

International Newsletter

DEFEND MARXISM-LENINISM AND MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT

29th of April 2007

Publisher: Joint Coordinating Group (JCG)

No. 32

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Price per copy: US\$ 5.00 – Euro 5.00 €

Financial contributions should be sent to:

Landesbank Baden Württemberg, Germany, IBAN DE 45 600 501 01 000 76 38 578, T. Scheller

The **International Conference** is a forum of Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations. Participation in the **International Conference** is based on the following main criteria:

- *Adherence to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and their creative application in the conduct of the class struggle in each country.*
- *Struggle against modern revisionism, and a positive attitude towards Stalin and Mao.*
- *Acceptance of the Rules of the Conference.*

The **4th Conference** adopted the following principles on which the cooperation of the participating Marxist-Leninist organizations is based, which were amended and again adopted at the **8th Conference**:

- *Independence and equality, mutual respect, mutual support and cooperation.*
- *Non-interference in internal affairs as well as in the bilateral or regional relations or any party or organization with other parties and organizations. Every organization is sovereign in its conclusions.*
- *Consensus and unanimity in decision-making.*
- *Achieve gradual unity step by step; principled debate and cooperation among parties/organizations and no public attack by any party/organization on another.*
- *Obligation of all participating organizations to prepare and conduct the 9th International Conference jointly in accordance with their possibilities.*
- *Financial independence and self-financing of the common work according to the possibilities.*

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The internationalization of production and the globalization of the fundamental problems of mankind in the entire world lead to the internationalization of the class struggle and therefore also demand increased and systematic cooperation among Marxist-Leninists.

For this reason we call upon all progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist people in the entire world to support the cooperation among the Marxist-Leninists for the emancipation of the international working class and the national and social liberation of the people and to make the convening of the **International Conference** possible. Donate to fund the **9th International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations (ICMLPO)**:

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April 2007

Report on Fulbari Movement from Bangladesh

Workers Party of Bangladesh

10th of September 2006

FULBARI COAL PROJECT AND PEOPLES MOVEMENT

Brief accounts of the coalmines and the contracts

There are five coalfields in the northern zone of Bangladesh.

1. Jamalgonj (in Joypurhat district)
2. Boropukuria
3. Fulbari
4. Khalsipara
5. Dighipara

These four (no.2-5) coalfields are in the district of Dinajpur. Biggest reserve is in the Jamalgonj field about one billion ton. However it is lying three thousand feet below the surface. That is why technology for mining is complicated and expensive. Mining process has already been started in Boropukuria where a Chinese company is working as a contractor for Bangladesh. Mining is done by underground process by digging hole (not open pit process). There is no complain about it. Khasipara and Dighipara fields have not yet been touched.

Now let us discuss about Fulbari coalfield.

In 1994 government (during the period of BNP govt.) gave exploration license to an Australian company namely BHP. At that time it was said that there is reserve of 380 million ton. Now it is estimated that there is reserve of 572 million ton. In 1997 (during the period of next govt. of Awami League) BHP transferred the license to a British company namely Asia Energy. At that time a new contract for exploration was signed. The process of exploration continued and Asia Energy submitted its report to the govt. in October 2005 (in the mean time there was a change of

govt. and BNP led govt. came to power in 2001) Such contracts were never discussed publicly, nor even in the parliament.

So we do not know details of the contracts. However it is learnt that, if the report were accepted, then Asia Energy would be given the right to start mining by open pit process for 30 years till the extraction of the entire reserve is completed. The company would be the sole owner of the coal produced and have the right to export and sell. In return Bangladesh would get a royalty of only 6% of the product.

The report submitted by Asia Energy is still under the process of examination by our govt. So mining has not yet started. In the mean time it was somehow disclosed that Asia Energy would be given the lease of coal mine under above condition, which is very very harmful and against the Interest of Bangladesh. If the final leasing contract is signed, it would mean that Asia Energy would simply plunder our natural resources, which is comparable to the plundering by the East India Company two hundred years ago. Since then protest movement and agitation started mainly in the form of campaign.

Reason for our objection

Our objection to the said contract is for two reasons.

1) To give right to a foreign company (even local company) the ownership of the coalmine (in the name of lease) for only 6% royalty (or even more) is simply not acceptable.

2) Open pit mining is not a correct decision for a densely populated country like Bangladesh. More than 50 thousand people will have to be shifted elsewhere. The area where the open pit mining will take place is one of the most fertile lands of Bangladesh. There would be no

agriculture, no tree, and no animal. All buildings will be demolished. Air would be polluted. Even water of the nearby area would be polluted where there would be no fish. There would be even more environmental disaster.

Between the surface and the coal layer there is an underground water layer, which causes the fertility of the land. This underground water layer is to be pumped out and shifted to somewhere may be nearby river. If the underground water layer were pumped out for 30 years, then there would be desertification in the entire northern zone of Bangladesh.

So our demand is as follows

1) Coal fields cannot be leased to any foreign company. Bangladesh should maintain its sole ownership and its product. 6% royalty (or even more) is simply unacceptable. Some bourgeois intellectuals and imperialist agents raise the question that we do not have the technological knowledge to do mining by ourselves. Our reply is that, in such case we can wait for some more years till our engineers and experts are trained and then Bangladesh becomes the sole owner of the mine and its product. Alternately we can employ foreign experts as contractor (as in case of Boropukuria), keeping the sole ownership of the mine and the product to Bangladesh.

2) Nowhere in Bangladesh open pit mining should be applied.

About Mining Act

There is a mining act in Bangladesh, made long back, during the colonial period and it was valid till 1989. This act was imposed upon us by the imperialist power in its own interest. According to that act minefield can be leased to any company (foreign or local) for the extraction of the coal with the sole right of the company over the product and for that matter royalty is fixed as 6% for open pit mining and 5% for underground mining. The act was amended in 1989 when royalty was raised to 20% (this is also not acceptable to us). Then

again in 1999 the royalty was downgraded to 5% or 6% as before.

About Asia Energy

It is learnt that two banks Morgan and Barkley are financing Asia Energy for Fulbari Coal Project. Though Asia Energy has not yet got the mining right, they have already, through various publication claimed to have the sole ownership of Fulbari coal field by which they have manipulated to raise the stock value in the stock market in England.

Though their task of submitting report has been completed by the October 2005 and have not yet officially got the permission for mining, they are still maintaining a big office in Fulbari and trying to bribe some local people, as well as influential persons inside and outside and outside govt., Bangladeshi experts (who are supposed to give approval to their report for mining lease on their term), politicians, bureaucrats and media. A very important politician Dr. Kamal Hussain works as their legal advisor. Most probably some influential quarter within the govt. had already assured them that they would be given the mining right.

Asia Energy is already involved in all sorts of nasty games, bribing, killing etc. According to a report published in London based Guardian (Sunday issue known as Sunday Observer) on 3 September 2006, Asia Energy is suspected to have murdered Mrs. Nasrin Haq, country director of a British NGO, namely Action Aid. She was killed by a car accident in front of her house. The report claimed that it was not an accident, but murder and held Asia Energy as responsible for the murder. Nasrin was active against Asia Energy and had contacted British legal experts pleading for the cancellation of the contract with Asia Energy.

She said that the contract was highly illegal. The newspaper report further said that the British aid giving agency "Department for International Development"(DFID) asked her (even threatened) not to move against Asia Energy, which she boldly refused. (Action Aid is a British funded NGO).

It is interesting to note that Mr. Mahmudur Rahman, Energy Advisor of the govt with the rank of a minister, in a press conference in the last March said that the contract with Asia Energy was against the interest of Bangladesh and demanded punishment for those who signed it on behalf of Bangladesh. He blamed Awami League for signing the contract. (It is true, because it was signed during the period of Awami League regime in 1997).

Next day Dr. Mohiuddin Khan Alamgir, ex minister and prominent leader of Awami league also said that the contract was against the interest of Bangladesh, but blamed BNP for it. (It is also true, because initial contract with Australian company BHP was signed by the then BNP govt. in 1994)

However both the leaders of two major bourgeois parties said that contract once signed couldn't be cancelled, because according to them, that would discourage the foreign investors to invest in Bangladesh. In fact, both the leaders and both the bourgeois parties serve the interest of imperialism.

Movement

In spite of bourgeois tricks, false propaganda and bribing by Asia Energy protest and demand for cancellation of the contract was developing. Mainly left forces were active in it. Left parties and groups took initiative to form a broad based committee for the protection natural resources (from Imperialist plunder) and seaport (there is conspiracy to hand over Chittagong port to a US company).

Under the banner of this committee propaganda and agitation movement continued with the demand for the cancellation of the contract with Asia Energy.

As a part of the movement, on 26 August more than 50 thousand people gathered at the municipality center of Fulbari and marched toward the office of Asia Energy. People were very much militant and undaunted. There were clashes with police and Para military forces

that fired upon the people killing five and injuring many others. Staffs of Asia Energy had already fled away from Fulbari under police protection even before 26 August.

Next day state administration in Fulbari completely collapsed. It was a real peoples insurrection. People put barricade on the road, attacked local office of Asia Energy, demolished properties and structures made by Asia Energy (including special telecommunication structure exclusively for the use of the company), attacked houses of the agents of the company, etc.

It was a peoples rule where people's safety was guaranteed much more than normal time.

Every day thousands of people were on the street, holding meetings, procession etc. 99% of those people was poor toiling mass. Participation of women in the meetings, demonstrations, clashes with police etc. were significant. Bourgeois parties were totally absent.

On 30 August govt. was compelled to sign an agreement with the committee leading the movement. Two ministers signed the document on behalf of the govt., which was immediately announced before the press. The government announced that Asia Energy would be withdrawn from Fulbari and all the contracts with Asia Energy is cancelled. The government agreed to meet other demands such as compensation for the deaths, wounded persons, their treatment etc.

It was a historic peoples victory.

For the first a foreign multinational company had to suffer a defeat in our country. However it is only an initial victory.

We have to go a long way to defeat imperialism. #

Mao's Legacy in China's Current Development

2nd part

Pao Yu Ching

Workers and cadres openly discussed and debated many other important issues relating to wages and benefits and labor processes in factories, such as material incentives, cadres' participation in production work, workers' participation in management, and what constituted unreasonable rules and regulations. Through these debates, State enterprise workers grasped the meaning of "putting politics in command" and other principles in the Anshan Constitution.

The kind of labor system a socialist country adopts is only one of many major issues regarding the direction and nature of a socialist vs. capitalist transition. Questions regarding the transition's direction existed before 1979 and they still exist in all political, economic, social, and cultural spheres in China today. While this short essay does not allow a more comprehensive overall analysis, we can understand how programs in transition toward socialism are diametrically opposed to programs in transition toward capitalism from the example of the labor reform.

Programs, or projects, in transition toward socialism are completely different from the programs in transition toward capitalism, as are the methods of implementing them. During the socialist period, programs were carried out by mass line and often through mass movements. The meaning of mass line is rather simple. It means involving those who are directly affected by the program. When policies were formulated, cadres were urged to talk to the masses, take surveys, or even live with them for periods of time. When policies were implemented, cadres engaged the masses in discussions, debates, campaigns, and protests. All major changes in China during 1949-1979, including the Land Reform, were accomplished through mass campaigns/movements. In the past, mass movements provided the only opportunity for

the masses to validate government policies. Policies so validated by the masses had a better chance to succeed.ⁱ

Clearly, however, there were plenty of cases, when "mass line" in practice did not match the ideal described. Instead of soliciting opinions and ideas from the masses, cadres often saw themselves as carrying out orders from above. Whenever cadres failed to follow the mass line, commandism and bureaucracy inevitably occurred.ⁱⁱ

In the past, mass movement was also a vehicle for the appropriation of new ideology. During Land Reform the new appropriated ideology was: "It is wrong for landlords to take rent (the product of the peasants' labor) from the peasants. Rent is a form of exploitation." Using mass movements to appropriate new ideology helped turn the logic of exploitation upside down and gave moral validity to policies that would right past wrongs. It is not unlike what anti-war demonstrations have done in the past three years to undo the logic of the US invasion and occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq. The only difference is that the ideology appropriated during China's past mass movements came directly from the center of power while the ideology of the anti-war demonstration came from the protesters themselves. Critics charge that during mass movements, ideas were often imposed from the top, and such ideas had little relevance to the problems and concerns of the masses. It is a valid criticism in that workers and peasants oftentimes had a difficult time grasping the meaning of ideas, if they were detached from their reality, let alone adopting or owning them. This happened during the latter part of the Cultural Revolution and possibly happened in other mass movements as well. When it did happen, open discussion and debate disappeared and indoctrination set in, discarding the practice of the "mass line".ⁱⁱⁱ

However, overall, mass movements during 1949-78 politicized the Chinese population. One of the most important legacies of Mao is that he believed that mass participation is the only way to prevent the party bureaucrats from hijacking the transition and turning it to capitalist without workers' and peasants' knowledge and resistance. With the practice of initiating mass movements, Mao was able to communicate his beliefs to the masses at large in the process.

In contrast, all of the Reform programs since 1979 were implemented by passing laws and issuing decrees/regulations strictly from above. In the early stages of the Reform, the Reformers introduced material incentives, such as piece wage rate and bonuses, because Deng and other Reformers believed that material incentive would increase competition among workers, thus promoting efficiency and productivity. Workers in State enterprises, however, were very suspicious, because using piece wage rate and bonuses to increase the pace and intensity of work were not new to them. They decided to resist the piece wage rate and, instead of competing for the bonuses, they shared this the extra pay more or less equally (allowing for small differences based on seniority). They used the bonus money instead to compensate for the loss of purchasing power due to inflation. Deng and other Reformers could not, as long as the workers were able to resist, change the culture of cooperation to the cultural of competition by simply issuing decrees and passing laws from above. Workers knew enough not to take the bribe.

Obviously, the Reformers would not dream of getting workers' support through discussion and debates; clearly the programs they wanted to implement would take away workers' rights to work, wages and benefits, and to make decisions about work rules and voice their opinions in the factories. How could any worker be expected to support programs that are designed to intensify their own exploitation and lower their political, economic, and social status to that of wage labor?

While workers and cadres discussed and debated issues such as material incentives, employing temporary workers, and the Anshan constitution in factories, in the countryside, commune members discussed and debated other issues, such as breaking up the Communes by contracting land to individual peasants. Through these discussions and debates, major issues regarding the direction of the transition became clear. These debates reflected the contradictions of the time, and those contradictions reached a new height during the Cultural Revolution, when the class struggle became fierce, resulting occasionally in fights and even violence.

Any evaluation of the Cultural Revolution must be grounded in this reality. If the Cultural Revolution had not taken place, Liu-Deng and their supporters would have been able to carry out their capitalist programs in the 1960's instead of the 1980's. Attempt to evaluate the Cultural Revolution without recognizing the fierce struggle at that juncture of China's post revolution society would mistakenly lead us to the Right's assertion, that it was a political move by Mao based on a personal vendetta against his opponents in the Chinese Party out of sheer madness and desperation. An increasing number of people in China are now rejecting the authority's interpretation of the Cultural Revolution, and many have come to understand that, although the Cultural Revolution had its excesses and mistakes (all of which require careful investigation) it was, as Mao said and now many in China have come to agree, a practice or an exercise to prepare for the real struggle that was to come.

The transformation of China's proletariat and peasants in the previous three decades before the Reform, although still in its beginning stages, was significant. When the Reform began, although workers and peasants did not have a good understanding of what a full pledged capitalist restoration would be like, they did not face Deng's Reform with total ignorance. They understood the issues and were equipped with the experiences accumulated from past struggles. The class struggles described by Hart-Landsberg and Burkett, are in fact a continuation of the

struggles of the past. The Reformers have good reason to denounce all past mass movements and prohibit any new ones from taking place. Deng and his supporters firmly believed that the demonstrations in major cities all over China in the spring 1989 had to be suppressed by any means necessary. The bloody suppression sent a chilling message to those who thought that open demonstration, like mass movements of the past, could be an avenue to express their frustrations and vent their anger.

As stated above, one of Mao's most important legacies is that through mass movements, people become politicized. People of all walks of life had and still have much to say about government policies. But China's current regime has gathered tight control over the press and other forms of mass media; unlike the past, where people could freely express their opinions in big character posters (dazibao) the Chinese people in the past two and half decades have not had means of open expression.^{iv} Without any means to openly express themselves, people have found ingenious ways to let voices be heard. One popular method is making up verses and sayings and circulating them privately. Most of these verses/sayings creatively speak the minds of those who made them up, as well as those who pass them on so they can be widely circulated. Some of them are very long and complex – here are two short ones that have remained popular:

On corrupted government officials: *"If you were to line up all the high level government officials and shoot every other one you would still let many guilty ones go free."*

On smashing the iron rice bowl: *"Chairman Mao gave us a rice bowl, Deng Xiaoping drilled a hole in it, the capitalists connected a siphoning tube to the hole, and Jiang Zemin shattered the bowl into pieces."*

When Deng said that the Reformers were "crossing the river by touching the stones," he tried to impress on those who clearly remembered Deng's line in the past, and how it had been criticized. It seemed to be a deliberate effort on Deng's part to imply that

the Reformers did not have a set of well thought out programs to implement. Thus, there was no need for people to be alarmed. Another saying of Deng's is "It doesn't matter whether the cat is black or white. If it catches mice, it's a good cat." The black cat vs. white cat saying sent the message that politics does not really matter what 's important is that the Reform will develop the productive forces and raise people's standard of living. The Reformers used these sayings as a ploy to deemphasize "politics in command" and "class struggle is the key link". At the same time, they have carried out the fiercest whole scale class struggle against the workers and peasants. I think it is rather interesting to observe how the Left in the United States in recent years has tried many ways to politicize the general public without much success, while the current regime in China has tried their best to de-politicize the Chinese population – their efforts have not been very successful either.

Published in:

Asia Weekly

(Vol. 18, no. 20, May 16th 2004)

ⁱ D. Y. Hsu and P.Y. Ching, "Mass Movement" Mao's Socialist Strategy for Change." in *Mao Zedong Thought Lives*, Vol. I, Center for Social Studies & New Road Publications, 1995

ⁱⁱ Ibid.

ⁱⁱⁱ Ibid.

^{iv} When the Reformer amended the Chinese Constitution in 1979 to abolish workers' right to strike they also abolished peoples' right to freedom of expression, namely the four da's: daming, dafang, dabianlun, and tazeobao (big openness, big voice, big debates, and big character posters.) #

For a Government of National Unity for Easing Tensions in the DR Congo

Shambuyi Kalala

DR Congo

If elections obviously neither solve any problems nor disturb the existing equilibrium, concern increases. And this seems to be the case with the current elections. This is why we have a discussion about the necessity of a government of national unity. It would be better to discuss this issue independently of those people who want to put pressure on the government in order to have their individual problems be solved, especially their aggrandizement without any particular reason.

A government of national unity could only be a temporary stopgap, for a particular situation and for a certain moment in a country, namely, if its existence or stability is seriously endangered. Its advantage is that it gives the new powers a relatively long period of grace to fulfill certain essential tasks with which the country could return to a democratic leadership in a traditional sense.

Today's debate should concentrate on the evaluation of the current situation in the country in order to draw conclusions on whether a government of national unity is necessary. It should be clear that if we speak about a government of national unity, this should not be mistaken with a just and equal distribution of offices among the politicians or with the coalition government, which is based on a majority in parliament. Today everyone knows that the organization of elections will not eliminate the catastrophe of the country nor the people's distrust of the organs of the state. The international community has been holding the reins of power in all crucial positions, from a military point of view, to ensure the current stability. It was taking care of the issue of security, the harmony within the institutions of the state, financial questions, even organizational aspects of the elections. Today we must ask:

How can we make use of the fragile balance which was built up during the transitional period in order to achieve a qualitative leap and, so, the foundations of lasting stability? We should not underestimate this task again, as is usually the case.

The tasks of the transitional period

Undoubtedly, the government of the elected leaders has to take up a great part of the tasks into its program again which the transitional government was supposed to solve, for example, the reorganization of the army and police, the national reconciliation, the re-establishment of the state authority and, finally, the work to overcome the political crisis. Concerning the reorganization of the army: It took up elements of the civil war armies and has to distribute them within the state army and give them job training. This has not been totally accomplished; it needs time. Until then one should not be as naïve as to think that their political bosses would not have any influence on them. Concerning the coalition of the winners: It should not allow the desire for revenge to come up. The consequences would be unforeseeable, namely, that the disadvantaged side, hoping for a certain justice, would not counterbalance on a political level. One can imagine where this discontent could take us. Besides that, what does the majority in parliament actually mean in view of the development of the election?

According to the statistics of the independent election commission, a large marginal group of the people rejected the election process. They refused to register and go out to vote. On top of that, important parties like the UDPS rejected their involvement in the election process. In fact, even some parties participating in the elections took sides with those rejecting the elections. They sharply

criticized the organization of the elections, the unprofessional work of the officials responsible for the elections and many irregularities, and they complained that no adequate safety measures were taken for the election campaigns of many candidates. Of course, there will also be those who take part in the election process until the end, but are not willing to accept that they were beaten in a loyal way.

Under such conditions, when the majority of the people does not feel bound by the election results for various reasons, it is deceptive to trust in the mere counting of the votes in parliament in order to govern. The paradoxical situation could arise in which the minority in the parliaments might join the extra-parliamentary protest and thus exert great pressure, thus considerably disturbing the incumbent government in solving the problems. If you have a program and really want to put it into practice, you have to make sure not to be blocked in doing so.

Whoever does not take seriously the issue of confidence and the consensus of the political class with the rest of the population concerning the question of saving what can now be saved, will simply be totally dominated in domestic policy by the international community, just like during the transitional period. But when will we ever have gained enough experience to govern ourselves? We could gain sovereignty, if we managed to solve our own crisis with our own forces.

In the history of Congo, we look back on the government of Lumumba. He could only have ruled by means of his coalition majority. But Kasavubu was elected as president of the republic; this happened for sake of national unity, which was regarded as a precondition for the institutions of a state which had just achieved independence. If we are demanding a government of national unity, this does not mean that we are disregarding the elections. On the contrary, the winners of the elections are supposed to implement the policy of national unity in order to protect the nation's interests. The laws are made by parliament. The elected president will be the center for the

initiatives which the Congolese people could tackle.

Shambuyi KALALA

**Published in Nyota ya Africa, No 8,
Dezember 2006**

Nyota ya Afrika

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Terrorism – it comes from Israel!

Statement of OCML/ Voie Prolétarienne on the situation in the Middle East

For several weeks, the Israeli government has been committing deadly aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples. It can do this only with the support of the USA, the toleration of the European governments, especially of the French, and the almost complete silence of the Arabian states.

The extent and atrocity of the attacks show that it is not all about the liberation of the three soldiers captured by Hamas and Hizbollah. These attacks are intended to annihilate all those forces which are or could be capable of directing themselves against imperialist acts and policies in the region and their middle-men in the Zionist state. This state of Israel, which is constantly annexing parts of the Palestine territory, is bringing misery upon the Palestinian people and driving it into renewed emigration.

- The attacks have been prepared through an intensive boycott campaign against the Palestinian government. All European "democrats" participated in this campaign on behalf of the "Anti-Terror-Struggle". The boycott aimed at destabilizing the government, increasing internal tensions among the Palestinian people and sowing the seed of civil war among the various tendencies within Palestine.
- With their economic and political blockade, the "democratic" imperialists wanted to let the Palestinian people pay for its having punished the previous power, which was corrupt and served the interests of Israel. ("Democratic" imperialists, which had the best relations with the "model of democracy", Saudi-Arabia!). The imperialist support of Israel does not allow the Palestine people to express their opposition and rejection of Zionism and the colonization of Palestine under any circumstances, neither in a peaceful manner nor through armed resistance.
- The capture of the three soldiers could have been solved by means of an exchange of prisoners. Israel is detaining 10 000 Palestinians and thousands of Lebanese on its territory, the majority without any verdict. But the **acts of military resistance** against the occupation army, like the capture of a fortress in Rafah in the year 2004, can be tolerated even less by Israel and are politically and ideologically more dangerous than suicide bombings. Calling the army into question cannot be tolerated in an extremely militarised society. The Israeli government is hoping that these actions will serve to strengthen national unity, which has suffered under the internal crisis.
- The imperialists and the democrats have unanimously condemned the "kidnappings" as acts of terror. However, they are always very careful when **Israeli activists are kidnapped or murdered in Jordan or in the Gaza strip**. A short time ago, four activists of the FPLP, which were being detained in the Palestinian prison in Jericho under the command of international forces, were kidnapped by an Israeli special squad. The "international community" hardly took any notice of this.
- In face of the cruelty of the attacks, 80% of which are directed against civilians, and in the face of the enormous and systematic destruction in Lebanon, as well as in the Gaza strip, the imperialists sometimes condemn the excessiveness of the reaction in words. However, they do not conceal their readiness to leave it over to Israel to determine the goal of its aggression, which is **to liquidate all organized resistance** against its drive for control over the region.

By letting the Lebanese and Palestinian people pay a very high price, Israel and its allies hope to prevent all efforts of resistance in the future

and to set the people against all those, who do not accept the status quo of the agreements with Israel.

- This situation confirms that the **imperialist goals** are the fundamental cause of wars, social destabilization and misery in the world. Since the division of Palestine in the year 1947, in spite of all UN resolutions, Israel has experienced complete impunity for its exploitation of the Palestinian peasants and their forced expulsion. The **Israel military forces** are superior to the air force and the tanks of French imperialism. Israel possesses nuclear weapons. Its wars cannot be led without the financial support of the USA. Israel could not be threatened by its much weaker neighbours, upon which it has already brought war and destruction.
- When the entire world was talking about the "peace process", the **colonization of Palestine** was being continued with the left, as well as with the right-wing Zionists. The various governments said that they desired peace with the Palestinians and that they wanted to recognize their right to their own state, while at the same time they were robbing them of their land. Today, the government claims they want to do no harm to the Lebanese people, while at the same time dropping bombs upon them.
- Making use of the terminology of the Israeli government, **the various French governments** have always found good reasons to grant loans to Israel. Chirac is trying to cut these a bit. He condemns the excessiveness of the retaliation against Lebanon, where France has its own interests. However, the statements are not followed up by any concrete threats against the aggression. Like all the others, the French government also boycotted the Hamas government. French industrialists work together with Israel in the production of weapons, which are killing people in the Gaza strip.

We, the communists and internationalists of the " **Voie Prolétarienne** ", demand on behalf of the common interests of the exploited and oppressed people in their struggle against exploitation and oppression:

- **For an immediate stop of Israel's armed intervention**
- **For the release of all Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners in Israel**
- **Stop and boycott all military, civilian and academic co-operation with Israel**
- **For the right of all Palestinian refugees to return to their country**

We confirm

- **the rightfulness of armed resistance against the oppressors of the people.**
- **There can be no peace without the recognition of the right of the self-determination of the people.**
- **There can be no peace without Israel abstaining from colonization**

We support

- **the founding of a democratic and secular state in the entire territory of the historic Palestine, in which every person has equal rights, without respect to religion, origin or gender.**
- **all progressive Palestinian, Lebanese and Israeli forces who are struggling in this spirit, against Zionism and imperialism.**

OCML, Voie Prolétarienne,
August 2006, France #

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For a New Offensive of the Revolutionary Work among Rank And Files

Interview with the chairman of the MLPD, Stefan Engel

"Rote Fahne": In October the Merkel/Müntefering-government hit rock bottom of its credits. Was this already a sign of the end of the grand coalition?

Stefan Engel: Actually no federal government yet had to face such a rapid loss of confidence among the masses like the Merkel/Müntefering-government had to between April and October 2006. Only 19% of the population were satisfied with the work of the federal government. In the state parliamentary elections in Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania and Berlin it became apparent that the process of detachment of the masses from the bourgeois parties, the bourgeois parliamentarism and its institutions proceeded. So the federal government only managed to interrupt this process for a certain period of time between November 2005 and March 2006 but it failed to reverse it. However, the fundamental rejection of the societal conditions has now been added to this as a new quality. According to opinion polls in October 66% of the population regarded the society in Germany as unjust and 51% were no longer satisfied with the political system as a whole. That is of course a problematic development for the ruling class that required a response. Grand coalitions as existing in the federal government and further six state governments are governments of crisis. They are only a necessity because none of the big monopoly parties SPD and CDU alone in coalition with a small partner is capable to form a government. This is an expression of the relative hopelessness of bourgeois parliamentarism that is most explicitly expressed in the dwindling mass basis of the big bourgeois "People's Parties".

However the headline of the "Rote Fahne" "The government is in a shaky position" was a bit overhasty. We have to assume that the ruling monopolies currently have no alternative at their disposal than this grand coalition and that of course there is still a certain scope to counteract the moods among the masses for a certain period of time, to abandon decisions and to develop counterpropaganda. We can just

observe this in the current party congresses of the CDU, of the Greens or also in the SPD-Conferences. Rüttgers poses as "left" within the CDU and he intends to score points with his proposal for the prolongation of the period of time in which older people are entitled to unemployment benefits. The Greens again rehash the illusion about the "ecological society" reconciled with capital. The SPD has launched a campaign for the minimum wage and increase of wages. That will not remain without effect and the opinion poll rating of the government has even risen a little bit in November/December. That doesn't change in no way the general direction of the destabilization of the ruling conditions.

"Rote Fahne": There is a regular euphoria about an upswing sparked by the media and bourgeois politicians - how shall this be assessed?

Stefan Engel: In fact for the first time since 2001 there will be a growth of the gross national product by more than two per cent this year. This is a relative economic revival that has nothing to do neither with an upswing nor is this a lasting and long-term development. It is already predicted for next year that this upturn will again significantly fall. The propaganda of upswing fosters the illusion that there is also an upswing in wages, labour conditions and employment, too. However, a growth of at least 3% would be necessary to really create new jobs. The actual economic growth would have to be stronger than the increase of labour productivity. The decrease in the number of unemployed as declared by the federal agency for Labour deceives people about the real conditions. The cuts of full-time jobs still continue. The number of these jobs already dropped by 6.2 million in the period between 1991 and 2005! New appointments were mostly carried out as part-time jobs as well as with temporary work contracts. Merely the agency for subcontract labour in fact achieved an increase in

jobs: from 400.000 in 2004 rising up to approximately 500.000 this year.

Almost all industrial large-scale factories reduce their so-called "permanent staff". Growths of purchase orders are barely answered with new appointments but with an intensified exploitation of the "permanent staff", with temporary labour contracts or subcontracted labour. The official report of the Agency for Labour of October 2006 has to admit that the increase in jobs that are subject to social insurance contribution is "carried by" 258.000 "for a bigger share" by subcontracted labour. The current economic revival has absolutely nothing to do with a general recovery of the crisis-charged capitalist economy. It is mainly the **temporary consequence** of the reorganisation of the international production in which of course initially new investments due.

Currently a massive wave of cross-border mergers and take-overs are taking place reaching a **new record** with a volume of 1.950 billion US dollars. As a result these mergers and take-overs are **combined with massive annihilation of capital and jobs** and bring about a rapid increase in working productivity and with it in the exploitation of the workers. The reorganisation of the international production additionally means a relocation of jobs to those regions where there are markets, high state subsidies and low wages. Aside from Eastern Europe and China meanwhile India has developed into a centre of the investment activity of the international monopolies.

Aside from the fostering of the illusion that the problem of unemployment could be resolved by an economic revival or so the figures of the labour market statistics are strongly being manipulated. Thus, the One-Euro-Jobbers who still live on ALG II (income support – translator) are no longer listed in the unemployment statistics. After all these are currently still 313.000 people. Further 881.000 people are receiving further vocational training or retraining etc. Added are those who are deleted from the labour statistics as people for whom no employment can be arranged.

However, the biggest deception in Labour market statistics is the fact that one is no longer considered as unemployed when he is participating in a job application training, in a practical course or if someone has a mini job. There is a **general**

tendency to apparently transform mass unemployment into the rapidly growing number of underemployed people.

More than 18 million people in the meantime are unemployed or underemployed in Germany.

So much stronger the tendency of impoverishment of the working population becomes. Already now 2.8 million employed workers are qualified for social benefits. The general cut of wages in the factories is pursued by unpaid prolongation of working time, by the cutting of Christmas bonus and benefits paid above the agreed rate. All that will not be cancelled by a temporary relative revival. It will be a good idea for the working-class to oppose this euphoria of growth and follow its class interests with a clear view.

"Rote Fahne": This government probably faced the greatest disaster in connection with the youth unemployment.

Stefan Engel: We just experience a new record of lacking posts for trainees, and young qualified workers who are not taken on after having completed their training. On set date, September 30th 2006, 43.000 young people had no posts. Only 23 percent of the companies are still training young people. According to the DGB (Federation of German Trade Unions) there are only 414.000 company internal training posts for officially 763.000 applicants. These facts give the lie to the former minister of trade and commerce, Clement, who said before the introduction of Hartz IV that every adolescent under 25 years is supposed to get a job or a training post. This year, the number of people without training grew to 1,5 million. Already in 2004, half of all trainees were not taken on anymore after their training. This tendency has intensified.

It is necessary, that the working class understands the youth mass unemployment as a main form of expression of the crisis on the labour market and makes the common fight of young and old for new training posts in the big industry and for giving regular jobs to young people completing training in a company the centre of attention of the discussions in the companies and trade unions.

"Rote Fahne": In the last months a series of important labour struggles were waged. Does

the workers' offensive proceed?

Stefan Engel: Since the Opel-strike many individual labour struggles have qualitatively developed further without resulting in a new quality of the workers' offensive on a mass scale up to now. The labour struggle of the workers of the Bosch-Siemens Domestic Appliances factory (BSH) in Berlin, lasting for weeks, was very important, where the strike was combined with gate blockades and occupation of the factory against the planned transportation of the machines. The hollow compromise of the right leadership of the Metal Workers Union with the goal to smother this struggle was rejected during the strike ballot by almost two thirds of the BSH workers. That shows that the right union bureaucracy has increasingly greater problems to convincingly put through its policy of class collaboration.

The struggle for every job has been taken up by the workforce of more and more enterprises as a decisive slogan, instead of the unspeakable reformistic tactic of severance payment schemes or transfer companies that accept job cuts and only cushion it socially. It is necessary that we combine the defensive demand for the preservation of jobs with the offensive demand for the 30-hour workweek with full wage compensation - even though that was pushed very far to the bottom in the priority list of the reformistic union leaders. Only a lasting, significant reduction in working hours with full wage compensation is an effective means for the easing of mass unemployment. That is seen also by progressive economists like the professors Bosch, Hickel or Bontrup.

Aside from these struggles the demand for a full legal right to strike in all matters becomes increasingly more important. Thus, the right union bureaucracy mostly argues during the struggles that they only have the right to strike in wage disputes and therefore the struggles against closures and dismissals have to be waged today by means of severance payment schemes because the wage struggle against mass dismissals does not exist. That is, however, only an excuse, because at the same time the union bureaucracy is strictly against a full legal right to strike in all matters. That became clear when Lafontaine announced an initiative for the right to general strike in the Bundestag (Federal Parliament). The right union bureaucrats of the SPD jointly at-

tacked Lafontaine in the Bundestag. Their role as a factor upholding order on the basis of class collaboration with the employers and the government is more important to the reformist union leaders than the democratic rights and liberties of the working class.

A new phenomenon in the development of the class struggles is certainly also the struggle of the automotive workers going beyond borders. The mass demonstration for the solidarity with the fighting VW workers in Brussels with 30.000 participants showed that in the future disputes the line of demarcation between reformist and revolutionary tactics will be linked more and more clearly to the **readiness for the corporate-wide fight beyond country-boarders**. The simple reformist slogan of preserving particular locations does not solve any problem at all. Proletarian internationalism on the other hand strengthens the labour movement and gives new power to the workers' struggles. In the next weeks the preparation of offensive the wage negotiations 2007 will become the centre of attention. Already today, however, there is a strong movement against the implementation of the ERA contracts. If ERA (Remuneration framework agreement) was first of all the magic word of the vice IG Metal chairperson Huber, supposedly in order to balance the discriminating wage and salary differences between blue-collar and white-collar workers, it now turns out more and more as a program for the reduction of the real wages of the workers and employees on a massive scale. Therefore the ERA contracts must be cancelled! The fight for higher wages and salaries, against the extension of working hours and for jobs will gain importance in the next time.

"Rote Fahne": The nation-wide march of the Monday demonstration on September 16th 2006 in Berlin was propagated by the organizers as a prelude to a hot fall 2006. How has that developed?

Stefan Engel: The Monday demonstration organized a self-organized nation-wide demonstration with tens of thousand participants now for the third time in a row and set an important signal with that. The most important success was the first unification of all Monday demonstrations in east and west. The split of the Monday demonstration was overcome with the 16th Sep-

tember. At the same time, however, this activity was combated and undermined by the media. Different left reformists, revisionists and Trotskyites claimed the Monday demonstration divides the union activities of the 21st October. It was a fact, however, that the union leadership only reacted to the central march to Berlin to gain control of this people's movement directed against the government. The DGB-leaders (Federation of German Trade Unions) think indeed that this government must be critically supported as it were "a lesser evil" compared to a CDU/FDP-government. The rank and file does not welcome this. The content of the protest of the 220.000 demonstrators on October 21st was - contrary to the lukewarm "critical support of the government" by the right union leadership - the unequivocal protest of the workers against the government. The Monday demonstrators have never rejected union activities and they have always sought for the solidarity with the unions. Many Monday demonstrators are active unionists! The independent Monday demonstrations are a thorn in the flesh particularly of the reformist union leaders. The Monday demonstration has preserved its inner stability for more than two and a half years and has become the soul of the social resistance in Germany against the anti-people government politics. The hot fall has developed in different fields, but one must also say that it has been undermined by the large organizations which are still strongly led and dominated by the representatives of the two governmental parties. The willingness of the workers to a hot fall on a broad front existed, but it was treated with contempt by the reformist leadership. After all, the development of the struggles to a higher level must be pushed through *independently*. September 16th has sent out the signal for this.

"Rote Fahne": The federal government is boasting about its policy to strengthen the families. What do you think about it?

Stefan Engel: The new benefit for parents e.g. is presented as a big achievement. If you look closer it will lead to a considerable deterioration in the situation of the working-class families. Getting and bringing up children is only made palatable to families of the petty-bourgeois intermediate strata which have a relatively good income. 3.2 million poor children are the result

of the family and social policy of the government. In the federal states like in North Rhine-Westphalia among others the increase in the fees for the kindergarten is systematically pursued. Day nurseries for school children will be totally abolished as from 2007 in favor of the cheaper and qualitatively much poorer open all-day care in schools. In NRW the cutback of up to 40 percent of the kindergarten and day nursery places are in store. Recently a broad initiative has been developing against this in collaboration with the neighborhood party groups of the MLPD. It is a very important work within the women's policy to defend the social achievements and to counteract the greater burden with household and family. To lead such disputes in society will also be the lever for the militant women's movement to develop into a real mass movement.

"Rote Fahne": With the state parliament elections in Mecklenburg-West Pomerania the neo-fascists could enter state parliament. Has the neo-fascist danger heightened?

Stefan Engel: We still hold the opinion that there is a deep-rooted anti-fascist consciousness among the masses in Germany and that there is **no acute danger arising from neo-fascism**. Every appearance of the neo-fascists is answered by anti-fascists and demonstrations, rallies and activities numbering many times more. Nevertheless, we have to take this development serious. By systematically enhancing the status of the NPD in the media it succeeded to enter the state parliament in Mecklenburg-West Pomerania and to establish itself as a "protest party" among a growing part of the people. This is not without danger and is especially directed against the revolutionization of the workers' movement. The fascists have parliamentary parties in three state parliaments in East Germany and are able to push forward their fascist party building and to intensify their propaganda from this financially comfortable position. It is a serious situation which makes it necessary to draw conclusions especially for the youth work of the MLPD.

"Rote Fahne": It is obvious that imperialism has heavily got into real trouble with its aggressions on Iraq and Afghanistan.

Stefan Engel: We have to talk of a deep crisis of the NATO war in Afghanistan. Obviously the

forces in Afghanistan have recovered and in connection with a growing anti-imperialist attitude of the people have dealt a lasting and heavy blow to the occupying NATO forces. The demand to increase the NATO war activities in Afghanistan, however, will not be suitable to solve the problem of the imperialists. Even the bourgeois politicians have such a premonition. This is why the federal government is still hesitating at the moment to immediately become active in the South of Afghanistan with German troops, where open armed conflicts with the NATO troops are already the order of the day.

In the USA the Iraq policy obviously failed. The recall of the minister of Defense Rumsfeld and the election defeats at the elections for the Senate and the House of Representatives show that the Bush administration is in the bad books of the people. The new US minister of Defense, Gates, openly assumes that the war cannot be won anymore. After their disaster during the Vietnam war the USA are threatened with a second historical defeat which without any doubt will considerably damage US imperialism and its international leading role. This defeat also shows that imperialism is not superior and unassailable, but an unsoundly based colossus. It shows that in the end the way of the liberation of humanity from exploitation and imperialist oppression will be stronger.

"Rote Fahne": The developments in Latin America can also be seen in this context, where more and more progressive, anti-imperialist forces succeed in winning elections.

Stefan Engel: This is correct. Today progressive and partly anti-imperialist governments are ruling in most of the Latin American countries. Certainly they are no revolutionary governments but they are standing for a growing anti-imperialist consciousness of the masses. Without any doubt Venezuela is the focus of attention which also has relatively good economic resources to its disposal for a progressive social policy and for an independent economic policy with regard to the imperialists. The election in which Hugo Chavez was elected for president once again with 62 percent shows the notable support which Chavez is enjoying for his courageous struggle against US imperialism. We also welcome Chavez' proposal to build up an anti-imperialist movement, but are also critical of the

illusion of a "Bolivarian revolution". It is accompanied by a lot of illusions about the reformability of capitalism. However, this debate is a debate among anti-imperialists which certainly can be led in an appropriate form. Chavez is well known for being very open to the various progressive left-wing and revolutionary forces and also that much support and solidarity is coming from him and from Venezuela especially in Latin America.

"Rote Fahne": Can we already talk of a change in the international balance of power?

Stefan Engel: The plenum of the central committee of the MLPD, which has met session recently, put forward the thesis that the main tendency in the world is the international revolution. There are still mainly objective reasons for this based on the reorganization of the international production. In interaction with the work of Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations we are observing an **upswing of the international class struggle**. Workers' and people's rebellions are developing in Bangladesh, Mexico, Palestine, Lebanon etc. on more and more occasions. It is significant that the national class struggles in the individual countries also show a tendency towards the internationalization of the class struggle.

That doesn't mean that the class struggles on the national level are of no importance any more. On the contrary, a global interaction of national and international struggles is developing inspiring and strengthening each other with a tendency to international revolution in the course of which the imperialist system of rule will fall and give way to the unified socialist states of the world.

"Rote Fahne": In this context it is of course necessary to push ahead the theoretical work of the MLPD on the preparation of the international revolution.

Stefan Engel: Meanwhile we have been going over to elaborating bit by bit the text of the REVOLUTIONARY WAY 32 to 34 "Strategy and Tactics of the International Revolution". The process of elaborating such strategy and tactics of course is not the exclusive task of the MLPD but a common task of the international Marxist-Leninist and workers' movement. Thus, we are making an intensive exchange with the

most different Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations in the whole world during the process of drawing it up. In most of the talks there is great unity about the necessity of practical organizational forms of the international coordination and revolutionization of class struggle. At the same time it is of course a fact that the international Marxist-Leninist and workers' movement is not unified enough. The fragmentation having its origin in the revisionist degeneration of the former socialist countries is still immense and must be overcome. However, Marxism-Leninism has to gain new appeal which is only possible through the joining together of Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations. Today a revolutionary center doesn't exist. The union of the international Marxist-Leninist and workers' movement must commonly develop a revolutionary attraction for the broad masses. Today we can say that the attitude towards internationalism is the dividing line between revolutionary and reformist policy.

"Rote Fahne": *You just mentioned that the Central Committee of the MLPD met a short time ago. What provisional appraisal for the development for the party and its political work could the MLPD make?*

Stefan Engel: Undoubtedly, the MLPD was able to make important achievements in breaking through the relative isolation. More and more of these are also long-lasting. In a number of factories, but also to some part in society as a whole, the MLPD has become a factor which can no longer be overlooked. That is an important foundation for the ability to move and lead the masses. The extensive media coverage of Michael May's donation of several million Eurasia would certainly not have been possible without the positive development of the MLPD.

At the centre of our consultations was, of course, the advance of the most important organisational-political task until the 8th Party Congress, namely the reorganization of the party in seven *Land*- and 50 county organizations. In the meantime we have begun to appoint Land preparatory groups in all of these seven *Land* organizations, to set up regional offices and reorganize the party structures for guidance and control according to the *Lands*. We focus on training and systematic introduction to leadership work on the

basis of the proletarian mode of thinking, the core of which is to learn and gain command of the dialectical method.

At present, the regular delegates' conferences, including the election of the leadership, are taking place on the level of the basic party units and on the county and local levels. Their task is to determine what contribution the single organizational units can make for this reorganization.

The foundation for the positive development of the party is the systematic rank-and-file work among the masses, which is one of the most important trademarks of the MLPD.

Without overexaggerating, we can say that the MLPD is the only party in Germany doing systematic rank-and-file work in factories and neighbourhoods today.

However, in spite of this positive development, we have to think seriously about a tendency toward actionism which has its ideological foundations in **worshipping the spontaneity of the masses**. This directly stands in the way of a systematic rank-and-file work for winning over the decisive majority of the working class and involving the broad masses in the struggle against the government. The shortcomings in rank-and-file work led to neglecting youth work, the work among women and the internationalist rank-and-file work.

What is most important is to strengthen the MLPD lastingly and to multiply its numbers. In the interrelation to the *überparteilich* (not affiliated to a party), self-run organizations of the masses, it is important to help them become really militant mass organizations and to make it possible that organized mass movements begin and develop in various spheres of society.

Under today's conditions, systematic rank-and-file work, especially as the organizational form of the struggle over the mode of thinking on a mass scale, is indispensable. Without a systematic rank-and-file work, without a lasting organized co-operation with the MLPD, the masses cannot cope with the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking lastingly. That is why the Central Committee has passed a **resolution for a new offensive of systematic rank-and-file work**.

"Rote Fahne": *Can you say a little more about this task?*

Stefan Engel: The MLPD holds the opinion that the Berlin crisis-government will have a hard time being able to survive its legislative period. The key question is: what is the alternative to the government? We must already aim at such a situation and prepare ourselves for it, even if we do not assume that there will be new elections immediately. The start of the new tactical offensive of systematic rank-and-file work serves to gather forces; that is identical with an intensive struggle over the mode of thinking on a mass scale.

This includes three aspects:

1. To propagate the most important demands of the working class in connection with building up a broad social movement of the militant opposition.
2. An ideological offensive with a broad social debate over genuine socialism.
3. An offensive of organizational work to strengthen party building, our youth league Rebell, the self-run organizations of the masses and our interrelation with them.

The MLPD must make use of this situation in order to become a political and social alternative and must contribute to strengthening the militant opposition. It is important that we have real political alternatives in all important societal issues, based on the interests of the working class and the broad strata of the population against the dictatorship of the monopolies. For this purpose we have developed a 15-point-program which also gives answers to the growing search for a social alternative to the present ruling system in society.

"Rote Fahne": In the last "Rote Fahne" interview, the youth work of the MLPD was already termed as being the trump card, but also as being the greatest unsolved problem of party building. How has this issue developed?

Stefan Engel: None of the parties existing in Germany does such active and successful youth work as the MLPD does. But our aims are higher. With the youth league Rebell and its "Red Foxes", we want to organize a living-school of the proletarian mode of thinking among the masses of young people.

With this as our aim, we realistically have to admit that since last summer we have not made much progress in really solving this problem.

Within the party little value is still placed on youth work and is being reduced in tendency to involving the youth league in the concrete political activities of the party. However, Rebell is organizationally independent and must develop its own profile within the framework of the strategy and tactics of the party. This requires the ideological and political guidance and leadership of the party and that it works as a school of the proletarian mode of thinking. Of course, this independent profile includes activities on youth policy, but also the unmistakable profile of an enthusiastic and convincing revolutionary educational work. Without this, it is impossible for the masses of young people to understand the world and to become a purposeful part of a movement for social change!

Part of the independent profile continues to be that the youth league takes over the full responsibility for diversified work among children and the strong growth of the children's organization "Red Foxes". It must offer diverse working groups and realize its financial independence. It must learn to establish alliances and united action with other youth organizations and develop attractive public relations work.

However, this is not only a question of insight and good will. Bourgeois society and education shapes young people with lack of perspective, self-centeredness, capitulation in the face of problems and rejection of discipline and organization - in short, modern anti-authoritarianism. Young people and our youth league have to cope with this and the party must accompany this process intensively. It is these two factors that mark the realization of the living-school of the proletarian mode of thinking. That makes it necessary to change our structures and train an entire staff of comrades active in the guidance of youth work and comrades assigned to youth work on all levels of the party, as well as to guarantee their constant guidance and control. We are presently examining the problem more closely and drawing conclusions. Following the present local and county delegates' conferences, we want to concentrate the entire party upon solving exactly this unsolved youth issue in a main tactical task, climaxing in the participation in the Whitsun Youth Meeting 2007.

"Rote Fahne": Lately we could observe how the ruling powers are increasingly keeping close tabs on the MLPD.

Stefan Engel: Of course, the ruling powers, in their latent political crisis, are also developing new ideas on how they can maintain their rule. That is why the MLPD is also coming more into the centre of their attention. It is especially scandalous that the coalition parties in Berlin are taking advantage of the correct demand for the ban of fascist organizations to take action against the revolutionary left in general, too. So, for example, they are presently working on an amendment to the law on parties which includes further obstacles for the participation in elections or for party finances.

Of course, this is all taking place under the cover of the fight against terrorism, the definition of which is being diluted more and more and can be applied arbitrarily against undesired forces. Revolutionary vigilance is required. We have to be clear about the following: even if there has been little open political repression against the MLPD in more than 30 years, times can change quickly if the MLPD succeeds in gaining lasting mass influence and strength. The situation in which we have been relatively left in peace for a long time, of course gives rise to the illusion on some people that this will go on forever. But if you look at the ban of the communist youth league in the Tschech Republic (KSM), the persecution of the new Communist Party (n)KPI in Italy or the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) under the pretext of the struggle against terrorism, these are important signs for an intensification of anticommunist repression.

"Rote Fahne": What will the year 2007 bring?

Stefan Engel: We have to prepare ourselves for harder times. No one should cherish the illusion that, in their world-wide war for maximum profits and positions of power, the ruling powers will show consideration for

their own people or for other peoples. Their system of deception will continue to lose effect and more and more people will participate in active resistance and class struggle. This is not only a question of social conflicts, but also of the anti-imperialist struggle for maintaining world peace and, last but not least, of the struggle against the accelerated destruction of the natural environment. That focuses on the danger of a rapid development to a climatic disaster. We have to undertake efforts to advance international co-operation in these fields. Class solidarity, mutual support beyond national borders - that is the call of the day. Proletarian internationalism gives rise to our moral and political superiority, to lead the struggle to overthrow imperialism and to stand up for a new socialist society.

That is an excellent background for the MLPD to celebrate its 25th anniversary in the year 2007. In this connection we have planned a whole series of meetings and activities, all of which are aimed at strengthening the MLPD, but also at raising mutual trust in the relations to the militant self-run organizations and movements to a new level. At the same time, we want to use the celebrations to make a contribution to the further unification of the international Marxist-Leninist and working-class movement. That shall occur in particular with the two-day seminar on the consequences of the reorganization of international production and the struggle against it, which will be taking place in Essen at the beginning of August.

I am looking forward to the year 2007, which will surely become a special climax of the development of party work in the past years. I would like to use the opportunity to thank all members and friends of the party for the good co-operation during the past year and to wish all of them Happy Holidays and a healthy and militant New Year!

Rote Fahne: Thank you for the interview!

Published in Red Flag,

December 20, 2006 #

**"HANDS OFF
THE PUBLIC EDUCATION!"
Communist Organization of Greece (KOE)
International Relations département
February 2007**

**A review of the ongoing movement for free and public education
in Greece (May 2006 - February 2007)**

*From May 2006 until the moment that we are writing these lines, Greece is shaken by successive waves of a **mass movement against the neoliberal attacks on the free and public character of the education**. Secondary education pupils, university students, primary education teachers and university professors, alongside with dozens of local popular initiatives in defense of the free and public education that were created in many neighborhoods and cities, are in struggle. They have obliged the right-wing government party of Nea Demokratia and the social democratic "opposition" of PASOK (both sharing the same "vision" of transforming the education in a profit-making machine for the capital) to postpone or even abandon their policies. The popular camp has marked, for the first time since many years, **important tactical victories**, and has provoked a considerable crack in the "black front" of the two main bourgeois neoliberal parties. The Communist Organization of Greece is active part of this movement, and saw its line for **united, mass, resolute struggle** been confirmed by the developments and the will of the people and the youth. The leaderships of those left forces that used the "ideological differences" as a pretext to keep on with sectarian and dividing tactics were ultimately obliged, under the pressure of the masses, to follow the line of **united action against the common enemy**. Despite the setbacks, the mistakes and the weaknesses of the Left, the struggle continues!*

The situation that led to the outbreak of the movement

In Greece the higher education is still public and free of charge for all the students who can successfully accomplish the national exams. The funding of the universities (or at least its biggest part) comes from the state budget. Officially there is no such thing as fees. Moreover, the creation of private universities is prohibited by the Constitution. The universities have 4 or 5 year studies' plan, which concludes to a master-type diploma. The two main bourgeois political parties have repeatedly tried and keep trying to "reform" and "modernize" the education, i.e. to turn it into one more field of exploitation of the popular need for education and transform it into a profit-producing machine for the capital. These two parties are the right-wing Nea Demokratia (presently at government), and the social democratic PASOK (former government, actually in opposition). Due to the EU policy of unifying the member states' education under an Anglo-Saxon neoliberal model, the government of Nea Dimokratia announced a group of "reforms" for the Greek universities:

1. Evaluation of the universities "according to the EU standards" (further reduce of the state funding would then be "justified" by the results of a made-up "evaluation").
2. . Creation of an organization that would declare equivalent the foreign 3-years bachelor diplomas with the 4-years or 5-years Greek ones.
3. 3. Institution of organizations of "continual education" (thus undermining the professional rights of the graduates).

The initial reactions of the student movement to these "reforms" were rather inadequate. This

had to do with the pathogenesis of the Greek student Left. For example, it was almost the rule to have two or even three different protests in the same day, in the same town, for the same subject. Although the creation of a common left front against the social democrats and the rightwing seemed more than logical in front of the global attack of neoliberalism, it has been for years something really impossible. The "civil war" between the different formations of the student Left was bitterer than the fight against the social democrats and the right-wing. This frustrated and disappointed the great majority of the students, who wanted to participate united to the struggle against the neoliberal reforms, and also gave very poor results to any resistance that was put up, as the mobilizations were divided and thus weak and ineffective. Moreover, many of these radical left groups are almost exclusively student-orientated and student-composed. So the first part of the "reforms" ended with the right-wing government headed by K. Karamanlis being one step ahead, imposing the "principles" of evaluation, equivalency and continual education. However, the practical implementation of these "reforms" has stagnated, mainly because of the refusal of many universities' administration and students to apply them, and because the government hesitated at that time to push further by introducing the necessary legislation for the materialization of the "principles". The last reform, which provoked the outbreak of a united, resolute and combative student movement that started last May 2006 and continues until today, was a new frame-law bill concerning the universities' functioning. This law described how the universities should work, according to the EU criteria and in application of the aforementioned "principles". The main changes were:

1. Constraint of the political asylum inside the university campus (Since the fall of the fascist dictatorship in 1974, the entrance in Universities' ground is prohibited to the police forces. The asylum has been violated a few times during the last 30 years, but each time with heavy political cost for the government).
2. Constraint of the student unionism (Considered as "a Greek anachronism" because of its often militant and radical character, compared to the "responsible and moderate European student unions").
3. Set of maximum duration of the studies to 6 years for the 4 years faculties, and 7 years for the 5 years faculties (In Greece there are a lot of students who work full time, so they are obliged to prolong their studies; a limitation of the duration would resocially politically active students).
4. Introduction of yearly fees and suspension of state funding for free university books.
5. Introduction of student loans or "scholarships" and business funding (Both last measures aiming at suppressing the officially public and free of charge character of the education for all students).

May - June 2006: The students against the new frame-law bill

With the announcement of the government's plans for a new framelaw, a vast mobilization of the student Left began. It started right after the huge and militant international demonstration of Saturday 6 May that marked the works of the 4th European Social Forum in Athens; this demonstration, with its united and combative character, filled with enthusiasm the left people and the youth and created a favorable climate for the struggle, that started on Monday 8 May with the first occupations of universities. The difference now, compared to the past, was that almost all the radical left formations were obliged, under the pressure of the students' will for united and determined resistance, to form a joint front-type movement. Also, the movement was influenced by the echo of struggles in other countries and regions, as well as by the positive experiences from the international movement. For example: the spirit of united struggle and the creation of popular initiative committees as it happened in France against the "EU Constitution" and the "CPE" bill; the mobilizations repeated the same day each week, as it happened in Germany with the "Monday demonstrations"; the spirit of adamant struggle and the creation of coordination committees and assemblies on

local and national level, which brought together various social and political forces, as it happened in Oaxaca, Mexico and other countries.

The first week the occupations concerned about 70 faculties all over Greece, then 150, then 300, even 400 at the peak point! Week by week, more and more student unions participated in the struggle. We have witnessed the most massive General Assemblies of the last years, with the participation of hundreds and even thousands of students in each faculty. The participation of the students to the central weekly demonstrations in Athens varied from 10 to 20 thousand every week, depending whether the demonstration would be nationwide or not. This was a great change, given the fact that just 1 year before the participation in the (usually divided) student demonstrations varied from 1 to 3 thousand. After each demonstration, there was taking place a coordinating meeting of all the student unions, to decide the further steps.

The first (good) surprise was that even the universities with very weak student unionism were now occupied by students almost impulsively. The second (bad) surprise was that a big part of the student Left, the one controlled by KKE (Communist Party of Greece), was opposing the occupations. KKE argued that the occupation is a "wrong form of struggle", and suggested to "reopen the universities, continue with the exams, and prepare mobilizations in fall". However their "responsible" line was rejected by the vast majority of the students, and they lost a lot of their influence because of their dividing and compromising attitude. Thus, they were finally obliged to change their line, and after the 2nd week of June they joined, with the heads down, the "occupations' bloc". This bloc was initially formed by the students of the radical left, including the students of "EAAK", "Coalition", KOE, and other left groups (many of them almost exclusively student groups).

This first wave of mobilizations lasted two months (May and June 2006) and faced the

brutal police repression by the state and a slanderous campaign of calumny by the "mainstream" media. However, the bourgeois forces were not able to crack the movement. The mobilizations and the occupations stopped only when the government announced that it withdraws the new frame-law in order to "ameliorate" it, "considering" the student reactions. The students' General Assemblies declared that they will start again the occupations whenever the government reintroduces its "reforms". The outcome of this first round of struggle was a clear tactical victory of the students' movement, and a confirmation of the line for resolute and united struggle, which was imposed over the sectarian divisive attitude of the main student Left forces. Thus, it became the first victory of the popular camp marked over the reactionaries since many years.

September – November 2006: The teachers on the first line

The university students' movement was followed by the secondary education pupils' movement and the teachers' strike right after the summer vacations. The secondary education pupils started the school occupations in October with the demand for increase of the education funding, against the privatization. The school occupations lasted about one month and sustained the same calumny campaign from the media: the bourgeois newspapers and TV channels were shamelessly talking of "great damages of the school buildings", of pupils "using drugs and making orgies" inside the occupied schools, etc...

Alongside with the pupils, the primary education teachers declared since mid-September a national strike, with the main demand of a decent salary. The hard core of the strike movement were the poorly paid young teachers, who imposed their combative spirit and enthusiasm over an otherwise rather traditional and "responsible" trade union leadership. The teachers made a six week long heroic strike, almost without any real support from the official trade union movement or the left political

parties. The duration and the militancy of the strike was something very rare for the current Greek labor movement, especially because primary schools are a very sensitive social space. Nevertheless and despite the bourgeois propaganda and the practical problems created by the strike in every day life, the majority of parents were supporting the teachers.

At that time, the creation of a victorious broad front composed by all those working in education plus the students and the working people in general was a real possibility, which scared the government. Moreover, there was a demand that was unifying all the sectors of the education: "5% of the state budget for the education" (the percentage of the state budget for the education is reduced each year, causing great problems in the functioning of schools and universities, and keeping the salaries extremely low). However, the leaderships, including those of the main left forces of the university students, were limiting their support for the teachers' strike in declarations. The problem (or, more correct, the "problem") was that the universities were in an exams period, and so it was "impossible to call for General Assemblies". There was only a typical support to the teacher's mobilizations from the secondary education national federation as well. Would the attitude of the trade union and student left's leadership be different, joining the movement instead of letting it alone, this struggle would conclude with another victory. Unfortunately, what prevailed at that critical moment in the biggest part of the student and trade union Left was the idea to "guard our forces for the next round"...

When the universities came out of the exams, there were no occupations in faculties, but the student mobilizations and Assemblies restarted. The movement now turned against the government's new plans to amend the Article 16 of the Constitution, which assures the public and free of charge character of the education and prohibits the establishment of private universities. Indeed, the right-wing government of Nea Dimokratia, assisted by the leadership of the social democratic PASOK (who

agrees with the privatization of the education), declared in mid-December its decision to immediately proceed with the amendment of the Constitution. The two bourgeois parties based their calculations on the fact that it would be impossible for the students and the movement to mobilize right before, during and right after the 2 weeks-long Christmas holidays...

January – February 2007: In defense of the Article 16 of the Constitution

Article 16 of the Constitution is the last institutional stronghold of public education in Greece. Without amending it, it is difficult for the bourgeoisie to obtain complete control of the higher education and to use it fully as yet another profit making machine for the private capital.

Consequently, the right-wing government of Nea Dimokratia was interested even more for this "reform", than for the frame-law bill that failed to impose in May and June 2006. And so was the social democratic PASOK, whose president G. Papandreou declared since long ago its support for the establishment of "non-state universities", despite the negative opinion of its own electoral base's majority. These two parties, that form a particular bipartisan neo-liberal front on the main issues, had both undertaken the obligation to advance this "reform" in favor of the parasitic Greek capital and their foreign masters.

When the students returned from the Christmas break, they were already in agitation. During the Christmas break, thousands of people signed a document of the newly-founded Panhellenic Initiative for Article 16, which was formed with the political support of left organizations, with KOE playing a considerable role in this development. Simultaneously, KOE produced a tract and a poster that were the first to be distributed in tens of thousands of copies on national level, putting on the agenda the necessity for joint and determined struggle with a concrete tactical-political goal that may unite a broad spectrum of social and political forces and is the "Achilles' heel" of

the neoliberal reform: the defense of Article 16. Many local popular initiatives in support of Article 16 were also formed in several Greek cities with the impulse of the Left and of local groups. These local initiatives were uniting the biggest part of the Left, opposite to what happened on central level, where a part of the radical Left as well as KKE preferred to form two more separate initiatives, apart of the Panhellenic Initiative... However these separate initiatives were not particularly active, while the Panhellenic Initiative for Article 16 organized popular meetings and mobilizations all over Greece. And on local level it became impossible to convince the militants on the "necessity" to form dividing initiatives in order to secure the "ideological purity" of this or the other left organization...

Within two days since the reopening of the Universities after Christmas break, more than half of the faculties were occupied again, according to the decisions of mass General Assemblies of their students. Once more, the organized forces were obliged to put aside the pretext of their ideological differences and to follow the will of the students' majority for common action against the renewed neoliberal attack. Within two weeks, more than 300 university faculties were occupied. The movement "pattern" is the same with last summer: there is a weekly march each Wednesday or Thursday, the occupations are one week-long and at the end of each week there is a faculty's General Assembly to decide the continuation of the mobilization. There is also an assembly in each city or university, which decides "locally", and a coordination assembly composed by delegates of all the local assemblies, which meets after each demonstration. This time the students of KKE supported since the beginning the mobilizations and the occupations, and moved on with more unity characteristics than in previous struggles. This equals to a miracle for us here in Greece. For the first time since many years, the demonstrations were united, as the holding of dividing meetings became a political suicide. With the participation of KKE the student Left now was united, often against its leaderships' will, opposing success-

fully the right-wing students who were vainly trying to stop the occupations. The Panhellenic Federation of Associations of University Professors also declared continuous weekly strikes in defense of the article 16. This was very important for the student movement, as the bulk of their professors stood side by side with them in the first lines of the struggle.

It was also important in order to secure the support of the public opinion in front of a huge smearing campaign against the movement. Because of their courageous stand, the progressive and left university professors became fast the target of the government and the bourgeois media. The police even accused the chairman and other leading members of their Panhellenic Federation of "promoting the incidents and forming an illegal alliance with anarchist and leftist elements"! At the same time, the reactionary and some "left" university professors, especially those implicated in dark transactions with private companies, were clearly supporting the government plans for privatization and repression, and calumniated the majority of their colleagues.

The neoliberals suffer another tactical defeat

As the movement continued the struggle, the discontent against the two neoliberal parties (Nea Dimokratia and PASOK) grew bigger. For the popular masses it was now much clearer that these two supposedly opposed parties were forming a neoliberal black front and were aggressing together the right of the youth and of the people to a free and public education. Even inside PASOK many members and cadres spoke openly against the leadership's support to the government plan to amend Article 16. Thousands of them signed a declaration, calling their leadership to respect the base's will and to stop supporting the privatization plans. Finally, on 8 February, the leadership of PASOK was obliged to withdraw its support to the process of changing the Constitution. Practically, this meant that the proposals to amend a series of Articles of the Constitution were not supported anymore by the necessary number of members of Parliament in

order to be declared effective by a simple majority during the next legislature.

This was a great tactical victory for the movement, which succeeded to provoke an important crack to the neoliberal front. The united and mass struggle led to failure the actual government's attempt to promote the privatization of education and to transform neoliberalism into a constitutional principle! Just months ago, very few left forces believed that such results could be achieved. While practicing a lot of revolutionary verbalism, in reality they were disheartened by the crashing neoliberal majority in the Parliament and could not believe that the united, mass and combative extra-parliamentarian struggle was able to achieve tactical victories and to oblige the bourgeoisie to retreat. They had no trust in the people and in the youth. They were almost laughing at the line of KOE who insisted that we must put aside our differences and become a Left that is useful to the people, able to unite, inspire and lead a resolute common struggle with concrete tactics and political targets.

However, the reality obliged them to change, even temporarily, their attitude, and that is a very positive development. Nevertheless, even today KKE and some radical left groups' leaderships are diminishing the importance of the tactical victory, arguing that... "there is no victory because neoliberalism remains strong and we still live in the capitalist system"! Definitely, sectarianism, selfisolation, lack of any self-criticism, underestimation of the people and detachment from the reality are going hand-by-hand with the impossibility and unwillingness of these leaderships to proceed to a concrete analysis of the concrete situation and to act politically, in the service of the people's interests...

New government attack:

Reintroduction of the "frame-law"

After its failure to amend the Constitution, the right-wing government decided to counter-attack by suddenly re-introducing to the Parliament the new frame-law for the higher education. With this new attempt, and hoping to

take advantage of a certain exhaustion of the movement after many months of struggle (combined with the danger that the students will loose yet another exams period if the occupations will continue), the government tries to redress its wounded image and to enforce what it failed to impose through the amendment of Article 16. However, the first reaction of the movement was more than adequate: 40.000 people took part in the last weekly demonstration on 22 February in Athens, by far the biggest of the last months. See the report below:

Demonstration: "This law shall not pass!"

Forty thousands of students, university professors, teachers but also working people marched in the streets of Athens on 22 February against the new frame-law concerning the Universities and in defense of the public and free character of the education. The impressive demonstration was co-organized by the Panhellenic Coordination of Student Occupations and assemblies, the Panhellenic Federation of Associations of University Professors, the Federations of Primary and Secondary Education Teachers, the Panhellenic Initiative for Article 16 and the various popular local initiatives in defense of the free public education. This moment, there are 330 University faculties under occupations that started 2 months ago after decisions of General Assemblies of the students. Moreover, the Panhellenic Federation of Associations of University Professors is on continuous strike during the last month, while the Federations of Primary and Secondary Education Teachers declared a 24 hours strike for the day of the demonstration.

The demonstration had a national character, as delegations of the occupied Universities from all over Greece came in Athens in order to participate. The students' position on the new frame-law bill introduced by the government was expressed in a very clear way during the mobilization: "It won't pass" was the slogan that was heard loudly during more than 4 hours, from the head to the end of the march. The demonstrators, coming from all the Universities of Athens but also from the North (Thrace and Macedonia) to the South (Pelo-

ponnesus) including the islands of the Aegean and Crete, expressed the will and the resolution of the movement for continuation and escalation of the struggle against the government plans.

The demonstration went through the center of Athens towards the Parliament, escorted by heavy "anti-riot" police forces. In many cases the police acted in an aggressive and provocative way, and many incidents were prevented on the last minute thanks to the cold-blooded attitude of the demonstrators. In front of the entrance of the Parliament the special forces of the police attacked the march, using chemical and tear gasses on large scale. However they were not able to dissolve this great mobilization, as thousands of people regrouped and headed towards the Polytechnic School, where the Panhellenic Coordination of Student Occupations and Assemblies was scheduled to meet.

Near the Polytechnic School, the demonstration was again brutally attacked by the police forces, on an even larger scale. Thousands of students were encircled in the building and bombarded by thousands of chemical and tear gas, as well as hand grenades producing smoke and blank explosions. In front of this continued attack, the students decided to stop the meeting and marched out of the building in the form of a new demonstration that the police was unable to break, protecting in that way the safety of thousands of people.

The fascist attack of the police proved once more the revengeful rage of the government against a mass movement that does not yield in front of the reactionary policies. Especially targeted by the government is the youth, that puts itself on the forefront of the struggle since 10 months and has achieved (for the first time during the last years in Greece) important tactical victories. Nevertheless, and despite the state repression, the mobilizations go on with a renewed strength.

Onwards, for new victories! #



The police forces attack the students. The state repression and the provocations were used by the government and the bourgeois media in an attempt to break the movement.



Homepage of KOE:

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Rising Struggles are forcing US imperialist rulers to change

CPI(ML) New Democracy, India

Bush's 'war on terror' is in focus. Humiliating defeat of Bush's Republican Party in US elections on November 7 leading to loss of control of both houses of US Parliament has come in the wake of looming defeat in Iraq and Afghanistan, humiliating defeat of Israeli aggressors in Lebanon, rising sentiments of the people against US imperialism in Middle-east, Latin America and other parts of world. "Staying the course" is no longer a viable proposition, US Defence Secretary Rumsfeld has been fired and the neo-cons are in disarray with their pet project "Occupation of Iraq" going haywire and Israel licking its wounds after war against Lebanon. "Other ways for stabilizing US hegemony" are being sought, US imperialist chieftains looking for alternate strategies. A new situation obtains, changes brought about by the tremendous sacrifices by the people of Iraq and Afghanistan in their national wars, by the people of third world countries in their struggles against imperialism and domestic reactionaries and by the differences among imperialist powers in their struggle over share in the loot and plunder of third world countries. People's struggles have played the major role in bringing about the changes asserting once again that they and not the reactionaries, are the decisive force.

In the US elections, Bush called for "staying the course" till the victory in Iraq. This made Bush so unpopular in US that candidates of his own party shunned him. To shore up his Party's fortunes Bush Admn. instructed their cronies in Baghdad to sentence Saddam Hussein to death just two days before the election. Yet his Party failed, with two thirds of voters admitting that Iraq war influenced their vote.

While these elections demonstrated the disillusionment of US voters against Iraq war, while it is a clear message against Bush's handling of war, it would be futile to expect that the Democratic Party which has gained control over the two houses of US parliament, would force the Bush Admn. to withdraw troops from Iraq. What bothers Democratic leadership is not the war, but the looming defeat. According to a report "nearly 8 out of every 10 Democrats (78%) want an immediate or partial withdrawal of troops from Iraq." But it is significant that "64% of the Democratic candidates in the 45 closely contested House Congressional races OPPOSE a timetable for withdrawal from Iraq. Note carefully: not only do these Democratic worthies oppose the Murtha or McGovern bills for rapid withdrawal or defunding the war; they oppose as much as a timetable....The position of these Dem. candidates is indistinguishable from that of George W. Bush". It is also worth remembering that in 2002 elections, when Bush's victory was being treated as a foregone conclusion, the race was livened up by a candidate challenging Iraq War. The Democratic Party leadership had then moved to prop up the candidature of John Kerry, a supporter of Iraq war.

While the Middle-East is in focus for the struggle of the people of these countries against US-Israel aggressions, Democratic Party does not represent any change in the course. Democratic Party nominee for the speakership of the House, Ms. Pelosi is an ardent supporter of Israel's aggressions. In a speech she remarked, "In truth, the history of the conflict is not over occupation, and never has been: it is over the fundamental right of Israel to exist." She also shares the US-Israel

drive against Iran "The greatest threat to Israel's right to exist, with the prospect of devastating violence, now comes from Iran." Both the Republican and Democratic Parties, representing the interests of giant MNCs, are votaries of US hegemonism.

However, the Iraq situation is forcing itself on the ruling elite of US who had not bargained for such a strong resistance from the Iraqi people. With nearly 3,000 US soldiers killed in Iraq and over 20,000 seriously wounded, the US authority is limited to their barracks and green zone in Baghdad. Even the US President George Bush had to admit that "US is not winning in Iraq". With Bush script going awfully wrong in Iraq, the bipartisan Baker-Hamilton Congressional Committee has given its report calling for changing course. They have suggested among other things, talking to Iran and Syria for their help in stabilizing Iraq and gradual withdrawal of US Army from the combat duties though without suggesting any timetable for withdrawal. All calls for change of course in Iraq are aimed at preserving the US influence in Iraq and middle-east. The impending defeat in Iraq is being viewed as a catastrophe to US interests in the whole region and also wider world. It is unimaginable for them to visualize a world where they do not play the overlord, where they are not called upon to bear the "white men's burden." What is required is not merely a change of course in Iraq but a change of course in America whose rulers consider it their right to lord over the world, to crush the people's aspirations in all countries.

Bush Admn. has already started work on "other ways" while Bush is set to announce his new policy in early January. Contacts have been established with Govts. in Iran and Syria while Bush is rallying puppet Emirs and Shahs showing them the danger of Iran. His Govt. is also alarmed at the rising stock of Hizbullah in Lebanon who had defeated the Israeli aggression. Hizbullah and its allies have launched a people's

movement against pro-US Govt. of Sinoria which has drawn unprecedented participation and is threatening to undo the 'victory' of west sponsored change in Lebanon after the assassination of former Premier Rafiq Hariri.

US-UK imperialists are working overtime to deepen Shi'i-Sunni divide in Iraq and the whole Middle-east thereby diverting attention from what is essentially revolt of the people against their domination and aggression of their protégé, Israeli Zionists. It was the US-UK invaders who sponsored the death squads in Iraq killing those opposed to US led occupation of their country. Role of US-UK imperialists in these attacks has been documented by a number of reports. UK imperialists have been past masters in this game from their colonial days.

However, their game of playing Shi'i-Sunni divide is seriously hampered by the situation in Palestine where the Israeli military aggressors have created new records in trampling people's rights under military boots, targeting old and children, killing civilians and devastating the infrastructure. Palestinians' cause is close to the people of all middle-east countries and it is here that US rulers are called upon to show results. Baker-Hamilton, Emirs and Shahs, all desirous of seeing the US influence not wane in middle-east are urging action. And here is the Achilles heel of US middle-east policy. US, UK and other western powers, all 'champions of democracy' refused to accept the results of free and fair Palestinian polls in which Hamas triumphed over Fatah. They demonstrated to the whole world that their avowed love for democracy is only to further their own imperial interests and has nothing to do with people's right to choose their representatives. Even at home they suppress the democratic rights of the people in the name of their 'war against terror.' They have made their democracy from exportable commodity to pure export commodity, that too retaining their right to export.

Hence we see a renewed drive to crush Palestinian struggle and impose Abbas and his Fatah over the Palestinian people so that they can show a sort of progress in resolving the Israel-Palestine disputes. But their game will come to nought as elsewhere.

While Hizbullah's resistance to Israeli aggression dramatically brought into open the limits of US power, it is the national war of Iraqi people which has pride of place among the struggles of world people which have challenged the US strategy to secure its hegemonism and have spurred the change in the international situation. Iraqi people have made and are making tremendous sacrifices in their national struggles. According to reports nearly 7 lakh Iraqis have died after the US led military occupation of Iraq. The national war of Iraqi people has reined in the aggressive designs of US imperialism and given a crude jolt to the US plans to invade Iran.

Even in Afghanistan that national war of Afghan people has been dealing serious blows at the US-UK invaders. UK is leading the NATO operations in Afghanistan where the Mayor of Kabul, puppet Karzai, does not dare to venture out of his palace. The intensifying war in Afghanistan has forced the UK's Defence Secretary Des Brown to admit, "We do have to accept that it's been even harder than we expected." At the recent Riga summit of NATO, US president Bush asking NATO members to increase their Army men in Afghanistan, had this to say, "The Taliban radicals who are trying to pull down Afghanistan's democracy and regain power saw the transfer from American to NATO control as a window of opportunity to test the will of the Alliance." Situation is quite desperate for the NATO forces in South and Southeast Afghanistan. After five years of occupation UK's Premier Blair admitted, "Here in this extraordinary piece of desert is where the future of world security in the early twenty-first century is going to be played out." Only the parts which are

relatively peaceful are northern (Tazhik-Uzbek) areas of Afghanistan where Russia holds influence and western part inhabited by Shi'is aligned with Iran. It is not only Iraq but also Afghanistan that US-UK tried to colonize, that the people fought against the imperialist invaders.

The struggle of world people against growing imperialist exploitation and in particular against the US war drive and hegemonism have been intensifying. The whole of Latin America, once considered by the US rulers as their backyard, has become a front against US imperialism. A wave of anger sweeps through the Latin American countries resulting in electoral defeats of a number of pro-US regimes in the region. The US domination and the role of US MNCs in monopolizing the resources of the region and supporting the fascist rulers subservient to their imperialist interests have increased the anger of the people. The growing trade relations with European countries and the intensifying contradictions among imperialist countries, sharply increasing trade relations with China which has emerged as a large trading partner of Latin American countries, are also playing their role in the growing anti-US mood of the people in the Latin American countries.

In Colombia revolutionary forces are waging armed struggle and control nearly half of the country. The US backed rulers' military campaigns and sponsored vigilante groups are being combated by the people's forces. Plan Colombia of US imperialists has failed to stop the revolutionary struggle. Struggle in Colombia is the most important struggle from the point of challenging the existing system. In addition in a number of countries, the rulers have come to power through elections on the basis of growing anger against US imperialism and its lackeys. All these regimes are not similar in their approach towards US imperialism and the financial institutions controlled by it. Hugo Chavez Govt. of Venezuela has been the most vocal

critic of US imperialism and Chavez had survived a coup attempt authored by US imperialists. Bolivia, the only Latin American country with a majority of indigenous population, elected its first indigenous President, Morales, who has sought to exercise the Govt. control over its natural resources. Sadinista leader Ortega has been re-elected in Nicaragua after the US sponsored contra rebels ousted them from power. Chavez and Morales, Chavez in particular, have been taking more forthright stand against US imperialism, extending support to the Govts. targeted by US imperialists and having closer relations with Castro led Cuba.

Moreover in a number of Latin American countries, elections have led to victory of 'Left' leaders on the strength of anti-US sentiments among the people. Some of these leaders have been leaders of social democratic parties. These leaders, prominent among them Lula of Brazil and Kirchner of Argentina, though elected defeating pro-US candidates, are not taking clear stand against US imperialism, collaborating with US led financial institutions like IMF and World Bank and implementing structural adjustment programmes advocated by them. These leaders on the one hand benefit from the anger of the people and on the other do not stand for anything radically different from the discredited policies.

US imperialism is undergoing serious crisis. Their attempts to secure world hegemony, flying in the face of aspirations of world people and facing opposition from their rivals, are being grounded. This is part of the crisis of imperialism which is hitting the sole superpower the hardest. Their economy is facing serious crisis as the gross national debt reaches 9 trillion US\$ and revenue deficits grow every year. The housing boom which had sustained the increase in economy over past few years is over. Their ability to sustain high debts due to US\$ being international currency is being seriously threatened by the rise of Euro as an alternative. Value

of dollar is declining with a number of countries opting for Euro at least for part payments. The decline of dollar compromises the US Admn.'s ability to absorb huge deficits.

Their plan to dominate the energy resources, trade routes, in brief, using military means to secure their hegemony, are being resisted by the people who are its victims. Middle-east has been the theatre where its drive for "a new world" is being tested with Iraq being the test case. Failure in Iraq is being seen by them, and correctly so, as unwinding of their strategic drive. Bush is hell bent on success of his drive even as the people are writing epitaph on his rule. Bush and Blair may visit as many times as they like but their visits are like the criminals going back to scenes of their crime.

Bush war strategy lies in shambles but not so US imperial designs nor the complicity of their puppets and compradors. The effort is on to save the drive, to save the imperialist interests, to achieve their objectives by other means. The people have the task of defeating these objectives themselves.

**Published in
New Democracy,
Organ of the Central Committee of
CPI(ML)ND,
Vol. 12, No. 12 ,December, 2006 #**

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Let the Communists of Imperialists Countries Unite their Forces for the Rebirth of Communist Movement!

***Resolution approved by the fourth reunion of
Preparatory Commission (CP), Italy***

2nd Part

[The 1st part of the contribution ends with the explaining of the 1st thesis, that "the new communist parties must be founded on Marxism-Leninism- Maoism." In the following 2nd part the other thesis will be explained./ Red.]

2. Capitalism general crisis

In the imperialist era society has been and is being up settled by crisis different from those described by Marx with reference to Europe in the first half of the XIX century. In the imperialist era the cyclic crisis described by Marx, which characterized the pre-imperialist phase, are attenuated and shortened by the ant cyclical measures included in AFSU. They are reduced to quite short cycles of growth and retreat with little oscillations which do not suit the real up settings of present societies. The old cyclic crisis with their characteristic described by Marx survive only in economic handbooks until the end of the Eighties churned out by Soviet revisionists and by their dogmatic followers. The Soviet revisionists continued to found on cyclic crisis the description of the imperialist societies' economic movement. The communist parties ideologically dominated by Soviet revisionists swing between two thesis. On one side they support the thesis that bourgeois society succeeded in deleting crisis: this right wing thesis today is loudly proclaimed by few people, but in the next past it fed many subjectivist conceptions in the revolutionary movement. Today this thesis is the logic even if not declared ground of the conceptions excluding the possibility of the revolutionary forces' accumulation in the imperialist countries. Those are the conception of those who place their hopes only in the de-

velopment of revolutionary movement in oppressed countries and, generically, in the "getting worse of contradictions" as a result of the "historical crisis of capitalism", a Messianic wait, a "deus ex machina" for the solution of dogmatics' logic contradictions.

On the other side there is the exaggeration of economic and political effects of growth – retreat cycles that follow one another with short intervals (left wing thesis). As their master Soviet revisionists do, the dogmatics set their mind at rest talking of an "historical crisis of capitalism", which according to them goes on omnipresent, unchangeable, the same like itself all along the imperialist era, all – inclusive, and free from countertendencies. This crisis would resume in itself all society's manifestations. They do not distinguish and even less explain the beginning, the course and the end of the real periods of crisis that society has passed through since the beginning of imperialist era, the recovery and development periods which interrupted them and their succession. They do not even care to explain why this perpetual crisis that would had begun more than hundred years ago, is not yet arrived at the end of its work: why are we still in the imperialist era?

As a matter of fact in the imperialist era the society is upset by long lasting general crisis beginning as economical crisis. They are produced by that absolute overproduction of capital theoretically explained by Marx in chapter 15 of the third book of *The capital*. Overproduction of capital means that the accumulated capital cannot be all invested for drawing out plus value widening the proper capitalist proc-

ess of production up to absorb in it the whole disposable proletariat, because if bourgeoisie do that it would produce a decreasing plus value mass. For example, in the condition produced by the first wave of the proletary revolution and by the already developed AFSU, if starting from the Seventies the capitalists had continued to widen the proper capitalist process of production in proportion to the accumulated capital they would have drawn out a plus value mass equal or less than that they can draw out investing in productive process only a part of accumulated capital and thus employing only a part of disposable proletariat.

This is the source of the renewed rush of the imperialist groups throwing themselves as greedy wolves to seize more deeply the whole world. It is the source of the fever of productive, technological and financial innovations and of the creation of new activity sectors and investment fields, as of the great financial bubbles and of their linked rakings and destructions of capitals and savings, as of the great scale migrations and of many other phenomena in the last 30 years and of the political and cultural up settings during the last decades and of those which will come up. This is what drives the imperialist groups and States to the war among themselves and to the diffused extermination war actually conducted by imperialist bourgeoisie against popular masses, the war that communists must transform in socialist revolution for preventing interimperialist war and also for canalizing popular masses' resistance on the road towards socialism.

The imperialist era general crisis begins as economical crisis but in their progress change in political and cultural crisis, and find solution only on the political and cultural field: either with socialist revolution or with a new order imposed by the strongest imperialist groups that can obtain their pre – eminence only through the interimperialist war. A first crisis of this kind took over in the last third of the XIXth century and turned into the sharing of the whole world among the imperialist powers and the entry in the imperialist era. The first true general crisis unrolled in the first

half of the XXth century and ended with the formation of the socialist field and with the imposition of US imperialist groups' hegemony upon the remaining capitalist world. After almost 30 years of capitalist accumulation recovery, in the Seventies has begun the second general crisis of capitalism that is still going on. The great successes reached by communist movement in the first half of the XX th century and its afterwards defeat for getting out of which we are now fighting, enter in these general lines and through them become understandable.

F. Engels continued until the end of his life (1895) to study capitalist society's evolution in imperialist countries and realized the formation by that time in progress of the AFSU (theoretically indicated by Marx in the *Grundrisse*) with which as much as possible bourgeoisie was facing the most destabilizing effects resulting from capitalist production's anarchy when this on a large scale had subsumed the economic activities.

He repeatedly indicated that bourgeoisie had found in a certain measure remedies for the anarchy of its way of production. Engels also realized that a new kind of crisis was coming and clearly talked of it in 1886 in the preface at the English edition of the first book of *The capital*. With his works about imperialism Lenin gave great contributions for understanding the more advanced "superstructure" built by capitalism. If we want to lead the imperialist societies' changing movement we as communists must take possession of these starting points, we must develop them and fill the gaps shown by communist movement development during the first wave of proletarian revolution, until we'll have understood the present society movement enough well to lead it.

.3. *Communist movement's balance*

World has gone and is going toward communism. It precisely means that world is working out, finding, discovering and putting to test relations and social institutes adequate to the collective character assumed by its material and spiritual productive forces, to the power conquered by men over nature and also on

their own life. The practical movement that changes the present state of things does not stop because we do not understand it. But the roads towards communism are two. One of them is more direct and less tormenting. This road passes through the instauration at least in the greatest imperialist countries of the working class' power taken from the imperialist bourgeoisie through a revolution. The working class lead itself and other popular masses' classes to acquire en mass conscience of their possibilities and their tasks and to adequate the relations among individuals, social groups, nations and countries to the collective character of economic activity and of the whole social activity learning to govern themselves and their activities. The other road is more tortuous and tormenting. It winds through general crisis, recovery periods, interimperialist wars, subsequent waves of proletarian revolutions, construction of communist parties, mass organizations and socialist States and their corruption and destruction, development of AFSU more and more advanced and their destruction, all this until on a world level the subjective conditions will be more advanced and finally socialist countries will arise continuously marching towards communism and opening the road also to other ones.

During the first wave of proletarian revolution (1900 – 1950) the communist movement conquered great successes never conquered by any other movement in all history, even in less than hundred years of its living: a great socialist field collecting in those times a third of mankind, influential communist parties practically in every country, the disintegration of the colonial system. The popular masses conquered life and work conditions never even imagined before, and imperialist bourgeoisie had to elaborate AFSU which pushed on the society's transformation on a great scale. But in the second half of last century the communist movement as a conscious and organized movement is largely collapsed and in some measure his conquers had been loosen. Why did this great setback happened? The victorious armies are those who learn from their defeats. Defeat is mother of victory for those who do not become demoralized but reap its

teachments. But which was the reason of our defeat? Some communists undervalue this question. They think that defeat is a case, result of mysterious and imponderable reasons: they think that trying again sooner or later the right time will come. Some other communists ascribe defeat to some leaders' treason, some other else to bourgeoisie's haughtiness. But all these answers look insubstantial as soon as we critically examine them. If they were true we should be condemned to repeated defeats. Who can get a kind and yielding bourgeoisie?

The modern revisionists took the leadership of old communist movement and caused it to collapse, even if for getting such result they had to erode, corrode and corrupt for some decades, so much anyway was old communist movement's strength. Modern revisionism is the result of imperialist bourgeoisie's influence upon the communist movement and we cannot completely eliminate this influence until bourgeoisie exists: bourgeoisie influences us and we influence it (AFSU). But revisionism got the upper hand of communist movement and took its leadership till it make him to collapse because his left wing was persuaded that communist movement conquers were not reversible, because his left wing did not gave revolutionary answers to the new questions set by the successes obtained by the communist movement, that is to say it made dogmatic mistakes and was lacking in dialectic. The left wing did not see the new, did not rightly understand the laws of socialist economic – social formations which revolutionizing she had to lead. Modern revisionism's success was allowed by old communist movement's limits. Modern revisionism imposed itself because there weren't revolutionary answers, and it gave old bourgeois answers to the new world problems, and step by step, regress after regress in some decades those answers brought the old communist movement to liquidation.

Only singling out and going over old communist movement's limits we put communist movement's rebirth on grounds which will carry out him to new and longer lasting successes. The old communist movement's limits concerned both the socialist revolution in im-

perialist countries which that movement wasn't able to do, and the new socialist countries' development which that movement set up but wasn't able to make them last and prosper. In these two fields the new communist movement must give answers elaborating the experience of the first wave of the proletarian revolution and understanding the laws of presents economic – social formations.

4. *The struggle between two lines in the party*

The old communist movement's first limit really concerns the communist parties, subjects and necessary promoters of revolution and transformation. The communist party is the working class' party but it is also influenced by bourgeoisie directly and through other social classes. The course of the war between working class and imperialist bourgeoisie depends on communist parties. Experience not only showed that working class must have an adequate communist party for overcoming bourgeoisie. It also showed that imperialist bourgeoisie succeeds in overcoming the working class only corrupting the communist party. Owing to communist parties' centrality (denied only by grass roots political activists) in every communist party the struggle between the two classes' influence for determining party's line is unavoidable. We cannot avoid that bourgeoisie can exercise its influence among us, but we can prevent that its influence becomes prevailing and settles our line. Secondly, world changes and our knowledges must be fitted to it: the struggle between new ideas and experiences and old ones is unavoidable for every party's development. Thirdly, reality does not reflect itself immediately in our consciences and the substance of things does not reveal itself directly and immediately. The struggle between the true and the false is a necessary process in each party for making the right line prevail. Finally the experience of the first wave of the proletarian revolution teaches us that the struggle between two lines in the communist party is permanent and makes the party advance. There is no life without struggle. Democratic centralism and struggle between two lines are not incompatible. The ex-

perience of the two parties which directed the greatest revolutions in the last century, the Russian (Bolshevik) Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Party, gave on a great scale and in many various conditions examples of applications both of democratic centralism and of struggle between two lines. Even if they yet did not had a clear conscience about it, they had both to apply the organizational principle of democratic centralism and to lead repeated struggles between two lines for going on to victory and bringing to successful conclusion the great revolution by them directed. The *History of URSS (Bolshevik) Communist Party* (1938) shows some of the struggles driven on by the first one. The *Resolution about some questions of our Party's history* (1945) shows some of the struggles driven on by the second one. To deny the struggle among two lines within the party does not make disappear this struggle that is a objective fact. To deny it only means that the left wing will drive the struggle blindly and will be more probably defeated. The dogmatism has been the guise in which the left wing of old communist parties has wrapped itself and so has let the modern revisionists take possession of them driving them to death.

5. *The balance of socialist countries*

The first socialist countries accumulated a valuable heritage of experience both during the period of their achievement and during the period of their decay under direction of modern revisionists until the collapse at the end of the Eighties. We can draw from it enormous teachings most of them yet not explored by new communist parties.

They bring out that productive relations present three distinct aspects: 1. the property of productive means and conditions, 2. the divisions among men in productive activity (division between manual and intellectual labour, between men and women, between the country and the city, between advanced sector and zones and backward ones, etc.), 3. the distributive relation of the product. Only considering all these three aspects it is possible to certainly understand where bourgeoisie was in socialist countries. It was constituted by the leaders of

the party, of the State and of the other social institutions who patronized bourgeois solutions to the questions of development of the new socialist society.

Without considering all these three aspects of the productive relations it is impossible to clearly understand what the transition from capitalism to communism consists of, the gradual and by leaps elimination of the residual capitalist relations and the gradual and by leaps development of communist relations, the historical tasks of the socialist phase.

Without considering those aspects it is impossible to clearly understand the struggle between 1. the capitalist relations which necessarily continue to exist after the conquest of power and the establishment of proletarian dictatorship, and 2. the communism germs strengthened by socialist revolution and gradually developing looking for their adequate forms.

Without considering all those aspect of the productive relations it is impossible to do a class analysis of socialist countries. So it becomes impossible lead the oppressed classes's struggle within the new specific political and cultural conditions of socialist society. The Proletarian Cultural Revolution was a practical demonstration of the strength that class struggle could release in favour of communism in socialist society.

Some of the new communist parties' programs single out the bourgeoisie in the socialist countries in the surviving part of the old exploiting class, some other in the intellectuals, some other in the organized crime, some other in the bureaucracy, some other else in the members of cooperative sector. No one of these analysis stands up to criticism nor makes the whole history of socialist countries understandable nor gives to the communists of socialist countries arms for preventing restoration nor gives to the communists of the ex socialist countries a right direction for being at the head of class struggle developing in their countries.

The current interpretation in some communist parties on the nature of the societies of socialist countries directed by revisionists is a corollary of all this. They describe them as

societies of "State monopolistic capitalism" even if of "new kind", or of "bureaucratic capitalism". The indication of Soviet society directed by modern revisionists (that's to say in the period 1956 – 1991) as a socialimperialist society is diffused particularly. Even in that field, but this time in the negative, the Peruvian Communist Party holds a distinguished position. If it is clear that socialist phase is a phase of transition, where gradually and by leaps capitalist social relations are liquidated and germs of communism develop, it is also clear that the nature of Soviet Union could not change all of a sudden since the direction of the party and of the State was taken by modern revisionists, exponents and spokesmen of the specific and typical bourgeoisie of socialist society. As a matter of fact there were a U-turn. Step by step in every field the already built communist relations were gradually stifled, the residual capitalist relations were gradually strengthened and the dead but revitalizable capitalist relations were brought again to life. It was right to accuse the Soviet revisionists of being socialimperialist meaning that their relations with communist parties followed a direction made of interference, blackmails and arrogance. It is not right to assert that Soviet Union became an imperialist country all of a sudden. Those communists who assert that Soviet Union was a social-imperialist country have never explained of what in their opinion the leap of 1989 – 1991 consisted, what caused it and what nowadays it is happening in the countries of the ex Soviet Union. Why don' they try to do it? The communists of the ex socialist countries can understand class struggle developing in their countries and their tasks only starting from a materialistic and dialectic conception as regards to what the socialist countries were before the coming of revisionists' direction and in the decades which followed their coming.

6. *The socialist revolution in imperialist countries*

The world proletarian revolution is the combination of socialist revolutions in the countries where capitalism is the predominant way of production and of revolutions of new de-

mocracy in the countries where the feudal rests (the relations of personal dependence and the agrarian question) and the subjection to imperialist countries do the predominant role. In view of the next wave of the proletarian revolution the distinction between the two kinds of revolution is still today a necessary base for their right combination. The real development of revolutionary movements of oppressed countries and the laws determining them can be understood only considering that within them it is developing a democratic revolution which will come to his end and triumph only if it will be directed by the working class through his communist party and therefore as a revolution of new democracy. This makes still clearer how much vain is believing that the development of revolutionary movement in oppressed countries could be the main cause of the rebirth of communist movement in imperialist countries. In regard to the socialist revolutions in imperialist countries, already Engels (in the introduction of 1895 to *The class' struggles in France from 1848 to 1850* of Marx) clarified that it was impossible to establish socialism through the conquer of power by communists during a popular insurrection in which the communist party was involved as one among many popular parties. The course of revolutions in central and eastern Europe in 1918 and in 1919 completely confirmed this thesis deduced by Engels from the balance of the experience of the Commune in 1871. The socialist revolution could win only passing through a process of accumulation of revolutionary forces which could come to its end by its nature and necessarily while the imperialist bourgeoisie was still dominating. The attempts done by the parties of the first Communist International for developing the socialist revolution in imperialist countries showed and confirmed that this accumulation is not possible neither only nor mainly through the participation of the conscious and organized communist movement (the communist party and its mass organizations) in the struggle of bourgeoisie's parties and organizations for gaining the political direction. The balance of the first wave of proletarian revolution and the analysis of the preventive counterrevolution regimes

(where the security of the regime comes over the respect of democratic, political and civil rights) established by imperialist bourgeoisie shows that generally the accumulation of revolutionary forces in imperialist countries is the phase of "strategical defensive" of long lasting revolutionary popular war which Mao Tse-tung speaks about. Long lasting revolutionary popular war is also the form of proletarian revolution for imperialist countries. The theory of the long lasting revolutionary popular war elaborated by Mao in its general lines reflects also the development of revolutionary process in imperialist countries. The socialist revolution in imperialist countries will probably consist in every country in the overturning of the extermination war actually already conducted against popular masses in imperialist countries by the imperialist bourgeoisie, driven by the second general crisis of capitalism, into a war that the popular masses will conduct in a more and more systematic and organized way, taking in their hands the initiative, guided by working class directed by its communist party. It will be the fight between the masses' revolutionary mobilization promoted by communist party and the masses' reactionary mobilization which bourgeoisie must promote for facing the political and cultural crisis and the interimperialist war. During this war it will be realized the transformation of masses' reactionary mobilization in masses' revolutionary mobilization. This work can be directed and developed only by communist parties insuring their existence and their continuity of action whatever be the attempt to crush them by imperialist bourgeoisie, that is to say by clandestine communist parties, like the Lenin's party was. Also the communist parties in imperialist countries were clandestine parties but only in the periods when imperialist bourgeoisie prohibited communists from doing an open political activity.

7. *The method of mass line*

The communist parties even if clandestine can promote and direct a wide mass mobilization adopting as principal leading method the mass line in the way shown by Mao Tse-tung. The mass line consists in locating in every

social aggregate, in every circumstance and on every level the left wing, the right wing and the centre, in mobilizing and organizing the left wing so that it can unite to itself the centre and isolate the right wing. In every social aggregate and in every circumstance the left wing is that part whose aspirations and aims if realized will favour the cause of proletarian revolution and, developing phase by phase, will carry that social aggregate to join the river of proletarian revolution, everyone in its own way.

By another point of view this method consists in gathering ideas and feelings existing among the masses in a scattered and confused form, in elaborating them and drawing from them lines, methods, measures, in taking them among the masses so that those masses could recognize them as their own and put them into practice. Then we must gather the new ideas and feelings born among the masses on the basis of the new practice by them done, elaborate them in lines, methods and measures and take them again among the masses and so on repeatedly. Those communist parties which successfully led revolutions in the last century practised mass line as chief method of working and directing, even if they did not have clear conscience of it. Under their direction the popular masses defeated imperialist bourgeoisie, repelled all their attempts of revenge and restoration and all imperialist bourgeoisie's aggressions, and built invincible socialist countries, able to realize great advances. Their influence radiated all over the world inspiring strength, trust and dash to the popular masses of every country.

Then in communist parties the modern revisionists prevailed with their bourgeois solutions of socialist society's problems, and the communist parties pretended to lead socialist societies no more like the true communists led them (communist party, mass organizations, mass line), but like the bourgeoisies direct their subordinates (industrial

relations), the popular masses (macroeconomics and general politics) and themselves (bourgeois democracy and interimperialist wars). Only then the socialist countries became unsteady, they had to protect themselves with barriers and polices from the bourgeoisie's influence and the ratio between forces was inverted.

Mass line is the right and necessary relation of the communist movement as a conscious and organized movement with the communist movement as a practical movement changing the present state of things, whose the first one is only a part and an aspect.

Conclusions

We think that these are the main matters of universal character that new communist parties must face for defining a program which lead them to get over the present phase of stagnation and to accumulate revolutionary forces. We believe that all the communist who will try to find an answer to these problems if they will not surrender till they'll have found satisfying answers they will come to our same conclusion: Maoism is the third higher stage of communist thought after Marxism and Leninism, just as Leninism, as Stalin showed in *Leninism principles* (1924), was the second higher stage after Marxism. New communist parties must be founded on Marxism – Leninism – Maoism.

The rebirth of the communist movement is an historical necessity and it is bound to happen. We are only its spokesmen and promoters. We shall accomplish our task much better and faster if we shall leave behind us all the dogmatic clothes and shall unite our forces for defining the general, universal characters of the conception and the method adequate to the tasks that we are facing, if we shall do the work developed by communists in various countries as an experience that we must elaborate for defining

the general program and the method, and as a field in which we could test their truth through the concrete application and the discovery of the particular truth where there are reflected the specific characters of every country that nowadays have a not disregarable role in popular masses' mobilization and action.

In order to this all the communist parties, the communist organizations, the yet not organized communists and the Subjective Forces of Socialist Revolution must unite their forces creating a circuit founded on 1) the mutual knowledge and the exchange of experiences, 2) the open debate, founded on criticism and self-criticism, about the analysis of situation, the balance of communist movement, the program, the methods and the general political lines, 3) the solidarity in the face of preventive counterrevolution (national security policy) characterizing imperialist bourgeoisie's politics. These are all unavoidable aspects, that must go on together and that mutually strengthen themselves.

The organizational unity can get stronger only by more and more strengthening ideological and political unity. The ideological and political unity can strengthen only through the ideological struggle and it is always relative. Without a sincere and open debate about the ideological and political divergences, without sincerely facing the disputed questions, even the exchange of experiences mainly remains a form, it is mainly deprived of its positive effects. What unites us is the common struggle against imperialist bourgeoisie and for communism. No divergence destroys this unity and the solidarity which unites us in this struggle.

We must not fear the ideological struggle nor the exploitation of our divergences that bourgeoisie surely will try. Ideological fight is the way through which we shall mark out a righter direction and line so we will be able

to become the organized and vanguard part of the working class. So we'll be able to carry out its direction over the popular masses of our countries in the struggle against imperialist bourgeoisie. So we'll be able to become the conscious and organized side absolutely needed by the practical movement which changes the present state of things for performing its course.

On this base the Preparatory Commission of the founding congress of the (new) Italian Communist Party will try to establish and develop international relations, setting off as much as possible international conferences, workshops and aggregations of communists parties and organizations already regularly working and all other initiatives already promoted by other communists organizations. On this ground we address all communist parties, all communist organizations, all yet not organized communists and all Subjective Forces of Socialist Revolution, and particularly those of the European imperialist countries so that they be willing to consider our positions and experiences, to criticize them by the light of their ones and to intensify and better the struggle and unity relations among us all.

The ones bolder in self – criticism, the ones more willing to learn from other's experience will go on better and faster than other ones and they will be teachers for other ones. We all must change and become the most conscious and resolute part of the great army of classes and oppressed peoples marching towards the triumph of proletarian revolution all over the world.

Published in:
La Voce n. 12, November 2002 #

NEWS NOVEMBER 2006**Partija rada****Serbia-Montenegro**

I.

The President of the US, George Bush, stated a great truth while addressing the nation, "US security depends upon the outcome of the fighting in the streets of Baghdad." This thought reveals the current position of imperialism and the US. It is obvious that US is no longer capable of conducting operations against the widening front of worldwide people's resistance. This will provoke a World War Three of imperialism against the people of the world. The position of the US as an omnipotent force is being increasingly questioned. With this in mind, the insistence on NATO's expansion is an important part of strengthening imperialism's position. In the first place, forcefully including countries under NATO's wing is an act of occupation and a form of neocolonialism. Western imperialists are settling territory without fighting, single-mindedly exploiting natural resources, attempting to gain strategic advantage over other imperialist countries, like Russia and China, and acquiring human stock – cannon fodder for waging permanent war, more easily oppressing people's resistance, and strengthening puppet regimes. Another main reason for conducting this imperialist strategy is the attempt to strengthen the position of a historically outdated society that is rejected by masses worldwide. Resisting the dragging of countries under NATO umbrella is essential for every revolutionary party and revolutionary movement. One's position towards this World War Three is the line which separates and allies parties and determines their future. It is the demarcation line which all parties faced on the eve of World War Two. It demands the development of an anti-fascist front against fascist attacks of in Europe.

Because of the US and other imperialists' inability to confront the growing resistance of the masses worldwide and the increasing need for new soldiers and safe reserves, the question

of one's relationship towards World War Three will become more important by the day. The task of revolutionary parties is to treat soldiers in service of imperialism on their territory as the enemy and to act accordingly. They must adjust combat tactics to the specific circumstances in which they operate. The Party of Labour has previously stated that people of the Balkans should develop a strong anti-imperialist movement, and that the struggle for NATO's withdrawal from the Balkans must be a priority of this movement. The armed forces of Balkan countries allied with NATO in its oppression of the anti-imperialist movement, should be treated as a collaborating army, a legitimate combat target.

II

The second emerging frontline of revolutionary struggle is in Northern Kurdistan and Turkey. It is extremely important for the further strengthening of the revolutionary movement worldwide. Actions undertaken by Turkish fascist regimes against the strengthening revolutionary movement in Turkey are a confirmation that the enduring struggle and the martyrdom of Turkish and Kurdish revolutionaries will bring results. The eruption of armed actions and people's resistance in Turkey will be very important for imperialism's defeat. It will encourage a new wave of revolutionary struggle worldwide and will lead the masses to join revolutionary movements. The Party of Labour looks with admiration at the development of a revolutionary movement in Turkey and is convinced that comrades from the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Turkey/Northern Kurdistan (MLKP), the Maoist Communist Party (MKP) and other revolutionary parties will know to adjust their struggle to the current circumstances and will strengthen their position among Turkish and Kurdish people. The Party of Labour thinks that small parties and groups that act behind

front lines—these are the only groups which act in the Balkans—should accelerate the development of a unified anti-imperialist movement of the Balkans. That will mean supporting comrades on the second front line in Turkey and Northern Kurdistan. In the future, this will lead to a weakening of military pressure on the second front line and the gradual elevation of the fighting level in the Balkans. Previously formed organizations in Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Albania should take the lead in accomplishing this task and give a significant contribution.

III

”Self-determination” movement (”Vetëvendosje!”) among the Albanian masses in Kosovo is at a historical crossroads. Well formulated goals—fight for Kosovo's independence from Serbian domination and the boot of new imperialist colonizers and against those ‘who drink the sweat of the Kosovar people—should gain deeper roots within the Albanian masses. Historical circumstances favor this movement. These circumstances are the readiness for formally establishing Kosovo's independence as imperialists' protectorate, the increasing class division, contentiousness, and social problems in Kosovo's society. The facts about the latter clearly speak for themselves. According to data from the Kosovo Committee for the Protection of Human Rights, more than 50% of Kosovo's population is poor. Extreme poverty has increased from 15% to 18%. The number of suicides, which were relatively rare in Kosovo until 1999, is also increasing. More than 43,000 families receive social support ranging from 40 to 60 euros from Ministry of Labour. More than 50% of the working-age population is unemployed. However, in addition to these social preconditions for political struggle, it should be considered that the massive movement for self-determination will face strong opposition from the puppet regime in Kosovo, military contingent of imperialist forces, and neighboring regimes, which will support the defeat of this and similar movements. The road in front of ”Self-determination” is not going to be easy. Any kind of isolationism, adventurism, or an undeveloped internationalist posi-

tion will jeopardize this movement's ability to accomplish its goals. The Party of Labour believes that ”Self-determination” will raise its struggle to a higher level. With better organization and increased cooperation with groups that will grow in the Balkans in the future, it will lead the Albanian masses in Kosovo towards accomplishing its historical goals.

IV

Small-scale actions conducted by the Party of Labour and other revolutionary groups are signs that despite the capitalist system's consolidation in Serbia, the growing military presence of imperialism and multinational capital, and a dismembered and disoriented working class, more decisive confrontation is needed with representatives of organized fascism, the capitalist regime, and all forms of imperialist enslavement, especially what is conducted by NATO.

The phase of resistance to war, fascistic bewilderment, and Milosevic's chauvinist politics in Yugoslavia is behind us. New circumstances have developed which demand new responses from revolutionary parties and groups. The shortage in numbers and in strength of these parties can't be an excuse for insufficient decisiveness to confront the class enemy. The Party of Labour has always advocated for unified action by all groups that have clear a class position, anti-imperialist character and unambiguously confront nationalism and fascism in the former Yugoslavia.

The increasing poverty, humiliation and lack of freedom in which the masses are exploited demand an adequate resistance. The exploited masses will recognize in those who prove themselves as revolutionaries true fighters for liberation from the growing dominance of imperialists and local exploiters.

They will fight against all forms of ethnic fascism and lead the Yugoslav masses to work together with people of the Balkans to build a new society of social justice, national equality and human freedom. #

Joint Declaration

6th meeting of anti-imperialist parties and organizations of South America

September 2006

The situation in Latin America is characterised by an upsurge of the social and political struggles of the masses. Struggles are greatly increasing against hunger, unemployment and super exploitation, against the recipes of the IMF and the fraudulent foreign debt, against the free trade agreement ALCA and the TLC, for the defence of the national heritage, against the privatization and for the re-nationalization of the enterprises under the control of the workers and consumers, against large land holdings, against the discrimination and oppression of the indigenous peoples, for stopping the prosecution and criminalisation of the fighters of the people and the suppression of mobilisation, for convicting and punishing those responsible for the disappearance of tens of thousands of people and those who carry it out, for the defence of the education system and public health sector, for the liberation of women, for the defence of our national cultures.

In Iraq, Afghanistan and the Middle East, the Yankees are stuck in the mire. The heroic resistance of these peoples tempered the plans of Bush for Latin America and showed that it is possible to oppose imperialism. This is reflected in each and every country and determines larger internal contradictions.

In Bolivia the process headed by Evo Morales is opposed by US imperialism and the landlord oligarchy headed by Santa Cruz. They organize conspiracies in agreement with the oil companies against the unity and territorial integrity of the country. They neither tolerate measures directed against the profits of the mineral oil monopolies, nor do they tolerate the measures for the distribution of state soil and the unproductive agricultural estates. They are afraid of the power of the people's struggle,

that has grown since 2000 and adopted features of an upsurge in 2003.

In Uruguay important workers' and people's struggles are developing against the economic and social policy pursued by the government of the "Frente Amplio". The Colombian people fight for the defeat of the neo-liberal model of Uribe with diverse political and armed, revolutionary forms.

In Peru peasant communities are defending their estates against the plundering by the mining monopolies, which contaminate the water and environment.

In Ecuador the workers, peoples and the youth are fighting against the imperialist policy and plans of the Creole bourgeoisie; for the expiry of the treaty of Oxy, for stopping the negotiations for the free trade agreement TLC, for the acceptance of certain rights of the workers in outsourced companies. The social achievements that were gained by the youth in struggle are, among other things, an expression of the people's movement that remains active and aims at revolutionary objectives.

Thousands of Chilean students supported by tutors and their families said *no* to the education law and exposed the continuation of the economic and social policy of the Pinochet dictatorship by the governments of the Concertación (coalition of several bourgeois parties - *remark of the translator*).

In Paraguay, militant peasant mobilisations are now accompanied by workers, tutors and students. People's assemblies are developing.

Occupations and struggles for land, as well as opposition against large land holdings are de-

veloping in Paraguay, in Brazil, in Bolivia and among the indigenous people of Chile and Argentina.

They are standing up against gangs which are armed by the landlords and are making use of their holy right of rebellion.

The upswing of the struggles of the peoples is sustaining in Latin America.

The people and the government of Cuba continue to resist the enduring aggression and blockade by North America and to inflict defeats on them.

The popular masses in Venezuela and the patriotic sectors of the military forces have defeated various attempts at a coup d'état, and the Bolivian government of Chávez persists in its confrontation with North American imperialism.

The axis of Cuba-Venezuela-Bolivia defies North American imperialism and contributes to the joint struggle of the peoples.

Imperialist greed is growing because of the crude oil/natural gas resources in Venezuela and Bolivia.

We need to develop a broad and powerful movement of solidarity, especially with these three fraternal peoples against the various imperialist threats and conspiracies directed against them.

On the other hand, the governments of Bachelet, Lula, Kirchner, Tabaré Vazquez, who present themselves as reformists, maintain the economic-social policy of the ruling classes and intensify the current pro-imperialist mode of exploitation. They are "reformists" without reforms.

Bachelet, Alan García and Uribe are especially known for their pro-imperialist policy of extradition. The reactionary pro-US government of Uribe Vélez in Colombia is part of imperialism's plan to destabilize Chávez. Two inva-

sion manoeuvres from Colombia to Venezuela have already taken place.

The rise in the GDP and the accumulation of currency reserves over the past years did not improve the living conditions of the people – on the contrary.

The Mercosur is a process for integration in service of the monopolies and not in service of the people.

Without putting an end to the political and economic power of the imperialists and the oligarchies, we will not achieve complete independence, a genuine integration serving the people nor the guarantee of bread, land, labour, housing, healthcare and education for all.

The political leadership of the present large mass movements is being contended. Many of these struggles had no proletarian leadership. The opportunist positions benefit imperialism, especially because these positions try to divert the mass movement into the blind alley of reformism and to prevent their revolutionary development. We know that there can be no revolution without the destruction of the old oligarchic state which is dependent on imperialism. The experience of our people in the struggle for national and social liberation show that today, as yesterday, the question of power cannot be resolved on a peaceful path, but can only be resolved by the termination of the reactionary violence, which is exercised by the state apparatus of the ruling classes, by means of the armed revolutionary struggle of the masses. This essential issue is the dividing line between Marxist-Leninists and revisionists and reformists.

Just as the international situation as a whole, our continent is marked by the three great contradictions characterizing the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution:

- 1) the contradiction between the oppressed peoples and nations and imperialism
- 2) the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie
- 3) the inner-imperialist contradictions

Currently the first contradiction mentioned is the sharpest contradiction.¹

In the attempt to resolve the economic crisis, to secure the supply of crude oil and to occupy strategically important zones, the ultra-reactionary and genocidal Bush-government and its allies invaded Afghanistan and Iraq. Because of the resistance of these peoples, the forces of the occupiers are stuck in the mire, despite the highly developed arms of the invaders and the inequality of means. The national question is the axis against imperialism.

The almost 3000 North American soldiers killed and more than 12,000 officially wounded have become the banner of the movement in the bosom of the aggressors themselves; they amplify the demand for the end of the occupation and for the return of the troops. In Great Britain the demonstrations demanding the return of the troops from the Iraq are increasing, too.

Then the Bush-government initiated the Israeli aggression against Palestine and the Lebanon. They bombarded electric power stations and left the Gaza Strip without water supply. They arrested members of the Palestinian government. The aggression against the Lebanon had the same pattern: destruction of the civil infrastructure and haphazard attacks against the population. But the Lebanese people stood united against the aggression. The popular resistance led by Hezbollah defeated the Israeli military, while the Palestinian people demonstrated their will to fight against the Israeli occupation. This had already been expressed in the election victory of Hamas.

North Korea and Iran also actively resist imperialist hegemony.

At the same time, the Bush-government continues to carry out its aggressive policy, de-

spite the fact that it has taken blows and has become more and more politically isolated.

Another fact that we have to consider in the international situation is the consolidation of the so-called "Shanghai-group" formed by China, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan.

The contradictions between the United States and other powers like France, Russia, Germany, China do not entail that these forces intervene for the good of the people.

North American imperialism is currently the most aggressive power. In the conflict with other imperialist powers, the Yankees dominate, and that is why they are the main enemy of Latin America.

In Nepal the revolutionary anti-imperialist and anti-feudal people's war under the leadership of the communist Maoist party has freed important parts of the territory.² The recent unified mass rising, which adopted a 12-point-program of different political forces, resulted in the autocratic oppressor regime having to recede, while important democratic achievements were made.

The armed revolutionary struggle in the Philippines, in Turkey and the different states of India is continuing.

Hundreds of workers' struggles against the flexibilization of labor are being led in the entire world, and in many cases, they succeed in slowing down policies of the liquidation of social achievements.

The French youth, united in the universities and suburbs, put the reactionary government under pressure and stopped the agreement on first employment that intended to legalise what this system offers the youth: precarious working conditions and the prospect of being a

¹ The communist Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party of Bolivia advocates that one should say that the first is the main contradiction.

² The Communist Marxist-Leninist Party of Ecuador does not agree with this item.

cheap, disposable labor force for the monopolies.

On important days like May First, millions of Latin American immigrants in the United States went into the streets to claim their rights against the laws of Bush, who classifies them as criminals who can be extradited.

In China, in the course of the year 2005, thousands of workers' and peasants' struggles against privatization and the exploitation of labor have taken place. Many of them were violently suppressed.

In Mexico mass struggles are developing against election fraud. A double rule was generated in the state of Oaxaca as a consequence.

The wind is blowing in favor of revolution and it is necessary that the working class and its parties promote the national liberation struggle.

Signatories:

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*Cebraspo – Centro Brasileño de Solidaridad con los pueblos - Brasil
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*Partido Comunista Acción Proletaria - Chile
(Communist Party Proletarian Action – Chile)*

*Partido Comunista de Colombia (Maoista) - Colombia
(Communist Party of Colombia (Maoists) – Colombia)*

*Partido Comunista (ML) de Ecuador
(Communist Marxist-Leninist Party of Ecuador)*

*Partido Comunista (M-L-M) del Perú
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*Movimiento Popular Revolucionario Pyahura (Paraguay)
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(Revolutionary Communist Party of Argentina) #*

gles and develop these struggles to a higher level into revolutionary struggles. This also demands that a thorough discussion be led about the validity of Marxism-Leninism and socialism as an objective, as well as about the necessity of the development of the parties of the proletariat.

The revolutionary struggle is intensifying. At the same time, in the anti-imperialist struggle, a broad policy for the unity of the revolutionary forces with all sectors opposing imperialism under the leadership of the proletariat is necessary. This is indispensable for victory.

Buenos Aires, September 30, 2006

Critical evaluation of the history of the Party of the People (extract)

Camarada ANTONIO GONZÁLEZ

**Secretario General del Buró de Reconstrucción
Del Partido Comunista (marxista-leninista) de Panamá**

The political crisis is comprehensive and is no longer under the control of the rulers. The political situation is characterized by the breach of the unity of the oligarchy, the split of the institutional order and the change in the role of the National Guard as the genuine power and sole institution of the oligarchic state, that is not affected by the crisis and that maintained its inner unity. So it managed to become the political referee and the decisive factor for the maintenance of the old order. The comprador bourgeoisie and the great landlords, who traditionally ruled over economy and politics as the class of the oligarchy, cannot go on ruling as before and the workers and people masses no longer want to be exploited and oppressed as hitherto. So the country is on the eve of a true and immediate revolutionary situation with the perspective of turning into a revolutionary crisis.

For fear of an independent and violent upsurge of the workers' and peoples' masses, the desperate bourgeoisie, buffeted by this political decay of forces, hopefully addresses the only political and armed force, the National Guard. It is capable of turning the open political crisis into a reactionary way out "from above". That aims at deceiving the people's masses.

And, in ultimate desperation, the solution for that was found: participate in the elections, even though separately, at the risk of paying a high price for it, namely that a part of the oligarchy must pay its toll to its most dangerous enemies, Dr. Arnulfo Arias and his

Nazi-friendly irredentists. And then? Well, ... then we will see.

In this attempt to provide a way out for the political crisis on the "upper level" by means of elections, as well as to deceive and defeat the growing rebellion of the peoples' masses, the PP shall not be absent in order to conceal its anti-people and anti-revolutionary essence. So the Politburo writes in its electoral declaration in April 1968: *"The PP decided to support none of the presidential candidates, ... to support certain candidates as members of Parliament and city council ... who completely or partly represent anti-oligarchic, anti-military and anti-imperialist standpoints at a certain scope ..."*

This is a contradictory and ambiguous standpoint, because with respect to its political content, it does not offer any democratic-revolutionary alternative as a way out, not even the dead end eventually resulting from that, nor the probability of a new crisis entailing a change of the traditional government system (a legislative as the only center of power of the government without any executive!). On the other hand, they strain for effect, using the expression "completely or partly within a certain framework". However, they do not state how the party wants to guarantee and measure the degree of this level of commitment for anti-oligarchic, anti-military and anti-imperialist standpoints of the prospective members of Parliament and city councils, who coincidentally are all stakeholders of the semi-feudal big bour-

geoisie, incompetent petty-bourgeoisie with semi-feudal mentality and tenacious anti-communists.

But not enough of the opportunism and election myopia by the politburo. After comrade Rodrigo Morales affirmed that the comrades of the party cell associated with the cobbler union, which he himself was a member of, he sent a letter of the following tenor in the same month: *"... we are witnessing a deep crisis of the political system ... the decision to participate in the elections is an illogical one and contradictory ..., it is proposed to support none of the presidential candidates, but to support those candidates nominated as representatives of the national assembly. If such a decision became true ... we would only deepen the political crisis and, because we are not capable of seizing power (we are not armed!) a political void would come to exist. In this situation the only armed force, the National Guard, would manage to seize power by a putsch. We must be prepared for the situation because the military first of all prosecutes the communists. That is why I advise the leadership to urgently take action as to prepare the masses for a forthcoming struggle, to send members underground to maintain the organisation and to react to the incidence, to hide the means of propaganda of the party and materials stocks, etc."*

Months before, the party was warned of a forthcoming military putsch. It was not only known through the letter of Morales, but it was in the air; the masses anticipated it. To make allowance for the justified unrest of the cadres and activists (or better: to betray them), a "military commission" was established that was supposed to create illusions. Some revolvers and less than 10 rifles were gathered that were quickly "confiscated" by the National Guard. While the leadership, which committed itself to legalism, pacifism and hatred against the violent revolutionary struggle, indeed continued to close their eyes... they preferred to adhere to stiff bour-

geois parliamentarism. Furthermore, it proclaimed:

"The PP condemns that the people are called on to fight against its own brothers in order to shed its blood for a conflict with the oligarchy ..." (declaration of the PP entitled "On the situation after the elections of May 12", May 23, 1968)

When oligarchs, imperialist and military agents conspire against the people, when the critical political situation in the country, when the relentless defence of the democratic liberties and the constitutional bourgeois-democratic order is on the agenda, that is directly threatened by the reactionary, pro-imperialist and military-fascist forces, the revisionist leading rows of the PP condemn those coming from the ranks of the revolutionary Marxist left, who propose the only correct path for the democratic people: the preparation of revolutionary violence as the reply to brutal reactionary violence!

Of course, I do not justify the strategic view of the groups and movements mentioned who are quite strongly moulded by Castrism and subjectivism, but they were much closer to the correct path than the leadership of the PP. Because "to prepare" simply meant to educate and organise the masses in order to prepare them to oppose the reactionary clique of conspirators with appropriate measures and it by no means was meant to enact a direct appeal for immediate revolutionary violence.

A clear example of this political short-sightedness and this obstinate legalism was their decision to conduct the 5th Party Congress legally in September of the same year, without taking the dangerous political situation into account, in which the extreme right-wing and anti-nationalist forces were dreaming about ending popular resistance in a bloodbath. The Party Congress took place on schedule. However the "legal" conduct was a fiasco and a dirty trick. Under the pressure

of the authorities and the state security forces, it was conducted semi-legally. Souza's leading fraction took advantage of this by splitting all of the party delegates into working groups of the party (workers to workers, students to students, skilled workers to skilled workers, etc.) This enabled them to prevent the delegates' unified and collective declaration of intent because the representatives of each fraction took a common stand. Violating inner-party democracy, shady elements tried to take revenge by engaging in open intrigue.

The secret intrigue which was worked out at this Party Congress actually had the goal of delivering the party a blow from within – the dismissal of Comrade Hugo Victor as the party chairman and the last Stalinist, as well as the concentration of the entire power in the hands of Souza and his gang of Trotskyites!

The origins of this unprincipled conspiracy against the party chairman go back to the 3rd Party Congress in 1951, when Comrade Hugo promoted the struggle to expose and expel the revisionist clique around Browder and Solana. In the course of this, the mistake was made to seek support from a jackal in disguise, Neosolanas, irredentists and people craving for recognition, like Sousa. Since that time when he had been promised the office of general secretary, he worked persistently at widening the basis of his support and, being as mean and debase as he was, did not stop carrying on an intrigue and preparing a coup d'état against the Comrade President. He set store in gaining the support of the clique around Khrushchov. With his support and with criminal intent, Hugo was given a shot of a lethal chemical with a long-term effect while he was in Sochi's vacation house on the Black Sea. He survived, but his normal functions were impaired. After this attack, Souza remained isolated and held on to his tasks in the central committee, as the following example shows. When Comrade

Hugo held the offices of the party chairman and the editor-in-chief of the central organ, he planned to replace him. With this purpose in mind, he gained the support of Adán Castillo Galástica, a political adventurer and "travelling companion", in order to attack him physically. Thanks to the quick and timely actions of comrades Ruperto Thomas and Enrique Castellero, this could be prevented. The occurrence at the party congress was the final political climax of this ongoing intrigue. It also must be pointed out that the comrades José del Carmen Tuñón, Enrique Castellero, Rodrigo Morales and others were the only ones who defended Comrade Hugo at the said 5th Party Congress and rejected this attack from within the party. In these difficult and dangerous times for democratic liberties and the constitutional order, we must raise the question – who, aside from Souza, agreed with the party ridding itself from upright Marxist-Leninist forces and that this could only be the bone of contention for the resistance of the true communists? This includes US imperialism and the military putschists.

One month after this revisionist and Trotskyite intrigue, Troy was in flames.

As a fact, on October 11, 1968 at 10 p.m., armed tanks of the national guard were brought into action. Dr. Anulfo Arias, who had shortly before been inaugurated as president, was overthrown. In order to reinstate the unity of the ruling classes, to smuggle in traitors and to implement the shameful Panama Canal treaties (Tres-en-uno), the constitutional order and the Republic of '46 were smashed. A military junta was forced upon our country and our people with armed force. This was a first step to the terrible fascist military dictatorship which should last for 22 years.

The people and the democratic, national and international forces demonstrated their rejection immediately and convincingly. So, for

example, the revolutionary government in Cuba. It condemned the military coup in Panama and denounced its military wire-pullers. Radio Havana, the official voice of the revolutionary government of Cuba, and the magazine Bohemia cried out in accusation in the spirit of the public, democratic and patriotic view of Latin America, "Colonel Torrijos carries a party book in his pocket as a CIA agent!". It took many years until this massive accusation was proven.

When the revisionist leading clique of the PP witnessed a military coup and the establishment of a military junta over the entire country, it hypocritically published a political declaration on the military coup of October 11 on October 14, 1968 (the reader should keep this date in mind). This document contained the official view of the party on the military coup which had been conducted: "This military coup ... is in reality a coup d'état which lames the democratic process of the country, destroys its institutional life, deprives the people of Panama of their valuable achievements, including their constitutional rights, and under the pretext of further guaranteeing the functioning of the canal, has given the USA the opportunity to intervene into our political life."

"The PP ... raises its voice and confirms: 1. that it rejects the military coup, 2. that the constitutional rights must be re-established immediately..., 3. that it demands a democratic solution for the current situation .. and that it intends to take part and promote every dialogue aimed at a patriotic and democratic solution, 4. that we condemn and reject every attempt at imperialist intervention and of certain groups in Panama which are seeking the support of the USA for a solution..." Those are a wonderful declaration of the democratic principles and wonderful patriotic words. Too bad that these are only words.

On the one hand, you have to emphasize the condemnation of the coup d'état and, on the other hand, their willingness to engage in a "dialogue". But it is strange that nothing is said about whom one wants to discuss with. You can also notice an almost open dissociation from the "groups in Panama" (nationalists, Christian Democrats? The left-wing groups which criticized revisionism from outside? Had they not just before called them political, anti-oligarchic, anti-militarist and ant-imperialist groups?)

How do you explain this ambiguity and this double-facedness? Quite simply, the ambiguity encompasses the political double-facedness of these unprincipled putschists. On the one hand, they have sworn their loyalty to their people, to democracy and revolution; on the other hand they have conspired with the direct enemies of the constitutional and democratic rights and liberties. On Saturday, October 12, merely 14 hours after the military coup, these all-out professional opportunists gave up the hope of finding an understanding with the military putschists. On this day and at this time (1 o'clock), some of the members of the politburo (Rubén and Cleto Souza, Miguel Porcell and Ruperto Thomas) met in the house of Efraín Reyes Medina (one of the later defectors who went over to the PRD) in a part of San Francisco.

By way of his brother "Monchi", they established contract with Colonel Torrijos and came to a first agreement. From this point on, they began to spread various "theories" about the party, which were intended to conceal their treacherous policies of negotiating with the military putschists. For example, the theory that "the coup was directed against Panama's nationalists (whose government had just been overthrown) and not against us (the communists)". Then came the theory of the shameless collaborators that "the coup was a revolutionary act conducted by a non-revolutionary subject." What malice and

decadence must lie in a self-acclaimed Marxist-Leninist, who loudly proclaims something so false. The military rulers have actually repeatedly stated to journalists and to people standing close to them, as well as to independents, that "when the military are in power, the communists will end up in prison!" Or – as in the words of Colonel Torrijos - "There are two types of communists, those who offer themselves for sale and those who do not. We will buy the first and kill the others!"

According to the mentality of the barbarians and the serial murders, a "black list" with the names of all persons to be murdered was compiled on the instructions of the government.

This led to the murder of the revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist Floyd Britton Morrison, who was tortured and killed in prison on November 29, 1969.

Then came Comrade José del Carmen Tuñón. In the course of the following years, the long list became shorter through the torturing and murdering of communists, revolutionaries, workers, peasants, students, skilled workers, men and women. However, because we want to advance with our assessment, let us return to October 12, one day after the coup d'état.

On this day, the legal printing house of the party was stormed at 9 a.m. and the printers working there were arrested. Among them were the comrades Luís E. Urriola, Francisco Berrocal, ...

On Monday, October 14, representatives of the PP, the student union of Panama (under party control), the trade union league of the Republic of Panama (trade union organization of the party), the Party of the Nationalists of Panama, the Christian-Democratic Party, the Isthmic Center of the Christian Workers of Panama (trade union organization of the Christian-Democrats), a fraction of the Liberal Party and independent democratic individuals coming from the people met in order to discuss about the situation after

the coup and to organize the response of the people. They formed an agreement on building a "People's Front Against the Military Dictatorship" and on a call for a 72-hour general strike. As the reader can recognize, this political line of dialogue among the democratic and patriotic forces, put forth by the party and explained above, was pursued in order to find a "democratic way out of the crisis for democracy and the people", to gain the support of the masses and to take up the struggle of the masses against the military putschists again. However, the representatives of the political and trade-union forces who met there began to discuss practical politics, in order to establish the politburo of the PP immediately according to the following guideline:

- "1. To prevent the non-acceptance of the 72-hour general strike,
2. to insist upon the decision that an economic and non-political strike be conducted".

The strike was called out, the PP and its mass organizations (FEP und FS RTP) broke it off after less than 24 hours and so the action failed.#

Published in:

**Nueva Democracia, Órgano Central del
PC (ML) de Panamá, October 2006**

A STRONGER REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

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Introduction

The ruling system in the Philippines is semicolonial and semifeudal. It is dominated by foreign monopoly capitalist countries headed by the US and Japan. It is ruled by the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class and managed by their political representatives. The foreign and local exploiters collaborate against the national and democratic rights and interests of the Filipino people.

The ruling system has its inherent weaknesses due to the backward, agrarian, pre-industrial and semifeudal character of its social economy and is subject to the policy impositions of the US and other imperialist powers. These powers keep the Philippines as a reliable source of cheap raw materials and labor, a lucrative market for surplus goods, a field of investments for surplus capital and a source of superprofits. The illusion of development conjured by low value-added semi-manufacturing for re-export and the boom in private construction has been shattered since the 1997 financial crisis.

The ruling system is in a chronic and ever worsening economic and social crisis. It is prevented from accumulating the capital for national industrial development because the surplus product of the country is appropriated by the imperialist super-profiters, the local exploiting classes and the corrupt government officials. The toiling masses of workers and peasants and the middle social strata are subjected to an ever rising level of exploitation. The entire nation is made to suffer ever bigger budgetary and trade deficits and ever mounting levels of debt and tax burden.

The socio-economic crisis has been aggravated and deepened by the US-imposed policy of "neoliberal globalization". The gravity of

the socio-economic crisis has resulted in an unprecedentedly serious political crisis, involving far sharper contradictions among political factions of the exploiting classes within the civil bureaucracy and within the military and police apparatuses of the state.

The ruling faction of Gloria M. Arroyo is detested not only by rival factions within the reactionary classes but by the broad masses of the people because of its illegitimacy based on electoral fraud, rampant corruption and gross human rights violations. It has taken advantage of the US-dictated war of terror in order to take the initiative of using military force and against the entire range of opposition forces and broad masses of the people. Thus, the growing conditions of violence and instability in the country.

I. Prospects of Reform up to 2010

The sharpening socio-economic and political crisis generates popular demands for reforms as well as for revolution. The basic reforms most in demand are meant to uphold, defend and promote national sovereignty and independence, economic sovereignty and the national patrimony, genuine land reform and industrial development, a patriotic, scientific and democratic system of culture and education and independent foreign policy. These are demanded by the patriotic and progressive reformers within the ruling system as well as by the revolutionary forces.

But the Arroyo regime is deaf to the demands. It continues to raise funds for all its counterproductive and corrupt purposes by seeking foreign loans at commercial rates, by increasing the local public debt and making heavier the tax burden of the people. Such financial irresponsibility has clear limits. The Philippine economy has actually been depressed since

1997. A bigger wave of economic disaster is currently on the way from the direction of the US economy. The unsustainability of high consumption based on borrowed funds, the bursting of the housing bubble and the limits of high military spending as economic stimulus are moving towards an unprecedented US recession and drastic drop in US consumer demand for goods from China, the whole of Asia and the rest of the world.

The Arroyo regime has always construed as the needed reforms what are the dictates of US imperialism under the rubric of "neoliberal globalization." It has also misrepresented as "political reforms" the changes it wants to make on the 1987 constitution. At the maximum, it wants to imitate Marcos by pretending to shift from the presidential to a parliamentary form of government in order to concentrate powers on Arroyo as a transitory president and to get the support of the US by according national treatment to all kinds of foreign monopoly investments and by allowing the return of US military bases. At the minimum, the regime has hyped the campaign for "charter change" in a futile attempt to distract the attention of the opposition and the people from seeking to oust Arroyo. Up to now, Speaker Jose de Venecia of the House of Representatives is pushing a "constituent assembly" without the approval of the Senate as a distinct body. Such unconstitutional assembly will either be foiled by the Supreme Court or if somehow pushed through it will generate political turmoil.

Because of the extremely reactionary and violent policies and actions of the Arroyo regime, the honest reformers who are patriotic and progressive find themselves completely frustrated in seeking reforms within the reactionary system. Thus, they increasingly appreciate and welcome the revolutionary movement as a pressure on the ruling system. Even the reformists, who denounce the revolutionary movement and wish to use reforms for counterrevolution, find themselves totally discredited. They are best exemplified and embarrassed by the clerico-fascist Norberto Gon-

zales, the national security adviser, who long misrepresented himself as a social-democratic reformer.

Revolutionaries are necessarily reformers even as they are definitely not reformists. They seek reforms in being open to peace negotiations with the reactionary government. They also wish the better elements in the reactionary government to prevail over the bad ones on the matter of reforms. The Hague Joint Declaration of 1992 clearly states the basic economic, social and political reforms that the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) seeks in order to address the roots of the armed conflict in negotiations with the reactionary government (Government of the Republic of the Philippines – GRP).

The NDFP has already demonstrated that it is capable of arriving at a comprehensive agreement on respect for human rights and international humanitarian law. And it has demanded that the economic, social and political reforms be negotiated and agreed upon. But the Arroyo regime has treacherously sabotaged the peace negotiations by collaborating with the US in putting the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), the New People's Army (NPA) and the NDFP chief political consultant in the so-called terrorist list and in launching *Oplan Bantay Laya* (Operation Freedom Watch) in order to carry out the extrajudicial killings, abductions, torture, massacres and so many gross human rights violations.

II. Prospects of Revolution and Outcome of Armed Struggle

The Arroyo regime has repeatedly declared that it has no interest in peace negotiations with the NDFP and that it is determined to destroy before 2010 the revolutionary mass movement led by the CPP. In view of the intransigent position of the regime, the revolutionary forces and people cannot pursue the peace negotiations and have no choice but to defend themselves and defeat the all-out war policy of the regime.

It is out of a narrow-minded kind of self-interest that the Arroyo regime wants the civil war to continue and rage in the country. Arroyo herself has publicly admitted several times that the all-out war policy is intended to rally and unite the military and police forces under her baton and in order to gain economic and military support from the US in line with its policy of "war on terror". She has deliberately pushed higher the level of US intervention from year to year.

There are yet no clear indications that she wants to resume the formal talks in the peace negotiations. She seems to be unaffected by the fact that the Bush war of terror (wars of aggression and global promotion of fascism) has been repudiated by the American electorate. It is very likely that the regime will continue to escalate the military and police campaigns against the people in suspected guerrilla fronts and the cowardly extrajudicial killings and abductions of unarmed progressive party list leaders, workers, peasants, women, youth, journalists, lawyers, religious and human rights activists.

Because of its fear of impeachment and conviction by Congress, the Arroyo regime is hell bent on either pushing the unconstitutional "constituent assembly" in order to cancel the 2007 elections of congressmen and senators or cheating in these elections in order to control Congress. Either way there will be political turbulence. Arroyo is determined to use violence against the opposition and the people in order to keep herself in power.

In response to the all-out war policy and Oplan Bantay Laya of the regime, the CPP, NPA, NDFP and the broad masses of the people have resolutely and militantly fought back. They have issued publications (see www.philippinerevolution.net) informing us that they have been able to frustrate the military and police campaigns of the regime and to launch various forms of tactical offensives within the strategy of defense. They are successfully waging an intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare based on an ever widening

and deepening mass base. They have seized more arms from their enemy, often without firing a single shot. They are therefore increasing the number of their fighting units and are forming more guerrilla fronts, organs of political power and mass organizations.

They are becoming stronger from year to year. They can contribute significantly to the ouster of the Arroyo regime before 2010 or they can at least help ensure that the Arroyo regime is finished in 2010. They expect to deliver the hardest blows on the worst rascals of the regime as these become more brutal and vicious but are fast weakening or about to exit from political power. They look forward to resume the formal talks in the peace negotiations with a new regime, especially because this will be a product of the struggle against the Arroyo regime by a broad united front of patriotic forces and by the broad masses of the people.

III. Direction of the Filipino People in 2010

The Filipino people will demand more strongly than ever before that reforms be made to advance national independence, democracy, social justice, all-round development and peace. By then, the socio-economic and political crisis of the ruling system shall have become worse, despite the loss of power by the Arroyo ruling clique. The reforms can be arrived at and implemented through peace negotiations between the revolutionary movement and a government that is more enlightened and more reasonable than the present one. Otherwise oppression and exploitation will persist at intolerable levels. Thus, the revolutionary forces and people will continue to wage armed revolution for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and its local lackeys. #

December 13, 2006

Some Revolutionary Lessons of the 2006 U.S. Congressional Election

By Ray O. Light, USA

"...Engels is most definite in calling universal suffrage an instrument of bourgeois rule. Universal suffrage, he says, ... is 'the gauge of the maturity of the working class. It cannot and never will be anything more in the present-day state'

"The petty-bourgeois democrats...expect just this 'more' from universal suffrage. They themselves share and instill into the minds of the people the false notion that universal suffrage 'in the modern state' is really capable of ascertaining the will of the majority of the toilers and of securing its realization."

(Lenin, *The State and Revolution*, 1917)

By now, the peoples of the world are well aware that the U.S. elections of November 2006 resulted in a repudiation of the policies of the George W. Bush Administration. In both the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives the Democratic Party achieved a majority at the expense of Bush and the Republican Party. But what kind of changes in U.S. government policy can the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the world expect after the new Congress is seated in January 2007? Will United States troops be pulled out of Iraq and perhaps Afghanistan, the Philippines, Colombia and other places where they now defend the global U.S. Empire?! Will the lethal claws of this imperialist monster be cut or retracted by the "more humane and reasonable" Democratic brain helping to guide it?

Recent issues of *Northstar Compass*, Toronto-based organ of the International Council for Friendship and Solidarity with Soviet Peoples, have included diverse and even contradictory articles assessing the significance of the electoral defeat of the Bush-led Republican Party in the 2006 election. For example, the latest issue (December 2006) includes an unsigned

article entitled, "Is there a difference between the Democrats and the Republicans?" This article asserts in its opening that, "The election results in the US that saw the Democrats replace the Republicans in the Senate and in the Congress as the ruling party, should not be celebrated at all, since both parties are hell-bent for the New World Order..." By contrast, later in the same issue, in a brief column, U.S. political prisoner Ana Lucia Gelabert refers to this same event as an "earthshaking victory."

From the standpoint of the proletarian revolution, both these positions have a kernel of truth. At the same time, both are one-sided. The repudiation of George W. Bush and the Republican Party by the voters *is* something worth celebrating. It is a long overdue expression of U.S. popular opposition to the policies of this arch war criminal and his party. *

FOOTNOTE *For example, according to the November 9, 2006 *Wall Street Journal*, "in exit polls on Tuesday...55% [of voters] said that the U.S. should move to pull out some or all troops from Iraq." And in Chicago, 95% voted "yes" on a "bring our troops home" ballot initiative.

IRAQI RESISTANCE IS KEY TO REPUBLICAN DEFEAT

But the election result, to the extent that it was a victory for the U.S. and world proletariat and oppressed peoples, was largely based on the achievements of the heroic Iraqi Resistance which has thwarted the plans and dreams of U.S. imperialism to occupy Iraq, expropriate its oil reserves, maintain and consolidate U.S. domination of the Middle East and thereby maintain its hegemony in the world capitalist economy. The U.S. population, in its overwhelming majority, had been willing to support regime change, oil seizure, and occupation of Iraq, without even a pretext of provocation, until the Iraqi Resistance made the cost of

such activities higher than the people of the U.S.A. are willing to pay. Consequently, Gelabert's long wish list of social justice goals that she believes can be accomplished on the basis of consolidation of the 2006 election victory are just that, a wish list, since *the principal source of the victory* was not the U.S. proletariat and people but the Iraqi people in their liberation movement against U.S. led imperialism.

In fact, it is striking that the repudiation of Bush, represented by this decisive Republican defeat, was carried out in the 2006 election when Bush was not even a candidate for office rather than in 2004 when Democrat John Kerry ran against Bush on the basis that he would do a better job defending the U.S. imperialist empire. Kerry didn't challenge Bush at any level. Facing a phantom candidate in a year in which his Presidency was *not even subject to a vote*, but with the U.S. population having two years more experience facing the Iraqi Resistance in the Iraq War, Bush was repudiated through the massive vote against his Party.

IRAQI RESISTANCE FUELS THE SPLIT BETWEEN BUSH'S MASS BASE AND HIS REAL BASE

The growing strength of the Iraqi Resistance over the past several years has thrown the Bush Regime on the defensive. It provided the condition for splitting apart the Bush consensus. Beginning with Bush's abortive nomination of his personal attorney, Harriet Meiers, to be a Supreme Court Justice, there have been a series of defeats for Bush based on the contradiction between his *mass* base of right-wing fundamentalist Christians and his *real* base among the most aggressive and expansionist sectors of U.S. monopoly capitalism and imperialism. Meiers represented an insurance policy for Bush, Cheney, Rumsfeld, et al against the future possibility of indictments from larceny on a grand scale to war crimes in Iraq and elsewhere. But Meiers was not a sufficiently right wing religious zealot to suit Bush's mass base, so Bush was compelled to appoint Sam-

uel Alito who met the right wing's ideological criteria.

An even more major fissure within the Bush-Republican camp occurred around the stunning news that Bush had made a mega-deal with Dubai World Ports to privately run six major U.S. ports. At the time, as throughout the period since 9/11, Bush's *mass* base has been filled with anti-Arab and anti-Muslim chauvinist hysteria needed by the Bush Regime to carry out the war against the people of Iraq. These reactionary U.S. masses felt betrayed by Bush's loyalty to the Middle Eastern ruling sheikhs of the United Arab Emirates. Again, they forced Bush to back off and the UAE government allowed their friend and business partner, President Bush, to renege on the contract already signed.

THE 2006 ELECTION AND THE QUESTION OF IMMIGRANT RIGHTS

The heroic Iraqi Resistance was also at the heart of another key reason for the Bush defeat in the 2006 Congressional Election, the massive defection of Latinos from the Republican Party. This defection coincided with the largest mass alienation of the right wing white fundamentalist Christians from the Bush-Republican camp. This is how it occurred.

The increasingly successful heroic Iraqi Resistance against U.S. imperialism provided the "breathing room" for the growing political and economic independence of the Cuban-Venezuelan led Latin American countries from U.S. imperialism and emboldened the governments of Iran, North Korea and especially Venezuela, whose anti-imperialist President, Hugo Chavez, later referred to Bush as "the devil" in his famous speech to the United Nations. The Iraqi Resistance also had a direct impact on the disproportionately large number of Latino U.S. troops in Iraq and the Middle East. All of the above, fueled by the heroic Iraqi Resistance, demonstrated that *this Empire can be defeated*. This emboldened millions of old and new Mexican and other Latino immigrant workers in the U.S.A. to generate

millions-strong protest demonstrations during the Spring of 2006.

It was on this powerful basis that massive numbers of immigrants who initially opposed the Republican Sensenbrenner immigrant criminalization bill in the U.S. House went on to oppose the "liberal" bi-partisan Kennedy-McCain Senate bill, supported by George W. Bush, which proposed to regulate their labor over many years as a path to U.S. citizenship. Instead, these Latino immigrants began to demand amnesty or citizenship *now!*

In the 2006 election campaign, the Latino voters did not forget that it was Bush's right wing Christian religious *mass* base that had brought forth the immigrant criminalization bill, even though Bush himself once again sided with his monopoly capitalist masters, his *real base*, and promoted the "liberal" alternative, alienating his mass base on a massive scale.*

**FOOTNOTE: Ironically, on this front, it is likely that the defeat of Bush's openly reactionary and chauvinistic white mass-based politicians and the new Democratic Party control of Congress will consolidate the rule of the dominant, less unstable sector of U.S. finance capital and facilitate the passage of repressive "liberal" pro monopoly capitalist "immigration reform" "guest worker" legislation, systematizing the growing attacks on immigrant workers in the U.S.A. and intensifying their super-exploitation.*

BUSH'S MASS BASE "DIES A THOUSAND DEATHS" ON THE EVE OF THE 2006 ELECTION

The final straw for many of Bush's *mass* followers was the disillusionment that flowed from two startling exposures on the eve of the 2006 election that expose the depth of decay and rot of the old and dying system, especially here in the belly of the beast, the current bulwark of world capitalism, U.S. imperialism. First, Florida Republican Congressman Mark Foley's pedophilia with regard to Congressional Pages while he was the House chairperson of the subcommittee tasked with protecting juveniles from pedophiles led to his resignation and to the disgrace of Republican Speaker of the House Dennis Hastert for es-

entially covering up Foley's sins. And secondly, just a few days prior to the election, came the startling forced resignation from a Colorado Christian mega-church of Reverend Haggard, who admitted that he had been having illicit homosexual relations with male prostitutes while he was the leader of the legislative campaign effort in Colorado to ban same sex marriages! Reverend Haggard was a national leader of the Christian evangelical's organized support for Bush and the Republican Party.

DEMOCRATIC BRANCH OF WAR PARTY WINS VICTORY BY DEFAULT

Thus, the "earth-shaking victory" was won, albeit by default, by the Democratic Party. And the Democratic Party is indeed "hell-bent", just like the Republican Party, on defending the "New World Order." In fact, the Democratic Party politicians in Congress have been the chief enablers, the crucial supporters, of Bush's war crimes against humanity. They have not even whispered about impeachment of Bush-Cheney for war crimes, financial scandal (Enron and Halliburton), etc. Last year Wisconsin Democratic Senator Russ Feingold put forth a motion to censure Bush for his illegal attacks on civil rights and civil liberties and had practically no support even from his Democratic Party colleagues! Democratic Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi of California, who will be installed as the new Speaker of the House of Representatives in January, announced *during the election campaign and immediately thereafter* that the Democrats have no intention of impeaching George W. Bush!!

Furthermore, Pelosi, incoming Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid and the Democrats, immediately upon becoming the majority party, reassured their monopoly capitalist rulers that Congress would not cut any of the Pentagon's funding requests so as to keep the war in Iraq going. On December 5th, the Democratic leadership recommended to the Democratic Party caucus that it support the appropriation scheduled to be brought forth in Spring 2007 to con-

tinue full funding of the U.S. imperialist war in Iraq to the tune of \$160 billion dollars more!

LOOSENING THE IMPERIALIST GRIP TO GET A BETTER HOLD

In a November 12th article, while Brian Becker of the *Party for Socialism and Liberation* failed to make the dialectical connection between the successful Iraqi (and Lebanese) struggle against U.S. imperialism (and Israeli Zionism) and the 2006 elections in the U.S.A., he astutely observed, "...the dumping of Donald Rumsfeld as Secretary of Defense and his replacement by former CIA director Robert Gates inaugurates a shift in strategy by the Bush White House. It is a shift that almost every sector of the capitalist ruling class supports. The neo-conservatives are out. The old guard of the imperialist foreign policy establishment is retaking control." Indeed, President Bush's dismissal of Rumsfeld, the chief proponent of reliance on high-tech weaponry and limiting the size of the U.S. military presence in Iraq and elsewhere, opens the door to U.S. military *expansion* in Iraq!

At the beginning of December, the *Wall Street Journal* reported that, "Outside the military, most of the debate is focused on a U.S. troop withdrawal. But inside the Pentagon, the recent dismissal of Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld has given some new life to arguments by military officers who say the U.S. must pour more troops and money into the country to expand the Iraqi army..." In mid December, at this writing, reports are surfacing of an additional 30,000 U.S. troops to be sent to Iraq, theoretically, to train the Iraqi Army, in line with recommendations from the Iraq Study Group led by Republican top functionary James Baker and Democratic bigwig Lee Hamilton. The outstanding Filipino revolutionary communist leader, Jose Maria Sison, as current chairman of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) has summed up the Iraq Study Group's Report as follows: "In brief, the US military forces are staying and digging in." Therefore, for the Iraqi people, whose heroic struggle and sacrifice led to this

domestic defeat for Bush and the Republicans, the election victory of the Democrats could well mean an increased U.S. military presence in their country, at least for the short run.*

**FOOTNOTE: One is reminded of the situation of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam during the 1964 Presidential election. The so-called "peace candidate", Democrat Lyndon Johnson, overwhelmingly defeated the Republican "war-monger", Barry Goldwater, in the election. Yet, years later, Daniel Ellsberg, a top state department and defense department functionary of the period, reported that the only options being considered by top government strategists at the time of Johnson's landslide victory, were "Goldwater options". And the U.S. war in Vietnam was greatly expanded thereafter. So much for U.S. democracy!*

HURRICANE KATRINA AND THE AFRO-AMERICAN VOTE

Another important indication that it is "business as usual" for the U.S. imperialist government was the recent selection of the new head of the Congressional Black Caucus. Barbara Lee, the one member of Congress who had the courage to vote against Bush's alleged "War on Terror" when he was at the height of his popularity and influence in the days following 9/11, had placed herself in consideration for this important post. Who better to lead the forty-three member caucus (all Democrats) than the person whose opposition to Bush had been so prophetic?!

Barbara Lee's principled stand against Bush was even more clearly vindicated by the criminal treatment that the Afro-American people of New Orleans received from his Administration before, during and after Hurricane Katrina. Katrina has been widely recognized as a wake-up call for the Afro-American people in the U.S.A., and, no doubt, played a huge role in guaranteeing that the Afro-American people continued to be the most anti-Republican Party voter base in the U.S.A. in the 2006 election. Despite all of this, the courageous Lee withdrew her name when Michigan Congresswoman Carolyn Cheeks Kilpatrick clearly obtained the votes of her colleagues to defeat Congresswoman Lee.

In addition, New York Congressman Charles Rangel's proposal, immediately following the Congressional election, to reinstate the U.S. military draft (involuntary conscription), citing U.S. military overextension as a significant reason for his proposal, provides support and cover for the Bush-led bipartisan imperialist war on the peoples of the world.* No wonder Black political guru Ron Walters anticipates that the Congressional Black Caucus will "probably join Democratic leaders in charting a moderate course."

FOOTNOTE: *Veteran Afro-American Congressman Rangel had previously attacked Venezuela's Hugo Chavez in defense of Bush when Chavez had justly denounced the war criminal Bush at the United Nations.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The proposition that the 2006 Congressional Elections in the U.S.A. represent a fundamental change in the workings of the U.S. imperialist empire is false. To the extent that the Democratic Party has gained strength at the expense of the increasingly isolated and exposed Bush and the Republicans, the monopoly capitalist and imperialist system in the U.S.A. is actually being provided room to maneuver and an opportunity to rebound. This is due to the fact that, while the old and dying are having great difficulty in ruling in the old way, the new and rising proletarian forces are insufficiently strong enough to bring forth the socialist future out of this political crisis of U.S. imperialism.
2. The proposition that the 2006 U.S. election reflected the "American people's expectations that Bush and Cheney be convicted for their high crimes" has been put forth by such a valuable friend and leader of the U.S. and international proletariat as International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) Chairman Jose Maria Sison, the outstanding Filipino revolutionary of our time. It is understandable that, given the common knowledge that Bush lied and manipulated the U.S.A. into an unprovoked war against the people of Iraq and is responsible for the widespread use of torture and arbitrary imprisonment in Iraq, Afghanistan, the U.S.A. and elsewhere, and that Enron and Halliburton, Bush-Cheney's corporate masters, have been found guilty of all kinds of massive illegal fraud and corruption, a revolutionary with Sison's rich experience might well expect that the U.S. population would be outraged, as his native Philippine society would. But U.S. society is itself parasitic as befits the chief oppressor nation in the world. Its outrage is mollified by its privilege vis-à-vis the oppressed nations. And the genuine anti-imperialist and communist left movement in the U.S.A. is still so small and weak that we were unable to make the issue of Bush's criminalization and impeachment a popular political issue in the 2006 campaign. Pelosi's assurance both during and after the campaign that a Bush impeachment was not part of the Democratic Party program underscores this fact.
3. The proposition that the 2006 U.S. election offered no reason to celebrate is, however, also false. The blow struck against Bush and the neo-conservatives as the most aggressive current representatives of U.S. and international monopoly capital and imperialism was real. Its principal source was the heroic Iraqi Resistance. And it was manifested not only in the votes of the U.S. electorate that defeated Republican candidates but also in the overwhelming vote for immediate withdrawal of U.S. military forces from Iraq in referenda voted upon in Illinois, Wisconsin and Massachusetts, especially in urban proletarian centers. The 2006 election thus offers U.S. communists a wider and more fertile field upon which to rally the multinational U.S. proletariat to the banner of proletarian international solidarity with the oppressed peoples within and outside the boundaries of the U.S. imperialist state and for the socialist and communist future.

Let's follow up the election defeat of the Bush-ites with mass anti-imperialist pressure to help stop the unjust U.S. imperialist war and occupation of Iraq.

Let's carry timely militant working class demands into *both* upcoming national anti-war demonstrations in the U.S.A.: the January 27, 2007 United for Peace and Justice initiated demonstration; and the March 17, 2007 ANSWER initiated demonstration.

**No to the #1 Exploiter of the
World's People!
No to the World's #1 Terrorist!**

Ray O. Light Group Holds Successful Conference

In late Fall 2006, the Ray O. Light Group, our small U.S. proletarian revolutionary group, sponsored a Marxist-Leninist Conference in the northeastern USA on the theme: "Broadening and Deepening Resistance to the Bush-Led U.S. Imperialist War at Home and Abroad." A greater number of invited anti-imperialist activists participated than were expected. And these participants were more serious, militant, enthusiastic and selfless in their involvement in the Conference than in years past. Given these facts, the Conference, with all its limitations, was a fine success.

Several factors contributed to this modest success:

1. The Conference took place in the aftermath of the 2006 U.S. congressional elections in which the Bush Regime was clearly repudiated. The fact that this chief representative of the World's Number #1 Terrorist and the World's Number #1 Exploiter suffered an electoral blow served as encouragement to those of us actively committed to broadening and deepening the resistance within the USA to the Bush-led U.S. imperialist war at home and abroad. It was pointed out in the Conference that the principal reason for the

**Down With Bush-led U.S. Imperialism!
Down With the Democratic-Republican
Bipartisan War on the Iraqi People!**

**No More Blood for Oil! Bring the U.S.
troops home now!
Victory to the Iraqi Resistance!**

--December 2006

Bushites' electoral defeat was the heroic Iraqi Resistance that is inflicting significant military blows on the U.S. imperialist military occupiers of their country. Also pointed out was the fact that, unfortunately, the Democratic Party stooges of U.S. imperialism, and not the working class and oppressed peoples within the U.S. multinational state and/or the Iraqi people, were the chief beneficiary of the Bush-Republican election defeat. Nevertheless, despite the superficial character of the blow to U.S. imperialism, Conference participants came in greater numbers and were more spirited because this election defeat was a glimpse of better and more substantial changes to come.

2. We invited militant workers and anti-imperialists, some of whom were *not* convinced Marxists, but most or all of whom have a hatred for injustice, for exploitation, for discrimination, for imperialist war. We welcomed representatives from a few other self-proclaimed Marxist-Leninist organizations that we feel are doing some positive anti-imperialist work. And we invited decent individual fighters against imperialism from left-wing organizations about which we have more substantial questions or criticisms.

A number of these people were given the opportunity to share their experience as panelists in one or more of the eight sessions of the Conference. Finally, we provided all the participants with ample opportunity to express their views in an atmosphere of mutual respect. This condition provided a healthy setting in which communists "disdained to conceal their views" and carried out their unceasing responsibility to raise mass forces to the level of the vanguard. Hence, the points of view expressed in the sessions were not empty rhetoric but meaningful, educational, and somewhat controversial.

3. The Ray O. Light Conference was guided by these two fundamental precepts:

- a.) *"Theory is the experience of the working-class movement in all countries taken in its general aspect."* (Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*)
- b.) *"Philosophers have interpreted the world in various ways; the point, however, is to change it."* (Karl Marx)

Thus, the strength of the Conference was due mainly to two factors:

- a.) The participants had *already* engaged in real practical work among the masses in the struggle against the Bush-led U.S. Imperialist War at Home and Abroad.
- b.) The participants desired to learn from their own and each other's experience so as to do more effective revolutionary work in this cause *in the future*.

The topics addressed at the Conference were: "Economic Motives for Bush's War at Home and Abroad and the Need for Proletarian Revolution;" "Solidarity with the Iraqi Resistance: A Vital Task for Revolutionaries in the USA and the World;" "The Struggle for an Anti-Imperialist War Pole within the U.S. Labor Movement and a Labor and Working Class Pole within the Anti-War Movement;" "Tactical Approaches to the U.S. Anti-War Movement;" "Organizing Against Military Recruitment of U.S. Youth;" "Katrina and the Intensified Op-

pression of the Afro-American People in the Bush Years;" and "The Struggle to Build an Anti-Imperialist Immigrant Rights Movement."

The final session addressed "The Need for Marxist-Leninist Vanguard Organization in the U.S.A."

In light of the thorough discussion of the previous topics, and the political experience of the participants in the struggle against the Bush-led U.S. imperialist war at home and abroad over the past five years, there was much agreement on the need for vanguard organization in the USA.

The Conference closed with a spirited singing of the ***Internationale*** in several languages. #

**5th International
Automotive
Workers' Counsel,
Stuttgart, Germany,
May 18th - 20th 2007,
Information:
automobilarbeiterrat-
schlag.com**

**13th International
Whitsun Youth Festival
Gelsenkirchen, Germany,
May 26th - 27th 2007
Information:
www.pfingstjugendtreffen.de**

No the enlargement of US military base of Camp Ederle!

Committees to Support Resistance for Communism (CARC), Italy

The US imperialist bourgeoisie is involved on a wide scale in repressing the resistance opposed to her predominance by the popular masses, particularly by the ones of Arabian and Islamic countries.

The US imperialist bourgeoisie in her so called "global struggle against terrorism" get connivance and complicity by all the imperialist countries. Undoubtedly, the Italian government and the Vatican Church are two among her most zealous accomplices. By US imperialists' order the various Italian governments spent a lot of public money and means to support and sustain the aggression to Serbia, Afghanistan, Iraq. They made agreements for military cooperation in Iraq, they defended the Zionists' interests sharing the aggression to Lebanon. This subjection never failed whatever was the colour of the government in office. Both Centre - right and Centre - left wing governments in turn bowed their head compliant with the American master's orders. So it did the "radical" left, the Party for Communist Refoundation, the Party of Italian Communists and the Greens, who mumbles but assents and, most of all, doesn't actively participate in denouncing this criminal politics: secret military agreements, sequestrations by the CIA, inquiries against Arabian citizens, etc.). The presence of US military bases in Italy is the clearest witness of this reality. The killers of Ustica, where hundreds of people died in a civil airplane shot down by the US Air Force, aren't been punished. So it happened for the killers of Cermis, who were enjoying themselves low flying and made fall down a ropeway cage full of people. Besides, the Italian State submissively accepted the deny to prosecute the US soldiers who killed its "hero" Calipari, a secret agent working in Iraq, and gave complete freedom (and full cooperation to the US agents who sequestered Abu Omar in Milan. These and many others episodes confirm and show the subjection of Italian parties and Authorities to the US imperialists.

The former government of Berlusconi's gang made secret agreements with their dear friend

George Bush, ensuring full cover and freedom of action to the men of US agencies, in the "crusade against terrorism". The present government (the "democratic" Prodi's government) not only does not cancel these shameful secret agreements, but continues to cover them with the state secret, and so became its new warrantor. All this facts show well what legality, democracy, international and human rights mean to the present bourgeois regime. The enlargement of the US military base of Camp Ederle is a part in this condition of decennial subjection of the Italian government to US imperialists and is another step on to support the development of the US imperialists' war against the people of the world.

Furthermore, it completely represents, beyond any tortuous speech, the cooperation and cover of right and left wing parties to the US military "missions" in Mediterranean Sea and in the extermination war that bourgeoisie's carrying out all over the world. To mobilize against the enlargement and for closing the other military bases in Italian country is a duty for every sincere democratic people and for any pacifists and anti-imperialists. The party of CARC supports the struggle against the authorization to enlarge the base of Camp Ederle and the dismantling of other stranger military bases (starting from the one of La Maddalena in Sardinia). Our party asks that the latest secret agreements done by the Berlusconi's gang with US imperialists and Zionists will be made public and abolished (law of 17 May 2004, n. 94). Or party denounces the real Italian State's and Centre-right and Centre-left wing parties' subjection to the warmonger and criminal politics of USA and of its Italian accomplices.

Let's immediately close all the US and OTAN bases!

Withdrawal of Italian troops from the war "missions"!

No to the imperialists war!

Long live the heroic resistance in Iraq, Palestine, Lebanon and Afghanistan!

02.12.06 #

UN Troops - out of the Lebanon!

Solidarity with the anti-imperialist liberation struggle in Lebanon, Palestine and the whole region!

We, the signatory European parties and organizations, have condemned from the very beginning the Israeli aggression against the Lebanon that began on 12 July 2006, and that was accompanied by the inhumane attacks upon Palestinian territory.

We support the coordination of anti-imperialist solidarity in Europe and of resistance against the participation of the European governments in the oppression of the Palestine and Arab peoples.

Immediate withdrawal of all occupation troops from the Lebanon – with or without a UN mandate!

For 30 days, Israel waged a war with bombs, killing at least 1000 persons. The alleged aim was the liberation of two "kidnapped soldiers". The bourgeois mass media concealed the fact that 12 000 Palestinians have been "kidnapped" in Israeli prisons. Israel has the "right of self-defence" in the face of the attacks of the "terrorist" Hezbollah – so it was argued, although their missiles were launched only in reaction to Israeli attacks that had been planned for a long time. Israel systematically bombed refugee convoys, hospitals, schools, bridges and refugee camps of the Palestinians, who have been being driven from their land for decades through Zionist expansion. The justified condemnation of Israel was and is accused of being "antisemitic" in order to silence them. That is psychological warfare in order to conceal the real goals of the war.

Israeli did not commit this aggression on its own. Especially US imperialism supported the aggression materially and politically, hoping to come closer to reaching its goal of world hegemony with Bush's New War, and to advance the implementation of the imperialist plan called 'the Greater Middle East'. The imperialist European states are participating, motivated by their strife for controlling the strategically important region of the Middle East. The courageous resistance of the Palestinian people, which is supported in the Lebanon, is the main obstacle to these imperialist goals. For many decades it could neither be broken by Zionist Israeli terror and occupation nor by means of the imperialist "peace plans".

The Israeli aggression failed because of armed resistance, the courage and unity of the Lebanese people and international solidarity.

Israel suffered a defeat because of the armed resistance in the Lebanon, which had the combined support of the people beyond religious boundaries. The forces of resistance succeeded because they were rooted among the people, followed the principles of the flexible guerrilla warfare and assimilated the positive and negative experience of the past struggles in the region and other parts of the world. Millions of people, especially in the Arab countries, showed their solidarity in demonstrations and strikes. In Israel, too, there was a courageous peace movement. Israel had to retreat.

UN mission against the right of self-determination of the peoples

UN Resolution 1701 does not condemn the Israeli aggression. On the contrary, the Palestinian and Arab peoples are denied the right of armed resistance against the Israeli aggression. UN Resolution 1701 is a 'compromise solution' that also serves Israel, which has to gain time in order to recompose its forces and strategy after the defeat it has suffered. It is the basis for the deployment of 15 000 UN troops under the leadership of the imperialist states, especially those of Europe (UNIFIL is composed of France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Belgium, Finland, Ireland, Norway, Poland, Denmark, Bulgaria, Greece, Sweden, Turkey, China, India, Ghana). Their task is to guarantee direct imperialist control over the country, in full accordance with the US doctrine of the "shared sovereignty" of the countries. However, only on the basis of the right of self-determination is it possible for the peoples, Arabs and Jews to live together in peace. Moreover, UNIFIL is indirectly dominated by the US-NATO forces, and later on it may even officially be transformed – under various 'financial' or 'technical' pretexts – into a NATO force, as it happened in Afghanistan."

For the right of self-determination of the peoples!

Immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from the Lebanon!

Stop the supply of arms to Israel!

Solidarity with the anti-imperialist liberation struggle of the Palestine people!

Cut off the political, commercial and diplomatic relations with the Zionist State of Israel!

We declare our active support for the antimilitarist and peace movements in our own countries and promote their growth through systematic education work among the masses of people.

We organize the antimilitarist and anti-imperialist struggle and unity, especially among the youth all over Europe.

We support cross-border, coordinated and common action against imperialist war policy.

We uphold and support active resistance, like that of the English dockers, who refused to load ships to Israel.

We condemn reactionary-fascist attacks against the masses, whether they have fundamentalist motives, whether they are provoked by the secret services or are the product of individual despair. In connection with the "anti-terror" hysteria, they serve the imperialist governments as a pretext for taking further oppressive measures against progressive forces. However, we clearly defend the right of armed resistance of the oppressed peoples!

We promote the political and material solidarity of our peoples with all the movements for national and social liberation.

The threat for peace in the region of the Middle East and in the entire world comes from the imperialists, who neocolonially oppress and exploit the peoples and nations with the support of the local

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reactionary regimes. Only if the peoples liberate themselves from imperialism under the leadership of the working class, will they be able to live together in lasting peace and self-determination.

That is why the struggle for national and social liberation needs the perspective of socialism.

For peace, liberty, genuine socialism!

The increasing aggressiveness abroad is closely related to increased domestic reaction. Under the pretext of the struggle against terrorism, a massive dismantling of democratic rights and liberties and a fascisation of the state apparatus is taking place in Europe. For example, every country is supposed to gain access to the data of the secret service of the others, video surveillance is to be generalized, Internet contacts are being surveilled, etc. There are plans to make the army ready for domestic action. That is directed against the masses, who are increasingly rising up in Europe against the capitalist (dis)order and their search for a societal perspective. This is the reason behind the EU "anti"-terror lists persecuting left patriotic forces of the national liberation struggle, antiimperialists, communists and revolutionaries, the fascist-type proscription of communist parties and youth in several European countries, and the political disciplinary measures against militant workers and those who are suspected of being sympathisers of communism.

For the defence and extension of democratic rights and liberties!

Become active for a future without exploitation and imperialist oppression – support the building up of genuine communist parties and organizations