

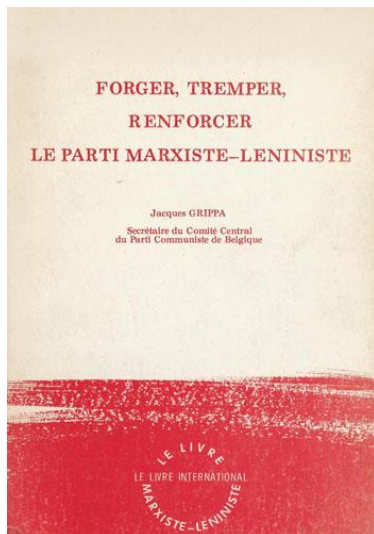
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Forging, steeping, strengthening the Marxist-Leninist Party

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INTRODUCTION

Forge, quench, strengthen the Marxist-Leninist Party. It was under this title that a series of articles appeared in "*La Voix du Peuple*", a weekly of the Communist Party of Belgium, between June 24 and August 12, 1966, designed to meet the needs of the ideological struggle and current politics within the Party at that time.

This pamphlet brings together these articles. Some editorial changes have been made and some additions have been made.

The first article appeared on the third anniversary of the Extraordinary Congress of the Brussels Federation of the Communist Party which reconstituted it on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. This first chapter shows by the concrete example of a regional Party, that of the capital, the importance of the ideological and political struggle within the Party, the difficulties encountered and the successes achieved. This chapter also constitutes a controversy with certain comrades who underestimated this ideological and political struggle.

The second chapter shows that the ideological and political struggle within the Party is an integral, indispensable part of the whole of the ideological and political struggle of the Party, of all of its activity. It shows how opportunism, revisionism or any other anti-Marxist-Leninist deviation becoming trendy, can threaten the proletarian revolutionary party with subversion and how the attacks of the bourgeoisie, of imperialism, against the Party

constitute one of the aspects of the permanent aggression of capital against the working people.

The third chapter - "a constant ideological and political struggle" - recalls some important stages in the struggle against opportunism, revisionism, reformism, in the history of the international communist movement and in the history of the Communist Party of Belgium. It highlights some of the teachings of great theorists of Marxism, Marxism-Leninism: Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tsetung.

The fourth chapter - "The ideological and political struggle for the firm and rigorous application of the principles of the Marxist-Leninist political line" - sets out the essential features of the current objective situation internationally and in our country, as well as the main elements of the line of conduct of the Communist Party of Belgium since its reconstitution on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The fifth chapter - "The enemy attacks us because we are on the right track" - analyses the various tactics used by the class enemy in its attacks against the Communist Party, and sets out in particular the lessons to be learned from the struggle ideological and political against a recently exposed anti-party opportunist group. In this chapter are also reaffirmed, in political form, the fundamental aspects of the political line of the Party.

The sixth and final chapter - "Acting as true Marxist-Leninists, training true communist militants" - shows that the class struggle finds its reflection in the Marxist-Leninist Party, in the ideological and political struggle as well as in the struggle waged by the militant himself so that the Marxist-Leninist ideology triumphs in him. It shows the way so that more and more exemplary communist militants can be formed.

This book, written in the fire of a concrete ideological and political struggle, can, we believe, constitute a material of Marxist-Leninist political education, help organizations and militants of the Communist Party to forge the Party, to strengthen it in its struggle on all fronts.

CHAPTER I

THE 3rd ANNIVERSARY OF THE EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS OF THE BRUSSELS FEDERATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

On June 21, 22, 23 and 29, 1963 was held the extraordinary federal congress of the Brussels Party Federation, a congress which marked an important stage in the struggle of the communists, the working class, the working masses of Belgium against capitalism, against the imperialists having as their leader American imperialism, against social democratic reformism, against modern revisionism, social supports, political of capitalism, of imperialism, for the demands of the working people, for the national and democratic objectives of united popular front, for proletarian internationalism acting, for popular democracy, for socialism.

This extraordinary federal congress which brought together the delegates representing the majority of executives, activists and organizations in the region, reconstituted the federation

on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. It thus marked a great victory not only for the Brussels Marxist-Leninists, but also for the Marxist-Leninists across the country against the Khrushchevite clique which had seized the national leadership of the Party.

This congress laid the foundations for the Marxist-Leninist political line of a proletarian revolutionary party, applying the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of our country and the current situation.

By launching the call "Marxist-Leninists, let us unite!" He indicated that the only possible unity of the international communist movement was unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. And by that, he also indicated the way to rebuild, on the scale of the country, a communist party which is the authentic vanguard of the working class.

The extraordinary federal congress received the support, the encouragement and the support of many comrades from other regions of the country: several of them, spokesmen of the workers of the revolutionaries, true communists of their region, attended this congress and greeted him in their speeches. During this congress, the work "Marxism-Leninism or revisionism" went out of press, bringing to the Communists a theoretical weapon for the fight against modern revisionism, for the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

The study and assimilation of the teachings of the publications of the Chinese Communist Party and the Party of Labour of Albania, denouncing the revisionist counter-current in the debate which became public on the general line of the international communist movement, were of invaluable help in this fight led by the Brussels Marxist-Leninists.

These drew from rational, theoretical knowledge, from knowledge of the works of revolutionary theorists, notably from knowledge of the thinking of Marx, Lenin, Mao Tsetung, the ideological and political firmness necessary for the consequent revolutionary struggle.

The fundamental importance given by the Brussels Marxist-Leninists to the ideological struggle was further demonstrated in the resolution of the Brussels Federal Committee dated August 15, 1963, entitled "Marxist-Leninists, let's unite!" In response to the frenzied attacks, the slander of the Soviet revisionists once again coming to the aid of their spokesmen in Belgium.

The importance of the ideological and political struggle within the Party

The speed and extent of the success achieved by the Brussels Marxist-Leninists in June 1963 - success which had a great impact nationally and internationally - are the fruit of a whole process in which the ideological and political struggle within of the party played a leading role.

Already, from 1945 to 1947, many activists of the Brussels federation, and with them activists from other regions of the country, denounced and opposed the right-wing opportunism which raged at the leadership of the Party.

The struggle continued from 1947 to 1954, a period during which opportunism was disguised as "left" deviation.

This is how the Brussels federation, on several occasions, sharply opposed the deviations of the majority of the national leadership of the Party.

Then when, later, this majority of the national leadership of the Party again turned to right-wing opportunism and switched to systematic revisionism, encouraged and supported by the Khrushchevites of the Soviet Union, the ideological and political struggle within of the Brussels federation became more resolute, harder. It reached a particular scale in 1956, when the Khrushchevites of Belgium unmasked by supporting the counter-revolutionary terror in Hungary. And also the following year when these Khrushchevites from Belgium openly expressed their approval of the renegade Tito.

From 1960, the two lines, Marxist-Leninist line versus revisionist line, clashed completely on all fronts over all aspects of the class struggle in the country and internationally. This was particularly the case with regard to the aggression of the Belgian colonialists against the Congolese people in July 1960, in connection with the intervention of American imperialism in the Congo under the guise of the UN, during the great strike in December 1960-January 1961, during the discussion on the "Declaration of the 81 Communist and Workers Parties", during various protest movements, about the fight against anti-strike laws.

Marxist-Leninists persisted in the fight against revisionist betrayal, in the relentless denunciation of social democratic reformism, in the defense of the just demands of the working people and of democratic freedoms, in the fight against American imperialism - enemy number one people all over the world - against his acolytes of Belgian high finance and against national betrayal. They persisted in the struggle to drive NATO, the Yankee imperialists, out of the country. They persisted in active proletarian internationalism, in particular in total solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people, with the brave Congolese people, with Cuba - when in October-November 1962 the American imperialism, represented by Kennedy, and modern revisionism, represented by Khrushchev, concentrated their combined efforts against the Cuban Revolution. Marxist-Leninists persisted in active proletarian internationalism, in total solidarity with the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania, with the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Republic of China - when it was attacked by the reactionary Indian bourgeoisie instigated and supported both by American imperialism and by the Soviet revisionists.

When in 1963 the Khrushchevite leaders, supported by their masters from the Soviet Union, convened a false "XIVth Congress of the Communist Party", with the aim of making it consecrate their betrayal and "theorize", to erect it in statutes and to provoke a split, the Brussels Federation immediately replied from tack to tack and convened the Extraordinary Federal Congress in June.

The Party is strengthening in action on all fronts

From the outset the Brussels Federation, animated by a great revolutionary enthusiasm, gave the example of what should be a Marxist-Leninist party organization, forging, steeping and strengthening in and for action, realizing the unity of theory - guide for action - and practice.

The ideological and political struggle within the Party continued to be waged with vigor and in better conditions, the line of demarcation between the Marxist-Leninists and the revisionists having been drawn clearly and completely on the ideological, political and organizational level.

With each exacerbation of the class struggle, each time that the Party had to cross a new stage of its development, this ideological and political struggle sharpened: deviations reappeared openly, opportunism as main danger, as well as demonstrations of sectarianism, dogmatism and adventurism.

Each time also the ideological and political struggle within the Party made it possible to isolate and beat these deviations, to raise the ideological, political level and the fighting spirit of the Party, to give it the possibility of going from the before, to gain new and greater successes.

The facts have strikingly contradicted the misconceptions of the short-sighted politicians who saw in these important ideological and political controversies "boring quarrels" over allegedly "unimportant" matters.

Each time, on the contrary, the Party found itself invigorated by this struggle and its real unity, Marxist-Leninist, carried to an ever higher level.

It was this ideological and political struggle that made it possible to unmask opportunists, incorrigible deviationists who had moved into anti-party positions, enemies who had infiltrated our ranks.

The Party then firmly eliminated elements, despising the shouting and blackmail of the enemies, the lamentations of the weak and the conciliators who predicted the demise of the Party.

On the contrary, the Party was strengthened by purifying itself and this purging was a necessary condition for its march forward.

The leadership of the Party made sure that in this political and ideological struggle, the friend who made a mistake was not confused with the enemy, it always made sure to act patiently, by conviction and thus helped the federation to rally to the line of the Party most of the few comrades who were in error.

The Brussels Federation swept the small gang of fascist gangsters from Massoz.

The Brussels Federation broke down the obstacles put up by some of its leaders who claimed to prevent any serious criticism of them and to "depoliticize" the Party: it further developed, in the end, an intense political life, always closely linked to action.

The Brussels Federation has made great progress in the correct application of the Leninist rules for the functioning of the Party, in the application of democratic centralism, in the practice of criticism and self-criticism.

With the help of the Political Bureau and the Central Committee, the ideological and political struggle continues within the Brussels Federation: it constitutes a powerful factor in strengthening the Party, its influence and its general struggle.

The situation is excellent for the revolutionary forces of the working class, the working masses. The working people, thanks to the activity of the Party, to its avant-garde action, strike ever harsher blows to the class enemy, to American imperialism, to its acolytes of Belgian high finance and to their lackeys and collaborators from the Khrushchevite Party, the PSC and the PLP

In the months following the reconstitution of the Brussels Party Federation on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the real Communists also regrouped in other regions and rebuilt the Party there.

It was then the National Conference of December 1963 which was, in fact, the real **25th Congress of the Communist Party of Belgium**, reconstructing the Party on a national scale, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Since then, our Party, overcoming all difficulties, removing all obstacles, is getting stronger and moving forward.

CHAPTER II

THE IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL STRUGGLE WITHIN THE PARTY TO BEAT AND SCAN ANY TREND, ANY ANTI-MARXIST-LENINIST FRACTION TO MAKE THE IDEOLOGY AND THE MARXIST-LENINIST LINE MEET

The two tactics of the bourgeoisie against the working people

In an attempt to maintain their class domination, the exploiters and the oppressors have always used a double tactic: on the one hand repression, violent and open aggression, prison and assassination; on the other hand, deception, to lead the exploited, the oppressed to accept exploitation, oppression, even to rejoice in it and to participate and collaborate in their implementation, to practice the collaboration of classes which is in reality an allegedly “peaceful” form of oppression of the working class, of the working masses, because there is no equality between exploiters and exploited.

In the class struggle waged on an international scale as in each country - and we can see this every day in Belgium itself - these two tactics of capitalism, of imperialism, are used constantly and complementarily.

Besides open violence, financial capital, imperialism, practice deception which is exercised in particular by multiple means of intoxication, in different forms, by the press, books, films, radio, television, in schools, through various organizations, of youth and others, religious or not, the bourgeois parties constituting particularly important cogs of this machinery to deceive.

The PSC and PLP are openly bourgeois parties.

Because it claims to be of the working class, that it acts in a working-class environment, the PSB is particularly useful to capitalism, especially to American imperialism of which it has made the lackey: this is why the PSB is in is currently the main political pillar of American imperialism in Belgium.

The Khrushchevite party, spokesperson for American-Soviet cooperation for world domination, is also a political pillar of capitalism, of American imperialism.

The UGS, this small formation with Trotskyist leadership, also served the bourgeoisie by diversion and the spread of a reformism labelled "left".

The penetration of bourgeois ideology among the exploited, the oppressed, takes place through various channels, also through social strata that capitalism uses or attempts to use as social support.

The working-class aristocracy - in which the union integrated into the regime are situated - a social layer benefiting from the crumbs that imperialism grants it and which result in particular from the overexploitation of peoples and nations oppressed by colonialism and neo-colonialism, constitutes a of these channels of diffusion of bourgeois ideology within the proletariat, of the exploited working masses.

These are, in broad outline, the various forms of oppression exercised by big capital against the working people, by means of open violence on the one hand, and of deception, by ideological and political pressure on the other.

The two tactics of the bourgeoisie against the Communist Party

Revolutionary vigilance to annihilate imperialist attacks on the Party

It goes without saying that capitalism and imperialism particularly attack the revolutionary avant-garde, the proletarian party, the party of the socialist revolution, which in our time is the Marxist-Leninist party. Imperialism wants to destroy this party and thus deprive the working class, and with it all the working people, of the party which is necessary for them to resist daily the assaults of capital and which is above all essential to them in order to be able to destroy the capitalist regime based on the exploitation of man by man, knocking down his state apparatus, in order to be able to establish popular democracy, the dictatorship of the proletariat and build socialism.

To this end, imperialism also uses various means which derive from its two fundamental tactics, open violence and deception, ideological and political pressure.

The action of the class enemy against the Communist, Marxist-Leninist party, in an attempt to weaken and crush it, is not only direct repression and provocations mounted from the outside. It is also the use of the tactics of the Trojan horse, the attempts of disintegration and destruction from the inside. And these do not consist solely of the use of police-type agents, whistle blowers and provocateurs.

Imperialism also counts on the deviations that can lead the Party into opportunism or even into sectarianism and dogmatism.

The enemy even hopes to destroy the revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist party, by transforming it into a revisionist, reformist party.

These actions can be orchestrated by agents aware of the enemy, working directly on behalf of the bourgeoisie, its police or one of its political parties. Let us remember the action of a Doriot or a Terfve within communist parties.

But this enterprise of disintegration, of political decomposition can also be the result of tendencies, of fractions bringing together certain members of the Party who, while believing themselves to be communists, are in fact capitulars, bearers of bourgeois or petty-bourgeois ideology, incorrigible opportunists.

These tendencies will try to lean on the ideologically and politically weak members of the Party, on those still imbued with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois conceptions, on those still influenced by the classic revisionist and reformist ideology, on those who lack revolutionary conviction, on those who appreciate the bourgeois or petit-bourgeois way of life and who dislike the revolutionary struggle, the efforts, the tenacity, the firmness and the sacrifices that it implies.

Those with these weaknesses risk becoming prey to opportunism, becoming supporters of revisionism, becoming or becoming revisionists again.

It is in the ideological and political struggle waged in an uncompromising, resolute and to the end that the Party will unmask the declared spokespersons of opportunism within it, isolate them, divide them, rallying to the positions and to Marxist-Leninist practice the recoverable elements which had been mistaken but were in good faith, will be purified by expelling the incorrigible.

During this struggle for the safeguard of the Marxist-Leninist party, we will often come across conciliation, liberalism with regard to opportunism, revisionism and their spokespersons. This is also a form of opportunism.

Experience has shown, moreover, that certain conciliators and certain liberalists are not Communists who would be mistaken in good faith, but are in reality shameful or hypocritical accomplices of the declared spokespersons of opportunism, of revisionism.

The Party must beware of taking as friend the enemy who has become or has become an enemy; he must also beware of taking as his enemy the friend who is mistaken and who can be regained for the revolutionary cause.

In the latter case, when it comes to sincere communists temporarily affected by opportunism, every effort must be made to convince these comrades of their error; only the debate based on principles, open, conducted firmly and in clarity, will make it possible to heal them, to save them from revisionist degeneration, to regain them in Marxism-Leninism.

But if it is a question of minor divergences, we must avoid making it worse; this could only play into the hands of the incorrigible opportunists, of the enemy.

The Party's Marxist-Leninist unity is a necessary condition for it to fulfil its historic role.

The Communists must never forget that "unity" with opportunism, revisionism, with any other anti-Marxist-Leninist deviation becoming a tendency within the Party (and a fortiori, when the tendency is constituted a fraction), would bring about the end of the Marxist-Leninist unity of the Party: this would be a betrayal of the Party, of the revolutionary cause of the working class, of the working people.

It is therefore necessary to conduct firmly, resolutely, the indispensable ideological and political struggle within the Party, to beat and sweep away any anti-Marxist-Leninist, opportunist or other tendency.

CHAPTER III

A CONSTANT IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL STRUGGLE

The history of the workers' movement has been marked, since Karl Marx, by the action of scientific socialism, that is to say of Marxism, then of Marxism-Leninism, of the thought of Mao Tsetung, Marxism - Leninism of the contemporary period, to guide the struggle of the working class, of the working masses.

This action, essential to ensure the victory of the struggle of the working class, of the working masses, takes place through a bitter confrontation against non-proletarian ideologies, to denounce, isolate, sweep away, shoot down, within the class worker and its allies, on all fronts, ideological, political, cultural and organizational, the conceptions propagated by the bourgeoisie with the help of certain elements which thus make themselves conscious or unconscious agents of the class enemy.

And this struggle also takes place in the Communist Party.

The rational knowledge of the historical experience of the workers' movement, of proletarian revolutionary organizations and parties is given to us by the teachings of the theorists of scientific socialism. This is why we must study, and still study these teachings to better know the class enemy, to better fight it now and in the future.

Marx and Engels

When in 1848 Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels published the "Communist Manifesto" to prepare the proletarian vanguard as well as popular opinion for the proletariat to take power, they defined the fundamental principles of Marxism, the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle of that time and they also devoted an important part of the "Manifesto" to the criticism and denunciation of ideologies supposedly "socialist" but in reality utopian, conservative, bourgeois and reactionary.

Let us see, for example, how Marx and Engels castigate one of these varieties of pseudo-socialism, conservative or bourgeois socialism; this energetic denunciation still retains its full value today because social democratic reformism and modern revisionism, in their eclecticism, also adopt the conceptions of conservative or bourgeois socialism stigmatized by Marx and Engels:

“Part of the bourgeoisie seeks to remedy social anomalies in order to consolidate bourgeois society.

In this category fall economists, philanthropists, humanitarians, people who work to improve the lot of the working class, to organize charities, to protect animals, to found temperance societies, in short, room reformers of all ilk. And we have gone so far as to develop this bourgeois socialism into complete systems.

Let us quote, for example, Proudhon’s “Philosophy of misery”.

The bourgeois socializations want the living conditions of modern society without the struggles and the dangers that inevitably ensue. They want today's society, but purged of the elements that revolutionize and dissolve it. They want the bourgeoisie without the proletariat. The bourgeoisie, of course, represents the world in which it dominates as the best of worlds. Bourgeois socialism more or less systematizes this consoling representation. When he summons the proletariat to realize its systems and enter the new Jerusalem, it does nothing but invite it, basically, to stick to current society, but to get rid of the hateful conception that he does.

Another form of socialism, less systematic, but more practical, tried to disgust the workers of any revolutionary movement, by showing them that it was not this or that political transformation, but only a transformation of the conditions of material life, of economic reports, which could benefit them. Note that, by transforming the conditions of material life, this socialism does not mean the abolition of the bourgeois production regime, which is only possible through revolution, but only the realization of administrative reforms on the very basis of bourgeois production, reforms which, consequently, do not change anything in the relations of Capital and Wage-earning and do nothing more than reduce the costs of their domination for the bourgeoisie and lighten the state budget.

Bourgeois socialism reaches its adequate expression only when it becomes a simple figure of rhetoric.

Free trade, in the interest of the working class! Protective rights, in the interest of the working class! Cellular prisons, in the interest of the working class! This is the last word of bourgeois socialism, the only word it has seriously said.

Because bourgeois socialism is entirely rooted in this assertion that the bourgeois are bourgeois - in the interest of the working class”. (Marx and Engels: " Communist Manifesto " Foreign Language Editions - Beijing, 1966)

Among the hard struggles waged by Marx and Engels against opportunists of all kinds, against the bearers of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, let us cite the fierce fight which took place within the First International, shortly after the crushing of the Municipality of Paris, against defeatists and disintegrators of all kinds who wanted, in fact, to destroy the First International; among them the petty-bourgeois anarchist Bakunin distinguished himself by the baseness of his attacks against the General Council of the International and against Marx personally.

Let us also cite the "Critics of the Gotha program" by Marx and Engels, and that of the "Erfurt Program" by Engels, in which Marx and Engels denounce with ruthless rigor of the conceptions which were to be the "ideological" fulcrum of reformism in social democracy.

Engels said of the unity achieved on this basis, that "it carries within it the germ of the split" (about Gotha's program) and again "what can happen if not that, suddenly, at the moment decisive, the Party will be caught off guard and that on decisive points, there will be confusion and lack of unity because these questions will never have been discussed" (Criticism of the Erfurt Program).

He warned (already in 1891) against "opportunism which is beginning to spread in a large part of the social democratic press".

Most parties of the Second International degenerated in fact even before the First World War into reformist parties, bourgeoisie parties, social and political supports of capitalism.

Reformism in Belgium before the First World War

In Belgium, the Vandervelde, the Anseele, the Bertrand, and most of the other social democratic leaders prevented the spread of Marxist thought: the name of Marx was mentioned only once in "De Werker" in Antwerp in 1871; since then not a single word on Marx or Marxism before the 1890s and it will take until 1910 for the social democratic press to publish a first text by Marx and Engels.

The reformist leaders prevented the POB (Belgian Workers Party) from becoming a revolutionary party, a Marxist party, and by their systematic opportunism - in other words by their betrayal - made it become a party in the service of capitalism.

Commenting on the lessons of the great strike of the Belgian workers of 1913, Lenin said:

"So what are the causes of the strike's poor success? ... The first cause is the predominance of opportunism and reformism among some of the Belgian socialists ... To focus less on the liberals, to give them less confidence, to believe more firmly in the autonomous struggle and full of self-denial of the proletariat, such is the first lesson of the Belgian strike.

The second cause of the partial failure is the weakness of the workers' organizations and the weakness of the Party in Belgium. The Belgian Workers Party is a union of politically organized workers and politically unorganized workers, "pure" cooperators, trade unionists, etc. Therein lies a serious flaw in the workers' movement in Belgium...

More attention for socialist propaganda, more work for the formation of a solid organization, inflexible as for principles, faithful to socialism and a strict spirit of party, such is the second lesson of the Belgian strike ».

The Vandervelde, the Anseele, the Bertrand, did immeasurably more harm to the working class, to the working masses, incomparably rendered more services to the bourgeoisie than all the Vander Smissen [1] and that all the police provocateurs such as the Pourbaix and The law. [2]

In 1914, the betrayal of the reformist social democrats, each openly supporting their own bourgeoisie, would send its millions of workers to the world imperialist butchery ...

Lenin

In Russia, it was in the action carried out on all fronts and through the intransigent struggle against all the opportunists, against the revisionists of all kinds, against the Mensheviks, the liquidators, the economists, the Trotskyists, that soaked the Bolshevik party led by Lenin and guided by his thought. It is thanks to the existence of this party that the Russian Revolution was victorious in 1917, by establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and by starting to carry out the tasks of the socialist revolution.

There is no Lenin's writing or speech which does not include an implacable and scathing denunciation of opportunism, of revisionism.

The conciliators, playing the partisans of "unity at all costs", of false unity with opportunism, presenting themselves as "tender souls" lamented about the "tone" used by Lenin because he called a spade a spade, and revisionism a betrayal of the working class, the working people.

And the very people who were full of tenderness for the opportunists, and therefore opportunists themselves, joined the hateful choir against Lenin and Leninism.

It was the same elsewhere, it is the same everywhere today.

Lenin said (in 1916):

"This is my fate. One battle after another against political stupidity, vulgarity, expediency, etc.

It has been like this since 1893. And it has earned me hatred for the Philistines. Well I would not want to exchange this fate for "peace" with the Philistines ".

Let us always remember the words of Lenin:

"One of the essential conditions for preparing the victory of the proletariat is the long and relentless struggle, the implacable struggle which it must wage against opportunism, reformism, social-chauvinism and other similar bourgeois influences and currents, which are inevitable since the proletariat acts in a capitalist atmosphere. Without this struggle, without first having won a total victory over opportunism in the workers' movement, there can be no question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Bolshevism would not have triumphed over the bourgeoisie in 1917-1919 if it had not first learned, in the years 1903-1917, to overcome and mercilessly drive out of the ranks of the avant-garde party proletarian, the Mensheviks, that is to say the opportunists, the reformists, the social-chauvinists... ”

"The relatively" peaceful "character of the period 1871-1914 fed opportunism, state of mind first, tendency then, and finally group or layer formed by the workers' bureaucracy and the petty-bourgeois fellow travellers. These elements could only submit to the workers' movement by recognizing in words the revolutionary objectives and revolutionary tactics. They could only gain the confidence of the masses by swearing that all "peaceful" work was only preparation for the proletarian revolution. This contradiction was the abscess

which was to one day pierce, and which pierced. The main thing is to know whether to try, as Kautsky and Cie do, to push this pus back into the body again in the name of "unity" (with the pus), or if it is necessary to help the complete healing of the organism of the workers' movement, to rid it of this pus as quickly and as carefully as possible, in spite of the acute but fleeting pain which this operation causes ". (*Opportunism and the bankruptcy of the Second International* - January 1916)

At a time when the working class of our country and its Communist Party, as well as the working people are waging ever more bitter fights, when they have to prepare for decisive struggles, let us remember these words of Lenin:

"If we keep reformists and Mensheviks in its ranks, the proletarian revolution cannot win and cannot continue. It is a matter of principle and it is vividly confirmed by the experience of Russia and Hungary. This is a decisive consideration ...

In Russia, we have committed thousands of mistakes, we have suffered thousands of failures, losses, etc ... but despite all our mistakes, we have achieved the essential objective, the conquest of power by the proletariat. And we victoriously maintained this power for three years ...

... The proletarian power in Russia has found itself so many times in such difficult situations that the Soviet regime would certainly have been knocked down if the Mensheviks, the Reformers, the petty-bourgeois democrats had remained in our Party, or even more or less less significant in the central Soviet organizations...

... In Italy where, according to general opinion, we are moving towards decisive battles of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, for the conquest of state power. At such a time it is not only absolutely necessary to exclude the Mensheviks, reformists and furatists from the Party, it may even be useful to exclude excellent communists who are hesitant and hesitant in the sense of "unity" with the Reformers, to remove them from all important positions ...

... On the eve of the revolution and at the time of the most bitter struggle for its victory, the slightest hesitation within the Party can lose everything, make the revolution fail, wrest power from the hands of the proletariat, this power not being still solid, the attacks he suffered being too strong. If in such a moment the hesitant leaders withdraw, it does not weaken, but strengthens both the Party, and the workers' movement, and the Revolution ...

Today, it is essential, it is absolutely essential, for the victory of the revolution in Italy that an entirely Communist party, incapable of hesitating and showing weakness at the decisive moment, truly become the vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat; a party which brings together the greatest fanaticism, the greatest devotion to the revolution, a boundless energy, daring and decision ...

The revolutionaries, the communists must not contest the dangers and the difficulties of the struggle, to inspire the masses more firmness, to purify the Party of the weak, the hesitant, the unstable, to instil in the whole movement more enthusiasm, more internationalism, more spirit of sacrifice for a great cause ... "(Lenin:" About the struggle within the Italian Socialist Party "November 1921)

Stalin

Stalin, follower and follower of Lenin, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism. He led the vigorous struggle of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in particular against deviationists of all kinds, against the enemies of Leninism, Trotskyists, Zinovievists, Bukharinians and other agents of the bourgeoisie.

It was thanks to the fact that these enemies of Leninism were defeated in ideological and political struggles that the Soviet people were able to save the October conquests against all enemies inside and outside that they were able to consolidate its conquests, to develop them, which the Soviet people boldly advanced in the socialist construction, carried out the collectivization of agriculture and the five-year plans, gained great victories in particular on the economic front, which it brought, in accordance with the proletarian internationalism, an immense aid to the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the world and that it was able to gain a grand victory in the great anti-fascist war.

Stalin also confirmed, on the basis of the experience of the Bolshevik Party acquired during a long, complex, relentless, multiform struggle, this teaching of Marxism-Leninism:

“The opportunist elements of the Party are the source of factionism. The proletariat is not a closed class. Constantly we see elements of peasant, petty-bourgeois origin, intellectuals proletarianized by the development of capitalism, flowing towards him. At the same time there is a process of decomposition of the upper layers of the proletariat, mainly among the union leaders and parliamentarians that the bourgeoisie maintains with the surplus profit from the colonies. "This layer of middle-class workers, says Lenin, or of working-class aristocracy", entirely petty-bourgeois by their way of life, by their wages, by their whole conception of the world, is the main support of the Second International, and of nowadays the main (non-military) social support of the bourgeoisie. *Imperialism* , t. XIX, p. 77)

“All these petty-bourgeois groups somehow penetrate the Party; they bring the spirit of hesitation and opportunism, the spirit of demoralization and uncertainty. It is they mainly who represent the source of factionism and disintegration, the source of Party disorganization which they undermine from within. To wage war on imperialism by having such "allies" at the rear is to expose oneself to wiping fire on two sides, on the front and rear sides. Thus the merciless struggle against such elements and their expulsion from the Party are the prerequisite for the success of the struggle against imperialism.

The theory that "we can get rid of" the opportunist elements through an ideological struggle within the Party, according to which we must "overcome" these elements within the framework of a single party, is a rotten and dangerous theory which threatens to condemn the Party to paralysis and chronic uneasiness; it threatens to give opportunism to the Party; it threatens to leave the proletariat without a revolutionary party; it threatens to deprive the proletariat of its main weapon in the fight against imperialism. Our Party could not have taken the high road, it could not have taken power and organized the dictatorship of the proletariat, it could not have emerged victorious from the civil war, if it had had its ranks of Martov and Dan, Patressov and Axelrod. If our Party has succeeded in constituting its internal unity and the unprecedented cohesion which reigns in its ranks, it is above all

because it has been able to purify itself in time of the stain of opportunism, because it has known oust the liquidators and the Mensheviks from the Party. The way of the development and the strengthening of the proletarian parties passes by their purging of the opportunists and the reformists, the social-imperialists and the social-chauvinists, the social-patriots and the social-pacifists. The Party is getting stronger by purging itself of the opportunist elements ”. (Stalin: " The way of the development and the strengthening of the proletarian parties passes by their purging of the opportunists and the reformists, the social-imperialists and the social-chauvinists, the social-patriots and the social-pacifists. The Party is getting stronger by purging itself of the opportunist elements ”. (Stalin: " Principles of Leninism ”).

Modern revisionism

What happened later to the great party of Lenin, momentarily destroyed by a clique of odious revisionist traitors, must also serve as education, as a serious warning for all Marxise-Leninists.

We have seen that even under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, more than thirty-five years after the proletariat came to power, the revisionism of Khrushchev and his group, representing a privileged layer carrying bourgeois ideology, was able, operating from the inside, to carry out a veritable subversion, to annihilate the CPSU as a Revolutionary Party, to liquidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, to proceed to the restoration of capitalism in the USSR, to completely renounce proletarian internationalism and to practice cooperation American-Soviet for world domination against peoples.

This is because the class struggle continues for a long historical period after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and finds its reflection in the Party.

The CPSU, with Comrade Stalin at its head, disregarded to some extent the objective laws of the class struggle, of contradictions among the people after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and during the socialist revolution, omitted to some extent take into account the existence of the social foundations of revisionism. He underestimated the need to completely defeat the bourgeoisie, capitalism, in the field of super-structure, of ideology, and not only in economic infrastructure. He neglected, to a certain point, the struggle to root out the ideology, ideas, conceptions, habits and customs of the bourgeoisie. The teaching of Marxism-Leninism to the new generations was often bookish and not linked to the revolutionary practice of class struggle,

All of this created the subjective conditions which allowed the revisionist counter-current to overwhelm the CPSU, to annihilate it as a proletarian, Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party, to destroy the dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR, to restore capitalism in the USSR and to practice American-Soviet cooperation with a view to world domination, against the peoples.

The revisionist counter-current centred on the Khrushchev group - with or without Khrushchev - who usurped power in the Soviet Union, certainly rendered great service to imperialism, caused great damage to the cause of the world proletarian revolution . But the worldwide struggle by the Marxist-Leninists opposing the revisionist counter-current, and in particular the firm and just Marxist-Leninist position of the Chinese Communist Party and the Party of labour of Albania, has enabled the forces of the world revolution to move forward, to gain new successes despite the various adventures of combat.

The denunciation of revisionist degeneration, the great debate on the general line of the international communist movement gave new vigour to the revolutionary combat of the peoples against imperialisms having as their leader American imperialism, against their lackeys and against the revisionist collaborators of Yankee imperialism. They have brought the revolutionary consciousness of hundreds of millions of workers to a new level.

And countless avant-garde workers also understood the necessity of a proletarian, Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party for the revolution to be victorious.

As expressed by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in its " Proposals concerning the general line of the international communist movement " (June 14, 1963):

“The most important experience of the international communist movement is that the development and the victory of the revolution depend on the existence of a proletarian revolutionary party.

We need a revolutionary party.

We need a revolutionary party based on the revolutionary theories of Marxism-Leninism and having a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist style.

We need a revolutionary party that knows how to associate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the country's revolution.

We need a revolutionary party that knows how to link its leadership closely with the broad masses of the people.

We need a revolutionary party that sticks to the truth, which is able to correct its mistakes and to carry out criticism and self-criticism.

Only a revolutionary party of this type is capable of leading the proletariat and the broad popular masses to victory in their struggle against imperialism and its lackeys, to achieve a complete victory in the national and democratic revolution, and to make the revolution triumph socialist ”.

Mao Tsetung

Comrade Mao Tsetung said:

“Opposition and the struggle between different conceptions constantly appear within the Party. It is a reflection, in the Party, of class contradictions and contradictions between the

new and the old existing in society. If there were no contradictions and an ideological struggle in the Party to resolve the contradictions, the life of the Party would end. ”

The great and glorious Chinese Communist Party with its just Marxist-Leninist line is an armed party of Marxism-Leninism, of the thought of Mao Tsetung, who, in our time, where imperialism is approaching its total ruin, and where socialism marches towards victory all over the world, constitutes the summit of Marxism-Leninism, of value and of universal truth.

The Chinese Communist Party and the thought of Mao Tsetung have developed in the struggle against class enemies, Chinese and foreign, and against the various varieties of opportunism within the Party.

During the period of the democratic revolution, the thought of Mao Tsetung, the just Marxist-Leninist line triumphed within the Chinese Communist Party through bitter struggles against opportunism, which appeared as an opportunist line from right to twice, in the form of an “left” opportunist line three times.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, the establishment of popular democracy, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party with Comrade Mao Tsetung at its head fought three great struggles against anti cliques -party and revisionists. This was the case from 1953 to 1955, in 1958-59. The third great struggle is that waged against the recently exposed counter-revolutionary clique which opposes the Chinese Communist Party, it's just Marxist-Leninist line, the socialist revolution, at the thought of Mao Tsetung.

The five great victorious struggles against opportunism in the phase of the democratic revolution, were the condition for the triumph of the Chinese revolution in this period. They were therefore ideological and political struggles of world importance and victories for the world proletarian revolution.

The three great victorious struggles which took place within the Chinese Communist Party for sixteen years between Marxism-Leninism, the thought of Mao Tsetung on the one hand and revisionism on the other hand, were struggles between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the way of socialism and the way of capitalism.

It was the victory of the Marxist-Leninist line crushing the revisionist line, which allowed the socialist revolution to advance in China by leaps and bounds, for the People's Republic of China to become the most powerful bastion of socialism, of the world proletarian revolution, , the most powerful force on the world front of the peoples against American imperialism, their number one enemy. It is these victorious struggles of Marxism-Leninism within the Chinese Communist Party which allowed it to make an invaluable contribution to the fight to denounce, isolate and sweep the Khrushchevite revisionist counter-current on an international scale, it is these victorious struggles which made the Chinese Communist Party a great beacon of the revolutionary struggle of the communists and the peoples of the whole world.

We must learn from these struggles, of universal importance and value, in our own action.

Here is what our Chinese comrades say (“Long live the thought of Mao Tsetung”, editorial of the “ *Renmin Ribao* ” of July 1, 1966, in commemoration of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party):

“Whenever our Party has experienced a far-reaching struggle, it has purified itself of a small handful of elements foreign to the working class, which have infiltrated its ranks.

This is a completely normal phenomenon and conforms to objective laws. Each time we have fought such a struggle, our Party has seen its unity strengthened, it has consolidated and its fighting power has increased. It is in vain that imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries inside and outside dream of finding something to peck there ”.

We said previously (about the 3rd anniversary of the Brussels Federation on the basis of Marxism-Leninism) that the history of our Party gives us the same lesson, the same teaching.

Comrade Mao Tsetung also showed what is the place of antagonism in contradiction, in particular with regard to contradictions within the Party:

“When we consider the problems of the struggle of opposites, the question arises of what is antagonism. To this question, we will answer: antagonism is one of the forms of the struggle of opposites and not its universal form.

(...)

The contradictions and the struggle are universal, absolute, but the methods to resolve the contradictions, that is to say the forms of struggle, differ according to the various characters of the contradictions: certain contradictions take on the character of a declared antagonism, others do not. According to the concrete development of the phenomena, certain originally non-antagonistic contradictions develop into antagonistic contradictions: on the other hand, certain originally antagonistic contradictions develop into non-antagonistic contradictions.

Under the conditions of class society, the contradictions between right and wrong conceptions in the ranks of the Communist Party, as we said above, are a reflection, within the Party, of class contradictions in society. In the initial period or in certain questions, these contradictions do not immediately appear as antagonistic. However, with the development of the class struggle, these contradictions can become antagonistic. The history of the Communist Party of the USSR has shown us that the contradictions between the correct conceptions of Lenin and Stalin, and the misconceptions of Trotsky, Bukharin and others, did not manifest themselves at the outset in an antagonistic form, but that, subsequently, they became antagonistic.

Such circumstances have existed in the history of the Chinese Communist Party. The contradictions between the correct conceptions of many comrades and the mistaken conceptions of Tchen Touseiou, Tchang Kouo-tao and others did not manifest themselves at first in an antagonistic form, but subsequently they became antagonistic.

Currently (August 1937), the contradictions between right and wrong conceptions within the Party have not taken an antagonistic form and if the comrades have made mistakes know how to correct them, these contradictions will not become antagonistic. This is why the Party

must, on the one hand, wage a severe fight against misconceptions, but, on the other hand, give full opportunity to the comrades who have made mistakes to become aware of them. In such a situation, an excessively severe fight is obviously inadequate. However, if those who have made mistakes persist in their mistakes and make them worse, these contradictions can become antagonistic”. (“ On contradiction ”, August 1937)

Many other works of Comrade Mao Tsetung among which we cite "The elimination of misconceptions in the Party", " From practice ", " Against liberalism ", "About the methods of leadership", "Firming up the system of Party committees "and" Working methods of Party committees ", give valuable lessons on the importance of the ideological and political struggle in the ranks of the Party, on the characteristics of contradictions within the Party, on the conception and the Marxist-Leninist method which must guide us to wage an ideological and political struggle within the Party.

These lessons, the result of long practice and extensive experience, are of universal value.

Let us quote for example, taken from “ From practice ”, this analysis which applies, how precisely, to the small opportunist group which was plotting within our Party to try to destroy its just Marxist-Leninist line and transform it into a revisionist party .

"We are fighting in our revolutionary ranks against stubbornness whose ideas do not keep pace with the changes in the objective situation, which in history has manifested itself in the form of right-wing opportunism. These people do not see that the struggle of opposites has already advanced the objective process while their knowledge still remains at the previous level. This characteristic is specific to the ideas of all stubborn people. Their ideas are cut off from social practice, and they do not know how to walk in front of the chariot of society to guide it, they only drag themselves behind, complaining that it is going too fast and trying to bring it back or roll it in reverse ”.

Vanity and pride also contributed to the degeneration of members of the small anti-party group now exposed in Belgium.

May all Party activists, and especially the leaders, always remember these words of Comrade Mao Tsetung:

“Take care not to be proud. It is a matter of principle for all leaders and it is also an important condition for the maintenance of unity. Even those who have not committed serious mistakes and who have achieved great success in their work should not be proud. ” (“Working methods of Party committees”, 1949)

Liberalism still rages too often within our Party, constituting an obstacle to the rigorous and firm application of the Party line, an obstacle to our progress and to the Marxist-Leninist strengthening of the Party.

"Liberals," said Comrade Mao Tsetung, "regard the principles of Marxism as an abstract dogma. They approve of Marxism, but are not prepared to put it into practice or to put it fully into practice; they are not prepared to replace their liberalism with Marxism. They have Marxism, but also Liberalism, they speak as Marxists, but act as Liberals; they apply

Marxism to others, but liberalism to themselves. There are two things with them and each has its own use. This is how some people's brains work.

Liberalism is a manifestation of opportunism and is in radical conflict with Marxism". (" Against liberalism ")

We can also see that the counter-revolutionary clique which recently, in China, plotted against the just Marxist-Leninist line of the Chinese Communist Party, against the thought of Mao Tsetung, used cunning methods which resemble in many points to those of the anti-party group currently denounced by our Party.

Currently, the Chinese people, guided by the Communist Party led by Comrade Mao Tsetung, are leading the great socialist cultural revolution which opens a new stage of historical and world importance for the socialist revolution. The ideological documents of the Chinese Communist Party on the great socialist cultural revolution constitute new developments in Marxism-Leninism, in the thought of Mao Tsetung, also give us lessons of universal value and are of great help for our own struggle. .

Our Party

During its forty-five years of existence, our Party has constantly experienced within it ideological and political struggles in which the Marxist-Leninists have had successes but also setbacks. The history of these struggles gives us lessons that are still valid, both by positive and negative examples.

These struggles within the Party and the Party's action within society in the practice of the class struggle, formed the Party as it is today.

Already during the split from social democratic reformism, during the Party formation process in 1921, the struggle was bitter against the various deviations which, while claiming to be abusive of Marxism, were the fact of either opportunists on the right, "conciliators" with regard to reformist traitors, supporters of the "International two and a half", or opportunists "on the left", sectarians.

Thereafter, the struggle to defeat and eliminate counter-revolutionary Trotskyism from the Party ranks was extremely close. Trotskyism threatened the Subversion Party, but in vain: in 1927 it was crushed.

However, and even within the leadership of the Party, a group successively practicing right opportunism on the one hand, "left" opportunism, sectarianism and dogmatism on the other hand, attacked Comrade Joseph Jacquemotte , founder and leader of the Party, caused great damage to the Party and hindered its development.

When the actions of this group resulted in the leadership of the Communist Youth concluding a "unity pact" with the small group of the "Trotskyist Youth", these anti-Marxist-Leninist deviationists within the leadership of the Party were unmasked. The National Conference of the Party in Charleroi in 1935, conference which transformed into Congress, marked the defeat of this group and constituted a success of Marxism-Leninism.

The Party then experienced a period of great growth, of strengthening its links with the masses, of increasing its influence, of quantitative and qualitative development of its organization. Thus through action he became the Party which was able to be, not only the vanguard of the peoples of Belgium in the fight against the Hitler occupier, but also effectively the guide and the organizer of this fight which developed on all fronts, by all means, from the writing, editing and dissemination of the clandestine press, the organization of strikes, demonstrations, to the armed struggle of the Partisans.

The Party, developing its own action under the harsh conditions of the underground, under the Hitlerian occupation, was also the promoter of the "Independence Front" and forged under this name a veritable and vast united revolutionary front against Hitlerite. However, as early as 1943, taking advantage in particular of the numerous arrests of Marxist-Leninist leaders of the Party by the Hitlerian Gestapo, opportunist elements, agents of the bourgeoisie, developed a harmful action within the Party and penetrated in its direction.

Thus when the Hitlerites were driven out of Belgium, the majority of the Party leadership was made up of right-wing opportunists. While the popular masses were animated by a great revolutionary impulse, a great fighting spirit, a great desire to bring down the rotten regime of the capitalist dictatorship and to establish popular democracy, these opportunist leaders gave up all struggle real against the bourgeoisie and practiced class collaboration with capitalism. They cooperated with the bourgeoisie to disarm, demobilize the working class, the working masses, and to restore the bourgeois state machine, which was deeply shaken, discredited in the eyes of the masses, despised and hated by them. By their policy, opportunist leaders of the Party put back in the saddle the old parties of the bourgeoisie which had sunk into discredit, and in particular the PSB (Belgian Socialist Party). This again became the main social and political support of capitalism and became, under the new conditions after the Second World War, the main social and political support in Belgium of American imperialism.

These opportunist Party leaders liquidated the revolutionary class struggle unions, born out of the valiant struggle of the "Union Struggle Committees" (CLS) under occupation, by handing unions over to the house of PSB reformist union leaders.

They pretended to ignore the ferocious Belgian colonialism in the Congo and even spoke of "our" Congo.

These opportunist leaders deceived a large number of Party comrades, deceived the masses by giving a false analysis of the new concrete situation which had been created. They hid the fact that American imperialism had taken over from Hitler and that the ruling strata of big "Belgian" financial capital already practicing a policy of national betrayal were the acolytes of this new enemy number one of the peoples of the world. They also hid that imperialism was a colossus with feet of clay, that the situation was extremely favourable for the revolutionary struggle of the peoples, hiding the importance of the revolutionary national liberation movements.

Many Marxist-Leninist comrades fought against opportunism which overwhelmed the Party, but the process of knowing this concrete situation within the Party, the nature and

characteristics of the opportunism they were fighting against, was not reached sufficient maturity. These comrades still considered that the opportunists in the leadership of the Party were committing admittedly very serious but correctable errors, that the opportunist leaders could have been put back on the path of Marxism-Leninism, that the contradiction between the Marxist-Leninists and the opportunists in the Party leadership was not antagonistic. As a result, the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists was not waged at this time in a consistent manner, until the end.

Subsequently, as we have often demonstrated, the group of opportunists who then dominated the Party leadership practiced more and more openly, with the help and support of Khrushchevites from the Soviet Union, a policy which became completely revisionist.

The Communists of Belgium must always remember the lessons of these events, the initial phase of a process which would, on the one hand lead the opportunists to the most vile betrayals, to total revisionism codified by their false "XIVth Congress" of 1963 (in reality first congress of the revisionist party), to totally betray the claiming struggle, the struggle for defense of democratic freedoms, the struggle for national independence, proletarian internationalism, the whole cause of the working class, of the working masses, of the socialist revolution, and which was also going to lead the communists to rebuild the Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Opportunism must be fought with the utmost firmness, to the end, with intransigence, as soon as it manifests. Its poison must be immediately eliminated otherwise it corrupts the Party.

The ideological and political struggle must be waged constantly in the leadership of the Party and at the base, to maintain the Party on a just Marxist-Leninist line, rallying by conviction the honest militants who have been mistaken and by eliminating the incorrigible without weakness who are the agents in our ranks of reformism, revisionism, the ideology of the class enemy.

CHAPTER IV

THE IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL STRUGGLE FOR THE FIRM AND RIGOROUS APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLES AND OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST POLITICAL LINE

In June 1963 on the scale of the Brussels Federation, on December 22 of the same year on the scale of the country, the Party was reconstituted on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

By taking up the challenge of the revisionists, the Marxist-Leninists reduced to nothing the absurd hope of annihilating Marxism-Leninism in Belgium, a hope as vain as wanting to suppress the class struggle.

The party, dominated by the revisionists who had seized its leadership, had changed in nature, had become a party of the social democratic type, at the service of the bourgeoisie and more particularly at the service of American-Soviet cooperation for domination of the world

against the people. This party had irreversibly degenerated into revisionist parties, social support, political capitalism, imperialism.

The Marxist-Leninists therefore regrouped, united to rebuild a veritable Communist Party, organized revolutionary vanguard of the working class, of the working masses, a party whose action is guided by the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism.

This Party, we had to rebuild it because all the experience of the world workers movement, of the international communist movement shows that it takes such a revolutionary, proletarian, Marxist-Leninist party, to ensure the victory of the revolution.

Our scientific, Marxist-Leninist analysis of the objective situation internationally and in our country showed not only the need for such a party but also the urgency of its reconstruction.

Our era is one in which imperialism is going to its total collapse and the proletarian revolution is going to victory on a world scale

Indeed, we are faced with an extremely rapid aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism, of imperialism. The situation is excellent for revolutionary forces around the world.

The revolutionary national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, an integral part of the world proletarian revolution, is hitting increasingly harsh direct blows on the imperialists and their leader American imperialism, the world's largest exploiter, the number one enemy of people around the world.

Thanks to the great victories won by the peoples of the countries where the socialist revolution continues, the forces of the dictatorial countries of the proletariat are greater than those of the socialist camp before the betrayal of the Khrushchevite revisionist leaders who restore capitalism in the countries where they have usurped power.

Inter-capitalist, inter-imperialist contradictions are rapidly growing.

The harassment, the interference, the interventions of American imperialism in other capitalist countries, the political, economic and military control it exercises and the colonization which it carries out in the countries which have become its satellites as a result of the national betrayal policy of the dominant strata of financial capital, make the working class, the working people of these countries have the duty, the mission, to raise the flag of the struggle for national independence.

Capital attacks on the standard of living of workers are becoming more and more bitter. A new and deep economic crisis, inevitable in a capitalist regime, is looming.

The war against the valiant Congolese people, perpetrated by the Belgian-American colonialists, torn apart by their contradictions, continues.

The Vietnamese people, heroically fighting to defend the north, liberate the south and reunify their homeland, inflicted defeat upon defeat on the Yankee-Nazi aggressors.

American imperialism - this is a law inherent in its nature - widens the scope of its aggressions; he is preparing the war of aggression against the People's Republic of China, the third world war.

The policy of national treason, the membership of Belgium in NATO, subject the country to a real military occupation by the Yankee troops and those of their West German allies, place the heavy burdens on military workers on the workers, are ruining the country's economy. They draw Belgium into the policy of aggression that American imperialism carries out all over the world.

The fascination of the regime continues.

In addition, in Belgium, there are the contradictions of a national question which is part of the whole class struggle.

Everything showed that the conditions had matured for the working class, the working masses of the industrialized capitalist countries to experience a new awakening, to be able to deploy major struggles; everything showed that the working class, the working masses, had to prepare for decisive combat.

We need a Marxist-Leninist party

This is why we had to urgently reconstitute a real Communist Party.

It was necessary for the working class, the working masses, to retaliate against the assaults of big capital, its state and its leader in Washington. It was necessary for the revolutionary struggle of the workers of Belgium to be able to unfold, to go on the counter-offensive, to strike blows on the class enemy and to concretely demonstrate its active solidarity with the other peoples and nations struggling for their liberation, in the fight against imperialist threats, blackmail and aggression.

It was necessary so that reformism in all its forms - PS Biste, revisionist or Trotskyist - is relentlessly, systematically denounced, or thus isolated, beaten, swept away, an essential condition for the struggle of the working class, of the working masses to be victorious .

It was also necessary because our scientific, Marxist-Leninist analysis of the international situation and of the situation in our country showed that we could experience within a relatively short historical period a revolutionary situation in Belgium itself, and that given the aggravation Rapid from the general crisis of capitalism, this revolutionary situation could suddenly appear.

Be prepared for any eventuality

A revolutionary situation may arise following victories of the revolutionary national liberation movement, in particular, in the case of Belgium, as a result of defeats - inevitable in the war that the Belgian colonialists wage in concert with the Yankee imperialists and under their leadership, against the valiant Congolese people.

It can arise as a result of the outbreak of a great inevitable economic crisis, as long as capitalism and imperialism remain.

It can also arise, in Belgium, from the aggravation of the oppression of the Walloon, Flemish and Brussels peoples and from the repression of their claims of national and democratic character by the bourgeois Unitarian state.

This revolutionary situation can arise following the accentuation of inter-imperialist contradictions, the outbreak of an inter-imperialist war, or even of a world war always possible as long as imperialism exists, in particular as long as the American imperialism, the main force of aggression and war in the world.

It can arise following the effects of the policy of American imperialism, raptor and aimed at world domination, it can in particular arise as a result of the consequences of the American colonization of the country.

In this regard, our Party has identified one of the possibilities for the development of the revolutionary process in Belgium.

The common struggle of the Walloon people, the Flemish people and the people of Brussels for their national and democratic objectives, to ensure their self-determination, aims to conquer federalism and national independence against American imperialism, its acolytes of “Belgian” high finance, their collaborators and their valets, against all the proponents of national betrayal.

However, this fight, to be waged until the end, must necessarily pose the question of power, of its class character, that is to say that it then implies the need to destroy the apparatus of the Unitarian bourgeois state and the establishment of popular democracy, which, once the national and democratic tasks have been accomplished, will be able to tackle the realization of the tasks of the socialist revolution.

Criteria that our Marxist-Leninist Party must meet

For the revolutionary situation to lead to a victory for the revolution, a revolutionary party must be able to be its guide and organizer. Experience has shown that when there is no such Party, or when it is insufficiently prepared for the accomplishment of its historical tasks, then the power of financial capital is maintained, or is re-established on the contrary. -revolution, domestic and international, despite the existence of a revolutionary situation.

This was the case, for example, in western and central Europe at the end of the First World War and directly after it.

The Marxist-Leninist Party says that it is forging itself, steeping itself, strengthening itself, binding itself ever more deeply to the masses, educating them, preparing them for the accomplishment of the tasks of the revolution, during a whole process, a series of immediate and daily struggles. Because the exploiters, the oppressors, will never yield power willingly, without putting up fierce resistance.

In order for the power of Capital to be brought down, and for the dictatorship of the proletariat to be established, both the objective conditions, that is to say a favourable revolutionary situation, and the subjective factors, must be met. ie the working class, its party

and its allies raised to a degree of conscience and combativeness which enables them to face the tasks of the revolution victoriously and to make the sacrifices necessary to wrest victory.

When we reconstituted our organization on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, we implicitly condemned those who wanted to make it a discussion club on Marxism or limit its activity to that of a "circle of studies on Marxism-Leninism" " For us, it's not just about "explaining the world, it's about transforming it". When the Party defines its Marxist-Leninist political line, it is to apply it. We wanted to reconstruct, and we have effectively reconstructed, what Lenin called a "working political unit", a true Marxist-Leninist Party, effectively realizing its avant-garde role in current struggles and becoming, through its constant, persevering, tenacious and firm action, the Party which could be the guide and the organizer of the revolutionary movement,

The communists of Belgium, that is to say the Marxist-Leninists, have fought and are fighting for this Party to meet the criteria of a Marxist-Leninist party under the concrete conditions of our country at present.

The Party must make the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism the ideological basis of its activity, the guide for its action.

The Party must be able to draw up a political line applying the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the actual concrete conditions of our country. This Marxist-Leninist political line is developed on the basis of scientific, Marxist-Leninist analysis, objective conditions, in particular the situation of classes and social strata, and, more generally, on the basis of analysis of the situation of our country and in the world, through practice, the action of the Party and the masses. It marks a clear and total line of demarcation with regard to all forms of bourgeois ideology, in particular with regard to all kinds of reformism, with regard to modern revisionism. It must allow the Party to carry out its activity on all fronts of the class struggle, in the ideological fields,

The Party must educate its members to be revolutionary Marxist-Leninist militants. It must endeavour to know the immediate demands and needs of the working people, to support their daily struggles, to participate in and direct them as avant-garde, to raise the consciousness of the popular masses, in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, until the understanding of the need to make the revolution, to destroy the bourgeois state machine, to establish popular democracy, the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to realize national and democratic demands to the end, and the tasks of the socialist revolution.

The Party must be capable of carrying out a mass political activity, clean, autonomous, on the basis of its Marxist-Leninist line in the field of agitation and propaganda and in the initiation, organization and direction of struggles of the working class, the workers, the masses.

The political action of the Party must achieve synthesis, the fusion of its avant-garde activity in the current struggles of the popular masses with the consequent preparation of the working class, of the working people for the achievement of the final goal.

Compared to other workers' organizations, to popular organizations, the Party must, in practice, fulfil its function as the supreme form of the class organization of the proletariat. It

defends, promotes and promotes the higher interests of the entire workers' movement, the working masses, the proletarian revolution.

The Party must always be ready for any eventuality, must know how to combine legal work with illegal clandestine work in all circumstances. He must be able to lead the fight on various fronts in different forms, he must be able to quickly pass from one form of struggle to another.

The party practices proletarian internationalism and supports the struggle and efforts of workers, classes, peoples and revolutionary nations around the world. Mutual aid and mutual support in the relations between all the Marxist-Leninist parties constitute one of the aspects, one of the practical applications of the revolutionary principle of proletarian internationalism.

The Marxist-Leninist Parties are all independent and equal in rights.

The Party is responsible to the working class, to the peoples of Belgium and to the entire international Marxist-Leninist communist movement of which it is a constituent and organic element. It is united to the Marxist-Leninist Brothers and sister organizations all over the world by common ideology and struggle.

The Party must be capable of being the promoter of a vast popular united front, uniting the other strata of the working population, the broad popular masses, around the proletariat, and becoming, when the time comes, a revolutionary united front.

The Party must be able to become and remain the guide of the Popular United Front, and this in the struggle, by the merits of its activity in the service of the people that the latter can verify, by its own experience, in action: it is an essential condition for the United Popular Front to be led by the working class and so that it can thus successfully carry out its struggle for its fundamental objectives through revolution.

The Party must be the militant and combative vanguard of the proletariat, organizing the most conscious elements of the working class and the people.

The Party must apply the Leninist principles and operating rules. He must have a revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist style of work.

The Party and its members must practice criticism and self-criticism in order to improve their revolutionary activity, to eliminate their faults and errors, to raise their ideological and political levels: by doing so the Party also contributes to educate the people.

The Party must be able to give itself a politically strong and firm Marxist-Leninist leadership.

The Party is built on the principles of democratic centralism, that is to say, democratic-based centralization and centrally-managed democracy. The Party's Marxist-Leninist ideology and line, the strict observance of Leninist principles and rules of operation, in particular voluntary discipline, ensure the cohesion, unity of will and action of the Party, are its strength.

It is by fulfilling all these conditions that the Party will be able to bind itself deeply to the masses and become the leader, the General Staff of the proletariat, of the working masses, the guide and the organizer of the revolutionary combat, of the revolution.

It is because it followed this course of action that our Party asserted itself since its reconstitution in 1963, that it gained increasing successes, that the working class, the popular masses dealt more and more sensitive blows to the class enemy, to American imperialism, to its "Belgian" high finance acolytes, to their reformist lackeys and others, to their collaborators the Khrushchevite revisionists. It is thanks to the action of our Party that the working class, the broad popular masses have raised the level of their struggles against national treason, against the unitarian bourgeois state, for their demands, for the defense of democratic freedoms, for the conquest of federalism and national independence, which they have developed ever before, working solidarity with the classes,

CHAPTER V

THE ENEMY ATTACKS US BECAUSE WE ARE ON THE RIGHT TRACK

Since its reconstruction on the basis of Marxism-Leninism in 1963, our Party has been the subject of countless attacks of all kinds.

There were attacks coming openly from the enemy, from the outside. There was the unanimous campaign of all the valets of the bourgeoisie who are also, in Belgium, openly or hypocritically, the lackeys of American imperialism.

And of course, government radio joined this choir.

"Jeune Europe", "Europe-Magazine", "La Libre Belgique", "Le Peuple", "La Gauche" Trotskyite, "Le Drapeau Rouge" Khrushchevite, all allegedly "national" and in fact anti-national parties of the PSC to the revisionist party and the UGS, the union caïds at their service have rivalled and rival anti-communist hatred, perfidy, slander against our Party.

In their false propaganda, all these gentlemen, in attacking us, do not hesitate to make the most contradictory remarks.

It is true that the failure of their campaigns often forced them to change themes.

"Small group", "adventurers", "dividers", "irresponsible", "counterfeiters", "foreign agents", "delusional sectarians", "gangsters", "crazy", "provocateurs", here is a sampling of the insults which generally take their place of "arguments".

The hatred thus manifested by imperialism and its collaborators shows that they saw in us their implacable enemies and the avant-garde representatives of the working class, of the popular masses.

The workers who read us, who heard us, who saw us in action in the fight against exploitation and oppression, in Borinage and in Liège, in Charleroi and in Limburg, in the Centre region and in Antwerp, in Brussels, could see that we were not as described by the lies of their enemies. Our activity in the class struggle has unmasked slander and slanderers.

The violence of our working class enemies has not only been verbal. Their excitations were accompanied by physical attacks against our comrades on the part of the Khrushchevite

revisionists and fascists of "Young Europe" as on the part of the police and according to their customary methods, these aggressors, moreover, provocative that they are, yelled at the aggression.

The machine of the bourgeois state, repression raged, which in fact highlights the fear of the oppressors faced with the action of our Party.

Intimidations, pressures, threats, searches, seizures of leaflets and "People's Voices", legal proceedings, sentences to fines and prison terms, brutal police attacks on demonstrations, arbitrary arrests, struck our activists, our organizations and those of the united popular front, in an attempt to break the development of the action of the popular masses with our Party at the forefront.

But Party activists have strengthened by facing these ordeals and many workers have understood from these events that the unitarian bourgeois state was an instrument of oppression in the service of exploiters, anti-people policy and national treason.

False friends, cowardice and cowards tried in vain to make us participate in their fear. These opportunists wanted to attack our just, firm and consistent Marxist-Leninist line.

All these cowards pretended to be "isolated" because the enemy and themselves attacked us from all sides. Blind people who did not want to see that the exploiters, the oppressors, can no more destroy Marxism-Leninism than suppress the class struggle, that as long as the Party is Marxist-Leninist, correctly applies Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of the country, it will be indestructible. Blind people who did not want to see that it is the class enemy and his servants who are more and more isolated, than the Party going ever further, multiplying and strengthening its links with the masses of the people, by educating them in the spirit of marxism-leninism, constantly increases the isolation of American imperialism, its acolytes and its valets.

Police tactics of the Trojan horse

But the enemy has not only used attacks from outside to try to weaken the Party, to destroy it. He also used the "Trojan horse" tactic.

The bourgeoisie has always tried and will always try to infiltrate provocateurs into the revolutionary ranks. This is what the official, secret or "private" police of the enemy do, with the CIA as the international centre of counter-revolutionary subversion.

The tactics of these provocateurs vary according to the circumstances. Sometimes they try to sow discouragement in the ranks of revolutionaries, to sow discord among them, to throw suspicion on good militants and to slander them, to weaken revolutionary organizations by provoking and poisoning divergences, personal conflicts or of minor importance, encouraging the weaknesses of some, arousing unhealthy rivalries, provoking regional "chauvinism" and hostility between Party organizations.

Sometimes they try to distort the Party line, to make it an opportunist or sectarian line, or to make the Party fall into provocations.

Or, they present themselves as "defenders" of the just line of the Party, they feign "dedication" in order to access important positions and, while conducting behind the scenes work of denunciation and disintegration, they are preparing the blow they hope to strike at the Party, for the cause of the working people during an important moment in the struggle.

The fascist gangster, CIA agent, Massoz was an example of this type of provocateur. He did try, on several occasions, to distort the Party line in its application, mainly in an opportunistic sense, and also in an adventurous sense. But the vigilance of the Party and its leadership constantly showed him that he had few possibilities in this regard and that his undermining work was going to be discovered. On the other hand, the Party gathered a set of presumptions according to which Massoz was at the mercy of the police services.

On the point of being unmasked, Massoz went on the open attack against the Party, its militants, its leaders. By carrying out the armed aggression against Party premises, he provided further proof that the CIA agents are fascist gangsters and that the police are in Belgium, a satellite country of American imperialism, placed at the service of the CIA

From the "Massoz affair" the Communists can draw useful lessons to better understand and combat the tactics and methods used by the police, in particular those of the Yankees-Nazis.

It also shows how, thanks to the Marxist-Leninist functioning of the Party, thanks to the elevation of the ideological and political level of the Party, its organizations and its militants, thanks to the strengthening of the spirit of the Party, it is possible to thwart the manoeuvres of the enemy's stipendied agents, to annihilate their undermining work and to unmask them.

It is also significant to note that the Trotskyist leaders of the UGS - who consider us to be slanderers when we say that American imperialism has taken over from Hitler - attacked the Party once again because he had denounced Massoz as a CIA agent

The Khrushchevites slandered Massoz's aggression as "a reckoning with revolver between Marxist-Leninists", while the recently exposed anti-party opportunist group tried to exploit these events to take down the Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Party in order to transform it into a new revisionist party.

The "Massoz affair" presents more than one point of resemblance to the case of Malinovski in Russia, before the Revolution. Malinovski was a stipendié provocateur of the Czarist Okhrana, member of the Bolshevik Party, president of the Bolshevik parliamentary faction in the Duma, and who succeeded in becoming in 1912 a member of the Bolshevik Central Committee.

The Trotskyists and Mensheviks also slandered Lenin, the Bolshevik Party and its revolutionary political line in this regard.

Finally, let us say that revolutionaries must beware of falling into "espionage". Vigilance cannot mean unfounded suspicion, general distrust which plays into the hands of the enemy and disintegrates the Party.

The "political" tactics of the Trojan horse

The enemy in his attacks against the Communist Party, to try to weaken it, to disintegrate it, to destroy it, to transform it into a reformist party, uses and will always use in the field of political struggle also, the tactics of the horse from Troy, it will try to provoke political subversion within the Party.

To do this, it relies on the harmful, deleterious activity of opportunistic elements. These may have entered the Party with the premeditated aim of making it degenerate into a revisionist party. They may be members who believe they are Marxist-Leninists but who are in reality unconscious revisionists. It can still be militants who capitulate to the pressure of imperialism, who fall under bourgeois influence and who degenerate politically.

These opportunist elements seek support among militants ideologically, politically weak, still partially under the influence of non-proletarian conceptions

Experience has shown how the coalition of opportunistic elements, their manoeuvres and their fractional work, could have endangered the existence of communist parties, could even effectively succeed in some cases in transforming them into revisionist parties, as it is the case in the Soviet Union and other countries.

This degeneration of the Party took place, also in Belgium, in the years which preceded the split in 1963 and the reconstruction of the Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Since then, experience has once again shown that vigilance must be constant, constantly on the alert, to protect the Party against the reappearance of such phenomena: in today's world, the class struggle never stops and it also takes place within the Party on the ideological, political and organizational levels, in the form of the fight for the purity of Marxism-Leninism against revisionism, for the firm application of the Marxist-Leninist line, against all opportunist, sectarian or dogmatic.

A typical anti-party group

The recent example of the struggle to unmask, isolate and eliminate a small group of antiparty opportunists is characteristic.

The "political" platform of these opportunists and the methods used by them are typical.

The social profile of the group is given by its composition: they are a few petty bourgeois, people who have retained a deeply bourgeois or petty-bourgeois mentality. They refuse to get rid of this mentality, to make the slightest effort in this direction, to become revolutionaries. They refuse to regenerate themselves in the crucible of the Marxist-Leninist ideological formation and the revolutionary activity of the Party, to consent to the dedication, to the hard work full of self-sacrifice, to the sacrifices, which the militant action of the Communists requires. . They refuse to put the collective interests of the Party, the working class, the working masses, the world proletarian revolution, above their personal interest.

These characters are marked by revisionist, Trotskyist or national - chauvinist conceptions.

They have united in opposition which they claim to be total, radical and antagonistic, to the just Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, a line which they describe as "false, erroneous".

A concrete, in-depth, Marxist-Leninist analysis of the objective situation, of the class struggle, of the fundamental contradictions currently existing in Belgium and in the world, an analysis on which the party relied to develop its political line, the anti-party group opposes nothing but a baseless, slanderous accusation that this Party analysis is "subjectivist". This assertion aims to denigrate the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, and constitutes a vain attempt to "justify" its total rejection by the group of opportunists.

Through the jumble, inconsistencies, peculiar to all opportunists, appear the lines of the black line, totally revisionist of the anti-party group.

The examination of the opportunist positions and the procedures of the anti-party group, the study of the process at the end of which the Party has unmasked this group, constitute a useful lesson which all the comrades of the Party must study, which can contribute to their political formation.

How the anti-party group was exposed

The Party first noticed that its line and the decisions taken to put it into practice were not applied by certain officials.

Much more and in total opposition to the Party line, in March 1965, on the occasion of the preparation by the Party of a demonstration of solidarity with the Vietnamese people, these opportunist elements had made proposals for "unity of action" to the Trotskyist leadership of the UGS and to the Khrushchevite leaders of revisionist organizations, and this improperly in the name of a "political office of the Brussels Party Federation" but in reality without the knowledge of the Federal Committee, the national leadership and Party members. The Party and its Brussels Federation denounced the revisionist and Trotskyist betrayals, demonstrated that the "unity of action" with those who notably supported the hoax of Johnson's alleged "unconditional peace negotiations" against the Vietnamese people, was also, a betrayal.

These same opportunist elements had also repeatedly revealed their capitulation, their deviation on the occasion of various actions and their preparation: this was the case in particular with regard to anti-Tshombe demonstrations (December 64-January 65), the demonstration of solidarity with the Vietnamese people and with the miners of the Battery and Tamines, with regard to the massive participation on correct bases in the Anti-Atomic Youth March to transform it into a true demonstration against American imperialism, to drive out NATO, for national independence, for solidarity with the Vietnamese people and with the Congolese people.

The monitoring of the application of the decisions taken, the development of criticism and self-criticism within the Party made it possible to detect that this non-application of the Party line at certain levels was not accidental, that it was systematic.

At the end of 1965, it appeared that this opposition to the application of the line and the decisions of the Party had taken on the appearance of a veritable sabotage, the anti-party

elements intentionally refraining from mobilizing the militants of the Brussels Federation in all actions decided by the Party.

Faced with criticism from both the base and the Party leadership, these opportunist elements behaved like bullies who thought they were untouchable, ignoring the blame that was directed at them, treating them with contempt and slandering the comrades who wanted to help them and the Party by their critics, insulting the organizations of the Brussels Federation and the Party leadership.

When the Political Bureau intervened to enforce the Party line, they tried to isolate it, to cut it off from the Brussels Federation, by speaking of "double leadership": by this they showed that they considered themselves as a opposite direction to that of the Party.

The Party leadership also noticed that these anti-party elements did not even communicate the decisions of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau to the organizations of which they were part, that they were trying to depoliticize the Brussels Federation, that they were trying to liquidate the functioning regular policy of Party organizations.

Whenever, as a result of their attacks on the Party and its line, the Political Bureau widely deployed criticism of opportunism within the Brussels Federation, the anti-parties were isolated and politically beaten to the bone. Thus during the preparation of the Federal Conference in Brussels in March 1965, the capitulates tried in vain to demoralize the militants: the federal conference condemned almost unanimously the defeatism by which the anti-party group tried to introduce its opportunism.

Shortly after, in June 1965, the anti-party opportunists, through the voice of Delogne and Moerenhout, launched an open attack at the Political Bureau against the Party and its Marxist-Leninist line. It was on this occasion that they went so far as to deny that the Party existed, to threaten it with a split "predicting" its disappearance if it persisted in its Marxist-Leninist line.

Seeing himself politically beaten once again, Delogne made a self-criticism and Moerenhout voted the criticisms which were addressed to him by all the Political Bureau. It was only duplicity: the opportunists continued to manoeuvre against the Party. Later, moreover, returning to the criticism they had accepted, they declared that they maintained their previous position entirely.

But the constant and growing successes won by the Party thanks to the application of its just Marxist-Leninist line, including in Brussels despite the sabotage of the anti-party group, as well as the vigilance of the Party leadership made it more and more difficult undermining the work of this group.

Feeling on the verge of being unmasked, the anti-party group attempted to move on to the application of a real conspiracy by trying to manipulate elements that they believed to be politically weak or conciliatory and liberal. This plot was aimed at nothing less than eliminating from the leadership of the Party, and of the Party itself, the comrades who stood firmly on the Marxist-Leninist positions.

Indignant, the honest comrades who had been the object of attempted manipulation by the anti-party group denounced these manoeuvres. Soon the very words of the members of the anti-party group were going to openly confirm the existence of this plot and revealed that the opportunists had formed a faction with a leadership and a "line" opposed to the leadership and the Party line.

Knowing from experience that, in the open ideological and political struggle within the Party, they could only experience a new and definitive failure, the opportunists tried to disintegrate the Party by unleashing a sordid campaign of diversions, lies, suspicion, denigration, insults, slanders against the Party and the militants who defended and firmly applied the just Marxist-Leninist line of the Party. Caught in the act of permanent and systematic lying, they applied the thief's tactics shouting "to the thief".

On the slope of opportunistic degeneration, the anti-party group went all the way, to resume hysterical language and delirious of the worst enemies of the Party, to the point of provocation.

Completely exposed and isolated, rejected with disgust by the unanimous Party, the anti-party fraction used the usual "argument" of petty-bourgeois deviationists of all times when they knew they were being beaten: the Party leadership would be "autocratic", the militants of the Party are said to be "followers" and it is for "crimes of opinion" that these opportunists were allegedly convicted.

It was with full knowledge of the facts that the Party decided: in this case it also gave an example of democratic functioning by leading the ideological and political struggle, by bringing to the attention of all the members the writings of the anti-party opportunists, by giving them a voice at all the levels of which they were part. The reading of their writings, their hearing, were edifying for all the militants and constituted a good teaching by the negative example of what wanted and what were incorrigible opportunists, thus becoming enemies of the Party.

For the anti-party group, it is either to be "autocrats" or "followers" to categorically reject and denounce its opportunist line, than to firmly apply and to apply the just Marxist-Leninist line of the Party.

As for the "crime of opinion", the Party categorically says that there is indeed no place within it for "all opinions", for the anti-Marxist-Leninist "right of tendency", for those who reject Party discipline and refuse to apply its line and its decisions, for the factionists, for those who engage in antiparty manoeuvres, for incorrigible opportunists, for camouflaged Trotskyists, for inveterate revisionists.

The Party responded to the opportunist fractional group, which Lenin replied to the opportunist economists who shouted "Long live freedom of criticism":

"Small compact group, we follow a difficult steep path, holding us strongly by the hand. We are surrounded by enemies from all sides, and we have to walk almost constantly under their fire. We united by virtue of a freely consented decision, precisely in order to fight the enemy and not to give in the swamp next door, whose hosts, from the start, blamed us for having

formed a group apart and preferred the path of struggle to the path of conciliation. And some of us shout: Let's go to this swamp! And when shamed, they reply: What backward people you are! Are you not ashamed to deny us the freedom to invite you to follow a better life! Oh! yes, gentlemen, you are free not only to invite, but to go wherever you want, even in the swamp: we even find that your real place is precisely in the swamp, and we are ready, as far as we can, to help you transport YOUR penates there. But then let go of your hand, don't cling to us and don't defile the big word of freedom, because we too are "free" to go wherever we want, free to fight the swamp as well let those who go there "! " (Lenin: "What to do?") free to fight as well the marsh as those who go there "! " (Lenin: "What to do?") free to fight as well the marsh as those who go there "! " (Lenin: "What to do?")

The process of degeneration of the anti-party group shows us that in the struggle of Marxist-Leninist ideology, of revolutionary ideology of scientific socialism against bourgeois ideology, there is no third way. Any abandonment of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, any distance from it signifies the transition to bourgeois ideology. The incorrigible opportunists abandon the revolutionary army, go over to the side of the class enemy, objectively become its agents, and inevitably become political traitors, enemies of the Party.

It is not enough to pretend to be a Marxist-Leninist to really be one.

A true Marxist-Leninist, a true Communist, uses Marxist-Leninist theory, the thought of Mao Tsetung, to put theory into practice, to help transform the world.

Those who claim to be Marxist-Leninists, who even refer to quotes from Lenin or Mao Tsetung but who oppose in fact, in practice, Marxism-Leninism, the thought of Mao Tsetung, nonetheless, they are anti-Marxist-Leninists, opportunists.

Marxist-Leninist line versus revisionist line

Experience has shown once again that it is through ideological and political struggle that the Party is able, on the one hand, to re-educate, transform, heal militants who are mistaken but are capable of correcting themselves with the help of the Party, that it is on the other hand able to unmask and eliminate the incorrigible elements.

Final aim, principles, fundamental objectives of the Party program, essential aspects of its line

The anti-party opportunists have been exposed because the Party is an operating political unit, because it is effectively the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, because it constantly controls its correctness through practice, because it verifies the concrete revolutionary activity of its militants, because it applies the Leninist rules of functioning, in particular democratic centralism, criticism and self-criticism, the control of the application of tasks and particularly the implementation of political decisions .

The slanderous, monstrous and nihilistic insults of the group of opportunists against the Party and its line are all attacks on the Marxist-Leninist principles, against the preparation of the Party, of the working class, of the working masses for the accomplishment of tasks of the proletariat, of the ultimate goal of Party action which is that of the class struggle of the

proletariat. These are all attacks against the current struggle, a consequence waged by the Party on all fronts, for the immediate demands of labour, to drive out NATO, against national betrayal and the fascination of the regime, against American imperialism, against its occupation and colonization of the country, against its high finance acolytes and the unitarian bourgeois state, for the self-determination of the Walloon people,

These are all attacks against proletarian internationalism that the Party has practiced in practice, in particular with regard to the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against the Yankee-Nazi aggressors, with regard to the national liberation struggle of the Congolese people against Belgian and American colonialists.

What in fact appears from the words, dozens of pages of diatribes from the members of the opportunist group against the Party and its line?

It is first of all significant that these opportunists do not say a word neither about the final goal, nor the principles, nor the fundamental objectives of the Party program, essential aspects of its line. Not a word about the need for the Party, the working class, the working masses, to prepare to face a revolutionary situation which may suddenly arise, not a word about the political orientation and the measures to be taken now. Not a word on the fight against the fascination of the regime; not a word about the need for the party to be ready for any eventuality, to be ready to face abrupt changes in situation, to be able now to simultaneously carry out its legal and clandestine work, to be able to move quickly from one form to another of political activity. Not a word of the fight against American imperialism and its "Belgian" high finance acolytes, against their values and collaborators. Not a word of denunciation of social democracy, of the PSB as the main social and political support of American imperialism in Belgium; not a word of denunciation of modern revisionism, with or without Khrushchev, as a "theory" and practice of collaboration with American imperialism, of this modern revisionism which is also a social, political support of American imperialism within the framework American-Soviet cooperation for world domination against the people; not a word of denunciation of Trotskyist revisionism. Not a word of the fight against the political, "ideological", economic and military colonization of the country by American imperialism; not a word of the fight against foreign, American and other military bases; not a word of the fight against the American occupation of the country; not a word of the struggle to drive NATO out of the country. Not a word of proletarian internationalism and in particular of the struggle for active solidarity with the Vietnamese people, with the Congolese people. Not a word of the struggle for self-determination of the Walloon people, the Flemish people and the people of Brussels by the conquest of federalism and national independence; not a word of the need, in order to be able to carry out this struggle to the end, to break the machine of the unitarian bourgeois state and to establish popular democracy.

The anti-party group's "political line" is defined first of all by these characteristic "omissions". These systematic "oversights" relating to fundamental objectives of the class struggle in Belgium, already sufficiently demonstrate that the group of opportunists wanted the Party to give up fighting for these objectives, that the anti-party group wanted to ensure that the Party ceases to be the revolutionary party, avant-garde of the working class, of the

working masses, ceases to be the Marxist-Leninist party, and that it models itself in the image of the PSB and the revisionist party.

A comprehensive job claims program

The opportunism of the anti-party group also becomes clear when it claims, against all evidence, that the Party "would not have a line, would not provide a precise answer" with regard to certain popular demands - we quote one of these verbatim writings - "on the linguistic problem, federalism, university swarming, the reform of sickness and invalidity insurance, the price increases, the false tax reform, the harmfulness of the 1954 agreements on productivity, the situation pensioners, etc ... "

Another writing from the anti-party group went so far as to boast of "simple but striking posters, 40 hours, 4 weeks off, that the PSB brought forward" (!) While claiming that there had been "no reminders and no propaganda on our part "about it!

These are absurd lies.

It is our Party, not the PSB or the Khrushchev Party, which has put forward a comprehensive program of labour demands:

10% increase in wages (with a minimum of 5 francs per hour) without additional tax deduction,

- ▶ the 40 hours paid 48,
- ▶ the 4 weeks of leave with double allowance,
- ▶ Equal pay for equal work,
- ▶ against business closings and layoffs,
- ▶ reduction of the pension age by five years, to 75% of the most favourable average remuneration, with a minimum of 60,000 francs,
- ▶ the national health service providing free medical and pharmaceutical care to all,
- ▶ unemployment benefits increased to 1,200 francs per week (at index 110),
- ▶ increase in family allowances by 10% with minimum of 1,100 francs per child per month (at index 110) - including for the first and second children,
- ▶ increase of other social benefits by 50%,
- ▶ general reduction in direct and indirect taxation affecting the working population (of the order of 50% on average for small and medium salaries) in particular by:
 - ▶ exemption for wages and salaries of less than 55,000 francs per year (at index 110),
 - ▶ the indexation of tax scales,
 - ▶ the elimination of the combined income of the spouses in the calculation of tax,
 - ▶ abolition of indirect taxation on mass consumer goods

► To this platform are added the specific demands of the small peasantry.

A popular united front program

This platform of labour demands, essentially of an economic, material nature, is included in the immediate program of the Popular United Front, but is only one part of it. The program of the Popular United Front includes a set of economic and political, national, democratic and popular demands.

It is also an absurd lie to pretend that the Party has no line with regard to the struggle for federalism, when precisely, it is our Party rebuilt on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, which has been the first, the only one to define a complete and correct position, not only on the struggle for federalism but also on the whole national question in Belgium, on the national and democratic demands of the Walloon people, the Flemish people and of the people of Brussels.

Whenever a concrete question arose in the class struggle, the Party immediately took a clear and precise position. All Party activists, all readers of the "*Voice of the People*", the hundreds of thousands of workers affected by the action of Party activists, by our agitation, by our propaganda, know it, know that our Party gives a precise response to workers' aspirations, including immediate economic demands. Our Party was not only content to give a precise response to the aspirations of the working people, it was at the forefront of the struggles for these demands and often it was the organizer.

He said that these combats constitute one of the fronts of the class struggle in our country, that they are necessary so that the proletariat, the working people can resist the encroachments, the permanent attacks of big capital against their standard of living and against democratic freedoms. Our Party recalled that if the working class and the popular masses renounce these daily struggles, they will also be unable to wage decisive struggles. In other words, the daily struggles for the material and economic demands of the working class and the working masses help to prepare them for these decisive struggles.

Because the demands of a material, economic nature, the "reforms" favorable to the working class, to the working masses, never modify and can never modify by themselves the capitalist system of exploitation of man by man, neither its internal, economic and political laws which are due to its very nature, nor the class nature of the state apparatus of oppressors, exploiters.

This is why our Party has tirelessly recalled that the initial, fundamental act of the socialist revolution consists in the destruction of the apparatus of oppression of the bourgeois state and in the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This is also why we have denounced the mystification of the so-called "structural reforms" and other "transitional stages", dear to the revisionists, the Trotskyites and other proponents of the "peaceful transition to socialism": all reformism is integration into the capitalist regime and class collaboration, is denial of socialism, betrayal of the working class, of the working people.

The attack by the opportunists, claiming that the Party would have no line "in terms of immediate popular demands, only underscores the opposition of the anti-party group to the Party line in this area too.

This slander of the anti-party group has a triple purpose.

First, the opportunists have to disparage the Party by trying to make it believe that they would not know the situation, that they would not be linked to the masses, that they would not care about their immediate demands: any Party action proves the contrary.

Second, by firing the fire of its "critics" - more precisely of its lies - against an alleged "absence of line" of the Party concerning certain immediate demands of an economic, material nature, by "knowingly" omitting "the main objectives of the fight against fascization of the regime, against the unitarian bourgeois state, against American imperialism and its "Belgian" high finance acolytes, for national independence, for the united popular front program, for proletarian internationalism, for democracy popular, the anti-party group confirms that it would have wanted the Party to reduce its activity to that of reformist unionism.

Third, the anti-party group, by declaring the Party's line in the area of immediate economic demands void, and by "omitting" the ultimate goal, does no more than prepare the ground for fraudulently introducing as a "precise answer to untoward questions" of the moment ", the so-called" structural reforms "that reformists of all kinds dangle in the eyes of the workers, to try to divert them from preparation for the decisive struggles of the socialist revolution AND to make them forget the struggle for immediate demands .

The platform of the anti-party group: economism, revisionism, reformism

To the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, the opportunist group in fact opposes the old reformist recipe for "economism". The followers of the old "economism" claimed to subordinate the final goal and all the objectives of the working class struggle to immediate demands of an economic nature; which actually meant giving up the fight for the end goal, giving up any real struggle of the working class, the working masses and sinking into class collaboration.

The anti-party group does not even bother with these "subtleties" of "old economists": it further simplifies "economism" and rejects - openly or by systematic "omissions" - objectives other than the immediate claim of an economic nature. By demanding that the Party renounce all struggle other than that for economic claims, that it also renounce the preparation of decisive struggles for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the opportunist group would like the Party to stop being revolutionary , become a social reform party, a new reformist party.

And like all those who are on the positions of reformist trade unionism, the anti-party group, when it came to waging a concrete protest struggle, had, for its part, had a scandalous attitude of sabotage, as it was demonstrated in particular in Brussels during actions carried out or supported by the ACEC Party in Ruysbroeck, on the occasion of the solidarity campaign with the miners of Zwartberg and in the fight against the single super-law of the Spaak-Eyskens government. In this regard, it is also significant to note that the anti-party group ignores the

numerous claiming struggles during which the Party played its avant-garde role. The anti-party group does not say a word about the action committees and the invaluable teaching which results from their activity.

The "political platform" of the anti-party opportunist group is economism, revisionism, one hundred percent reformism.

All his behaviour is explained by this fact.

The ideological training of activists

Take for example the ideological training of activists. The anti-party group despises the efforts made by the Party in this area. He despises the information conferences he sabotaged. He despises the ideological training of activists through political meetings of Party organizations and bodies at different levels. He despises the reading of the ideological articles of the "Voice of the People"; he despises the study, recommended by the Party, of the great theorists of Marxism, Marxism-Leninism, the study of the works of Mao Tsetung and of all the important ideological material of the Chinese Communist Party, of the Party of Labour of Albania, our Party and other sister parties.

For the anti-party group, this is not ideological training and it has "disinterested" in Party activity in this sense. The anti-party group has in fact tried to oppose this ideological formation linked to practice, it would have liked to replace it with abstract, bookish presentations, detached from the class struggle and its concrete aspects in Belgium and in the world.

"Without revolutionary theory, no revolutionary movement," said Lenin. Marxism-Leninism is a guide for action, so that the working class, the popular masses, transform the world.

Mass organizations, popular front

Regarding mass organizations, united popular front, the anti-party group first wanted to oppose their formation. Then, when these organizations were created and developed, he tried to prevent them from having a mass base, he tried to make them copy the "model" of revisionist organizations, to make them adopt opportunist positions. He shouted at sectarianism because these organizations followed a line of mass, a line of action, and refused to give up their *raison d'être*, their goals and the struggle, a renunciation which would have been the price of the alleged "unity With "personalities", revisionists, reformists, Trotskyites, or with other reactionaries well known all for their betrayals towards the just causes that these mass organizations aim to defend.

Generally speaking, the group of opportunists wanted the Party to give up its mass political work, in particular its mass unrest. And by that, he wanted to question one of the essential aspects of the activity of a Communist Party. The Party cannot be an operating political unit, can only influence the course of events if it prepares its mass work, and in particular by its mass agitation, the opinion of the broad popular masses to the necessity of the struggle and to the struggle itself to achieve the goals of the working class and its allies.

Relentless denunciation of social democratic reformers and modern revisionists, and their betrayals

Members of the anti-party group have gone so far as to write that our denunciation of the vile betrayals of the PSB, the Khrushchevite Party and the union caïds in their service, would be "slander" and "attempts to disintegrate the organizations that the working class of our country has taken decades to build ”!

These same characters also wrote that the just and relentless denunciation of the betrayal of the revisionist ruling group of the Soviet Union with regard to the heroic Vietnamese people would be "unjust accusations" and would constitute a "de facto anti-Soviet attitude, an attitude harmful ”.

Now, no skill, no hypocrisy of those who were Khrushchev's collaborators and who are today his successors, cannot hide that they are pursuing the same policy, on the one hand the restoration of capitalism in the USSR, on the other hand, American-Soviet cooperation for world domination against the peoples, including against the Vietnamese people. The so-called "aid to Vietnam" of which the Soviet revisionists speak is of the same quality as the "aid" of the imperialists to the countries they wish to enslave. The so-called "aid" to Vietnam of the Soviet revisionists has the sole purpose of trying - moreover in vain - to bring Vietnam into the orbit of American-Soviet cooperation.

There is no real struggle against imperialism - in particular against American imperialism, the number one enemy of the peoples of the whole world - without implacable denunciation by its agents and collaborators, by its social and political supporters, the social democratic reformists and modern revisionists, without a struggle to isolate, defeat and sweep them away: such is the position of the Marxist-Leninists, such is the position of our Party.

When the opportunist group attacked the Party's position with regard to the different political parties and currents in Belgium, it was to contest our denunciation of the PSB as a party of the bourgeoisie and the main social, political support of the American imperialism in Belgium is also to contest the denunciation that we are making of the Khrushchevite party as a neo-reformist party and social support, the policy of American-Soviet cooperation for world domination.

Our just Marxist-Leninist line is also attacked by the anti-party group and described by it as "sectarian" because we refuse to condone deceptions, reformist, revisionist and Trotskyist betrayals. The anti-party group wants the so-called "unity of action" with the revisionists and the Trotskyites, which we condemn as being unity with collaborators of the class enemy, as in fact being unity with American imperialism and his acolytes.

The opportunist anti-party group was carrying out fractional undermining activity with duplicity: it has completely unmasked itself as being a rear guard of revisionism within our Party.

As the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party says in its resolution of July 10, 1966:

"The ideological and political struggle waged in the Brussels Federation against the positions and actions of the Delogne-Moerenhout group has raised the ideological, political and fighting spirit of the comrades of the Federation who, in their almost unanimous, welcome the measures taken by the Central Committee and the Political Bureau, measures which will allow the Brussels Federation to develop more quickly and to deploy its action even more widely.

At a time when the class struggle is rapidly becoming more acute on an international scale and in Belgium itself, it is not surprising that certain elements pass over the positions of the class enemy and unmask themselves as being enemies of the Party, traitors to the cause of the working class, the working people and proletarian internationalism, traitors to the firm, consistent and uncompromising struggle against the imperialists led by American imperialism, traitors to combat for federalism, for national independence and popular democracy, for socialism.

Our Party, by unmasking its enemies, by purifying itself, strengthens its Marxist-Leninist unity, opens the possibility of making a leap forward in its activity and its influence, thus becoming always more capable of fulfilling its historic mission in the face of great struggles decisive that lie ahead. "

The class struggle is exacerbated: the opportunists unmask

It is not surprising that other Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations almost simultaneously exposed opportunist, revisionist elements infiltrated within them.

This is particularly the case in China. The Communist Party is justly and firmly waging a great ideological and political struggle there, the fight for new victories in Marxism-Leninism, in the thought of Mao Tsetung. He leads the struggle of the masses of the great socialist cultural revolution, to lead the socialist revolution to the end. And thanks to the vigilance of the Communist Party and comrade Mao Tsetung were unmasked the conspirators of the "village of three", their protectors and accomplices.

The class struggle is exacerbated internationally and in each country.

The enemy attacks us from all sides with ferocity: from the outside through repression and through its campaigns of political intoxication, slander, in the press and through speech, on radio and television and through film. It also attacks us from the inside by the tactics of the Trojan horse.

When the enemy attacks us, it's a good thing. The opposite should worry us: it would mean that we would not harm him or worse, that we would help him.

By redoubling attacks against us, the enemy confirms that it is afraid of our action, that we strike it, that we achieve successes, that we are on the right track.

CHAPTER VI

ACT AS TRUE MARXIST-LENINIST. TRAINING REAL COMMUNIST MILITANTS

The ideological and political struggle within the Party is not only the fight to isolate incorrigible opportunists and other proven anti-Marxist-Leninists, to unmask the enemies infiltrated in its ranks, to eliminate them and purify the Party.

It is also the tireless work of constantly raising the ideological formation of the militants, of bringing or bringing back, by conviction, on the just Marxist-Leninist positions of the Party those who are mistaken, to overcome, by also strengthening at the end of counts the unity of the Party, the non-antagonistic contradictions which arise, to form new true communist militants, so that each member of the Party constantly becomes a better militant, a better fighter of the cause of the Party, therefore of the working class, of the masses, of the world proletarian revolution.

When a member of the Party has shortcomings in his activity, when he spreads ideas, appreciations and partially or totally erroneous conceptions, when he makes mistakes, his comrades in combat must, within the framework of the functioning of the Party, detect these shortcomings, preserve the Party from their consequences, must help this activist to correct himself, to improve his work.

It is important to correctly estimate the nature of these shortcomings, to measure their character precisely, not to consider what is secondary, accessory, as important, even essential, and vice versa; not to treat the benign and accidental insufficiency, the fault, the error as those which are serious and systematic, and a fortiori not to take the comrade who is mistaken for an enemy and vice versa.

To appreciate the activity of an activist and the importance of his possible shortcomings, we must never forget to take into account the positive and more particularly to see if the positive outweighs the negative. It is also necessary to examine whether the militant progresses ideologically, politically, if he corrects his shortcomings, if he perfects his activism, or on the contrary if his faults worsen, even if he degenerates politically or if he morally breaks down. If the negative outweighs the positive, if the shortcomings persist, if the activist's behavior worsens, the vigilance of the Party must be particularly exercised and it must be examined whether it is not an incorrigible attitude, " an irremediable degeneration, of a conscious or unconscious passage to the positions of the class enemy,

Great attention must be paid to the composition of Party committees, governing bodies at all levels. Experience and knowledge are not enough. Party officials must be appreciated, chosen and promoted according to their ability to meet the following criteria:

- ▶ above all, the spirit of the Party, the total devotion to the Party, to the cause of the working class, of the popular masses, of the world proletarian revolution, revolutionary enthusiasm;
- ▶ the assimilation of Marxism-Leninism, the capacity to put into practice, and in particular the capacity to be able to orient oneself by oneself in all situations;

- ▶ observance of the Leninist principles and rules for the functioning of the Party, in particular Party discipline;
- ▶ the ability to relate to the masses; the capacity to set an example, to train, to mobilize, to organize for action, the Party and the masses.

We must know how to discharge certain responsibilities of comrades who are not able to assume them correctly, even if they have done their best, and all the more so if they have despaired or have degenerated.

You have to know how to strengthen the Party committees by promoting the militants who revealed themselves during the struggle.

In any case, it is the best interests of the Party, of the working class, of the popular masses, which must inspire the decision to be taken.

Opportunism

The insufficiencies, the errors, the faults of comrades of the Party can come in certain cases from a lack of aptitudes, an involuntary lack of capacities, a lack of experience, an insufficient level of ideological knowledge, political or incomplete knowledge of the situation.

The deficiencies, errors, faults, the most serious which can bring the greatest damage to the Party, those which bring within the Party the most important contradictions which can go as far as antagonism, have a social origin, are the reflection in the Class Struggle Party which is, in today's world, an objective fact.

Opportunism (and its systematized form, revisionism) finds its sources on the one hand in the influence and the penetration of bourgeois ideology, and on the other hand in the capitulation before capitalism, imperialism, before their pressure, their threats, their blackmail, faced with the difficulties of the consequent class struggle, of revolutionary activity.

This is right opportunism. This is also, in practice, this variant of opportunism called "left" opportunism because also rejecting in practice action, the consequent struggle of the working class, of the popular masses, of revolutionary activity, he seeks an alibi in "theories", in pseudo-revolutionary phraseology.

As long as there is class struggle, the danger of opportunism will remain.

We have proof of this in the fact that even in countries where the working class and its allies had overthrown the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, had broken the machine of the bourgeois state and established the dictatorship of the proletariat, opportunism could reappear in the Communist Party to the point of endangering its existence as a revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist party. The negative example of the CPSU shows the case of a Marxist-Leninist party - the Lenin Party! - destroyed by revisionist subversion, transformed into revisionist party. On the other hand, the Chinese Communist Party and the Party of Labour of Albania are models of exemplary and victorious struggle on all fronts, of the struggle against opportunism, revisionism, for the purity of Marxism-Leninism,

If the imperative need of vigilance, of the fight against any appearance of opportunism in the Communist Party is imposed in the socialist countries, it is certain that it is the same in the capitalist countries where the bourgeoisie exercises its dictatorship and There are therefore many other means, direct and indirect, to try to bring down the revolutionary proletarian party, the Marxist-Leninist party.

Ways of penetration of bourgeois ideology within the Party

Let us see how, with regard to deviations and opportunist danger, the situation in Belgium, a highly industrialized capitalist country, presents itself.

The workers, including the members of the Party, live there in a society where they are the object of the intense and permanent campaign of ideological and political intoxication carried out by the bourgeoisie and more particularly by American imperialism, its acolytes and its agents, using all the means at their disposal, school, radio, television, film, literature, press, advertising, games themselves, the influence of their political parties and other organizations to their service.

Here is a first way of penetration of bourgeois ideology within the Party.

The working class and its Party act to gain as allies of the proletariat other layers of the working population - the poor and middle peasantry, certain layers of intellectuals and liberal professions, the craftsmen, the small traders and beyond even, regarding the struggle for national and democratic demands.

In contrast, the dominant strata of finance capital, who are the acolytes of American imperialism and the latter, want to make these non-proletarian strata a reserve of their social base, not only by pressure and penetration. ideological, but also by using the specific characteristics of their social existence which conditions their social conscience.

In the working class itself, the bourgeoisie's ideological and political influence is felt, and so far largely. It is not only by the direct means of ideological and political intoxication that this influence is exerted, but also by the fact that, constantly, come to take place in the proletariat, elements coming from non-proletarian classes or strata. And it is above all through the working class aristocracy - this category made up of gentrified workers and "working clerks of the capitalist class" (among these, let us cite in particular the union bosses), receiving the crumbs of the superprofits achieved by financial capital in the colonialist and neo-colonialist exploitation of other peoples and entire nations - which spread within the working class,

Certainly, Belgium is one of the countries of the second intermediate zone, that is to say a country where the surplus profits due to colonialist and neo-colonialist exploitation are chipped and endangered, and by the victories of the revolutionary movement of national liberation, and by the rapacity of the "ally", competitor and master, the American imperialism which tends to replace more and more the former colonialists. Belgium is also one of those countries in the second intermediate zone on which the burdens of "orbiting", occupation, exploitation and colonization by American imperialism weigh.

Thus, as a result of the consequences of all of these phenomena, the bourgeoisie has fewer possibilities of carrying out this policy of support for the working aristocracy, gives less opportunity for reformism to deceive the working class, the working masses. And this loss of influence of reformism, as a result of this evolution of the objective situation and consequently of the activity of our Party, could be noted in our country and is an undeniable fact. However, the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie, conceptions of class collaboration, particularly that of reformism, is still predominant within the working class.

The worsening of the general crisis of capitalism as the objective actor, the development of our Party, of its influence and its action, as a subjective factor, will allow more and more to eliminate this bourgeois influence in the ranks of the working class and to rally around it, in a vast united popular front, the other strata of the working population.

Broadly developing this struggle is, moreover, necessary to make possible the conquest of political power by the proletariat.

This is one aspect of the class struggle and its development in Belgium, such are the perspectives.

This aspect of the class struggle also finds its reflection within the Party: at the moment when they join the Party, those who come from non-proletarian social strata generally still carry within them non-communist conceptions of the world, ideas not -proletarians, their individualism, the hints of bourgeois ideology. And we have seen that proletarians too can be under the influence of bourgeois conceptions and bring them with them to the Party.

This is a second way of penetration of bourgeois ideology within the Party.

Let us also point out that the petty-bourgeois state of mind brings not only the risks of opportunism in the Party, but also those of leftism, tendencies to anarchism, adventurism, which may be followed by discouragement, capitulationism, defeatism, the refusal of any militant activity, in the same unstable elements, lacking firmness, organizational spirit, discipline and constancy.

The behaviour of certain Party members - instability, nihilistic spirit, also anarchism, all characteristics very similar, moreover, to certain aspects of the pseudo-revolutionary petty-bourgeois state of mind - may also have its origin in the after-effects of character of the lumpen-proletariat, this social layer which is one of the products of the decay of the regime.

Habits accepted as “normal” by a good number of workers still, but not proletarian and anti-revolutionary in fact, received ideas, considered as “just” by militants but anti-Marxist-Leninists in reality, part of the experience accumulated by some, who have not analysed it in the light of Marxism-Leninism, draw from it lessons that they consider positive when they are not.

This is a third way of penetration of bourgeois ideology within the Party.

Let us take a closer look at some examples of these conceptions, of these misconceptions which have their origin in the influence of bourgeois ideology:

- ▶ admit any discrimination between workers, in particular against women, young people and immigrants;
- ▶ bow to the so-called reformist union "discipline" when it is in fact decisions that a clique of union bosses in the service of the bourgeoisie would impose on workers, by manoeuvres, falsifications, pressures, the blackmail, repression;
- ▶ to positively assess the so-called "apoliticalism" of the trade union movement, which is nothing other than a form of subjugation to reformist politics;
- ▶ look at the claiming struggle of an economic, material nature, as the end and the means of the class struggle, forgetting the other forms of the class struggle and the final goal;
- ▶ not to see that bourgeois democracy is nothing other than the capitalist dictatorship of which Parliament is only an ornament;
- ▶ admire bourgeois culture without seeing that it serves the domination of the bourgeoisie and that it is an instrument for the penetration of its ideology;
- ▶ swallow the falsifications, lies and slanders of the bourgeoisie and its agents;
- ▶ imagine the almighty class enemy, when he is only a colossus with feet of clay, while the masses of the people - once their conscience is awakened - mobilized, united and organized are invincible and capable to beat all reactionary forces, exploiters, oppressors, imperialism and its agents;
- ▶ to think that one could lead a consequent struggle against capitalism, imperialism, without also leading an implacable struggle to denounce, isolate and sweep away reformism, revisionism and their variants; consider that the PSB or the Khrushchevite party would be workers' parties, whereas they are parties in the service of the bourgeoisie, intended to deceive the working class, the working masses, to defend among the workers the interests of the class enemy, while they are the social and political supporters of American imperialism;
- ▶ to believe that peace could be established in the world, while imperialism would remain; speak as if it existed, while imperialism is only violence, robbery and aggression, and Yankee imperialism is waging its wars of aggression against the Vietnamese people and against other peoples and nations of Asia, d 'Africa and Latin America;
- ▶ underestimate, or even forget about proletarian internationalism, when it constitutes an essential, fundamental aspect of the whole struggle of the working class, of the popular masses, which takes place internationally against an enemy common.

Let us cite another particular case.

That of the comrades who came to the Party after the Second World War and who knew in Belgium from 1945 to 1963 (before the reconstruction of the Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism) only a Communist party with the majority of the leadership had already, from the beginning of this whole period, absolutely no longer aimed at the revolution, but wanted class collaboration and successively practiced right-wing opportunism then "left" opportunism, and then openly displayed revisionism.

These comrades have not yet all understood that many ideas on the ideological, political and organizational level, "inherited" from this period, are false.

Another example is that of comrades who knew the struggles of the 30s and following years, of the so-called "Popular Front" period and who are mistaken about its meaning, about the lessons to be learned from it, and who would like to apply it on time, mechanically current, exactly the same tactic as then, regardless of changes in the situation.

These comrades think that the search for the unity of action of the working class, the activity necessary and just to constitute a Popular United Front, must be carried out according to the same methods as in the years 30 and following. That is to say, to clarify, they would like to achieve "unity of action" with the social democratic and Khrushchevite parties and organizations. And some even go so far as to accuse the Party line of being "sectarian" because we relentlessly denounce reformism and revisionism.

Let us remind these comrades that before the Second World War, the Communist parties never claimed that the denunciation of reformist betrayals had to be renounced, that "unity" had to be made with organizations and leaders who betrayed the anti-fascist struggle or who collaborated with fascism.

In 1936, the communist parties of Western Europe effectively fought to achieve a real unity of action with the socialist workers, at the base, and to draw in anti-fascist popular fronts, social-democratic organizations, while not renouncing no time to denounce all the betrayals of reformism.

Those of the leaders of the Communist parties who "forgot" this necessary denunciation were to be condemned and were generally condemned by their Party.

Unity of action at the base, with socialist workers for anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, anti-fascist objectives, for objectives aimed at combating the number one class enemy of the moment, for economic and material demands, for democratic demands, for national independence, has always been and remains a line of conduct for the Communists.

As for the proposals for "unity of action at the top" made in the years 30 and following, they resulted from a concrete situation of this period. What was it ?

Inter-imperialist contradictions pitted to some extent, to a certain extent, certain strata of finance capital in Western Europe against Hitler's imperialism.

Social democracy then constituted, in each of these countries, the main social and political support of its own bourgeoisie (note, however, for the case of certain social democratic leaders, agents of foreign imperialism, such as De Man and Spaak) .

It was a question for the Communist Parties, of correctly applying to the concrete situation of the moment the policy of widest alliance against the enemy number one of the people of the world, which was then Hitlerism, while not renouncing no time in the class struggle which continued against some of its momentary allies, in the denunciation of their hesitations, their capitulations, and all the more so in their betrayals in the face of the number one enemy.

Today, social democracy is presented, especially in Belgium, France, Great Britain, West Germany, Italy, as the main social and political support of American imperialism. To advocate "unity of action" with the social democratic parties, with their leaders, is to advocate unity of action with the most ferocious enemy of the peoples of the world, with the bastion of world reaction, with the main force of aggression and war in the world, with the world's greatest exploiter, with the number one enemy of the peoples of the world, with the one who took over from Hitler: with American imperialism.

Today "unity of action" with social democracy is unity of action with the enemy; it is the equivalent of what the "unity of action" would have been with the Quisling, with the Degrelle, with the Doriot, with the Rexist party or the VNV

It should also be remembered that social democracy also betrayed the anti-fascist struggle: Leon Blum invented "non-intervention" against the Spanish people. Today the Social Democrats and the Khrushchevite revisionists support Johnson's "unconditional negotiations" against the Vietnamese people.

Spaak, the man who recognized Franco, advocated "neutrality" with regard to Hitler (today, social democratic and Khrushchevite leaders advocate "peaceful coexistence" between exploited and exploited, between oppressors and oppressed, between aggressors and their victims; they practice cooperation with American imperialism against the people).

The allegedly "isolated" communists were the only ones to denounce the betrayal of Munich, applauded by social democracy, as today they denounce Camp-David, the Moscow Treaty and the "spirit of Tashkent" glorified by the Social Democratic and Khrushchevite traitors.

The communist parties took the lead in the Resistance and in the fight against Hitlerism. They were at the head of the united front of the peoples against fascism, a united front of which they were the promoters. In Belgium in particular, they were the promoters of the INDEPENDENCE FRONT - including its different branches and the glorious organization of "ARMED PARTISANS". They were at the head of these organizations.

Social democracy, on the other hand, had been completely discredited, dislocated and disintegrated. By implacably denouncing the betrayals of social democracy, the communist parties, far from isolating themselves from the masses, joined the masses and thus swept away at that time the social democratic ideology, which was also one of the conditions for the success of the struggle.

As for the "unity of action" with the Khrushchevite revisionists, in Belgium or internationally, it would be, as we have already said, unity with those who make American-Soviet cooperation for domination of the world, against the peoples, one of the essential foundations of their policy; it would therefore also be unity with the enemy, it would be betrayal.

Our Marxist-Leninist policy, in Belgium, leads to promoting and forging a vast united popular front, rallying around the working class large popular masses, and, on an international scale, to weld the united front of the peoples against the enemy number one, American imperialism, its acolytes, its valets and its collaborators.

This is the real unity of action against the enemy. This is the only way to beat him.

And for it to lead to victory, we must again and always relentlessly denounce social democratic and Trotskyist reformism, modern revisionism and their spokespersons, dishonour them, isolate them and sweep them away.

Different forms of opportunism

The penetration of bourgeois ideology and petty-bourgeois behaviour often manifest themselves in the form of individualism, practically signifying selfishness. This is one of the most common forms of opportunism.

Individualism, selfishness, is due to the very nature of the ideology of the bourgeoisie, this exploiting class which oppresses the exploited and for which the search for maximum individual profit is the law.

Individualism, selfishness, that defect which the bourgeoisie considers a quality, is fundamentally contrary to the communist worldview, to proletarian ideology, which gives primacy to the interests of the proletariat, of the working people.

The Party does not ignore and must not ignore the personal situation of activists and the possible difficulties they face. In this regard, he must promote fraternal solidarity between activists. But party members must always subordinate their personal interests to the interests of the Party.

Individualism is opposed to devotion to the cause of the Party, the working class, the working people, the world proletarian revolution. He opposes the Party spirit. He opposes the strict observance of Party discipline, the unreserved application of its decisions and rigorous centralization, which are necessary for the Party to successfully and victoriously fulfill its vanguard role of the working class, of the working masses, can become able to fulfill its historic task of guide and organizer of the revolutionary movement, of the revolution.

Individualism corrodes the team spirit, the possibilities of truly collective work, it does however lead to the formation of cliques.

It breeds lack of modesty and pride.

It leads to flouting self-criticism and refusing to accept criticism. On the other hand, it pushes to propagate the destructive criticism of the organization, the subjectivist criticism, the personal and unprincipled attacks, the unsubstantiated inconsiderate remarks, the slanders, the denigration of the Party and of the good militants, the gossip, not only in regular Party meetings, but preferably outside the Party.

Individualism is the opposite of the selfless spirit that the Party demands of its activists.

It leads to socialism. By refusing to consent to the sacrifices that the cause of the revolution may require, and by seeking personal benefits, individualism can lead to deserting the ranks of the Party, the army of the revolution, and moving on to enemy.

The true communist, for his part, will always be ready to sacrifice, if necessary, his particular interest for the interest of the Party, the working class, the working people, the world proletarian revolution.

Opportunism practices subjectivism because it will falsely describe the situation, not according to a serious, scientific, Marxist-Leninist analysis, but according to the needs of its bad cause, in an attempt to justify it.

Marxism-Leninism seeks the truth and therefore condemns all subjectivism.

As for sectarianism, which cuts the Party of the masses and isolates it, it often also appears as the product of the instability of the petty bourgeoisie and its momentary impatience (which succeed apathy and discouragement), or even as a substitute for the ideological and political weakness of some activists and their inability to relate to the masses.

Another very dangerous manifestation of opportunism is liberalism. Liberalism, in the name of so-called unprincipled “conciliation,” “unity” and “good understanding”, wants to prevent healthy criticism of political errors and organizational errors, wants to oppose the vigorous ideological and political struggle within party. Far from maintaining and strengthening unity, or helping the members of the Party, liberalism on the contrary, provokes the abandonment of principles, the moral and political decomposition of certain Party members and the degeneration of Party organizations which let themselves be led along this path.

The ideological and political struggle within the Party is an integral - and indispensable - part of our revolutionary action, of the struggle of the proletariat, of the working people.

Without it, the activity of the Party is slowed down, stopped, the Party disintegrates, degenerates and even risks, as we have seen, to transform itself into a revisionist party.

The shortcomings of the ideological and political struggle within the Party, therefore do great damage to the cause of the proletariat, of the revolution.

Let's recruit and train more and more communist militants

The new member generally comes to the Party because he opposes a concrete aspect of the politics of capitalism, imperialism, its valets and collaborators.

This is how avant-garde workers join the Party, for example, because it has had a correct and combative position in a claiming movement of an economic, material nature, because it has played its role of 'avant-garde.

Others join the Party because it consistently fights against national betrayal, against the American colonization of the country, to drive NATO out of the country, because it has raised the flag of national independence .

Still others join the Party because it raises the flag of proletarian internationalism high, practices effective solidarity with the revolutionary classes, peoples and nations struggling against imperialism.

Some intellectuals come to the Party because they are revolted by the horrors of imperialism, of capitalism; others because they oppose this or that aspect of bourgeois ideology or because they have theoretically understood the whole of the historical movement of the class struggle.

But generally this entry into the Party, this adhesion to its Marxist-Leninist positions does not yet signify the total rupture with survivals, after-effects of bourgeois ideology, petty-bourgeois ideas, does not yet signify a fully conscious adhesion to the set of Marxist-Leninist principles and positions.

It would be bigotry to demand it before joining the Party, because in fact, in most cases it can only be within the Party, in the heat of militant, revolutionary, communist activity, through a process of transformation and training, that the activist can really become a real communist.

This is why the Party does not require the new member to fully understand the program and the line of the Party, but only to "accept its program, its statutes and its decisions, join one of its organizations, undertakes to militate there and regularly pays its contributions".

But this is also why the Party and its organizations must know that the new member must go through a process of ideological formation which can only be conceived if closely linked to the revolutionary practice of mass work.

The Party, a revolutionary melting pot

Communists arm themselves with the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, the thought of Mao Tsetung, as a guide for their action, to transform the world. Because the masses by seizing revolutionary ideas make it a material force.

The revolutionary transformation of society, the result of a long and hard struggle during which the proletariat will transform itself, will, thanks to the dictatorship of the proletariat, sweep away all the decay of the system based on the exploitation of man by man, will build a new society on new bases, a society from which all forms of exploitation and oppression will be banished, while also effecting a transformation of men by the mass creation of communist consciousness.

The Communists, who constitute the organized vanguard of the proletariat, must transform themselves so that the Party is able to fulfill its historic mission.

This transformation is also the result of a struggle, the one that the militant is waging, a reflection within him of the class struggle, to get rid of the defilements of bourgeois ideology, the petty-bourgeois atmosphere, and other flaws coming of capitalist society, so that the Marxist-Leninist ideology would triumph in it.

This struggle can only be carried out successfully through the active participation of the militant in the fighting led by the Party.

This transformation can only take place if the activist makes his own efforts, the help of the Party can only be useful on this condition.

The Party helps in the ideological and political formation of its militants by applying the Leninist principles and rules of operation, namely notably democratic centralism, the practice of criticism and self-criticism.

The Party helps in the ideological and political formation of its militants by categorically rejecting all forms of liberalism as by dismissing the excesses and by avoiding systematically, unnecessarily aggravating the non-antagonistic contradictions, by avoiding to poison them.

The Party helps its activists by encouraging and organizing their ideological and political training.

The Party helps in the ideological and political formation of its militants because it develops its political line based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, on the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the concrete situation in the countries and in the world, and thanks to the contributions resulting from the mass work of Party organizations.

The Party helps in the ideological and political formation of its militants by checking this line tested by practice, action and mass work.

The Party helps in the ideological and political formation of its militants by controlling the accomplishment of tasks and particularly by controlling the implementation of political decisions at all levels.

The Party helps in the ideological and political training of its militants by adopting a revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist style of work.

Thus, by their own efforts and with the vigilant help of the Party, an increasing number of exemplary, fearless and enthusiastic communist militants will be formed, demanding towards themselves, irreproachable in their behaviour, modest, entirely whole with the exploited, the oppressed ; activists of a high political conscience, studying and applying with ardour Marxism-Leninism, the thought of Mao Tsetung; militants linked to the masses, knowing their aspirations, capable of convincing them, mobilizing them, uniting them, organizing them; militants with a Party spirit, ready to sacrifice their personal interests and even their lives, fighting firmly and without respite, for the great cause of the party, the working class, the working people, the revolution.

REFERENCES

[1] Vander Smissen is the general who commanded the shootings in Roux and elsewhere in 1886.

[2] Laloi is this indicator and provocative policeman who chaired in Châtelet on December 2, 1888 the constituent congress of the Socialist Republican Party of the revolutionary Alfred Defuisseaux, the author of the "Catechism of the People". Several other police provocateurs participated in this congress, including the famous Pourbaix which was, like Laloi, later unmasked.