

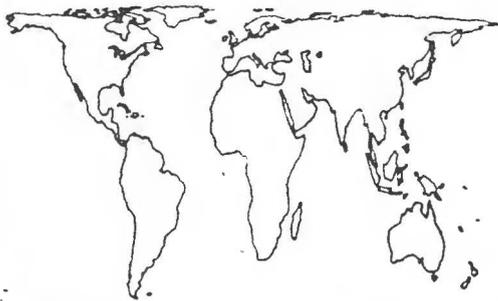
*restricted circular*

# **INTERNATIONAL REVIEW**



occasional internal bulletin

**Revolutionary Communist League of Britain**



# INTERNATIONAL REVIEW

----- No. 13 Winter 1992/93 -----

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*This is an occasional internal bulletin designed to circulate information on the international communist movement, and the analysis and developments within fraternal organisations.*

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

# REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST LEAGUE

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Imperialism is sure to move into a new structural crisis. Conditions for progressive struggles will be good, and the subjective element will become extremely important. The collapse of revisionism in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe is positive, in that it removes a source of confusion within the revolutionary ranks.

The established principles of Marxism-Leninism, which were defended by Mao, include the following: class struggle is an essential motive force of progress, it is impossible to reform the bourgeois state, it is impossible for imperialism to become benevolent, the revolutionary national liberation movements are the main anti-imperialist force on a world scale. These principles remain absolutely correct and must form the basis for struggles to build a new revolutionary unity.

Marxism is also a living science which must constantly confront new problems. Revolutionaries must integrate themselves with the concrete conditions of their own countries, and in so doing will develop new insights of general significance. It is imperative for revolutionaries of different countries to strengthen their links with one another, not only to reinforce the struggle worldwide but also to forge a systematic and coherent body of revolutionary science which is true to the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and at the same time rich in content and applicability to the contemporary world.

It is in this spirit that we propose the following points which have arisen in the course of our own specific experience, in a country which for over half a millenium has been one of the major colonial oppressor nations.

[1] Political economy in the Communist movement, at least from the late 1920s, has tended to view capitalism in terms of a closed model of a single national economy. However, in our view capitalism has, from its inception, been a world phenomenon. The primary contradiction in the world political economy has continued to be the exploitation of the nations of the periphery by central capitalism. The contradiction simply changes in form from one epoch to another. Only if we are armed with such a model can we make sense of social conditions either in the periphery or in the imperialist heartlands themselves.

[2] The above argument shows that 'racial' dualism is embedded within the whole structure of the world political economy. Groups of people are super-exploited according to their colour, mainly in an international dimension, but also (in the case of minority nationalities and migrant workers) within the central capitalist countries. Although 'race' has no reality, *racism* has a real, objective basis and is not simply a 'trick' to divide the working class.

[3] The influence of colonialism and imperialism within the metropolitan countries must not be underestimated. The culture associated with colonialism is an important basis for identification with the system by sections of different social strata including the working class of the majority nationality.

The new nationalism emerging in the period of European unity builds on this notion of 'racial' solidarity against the outsider. Racism must not be confused with fascism, because fascists are the 'unacceptable face' of what the capitalist state is itself already doing. A crucial task for communists is to win over the majority nationality working class, to respect the national rights of national minorities.

[4] The specific forms of the appropriation of women's labour have not received proper recognition in the communist movement so far. It is not just a question of women not getting equal pay for waged work, far more important is the fact that they perform essential tasks for the reproduction of the social system without any remuneration, principally in the household sector. Even in the waged economy, what is thought of as women's work (for example in the service sector) is an extension of socially-constructed gender roles arising in the household sphere. In maintaining the subjection of women within a given mode of production, superstructural factors such as sexist ideology and male violence play a predominant role.

[5] Women have always struggled against their oppression and this struggle constitutes one of the most powerful currents of rebellion against the exploitative system, calling into question some of the most fundamental aspects of oppressive and exploitative social organisation in any form. It is extremely important for communists to take this issue seriously right now and in particular combat sexism within their own ranks.

[6] Our emphasis on 'race' and gender dualisms does not conflict with the class basis of Marxism-Leninism because it is precisely the working-class elements in those oppressed groups which provide the thoroughgoing revolutionary element within them. But if we fail to take on board the specificity of the super-exploitation that they face we will be in danger of importing various forms of chauvinism into the revolutionary movement and cutting ourselves off from those at the lowest level of the oppressive system, who have most to gain by overthrowing it.

[7] New management structures have been introduced by capitalism in conjunction with the new technology over the past decade and a half. These employ methods like sub-contracting and home-working to maintain a labour-intensive periphery (part of which may be situated within the metropolitan countries) around a high-technology core, which dominates the productive process as a whole under the auspices of the transnational corporations. Thus we find a resurgence of primitive working conditions which hark back to the early days of the industrial revolution. These new capitalist methods imply an accentuation of 'racial' and gender dualisms, while deliberately serving to undermine the traditional factory structures where communist organisation has been concentrated in the past. We must maintain workplace structures, but we also face a challenge of inventing new forms of revolutionary organisation to reflect these changes.

[8] One of the main reasons for the urgency of revolution is that capitalism is rapidly destroying the environment which serves as a basis for any productive system. It is essential that

Communists give central attention to environmental issues. This does not mean liquidating ourselves into the Greens. To attempt to resolve environmental problems without overthrowing capitalism is equivalent to saying that imperialism can be reformed ... and we know this is impossible. The environmental issue is an issue of the struggle for socialist revolution; but it must be given an important place *within* that struggle.

[9] The above argument implies a critical re-examination of how we conceive of a future socialist society. We must criticise ideas which have tended to define socialism in terms of outstripping capitalism in 'growth', and must instead emphasise the qualitative aspects. Indigenous peoples in different parts of the world are waging a just struggle to maintain a conception of life in harmony with the natural environment, and there is much that we can learn from in this struggle. We must incorporate sustainability into our vision of a new society which is qualitatively different from capitalism at every level.

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--- *Theses contributed to the Third International Conference of Marxist Leninist Parties and Organizations held July 1992.*

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*Joint Coordinating Group*  
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE  
OF MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

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Postbus 51245 3007 GE Rotterdam Netherlands

Memorandum-Circular No. 2

For : All Participants in the Third International Conference  
From: The Joint Coordinating Group (JCG)  
Date: 14 December, 1992

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Comrades,

we convey to you our warmest revolutionary greetings.

For your information, the JCG held its second meeting last 25 November 1992 to assess the status of its work and set the tasks to be accomplished before the third meeting. Among the most important items discussed in the meeting were the assessments of the Third International Conference, the preparations for the Intermediate Conference and Fourth Conference, the proposals to celebrate the 100th birth anniversary of Mao Zedong, contributions to the general fund and the building of the Workers' Aid Society.

1. Most of the participating parties and organizations have already responded to Memorandum-Circular No. 1. We request that those who have not yet submitted their reply to do so before 20 January 1993. As additional reminder, we are attaching herewith a copy of Memorandum-Circular No. 1.

We are most interested in the assessments of the Third International Conference and the information on financial contributions to the general fund (Items 1 and 3 of the aforesaid memorandum).

2. The French translation of the general resolution and decisions of the Third International Conference is now available, thanks to our comrades from KOL.

3. Recommendations were received during the meeting for the participation in the Intermediate Conference of the following:

- a) Japan Communist Party (Left)
- b) Communist Party of Indonesia
- c) AKP (ML) of Norway
- d) UMP (Union Mouvement Progressif) of Zaire

The foregoing parties have expressed their readiness to participate in the Fourth Conference. Other parties have been invited to comment on the general resolution and other decisions of the Third International Conference and to consider being recommended to the Intermediate Conference by JCG for participation in the Fourth Conference.

4. The undersigned proposed that an international book project and a separate international seminar project be undertaken to celebrate the 100th birth anniversary of Mao Zedong through the co-sponsorship and mutual cooperation of the Center for Social Studies (CSS) and the Joint Coordinating Group. These projects are in addition to celebrations of the same occasion by the specific Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations in their respective countries.

5. The JCG agreed to encourage all participating parties and organizations of the Third International Conference to submit articles of their principal leaders or heads of higher Party schools and theoretical journals to the aforesaid book project on Mao Zedong. Please anticipate further communications about the project from the JCG as well as from the CSS.

MLPD volunteered that its Workers' Educational Center cooperate with the CSS and the JCG in the holding of the international seminar project in Mao Zedong in Germany. Details are now in the process of being worked out. So, please anticipate further communications from the JCG and CSS about this seminar project.

6. The JCG has decided that it can serve as the channel for any statement or document that any participating party or organization wishes to reach others in the International Conference.

In this regard, we are enclosing herewith the letter of Comrade Ludovico of the Communist Party of Peru (Patria Roja). Also, please anticipate a statement of the JCG in solidarity with the struggle of the Kurdish people.

We thank you for your abiding interest in the International Conference and support for the work of the JCG. We wish you all the success in the revolutionary struggle of your parties, organizations and people.

With our warmest regards,

Comradely yours,

*Armando Liwanag*

Armando Liwanag

Chairman

Joint Coordinating Group

## GENERAL RESOLUTION

- I. The 3rd International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations was held on the 21st to 28th of July, 1992.

The following parties and organizations took part:

- Marxist-Leninist Organization of Afghanistan
- Partido Comunista Revolucionario de la Argentina (PCR)
- Pan Africanist Congress
- Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany (MLPD)
- Unificación Comunista de España (UCE)
- Communist Organization of Luxemburg (KOL)
- Groep Marxisten-Leninisten/Rode Morgen (GML) of the Netherlands
- Partido Comunista del Peru/Patria Roja (PC del P/PR)
- Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP)
- Núcleo del Partido Comunista Revolucionario del Uruguay (PCRU)
- EKIM (October) of Turkey

- II. The 3rd International Conference successfully advanced the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought in the fight against imperialism and modern revisionism and for the victory of socialism and communism.

After big discussions and the frank, honest and sincere exchange of views on the current international situation and the prospects of the socialist revolution and the antiimperialist struggle, the 3rd International Conference unanimously approved the following points:

### 1) Regarding the collapse of the U.S.S.R.:

1. The triumph of revisionism at the 20th Party Congress of the CPSU was an expression of the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R. and of the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat.
2. This capitalist restoration led in the U.S.S.R. from socialism to social imperialism.
3. The present crisis and the disappearance of the U.S.S.R. as such is not the crisis of socialism but of restored capitalism and social imperialism.
4. The proletarian cultural revolution in China is a forward-pointing experience of the proletariat as a form of the struggle against the danger of the restoration of capitalism in socialism in the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.
5. We see the increasing instability of the world situation as a consequence of the crisis. While the U.S.S.R. has ceased to be the most dangerous superpower and is in a state of decline, the United States are going through a period of

the decline of their superiority owing to their economic crisis, and two new, rising powers are emerging: Japan and Germany.

6. The disappearance of the revisionist CPSU and of the U.S.S.R. has led to a deep crisis of the revisionist, pro-Soviet parties throughout the world. This produces better conditions for our development and the development of the revolutionary struggles.

### 2) Regarding the crisis of modern revisionism:

- \* Revisionism is the most dangerous manifestation of bourgeois ideology within the working-class movement and the liberation movement. It robs the movement of its revolutionary content and reconciles it with the interests of monopoly capitalism and imperialism. Revisionism serves solely the interests of the ruling exploiter classes. The defense of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought is a fundamental task, without which the revolution cannot be successful. This is a joint task of all international Marxist-Leninist organizations and parties!
- \* Revisionism does not always manifest itself in the same form but is inseparably connected with the concrete historical situation from which it emerges and in which it develops. The revisionism of Bernstein and Kautsky, which led to the collapse of the 2nd proletarian International during the 1st imperialist world war, was refuted and smashed by the socialist October Revolution in Russia and the upsurge of the Communist world movement.
- \* The betrayal of Marxism-Leninism which spawned in the womb of the socialist Soviet Union and led, as Khrushchevite revisionism, to the overthrow of proletarian dictatorship at the 20th Party Congress of the CPSU was the beginning of "modern revisionism." Modern revisionism developed into the ideological basis of social imperialism and thus provided the theoretical justification of the most terrible crimes, committed in the name of socialism, against the working class and the peoples. This shows the outrageous demagoguery of modern revisionism. It disarms the masses in their struggle against imperialism.
- \* At the same time it is necessary to distinguish between the basis of the revisionist parties, the millions of workers and fighters, and the degenerate leaders. Without weakening ideological struggle against revisionism, the Marxist-Leninists must be prepared to cooperate politically with the masses of members of these parties if this is in the interest of the social and national liberation struggle.

3) Regarding the development of the world economy and its significance for the class struggle of the proletariat:

1. There are new phenomena of great significance in the world economy. The process of international concentration of the monopolies has greatly increased. New technologies are being employed in unparalleled dimensions. These new phenomena must be investigated on the basis of Lenin's analysis of imperialism. In the imperialist countries the state is an instrument of the monopolies.
2. The new developments do not eliminate capitalist competition but intensify it. U.S. imperialism has lost economic strength, while Japan's and Germany's is growing.
3. Political events aggravate the crisis process of the world economy. On the other hand, the Gulf War also showed a new type of imperialist warfare. The war was waged by all imperialists in a relatively uniform way for the first time. There was a worldwide war propaganda effort based on the most advanced communications technologies.
4. Proletarian revolution is national in form. The new developments demand greater mutual support from the Marxist-Leninists.

4) Regarding the main characteristics of the world situation and the fundamental contradictions:

The situation is characterized by the great changes called forth by the crisis and disappearance of the U.S.S.R., by the economic crisis and the difficulties of the U.S.A., and by the rise of the two imperialist powers Germany and Japan. This has produced a great regroupment of forces in the world with the formation of blocs and major instability. Very important facts have been the fall of the Berlin Wall and the Gulf War, with which the U.S.A. sought to establish a new world order under their hegemony. In the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution and of the great confrontation between socialism and capitalism the following fundamental contradictions retain their validity:

- \* The contradiction between the proletariat and bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries.
- \* The contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism.
- \* The contradiction between the imperialists and between the monopolies.

This has greatest importance for the development of the strategy and tactics of the international proletariat.

5) Regarding 500 years conquest of America and the tasks of the Marxist-Leninists:

- \* We Marxist-Leninists celebrate this 500th anniversary from the standpoint of struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and hegemony. The analysis of these events must serve to unite us with the masses and to raise their consciousness. We Marxist-Leninist parties all have the duty to encourage the rewriting of the true history of our peoples.
- \* The 500th anniversary does not mean for us the "celebration of the meeting of two worlds." We think that it must be remembered as an act of colonial invasion, an act of plundering and despoilment of the people of Latin America, employing coercion and involving the annihilation of large parts of the indigenous population.
- \* The objective of colonialism was not to "civilize" or "bring culture" to the people and nations of Latin America. It was the raw materials and, in the first place, gold and silver. The gold and silver stolen from the native population and brought to the "Old World" enriched Europe and made possible the development of capitalism.
- \* The current ideological battle over the content of the 500th anniversary of Spanish conquest is one expression of the struggle between those who defend the old colonialism to strengthen the current imperialist rule and those who, like us, fight imperialist oppression by upholding the five centuries of heroic struggle waged by our peoples, first against their conquerors, and then against their rulers and exploiters. We continue this struggle knowing that today it can only be victorious under the leadership of the proletariat. A fundamental aspect of the ideological battle over the 500th anniversary between, on the one hand, the proletariat and the other strata of the people and, on the other hand, the imperialists, the monopolist bourgeoisie, the big landowners and other reactionary groups involves precisely this point.
- \* It also means recognizing that there were and are two different Spains: the sinister medieval Spain that led the "conquista," the conquest, and the Spain that was just as cruelly suppressed by the Castilian ruling class - the Spain of the communards of Villalar, the Spain of the expelled Moors and Jews, the Spain of the countless peasants reduced to servitude by the feudal Spanish regime.

6) Regarding the issue of ecology:

The Marxist-Leninists consider it important to actively oppose the destruction of the environment which imperialism causes by its greed for maximum profit. In this way the struggle for the defense of the environment constitutes an important part of the proletarian class struggle.

The unity between Man and Nature is only possible in socialism and communism.

The Marxist-Leninists must:

1. Seize the initiative on the environmental issues from the imperialists;
2. Mobilize the masses around the environmental issues;
3. Stress that the imperialists are responsible for the environmental destruction;
4. Counter the imperialist scheme of advancing ecological arguments to discourage the development of independent economies in the oppressed countries.

7) Regarding future practical collaboration:

- \* The International Conference stressed the necessity of holding International Conferences of Marxist-Leninist organizations and parties at regular intervals. Basis for participation in the International Conference is the defense of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought and participation in the struggle against modern revisionism.
- \* Cooperation between international Marxist-Leninist organizations is based on the following principles:
  1. Independence, equality, mutual respect, mutual support and cooperation.
  2. No interference in internal affairs as well as in the bilateral and regional relations of any party or organization with other parties or organizations.
  3. Consensus and unanimity in decision-making.
  4. Achieve unity step by step; no public debate among parties and organizations and no public criticism or attack by any party or organization on another.
- \* Between conferences the organizations jointly issue an international newsletter.
- \* The International Conference sets up a joint fund to finance the cost of international cooperation and of the conferences.

- 8) The 3rd International Conference declared its full solidarity with the people of Cuba in its struggle against Yanqui imperialism and for the defense of its national independence and self-determination; with the people of the Philippines in the struggle for national democratic liberation; with the people of Peru in its struggle against the Fujimori dictatorship and for national and social liberation; with the people of South Africa in its struggle against racism and for national liberation; with the people of Afghanistan in its struggle for freedom, democracy and social equality; with the Turkish and Kurdish people in its struggle for democracy and national liberation; and with all the workers and oppressed peoples of the world in their struggle for national and social liberation, for democracy and socialism.

The 3rd International Conference decided to call on all Marxist-Leninist parties to commemorate the 100th birthday of Chairman Mao Tsetung.

- III. The 3rd International Conference calls on all Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations to uphold and further the unity that has been achieved, to continue advancing Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought, to counter the worldwide anticommunist campaign, to gain new prestige for socialism in the eyes of the masses, and to persist in the effort to be recognized as the vanguard of the proletariat and people in the revolution.

- IV. The 3rd International Conference calls on the proletariat of the capitalist countries, the workers and oppressed peoples of the colonial, semicolonial and dependent countries to unite and resist in order to defeat the imperialist bourgeoisie and all reactionaries and their authoritarian and fascist regimes, and to take their destinies into their own hands to gain national liberation, socialism and communism.



# *The People's Star*

International Bulletin of the Communist Party of Japan (Left)

No.352-353

October 15, 1992

Price ¥400

## **DEVELOPING INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL SITUATION, AND LINE AND POLICY OF REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT**

— By the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPJ/L —

(From the "Jinmin No Hoshi" No.2929, dated October 6, 1992)

The postwar world was composed of the contradiction and struggle between U.S.-led imperialism and the local reactionary forces, on one hand, and the socialist forces with the Soviet Union at the head, the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples, on the other. In short, it was based on the global relations of class contradiction with the U.S. and the Soviet Union as the two main poles.

Today, the world has witnessed the collapse of such international class relations with the U.S. and the Soviet Union as the opposite poles. It stems from the extremely aggravated contradictions of the world almost half a century after World War II. It is also a result of decay and decline of U.S. imperialism, and the downfall of the socialist Soviet Union.

The collapse of the U.S.-Soviet bipolar

structure has unprecedentedly sharpened the main contradictions of the world and has radically changed the situation at home and abroad. The world finds itself in turbulence and convulsion. This is producing a new international class relationship.

With the destruction of the U.S.-Soviet bipolar structure as a cardinal point, we must clarify the basic changes and trend of internal and external situation, factors underlying its development, and newly growing contradictions in the class struggle. With this clear in mind, we must grasp the line and policy of the revolutionary movement and, thus, boost our fighting strength to initiate a revolutionary struggle capable of overthrowing imperialism. This is important in the present conjuncture of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat.

### **1. Imperialism in collapse**

The imperialist world is rushing on the road of collapse.

#### **(1) Global crisis destroys productive forces**

The U.S., Japan, Germany, Britain, France and other imperialist powers have been

hit by a new crisis since mid 1990; facing such prominent phenomena as the stagnation of individual consumption, increase in stock, decline of production and diminution of investment in plants and equipment; conducting forcible measures like bankruptcies of companies, factory closures, abandonment of machines

and equipment, and dismissal of workers; and accelerating the decline of farmers, fishermen and small traders and manufacturers. This is the third simultaneous crisis of the postwar imperialist world, following those in the middle of the 1970s and the early 1980s.

The present crisis far surpasses these past crises in terms of the scale of the destruction of such productive forces as labor power and implements for production. It still cannot show any bright signs of recovery although nearly two years have passed. The unemployed in the U.S. have recorded 8.9 million, or more than 7 percent of the total workers, while those have reached 12.5 million, or 10 percent and more in the EC countries. All these come from the promoted capitalist rationalization and increase of the poor in the imperialist countries; the collapse of economies in colonies and dependencies through the imperialist squeezing; and the capital investment abroad by imperialism and devastation of industries at home.

Another feature of the present crisis is that the financial crisis including bankruptcies of banks is deepening along with the overproduction crisis. This is because the banks are weighted down with colossal bad debts and cannot recover not only their principals but also interest, after the overissuance of bank notes by the monopoly bourgeoisie, the babble economy by speculations and its bankruptcy, and the accumulated debts of colonial and dependent countries. It is also because the creation of new markets through investment of state funds accelerates the financial deficits and the inflation.

The crisis is an inevitable outcome of capitalism. It is true that capitalism socializes the production and provide conditions favorable for drastic development of production. The bourgeoisie, however, possesses such means of production as factories, machines, land, buildings and raw materials and puts the overwhelming majority of the outcomes of pro-

duction under its own private ownership. The bourgeois production is conducted only in escalating the exploitation of workers, squeezing further the farmers, fishermen and petty traders and manufacturers, and restricting the personal consumption. In addition, the bourgeois sharpen an anarchic competition among themselves. This inevitably leads to a relative overproduction.

The promotion of capital accumulation expands the production beyond the consumptive capability of the society. Periodically, this results in an overflow of unsold goods, paralyzes the process of capital reproduction, and leads to crash of prices, bankruptcies and concentration of companies, unemployment and wage cut. The imbalance between production and consumption can be temporarily eliminated only through a violent process of destruction of such productive forces.

The capitalist production shows a spiral growth, repeating a cyclical pattern of stagnation, recovery, prosperity and crisis. The escape from one crisis unavoidably prepares another more serious one.

The crisis proves that the capitalist system has already become a shackle to the growth of the productive forces. It reveals a contradictory phenomenon, i.e., poverty in richness, dismissing the people with the will and ability to work, and destroying the social wealth. Eliminating the capitalist system itself is the only way to terminate the crisis. From this viewpoint, the struggle against the shifting the burden of the crisis can develop with prospects for a victory.

## **(2) U.S. imperialism in decay and decline, sharpening contradiction over integrated EC, and revealed crisis of Japanese capitalism**

U.S. imperialism finds itself in a remarkable decay and decline.

The U.S. society faces unprecedentedly increasing number of poor or homeless people and a wide prevalence of cocaine and other drugs, AIDS, alcoholic poisoning, crimes and so on. While the social corruption has attained its peak, the people have raised their anger at the Bush administration.

The economy is plagued with the hollowing of domestic industries by multinationalization of companies; the qualitative deterioration of labor forces; the declining international competitiveness of such key industries as auto, machine, electrical machinery and appliances and communication; and the mushrooming trade deficits. The accumulated deficits of the national finance have surpassed 12 trillion dollars as a result of colossal amount of military spendings and so forth. As the crisis remains protracted and serious, large-scale firings are under way in the GM, IBM and other big corporations. There cannot be seen any sign of economic recovery.

The deepening distrust of dollar accelerates its depreciation and the appreciation of yen and mark. As a result, the international monetary system based on dollar is in waver and disorder. The Uruguay Round of multilateral negotiations of the GATT has come to a deadlock.

U.S. imperialism schemes to create a free economic zone in North America and tighten its unilateral grip of the Latin American countries. It also attempts to reestablish its control on the Middle East and Africa with the aim of exclusively plundering the oil resources. Such moves, however, increase the opposition of the Latin American countries and sharpen the rivalry among the U.S. and European imperialist powers over the interests in the Middle East and Africa.

In its global military strategy, U.S. imperialism designs to monopolize the strategic nuclear weapons after the collapse of the Soviet Union and mobilize multilateral forces under

the banner of the U.N. as it did in the Gulf War. Notably, the U.S. cements its military alliance with Japan on the basis of the bilateral "Security Treaty," urges it to increase its sharing of the U.S. troop costs and reinforces the U.S. military bases in our soils. Turning Japan into a front base and a launching pad, U.S. imperialism builds up the armament against Asia, the Middle East, Africa, China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Russia and so forth. It conducts international politics through military menaces and has become a warmonger on a world scale.

With the economic and political integration of the EC, Germany, France and other European imperialist powers are creating a great sphere of influence in Europe, expanding trades within the region, contesting with the U.S. and Japanese counterparts, and plotting their expansion to Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

The EC countries, however, have gaps among themselves in terms of their political and economic strength. Their integration inevitably consolidates the domination of stronger imperialist powers among them.

Referendums on the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty showed the discontent of the peoples in the EC member countries and the rise of nationalism. The people in Denmark rejected the ratification, while nearly half of the voters in France opposed to it.

In Addition, the ongoing monetary integration with the appreciated German mark degrades the British pound and Italian lira and shows some signs of leading to French franc. Britain and Italy have dropped out of the European Monetary System, while the former have expressed distrust of the EC integration.

The European bourgeoisie trumpeted an emergence of a great capitalist Europe after the political changes in Eastern Europe and the collapse of the Soviet Union, but such a dream is easily being shattered.

Although Japanese capitalism was highly evaluated as "superior member in the world economy," it brought its serious crisis into prominence at once.

The economy in our country has revealed its overproduction crisis after the burst of the bubble economy, while job-eliminating "rationalization" drives have been widely launched against regular workers in key industries like auto, steel and electrical machines. The government has publicized a comprehensive anti-crisis program including financial investment in public works, a program which amounts to over 10 trillion yen. The increased issue of Bank of Japan notes deepens the danger of inflation.

The stock market in our country has been based on the financial supply through the mutual holding of securities among big corporations. The monopoly bourgeoisie artificially raised prices of stocks and land to get huge profits and used them for investment in plants and equipment. In this process, the stock market rapidly expanded. The burst of the bubble economy, however, resulted in deterioration of companies' financial structure because of debts brought by their investment in plants and equipment, and led to the expansion of financial unrest and a crash of stock prices. The stock market is so stagnant that the government is forced to take such measures as the freeze of selling a part of its stocks of the recently denationalized Nippon Telegraph and Telegram and as the use of funds from the post-office savings and insurances for investment in stock market, just to prevent the security prices from falling. It is becoming harder for the monopoly bourgeoisie to raise funds from the stock market.

A heavy pressure of bad debts deteriorates the management of banks, nonbank financial institutes, life insurance companies, financial institutions of agricultural or fishing cooperatives, and drives them on the verge of bankruptcy. Fearing runs on banks, their chain-re-

acting bankruptcies, collapse of their trust and order, and panic, the monopoly bourgeoisie schemes to create a governmental agency for purchase of the unsold mortgaged land properties with the aim of dealing with the bad debts. This way, it attempts to relieve the financing institutions and come out of the financial crisis.

The involvement of Shin Kanemaru (former vice president of the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party and president of the LDP's Takeshita faction) in the Sagawa Kyubin bribery scandal and the exposure of other political donation bribes have thrown the political situation in a confusion and increased the governmental crisis. All these bribery scandals reveal the picture of the today's bourgeois politics and the money- and interests-oriented structure of the LDP — the political donations over the allocation of state funds, the powers of licensing and authorization, the public works, the land and resort development, and so on by the government and bureaucratic apparatuses; the election campaigns with these donations; and the involvement of gangsters and rightist groups. This exposes the real picture and nature of the parliamentary politics based on bourgeois democracy. The Tokyo District Public Prosecutors Office filed a summary indictment against Kanemaru for violating the quantitative regulations of the Political Funds Control Law. This measure itself discloses the facade of the bourgeois law and the principle of separation of the administrative, legislative and judicial branches of government. Japanese capitalism finds itself in a serious political crisis.

While sending Self-Defense Forces to Cambodia, Japanese imperialism builds up the U.S. military bases in our soils, by allowing the deployment of amphibious assault ship Belleauwood to the U.S. naval base in Sasebo, Nagasaki prefecture, and constructing a new runway of the U.S. Marine Corps Station in Iwakuni in the land reclaimed along the shore.

In this process, it schemes to establish a collective security system in Asia and enter SDF troops in multinational forces under the name of international security through the United Nations. Japanese imperialism is in a military collusion with the U.S. counterpart and attempts to use such a military power to establish its own sphere of control in the Asia-Pacific region.

## **2. Aggravating ethnic conflicts in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and nationalism in China**

Against the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the imperialist bourgeoisie undermined the proletarian socialist union by fanning bourgeois nationalism, overthrew the socialist governments and apparatuses under the banner of bourgeois democracy and freedom, destroyed the socialist planned economy and restored private ownership of production means by infiltrating the market economy into those countries.

The collapse of the proletarian socialist union accelerates the ethnic conflicts in the Commonwealth of Independent States and former Yugoslavia. The imperialist intervention has drawn the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict into the quicksand of a civil war. Using the U.N., imperialism plots to overthrow the new Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and undermine the Yugoslav federation. The CIS faces incessant ethnic conflicts in Nagorno-Karabakh of Azerbaijan and Armenia, Tadzhikistan, Mordova, Tatarstan, Crimea and so on. The conflicts are deepened and flare into battles because of the intervention of imperialism, foreign expansionists and reactionary religious forces.

The capitalist economic reforms in the CIS and Eastern Europe under the IMF's control have brought an increase in unemployment and skyrocketing inflation, diminished the production activity unprecedentedly, and acceler-

The process of collapse of world imperialism is promoted by the sharpening contradictions which are inherent in and peculiar to capitalism. Against such a background, the U.S., Japanese and European imperialist powers escalate the rivalry, collusion, diplomatic tricks and strifes over division and redivision of markets and spheres of influence. They are heading for a violent and cutthroat showdown.

ated the impoverishment of the peoples. The Eltsin government is wavered because the economic reform has come to a standstill. The imperialist bourgeoisie tries to draw the CIS and Eastern Europe into the market economy, but the deepening political and economic crisis in this region inevitably boomerangs on imperialism itself as its own crisis. Germany has failed to settle the economic confusion in former East Germany. It finds itself in an unprecedented financial crisis stemming from the monetary integration of mark, and faces a political crisis as a result of assaults on foreigners and xenophobic campaigns with nationalism and Nazism on the rise.

After the Tiananmen incident, socialist China was based on its lessons and developed the struggle against the ideology of bourgeois liberalization, holding fast to the four principles — the socialist road, the people's democratic dictatorship, the leadership of the Communist Party, and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

Nowadays, the Chinese government gives top priority to the "reform and open policy" based on market economy and flow of Japanese capital, restores diplomatic relations with south Korea, attempts an expansion of economic and cultural exchange with Japan by inviting its Emperor, and tries to repair relations with Russia. In addition, it does not

clearly show its struggle against the peaceful transition of socialism to capitalism. Such direction is being adopted in the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of China.

In response to the deepening crisis of imperialism, the Chinese government pragmatically seeks its nationalist interests and aims at the growth of production in the country and at

### **3. Growing struggles of the socialist forces, the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples**

In the process of the political changes in Eastern Europe and the collapse of the socialist Soviet Union, the imperialist bourgeoisie glorified capitalism and frantically propagated that "socialism has come to an end."

Today, this deceptive propaganda is revealed clearly and widely. There is no disguising such facts as the serious political, economic and ideological crisis of imperialism as well as the stagnation of production, political confusion and ethnic conflicts as a result of capitalist restoration in the CIS and Eastern Europe.

Socialism is a way to liberate the people from imperialism and capitalism which bring poverty, unemployment, oppression, crisis, aggression and war. Material conditions for socialism have been prepared by imperialism. We witness a rise of voices, currents and forces which call for advance toward socialism on the basis of the positive and negative historical lessons in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The collapse of the U.S.-Soviet bipolar structure has given an impetus to the development of the anti-imperialist struggle of the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples.

The struggles of workers in the imperialist countries have shown a new rise since the latter half of the last year. These are strike actions against unemployment and wage reduction in Europe, struggles against suppression of

the expansion of its international relations with Asian and other countries. We must carefully observe the development of contradiction between socialism on one hand, and capitalism and imperialism on the other, and deepen the historical examination of nationalism in socialist China.

the lower-strata and black people in the U.S., movements against imperialist war in Japan and so forth. The ground for existence of the labor aristocracy is being undermined in the process of deepening crisis. This inevitably develops the struggle for expulsion of the labor aristocracy and for rebuilding of the workers' movement.

The Latin-American peoples with socialist Cuba and the Sandinista National-Liberation Front (FSLN) in Nicaragua at the head powerfully advance their joint anti-imperialist struggle against the reorganization of U.S. imperialist control.

The national democratic revolution of the Philippine people stands in the forefront of the global anti-imperialist struggle and grows, by opposing to the domination of U.S. and Japanese imperialism and the reactionary policy of the Ramos regime and by building up the revolutionary bases and the revolutionary united front.

In the Middle East and Africa, the U.S.-led anti-Iraqi framework established during the Gulf War has crumbled, while the antipathy has grown against U.S. imperialism. Conditions are becoming more favorable for the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat to advance in defeating reactionary nationalism.

With the banner of Marxism-Leninism aloft, we must advance vigorously, by grasping clearly the revolutionary strategy, line and poli-

cies in the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolutions, and by eliminating modern revisionism.

"Let the ruling classes tremble at a Com-

munist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries, unite!" ("Manifesto of the Communist Party")

#### **4. Moves of classes, and line and policy of revolutionary movement in the Japanese society**

The present monopoly bourgeoisie is one in the stage of decay of Japanese imperialism. Declining Japanese capitalism and the control of the monopoly bourgeoisie are in an extremely serious crisis. This finds its expression in the following phenomena: the burst of the bubble economy and the overproduction crisis; the critical situation of stock system and financial institutions including big banks; the people's growing indignation against the escalation in exploitation of workers and in squeeze of toiling producers by the monopoly bourgeoisie; the people's increasing distrust of the Japanese capitalist society which is structurally corrupt and of the bourgeois politics; the deepening rivalry and collusion between U.S. and Japanese imperialism; the sending abroad of the Japanese military; the rising danger of imperialist war; and so on. We must thoroughly bring these phenomena to light.

The struggle of the workers is at a historical turning point to break the sabotage of their movement by the monopoly bourgeoisie through the labor aristocracy.

The lower-strata workers erupt their historically accumulated class indignation and increase their anger against dismissal and wage reduction under the present crisis. The workers intensify their opposition to the labor bureaucrats who advocate the reformist line of "participation, suggestion and reform" and who accept the "Japan-U.S. Security Treaty," the SDF and the capitalist rationalization drives. They raise their intention to reestablish trade unions from below, while the advanced workers develop their exchanges and unity. Work-

ers amplify their interest in Marxism which clarifies the wage-slave system and the historical mission of the proletariat. They support the call for reestablishment of the workers' movement for socialism.

The immediate line and policy of the workers' movement are to expose the sharpening contradictions and struggle between capital and labor over exploitation and anti-exploitation with factories and workshops as bases. They are also: to strengthen the political struggle against imperialism; to expel the labor aristocracy in reliance on the lower-strata workers; to support the demands and struggle of the farmers and fishermen as well as the petty traders and manufacturers against the plunder and oppression of the monopoly bourgeoisie; to ally with the anti-imperialist struggle of the oppressed peoples in Asia; and to develop the campaign for study of Marxism. The line and policy are also: to build up the trade unions from below; to organize the ununionized workers in various forms; develop whole-industrial and entire-regional joint struggles on the basis of factories and workshops; and to get the strike back to the workers as their weapon.

In regard to the farmers and fishermen as well as the petty retailers and manufacturers, we must reveal that the monopoly bourgeoisie deprives them of a political voice and plunders them in terms of finance, market, materials, prices and so forth. We must also disclose that the government promotes the elimination of small farmers through its new agricultural policy, the concentration of farmland and the

deregulation of monopolization of market by big companies. We must help the proletariat support their demands and struggle and consolidate the revolutionary united front.

The youth stand in the forefront of the revolutionary political struggle, awake to the class consciousness, study the historical mission of the proletariat, and grow in opposition to individualism, liberalism and reflection of social decadence. We must develop the revolutionary political struggle, the campaign for study of Marxism, the cultural work, and the sports activities, consolidate democratic centralism of the Communist Youth Union, and help them raise the class recognition through their practice and its summation. This way, we must link the enhancement of their initiatives with the Marxist guidance.

As for the women's sector, the bourgeoisie has mobilized many women into production work as a cheap labor force to exploit them. This has brought some changes to their economic and social status in families and society and is demolishing the historical oppression and customs based on the old sexual discrimination. Breaking down such oppression and customs, they increase the social interest and energetically rise into action in various aspects — political, economic, cultural, educational and so on. They are establishing a new progressive moral of women in struggle. We must concretely grasp this developmental strength and trend and vigorously enhance them, so that the women can advance toward a new society which realizes the genuine equality of men and women, renovates fundamentally the women's submissive economic and social status based on the private ownership of properties and develops all-sidedly their abilities.

In the educational sector, the contradictions over the moral, intellectual and physical educations of children appear as the following: a contradiction one between the reflection of social corruption and their people's disposition;

a contradiction between the intellectual decadence or academic decline and the rising intellectual interest in the nature and society; and a contradiction between their physical deterioration and the sound bodies. These are characteristic in antagonism between the reactionary and the progressive over the children. They are also reflexes of the class contradictions of the society in the children, i.e., those between the bourgeoisie in decay and decline and the toiling producers on the rise. The broad masses of the working parents support the progressive aspects of the children from the bottom of their heart. With this clear in mind, we must reveal the destruction of the educational functions of schools through their imperialist reorganization, and link the children's education with the actual livelihood, labor and class struggle of the working people. Systematically theorizing the teaching materials of people's education, we must combine the guidance of teachers and working parents with the enhancement of children's initiatives and develop the joint education movement of teachers and toiling parents. In the movement, we must organize in various creative forms children, working parents, teachers and those people who are interested in education. Encouraging the historical traditions of teachers' anti-war struggle and peace education, we must prompt them to study Marxism and to play the role of a key link in the chains which combine the progressive ideology of the proletariat with the popular masses. This way, we must help the teachers to give impetus to growth of the people's movement.

The professors and other intellectuals are recalling to themselves the interest in socialism and are raising their social voices on the issues like the SDF dispatch abroad. We must encourage them to seriously study, spread open discussions and give more actively scientific comments on such issues like the international communist movement, Japanese imperialism and the postwar movements of workers and

people.

In the cultural front, the broad masses of the people oppose to the corrupt bourgeois culture and strongly demand a sound and developmental one. Against such a background, we must establish a proletarian art which finds its own resources in the people's livelihood and struggle, projects typical characters of the classes, enhances the progressive ideas, emotion and thought of the people and surpasses the bourgeois counterpart.

The struggle against imperialist war is an important issue in all the fronts of the anti-imperialist movement. We must develop the struggles against the SDF dispatch abroad, the reinforcement of the U.S. military bases in our

country, and the A- and H- bombs. We must also clarify the class nature and root cause of wars, develop the anti-war movement into the struggle against imperialism, liquidate the revisionist and petty-bourgeois line of "peace and democracy" which avoids the revolutionary struggle against the imperialist bourgeoisie.

All these are important points in the line and policy of the present revolutionary movement in the classes and strata and in the respective fronts.

Now, the revolutionary movement is at a historical turning point. Achieve resolutely the glorious task of the Party to renovate the revolutionary movement! (Concluded)

# Mao's old wheels to turn a profit

FROM JAMES PRINGLE  
IN PEKING

A LIMOUSINE which may have belonged to Chairman Mao Tse-tung will come under the hammer today in Communist China's first international antiques auction, but you will need at least \$220,000 (£129,000) to secure it. Officials will say only that the Chinese-made Hong-qi (Red Flag) limousine was used by senior figures in the Chinese leadership and came from within the leadership compound of Zhongnanhai where Mao lived, next door to the Forbidden City.

But one manager of a state factory in Henan province is convinced enough of its provenance to have said he will bid that sum. "It will bring my factory fame throughout China," the manager told officials, in charge of the four-day event, who are auctioning 800 pieces of jewellery, jade, painting, calligraphy and books to registered fat cats, mostly businessmen from Hong Kong and Taiwan, though a few are native mainland Chinese.

There is a widespread perception in the Chinese capital that the limousine was used by Mao, who died in 1976, but officials say they are under orders not to say to whom the vehicle, whose number-plate has been removed, specifically belonged, though they add it also conveyed the highest-level foreign guests, perhaps even President Nixon in 1972.

Liu Shuren, 40, a one-time youthful Red Guard who confesses she still loves Chairman Mao, is in charge of showing off the car, which has 22,267 miles on the clock, a top speed of 125 mph and a dashboard clock stopped at 2:10, and which is for auction at bids of more than (£117,647).

Though she plainly did not regard this correspondent as a serious prospective buyer, Mrs Liu was comradely enough to let me sit in the back of the stretched limousine, where China's late Great Leader may have reclined alongside his unlamented wife, the late Jiang Qing, as he reviewed Red Guards or drove to his



Fire of the revolution: a Peking street vendor offers Mao Tse-tung lighters which burst into tune as well as flame and sell for the equivalent of £1.50

weekend retreat in the western hills. I sat back on the comfortable beige seat and gazed through a window at a view only slightly obscured by the brown net curtain that enables Chinese leaders to shield themselves from the curious gaze of the "broad masses". The view was of one of Peking's garish new high-rise hotels.

Given the fact that his Cultural Revolution was referred to in recent years as the "ten years of chaos", it is odd during the current session of the 14th Communist party congress to find some taxi-drivers with a portrait of Mao glued to the dashboard.

"There was no corruption in Mao's day and Mao would never have turned guns on the masses," one driver recently told a passenger, in an apparent reference to high-level party nepotism and the 1989

Tiananmen Square massacre. But, with Tiananmen in mind, and while visiting the site of the auction in the northeast of the city, a tour offered this correspondent a much more chilling memento. It was a watch awarded by the hardline Peking municipal party committee to soldiers who participated in the bloody suppression of the students' pro-democracy protests.

Below the images of Tiananmen Gate and a helmeted soldier of the People's Liberation Army are the words: "To commemorate bringing to an end the turmoil in Peking, June 1989."

□ **Peking:** China has issued a secret document warning legal authorities to be prepared for subversion and sabotage resulting from economic reforms which were heralded at this week's Communist party congress. (Reuter)



A street vendor in Xian, Shaanxi province, offers shoppers a choice from a range of girlie calendars, or others commemorating the centenary of Mao Tse-tung's birth Photograph: William Lindsey



A woman in Peking wears a Mao Tse-tung T-shirt yesterday. The late Chinese leader has become a fashion favourite this year, the centenary of his birth

FOR the first time since the Cultural Revolution, China reported yesterday the setting up of a statue of the late Chairman Mao Tse-tung, in Beidaihe.

The statue was erected in a hilltop park, overlooking the gulf of Beidaihe in northeastern Qinhuangdao, on a plinth inscribed with a poem Mao wrote during a 1954 visit, the semi-official Hong Kong China News Service said. China's leaders are expected to meet at Beidaihe, their favourite beach resort, next week for their annual conference.

At the height of the Cultural Revolution, in 1966 to 1976, statues of Chairman Mao could be found all over China. But since Deng Xiaoping launched an economic reform and opening-up drive in the late 1970s, several Mao statues have been dismantled. This year marks the 100th anniversary of Mao's birth and the first reported new statue in honour of the "Great Helmsman".