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Your Leaders Are Actively Helping the Fascistization of the Regime

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Comrades,

Once more I want to appeal to you in spite of everything that separates us. But I know that for the most part you are sincere and that in private you are expressing concern about the policy of your leaders. You do not want to believe in their betrayal; you speak of errors. You examine your consciences. You keep hoping that the errors will be corrected.

In the bottom of your hearts you are beginning to realize that the correction will not come. And -- I tell you this rather brutally, for I love truth -- it will not come because these leaders are traitors, because little by little, and now completely, they have become agents of the Belgian bourgeoisie and American imperialism.

WHERE IS THE TRUE COMMUNIST PARTY?

In Belgium, at present, two parties call themselves Communist. And you will surely agree with me in saying that this is an abnormal situation. There is only one true Marxist-Leninist Communist Party.

The criterion for judging a Communist Party is the class struggle in all its manifestations, from the position

taken regarding the slightest demand to decisions about the most important questions of international policy. You also know that a Communist Party worthy of the name is always on the attack against the regime and that the regime does not deal kindly with it. It is obvious, for example, that a Social Democratic Party, a party belonging to the regime, has nothing to fear from the regime.

At present the unitarian capitalist regime in Belgium is undergoing a profound crisis. It has its back to the wall. It knows that the social struggles taking place and expanding signify its sentence to an early death. As always in such cases, the bourgeoisie is breaking its own laws. And what do we see?

The gendarmes fire and kill two striking workers.

The police search the premises of the headquarters of the Charleroi Federation of the Communist Party. The Government seizes the organ of the Communist Party, searches the editorial offices of that organ, searches the headquarters of the Central Committee.

Communist militants are arrested. A militant belonging to the Communist Youth is held.

That is what the regime does when King Baudouin, in the service of the "Belgian" trusts and Yankee imperialism, intervenes publicly to demand increased fascistization of the regime.

This Communist Party, comrades, this Communist Party that is a victim of the regime's persecution, is the one of which I have the honor to be a leader. It is the Marxist-Leninist Party, faithful to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-Tung. It is the Party worthy of its great founders, worthy of Joseph Jacquemotte, Julien Lahaut and Henri Glinneur, who, moreover, is one of us. And the newspaper seized is our dear Voix du Peuple.

The bourgeois state did not confuse the true and the false Communist Parties, did not hesitate.

The other party, in which you very wrongly still remain, has nothing Communist about it, and the state knows this perfectly well.

The false Communist Party, the Khrushchevist party, is a party coddled by the regime. It has its place on the radio.

The radio news complacently reports its "resolutions" and excerpts from its press. During the days of worker anger in the Campine, when government censorship prohibited telecasting of filmed reports of the events, the statements of the Khrushchev-ist accomplices were quoted at length on a par with the words emanating from the PSB /Parti Socialiste Belge; Belgian Socialist Party/, the PSC /Parti Socialiste Chretien; Social Christian Party/ and the PLP. Our statements went straight into the waste basket.

Furthermore, I must remind you that during the electoral campaign your Party's spokesmen presented themselves -- on TV, on the radio and in their press and publications -- as the "fourth force" of the regime. The results of the vote showed that this was evidence of a certain degree of megalomania. But it is obvious that the state apparatus of capitalism did everything to make the Khrushchevists appear to be that. Were you not struck by the anomaly there was in attributing to your party a national ranking to which it had no right? Were you not struck by the fact that in order to have that ranking your party had to appeal for support by the senators of the PSC, the PSB and the PLP? Has it escaped your notice, perhaps, that among those who thus sponsored the attribution of number four to the Khrushchevist party there was a certain Leemans? Yes, Herr Leemans himself, president of the European Parliament, Hitlerian propogandist and notorious collaborator of the Flag (De Vlag), the organization to which the SS murderer Verbelen belonged. For the fact is that your leaders can stomach anything, and they do not hesitate to use Fascist scum in order to participate in the regime.

And what do you think about the fashionable lawyer Jean Terfve? Exploiting his position as a high official in the Masonic Lodge and his party's policy of total class collaboration, he had himself elected senator from the province of Liege thanks to the six votes of the PLP councillors.

To sum up: At a time when the capitalist, unitarian regime in Belgium is in a crisis and is breaking its own laws, the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party stands as its enemy number one and suffers for this. The false Communist Party, the Khrushchevist party, is coddled and gains a thousand advantages.

Why won't you see it? Do you not understand that some day before long it will be almost impossible to go on believing in your good faith? It has never been evidence of political clarity to follow the example of the ostrich, which hides its head in the ground in order not to see unpleasant facts.

THE KHRUSCHEVIST PARTY'S "HOPEFUL CONFIDENCE" IN THE GOVERNMENT

The search for political truth, moreover, compels analysis of the policy followed by the Khrushchevist party in the course of these weeks of acute crisis and panic in the regime. From the time the government headed by Harmel was formed, the Khrushchevist party has refused to wage a significant, whole-hearted struggle against a ministerial team committed body and soul to Belgian high finance and American imperialism. In the PSB a false left led by Kerlet and Glinne, renegade collectors, had launched the slogan of "hopeful confidence." The government may be bad, but it may be good: let's not struggle against it, let's wait! It is to this absence of struggle, this complicity pure and simple, that the Khrushchevist leaders rallied. This is so true that Lévieux -- who played the part of arbiter at the time of the Drapeau Rouge (Red Flag) strike -- wrote in an editorial in that paper on Monday February seventh:

"The Socialist ministers have seen the 'hopeful confidence' of last summer disappear in a few months and change into cold distrust bordering on open resistance, which today has increased to a point that seriously alarms them."

Is it clear? Hopeful confidence, at first. That was indeed the position of the Khrushchevist leaders!

And yet examination of the composition of the government was enough to show that to speak of hopeful confidence was to deceive and betray the working class. Was not Gaston Eyskens one of the stars of the government? Eyskens -- the first minister of the loi unique [special law regarding French and Flemish languages], the man who in the course of the serious strike of December 1960-January 1961 had had workers murdered in Brussels and Liege.

In this same government, above all, there was Spaak. Who does not know the man who was the man of Burgos, the man of neutrality towards Fascist Germany? Who does not know the man who today is the chief clerk of American imperialism in Belgium?

It was Spaak who was not afraid to declare in a meeting held in Liege that giving the gendarmes light tanks did not matter: "The workers would only have to run a little faster than from the gendarmes' horses"!

Spaak is the man of the Europe of trusts under American

control.

He is "honorary" president of NATO.

He is the man who gives unconditional support to all Yankee aggression in the world and particularly that in Vietnam.

He is the man who supports foreign bases in Belgium, the man who had atomic bases established in Florennes and Kleine Brogel.

It is thanks to him that American super-bombers loaded with atomic bombs fly over our territory unceasingly, seriously endangering the people of the country. The fall of Yankee planes near Almeria in Spain has been a cruel reminder of this.

Spaak is the man of the dirty colonialist war in the Congo, the hangman of the Congolese people, the organizer of American-Belgian aggression at Stanleyville.

This Spaak is the friend of the Khrushchevist leaders!

The Khrushchevist leaders do not criticize him in any way at all. And to read what they say, it would seem as though Spaak had no responsibility at all for government policy.

The Khrushchevists have refused to give importance to his presence in the government. That is because as collaborators of American imperialism, like their principals installed in the USSR government, they refused to denounce the man and what he represents. On the contrary, they have done everything possible to make him and his wickedness forgotten.

It became quickly apparent that Harmel was nothing but a figurehead. The master revisionists strained their wits in order to speak of Eyskens, even of Spinoy. Never were they willing to say that the government was a Spaak-Eyskens government. The government that has just fallen was a government of Belgium's big bourgeoisie, clinging to the skirts of American imperialism. Fortunately, Spaak was eager to seem to be playing a secondary role this time. He knew that the policy to be followed would be hopelessly unpopular. He did not want to be tainted with it. In refusing to attack Spaak's role, in refusing to show that Eyskens -- to the detriment of the working masses -- was only choosing the methods required by Spaak's American policy, the revisionist leaders were again betraying the workers and the cause of national independence.

Besides, was it not shameful that on the occasion of the anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution the Khrushchevist leaders of the Belgian-Soviet friendship Society invited as speaker this Spaak whose entire career has taken place under the banner of cynical anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism?

THE KHRUSHCHEVIST PARTY SABOTAGES THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE SUPER-LOI UNIQUE

Eyskens' membership in the government had a special significance, which was not slow in appearing. I repeat; he was the able technocrat to whom the big bourgeoisie resorted to make the workers pay for the consequences of a policy of submission and action in the service of Yankee imperialism, the successor to Hitlerism -- and even more terrible.

Eyskens, then, thought up a new loi unique, much worse than the one against which the workers conducted one of the greatest strikes in our history. Responsible militant workers owed it to themselves to engage in relentless struggle against this super-loi unique. A workers' party owed it to itself to lead this struggle and strive to gather the workers into a united front against the law of poverty, against the government, against Belgian high finance and American imperialism. Our Party carried out its mission as the vanguard party of the working class. The Khrushchevist party did everything to hinder the struggle. It multiplied differences. It rejected the plan for demands shared by the professions, proposing instead minor, individual, isolated demands, which in any case it did not really support.

When a common front between the trade union hierarchs was established to assure "social peace" for the exploiters against the exploited, the Khrushchevists claimed a victory, though knowing well that the workers were rebelling against what they rightly considered a stab in the back.

The dizzy rise in the cost of living, the juggling with the index, the closing of enterprises, the twenty billions in new taxes, the additional fifty billions burdening the workers -- all this aroused the workers' anger, so much that the trade union hierarchs had to be cautious. The FGTB [Federation Generale du Travail Belge; Belgian General Federation of Labor] Congress hypocritically pretended to keep aloof from the Spaak-Eyskens government, while at the same time being careful not to condemn it or above all to call the working class to the struggle. The Khrushchevist leaders immediately claimed a victory. They proposed struggling for an alternative

"trade union" plan -- which does not exist!

When the government increased the AMI fees, raised the price of medicine and decreased assistance to retired workers, widows, and invalids, the Majors (in the PSB) and the Coals (PSC) were in agreement with their friend Brouhon. Yet the Khrushchevist leaders impudently continue to assert that the trade union hierarchs oppose these regressive measures. When Spinoz (in the PSB!) called the Economic Conference and said -- to applause by the FIB -- that the workers should modify their demands, Major and Coal immediately supported him. In complete contradiction to the truth, the Khrushchevist leaders said that they had voted against the Spinoz policy!

And only a few days ago Jean Blume dared to write in a Drapeau Rouge editorial:

"The trade union movement, within which FGTB-CSC [Confederation des Syndicats Chretiens; Federation of Christian Trade Unions] unity of action is sure to develop, will have many occasions to block government tricks and attack the reactionary policy of which the Socialist ministers are the inglorious agents."

Furthermore, what the Khrushchevist leaders hope is that the PSB will withdraw from the government at any moment. They believe, in fact, that at present the PSB would play its role as a party in the service of the bourgeoisie and American imperialism better outside the government than in it.

One must have the low mind of a Khrushchevist leader to try to make people believe that a Major or a Coal would struggle against the reactionary policy of a reactionary government of which they are accomplices.

In connection with the closing of factories and collieries, Khrushchevist degeneracy stands out. Gone is the time when they said: "No closures." Today these gentlemen say: "No closures without prior conversion." This means accepting the closures. And it is all the more shameful since we know now what a sordid farce the "conversions" in the Center and the Borinage are. "Conversion" by governments of national betrayal really means colonization of the country by American imperialism.

Do we not also see Burnelle introduce a motion in the Chamber of Deputies that is a call for support of the Common Market, the Europe of trusts? He asks simply that increased powers be granted to the European parliament (under the presidency of the unpatriotic Leemans, protector of the Khrushchevist party) and that there be reinforcement of the "control" of the trade unions of the International Confederation of Free (read yellow) Trade Unions and the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions (also completely yellow). Do we not see a Joye declare in an editorial in the Drapeau Rouge that the investment of American capital in Belgium is beneficial?!

Support of closures, the Common Market and the colonization of Belgium under cover of new enterprises with Yankee capital -- this is really descent to the depths of betrayal.

THE KHRUSHCHEVIST PARTY: AN APPENDAGE OF THE PSB

On government orders the bloody brutes of the gendarmerie have assassinated two workers and wounded many others in the Campine. Minister Vranckx, member of the PSB, is the chief murderer. Immediately, through the regime's radio and press, the government spreads a version of events that aims at making the gendarmes poor victims. A strategem is found: it is to try to inspire the belief that the assassination of the two workers was the direct result of the People's Union demonstration that took place the day before. Immediately the revisionist "political" bureau plays its role in the maneuver and publishes a statement, widely reported on the government radio, in which it

"urges the miners to be on their guard against the irresponsible diversionary maneuvers inspired by the People's Union..."

Nine days after the assassinations, semi-PLP Senator Jean Terfve dares to write in the Drapeau Rouge:

"Zwartberg is only secondarily an economic and social problem; it is primarily a means of reviving conflicts and setting the Flemish against the Walloons."

And after claiming a victory because the government and the CECA [Communauté Européenne du Charbon et de l'Acier; European Coal and Steel Community] have promised to convert before closing enterprises, Jean Terfve launches into the same story about the People's Union.

All the workers of our country applauded the action of

the young Danish workers who on the occasion of Baudouin's visit chalked on the wall of the Belgian Embassy in Copenhagen: "Arrest the assassins of the workers!" The editors of the Drapeau Rouge should be piloried for not merely relegating the news to an inconspicuous corner of the third page but even committing the crime of speaking of an act of vandalism.

What has been made strikingly apparent by the Campine assassinations is the role of the PSB as a party of the bourgeoisie, as an anti-worker party, as a party of the regime's fascistization.

The murdering gendarmerie has had its 1967 budget increased by 20 per cent. It has been given light tanks. The government is enabled to intensify repression thanks to the anti-strike laws, termed "laws on the maintenance of order." All that -- increased budget, tanks, anti-strike laws -- has been approved by the FGTB and voted for by the PSB.

The Khrushchevist leaders know this. And yet they refuse to attack the PSB. On the contrary, they have often described the Socialist ministers as "hostages" of reaction. On the contrary, even now they are eager to pass for loyal satellites of the PSB. On Monday February seventh, in "answer" to the King's message, the Khrushchevist "political" bureau dares to write:

"The Socialist ministers and members of Parliament are at the cross-roads, as are the Christian Democratic representatives. Will they be strong enough to break away from the reactionary right?"

How could one think for a single moment that those whose hands were red with the blood of the workers of the Campine could follow a progressive policy? And yet the same day one of the major stars of this strange political bureau, Marcel Levoux, appeals in the Drapeau Rouge to those who want "another policy" to join in "a single block." In other words, these gentlemen are again offering their candidacy for participation in the government together with the assassins of Zwartberg and Waterschei.

A reading of the analytical report of the parliamentary debates sometimes reveals interesting facts that the Khrushchevite Drapeau Rouge carefully conceals.

On February eighth, for example, the Khrushchevist senators, together with the senators of all other parties, approved the issuance of a loan of three billion francs, to be issued by the Department of Telegraph and Telephone, in Belgium or abroad.

In other words, these Khrushchevist senators have approved increased control of a Belgian national entity by Yankee capital, which we are sure will not miss its opportunity.

On the same day the Khrushchevist senators, by their vote, gave their unqualified support to a PLP amendment to a resolution proposed by Rolin of the PSB and De Boodt of the PSC, in effect calling for increased fascistization of the regime.

Here is the text, with the PLP amendment voted by the Khrushchevists:

"The Senate hopes that the government will not delay further in putting an end to the seditious activities of certain organized groups that are striving to sow trouble in the country through violence and oppose the normal functioning of its institutions and the people's free exercise of their liberties" (sic).

Naturally, to big "Belgian" capital and its American boss and to their lackeys, the "seditious activities" that must be repressed are the struggles of the workers, the action of our Party and of other organizations that offer significant opposition to the super-loi unique, to closures and firings, to the fascistization of the regime, to the unitarian oppressor bourgeois state and national betrayal.

With these words, the parties in the service of the bourgeoisie and American imperialism are trying to camouflage the real seditious activities of their masters and of organized groups such as the police and the gendarmerie, who are brutally trying to repress the struggles of the workers with violence and who are breaking their own bourgeois laws more and more.

The day before the Senate meeting of February eighth, the government "without further delay" had sent its gendarmes to hunt down the distributors of the pamphlets of our Party, a pamphlet entitled "The Workers' Answer to the King: Fascism will not pass!"

And two searches were conducted in Charleroi.

The paper of the Khrushchevist party, an auxiliary of the PSB, did not utter a word. Just as it said not a word about the arbitrary arrest -- "by administrative order" -- of our comrade Willy Dejeneffe in Liébourg, an arrest that even the MPW organ Combat denounced. Just as it had been silent for ten days about the scandalous detention of a young Communist.

Three days after the Senate meeting of February eighth the Voix du Peuple was seized, and the investigations of our Party multiplied.

What does the Khrushchevist paper say about these extremely serious events, which underline the fascistization of the regime and demonstrate the effect of the King's message and the Senate resolution with which the Khrushchevists were "fundamentally in agreement"?

In a filthy little 37-line article, the Drapeau Rouge merely insults us, slanders us and tries to "justify" the police action against our Party.

Let us cite the following passage illustrating the base views expressed by the editors of the Drapeau Rouge, who you know -- after their "strike" -- are mercenaries and are treated as such by the leaders of the Khrushchevist party:

"At a time when the bourgeoisie is looking for any excuse and any occasion to justify the special powers that would enable it better to undermine the workers' resistance to its wicked attacks, this is surely (they are speaking of our Party's action in the vanguard of the workers' struggle: Editor's Note) an unreasoning and irresponsible attitude that encourages the contemplated action and gives the police a chance to develop a taste for this kind of activity."

* * *

There, comrades, are a few facts on which, in a fraternal spirit, we ask you to meditate. You may be sure that we could cite many others -- and I limited myself on purpose to internal policy.

The struggle in which we are now engaged is hard and cruel, and it promises battles that will undoubtedly be

decisive. It is your duty to take part in this struggle. But for this reason you no longer belong in the Khrushchev party. If you mean to remain faithful to your class, to the great class of Communism, of Marxism-Leninism, we extend you our hand unreservedly. Otherwise, the workers who are courageously holding their sector of the vast front of the revolutionary struggle will certainly be forced to consider you deserters, or even worse -- if you persist in following the treasonable orders of the Khrushchev leaders -- to conclude that you have allied yourselves with the class enemy.

But we are sure that the majority of you will regain their class consciousness and will rejoin the great struggle of the working people, of the peoples of the entire world, and the action of our Party.

Our Party, faithful to the teachings of Joseph Jacquemotte, is unconditionally on the side of the exploited against the exploiters. It holds high the flag of the United Popular Front, the demands of labor, the defense of democratic liberties, federalism and national independence.

It holds high the flag of proletarian internationalism.

It holds high the flag of Marxism-Leninism and the Socialist revolution!

With my Communist greetings,

Jacques Grippa

14 February 1966

