* (UCLA Asian American Studies Publications), his pamphlets and articles including "The Heritage of Sen Katayama," March 1975, *Political Affairs*, the theoretical journal of the CPUSA, "A Brief History of U.S. Asian Labor," *Political Affairs*, September 1976. Also, c.f. Him Mark Lai, "A Historical Survey of Organizations of the Left Among the Chinese in America," *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, Vol. 9, #4, Oct-Dec 1977.

nascent revolutionaries grappled with significant issues that continue to confront us: how to unite the immigrant and American-born, how to promote ethnic/national pride and identity and oppose white assimilation, what is an Asian American culture, how to build activist organizations that resist cooptation and are rooted to the working class communities. U.S. imperialism's role in the Pacific Rim continues to generate complex questions: the conservatism and anti-communism of recent southeast Asian refugees, the increasing anti-Asian chauvinism in Japan-bashing; as well as complex social contradictions inside U.S. society; the rising neo-conservatism among college-educated, professional Asian/Pacific Islander Americans; growing tensions between peoples of color; the dangerous implications of the model minority myth and how to fight it; growing tensions between Asian men and women over sexism and feudal male chauvinism of traditional Asian cultures and Asian women viewed as the erotic exotic spoils for white men; the Asian invasion of Hawaii—Asian Americans as the new regional ruling class in Hawaii and the rising Hawaiian sovereignty movement expressed in cultural identity and anti-colonial struggles.

Building Multinational Revolutionary Organization

In early 1978 I joined then-I Wor Kuen (IWK), a U.S. Marxist-Leninist organization with roots in the Chinese/Asian American revolutionary movement of the early 1970s. I was nineteen years old. I joined because I was convinced that it would take revolution to overthrow the system and its white, patriarchal ruling class. I saw clearly that the ruling class—although it might use both carrot (reforms and bribes) and stick (coercion)—ultimately ruled by force. And I knew it would never voluntarily concede its power and surrender to moral suasion or majority democratic political will.

But, though we, as revolutionaries, united around these things, we knew that wasn't enough. At that time, what we were trying to figure out was: Just how do you wage a revolutionary struggle against the system?

Embroiled in day-to-day struggles and organizing, it was becoming clearer that activism alone couldn't be a solution; we'd burn out waging piece-meal struggles, winning band-aid reforms that often would get coopted, and simply get exhausted by the myriad of injustices and suffering that had to be fought.

What we ultimately came to understand was the need to unite revolutionary forces across the varying social movements. In rejecting nationalism and reformism, we became internationalists and revolutionaries. This would allow us to view each of our battles within an overall strategy, and let us coordinate and build our resources. Most importantly, it would allow us to bring forward new committed fighters armed both with the scientific analysis of Marxism, and with discipline, clarity and an immense love and willingness to sacrifice for our cause.

Later in 1978, IWK would merge with the August Twenty-Ninth Movement (ATM), another M-L group with its roots in the Chicano movement, and this merger formed the League of Revolutionary Struggle (LRS). A year later, the Revolutionary Communist League (formerly the Congress of Afrikan Peoples with its prominent leader Amiri Baraka) would merge with the LRS. By the mid-1980s, the LRS had become the largest M-L organization of the "anti-revisionist communist movement."³ The LRS also had the distinction of being predominantly oppressed nationality ("people of color") in its membership with its unique historical roots from the Asian American, Chicano and Black liberation movements.

The 1980s were a rocky decade for U.S. leftism. In the couple of years prior to 1980, a number of M-L groups had sky-rocketed—many proclaiming themselves to be "the party"—and then just as quickly fizzled out, including the arch-rival of the LRS, the

³ The "anti-revisionist communist movement," or the New Communist Movement (NCM), was the self-identification by a constellation of groups that emerged in the upsurge of the late-1960s both in the United States and internationally. On the whole, this tendency regarded the USSR and its satellite parties around the world, including the Communist Party USA, as having corrupted socialism and sold out ("revised") Marxism-Leninism while upholding the rhetoric of M-L Outsiders to the NCM referred to them as "Maoists" because these groups upheld the People's Republic of China as a genuine socialist country, and to varying degrees, the Communist Party of China as a leading, genuinely revolutionary, communist party.

Workers Viewpoint Organization-cum-Communist Workers Party-cum-New Democratic Movement. The WVO/CWP/NDM had achieved some notoriety in the Asian American Movement, particularly through an activist group which it had formed and led, Asian Americans For Equality (AAFE).

The political battles between the LRS and WVO/CWP, particularly in the Asian American movement of the 1970s, alienated and turned off many activists and bystanders. In New York City, especially, many Asian American activists perceived the situation as an "IWK-AAFE" (referring to their more commonly associated Asian American identities) sectarian turf war.⁴

However, in a decade of mounting conservatism, by the late 1980s, WVO/CWP had become the New Democratic Movement, formally renouncing revolution, socialism and Marxism, as it quickly disappeared into the system. (One of its leading cadre recently ran for City Council in New York, while others have turned up in electoral political positions and offices, or as managers at American Express and other Wall Street corporations).

And by the fall of 1990, the LRS, too, had dissolved, gone the way of the NDM. In a matter of a few short months, the majority of the LRS leadership and membership had disavowed Marxism, given up on socialism as an irredeemable historical failure and forbade any open identification with being revolutionary. (I was one of the members in the minority who opposed this liquidation as opportunist sell out, and found myself suspended from the group with a letter stuck under my apartment door.) The LRS majority has now restructured itself under a new identity as the Unity Organizing Committee. The minority dissenters in the LRS who still

uphold Marxism and socialism organized themselves into the Socialist Organizing Network.

With the general retreat of the American left has come social-democratic type proposals for American social change, such as "multicultural democracy."⁵ These proposals commonly are watered-down and diluted Marxism made palatable to bourgeois liberals; they do not explicitly challenge the rule of monopoly capitalism. With this retreat in US social movements, the Asian American movement as an activist, anti-system, pro-social change mass movement has been greatly weakened. Instead, special interest, narrowly-focussed, outside (or "patronage")-funded groups have ascended, largely concerned with professional career development and advancing Asian Americans into the US mainstream, as the prominence of

organizations with an anti-establishment character declines. Asian American political activism has been increasingly equated with working within the system. (Perhaps the saying: "when revolutionaries get tired, they apply for funding" isn't far off.)⁶

The key feature Marxism offers all oppressed and exploited peoples is class analysis and its partisanship with the working class.

For us older, experienced revolutionary activists, we need to make self-criticism and sum up the errors of our past movement, and boldly share these lessons with a new generation of militants so as to deepen our revolutionary theory and practice and avoid repeating the same mistakes. But this is not the place for a full summation or analysis of

⁵ C.F. Manning Marable, "Multicultural Democracy," *Zeta*, November, 1991.

It is my view that the U.O.C. activists have become multicultural reformist political power brokers trying to sell the Asian American "agenda" and vote. While the banner has changed, the same political methods of maneuvering and manipulation continue, dressed up as multiculturalism. This chameleon-like opportunism is underscored by the fact that these people gave up, in about three months, views they had held for almost two decades. Now, their leadership claims they never were Marxists, despite an entire twenty year history to the contrary.

⁶ While pursuing funding *per se* is not an indication of cooptation by the system, groups or individuals are rarely willing to bite the hand that feeds them. This is precisely the contradiction.

⁴ Professor William Wei's forthcoming book, *Revolutionaries and Reformers: A Social History of the Asian American Movement*, details much of this political history, though having read only a few excerpts, I cannot presently evaluate its contents.

BODY COUNT

BRAND
ORANGES

DEATH VALLEY, CALIFORNIA



Orange Crate
Label Series
by Ben Sakoguchi.

the failings and errors of the LRS or the Marxist movement in general. Rather, I want to emphasize here how essential Marxist theory and revolutionary politics will be for this new generation of militant, committed Asian American activists and their efforts to advance the struggles of Asian and Pacific Islander peoples in the United States.

Marxism Still Critical to Our Struggle

What Audre Lourde has pointed out still holds true: You can't use the master's tools to dismantle the master's house. We still need revolutionary organization if we are to maintain revolutionary values and culture instead of mimicking the hierarchical, sexist and heterosexist values and methods of our enemy. In fact, one crucial factor in the failure of many socialist efforts has been that the cultures, values, and structures were never really transformed within them.

Still, Marxism is *revolutionary* precisely because it is a work-in-progress; it won't automatically protect us from mistakes. The essence of Marxism, or dialectical and historical materialism as revolutionary theory and practice, is that:

"...the dialectic must itself be analyzed dialectically. This is no embarrassment; rather, it is a necessary awareness for self-criticism. The preoccupation with process and change comes in part from our commitment to change society. An alertness to the fallacies of gradualism derives from a challenge to liberalism. An insistence on seeing things as integrated wholes reflects a belief that much of the suffering, waste and destruction in the world today comes from the operation of patriarchal capitalism as a world system penetrating all corners of our lives rather than from a list of separable and isolatable defects."⁷

Marxism argues that capitalism is inherently unstable and unsatisfying, that it can be overthrown, that it is not permanent. Unlike all other systems of thought, Marxism explains why, by whom, and for what purpose injustices and suffering exist. The key feature that Marxism offers to all oppressed and exploited peoples is *class analysis* and its partisanship with the working class.

The rise in anti-Asian racism along with the growing complexity of race, class, and gender issues within Asian American/Pacific Islanders communities and within U.S. society overall call for a renewed application of Marxism: the concrete analysis of concrete conditions. With the demise of *East Wind* (a

⁷ Levins, Richard and Lewontin, Richard, *The Dialectical Biologist*, Harvard University Press, p. 287.

progressive revolutionary-minded Asian American publication under the auspices of the LRS), as well as other former movement publications, slick yuppie Asian American magazines have arisen, projecting the interests of this class (from the 1970s *Jade*, to the 1980s *Rice* and *AsiAm* to the 1990s *A. Magazine*). Rather than Asian American success stories exclusively, we need forums to critically analyze our changing realities and mounting contradictions.

We need to more rigorously oppose being absorbed into the system by uniting with the most oppressed and exploited peoples: to anchor ourselves in a working class orientation. We should struggle to create more space for revolutionary ideas and to bring

forward young revolutionaries; we need Asian American intellectuals who represent the best of the activist-scholar tradition, such as Walter Rodney, W.E.B. DuBois and Asian American studies professor Gary Okihiro's mentor, the American Marxist historian, Herbert Aptheker. Finally, we need to learn from and unite with revolutionaries of other nationalities and from a diversity of social movements (gay liberation, environmental, indigenous peoples, etc.). It is this linkage and interconnection of all struggles, infused with revolutionary theory and values, which will finally prove to be the force needed to end the rule of the monopoly capitalist system. ■

FOREIGN NEWS

Fearful Kurds blame Turks for battle that destroyed town

Turkey's coalition government was elected 10 months ago after promising more rights for Kurds, while vowing to 'crush' their armed struggle. It has failed on both counts.

Amberin Zaman reports from Kumcaci

ABOUT 25,000 Kurds have fled the town of Sirkak vowing never to return after it was virtually destroyed in the longest battle ever between Turkish security forces and rebels of the Kurdistan Workers' Party.

"I refuse to live in Turkey. I'd rather live among the Gevors [infidels]," said one gaunt Kurdish woman, who was staying in a makeshift refugee camp 12 miles west of Sirkak.

"I have no faith left in this country or in its government, only fear," she said.

All the refugees at the camp have denied the official version that 500 guerrillas armed with rockets and mortars attacked the town on Aug 18, killing 14 civilians and four members of the security forces.

"I saw the soldiers firing on our homes with their tanks," said a teacher in his mid-40s, who declined to identify himself because he was "too scared".

"There was no PKK, only soldiers out for our blood," said a woman who was in a group sitting around a sickly baby.

"Look at poor Nezo. She was so terrified by the explosions that she lost her mind," said another pointing to a teenager who was laughing uncontrollably.

In Sirkak, in the south-east, a few men who responded to the government's call to return to the town, told much the same story.

"I was performing my evening prayers at the mosque when I heard the shooting start. The next thing I was told, the security forces had poured kerosene over my building," said Mr Salih Bulmus in broken Turkish.

"Come, I want you to see for yourselves, you're the first foreign journalists here," he said.

Mr Bulmus's four-storey apartment did not have a single pane of glass left intact. Its walls were pock-

marked by heavy machine-gun fire and in the centre of the building a 10-ft wide hole revealed the charred remains of what must have been a living room. Similar damage could be seen throughout the town.

"That hole was made by a tank. The PKK does not have tanks," he said.

Apart from the post office warehouse which was destroyed and a state village guard housing unit with a hole in its roof, there is little evidence of damage to government property.

Mr Unal Erkan, the regional governor responsible for administering the 10 south-eastern provinces currently under emergency rule, denied that the security forces had fired on civilians. "Why would the government turn on its own people?" he asked. "That's what those terrorists want you to believe."

The most widely accepted theory in Western diplomatic circles is that a PKK attack probably did take place, but that the security forces over-reacted by turning on the people.

Sirkak is a bastion of PKK support. During the Kurdish uprising in March, in which more than 80 people were killed, security forces herded the town's residents into the local stadium while they searched their homes for arms.

"This time we rounded up 100 weapons and we are still questioning 140 people," Mr Erkan said, adding that he was confident the residents of Sirkak would soon return.

He said the government had allocated billions of pounds to rebuild the town.

"They're still scared of the PKK, but we shall soon heal their wounds," he said.

But few Turks believe they know what happened in Sirkak, and even the usually chauvinistic national media are pressing the government for a fuller explanation.



Women fighters of the Kurdistan Workers' Party listen to an ideology lecture held in the mountains on the Iraqi-Turkish border. A third of PKK rebels are women



TURKISH security forces have been fighting rebels of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in the Kurdish-dominated south-east for eight years.

The party is led by Abdullah Ocalan, who is based in Damascus. It wants an independent Marxist-Leninist Kurdish

state carved out of Turkey, Iran, Syria and Iraq.

Turkish officials estimate the PKK's strength at 10,000 guerrillas, and between 4,000 and 6,000 of them are believed to be based in camps along the Iranian and Iraqi borders.

Turkey accuses both countries and Syria of

BACKGROUND

supporting the PKK and routinely stages cross-border strikes against PKK bases in northern Iraq.

The government's heavy-handed tactics in dealing with the rebels have created a fertile breeding

ground for Kurdistan Workers' Party support and caused growing distrust of the state.

About 4,500 people have died in PKK-related incidents, more than a quarter of them this year. The rebels shifted their operations out of the south-east for the first time

last week, claiming responsibility for burning a passenger ferry and shooting at a civilian jet.

If the government fails to halt the escalation in violence, analysts predict it will not be long before the Turkish military once again takes a political role.

Army waits as Ankara tackles rebel revolt