

AMADA - TPO

PROGRAM FOR PEACE, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY, AND SOCIALISM

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The National Bureau of the Marxist-Leninist Organization AMADA-TPO, May 8, 1976

INTRODUCTION

In this document, the National Office of TPO-AMADA presents its analysis of the international situation and of the tasks which result from it for the Marxist-Leninists of Belgium.

We expose our program of peace, national independence, popular democracy and socialism.

A right line develops in the fight against false lines. By exposing our line, we are fighting the line of the UC leadership which uses the Marxist-Leninist flag to sell its Trotskyist positions which play into the hands of social imperialism.

The leadership of the UC has proven to be an anti-party and Trotskyist group, but the theses it defended are characteristic for a whole current which claims to be thought of Mao Tsetung and the politics of China but which actually stands on the class position of petty bourgeois intellectuals.

PART ONE: ANALYSIS OF THE THREE WORLDS

In order to draw up a just political line, we must take into account the fundamental traits which characterize the world today. We live in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. These are the basic characteristics of the entire present historical period.

Besides that, we must study the specific features of the present stage of the development of imperialism.

The current stage is dominated by the development of the fundamental contradictions which dominate the world situation.

1 The contradiction between socialism and capitalism. In China, the dictatorship of the proletariat is continuously consolidated and the socialist economy is developing rapidly.

2 The contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie. In the capitalist and revisionist countries the struggle of the working class and the working classes against big capital knows a rapid development.

3 The contradiction between the countries of the third world and imperialism and social-imperialism. The revolutionary struggle of the Third World for its total political and economic emancipation from imperialism, and mainly from the two superpowers, is in full swing. The revolutionary struggle of the third world directly undermines the domination of imperialism, that is to say, of monopoly capitalism, and is, for this reason, part of the world proletarian revolution.

4 The contradiction between the imperialist powers and between the capitalists. The struggle of the weakened imperialist countries against the superpowers is growing. The rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States for world hegemony is sharpening day by day.

The action of the four fundamental contradictions divides the current world into three different zones.

The first world is formed by the two superpowers; the third world includes all developing countries, including China, as a socialist country in the third world; the second world is made up of intermediate weakened imperialist countries.

When we do a global analysis of all the forces in the world, we have to come to the following conclusion: the struggle between the Soviet Union and the United States for world hegemony will inevitably lead to a third world war.

1. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF IMPERIALISM

Lenin teaches us:

"Imperialism is capitalism having reached a stage of development in which the domination of monopolies and financial capital has asserted itself, where the export of capital has acquired prominent importance, where the sharing of the world has traded between the international

trusts and where the partition of the entire territory of the globe between the largest capitalist countries has ended”(t. 22, p. 287).

“Imperialism is the era of financial capital and monopolies, which everywhere provoke tendencies to domination and not to freedom. Reaction across the board, whatever the political regime, extreme worsening of antagonisms in this area too: this is the result of these trends. Likewise, national oppression and the tendency to annexation, that is to say the violation of national independence, are particularly reinforced ...”(t. 22, p. 320).

Lenin gives as a fundamental characteristic of our time:

"The tendency of the bourgeoisie and the opportunists to transform a handful of very rich privileged nations into parasites" in perpetuity "living on the body of the rest of humanity, to" fall asleep on the laurels "of the exploitation of blacks , Indians etc., by keeping them in submission with the aid of modern militarism provided with excellent extermination material”(t, 23, p. 128).

In the first fifty to sixty years of this century, all imperialist countries participated, in the same way, in colonial exploitation and oppression. The great imperialist powers, Russia until 1917, Germany, England, France, Japan and the United States competed for hegemony. The small imperialist powers lined up behind one or the other great power to acquire and maintain "their" share of the colonies. The policy of the “little” imperialist brigands was characterized in the following way by Lenin, who wrote in 1915, about “weak” Italy:

"Any country with more colonies, capital and troops than" ours "II deprives us of certain privileges, a certain profit or overprofit ... It is the affair of the bourgeoisie to fight for privileges and advantages of its own national capital, and to mystify the people ... by presenting the imperialist struggle for the "right" to the plundering of others, like a war of national liberation "(Lenin, t.21, p. 372) .

During the First World War, Lenin said about Holland:

"Holland's participation in the war would also be imperialism because 1) Holland would defend its colonies and 2) it would be the ally of one of the imperial coalitions" (Lenin, t. 22, p. 331-332).

2. THE SPECIFIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CURRENT PHASE OF IMPERIALISM

The fundamental characteristics of the imperialist era remain valid. But can we understand today's imperialism correctly by referring to the laws of imperialism in general? We must study the specific characteristics of the present phase of development of imperialism. We must highlight two specific characteristics of the current phase, which have decisive significance in today's world.

2.1. The third world has become a great driving force for the progress of world history

In the 1930s, most of the Third World was subjected to merciless colonial exploitation and oppression. After the Second World War, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America rose definitively.

“Today, the excellent global situation is marked above all by the awakening and development of the Third World. In the struggle against colonialism and imperialism, in particular against the superpowers, the countries of the Third World continue to strengthen their unity and mutual assistance and to achieve brilliant victories. They play an increasingly important role in the development of the international situation and have become a great driving force for the progress of world history ”

"Not being intimidated by brute force, they dare to defend their national independence and state sovereignty, develop their national economy and wage an uncompromising struggle against imperialism, in particular against the superpowers." (PI 44-74 p. 6 and 7).

"... the struggle of the peoples of the world against colonialism, imperialism, hegemonism in particular, has reached a new stage, namely that it is developing in depth in the economic field" (PI 46-74, p . 10).

2.2. The two superpowers are the two essential pillars of modern colonialism

"The basic aim of all imperialist activities was to secure high profits for monopoly capital. Spoliation proceeds from the nature of imperialism. It cannot exist without resorting to violence and pillage, aggression and expansion ”. (PI 26-72, p. 11).

Let's look at the world today. Are all the imperialist countries capable of passing to violence, plunder, expansion and aggression against the Third World? No, only the two superpowers still have the full characteristics of the imperialist rulers, brigands and war-mongers. Only the two superpowers are today capable of continuing the "work" of the former colonial powers.

"In the past, the imperialist powers had shared the world and international affairs were decided according to the will of the colonial empires. Today, the two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are stepping up their quality to carry out a new division of the planet. But the days when the politics of the strongest could have raged are over ”. (PI 2-75, p. 6).

“Substituting gradually for the former colonialists, American imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism have become the main pillars of modern colonialism and the greatest colonialists of our time. They are everywhere trying to suppress and undermine the national liberation movement. They extend their claws to Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions of the world in order to subjugate the peoples under a new colonialist regime. The national liberation movement must therefore face the arduous task of fighting against the two overlords, the Soviet Union and the United States. It cannot achieve a complete victory without fighting the neo-colonialism of these two superpowers ”(PI, 47-72, p. 14).

“Today, faced with the two superpowers who still dream of maintaining the old international order under their hegemony, the countries of the Third World have affirmed their resolution to make themselves masters of their own destiny. This is an irreversible trend”(PI 2-75, p. 6).

"The superpowers always want to wave their wands in the internal affairs of third world countries and impose their order according to their customary practice". (PI 2-7 5, p 6).

3. THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION IS CHARACTERIZED BY THE EXISTENCE OF THREE WORLDS

The action of the Third World as a great revolutionary force and the action of the two superpowers which tend to hegemony, determine the birth of three different worlds.

"The struggle waged by peoples everywhere this year clearly shows that the analysis of the existence of three worlds corresponds perfectly to the current objective reality and that it is a scientific class analysis". (PI 1-76, p. 19).

Between the first and the second world there are not only quantitative differences; these are essential qualitative differences that appear between the three worlds.

What were the essential groupings in the world, immediately after the second world war

"At that time, the western capitalist countries led by the United States formed the first world, the socialist camp formed by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The second world, and the countries having acquired their national independence, as well as those which fought for independence in Asia, in Africa and in Latin America, the third world ”. (PI 44-74, p. 6).

What are the essential groupings in the world today?

"The two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are fighting relentlessly and fiercely for world hegemony. If one observes the present international relations, our globe now comprises, in fact, three parts, three worlds which are both mutually linked and contradictory to each other. The United States and the Soviet Union, these two superpowers, form the first world; developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other territories, the Third World; and the developed countries lying in between, the second world ”. (PI 44-74, p. 6).

The Soviet Union and the United States form the first world. They both extend their claws to the whole world. Between them are two intermediate zones, the second and the third world.

"The first zone includes the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which, formerly victims of colonialist and imperialist aggression and oppression, are now waging a valiant fight against imperialism and the colonialism, especially against the two superpowers. Excluding the Soviet Union and the United States, the second group is the main capitalist countries of the West and the East, which suffer to varying degrees the control, interference and harassment of the two overlords and have with them here are many contradictions that are going to sharpen.

The pretensions of the two superpowers to world hegemony and their crimes of aggression arouse opposition from all the peoples of the world. The countries of both the first intermediate zone and the second unite in different forms and on different scales to fight against the policy of the strongest and the hegemonism practiced by the superpowers. This is a trend in world history ”. (PI, 47-72, p. 15).

The UCMLB management rejects this scientific class analysis of the current world situation. Before and immediately after the second world war, Belgium belonged to the first world; currently, fundamental changes have appeared in the world situation and Belgium has become a second world country.

For the UC leadership, however, there is no difference between present-day Belgium, a country of the second world, and Belgium of yesteryear, a country of the first world.

“The whole history of Belgian imperialism, as of all imperialism, is that of a criminal and bloodthirsty bourgeoisie. This remains true today. ” (p. 16, 4th col.).

4. SPECIFIC FEATURES OF THE SECOND WORLD

4.1 An attitude of dialogue, negotiation and cooperation with third world countries

The Third World's struggle for complete independence in the political and economic field is progressing rapidly. The third world is aware of its strength. The countries of the second world are weakened imperialist powers; they are forced to recognize the autonomy and strength of the Third World.

The weakened imperialist countries of the second world are increasingly forced to establish relations on the basis of "dialogue" with the third world, in order to defend their own interests and in order to protect them from the two superpowers.

The revolutionary struggle for national independence of the Third World is progressing with strength. This struggle is the main factor of revolutionary upheavals in the world today. Third world countries demand that the old international economic order, which is mainly defended by the two superpowers, be transformed. In this situation, more and more second world countries understand that they must establish cooperative ties with the third world to rid themselves of the domination of the superpowers. This cooperation is favourable to the progress of the revolutionary struggle of the Third World.

Through this cooperation, the Third World can free itself from the control and exploitation of the two greatest neo-colonial masters of our time, the Soviet Union and the United States.

Through this cooperation, the Third World can build its national economy which will make it economically more and more independent of imperialism, and mainly of the superpowers. Thus the domination of imperialism is always further undermined.

What goal are the countries of the second world pursuing with the dialogue with the third world?

Their aim is to free themselves from the control and plunder of the superpowers. American imperialism controls most of the oil supply to Europe. 80% of Western Europe's oil needs are

met by supply from the Middle East. Social-imperialism wants to control Western Europe through the supply of oil, natural gas, electricity, etc. The countries of the second world want a direct dialogue with the Arab countries, for a direct supply of oil. To free themselves from economic control and the domination of the two superpowers, the second world finds itself obliged to accept a direct dialogue with the third world on an equal footing.

The countries of the second world want to put an end to the situation where the two superpowers make huge profits on the back of the second world, by supplying oil from the Middle East.

They also want to acquire security of supply and no longer be dependent on the arbitrariness of the superpowers. In this way, the second world also wants to strengthen its capacities for political intervention independent of the two superpowers.

The aim of the second world is also to reduce the effects of the economic crisis through cooperation with the third world. The capitalist and revisionist world is experiencing the greatest crisis since the Second World War. The superpowers want to bring the brunt of the crisis to the Third World, but also to the Second World: they want to strengthen their economic domination and their exploitation of the countries of the Second World.

To get out of their overproduction crisis, the countries of the second world want to expand their markets. The Third World has a great need for machinery, factories and technology to rapidly develop the national economy, and the countries of the Second World are ready to supply them.

The countries of the second world are weakened imperialist countries. They will never voluntarily recognize the complete political and economic independence of the Third World. Some second world countries have kept various forms of colonial relations with certain third world countries. This is why the countries of the third world must strengthen their unity and their revolutionary force and lead the fight against all forms of political interference and economic domination by the countries of the second world. It is only through struggle that they will succeed in forcing the countries of the second world to establish relations with them on an equal footing according to the principle of mutual benefit, and to renounce political interference as well as attempts to maintain or restore looting.

It is also the task of the workers and workers of the second world to contribute, by the fight against their bourgeoisie, to oblige it to establish relations with the third world, on the basis of equality, non- interference and mutual benefits.

4.2 The UC leadership refuses to recognize the significance of the dialogue between the second world and the third world

The UC leadership refuses to recognize the specific characteristics of the second world. Although she uses the term "second world", she denies its true content. It places itself in fact on the position of the Trotskyists who say that in their essence, all the imperialist countries have the same character and that the imperialist countries of less importance have only "certain contradictions" with the United States, and n ' only to a certain extent are controlled.

UC management writes:

“With regard to the countries of the second world, we must never forget:

- 1) that they are indeed countries with all the characteristics of imperialism and
- 2) that they have contradictions with the two superpowers, to which they are subject to a certain extent ”(p. 15, 3rd collar.) ”.

"Second world imperialism is, like all imperialism, the plunder of peoples and war". (p. 15, 4th col.)

"Amada denies the distinction between the source of modern wars, which is imperialism taken in general, ... and the main forces of aggression and war at a given time, the main makers of concrete wars" (p. 15, 4th col.).

"The powers of the second world maintain their troops of aggression and in no way abdicate their imperialist ambitions" (p. 15, 4th col.).

These positions are defended by the Trotskyists. They are completely opposed to those of the Chinese Communist Party and to reality.

4.2.1 The second world and the old international economic order, based on exploitation and pillage

"In the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemony, the countries of the Third World have put forward proposals to break the old international economic order and to establish new and fair international economic relations". (PI, 16-75).

“Two attitudes clash in today's world, with regard to this historical current which is the change by the third world of the old international economic order. The first is based on "confrontation". It is the attitude of the superpowers who resort to intimidation, and who, taking this into account, can only suffer repeated failures. The other is "dialogue". It is the one adopted by many second world countries in seeking to resolve the problems that remain by negotiation. ”

"The Convention (of Lomé, between the EEC and 46 mainly African countries), requires that the European Community grant to the developing countries compensation for losses resulting from the fall in the price of some of the main products exported to the Common Market . The Convention has also placed restrictions on the use by developed countries of "aid" as a means of intervention in the internal affairs of developing countries. The inequality between the EEC and these countries - inequality which still appeared in its Yaoundé Association Convention - is to a certain degree reduced in the Lomé Convention. The 46 developing countries... have, during their negotiations, clearly stated that the Convention should be limited to dealing with commercial and economic affairs and that it should not prejudice their political independence or their relations with other third world countries. This is therefore an important success for the 46 countries concerned in their fight against the old international economic order ”. (PI, 11-75).

"How to regulate the relations between oil producing countries and industrialized countries? This is another problem which falls under this "order". Today, unlike the relations of exploiters and docile exploited who prevailed until then, they are "dialogues" of equals. This is a new breach in the old international economic order governing the oil question. Thus, in recent years, in the second world, more and more industrial countries have had to adopt a more realistic attitude towards reasonable demands and legitimate measures put forward by Third World oil tankers in the situation characterized by its ascending struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. Sweeping away the obstacles placed by the superpowers,

4.2.2 The second world and the imperialist policy of military aggression and domination

The attitude of the countries of Western Europe in the Angolan civil war shows the falsity of the Trotskyist positions of the leadership of the UC It is precisely the social-imperialists and the Trotskyists who have declared, on the subject Angolan, that "all imperialist countries want war and pillage".

Any theory that says all imperialist countries have "the same imperialist ambitions and the same belligerent intentions" prevents the union of the Third World with the Second World against the superpowers.

The EEC countries have declared themselves in favour of national unity in Angola, and in favour of respecting the independence of Angola. They protested against any foreign interference and against any attempt to build zones of influence in Africa; they supported the efforts of the Organization for African Unity to find an African solution; they condemned the colonial regimes of Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa.

The Nine made the following statement on February 23:

"The ministers have followed very carefully and with great concern the development of the conflict in Angola, which has caused great suffering, great loss of life and serious damage to the economy. They call for the restoration of the necessary harmony and for the reconstruction and development of the country.

Foreign ministers believe that it is up to the Angolan people to determine their own destiny. As such, they greatly appreciated the efforts made by the OAU to find an African solution to the difficulties and abstained from anything that could harm their outcome. From this point of view, they condemned all external military intervention and expressed the firm hope that it will be ended quickly. In the interest of the prosperity of the region, they wish to establish peaceful and constructive cooperation which presupposes good neighborly relations between the African States which form part of it. The ministers confirmed the fundamental positions of the nine member states of the Community.

Availability of the Nine to develop cooperative relations to the extent that these are desired by African States and rejection of any action by any State whatsoever aimed at establishing an area of influence in Africa.

Respect for the independence of all African States and the right for them to define their national policy in all sovereignty and without foreign interference.

Support for OAU actions to promote African cooperation.

Right to self-determination and independence of the Rhodesian and Namibian peoples.

Condemnation of the "apartheid" policy of South Africa ".
(Le Monde, February 25, 1976).

4.2.3 Conclusion

At the stage of the development of imperialism which was analysed by Lenin, all the imperialist powers had the same characteristics. Their relations with the Third World were based on economic overexploitation and plunder and on political aggression and oppression. Lenin fought the bourgeois reformism of Kautsky who considered possible "another bourgeois policy" ... always on the basis of financial capital ".

"As a result, monopolies in the economy are compatible with political behaviour which would exclude monopoly, violence and conquest" (t. 22, p. 291).

The objective situation has changed.

"A growing number (of second world countries) advocate dialogue with third world countries and endeavour to establish relations of cooperation with them. This positive attitude deserves to be welcomed. As many developing countries have pointed out, the dialogue and cooperation in question can only make progress under favourable conditions if they are guided by the principles of mutual respect for independence and sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit. Mutually beneficial links and exchanges of this kind have prospects for the future. " (Li Kiang, PI, 36-75, p. 10).

4.3 An attitude of resistance and of struggle against the control of domination and the expansionist policy of the superpowers

The countries of the second world are subject to a different degree to the domination, control and interference of the superpowers. They have many contradictions with the superpowers which are getting worse and worse. The countries of the second world unite to fight against the policy of hegemony of the two superpowers.

"This is a trend in world history" (PI 47-72, p. 15).

"The trend in Western Europe today ... since the October war in the Middle East, the countries of Western Europe have shown greater vigour in advancing their political union in order to lead a common struggle against politics of the stronger of the two superpowers "(PI, 6-74, p. 18).

It should not only be emphasized that the main trend in the countries of Western Europe is the fight against the two superpowers; it must also be emphasized that this struggle is

increasingly directed against the main enemy, Russian social-imperialism. We must fully recognize and support this positive trend.

“The struggle of the second world continues to grow against the super-great, and in particular against Soviet social-imperialism. The tendency towards unitary combat in the face of hegemonism is developing without respite in Western European countries ”. (PI, 5-76, p. 9).

Tindemans [*Leo Tindemans, Prime Minister of Belgium*] represents the European bourgeoisie which inevitably has "common values and interests" with the American bourgeoisie when it comes to opposing revolutionary revolts of the working class or against foreign aggression. This European bourgeoisie is however increasingly taking an independent position and it demands "an equality from which any idea of submission is absent". Tindemans continues to place itself within the framework of the Atlantic Alliance, but the main characteristic is the search for the autonomy of Europe "which is expressed in the desire" to arrive at a common analysis "of" our problems specific defense ”and in that of “building a European armaments agency ”.

We quote from the Tindemans Report:

“The need for Europe to speak with one voice in its relations with the United States is one of the deep motivations for European construction. A constructive dialogue between the European Union, aware of its identity, and the leading political, economic and military power of the West, is essential without delay. It is only in this way and according to the development of the Union that we can establish relations with the United States based on the principle of equality, free from any idea of subjection, which reflect both what that there is a commonality in our fundamental values, our interests and our responsibilities, and what is different in the destiny of our two regions of the world.

The European Union will remain incomplete as long as it does not have a common defense policy.

I therefore propose that we decide:

- ▶ To regularly exchange views on our specific defense problems as well as on the European aspects of multilateral security negotiations. It is exchanges of views of this kind which should enable the Member States to one day reach a joint analysis of defense problems, and to take account, in the meantime, of their respective positions in the actions they undertake;
- ▶ To cooperate in the production of armaments with a view to reducing the cost of defense, increasing the autonomy of Europe and the competitiveness of its industry. The efforts under way to equip the European countries of the Alliance with an organization which standardizes armaments, on the basis of common programs, will have important consequences in terms of industrial production. This reinforces the need to set in motion a common industrial policy for the production of armaments within the framework of the European Union. The creation for this purpose of a European armaments agency must be envisaged ”.

(Report by M. Tindemans published in "Texts and Documents" of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation, No. 306, p. 20-21).

We live in Belgium, a second world country. Our country is subject to the control, domination and subversion of the two superpowers; the country is under threat of social-imperialist aggression.

Under these circumstances, the working class must draw up a program for the defense of world peace, for the defense of national independence and for popular democracy.

In these circumstances, the Communist party must first consolidate its own forces and the forces of the working class; second it is to unify all the working classes around the party program.

The birth of the second world increased the possibility of drawing part of the bourgeoisie into a front against a war of social-fascist aggression.

The Chinese Communist Party pursues a policy to unite all the forces which can be united against the two superpowers and in the first place against the expansionism of the Soviet Union. The Chinese Communist Party supports all the forces of the second world which indicate the danger of war and which unmask the makers of war, who want to preserve national independence and who autonomously strengthen national defense. Communists in Western Europe must also recognize and support these positive trends; but at the same time they must lead the struggle against the bourgeoisie to realize their own autonomous program for national independence and popular democracy.

1. Support for those who unmask the makers of war.

“Recently, certain political leaders in Western Europe respectively denounced this superpower which is carrying out an accelerated expansion of armaments and preparing for war; they underlined the origin of the real threat hanging over their continent. What they said is objective truth. ” (PI, 8-76, p. 11).

2. Support for the policy of national independence.

"In the current situation, where we are witnessing the intensification of the rivalry of the two superpowers and, day by day, the development of the danger of war, we are faced with common problems. We are all determined to defend the independence and autonomy of our respective countries; we oppose the expansion and aggression of the superpowers ”. (PI, 8-76, p. 3).

(To personalities from the Federal Republic of Germany).

3. Support for strengthening national defense.

"Should we strengthen our defense and be ready for any eventuality or get drunk on illusory security and trust in chance?" Accelerate the union for a common defense, or leave each one with more and more acuity to the countries of Western Europe confronted that they are with the military threat of the Soviet social-imperialism (...). We can see that the responses are mainly in favour of a strengthening of defense and of a European Union, thus reflecting a trend that is getting stronger every day, that of tightening and strengthening ”(PI, 1 -76, p. 23).

4.4 The UC leadership denies that the fight against hegemony is the main trend in Western Europe.

To hide its true intentions, the UC leadership declares in words that the countries of the second world "oppose them (the superpowers) to a certain degree" (p. 15, 3rd col.). But in reality, in the concrete analysis, the UC leadership denies all the data which demonstrate that the European bourgeoisie is standing up more and more against the superpowers and it emphasizes the "collusion" between the European bourgeoisie and American ”.

Here are the positions of the UC leadership:

"What dominates in Belgian imperialist politics is collusion with the two superpowers (with the American superpower, in particular". (P. 16, 5th col.)

"Belgium, in this respect, is characterized above all by its attachment to the Atlantic Alliance, to the" protection "of its" ally ", American imperialism" (UR n ° 61, p. 9).

(we must explain) the pro-American conception that our Prime Minister has of "true independence" and "security". (UR n ° 61, p. 9).

UC management denies the specific and concrete content of the concept of "second world". It denies that the main tendency of the countries of Western Europe is to oppose the policy of domination by the two superpowers and mainly by the Soviet Union. The leadership of the UC declares: what "dominates" is "the pro-American conception" of national independence. This analysis is taken verbatim from the revisionists. The revisionists deny the difference between the first world and the second world in order to put all the imperialists on the same footing; they want to present all the forces of the western European bourgeoisie, which defend independence and which oppose Russian expansionism, as "pro-American forces", which must be eliminated.

Here is the analysis of the leader of the false communist party, Terfve, which is basically the same as that of the UC leadership:

“Mr. Vanden Boeynants declares: The security of Europe and its independence presuppose in the long term a defense of Europe by itself, that is to say the establishment of a common defense, quite powerful and diversified to balance the Soviet force, determined enough to make the use of nuclear weapons credible ”.

Mr. Tindemans writes in his report:

"The European Union will remain incomplete as long as it does not have a common defense policy".

The objective is not to set up an autonomous force finding its proper place between the United States and the USSR. Mr. Tindemans' comments are unequivocal in this regard. Does it not cover with complacency, in its report, the community of fundamental conceptions, interests and responsibilities of Europe and the USA, as well as their interdependence in the political, economic and military fields? (Le Soir, February 17, 1976).

The Chinese Communist Party defines the countries of the second world in particular as countries crushed between the two superpowers, as countries threatened by military expansion, mainly by social-imperialism. This definition of the second world gives rise to a well-defined analysis of the military potential of the countries directly threatened by Russian aggression.

Can the Chinese Communist Party declare: "We support the strengthening of national defense in Western Europe", while the Communists in Belgium would say: "We cannot give any form of support to the strengthening of national defense? "

Can the Chinese Communist Party declare: "The strengthening of the defense is directed against social-imperialist aggression" while the Belgian Communists would declare: "The strengthening of the army is directed only against the workers and against Third World " ?

It is obviously impossible. But it is nevertheless the position of the UCMLB management. In this way the UC management continues to deprive the notion of the second world of all concrete content.

"Would the European bourgeoisie currently make other expenses (than those to enrich the big monopolies) preparing little by little an" effective national defense "against the two superpowers? No, of course ". (p. 15, 5th col.).

"Supporting ... the" defense potential of European states is actually supportive of reactionary militarism and constitutes a betrayal of the interests of the international proletariat and of the peoples "

"Would the European monopoly bourgeoisie no longer produce its weapons to fight its proletariat and the peoples of the Third World, anxious above all to safeguard its exploitation, especially in Africa and the Middle East? (p. 16, 1st col.)

5. THE SPECIFIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RUSSIAN SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM

To conquer world hegemony, Russia is preparing for war around the world. This is beyond the control of Russian leaders, but arises from the very nature of the political and economic system in Russia.

5.1 The economic base of Russian social-imperialism is the capital of the State

Khrushchev and Brezhnev carried out a coup in Russia and took power in the Party and in the state. They transformed the Communist Party into a fascist party and the socialist state into an exploitation-based state. The socialist economy was highly concentrated and directed from a single center under the leadership of the State and the Party. In all Russian enterprises, capitalism is completely restored. In Russia, monopoly capitalism is concentrated in one center, the capitalist state. Marx and Engels had already predicted that non-competition between capitalists would lead to all means of production being ultimately concentrated in the hands of the capitalist state:

“The modern state, whatever its form, is an essentially capitalist machine: the state of the capitalists, collective capitalism in idea. The more it forces productive forces into its property, and the more it becomes collective capitalist in fact, the more it exploits citizens. The workers remain wage proletarians. The capitalist relationship is not suppressed, it is, on the contrary, pushed to its peak ”. (Utopian Socialism and Scientific Socialism).

In capitalist countries, there are several monopolies that fight to the death. The state apparatus is at the service of these monopolies: orders, subsidies, reduction of contributions, legislation in favour of monopolies. In Russia, monopoly capitalism is concentrated and entirely confused with the state apparatus. State capitalism controls, from a centre, all industry, agricultural production, transport, finance, foreign trade, etc.

“The main economic base of imperialism is the monopoly (Lenin).

Imperialism subjugates foreigners and plunders their wealth, imperialism necessarily stems from the economic base of monopoly capitalism.

Russia has the highest degree of monopoly formation; this has the consequence that his will to imperialist domination is also at the highest degree.

5.2 The social-fascist dictatorship

“Imperialism is the era of financial capital and monopolies, which everywhere provoke tendencies to domination and not to freedom. Reaction across the board, whatever the political regime, extreme worsening of antagonisms in this area too: this is the result of these tendencies ”(Lenin, T. 22, p. 320).

A high degree of economic concentration corresponds to a high degree of political oppression. In Russia there is a fascist regime which cruelty exceeds the Hitler regime. The police and the secret services exercise strict surveillance over all citizens; strikes and demonstrations are ruthlessly suppressed. No publication denouncing the fascist oppression system is tolerated. The revolutionary and democratic forces have no right of assembly and organization. People who make political criticisms of the regime are thrown in prison or interned in psychiatric institutes, they are deprived of their rights, they are physically destroyed.

A regime that exerts a fascist terror inside, also wants to install a ruthless oppressive regime in its "spheres of influence".

5.3 The militarization of the economy

The Soviet Union did not appear until late among the imperialist powers (1956-1968). It demands a re-sharing of the world.

"It is inconceivable in a capitalist regime that the sharing of areas of influence, interests of the colonies, etc. is based on something other than the strength of those who share in the sharing, the economic, financial, military, etc. strength. Now the respective strengths of the participants in the sharing vary in an unequal way, because there cannot be in a capitalist

regime of uniform development of companies, trusts, industries, countries "(Lenin, Imperialism, Supreme Stage of Capitalism , T. 22, p. 318).

"As to whether these changes are purely economic or extra-economic (for example, military), this is a secondary question ..." (Lenin, t. 22, p. 273).

"Also" inter-imperialist "or" ultra-imperialist "alliances, in capitalist reality ... are inevitably, whatever the forms of these alliances, ... only" truces "between wars. Peaceful alliances prepare for wars, and in turn arise from war "(Lenin, vol. 22, p. 319).

Russian social-imperialism lags behind the economic and financial domain of American imperialism. In its aims for world hegemony, it has bet everything on the militarization of its economy. Its economic and financial power is more limited; that is why it concentrates everything on maximizing its military strength.

The new Russian tsars follow the policy of the old tsars. Lenin said:

"As we know, imperialism is weak, military-feudal imperialism on the other hand is stronger" (The Bankruptcy of the Second International).

5.4 The aims of world domination

The economic monopoly on the internal market also leads to the search for a monopoly position on the external market.

"If the capitalists share the world, it is not because of their particular villainy, but because the degree of concentration already achieved obliges them to embark on this path in order to make profits; and they share them "in proportion to capital", "according to the strength of each" because there can be no other mode of sharing under the regime of market production and capitalism. However, forces change with economic and political development; for the intelligence of events, it is necessary to know which problems are solved by the change of the relation of forces; as to whether these changes are "purely" economic or extra-economic (eg military), this is a secondary question,

The monopolistic system leads to slump and decay. The ruling class is enriched by speculation and corruption; it is not in a position to fully develop the productive forces. The monopolistic position in itself brings great profits; inventions and technical improvements do not take place or are used only late and inadequately. To obtain, despite everything, greater profits in this situation of slump and decline, Russian state capitalism is moving towards external domination.

In Russian factories, workers are ruthlessly exploited. They sabotage production ..., they have no enthusiasm at work.

The wages of the workers are maintained to allow the ruling class to lead a life of profiteers. The population cannot buy much and the internal market is not developing rapidly. For these reasons, too, Russian state capitalism is forced to move towards external domination, in order to quickly realize significant profits. From there, the policy of aggression and expansion abroad: Czechoslovakia, Bangladesh and Angola.

Hence the policy of control and domination, of the development of spheres of influence as in India and in certain Arab countries. Hence the policy of getting hold of cheap raw materials in the Third World. Hence, the dumping policy to overwhelm foreign markets with Russian products. Hence the policy of exporting capital, supposedly in the form of "aid" and "credits". From there, unequal trade, obtained by pressure and blackmail.

5.5 Russia is the most dangerous and aggressive superpower

American imperialism is stronger than Russian social-imperialism from an economic and financial point of view; likewise, America is technologically ahead.

The specific characteristics of Russian social-imperialism show us its "strong sides" in its struggle for world hegemony.

In the struggle for world hegemony, Russia can unite all of its economic, political and military forces towards the same goal; it can engage all its means because all the economic, political and military forces are directed from a single centre. The merchant fleet, for example, is built in such a way that it can immediately be converted for military operations. The economic, political and military forces of American imperialism depend on several decision centres and are more divided. Although the Russian economy as a whole is weaker than that of the United States, the sectors producing for war are more developed there. The fascist dictatorship in the Soviet Union ruthlessly oppresses all opposition to expansionist and hawkish politics; the "calm" inside increases the possibilities of aggression outside. The masses of the people of the United States have taken powerful action against the policy of aggression of the United States; they form an important force against new military adventures.

Russian social-imperialism is currently the most inclined to use military means to establish its world hegemony.

5.6 Uneven development of imperialist forces leads to world wars

Around 1900, the greatest colonial power was England; the world was divided between the imperialist powers and England held the most important part of it under its domination. Around 1870, Germany was a weak economic power; at the beginning of this century, however, it had built a solid capitalist economy and formed a powerful army. It demanded its "legitimate" share of the colonies. England, France and Belgium obviously did not want to give up "their" colonies. The struggle for the "re-distribution" of the world was waged during the First World War.

After 1918 Germany was economically devastated and politically submissive. England, France and the United States controlled most of the world. The capitalist economy was experiencing rapid development in Germany and Japan: when the latter became economically and politically as strong as their competitors, they again demanded a division of the world which corresponded to the power of the various imperialist countries. To demand their "legitimate" part, Japan, Germany and Italy began a war of aggression which led to the Second World War.

After 1945, Germany and Japan were destroyed, England and France greatly weakened; the United States established their hegemony over most of the world. The United States wanted to control and dominate the Third World and Europe to start a new world war to destroy socialism. The world war was made impossible when the peoples rose up against American imperialism: fought on all sides, American imperialism did not have sufficient forces to wage a world war.

“The world situation is fundamentally different from that before the anti-fascist war. The revolutionary forces of the peoples of the world are more powerful than ever ... The vast regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America are no longer the arrears of imperialism, they have turned into advanced fronts in the fight against -imperialist. In Western Europe, North America, and Oceania there is a new awareness of the working class and large masses of workers ... In the current world economic situation, the strategic situation of the United States is much worse than that of Hitler. Starting a new world war is much more difficult for them. In addition, the forces that defend world peace are far superior to those of twenty years ago.

The Chinese Communist Party wrote this in 1965 (*The Historical Experience of the Anti-Fascist War*). After the re-establishment of capitalism in Russia, social-imperialism appeared. At the end of the 1960s, Russian social-imperialism was, from the military point of view, almost as strong as the United States. The theory of "detente" and "cooperation" between the USSR and the USA responded to this equality of forces.

“Financial capital and trusts do not weaken, but reinforce the differences between the rate of development of the various elements of the world economy. Now, the balance of forces having changed, where can the solution of contradictions reside, if not in force, in a capitalist regime? (Lenin, T. 22, p. 295).

"Also, the" inter-imperialist "or" ultra-imperialist "alliances in capitalist reality, ... are inevitably ... only" truces "between wars". (Lenin, t. 22, p. 319).

Since its historic defeat in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, American imperialism has been declining more and more. Russian social-imperialism is disproportionately increasing its armaments and is already overtaking the United States in military power. We find ourselves in exactly the same situation as that of the eve of the first and second world war. Russia and America are making great strides toward a new world war.

5.7 The false Communist Parties have the role of a fifth column preparing the aggression of Russian social-imperialism

Fake PCs in Western Europe are part of the war forces preparing for a new world war.

During the '20s and '30s and during the two world wars, the CPs were at the head of all revolutionary actions of the workers and workers; they won the trust of large masses. After the Second World War, the strong opportunist tendencies of the leaders of the CPs turned into open betrayal of the revolution. Since then, the false CPs have been at the head of workers' struggles to divert them towards a struggle for "reform" of capitalism. By collaborating with the bourgeoisie, the PCs built a workers' bureaucracy: parliamentarians, local management,

journalists, managers of cooperatives, commercial affairs and banks, union officials. The social strata on which they are based are the working class aristocracy and the petty bourgeoisie. In France, they have succeeded in putting more than 20% of the population under their control and in Italy more than 30%. This means that a large part of the working class is currently following pro-Soviet forces; this gives enormous weight to the pro-Soviet forces.

The broad masses of Europe have an aversion to American imperialism which has shown in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia that it does not shrink from any crime. In the economic, financial and commercial fields, the European bourgeoisie has ever more acute contradictions with the United States and it shows a certain anti-American attitude.

The false PCs take advantage of this situation to propagate a pro-Soviet policy among the masses. The policy of "independence vis-à-vis Moscow" followed by certain false Western PCs is in fact only demagoguery and lies. True communists can take advantage of these demagogic attitudes of "independence" towards Moscow, to show with concrete facts to the basic militants of the false PC the social-fascist and social-imperialist character of Russia. If certain leaders of the false Western PCs took too much on the path of "independence" from Moscow ", Moscow has enough agents in these parties and can exert enough pressure from outside to liquidate these leaders.

The line proposed by all Western CPs in the political, economic and military fields is a line developed under the control of Moscow and which serves the interests of social-imperialism.

In the political field, the false PCs agree with the fundamental aspects of the regime of social-fascist terror in Russia, "The PCB is fundamentally in solidarity with the Soviet Union". From a military point of view, the false CPs preach for the withdrawal of American forces from Europe, against the construction of a European defense, against the strengthening of national defense in the countries of Western Europe helpless and without defense, while Russian social-imperialism is constantly increasing its potential for aggression.

From the economic point of view, the fake PCs want to "resolve" the crisis "by developing trade and cooperation with the Soviet Union". Russia wants to place Western Europe under economic control. Russia wants to deliver raw materials to put Western Europe under its dependence. Russia wants to import capital, machinery and technology from Western Europe to further develop its own war industry. Russia wants to conquer Western European markets to make big profits.

If the false PCs come to power, they will carry out, in the political, economic and military fields, measures which will inevitably put Western Europe under Russian control. When the people resist Russian control and when the European capitalists oppose it as well as the American superpower, the leaderships of the false PCs will call on the Russian army to defend "social conquests" against "reactionary forces at the national level and international ". The Russian army will invade Western Europe under the same pretexts under which it invades Czechoslovakia: "fraternal socialist aid" and "proletarian internationalism" ...

After the Second World War, the false PCs turned into reformist parties: they opposed the socialist revolution and wanted to "transform and improve" capitalism from within. They sought to make coalitions with other reformist forces to manage capitalism together and make it evolve towards state capitalism. The false PCs defended the interests of the bourgeoisie of Western Europe. The role of the false Western PCs has fundamentally changed since the transformation of the Soviet Union into a social-imperialist power. This change has been accelerated in recent years as the expansionary push of the Soviet Union has grown. Five years ago, the false PC attached great importance to the "progressive front", for example to the UDP, in Mons: the emphasis was on a reformist strategy. On Moscow's orders, the bogus PC has for some time been emphasizing the "party itself". Moscow wants to have an instrument in which it can have complete confidence and this can only be achieved by strengthening the false PC; in Belgium the time has not yet come to put the accent on the "front" since, in the eyes of Moscow, the fault PC itself still has many "weaknesses".

The false PC continues to spread a reformist policy: more than ever it wants to divert the working class from the socialist revolution. However, the false PC no longer defends the interests of the European bourgeoisie in general: the false PC defends in the first place the interests of the European bourgeoisie. Now that a war of Russian aggression is increasingly threatening, we must stigmatize the fake PCs first as a fifth column and as an agent of social-imperialism. The Trotskyists and the leadership of the UC fight against this point of view. They declare that the false PC leads first of all a reformist and chauvinist policy and is an agent of the Belgian (and European) bourgeoisie. UC management writes:

"By defining the CPs as " many European countries "as" shock troops and the fifth column of Russian social-imperialism ", AMADA completely denies their current role as agents of the European bourgeoisie. He underestimates the strength of reformism and chauvinism...
”(Unite Rouge, 68, p. 17, col. 2).

The Chinese Communist Party clearly stated that it is wrong to consider the false CPs, first of all, as reformist forces: they have the role of the fifth column of Russian social-imperialism. About France, the Chinese Communist Party says that the Soviet Union uses

"The pro-Soviet elements existing in France to make ideological infiltration and political subversion" (Pékin Information 1-76, p. 23).

"His (Moscow's) redoubled efforts to encourage the pro-Soviet forces in Italy and Portugal likewise aim to allow its establishment, to weaken and then drive out the forces of the United States and NATO" (Beijing Information, 32-75, p. 8).

The Trotskyists and the leadership of the UC want to hide this essential point: the false PCs are a force of war, they do the work of direct preparation for a social-imperialist aggression.

Then the UC leadership leads an "ultra-left" attack on AMADA in order to further increase the confusion. UC management writes:

“Part of the leadership of the revisionist PCB, says AMADA, is sold to Russian social-imperialism. This is true. But we do not see a reason to preach reconciliation with the rest of

this party, had the majority reformist wing, as AMADA advocates. (Red Unit, 68, p. 17, col. 2).

This is a Trotskyist tactic which refuses to analyze phenomena, which refuses to apply the principle "one divides in two", which refuses to take a different attitude in front of different phenomena.

It is a fact that the management of the false PC manages to deceive part of the working class. We have the task of removing this part of the working class from pro-Soviet leadership. We have to start from the fact that social imperialism will always show more clearly its nature of expansionist power and this will lead to what many workers who still follow the false PC will see more clearly. It is wrong to equate the reformist and pro-social imperialist forces that exist in the CP. We must wage a resolute struggle with the basic reformist militants to convince them of the social-fascist and social-imperialist character of the Soviet Union. Our first task is to detach them from the leadership of the CP which is preparing the Russian aggression. Secondly, we must fight their reformism so that they rally to the true communist principles. Finally we stress that the whole leadership of the Communist Party, despite the contradictions on secondary points, defends a pro-social-imperialist policy; it is not "part of the leadership" as the leadership of the UC misrepresented.

We resume our position, fought by the leadership of the UC:

“In many European countries, the Soviet Union has a strong“ communist ”party which acts as a shock troop and as the fifth column of Russian social-imperialism. All the speeches of the false Western European PCs on their "independence from Moscow" are only the worst deception: it shows how much they have to hide the truth and lie in order to be able to carry out their project " ... “The number of true social-fascists in the false PC, sold to Russian social-imperialism, is very small. We must regard all the basic activists and all the lower cadres of the false CP as class brothers who are deceived. We must acquire the will to seek hard and difficult discussions ”. (Declaration of the National Office of AMADA, November 1975).

PART TWO: PEACE FORCES ARE RELATIVELY WEAK IN WESTERN EUROPE

The working class is the fundamental force in the fight against wars of imperialist aggression. The danger of war comes from the United States and mainly from the Soviet Union. What is the attitude of the working class towards the makers of war?

To have a clear view of the relative weakness of the peacekeepers, we must compare the current situation with that of the 1930s.

The mass of communist, socialist and Catholic workers saw in Hitler the personification of a regime of terror and war. They had seen how Hitler had gathered his terrorist gangs in Germany, how he had taken power, how he had banned communist, socialist and Catholic

workers' organizations, how he had massacred and imprisoned a large number of their members.

In Russia, the Bolshevik party was gradually transformed into a Fascist party after the coup by Khrushchev. The gradual transformation of the socialist regime into a fascist terror, the secrecy which surrounded the crimes which accompanied it, means that the workers of Western Europe do not have a clear view of the character fascist of the Soviet Union.

In the 1930s, the communist parties of many European countries were mass parties which had behind them a large part, or the majority of the workers. They were a great force in unmasking Hitlerian fascism.

The new authentic communist parties and organizations in Western Europe are very young. They are between five and thirteen years old. Their links with the masses are still weak. Only half to one percent of the population is behind them.

Besides the communist parties, there were, in the 1930s, the socialist parties. Grassroots activists favored the anti-fascist unity of all workers; the leadership of the socialist parties had to take a stand against fascism, under pressure from below, but it tried to prevent mass mobilization against fascism. However, at the local level and even at the national level, unique fronts appeared in the factories, which brought together all the workers to fight rising fascism.

Today, alongside the authentic communist parties in Western Europe, there are the false communist parties. They make open propaganda for the social-fascist regime of Brezhnev which has taken the place of Hitlerian fascism.

In addition, there are the socialist parties and the trade union apparatus. There too, a large part of the forces proposed a pro-Russian line. All forces are opposed to the workers' united front against the threat of a world war emanating from the Soviet Union and the United States.

In the 1930s, the working class could not prevent the war of fascist aggression. The working class was not sufficiently united against the threat of a fascist attack. The working class was not capable of deploying sufficiently powerful independent and revolutionary mass actions. The working class had failed to compel the government to pursue a clear anti-fascist policy and to form an international front against fascist aggression. Similarly, the arming of workers against the threatening fascist aggression was not carried out.

Today in Europe the peace forces are weaker than in the 1930s. They are not able to prevent a third world war.

We must not only analyse the phenomena in their current situation but also in their future development. Can this development have the consequence that in the next five, ten or fifteen years the peace forces will prevail over the war forces?

The economic crisis in Western Europe increases the discontent of the broad masses against the existing regime. The workers will turn away from the liberal and catholic parties, and even, to a certain extent, from the socialist parties, because they are the expression of the

regimes in place. When the masses begin to turn away from capitalism, they first turn to the parties which promise them "socialism" without revolutionary struggle, without bloodshed and without sacrifices, by the "peaceful parliamentary way". The false PCs will exploit all the reformist illusions of the masses without any scruples to try to get their "socialism" through. The influence of the false PCs will grow among the masses who are beginning to turn away from capitalism. In the revolutionary struggle and in the actions of the masses, the forces of the Marxist-Leninists will also increase, and will be deceived. But this increase in forces will not be capable of breaking the empire of the pro-Russian war forces over the working class.

RIVALRY FOR WORLD HEGEMONY BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES WILL inevitably lead to a third world war

It follows from the very nature of the social and economic system of the Soviet Union that social imperialism will necessarily start war to establish its hegemony.

American imperialism continues to retreat and is no longer capable of a strategic counter-offensive.

The focal point of the rivalry and the main battlefield of the next world war is Europe.

The Soviet Union concentrates an overwhelming military power in Eastern Europe, ready for aggressive actions towards Western Europe.

In the North, the Soviet Union built large military bases; the Russian fleet dominates the seas of northern Europe; in the South, in the Mediterranean Sea, the Russian fleet is superior to the American fleet. The Russian fleet from the north and the south is coordinating its actions to encircle Europe in a vice movement, to cut the American fleet from Europe and to cut off the supply of Arab oil to Europe.

The Soviet Union is strengthening its economic infiltration and control in Western Europe under the guise of "economic cooperation". The Soviet Union organizes and directs the activity of the pro-Russian forces, the false CPs, which operate as the fifth column in Western Europe.

The third world war will begin in the form of a war of social-imperialist aggression against Western Europe.

The Helsinki Conference:

"Constitutes the starting point of a social-imperialist war". (PI 5-76, p. 9).

ACCORDING TO THE TROTSKYIST POSITION OF UC MANAGEMENT "THE FACTORS OF THE REVOLUTION DOMINATE"

The Marxist-Leninist analysis of the world situation and the situation in Europe which we have just exposed, is opposed by the Trotskyists and by the leadership of UC.

"Analysis of the current international situation:

Excellent or bitter truth? "(P.15, 1st col.).

"... The main situation is the revolution ... the national office of Amada contradicts this scientific analysis by completely ignoring the factors of the revolution which dominate, and by exposing only ... the factors of war" (p. 15, 2nd col.).

"The situation is" characterized "after all by a balance of power favorable to the working class and the people (idem).

"To deny the balance of power favorable to the peoples and the ever more present perspective of socialism is petty bourgeois defeatism" (idem).

"Amada makes ... repeated allusions to the situation of the 1930s, in defiance of historical truth and revolutionary optimism" (idem).

Amada made a concrete analysis of the current situation of all war and peace forces in the world. We have come to the conclusion that the world war forces, starting from Europe, are inevitable. The UC leadership is driven only by its intention to fight Amada. Without any concrete and global analysis, it sows sentences on the "factors of revolution which dominate".

The attacks by the UC leadership against Amada, which correspond verbatim to the attacks by the Trotskyist Vercammen at a meeting in Leuven on February 19. He said:

"There is a danger of world war, but it is not real now. I agree with Mao who says: "The main trend is revolution". Amada preaches defeatism and capitulation. The situation in Europe is favourable to the proletarian revolution ”.

The analysis of the Trotskyist provocateurs is the same as that of the UC leadership. UC leadership says Amada denies historical truth and revolutionary optimism by comparing the current situation to that of the 1930s. Gentlemen, you have the wrong address. You'd better send your famous "scientific analysis" to the Chinese Communist Party. The Chinese Communist Party clearly explains that Russian social-imperialism is currently preparing to suddenly launch a lightning war against Western Europe.

The Helsinki Conference has the same meaning as the Munich Agreements. Just like Hitler, Breznjev is preparing for a surprise war against Western Europe, and exactly like Hitler, he will start it.

Here is the analysis of the Chinese Party:

"The experience of history teaches us that the imperialists are customary of this fact:" relaxation "," disarmament "," peace "- so many smoke screens behind which they hide the increase in their armaments and their preparations of war.

Hitler assured the world some time ago that "Germany wants to give up all offensive weapons ... because it only seeks security, not attack other countries"; and a few days before the lightning attack it launched on Poland, a military friendship delegation was visiting the attacked country.

A few hours even before its invasion, a project on peace negotiations was under preparation. Furthermore, Fascist Germany used the Munich agreements - of sad renown - which it had concluded with the English and French governments, to annex the Sudetes

region, Czechoslovak territory; however, that with the British government it published a "proclamation" declaring a commitment to "resolve disputes by means of consultation", this in order to "ensure peace in Europe". English Prime Minister Arthur Neville Chamberlain, very happy with himself, brandished this "proclamation" believing that he had won "peace for a whole generation" for Europe.

However, we soon saw the occupation of Czechoslovakia and Poland by Hitler's armies, then the declaration of war with Great Britain and France. This is how the Second World War started.

On the eve of the invasion of Czechoslovakia, the Soviet revisionists also engaged, with the leaders of this country, "talks" leading to an agreement for the withdrawal of the Soviet troops having participated in the "maneuvers"; while a press release was issued calling for the strengthening of "friendship". And precisely in this atmosphere of "friendship", Moscow launched a Hitler style lightning attack and occupied Czechoslovakia. This experience of history is of great use in perceiving, through pretense, the profound nature of the current international class struggle "(PI, 44-75, p. 23).

WHO IS THE MAIN ENEMY AGAINST WHICH WORKERS AND WORKERS IN BELGIUM MUST CONCENTRATE THEIR HIT?

What is the next revolutionary task for the working class in Belgium? Who is the main enemy that the working class of Belgium will have to defeat in order to be able to progress on the path of liberation?

We can only answer this question correctly if we take into account these two principles of dialectical materialism: first, we must study the whole situation to be able to correctly analyze a part of it. We have to start from the general situation all over the world to determine what will be the next revolutionary task in Belgium.

Second, you have to study the phenomena in their movement, you have to study their past and their present situation to understand how they will evolve in the future.

Starting from the situation around the world, we assume that the rivalry between Russia and America will inevitably lead to a third world war. The working class of Belgium will face a war whose power of destruction will be greater than that of the two previous world wars. The working class of Belgium will be confronted with fascist aggression which will lead to a regime of foreign occupation and fascist terror. The next major revolutionary armed battles that the working class must wage will be fights for peace, national independence and democracy. These are fights against the occupation of a superpower as well as the state apparatus which this superpower uses. We must see the world situation in its evolution.

American imperialism is retreating, social Russian imperialism will start a war of aggression. We must therefore prepare for a war of social-imperialist aggression and a war of national resistance against Russian social-imperialism. However, we must take into account all the possibilities; the possibility still exists that at the start of the world war, our country is

occupied by American imperialism and that the blows must first be directed against this foreign occupier. However, as American imperialism weakens, this possibility diminishes.

To determine the main enemy, the UC leadership does not start from the analysis of the whole world. It starts from a national myopia.

“Belgium... is a sovereign state where the imperialist bourgeoisie exercises power with relative independence; It is this bourgeoisie that is mainly opposed by the class struggle of the proletariat: thus the main contradiction of society is defined. Defeating "its" bourgeoisie is the greatest contribution that the working class of our country can currently make to the world revolution, by weakening international imperialism and strengthening the fight against the two superpowers ". (UR 61, p. 8).

This "analysis" is hypnotized in Belgium. She refuses to start from the whole world situation and does not see things in their movement. It is a form of myopia, of economism: the workers spontaneously fight against "their" boss; the class struggle of the proletariat rises mainly against "our" bourgeoisie; the spontaneous movement of the workers' struggle mainly comes up against "our bourgeoisie": it is therefore it which is the main enemy.

Also in 1935, Belgium was a "sovereign state where the imperialist bourgeoisie exercises power with relative independence". But who is the main enemy of the Belgian people in 1935? "It is absolutely necessary that the joint actions of the proletariat and the wider masses of the people be directed against concrete war-mongers and against the forces which help them directly or indirectly inside", this is what Dimitrov wrote in 1936. The main enemy of the Belgian working class in 1935 was German fascism which threatened world peace, the national independence of Belgium and democratic freedoms. The blows were to be directed against the Hitler regime and its agents in Belgium, the fascists.

Social-imperialism is preparing for a war by surprise. As long as Russia has not started the war, Belgium will enjoy "relative independence". Under this pretext the leadership of the UC directs the working class towards a secondary enemy, the Belgian bourgeoisie, until the day when the Russian tanks begin their rush.

IS THE SITUATION IN EUROPE RIPE FOR THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION?

We have lived since the beginning of this century at the time of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. The productive forces in Western Europe are ripe for the socialist revolution.

Is the concrete political situation in Europe ripe for the proletarian revolution and can it be in the next five or ten years?

The danger of a world war is seriously increasing. If, however, a country or a group of countries in Europe were politically ripe for the socialist revolution, the working class must establish the dictatorship of the proletariat there; the socialist regime would then make it possible to fully mobilize all the forces of the working masses for the defense of national independence and world peace.

No country in Western Europe is politically ripe for the socialist revolution, however, and this will not be the case in the immediate future either.

We must improve our knowledge of historical materialism to understand under what conditions the socialist revolution can be achieved. The UC leadership does not build its line on the laws of historical materialism but on the empty fantasies of petty-bourgeois intellectuals.

Here are their positions:

"In the revolutionary storms that are brewing in southern Europe, AMADA sees only the opportunity for the CPs of these countries to fish in murky waters and it ignores the victorious prospects of the struggle" (p. 15, 2nd col.).

"Denying ... the ever-increasing perspective of socialism is petty-bourgeois defeatism" (p. 15, 2 col.)

"Portugal is in a revolutionary situation ... so far neither side (the proletariat and the bourgeoisie) has dealt the decisive blow to the other ..." (UR. 68, p. 18).

"The working class (must) ... march resolutely to the assault of power" (UR 68, p 18).

Such positions are quite simply infantile and necessarily lead to Trotskyist, adventurist actions. The revolution is only on the agenda when the communist party has become a real mass party and when the majority of the working classes are ready to follow the party in the assault of power.

The masses must have experienced a whole series of events and battles which shake the whole of society from top to bottom, before such a situation is possible. All the parties which succeed in deceiving the working class, like the false CPs, must have shown their counter-revolutionary nature in practice, so that the masses turn away from them. The ruling classes and their parties must tear each other to the point that they hardly manage to lead. The exploitation and oppression of the masses must have reached such a point that the masses are no longer ready to live like this and are ready for the most daring actions.

"The fundamental law of the revolution, confirmed by all the revolutions and in particular by the three Russian revolutions of the 20th century, here it is: for the revolution to take place, it is not enough that the exploited and oppressed masses become aware of the impossibility to live like before. It is only when "those below" no longer want and that "those above" can no longer continue to live in the old way, it is only then that the revolution can triumph.

This truth is expressed differently in these terms: revolution is impossible without a national crisis (affecting exploited and exploiters). So therefore, for a revolution to take place, it is necessary: first to obtain that the majority of workers (or, in any case, the majority of conscious, thoughtful, politically active workers) have fully understood the necessity of the revolution and either ready to die for it; then the ruling classes must go through a governmental crisis which leads in political life to the most backward masses (the index of any real revolution is a rapid rise to tenfold, or even a hundredfold, of the number of men capable of the political struggle, among

the working and oppressed mass, hitherto apathetic) which weakens the government and makes possible for the revolutionaries its rapid overthrow (Lenin, t. 31, p. 80-81).

"When it comes to the practical action of the masses, the distribution - if I may say so - of armies strong with millions of men, the distribution of all class forces of a given society with a view to a final and decisive combat, nothing will be done with the methods of propaganda alone, with the sole repetition of the truths of "pure" communism.

One should not count here by a thousand, as does in short the propagandist, member of a small group and who has not yet led the masses; you have to count here millions and tens of millions. It is not enough to ask whether we have convinced the vanguard of the revolutionary class; it is still necessary to know whether the historically active forces of all classes, absolutely of all classes without exception, of a given society, are arranged in such a way that the decisive battle is perfectly timely - so

1 °) that all the class forces which are hostile to us are sufficiently in difficulty, are sufficiently torn apart, are sufficiently weakened by a struggle beyond their means;

2) that all the intermediate, hesitant, faltering, inconstant elements - the petty bourgeoisie, petty-bourgeois democracy as opposed to the bourgeoisie - have sufficiently exposed themselves in the eyes of the people, sufficiently dishonored by their practical bankruptcy;

3) that within the proletariat, a powerful movement of opinion is emerging in favor of the most decisive, the most resolutely bold and revolutionary action against the bourgeoisie.

It was then that the revolution was ripe; it is then that, if we have taken into account all the conditions indicated, briefly sketched above, and if we have chosen the right moment, our victory is assured”(Lenin, t. 31, p. 90-91) .

In no country in Western Europe will the conditions for the socialist revolution be ripe in the next few years. All over Europe, the war forces will be ripe in the next few years, and war will inevitably break out.

In this war, the conditions for the proletarian revolution will mature.

LEADING THE FIGHT IN AN IMMEDIATE WAY ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DICTATURE OF THE PROLETARIAT IS MAKING THE GAME OF SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM

A world war is approaching. Russian social-imperialism is preparing a war of aggression. The fake PC is preparing the ground for Russian domination in Belgium.

What, in this concrete situation, is the meaning of the following slogan from the UC leadership:

“The immediate strategic task is to prepare for the socialist revolution. This strategy consists concretely in isolating and destroying the main enemy in our country, the monopoly bourgeoisie”. (p. 17, 4th col.)

This means that it is not social-imperialism the main enemy of the European peoples that we are going to "isolate and destroy". "Isolate", the Belgian bourgeoisie means isolating a secondary enemy, and therefore diverting attention from the main enemy. This means that we concentrate our blows against certain forces which are our allies, and that we refuse to concentrate our forces on the main enemy. In the event of social-imperialist aggression, determined sections of the bourgeoisie will be allies. We direct the workers' attention to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and thus divert attention from the essential point: the preparation of a third world war by social-imperialism and its agents.

The Chinese Communist Party clearly poses the following strategic task for the communists of Western Europe: "to mobilize all peoples to be ready ideologically and materially for a war of aggression".

The Chinese Communist Party writes:

"By going on the offensive, the aggressor prepares for his own defeat - it is a historic law. William II, the head of the First World War, Hitler attacking many European countries, Japanese militarism invading China and causing the war in the Pacific, all were crushed. After World War II, American imperialism invaded Korea, attacking the Indochinese peoples, also did not escape defeat. And today Russian social-imperialism which is expanding everywhere, which practices a hegemonic policy, which seeks to assault and invade others, will suffer the same fate. Final victory belongs to those who defend themselves, to those who stand up against aggression. This is certain.

A violent storm is threatening the horizon, and it cannot be prevented, because it is beyond the control of anyone.

History teaches us that we must prepare for any eventuality because it can cost us not to be ready. We must see what is aggressive in the nature of the superpowers, we must get rid of these illusions of peace, we must denounce these hotbeds of war and their dangers, mobilize all people to be ready ideologically and materially to a war of aggression; only then will we be able to face any situation, however difficult it may be, so that we will be invincible and we will be able to fight until the final victory". (PI, 1-76, p. 22).

The Chinese Communist Party makes it clear that the slogan of "socialist revolution" plays the game of social imperialism: it directs the workers exclusively against their own bourgeoisie and diverts attention from the plans of domination and war of the social imperialism.

"Using military pressure, he (social-imperialism) takes advantage, under the guise of" detente ", of the political and economic weaknesses of certain Western European countries, and of the social unrest which develops there, to support the pro-Soviet forces, then disunite and weaken the region, oust the United States, in order to crush these countries one by one. A manifestation of this plan: after the conference on European security, the masters of the Kremlin and their propaganda machine loudly develop that the moment of "social revolution" in Western Europe is becoming more and more precise "(PI, 2-76 , p. 18).

EVEN IF A WORLD WAR BREAKS DOWN THE MANAGEMENT OF THE UC WANTS TO CONTINUE TO FOLLOW ITS TROTSKYSTE LINE

The leadership of the UC takes a clear position: if under the current balance of power in the world, a new world war breaks out, the working class of Belgium must overthrow its own bourgeoisie during this world war and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This Trotskyist position is formulated by the leadership of the UC:

"In the case of an inter-imperialist war ... the task of the revolutionary proletariat is to transform the war into a civil war, to destroy its own bourgeoisie and to take power" (p. 16, 2nd col.).

This Trotskyist position is formulated thus by the direction of the UC:

"In the case of an inter-imperialist war ... the task of the revolutionary proletariat is to transform the war into a civil war, to destroy its own bourgeoisie and to take power". (p. 16, 2nd col.).

Amada writes ...

... "If in such a war (a world war provoked by the United States and the Soviet Union) the Belgian government ranks alongside the United States ... (the working class) must overthrow its own warmongering bourgeoisie and to drive out the American invaders under the slogan: for world peace, for national independence, against foreign occupation ”.

It would be a question of "overthrowing your own bourgeoisie" and for what purpose? To establish the power of the working class? Not at all: to drive out the "foreign" occupier. Such a position clearly informs us of how far Amada pushes his renunciation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

And it should be noted that the situation imagined by Amada exactly reproduces the current international and national class relationship, transposed into a world war ”. (p. 16, 3rd col.)

In this text the leadership of the UC fights a position of the Amada Defense of November 1975. In this Declaration we answer the following question: what should be the attitude of the working class if, at the time of the outbreak of a world war of the troops of American aggression occupy our country and if the government supports this occupation? Our answer was correct and the rest: the working class must not directly call for the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat; the working class must deploy a program of peace and national independence, it must drive out the American occupiers and overthrow the pro-American part of the bourgeoisie, the warmongering bourgeoisie. It carries out these tasks in alliance with all the forces - also those of the bourgeoisie - which want peace,

The Trotskyist theory of the UCMLB is based on a false analysis of the whole world situation. UC leadership posits that the current situation is fundamentally the same as before the First World War. Before the Second World War, there were two imperialist blocs which prepared for aggression and war in equal measure; small countries like Belgium, necessarily had to take sides for one of these two blocks and thus took part in an unjust war. The war was

unfair on both sides, on the part of all the imperialist bourgeoisies who participated in it, and that is why the workers of all countries had the task of overthrowing their own bourgeoisie.

The leadership of the UC presents things as if the same situation prevailed today: two imperialist blocs, led by Russia and America, which are preparing for world war in equal measure; the Belgian bourgeoisie must necessarily side with the American bloc, in an unjust war.

Second world countries do not have to be part of a warmongering bloc; on the contrary, their own interest pushes them to unite among themselves and to unite with the third world against the two superpowers and against their policy of war.

Only the two superpowers, and mainly the Soviet Union, are the hotbeds of a third world war, most of the European bourgeoisie has no interest in a world war and wants to maintain peace in the world.

Next, we must emphasize the following point: the two superpowers are not equally preparing for a world war; it is the Soviet Union which is preparing for an offensive encompassing the whole world.

The possibility of an American occupation of part of Europe, mainly in the initial phase of the world war, is not entirely excluded. But the weakening and the systematic retreat of American imperialism, the progression of Russian social-imperialism and its fifth column in Western Europe, make this possibility very tenuous. The peoples of Europe must prepare for a war of aggression, a war of surprise on the part of the Soviet Union against Western Europe.

THIRD PART

INTRODUCTION

A policy of unity and struggle with the bourgeoisie, a policy of unity achieved through struggle on the national front

The national independence of Belgium is threatened by a war of social-imperialist aggression.

In this situation, the working class deploys its program of peace, national independence and popular democracy.

In order to defend national independence, the Marxist-Leninists pursue a policy of the principle of unity and of struggle, of unity through struggle against the independent European bourgeoisie. Support for certain parts of the bourgeoisie is support on the basis of a correct program of national independence for the working class. It is a support for all aspects of bourgeois politics which go in the direction of the working class program. Those who refuse this support place themselves on the positions of Trotskyism, which wants to prevent a broad united front from forming against social-fascist aggression.

This support goes hand in hand with a critique of all aspects of bourgeois politics which oppose the proletarian program of national independence and democracy.

The class struggle does not disappear on the national united front. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie no longer has the immediate aim of overthrowing the bourgeoisie; but the class struggle is waged over the manner of leading the national struggle and the goal that this national struggle arises.

On the national front, there is constantly an acute struggle around the problems of standard of living of the masses, around the problems of democratic rights of the masses, around the policy of national defense, around the policy of national independence.

Faced with these problems, there are two opposite political lines on the national front. The political line of the independent monopoly bourgeoisie prevents the mobilization of the popular masses and leads to capitulation and defeat. The political line of the working class allows the masses to mobilize fully for a long-lasting war of resistance and leads to the military victory of the war of national resistance.

Each point of the working class program is determined and carried out by an acute political and ideological struggle (and in exceptional cases even by a military struggle) against the patriotic bourgeoisie.

The working class will therefore support all the positions of the independent monopoly bourgeoisie that go in this direction: unmasking the war-makers, defending peace and independence, autonomously strengthening national defense, protecting democratic freedoms.

This support always goes hand in hand with political criticism, so that the whole program of the proletarian party is known among the popular masses. The working class can never support the overall military policy of the independent bourgeoisie, because this policy inevitably leads to capitulation and defeat. The working class will not approve the military budget of the bourgeoisie, because its military policy is unable to effectively safeguard national independence.

First: military policy is not directed by a consistent political line for national independence; the independent European bourgeoisie continues to show tendencies towards capitulation to the political, economic and military superpowers. There is no guarantee that the independent monopoly bourgeoisie will not follow a policy of national capitulation when one of the two superpowers establishes its domination over Belgium.

Second: the working class has no guarantee that the monopoly bourgeoisie will not use the army tomorrow against the workers and workers in struggle.

Third: the working class has no guarantee that the bourgeoisie will not use the military, under the direction and control of the American superpower, against the Arab peoples or against other independent countries.

Fourth: the increased military spending is not paid by additional taxes levied on the wealthy: it is the workers and workers who see their incomes decrease. When the workers and workers are subjected to an exploitation at the limit of what is humanly bearable, they will never be

able to mobilize thoroughly to defend national independence. The standard of living and working conditions must be improved so that the masses can enthusiastically deploy their forces for national defense.

Fifth: a large part of military spending is not spent on effective defense of the country. Much is spent not on the most effective defense, but on providing the monopolies with the most profitable orders. The high taxes which weigh on the people serve in this case only to enrich the monopolies, and "national defense" serves only as a pretext for a policy of plundering of the people.

Sixth: in the companies that produce war materials, the democratic rights of workers are systematically destroyed, and this undermines the capacity to resist aggression. The working class must enjoy all democratic rights so that it can fully devote its forces to the defense of national independence.

1. THE FIGHT FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

The peoples of Western Europe are currently living in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. Since the end of the World War, the countries of Western Europe have been subject to domination, control, interference and the threat of superpowers, first of all from American imperialism, then from the United States and the USSR. In addition to the struggle for democratic rights, the improvement of living conditions, the support of the Third World liberation movement and the maintenance of world peace, the struggle for the defense of national independence is an element essential in the struggle for the socialist revolution. Since 1945, the peoples of Western Europe have been fighting for their national independence, and in this fight they are preparing the forces for the socialist revolution.

When a country loses its national independence, it is first necessary to defeat the foreign occupier so that the working class has the free way to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Currently, the national independence of the countries of Western Europe is threatened by a war of aggression, provoked by Soviet social-imperialism. The proletariat must advance its autonomous program of national independence and propagate it among the masses.

1.1 Defend national independence politically

a) The working class fights any form of political interference, control, domination and subversion of the USSR and the United States which undermines the national independence of Belgium.

The working class unmasks the demagoguery on peace and the deceptive slogans on "detente" which serve to hide the preparations for a war of aggression by social-imperialism.

The working class unmasks Russian social-imperialism as the most dangerous enemy of the peoples of Europe and the peoples of the world and as the most dangerous hotbed of war in the world. The working class rejects the Declaration of Helsinki and all the bilateral political

declarations which contribute to deceive the people on the true expansionist and aggressive goals of the USSR.

b) The working class fights in the first place the policy of the leadership of the false PC which acts as the fifth column to open the way to Russian domination over Western Europe; the leadership of the false CP applies a pro-Russian political line which promotes the political infiltration and control of social-imperialism and opens the way for military intervention by the Soviet Union.

Besides that, the working class is fighting the fascist organizations which are the shock troops of American imperialism in Western Europe.

c) The working class fights any form of political capitulation to the policy of the strongest led by the USSR and the United States. It fights any form of spirit of conciliation with the policy of world hegemony of Moscow and Washington.

1.2 Defend national independence militarily

The working class struggles against any form of military blackmail, interference, control and domination exercised by the two superpowers.

The nuclear exchange exerted by the two superpowers is a threat to national independence.

The working class is leading the struggle to force the two superpowers to commit to never using atomic weapons first. An international conference of all the countries of the world on the basis of total equality must be convened to decide on the total destruction of all atomic weapons existing in all countries and on the complete ban on the manufacture of atomic weapons.

All atomic weapons, military bases, naval bases, installations and foreign military troops must be removed from the countries where they are found.

All the peoples of Europe must unite in the fight against the Warsaw Pact. The aggressive alliance under the leadership of social imperialism, which not only dominates the countries of Eastern Europe, but also directly threatens the countries of Western Europe.

1.3 Defend national independence economically

The working class fights against all forms of economic control and domination of the USSR and the United States.

The working class rejects any form of "economic cooperation" between Belgium and the USSR. Belgium must refuse to import raw materials from the USSR to avoid any form of dependence on the USSR, to remove from the Soviet Union any possibility of blackmail and economic control. Belgium must refuse to grant credits to the USSR and to supply it with technology, machines, installations and finished products.

These credits, this technology, and these machines are used by the USSR to reinforce its military potential and to accelerate a military aggression against Western Europe. The finished products are used by the USSR to curb the harmful consequences of the crisis and

militarization and also to weaken the resistance of the working class against the policy of war.

1.4 Defend national independence against the superpowers by a policy of cooperation with the third world

Russian social-imperialism wants to divide the countries of the EEC (European Economic Community) and all of Western Europe, to place them one after the other under the control of the USSR.

The working class is for strengthening European unity in order to strengthen resistance to American control and mainly to the Russian threat. At the same time, the working class is fighting all the measures taken by the monopoly bourgeoisie within the framework of the Common Market which infringe the economic and democratic rights of workers and workers.

2. THE FIGHT FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF NATIONAL DEFENSE IS BASED ON THE MOBILIZATION OF POPULAR MASSES

The working class is waging its struggle in a situation where the world war is approaching, where the threat of a war of aggression launched by the USSR and a military occupation of Western Europe by social-imperialism is becoming clearer.

The socialist revolution cannot be carried out before the outbreak of war.

The working class develops an autonomous and democratic military program which is achievable under the conditions of capitalism and which meets the interests of the working class and the interests of the nation.

For peace, freedom, for independence: arms in the hands of the proletariat.

The central slogan of the working class to ensure national independence is: "General arming of workers and workers".

The working class is in favor of the voluntary association of workers and workers in organizations where we learn how to use all weapons to defend national independence.

These voluntary organizations must be formed on the basis of a flash program of national independence, directed against the policy of domination of the USSR and the United States.

Volunteer organizations must function in a democratic manner and members must be able to choose their instructors and judge their work themselves. Instructors, weapons and equipment must be paid for by a special tax on the capitalists.

The general armament of the people is the most effective form of national defense under capitalism. This can be achieved under capitalism and can be imposed on the bourgeoisie by the revolutionary mass struggle of workers and workers in a period of great upheaval.

The Third International has always defended this point of view:

“According to our conviction, the bourgeoisie is not able to guarantee the security of the country.

It can only be achieved by the general armament of the people... ”(André Marty, Protocol of the 7th Congress of the Communist International; Editions Liebknecht, p. 820).

“We are aware of the dangers which threaten on the side of fascism: we draw attention to the attempts of reaction to concentrate all the armed forces in their hands; under these conditions, we propose and demand the creation of an anti-fascist popular defense. The anti-fascist popular defense which would bring together all the proletarian and progressive strata in a voluntary defense organization on the basis of an autonomous democratic leadership, would be the best defense of democratic freedoms and of the democratic republic, against the anti-popular fascist enemies ; it would be the foundation of a real capacity for self-defense of the people in the fight against the external counter-revolution ”(Sverma, VII Congress of the CI, Protokoll).

"Allow the people to arm themselves on their own initiative to defend their home and their homeland" (Mao, Tome III, p. 250).

For radical democratic reforms in the Belgian army

The working class of Western European countries is under the threat of a third world war, a war of Russian aggression. We live under imperialism and the present army is an instrument at the service of the dominant bourgeoisie. Can the working class, indifferent to the threat of a war of aggression, be indifferent to the government's military policy?

The working class must fight for the most radical democratization of the existing army to link this army, as closely as possible, to the workers and the workers, and to prepare this army for a war of national resistance, general, based on mobilization of the masses.

Through the revolutionary mass struggle, the working classes can impose a radical democratization of the bourgeois army. If we leave our hands free to the reactionary big bourgeoisie, the army will be conditioned in an anti-democratic and fascist spirit. In both cases, the army remains a bourgeois army, but the working class is not indifferent to the question of what form and what content this bourgeois army takes.

1. Fight against all anti-democratic and anti-worker measures

The reactionary bourgeoisie considers the army in the first place as an instrument to oppress the struggles of the workers and workers. We must unmask and combat any policy and any measure which goes in this direction.

We are fighting against the creation of a professional army which is directed entirely against the workers and the workers.

By the creation of a professional army, the reactionary bourgeoisie wants to take away from the people the possibility of learning how to handle arms. Learning to use arms is a necessity for the people to guarantee national independence and to achieve the liberation from capitalist exploitation. We demand that women be able to do military service and learn to use weapons,

just like men. With a professional army, the reactionary bourgeoisie wants to form a military caste cut off from the workers and workers and trained to suppress the uprisings of the workers and workers.

We are fighting against the creation of a professional army. However, we must not lose sight of the fact that many young workers are joining the professional army. We must win them over to the revolutionary cause of the working class so that they never use arms against workers and workers. We must win them through the communist national defense program.

We are fighting for the suppression of all special anti-workers units and for the dissolution of the gendarmerie.

The gendarmerie is specially trained and trained for the oppression of workers and workers. We demand the removal of such units.

We demand the prohibition of all forms of training and all military courses directed against workers and workers in Belgium.

All courses which train officers and soldiers for the armed oppression of workers and workers in Belgium must be prohibited. All forms of training aimed at the oppression of the people must be prohibited.

2. A military policy based on the people and directed against the two hotbeds of war, the two superpowers.

Bourgeois and reactionary military policy is based first and foremost on technically the most sophisticated weapons and on weapons of mass destruction, such as atomic weapons. Such a military policy can in no way guarantee national independence against the overwhelming superiority of a superpower. Such a military policy leads to the greatest massacres of the civilian population.

A democratic military policy must aim to draw the whole population into a war of national resistance. We support the development of the military sectors of the army which are unequivocally intended for defense against a war of aggression: air defense, anti-tank weapons, etc.

A democratic military policy must be directed in a clear and unequivocal manner against the two centers of a new world war, the United States and mainly the USSR.

All political propaganda in the Belgian army for the policy of world hegemony of the United States or the USSR must be prohibited.

All the officers who defend the policy of world domination of the United States or the USSR must be dismissed and dismissed.

3. Guarantee all democratic rights and freedoms for soldiers and officers

The right to freely express and disseminate political opinions must be guaranteed.

Soldiers must have joined political and union organizations; they must have the right to organize freely in soldiers' committees and must be able to meet freely.

All forms of special military justice must be abolished; disciplinary sanctions must disappear.

4. Democratically elected officers

The officers must be elected by soldiers so that reactionary and anti-democratic elements can be eliminated at all times.

Unity between soldiers and officers must be guaranteed by mutual control and criticism and by mutual aid.

5. Full salary for soldiers

The material living conditions of soldiers must be improved. Normal workers' wages must be paid to soldiers.

6. Strengthen the bonds between soldiers and people

Soldiers must do their military service around their home. All measures that strengthen the bonds between soldiers and the people must be encouraged.

7. Good military training

Soldiers must receive full and intense military training. They must learn to handle weapons well.

This military policy of the Third International was developed for all countries threatened with losing their national independence by fascist aggression.

"The attack of Hitler's imperialism against Czechoslovakia can only be, under the given conditions, an imperialist aggression: a war for the repartition of the world, a war for the destruction of the autonomy of the Czech nation, a war which will subjugate all the nations of Czechoslovakia against Hitlerian fascism would be, under the given conditions a fair war because it will be a war of defense waged at the sides of the USSR against the principal representative of the fascist counter-revolution...

We ask: how can an army in which fascist generals participate in decision-making and where all the soldiers' democratic freedoms are suppressed - how can such an army defend the democratic republic against the fascist reaction?

Such an army is not capable of defending the country against the external counter-revolution. This is why we fight for the democratization of the army, in the interest of all the working people, in the interest of a true defense of the republic against the fascist aggressor. Immediate expulsion of fascist generals and officers from the army; guarantee of all civil rights, including the right to vote and the right to organize soldiers; improvement of the soldiers' material situation ". (Sverma, 7th Congress of the Communist International, Protokoll, p. 847, 849).

"The fascists introduce into the army their chauvinist, anti-working class and militarist policy. This is all the more reason for the working class to demand, in countries of bourgeois democracy, the democratization of the army, by granting soldiers all political rights ...

We claim all political rights for the soldiers, because we are sure that the free expression of the soldiers' will can hinder the war plans of the bourgeoisie and fascism. For the same reasons, we demand that the fascist officers be expelled from the army, that the reactionary headquarters be subject to democratic control which will be exercised with the participation of workers' organizations. ”

"We cannot seriously speak of the formation of a united front and popular front government to block the road to fascism, without at the same time raising the problem of the transformation of the current bourgeois army into a popular army, based on the closest liaison with the people, on the reduction of military service, on measures making weapons of all kinds available to the people and definitively eliminating the reactionary cadres of the army, and, in particular, of the superior command . By all these measures, we want to destroy one of the fulcrums of fascism and curb its preparations for war.

The measures which we are proposing therefore present themselves, at the present time, as particularly useful and necessary in the countries of Europe which are threatened by the attack on German National Socialism, and where the prospects of a war of national liberation is a real perspective. The boldest measures to democratize the army become essential in this situation. A war of national liberation waged by a small country against German National Socialism can only be a victorious war if the army of that country is imbued with a revolutionary spirit.

Our main goal is therefore to establish the liaison of the army with the people. For this reason, we fight for the defense of all the partial demands of the soldiers, demands which are the starting point of all the movements of soldiers which have taken place, in recent times, in the bourgeois armies ”. (Ercoli, (Togliatti), 7th Congress of the Communist International, Protokoll, p. 797, 798).

For measures to protect the population in the event of a war of aggression

The communists are for the whole population to be mobilized to take measures to protect the people in the event of a war of aggression.

The communists demand the massive construction of atomic bomb shelters to protect the working masses from nuclear weapons which will be used by the two superpowers.

The communists demand that health measures be taken in favour of the popular masses, so that they are able to resist attacks by all the weapons at the disposal of the two superpowers, including nuclear weapons.

3. THE FIGHT FOR THE DEMOCRATIC AND ECONOMIC RIGHTS OF WORKERS AND WORKERS

Now that a war of social-fascist aggression is on the agenda, the immediate objective of the working class is no longer the overthrow of the Belgian bourgeoisie as a whole.

The working class is preparing for a national revolutionary war which aims to defeat the aggressor and his lackeys. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is not organized with the aim of directly crushing the bourgeoisie.

However, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie must be waged in its full extent and it is it which decides how the war of national resistance will be brought about as well as its result.

The struggle for the improvement of the living conditions and standard of living of workers and workers, and the struggle for the guarantee and extension of democratic rights and freedoms, are two areas on which the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie conducts itself in all its breadth; this class struggle creates possibilities for the workers and workers to fully mobilize their forces for the war of national resistance and for the working class to lead this war.

3.1 Improving the standard of living of workers and workers to unite the people against the enemy

The two superpowers, and mainly the Soviet Union, are preparing for a world war. Part of the European monopoly bourgeoisie seeks to avoid war by standing behind or making agreements with one or the other superpower: the part of the European monopoly bourgeoisie which seeks independence from the two superpowers wants build a national defense based on technically highly developed weapons (very profitable for big business) and which leaves aside the masses of the people.

Large independent European capital is drawn into a merciless competitive struggle with the two economic giants, the two superpowers.

The big independent European capital tries to maintain itself against its two more powerful competitors for a reinforced exploitation of the workers and workers: higher taxes, attacks on wages, attacks on social gains, the extension of working hours , strengthening dictatorial control in factories, etc.

This part of big capital wants to build an independent national defense; above all, it wants to produce technically highly developed equipment, which provides large profits to the monopolies, and it wants to make pay for this material of war by raising heavier taxes, by attacking social gains, by attacking wages, and by inflation.

This is part of the overall policy of the independent European bourgeoisie, which inevitably leads to defeat and national capitulation.

National resistance against social-imperialist aggression can only be prepared in the best conditions when the whole of the working people devotes its forces with enthusiasm to the preparation of national defense. This can only be achieved if the standard of living and the living conditions of the working masses are improved and if the weight of the crisis is borne primarily by the big capitalists and the wealthy.

3.2 Guarantee the democratic rights of workers and workers to unite the people against the enemy

When a war is on the agenda, the monopoly bourgeoisie understands that all the political and social structures of the country will be shaken.

The monopoly bourgeoisie will take a series of reactionary and dictatorial measures in order to impose total control on the workers and workers.

The patriotic monopoly bourgeoisie demands of the working class and other working classes to submit and blindly obey dictatorial measures in order for "national unity" to be achieved.

A "national unity" based on the tyranny of the monopoly bourgeoisie and on the crushing of the democratic liberties of the working classes will only lead to an accentuation of class conflicts and an absence of national unity.

The destruction of democratic rights and fascization destroy the ability of the masses to defend themselves against the fascist aggressor and inevitably lead to national submission.

To be able to fully deploy its forces in the struggle for national freedom, the working class must have all political freedoms. When the working class enjoys all democratic rights and freedoms, then it is able to form a broad front of national unity and organize all forces against the foreign aggressor.

It is only by leading the class struggle for the guarantee and extension of all democratic rights that one can acquire solid national unity; it is only through democracy and national unity that the masses of the people can be fully mobilized for the war of resistance.

The Third International has always indicated this line when it came to preparing the working class for a national liberation struggle.

"A devoted supporter of the active defense of his people and his country against fascist subjugation, the proletariat must link national defense questions as closely as possible to demands aimed at extending the democratic rights of workers and peasants, defending their vital interests, starting from the fact that only the democratization of the regime in the countries, the democratization of the army, its purification from fascist and other reactionary elements and the satisfaction of the most urgent demands of the working and peasant masses are in measure to strengthen the defense capacity of the people against fascist aggression"
”(Dimitrov - The United Front for the Struggle for Peace, Ed. Sofia Press, volume II, p. 154).

“For the organization of national defense, we must demand from government parties the satisfaction of the basic vital needs of the working masses; for, when it comes to the national freedom of small peoples, this national freedom cannot be guaranteed as well by a regular army as by the struggle of the broad popular masses ”. (Kvorin, VIIth Congress, Protokoll, p. 833).

4. THE STRUGGLE FOR A GOVERNMENT OF POPULAR DEMOCRACY

The struggle for national independence and democracy and for the satisfaction of economic demands is closely linked to the struggle for a government of popular democracy.

The monopoly bourgeois government and the monopoly bourgeois state apparatus are responsible for the dire situation in which the people will have to resist in a war of resistance.

It is the monopoly bourgeoisie which prevents the popular masses from being fully prepared for a war of aggression, as much on the political, military and ideological level as on the economic, medical, health, etc. levels. ; it is the monopoly bourgeoisie which prevents the general arming of the people and the intense military preparation of the workers and workers.

In addition, the state apparatus of the monopoly bourgeoisie can easily be used by the fascist occupier, as shown by the Second World War.

This is why the working class is fighting for a completely different government and state apparatus. It fights for a democratic state apparatus, which expresses the will of all the classes which want to lead the revolutionary struggle against the aggression and the domination of two superpowers and mainly of the Soviet Union. A state apparatus based on the working class, the most revolutionary and firmest class in the struggle for national independence and democracy.

A democratic state apparatus which leads a ruthless struggle against the two superpowers, and mainly against the Russian hegemony, as well as against their collaborators inside.

A democratic government of national independence, led by the working class and based on the workers-workers alliance, must guarantee the democratic freedoms of the working people, improve the economic situation of the workers, take all measures to arm the whole people and the to engage in armed resistance.

The formation of a government of popular democracy and the formation of a state apparatus of popular democracy can only be the result of great revolutionary actions of the popular masses. This can be achieved in a situation where the working class and the working classes are not yet ripe for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but where the masses demand radical revolutionary measures to guarantee national independence and protect the democratic and economic rights.

The formation of a popular democratic government is only possible in a situation where the true communist party exerts an important influence on the working class and the working classes, where the masses are oriented to the left and undertake revolutionary actions to defend democratic and economic rights against reaction, and to guarantee national independence.

The formation of a popular democratic government is only possible if the dominant monopoly bourgeoisie is torn to a great extent and if its state apparatus is largely disorganized.

The experience of the Third International is of great significance for the current situation.

In 1935, a second world war threatened, the war of fascist aggression. Dimitrov declared himself in favour of "the formation of a government of the proletarian united front or of the anti-fascist popular front".

“This government cannot bring definitive salvation. It is not able to overthrow the class domination of the exploiters and that is why it cannot definitively avert the danger of the fascist counter-revolution either. Consequently, it is necessary to prepare for the socialist revolution ”.

"We are ready to share the responsibilities when it comes to forming a government on the basis of the united front."

"What is this government? And in what situation can it be questioned? It is above all a government that fights against fascism and reaction. It must be a government that is born out of the united front movement and does not in any way limit the activity of the Communist Party and mass working class organizations, but on the contrary, takes resolute action against the counter magnates, financial revolutionaries and their fascist agents ”.

"Under what objective conditions will the formation of such a government be possible? This question can be answered in the most general form: under the conditions of a political crisis, the day when the ruling classes are no longer able to control the powerful rise of the mass anti-fascist movement ”.

"It seems to me that ... the following conditions deserve the greatest attention:

- ▶ First, that the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie be sufficiently disorganized and paralyzed, so that the bourgeoisie cannot prevent the formation of a government fighting against reaction and fascism;
- ▶ Second, let the great masses of workers, and especially the mass unions, rise up head on against fascism and reaction, but not yet ready to rise up to fight under the leadership of the Communist Party for the conquest of Soviet power. ;
- ▶ Thirdly, that the differentiation and the evolution on the left of the ranks of social democracy and of the other parties participating in the united front have already led to this result that a considerable part of them demand implacable measures including the fascists and the other reactionaries, fight together with the communists against fascism and intervene openly against the reactionary elements of their own party hostile to communism ”.

"We demand of (this government) ... that it carries out radical, determined revolutionary demands, responding to the situation."

What are these claims? Radical claims against big capital. Merciless repression against the fascists. The armament of the working class. The dissolution of the police and its replacement by armed workers' militias. Improving the living conditions of the people, in particular by confiscating the apartments of the wealthy in favour of the homeless. Production control on banks, etc.

The communist parties fought for such a popular anti-fascist front government. It was mainly during the Second World War that conditions matured for the establishment of such a government; during the war, embryos of such a government were formed. After the war, popular democracy governments were established in different countries.

“The people's democratic state represents the power of the workers, of the great majority of the people, under the leading role of the working class. First, it means that the power of capitalists and big landowners is overthrown and that the power of workers in cities and the countryside is established under the leadership of the working class. ”

"The people's democratic state appears as a state of the transitional period, called to ensure the development of the country, in the way of socialism". (Dimitrov)

5. CRITICISM OF THE TROTSKYSTE LINE FROM UC MANAGEMENT

5.1 Liquidate the struggle for national independence by treating enemies and allies alike

The defense of national independence is an essential task of the working class, at a time when the threat of social-imperialist aggression is real.

In its text, the UC leadership sets out the broad outlines of "Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics". The struggle for the defense of national independence does not even appear there! This most clearly expresses that the Trotskyist elements of the leadership of the UC do not want to lead the struggle for national independence effectively, and that they do not consider this struggle as an essential point for the all the agitation and propaganda work.

In its "strategy and tactics" the UC leadership states:

"The struggle for peace must be waged in a revolutionary way ... This means ... denouncing the imperialist practice of the Belgian bourgeoisie and its complicity with the two superpowers. This is in contrast to opportunistic illusions that part of the Belgian monopolies are currently our "ally" in the fight against the two superpowers. "

This is in reality a "theory" to liquidate the struggle for national independence by consciously sowing confusion around the question: against whom is the struggle for national independence directed?

The current struggle for peace and national independence in Western Europe is directed against the United States, and especially against the Soviet Union.

The current struggle is directed in the second place, against the parts of the monopoly bourgeoisie and against the political forces in Western Europe which side with the side of the Soviet Union and the United States.

With regard to the parts of the bourgeoisie which take a more or less independent position vis-à-vis the superpowers, the proletariat follows a policy of unity and struggle, of unity through struggle. Unity whenever the parts of the bourgeoisie take steps on the road to national independence, and to the extent that they do; struggle against the hesitant and inconsistent attitude which they adopt, struggle against the general political conceptions which they propagate in order to arrive at a common point of view of resistance against the enemies of national independence. UC management treats enemies and allies alike; this means that nothing remains of the struggle for national independence and the front for national independence.

The direction of the UC is placed on the position of Trotskyism. They also declare in words that they are for the struggle for national independence, to add, immediately after, that they give "no support" to the Belgian bourgeoisie. UC management takes the same view. She writes :

"Amada provides" support "for the" national independence "policy of" the inconsistent patriotic bourgeoisie ". This support, given under current conditions, contradicts Amada's sentence (it is only a sentence) on the "autonomous program of the proletariat" (p. 16, 5th col.).

In its declaration of the first plenum, the UC leadership indicates, in words, the struggle for national independence, but it once again liquidates, in practice, the content of this struggle.

The central position is:

"The proletariat ... must currently lead the struggle for peace, national independence and security ... Against its own bourgeoisie in the first place. "

The struggle for national independence is a hollow phrase if we do not distinguish the enemies of the allies.

Jdanov said about the struggle for national independence in Western Europe:

"It is the Communist Parties that has the particular historic role of putting itself at the head of resistance to the American plan to enslave Europe and to resolutely unmask all the interior auxiliaries of American imperialism. At the same time, the communists must support all the truly patriotic elements who do not accept to let damage to their homeland, who want to fight against the subjugation of their homeland to foreign capital and for the safeguard of the national sovereignty of their country . The communists must be the leading force which drives all the freedom-loving anti-fascist elements to the fight against the new American expansionist plans to enslave Europe ”.

5.2 Reject the struggle for the strengthening of national defense and for the democratization of the army

What is the objective political and military situation in Europe?

"A host of facts revealed at the conference shows the disturbing image of a Soviet Union ready to assault Western Europe ... (The Kremlin) manipulates the pro-Soviet forces to cause trouble and split within some of these states, ranging even to incite the military rebellion to place them in its sphere of influence. Soviet revisionism broods over the whole territory from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, from the Balkans to the Iberian Peninsula, impatient to swallow it up bit by bit. "(PI, 10/76).

In this objective situation, the Chinese Communist Party supports the following slogan:

"Strengthening national defense to face the Russian military threat" (PI 37/75).

The Trotskyist clique which heads the UC is furious with this slogan:

"Calling to" strengthen national defense "in general, without specifying the class character that we must give it, is a slogan that misleads the working class" (p. 16, 5th col.).

"Amada ... begins to spread chauvinism. What he says about "strengthening the national defense of Belgium" confirms ... his new policy of conciliation with the capitalist bourgeoisie "(p. 17, 4th col.)

This is again the Trotskyist policy of "no support for the bourgeoisie".

Under the current circumstances, the question arises as follows: does Belgium say that it can strengthen its national defense independently, yes or no?

The pro-American forces and mainly the pro-Russian forces answer no. The working class is in favor of strengthening independent national defense, it supports the parts of the bourgeoisie which defend this slogan. At the same time, the working class is leading the fight against these same parts of the bourgeoisie, on the question of how and for what purpose national defense must be strengthened.

To justify its "no support" policy, the Trotskyists of the UC leadership put forward the class character of the Belgian army, its counter-revolutionary role, etc.

"The national defense" of the bourgeoisie is always accompanied by imperialist and counter-revolutionary actions ... The bourgeoisie ... does so only to save its profits ... (the bourgeoisie) opposes ... the national defense of the proletariat "(p. 16 , 15th col.).

All of this is true. The Marxist-Leninists draw from this the conclusion that the unity they make with certain parts of the bourgeoisie for the defense of national independence must be a unity based on struggle, a unity achieved by struggle. If the struggle is not waged against the reactionary policy of the monopoly bourgeoisie in the united front, the communist and progressive forces will be crushed; the front will not be able to develop within the popular masses and the monopoly bourgeoisie will capitulate to the enemy. The struggle against the reactionary policy of the monopoly bourgeoisie is necessary to extend the progressive forces among the popular masses,

How should the working class act to strengthen national defense, under a capitalist regime and at the approach of fascist aggression?

The UC management also answered this question in the same way as the Trotskyists. The Trotskyists reject the struggle for radical democratization of the bourgeois army; it would be "reformism" because it would sow the illusion that capitalism can change without a socialist revolution in a fundamental way, because it would sow the "illusion" that real democracy would be possible for the workers without the overthrow of capital. Under this pretext, the Trotskyists fight the struggle for democracy.

Lenin gives a general answer to this problem:

"Capitalism in general and imperialism in particular make democracy an illusion, and at the same time, capitalism generates democratic aspirations, aggravates the antagonism between imperialism negator of democracy and the masses who aspire to democracy. One cannot

overthrow capitalism and imperialism by democratic reforms as ideal as they are, but only by an economic revolution; but the proletariat is incapable of carrying out the economic revolution if it is not educated in the struggle for democracy”(Lenin, t. 23, p. 23).

The Trotskyists who run the UC make the following accusation:

"Amada's military program defends reformist positions on the bourgeois army and is a program of treason with regard to the army of the proletariat".

"The army" completely democratized "under the imperialist regime is an illusion, a small bourgeois nonsense. "

These Trotskyist positions are diametrically opposed to those of the Third International:

“According to our conviction, the bourgeoisie is not capable of ensuring the security of the country. It can only be achieved by the general armament of the people, by the fusion of the army with the people ”. (Marty)

"The boldest measures to democratize the army become essential in this situation". (Ercoli)

5.3 Describe the struggle for democratic and economic rights as “revisionist bargaining”.

In preparing and organizing a united national front against fascist or social-fascist aggression, the working class pursues a policy of unity and struggle against the patriotic bourgeoisie. Unity which meets the interests of the proletariat can only be achieved by properly organizing the class struggle against the patriotic bourgeoisie. The proletariat organizes the class struggle to improve its standard of living, to guarantee its democratic rights in order to achieve national unity and the mobilization of all the people for the defense of national independence. The Trotskyists of the UC leadership attack this policy of unity and struggle. They write :

“Imperialism, including that of the second world, is the“ impudent exploitation ”of the proletariat. Amada denies that! He wrote to the Belgian capitalists: "As long as the workers and workers are recklessly exploited by big capital, they will never be able to mobilize thoroughly for national defense. The standard of living and working conditions of the masses must be improved; thus they will be able to deploy their enthusiastic forces for national defense ”... Here he is (Amada) asking the capitalists to no longer“ shamelessly ”exploit the working class. Is this not the revisionist bargaining method, which consists in "defending the workers" by capturing the benevolence of the bosses by flattering their interests? "(P. 15, 5th col.).

“Imperialism is the reaction... In times of war, the anti-popular repression regime is strengthened. Amada denies that! He dares to speak of a working class "possessing all freedoms" and makes this illusion sparkle under imperialism, under the dictatorship of monopolies! "(P. 15, 5th col.)

Trotskyist language is characterized by the blind hatred of communist politics. The Trotskyists reject the policy of unity and struggle with the bourgeoisie on a national front. The Trotskyists falsify the meaning of the struggle for economic rights and for

democracy under imperialism. In this connection, Lenin wrote the following text, ridiculing those who declare that the struggle for democracy can only create "illusions":

“Imperialism is the negation of democracy; "Therefore" democracy is "impracticable" in a capitalist regime. The imperialist war is a blatant violation of all democracy ... "therefore" there is no point in discussing ... democracy. One can "oppose" to imperialist war "only" socialism; the outcome lies only in socialism; "Therefore", to formulate democratic slogans in the minimum program, that is to say still in a capitalist regime, is a deception or an illusion, intended to obscure, to distance, etc. the slogan of socialist revolution... This is its fundamental error in matters of logic... ”(Lenin, t. 23, p. 22-3).

5.4 The "autonomous military program" of the UC leadership is a program of Russian social-imperialism

UC management says:

"The AMADA military program defends reformist positions on the bourgeois army and is a betrayal program with regard to the army of the proletariat (p. 17, 1st col.).

The UC leadership opposes Amada's program its own program, which is nothing other than a program of social imperialism; We quote the full text: (UR 68, p. 17, col. 5);

“The entire Belgian bourgeoisie is by no means our“ ally ”in this struggle; it is currently our main enemy.

Defend and apply an autonomous political and military program, the main demands of which are as follows:

- ▶ Withdrawal of the VDB plan and the Vranckx project; abolition of special repressive bodies (police, gendarmerie, etc.), right for workers' organizations to teach their members how to use weapons and to choose monitors as they see fit;
- ▶ Prohibition of fascist organizations;
- ▶ Withdrawal of Belgium from the Atlantic Alliance and NATO; expulsion of SHAPE from Belgian territory;
- ▶ Denunciation by Belgium of the pacifist policy of the so-called "Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe";
- ▶ Withdrawal of Belgian troops from the Federal Republic of Germany;
- ▶ Withdrawal of Belgium from all neo-colonialist international organizations and abrogation of all neo-colonialist clauses in the cooperation treaties;
- ▶ Recognition of revolutionary national liberation governments.

This is in opposition to the counter-revolutionary positions which sow illusions on an imperialist army "completely democratized" and which hide the imperialist actions of the Belgian bourgeoisie. "

First: the military program must be clearly directed against the main enemy. It must have a clear political basis for fighting against the two superpowers and mainly against the Soviet Union, the most dangerous maker of war. The UC program is mainly directed against American imperialism and the Belgian army; the main enemy, social imperialism, is not attacked.

Second: There is only one allusion to social-imperialism where we speak of "denunciation by Belgium of the pacifist policy" of the Helsinki conference. The essence of Helsinki is falsified; Helsinki spreads illusions about "detente" to hide expansionism and preparation for wars of aggression from the Soviet Union.

Third: the leadership of UC demands only the dissolution of NATO, which is a requirement of social imperialism. The danger of war in Europe does not come from NATO but from the aggressive position of the Warsaw Pact. The Marxist-Leninists demand that the struggle of the peoples of Europe be directed primarily against the aggressive Warsaw Pact and against all bilateral military agreements between the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe.

Fourth: next to Belgium's withdrawal from NATO, the UC leadership demands the withdrawal of the VDB plan. These slogans come from the social-imperialists who aim to weaken the national defense of Belgium. When the Marxist-Leninists fight against NATO and the VDB plan, they must first take a stand for the strengthening of national defense, based on the general mobilization of the people.

Fifth: on the Belgian army, the UC leadership says two things: first, it fights the VDB plan and then it rejects the demands for a radical democratization of the army as "counter-revolutionary positions". This is a defense of social-imperialist policy which wants to undermine the national defense of Belgium and at the same time a rabid attack on Marxist-Leninist policy which wants to carry out radical democratic measures in the army.

The UC leadership is not only fighting the most essential slogan in the current situation of a threat of war of aggression: the slogan of strengthening the national defense, the UC leadership is attacking also the forms of strengthening national independence which correspond directly to the immediate and historical interests of the proletariat.

Sixth: the UC leadership does not say a word about the fight against the leadership of the false Communist party which acts as a fifth column preparing the war of Russian aggression. The UC leadership thus protects the forces preparing the Russian war of aggression against Western Europe. However, the UC leadership demands the ban of fascist organizations which are not, however, the main enemy.

Seventh: the UC leadership speaks of "workers' organizations", but the UC leadership does not say a word about the political agenda of these organizations, which must be unequivocally directed towards the defense of national independence against states United and mainly against the Soviet Union. Not to mention this condition this condition means that the social-fascist "workers' organizations" are given the opportunity to arm themselves and

undertake pro-Russian military actions.

PART FOUR: THE POPULAR DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION IS THE PREPARATION OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

We live in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. The strategic aim of the communists in Europe is to overthrow the imperialist bourgeoisie and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the struggle whose strategic goal is the dictatorship of the proletariat, we distinguish different stages. If the imperialist bourgeoisie of the Soviet Union undertakes a war of aggression against Western Europe, the task of the working class will be posed as follows: to unite all the forces which can be united around the working class to destroy a part of the imperialist bourgeoisie, namely the Russian social-imperialist bourgeoisie, and all the parts of the European bourgeoisie which collaborate with it. The proletarian revolution in Europe will therefore take, in a first stage a national and democratic character; it will not aim at the destruction of the entire bourgeoisie, but of the Russian social-imperialist bourgeoisie and the European bourgeoisie which collaborates with it.

The proletariat must consider its current struggle within the framework of a revolutionary struggle movement for its strategic goal; destroy the bourgeoisie and establish the power of the working class. The first stage should be seen as part of the socialist revolution, as a stage where national and democratic tasks are resolved and where the conditions necessary for the destruction of the entire bourgeoisie are fulfilled. If one destroys the link between the stage of national independence and that of the socialist revolution, one inevitably ends up in revisionism. This is why the struggle for national independence must at the same time be a struggle for the establishment of a state power of people's democracy.

During the war of national resistance, the conditions for the socialist revolution matured. Lenin said that it was absurd to want to carry out the socialist revolution if a number of conditions had not come of age. These conditions can mature during the process of revolutionary struggle for national independence and popular democracy.

What are these conditions?

The enemies of the working class, the forces that represent the monopoly bourgeoisie, must be torn apart: they must be considerably weakened by the fierce struggle they have waged.

The effectiveness of the ideological, political and military means which they can employ against the working class must also be greatly diminished thereby.

All the "democratic" forces of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie must have shown in practice their indecisive and cowardly character.

The masses must be convinced by their own experience that the "left" words of these bourgeois and petty bourgeois are a mask to hide their constant hesitations, their fear of struggle, their aspiration for a "peaceful and just" compromise with the enemies People.

The Communist Party must have been quenched ideologically and politically, its members must have shown themselves to be determined revolutionary fighters of the working and working classes. The Party must have forged an iron discipline in the struggle. He must have

broadened his ranks so as to contain all the avant-garde elements among the workers and workers. It must have become a mass party that knows that the majority of the working class stands behind it.

The broad masses of the people must be filled with hatred towards class enemies and they must have turned away from bourgeois and petty bourgeois conciliators. They must be ready to follow the Communist Party in the boldest actions, because they are ready to sacrifice everything to end terror and reactionary tyranny.

In the revolutionary struggle for national independence and popular democracy, the seeds of the proletarian dictatorship are formed. The objective of the stage is not the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat but the establishment of a revolutionary democratic dictatorship of all the patriotic and democratic classes. This democratic dictatorship contains the embryos of what will become of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

First: during the struggle for popular democracy, the working class, under the leadership of the CP, becomes the leading force. In the war of national liberation, the Communist Party acts as the most far-sighted, the most devoted to the people, the most active and the most disciplined fighting organization. Many elements of the working and working classes who want to engage in the national and social liberation struggle will join the ranks of the Party.

During the war of national resistance, it becomes clear that the working class is the most steadfast opponent of fascism and exploitation, that it is capable of the greatest self-sacrifice, of the greatest heroism, the most great firmness, that it is the only class that consistently defends the interests of the whole nation. The Communist Party must rely fully on the working class and must develop all the forces of the working masses, organize and train them because the revolutionary activity of the working masses is the basis for the victory of the national war and of the transition to socialism.

The leading role of the Communist Party and the working class makes possible the transition from the dictatorship of popular democracy to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Second: in the struggle for popular democracy all the working classes and the patriotic forces gather around the working class. When the country is occupied by a hegemonic power, the working class must set up a national liberation front on the basis of the minimum program of the working class, the program of national independence and democracy. The National Liberation Front takes as a base the armed struggle against the occupier, and unites all social classes who want to free themselves from foreign occupation and its agents inside.

The national liberation front must be supported by the working class and all the working classes; it must be open to all patriotic forces which act in favor of national independence and democracy, and which wish to prepare for the national insurrection. With regard to the reactionary bourgeois forces, which also oppose foreign domination, the front must pursue a policy of unity and struggle. The front must seek the organizational unity of all patriotic forces on the basis of a minimum correct platform.

The front must also seek forms of unity with the reactionary bourgeois forces, insofar as they effectively fight against the foreign occupier; the front must lead the fight against the political

program of these parts of the bourgeoisie, because it necessarily leads to defeat and national submission.

The essential forces of the national front are the working class and the working classes; the alliance between these classes under the leadership of the working class makes possible the transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Third: in the war of national resistance the revolutionary popular army is formed, under the leadership of the Communist Party. The working class and the working classes must build their own independent armed forces during a social-fascist occupation. This army is initially made up of small units of partisans, who are joined thereafter, in larger armed units. This army must rely on the revolutionary elements of the working class; revolutionaries from other working classes must also be integrated into it. From the start, this army must be an army of the working classes, which serves to carry out the political tasks facing the masses.

This army must be led according to the political ideal of independence and democracy and by the just political line of the national liberation struggle.

From the start, political commissars must be specially charged with the direction of political work; Communist cells must be formed in the people's army in order to propagate the party policy among the revolutionary soldiers.

All political and organizational work during the period of national resistance must be directed by the armed national insurrection. Only a national insurrection can ensure the definitive crushing of the occupying forces. The building of a revolutionary people's army and the general arming of the working classes are the decisive factors in the transition to the socialist revolution.

Fourth :

"The task of each real popular revolution is to destroy the old state machine" (Albania Today, 3/75, p. 51).

1. The outbreak of a new world war will show, for the third time, that imperialism and the rivalry of the imperialist powers for world hegemony lead to war all over the world. The outbreak of a new world war will also demonstrate that the bourgeois state apparatus is not capable of guaranteeing the national independence and sovereignty of Belgium, just as it is not capable of ensuring the democracy and social progress for the working classes. The outbreak of war will make the working masses aware of the bankruptcy of monopoly capitalism, the bankruptcy of its institutions and its legal foundations.

2. During the imperialist social domination, the Russian occupying power became the main enemy of the Belgian working class and of the popular masses of Belgium. Part of the big bourgeoisie will betray national interests to preserve their privileges through collaboration with social imperialism. The bourgeois state apparatus will be purged of anti-Soviet forces and will be put at the service of Russian social-imperialism.

This is why, in this stage of the revolutionary struggle, two tasks are posed to the working class, and they must be indissolubly linked: the task of driving out the foreign occupier and of

conquering national independence, and the task of destroying the state apparatus which functions for the occupier to establish a state apparatus of popular democracy.

3. During the national resistance, the national liberation front unites all the revolutionary classes and all the patriotic forces under the leadership of the working class. The Front must create organs at the national, regional and local level, which have the task of mobilizing the whole people for the political mass struggle and for the armed struggle, and of organizing the whole people with a view to the national insurrection.

These organs must represent all the revolutionary classes and all the patriotic forces, they must be closely linked to the popular masses and must be prepared effectively for their task of directing the political and armed struggle.

These organs which mobilize the people for the revolutionary struggle and for the national insurrection, are the embryos of a government of popular democracy. They are the embryos of a state apparatus which really expresses the interests of the popular masses, because it was born from the revolutionary struggle of the popular masses. This state power is radically opposed to the reactionary state apparatus in the service of the occupier, which must be destroyed to its roots by the national and democratic revolution.

4. The reactionary bourgeoisie which participates in the national liberation struggle wants to conquer national independence but it wants to prevent at all costs that the struggle does not acquire a popular democratic character.

It only wants to replace the domination over Belgium of a foreign imperialist bourgeoisie by the domination of the Belgian imperialist bourgeoisie. When this patriotic part of the bourgeoisie takes part in the struggle, it wants to protect and maintain the reactionary and anti-popular state apparatus. This is why it requires the recognition of the legality of the bourgeois regime before the occupation and the assurance of the continuation of this regime after the liberation, a requirement which is resolutely rejected by the working class. This is why it forms abroad a "national government" to restore the domination of the Belgian big bourgeoisie immediately after the liberation.

The working class refuses any government formed abroad and outside the revolutionary struggle. This is why, after liberation, the patriotic bourgeoisie wants to protect the base of the state apparatus and keep it from total destruction by the national popular revolution.

In the united national front, the working class is waging an unshakable political struggle against all the enterprises of the patriotic bourgeoisie to deny the democratic and popular character of national liberation.

5. By destroying the foreign occupying forces by the national insurrection, the revolution fulfills the strictly national and democratic tasks.

The national tasks are: the destruction of the imperialist social foreign occupation forces and the oppression exercised towards their national collaborators.

The democratic tasks are: the destruction of the fascist social oppression system.

The popular revolution established a ruthless dictatorship over the foreign occupiers and their collaborators; this dictatorship implies the destruction of all the laws and institutions on which they were based, of all their organizations, of all their economic power.

The popular revolution establishes a regime of popular democracy. The people's army, built with workers and revolutionary workers and under the leadership of the Party, is the fundamental pillar of this regime. A popular militia is formed with the forces which led the general armed insurrection, and takes over the tasks of the police. The people's courts are created to try the occupants and their collaborators; they form the basis of a democratic and revolutionary judiciary. The most pressing economic demands of workers and workers are satisfied. All democratic rights are guaranteed to workers and workers, as well as to their revolutionary organizations. Workers' control is implemented in companies.

The popular democracy regime represents the power of the working class and the working classes, under the leadership of the working class; this means that the power of the imperialists and the big capitalists is destroyed.

6.

"Under the conditions of decaying capitalism and the organic crisis of bourgeois democracy which gives rise to fascism, no serious and lasting democratic reform is possible ... we cannot go forward without undermining the foundations of capitalism, without take a step towards socialism ". (Dimitrov, t. 2, p. 701).

After the establishment of the popular democracy, the class struggle continues with bitterness. The Communist Party must primarily fight the danger of the right and mobilize ever more deeply and broadly the masses of the people to move forward and conquer new positions against the class enemy. The companies of the patriotic bourgeoisie are not expropriated. However, these parts of the bourgeoisie will inevitably oppose democratic revolutionary measures. To restore their dominance in an undisputed way, they will seek support from the foreign imperialist powers and thus trample on national independence. To restore their dictatorship, they will seek support from the fascist social forces which have been crushed by the popular revolution, and thus betray democracy.

The bourgeoisie will inevitably launch counterattacks against revolutionary democratic measures; at the same time it will try to regroup all the reactionary forces to start a civil war. The Communist Party must fully prepare and mobilize the broad masses against the danger of a civil war.

The working class must be ready for anything, because the class struggle will take on extremely acute forms and the bourgeoisie will eventually start civil war. In any case, the working class must entirely defeat the big bourgeoisie, nationalize its enterprises and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The dictatorship of the proletariat will conclude the necessary compromises, among others with certain bourgeois patriotic forces, and it will gradually bring about socialist transformation in the various fields of economic and social life.

The dictatorship of the proletariat organizes society according to the fundamental interests of the working class. Only the working class is a consistent revolutionary class which has an uncompromising position towards all forms of exploitation and oppression and which fights for the liberation of all other working classes.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a particular form of the class alliance between the proletariat, the vanguard of the workers and the numerous layers of non-proletarian workers (petty bourgeoisie, small boss, peasant, intellectual, etc.) or the majority of these layers. It is an alliance directed against capital, an alliance which aims at the total overthrow of capital, the total destruction of the resistance of the bourgeoisie and its attempts at restoration, an alliance which aims at the establishment and definitive consolidation of socialism.