



Red Flag

MAY 1999 JOURNAL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AOTEAROA

STOP THE US-NATO WAR OF AGRESSION

The Communist Party of Aotearoa unreservedly condemns the Western imperialist bombardment and war of aggression against the sovereign people of Yugoslavia.

US imperialism and its NATO allies have unleashed the most heinous devastation as a precursor to occupation and dismemberment of the country. With hypocritical claims of humanitarian action, the US leads the murderous victimization of the people of Yugoslavia, as it has stood behind murderous dictator after dictator from Pinochet to Suharto, and as it stood watching the expulsion of 200,000 Serbs from Bosnia in 1995. The US and NATO airstrikes are displacing tens of thousands of people from their homes, generating a far greater refugee crisis than had arisen from the fighting between the Yugoslav army and the Kosovo Liberation Army. While US and NATO airstrikes devastate Yugoslavia, the US and NATO bombards the rest of the world with a torrent of barbarous propaganda to divert attention from their blatant violation of international law and justice.

The aim of the US and its Western allies is not humanitarianism, but subjugation and occupation of Yugoslavia, to preside over its further dismemberment. For the last ten years the Western imperialists, particularly US and German imperialism, have been fostering and arming ethnic and regional divisions in the Balkans, including the KLA in Kosovo, and fascist forces elsewhere. The Rambouillet 'peace plan' was designed to secure the separation of Kosovo via foreign occupation, to add to the large deployment of US troops already in Bosnia and Macedonia. German imperialism has separately been carving out its own spheres of influence in this strategically critical region, deploying troops in Bosnia and aircraft over Belgrade, the first external deployment of German armed forces since 1945.

The push by the Western imperialists for a military foothold in the Balkans is a stepping stone for a wider struggle for hegemony over the breakup of Russia. Since the collapse of the USSR, Western imperialism has vying for control of the vast new potential markets, resources and privatised companies in Eastern Europe. The failure of an orderly transition to capitalism, instead the collapse of the Russian economy, has left the region in chaos, wracked by anarchy, ultra-nationalist conflict and organised crime. The Western imperialists seek to expand and consolidate their spheres of interest in the region, which is increasingly only possible on the basis a reconstitution of the region politically, on the basis of military force. The next goal will be the Caucasian-Caspian oil region, with oil and gas reserves the size of the Gulf. The wars in the Balkans are skirmishes ahead of a major imperialist war.

The Communist Party of Aotearoa supports the right of the Albanian people of Kosovo to self-determination, but no self-determination is possible under imperialist occupation and bombardment, nor is any reactionary client of US and Western imperialism capable of leading a struggle for self-determination.

The US and NATO devastation of Yugoslavia must be stopped and foreign occupying forces prevented from occupying this sovereign nation. The people of the Balkans must unite and defeat the imperialist occupation as they defeated the fascist occupation in 1945. Revolutionary forces must build an anti-imperialist united front under working class leadership. In the imperialist countries, revolutionary forces must mobilise all peace-loving peoples against their leaders military aggression and build working class leadership of a powerful anti-war movement. #

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For an international front of active resistance against the imperialist NATO war in Yugoslavia!

*Common Declaration of A/synechia (revolutionary marxist organization) - Greece,
Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany (MLPD), GML/Rode Morgen - Netherlands 20 April 1999*

Since the NATO began its aggression against the peoples of Yugoslavia on March 24, 1999, the war has been escalating. The alleged "humanitarian reasons" are pure hypocrisy. The same NATO politicians are

supporting the NATO country Turkey with massive military aid in its policy of genocide against the Kurdish people.

The NATO war is the continuation of imperialist policy by other means. It is being conducted under the leadership of the superpower USA directly against the Milosevic regime, but its purpose is to further hit the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Yugoslavia, which constitute an objective obstacle to the realization of the imperialists' plans. The next goal is the Caucasian-Caspian oil region. For this purpose, NATO is trying out its strategy of world-wide intervention. On the background of the deep economic and political destabilization of the imperialist world system, the NATO states, with the USA at the lead, are pressing for world hegemony. For this purpose, they have brought the mass media almost completely in line. Simultaneously, they are competing each other over the control of huge regions, with catastrophic consequences for the peoples. The "European Union" is actually obliged to follow the USA, despite the continued inter-imperialist competition. At the same time, the Western powers are trying to exclude imperialist Russia from the Balkans. It is clear that the reactions of the Russian regime have nothing to do with the support of the Balkan peoples, and they are directed by the effort to protect its "vital interests". The threat of a 3rd World War is intensifying.

The NATO imperialists only use the suppression of the Albanian population in Kosovo as a pretext to establish their own protectorate in Yugoslavia. They do not care at all for the fate of the Albanian minority, nor of any people in the region. They only use, whenever they decide it is opportune for them, this or the other population and the existing problems in order to advance their plans. They violate the sovereign rights of the peoples of Yugoslavia and bury them under their bombs. Furthermore, they cynically violate all the "international laws" that they themselves adopted and which are supposed to regulate the international relations. New weapons are being tested, arms production is being stepped up, and these enormous sums are being pressed out of the masses.

The justified concerns of the peoples are in the worst hands with the imperialists. The problems in the Balkans can only be solved by the peoples in a joint struggle for national and social liberation, against their reactionary governments, as well as against any imperialist intervention, and not by fighting against each other. That is why every imperialist "peace" dictate must also be rejected as well as the imperialist war itself.

The NATO war in Yugoslavia meets with worldwide protest and developing active resistance. International workers' unity is thereby the firm basis. The NATO war opens many people's eyes about the imperialist character of the so-called "New World Order". The workers and the oppressed of all countries must join together on an international level in the struggle against imperialism for a world without exploitation and oppression and must not allow themselves to be driven against each other in war. Workers of all countries, unite!

Wars and the threat of war will exist as long as imperialism remains. The masses do not want to decline into capitalist barbarity. The workers' struggles developing in the imperialist countries and the mass struggles and movements in the countries oppressed by imperialism are harbingers of a resurgence of the worldwide struggle for socialism.

We call upon the peoples of the world to joint together and practice active resistance:

Immediate stop of the imperialist NATO war against the peoples of Yugoslavia!

Dissolution of NATO and WEU!

All foreign troops, out of the Balkans!

Ban and destroy all ABC-weapons Obligation of every government never to use ABC-weapons first!

Peace, peoples' friendship and socialism!

Signatories:

A/synechia (revolutionary marxist organization) - Greece

Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany (MLPD)

GML/Rode Morgen - Netherlands

Rote Fahne 21 April 1999

May Day – Socialism is Our Destiny

As imperialist forces throw their military might day after day against the people of Yugoslavia, the devastation serves as a grim reminder of the lengths to which the bourgeoisie will go to preserve its avaricious hold on the lives of the working class and oppressed peoples around the world. The hundreds of millions of people who have died from imperialist wars and the hunger and disease that follows the capitalists' lust for profit, like flies around a rotting corpse, are victims of a brutal, inhumane system.

May Day commemorates the martyrs of Haymarket massacred in 1889, a symbol of the violence inherent in the very heart of capitalism. But May Day also commemorates the fighting spirit of the international working class, the knowledge that we in our hundreds of millions stand to inherit the earth when the tiny clique of billionaires and their political and military lackeys are finally defeated.

For the brutality of imperialism also comes from the fact that these inhumane pariahs know their days are numbered. They are well aware of the long history of working class victories in the continuous battle of classes. From the armed revolutions across Europe in 1848 to the declaration of the first workers' state after the insurrection in Paris in 1870, the international working class movement grew into a formidable force. Each heroic revolutionary struggle was beaten back by the bourgeoisie, but the experiences and lessons made the movement stronger.

This century saw a second great wave of workers' revolt world wide culminating in the first workers' republic, with the great October Revolution in 1917, alongside scores of insurrections across Europe and the consolidation of mass communist parties in most advanced countries. The imperialists unleashed the most brutal fascist terror against the new socialist republic and the working classes of Germany and Italy in particular, culminating in the horror of the Second World War. But the heroic defence of the Soviet Union at the cost of 20 million lives broke the imperialists attack, and with the defeat of fascism, most of Europe was liberated from capitalism, while in 1949 the Chinese Communist Party led the first workers' and peasants' revolution in the third world to victory, sparking a wave of similar attempts in subsequent years.

The second great wave of workers' revolt also ended in defeat, at the hands of imperialist blockade, subversion and revisionist betrayal. But again the workers' movement has learned from this defeat as it reorganises for an inevitable return.

Imperialism has not and cannot do away with the material basis for proletarian revolution. Even today, when US Imperialism is boasting of its success, conditions for huge sections of people in large parts of the world are sharply deteriorating. Even in the most advanced imperialist countries, unemployment, homelessness, and state brutality are on the rise. And this repression and exploitation inevitably breeds resistance.

In all major imperialist countries, like the United States, Japan, Germany, France and Britain, the class struggle between the proletariat and the monopoly bourgeoisie is steadily coming to the surface. Workers strikes are occurring in key industries and some entire industrial lines. Occasionally, there are general strikes, a huge advance from the erosion of the trade union movement from decade to decade since the late 50s.

In the neo-colonies armed revolutionary movements for national liberation and democracy are growing in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Some of these are led by Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties, as in the Philippines, India, Nepal, Peru and Turkey. They take the general line of national-democratic revolution, with a socialist perspective. Others, in Colombia, Mexico, North Kurdistan, Eelam are led by non-Maoist forces but are still undermining imperialism and reaction.

The masses are stirring. More than ever, there is the need for the workers and the people of all countries to unite and to fight for their liberation from the clutches of imperialism and all reaction.#

Workers' Conditions Deteriorate

It has become much harder for the neo-liberals to hide the effects of their attack on the working class of Aotearoa since the 1980s. The average wage in Aotearoa, heavily distorted upward by the incomes of the rich, has fallen 4% in real terms since 1982. The average wage earner today receives \$900 a year less than they did in 1982, allowing for inflation. The number of workers working more than 50 hours a week rose from 32% to 40% over the same period.

For those on low incomes the situation is much worse. Real wages have fallen, and continued unemployment breeds insecurity and poverty for the masses of Aotearoa. One fifth of the population and one third of the children of Aotearoa live beneath the poverty line. The number of poor increased 35% 1989-92 in the wake of the 1991 benefit cuts which cut 20% off beneficiary incomes. By 1994 the Auckland City Mission was distributing 800 food parcels a month.

The rich though have gained. The average income for the top 10% of households rose 15% in real terms between 1982 and 1996, from \$116,800 a year to \$134,000.

In this issue of Red Flag, we present a number of commentaries and analyses on the state of the working class movement around the world. A number of these were first presented at the *International Communist Seminar in Brussels, May 2-4, 1998*.

The changes in the composition of the working class and the proletariat

Jean Pestieau, Workers' Party of Belgium

To say that in the industrialised countries, the working class is disappearing as monopoly capitalism develops, is false. To the contrary, its composition is changing with the development of technologies that incorporate more and more intellectual labour in the production of commodities. The working class is becoming more and more prominent in the services sector. While acknowledging this evolution, the leading role of the industrial proletariat - both in the industrialised countries and in the Third World - must be underscored in terms of its conscientisation, its organisation and its unification of all workers in their fight for socialist revolution.

The myth of the end of the working class

According to the majority of bourgeois ideologues and to the reformists, today's workers in the industrialised countries are a species on the road to extinction. Capital would no longer need the working class to develop. The Manifesto of the communist party would be a thing of the past, as it claims: "To the extent that the bourgeoisie develops, i.e. capital, also the proletariat develops, the class of modern workers who survive only on the condition that they find employment, and who will find employment only if their labour increases capital." (1)

To support their theses, those ideologues refer to the evolution of the distribution of the active population in the three major traditional sectors of the economy:

- the primary sector: agriculture, forestry and fisheries,
- the secondary sector or the industrial sector: manufacturing and extraction, electricity, gas and water, construction,
- the tertiary sector or the services sector: trade, finance, public administration, communications, education, health care,...

From Tables I and II (2) it can be learnt that,

- a. in the industrialised countries, there is a net growth of the tertiary sector to the detriment of the secondary sector,
- b. in the Third World countries, there is a contrasting growth of the industrial and services sectors to the detriment of agriculture.

This suffices for the bourgeois theoreticians to bid the proletariat goodbye: "By generating more than 60% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and of the employment in the industrialised countries, the tertiary sector is dominating the world economy. (...) The developing countries are still lagging behind, with only 47% of their GDP and 25% of their employment attributable to the tertiary sector." (3)

Before discussing the class content of the tertiary sector, a few preliminary remarks are called for.

1. It is not the tertiary sector that dominates the world economy, but the multinational corporations whose main activity is the production of material goods. Here's an indicative classification (4) comparing the size of some States (GDP) with that of the 10 major multinational corporations* (business volume), in declining order:

Indonesia Portugal

*General Motors *IBM

Turkey Malaysia

Denmark	Venezuela
*Ford	Pakistan
South Africa	*Unilever
*Toyota	*Nestlé
*Exxon	*Sony
*Royal Dutch/Shell	Egypt
Norway	Nigeria
Poland	

The cumulated size of the two major multinationals is comparable to that of India or the Netherlands; that of the three major MNC's to Russia or Mexico; that of the four major MNC's to Brazil or China; and that of the ten major ones to Great Britain.

2. The advanced capitalist countries concentrate the biggest part of commodity production. In 1993, France and the US had 4 respectively 18.1 million wage earners in the manufacturing industry, on a total active population of 25 respectively 139 million, while Mexico had 850.000 on an active population of 33 million. In the same manufacturing industry, France and the US had 0.2 respectively 1.2 million independent workers as against Mexico's 1.5 million. These three countries are members of the OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development), by virtue of which they have unified statistics. (5) These figures show the numerical importance of the wage earners in the manufacturing industry for the two industrialised countries (France and the US), where the tertiary sector is the major sector. The comparison with Mexico, one of the most industrialised Third World countries, is self-evident.

3. The development of the tertiary sector cannot hide the cancer that grows with the capitalist system: the increasing gap between the available work force on the world market, and the real existing jobs. (6)

The bourgeois ideologues don't see any solution within the capitalist system to absorb the constantly increasing additional work force. In the industrial sector as well as in the services sector, the exploiters notably increase their profits by reducing the permanent work force to a small number of qualified workers, surrounded by temporary, flexible workers. Apart from war, famine and massacres, capitalism has no solution for the problem of employment (see table below): "If the number of unemployed and underemployed are taken into account, almost one billion jobs would have to be created in the next decade. This means that there should be an increase in employment of more than 4% per year in the 1990s, even as it has remained below 3% during the 1980s." (6)

	available work force (10)	
	world	developing countries
1950	1.1 billion	0.8 billion
1980	1.9 billion	1.3 billion
1990	2.3 billion	1.7 billion
2000(estimate)	2.7 billion	2.0 billion
2025(estimate)	3.6 billion	2.8 billion

Today, there is practically no capitalist country that is capable of maintaining its level of employment, not even in the countries of East and Southeast Asia, which until a couple of months ago were presented as models. (6) The countries that have been able to maintain their employment level, however low, have done so by lowering the salaries and recurring to part-time jobs. In 1996, the official rate of unemployment in the industrialised countries was 7.7%, and that of Japan was 3.3%. (7) In April 1998, the unemployment rate in the latter country is estimated to be around 6-7%. (8) After the financial crash of 1994, more than one million Mexicans lost their jobs in the course of a few months. (9)

The definition of classes is based on the relations of production

Lenin defines classes as follows: "Classes are groups of which one can live off the work of the other, can appropriate the labour of the other." (11) "And what are classes in general? It is what it takes for a part of society to appropriate the labour of the other part. If one part of society appropriates all land, there will be a class of landlords and a peasant class. If one part of society owns the factories, the stocks and the capital while the other part has to work in those factories, there will be a class of capitalists and another of proletarians." (12) And he adds: "The notion of class is being formed in struggle and in development. There is no wall to separating one class from the other. There is no Chinese wall between workers and peasants." (13) Applied to the current situation in the industrialised countries: there exists no wall between the wage earners of the industrial sector and those of the services sector.

What characterises the capitalist relations of production most, is the fact that the owner of the means of production pays the worker a price that is below the value of the goods he produces, goods that will be exchanged on the market. The difference between the price of his labour and the price produced by it, is the surplus value. The capitalists appropriate the surplus value by means of profits, patents, rent, interests on loans, etc.

Not all wage earners of the private sector produce commodities. A large part of the workers in the private services sector sell their labour *not* to produce commodities, but to allow bank and commercial capital to seize part of the surplus value of the commodity production. In all cases, labour, whether producing commodities or services, is exchanged against capital at a price below the profit that the capitalist gets from the utilisation of this labour. This relation between capital and labour is at the basis of what constitutes the working class, and it dominates the entire capitalist society. Of course not everybody works directly under such relations. An independent artisan, a small peasant, a government employee, a private lawyer, etc. are manifestations of other relations of production exist in capitalist society. But these are determined by the capitalist relations of production.

From this, it can be deduced that in today's capitalist society, the following have to be distinguished:

(a) wage-labour that is being exchanged for capital

- industrial; this labour produces commodities and with it, surplus value
- financial and commercial; this labour is necessary for the transfer of surplus value.

In the period of monopoly capitalism and multinationals, the distinction between these two types of wage-labour is often minor.

(b) wage-labour that is exchanged for an income received from taxes: this is the case mainly of salaried State employees. The salaries and the methods of work are directly determined by the interests of monopoly capitalism. Moreover, the wave of privatisations is reducing the size of this category, adding to category (a).

(c) the independent workers: as a result of their living conditions, some of them are close to the bourgeoisie, while others are closer to the workers, namely the peasants, artisans and traders who are linked to the multinationals by means of unequal contracts and who in fact have nothing independent except their name and the idea they have of themselves.

(d) the bourgeoisie dominated by the monopoly bourgeoisie, in struggle with the working class, that can only win if it is led by the industrial proletariat.

Classes are not defined only in relation to production of surplus value

An engineer may produce surplus value as a worker in a factory, but generally he doesn't belong to the working class. A government employee or an employee in a shopping centre or a bank may be classified as a worker, based on his social position and on his salary.

Lenin has pointed out how to define classes:

"Classes are called vast groups of people that can be distinguished by the place they occupy in a historically defined system of social production,

- by their relation (most of the time fixed and regulated by laws) vis-à-vis the means of production,
- by their role in the social organisation of labour,
- thus, by the way of obtaining, and by the size of the social riches they dispose of.

Classes are groups of men of which one is able to appropriate the labour of the other, because of the different place they occupy in a determined structure, in the social economy." (14)

A fourth criterion must be added: the situation vis-à-vis the State apparatus (15), which is particularly important in order to understand why the repressive forces and the majority of the trade union leaders don't belong to the working class.

Starting from these criteria, it becomes possible to comprehend why railway workers, postmen, telecommunication and airport workers belong to the working class and why the majority of scientific and intellectual professionals belong to the petit bourgeoisie, vacillating between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. In any case, the working class must not be limited to only the manual workers, as we will explain in detail.

The working class in Belgium

1. The example of Belgium is used to concretely analyse the classes. (16) The portion of the active population consisting of wage earners has increased from 78% in 1966 to 83% today. In 1997, 29% of the active population (and 35% of the wage earners) are classified as "labourers", i.e. manual workers, of which 26% are women and 74% are men.

The number of manual workers has decreased with 30% between 1974 and 1997, and the number of wage earners in the secondary sector has diminished by 35.5%. In 1997, 62% of the wage earners in the

manufacturing industry are manual workers. They comprise 15% of the total of wage earners. They form the industrial proletariat, the core of the working class. Between 1974 and 1995, unemployment has increased from 2% to 13%, while total employment decreased by 1.5%.

2. During the same period, employment of women has increased by 7.5% compared to total employment, while male employment decreased by 9%. It is more beneficial to the bourgeoisie to employ women rather than men, because for equal work the salaries of women are generally lower than those of men, and it is easier to impose a precarious condition and/or part-time jobs on women than on men. Indeed, the female reserve army of labour is considerable: 57% of the unemployed, while women comprise only 43% of the active population.

In 1996, 14% of the total of wage earners were part-time, but 30% of women worked part-time, as compared to 3% of the men. It can be estimated that 60% of the woman wage earners belong to the working class, even if the manual workers comprise only 22% of the totality of woman wage earners.

3. In the industrialised countries, the manufacturing industry represents less than a fifth of the demand for lowly qualified labour. (17) In Belgium, the non-qualified workers comprise 11% of the wage earners. Intellectual labour is more and more integrated in the production of commodities. In the 25-29 age bracket, 24% of the population have at the most a certificate of lower secondary education and thus have a much reduced chance of finding a job. 59% have a certificate of higher secondary education or of short-type higher education. It is from these 83% that the younger section of the working class comes from. They are subject to job insecurity, flexible contracts and working conditions, and various forms of marginal jobs. (18) Today, the sector of interim work represents 37% of the entries on the Belgian job market. (19)

4. Between 1963 and 1996, the portion of jobs in the services sector has increased from 47.3% to 69.7%, while that in the secondary sector has decreased from 45.3% to 27.7%. The division in secondary and tertiary sectors doesn't correspond to the Marxist distinction between productive and non-productive sectors, between services that are essential for the production of commodities and those that are not. (20)

In the 'services' sector, the category that has seen the strongest growth is that of services rendered to companies, for the simple reason that a good number of the services which used to be assured by the industrial company itself, are now taken up by specialised companies dependent on the tertiary sector: marketing, management, cleaning and maintenance services, security, computerisation, product development and the conceptualisation of manufacturing procedures. The services section of "transportation, storage and communications" represents 7.4% of the working people. (16) A large part of this section is integral to the commodity producing sector. A good example is that of the American multinational corporation UPS that transports packages mainly for industry - and went on a historical strike in the summer of 1997, for real jobs and against hamburger jobs.

Another services section, "financial services, real estate, rental and service activities for companies", represents 10.6% of the employed. Notably, this section comprises the activities of information technology, nowadays essential to any production process. These activities are increasing rapidly and enormously, particularly because of the approaching year 2000, the introduction of the Euro, and the acceleration of the computerisation of all activities of commodity production and services. In Belgium there is currently a need for between 5000 and 20.000 computer specialists of higher educational level. The capitalists are very worried about this situation, not only because it slows down the economic activity, but also because, without a reserve army in the information technology, the salaries are increasing much beyond their liking. Thus, the Ministry of Employment and Labour is linking up with IBM to educate thousands of computer specialists in the shortest possible time in order to avoid such losses of surplus value. (21) The objective is not only to fulfill the demand in the sector, but to form a reserve army as soon as possible.

"The development of a 'service economy' independent of production is fiction. The services sector cannot grow if not in relation with a strong industrial sector. A faster turnover of constant capital (machines and stocks) is, at this moment, one of the main objectives of the employers, in order to increase their profit rate. The subcontracting of services and the development of new services are means to accelerate this turnover. By leaving specialised tasks to a services company that assures these tasks for several capitalists together, the productive sector is able to produce in a more profitable way. Thus, the most important development is the following: as a result of the new technologies, the computerisation of numerous components of the production process (of commodities and services), the growing specialisation and subcontracting, production and its allied services have increasingly become entangled, while the distinction between ' material and non-material ' goods has been blurred. Many operations classified as ' services ' are in fact integral components of the production process to which they are linked." (20)

5. The coming together of labourers-employees-government employees. (22)

Within the process of commodity production, the development of technology, with a major role for factors such as control and management, has brought about the increase of the part played by intellectual labour. More qualified personnel is being required. For highly computerised processes, production tasks have become control tasks. Nevertheless, all predictions about the impending disappearance of manual labour have been proven wrong, and the robotisation is developing at a much slower pace than initially expected. The factory worker remains the indispensable link in the production of goods and surplus value. He is the spearhead of the working class. The management demands of the worker much more manual *and* intellectual work, which means a more intense and complex job, in order to produce more surplus value.

On one hand, this augments the worker's grip on the course of the production and demands higher qualifications and polyvalent qualities for certain categories of workers. On the other hand, we are witnessing the proletarianisation of intellectual tasks. Many tasks that, in the past, were dissociated from production, have now become part of it. According to the Taylorist concept, intellectual labour is composed of standardised elements that are transferred to the computer. In this respect, an ever larger part of the work of an employee resembles ever more the work at a production chain. The working conditions of the employees resemble more and more those of the workers directly involved in the production of commodities. Rather than seeing the statute and the salary of the labourer upwardly approaching those of the employee, we are witnessing the reverse: the statute and the salary of the employee are downwardly approaching those of the labourer. What, according to the reformists, would have led to the generalisation of the petit-bourgeois condition, has in fact led to the generalisation of the proletarian condition.

This is not only the case for services linked to production, but it applies to the entirety of the services sector, public as well as private, trading as well as non-profit. All restrictions imposed by the bourgeoisie on the public and non-profit sectors have resulted in rationalisations and in the establishment of 'contracts for autonomous management ' where the imperatives of the market and of profit have completely overtaken the principles of public interest; and have resulted in the progressive elimination of the statute of government employee, which guaranteed job security and retirement benefits a labourer doesn't have.

The offensive to privatise the State services and make them subject to profit-making, has contributed a lot to the expansion of the sector of direct capitalist exploitation. The privatisation of the transport and communications sector, the hospitals, education has multiplied the number of wage earners who exchange their labour for private capital instead of for income derived from taxes.

Capitalism does not only let wage earners compete among themselves, but even with the machines. It attempts to put the production of services in competition with the production of commodities in order to multiply profits: bank, assurance and government employees against automatic vending machines, teachers against multimedia kits, sanitation personnel against medical kits. As they suffer competition, notably from the machine, all wage earners, intellectuals as well as manual workers, are affected by their

condition of being a commodity in the capitalist system, a mouse in the claws of the cat. They become proletarianised.

But they will put themselves under the leadership of the proletariat of the big companies only if the revolutionary trade-unionists and the communists in general do a good job. The intervention of the communists of the Workers ' Party of Belgium (PTB) and of trade-unionists in the factories of Clabecq, Caterpillar and VW and in the struggle of the teachers and the pupils in 1996 shows the way forward. The same goes for the struggle of the non-profit sector in 1998. To return to Lenin: "The notion of class is being formed in struggle and in development. There is no wall separating one class from the other. (... Marx) insisted on scientific concepts teaching us that a class becomes bigger through class struggle and that it must be helped to mature." (23)

"The Manifesto of the Communist Party" seems to have been written in Brussels only yesterday, to guide our work not only among the workers of the big factories, but also among the wage earners that are becoming proletarianised: "As a consequence of the growing competition of the bourgeois between themselves and of the subsequent commercial crises, salaries are becoming more and more unstable; the constant and ever faster perfecting of the machine renders the condition of the worker ever more precarious; the individual conflicts between the worker and the bourgeois acquire more and more the character of a conflict between two classes (...). The existence of the bourgeois class and its domination have as essential condition the accumulation of riches in the hands of individuals, the formation of capital and its growth; and the condition for the existence of capital, is wage-labour. Wage-labour is exclusively based on the competition between workers. The progress of industry, of which the bourgeoisie is the agent, albeit beyond its own will and without resistance, replaces the isolation of the workers resulting from their competition, with their revolutionary union by association (...). More than anything, the bourgeoisie produces its own gravediggers." (24)

The working class is international

On a world scale, the growth of commodity production is so much faster than the growth of jobs, while the growth of jobs is so much slower than the increase of the available work force (25), that "the development of big industry is eliminating from under the feet of the bourgeoisie, the ground itself on which it has established its system of production and appropriation" (26). "The bourgeois system has become too restricted to contain the riches within it." (27)

Indeed, "in 1990, there were at least 35.000 transnational companies with more than 150.000 branches abroad. On the 22 million people they employ abroad, almost 7 million are directly employed in the developing countries, or less than 1% of the active population of the latter. We should add to this an equal number of people that work for them as suppliers or renderers of services." (25)

In the industrialised countries, the multinationals are engendering unemployment and inferior statutes. In the Third World, they are organising under-development in a devious manner, exploiting to the hilt less than 2% of the active population and putting the other 98% into agony. In the formerly socialist countries, they are acting the same way.

The multinationals and the world capitalist system will dig their own graves on the condition that the communists unite, in the process uniting the international proletariat.

Table I (2) - Structure of the active population (%)						
	Agriculture		Industry		Services	
	1975	1996	1975	1996	1975	1996
United States	4.1	2.8	30.6	23.9	65.3	73.3
Japan	12.7	5.5	35.9	33.3	51.5	61.2
Germany	6.8	3.3	45.4	37.5	47.8	59.1
France	10.3	4.6	38.6	25.9	51.1	69.5
United Kingdom	2.8	2.0	40.4	27.3	56.8	70.3
Belgium	4.7	2.6	49.4	27.7	45.9	69.7
Turkey	58.7	44.8	19.4	22.2	22.0	33.0
Mexico	40.3	24.7	26.6	21.3	33.1	54.0
Brasil	37.9	27.4	24.3	20.7	37.8	51.9
Nigeria	69.6	37.7	11.1	7.5	19.4	54.8
Russia		16.1		35.6		48.3
India	70.7	61.6	12.9	17.1	16.4	21.3
China	76.3	56.4	12.1	22.4	11.7	21.2

Table II (2) - Structure of the BIP (%)						
	Agriculture		Industry		Services	
	1975	1996	1975	1996	1975	1996
United States	3.3	1.7	32.9	26.1	63.8	72.1
Japan	5.5	2.1	42.4	38.2	52.1	59.6
Germany	2.8	1.0	44.1	32.3	53.1	66.7
France	4.8	2.3	35.4	25.8	59.8	71.9
United Kingdom	2.7	2.0	41.0	31.6	56.3	66.3
Belgium	2.8	1.9	37.1	30.1	60.1	68.0
Turkey	35.8	17.1	14.7	30.7	49.5	52.2
Mexico	10.8	5.4	29.9	26.3	59.3	68.3
Brasil	12.1	12.8	40.2	38.4	47.7	48.8
Nigeria	31.7	28.2	28.5	53.3	39.8	18.5
Russia		7.5		39.7		52.8
India	40.5	30.3	23.7	28.9	35.8	40.9
China	32.0	20.5	42.8	48.0	25.2	31.5

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The Working Class in Contemporary India

Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) - Janashakti

India is a semi-feudal, semi-colonial country which means that its economy is not a capitalist economy. Distorted growth has postponed the emergence of a national economy with division of labour on a national scale. About seventy to seventy five per cent of the population is engaged in agriculture, which is predominantly semi-feudal. The so-called organised sector of the Indian working class accounts for only eight per cent of the total working population, which is only about three per cent of the total population. The unorganised sector covering mainly agriculture, household industry, trade etc. accounts for ninety per cent of the unorganised sector, where agriculture alone accounts for seventy five per cent. Of the eight per cent organised sector, the industrial sector including the manufacturing, mining, electricity and gas account only for 39 per cent. Ninety per cent of the manufacturing concerns employ less than twenty persons and about sixty per cent of such concerns are located in rural areas.

According to the 1991 census, 300 million constitute the working population, out of which only 27 million belong to the organised sector. Thus, the organised working class movement represents a small minority. This section, therefore, is not only not able to launch a struggle against the wage-labour system, but also finds it hard to even retain the economic gains already achieved through past struggles.

Imperialism sustains the present semi-colonial, semi-feudal conditions of the Indian society and, therefore, transformation of the present social structure is a necessary condition for total freedom from imperialism. The bourgeoisie in the classical era of capitalism demolished feudalism and then proceeded to crush the embryonic proletariat. Aristocracy was destroyed in France and in England it was absorbed into the bourgeoisie. But the Indian bourgeoisie which arrived too late on the scene aligned with feudalism and also aligned with imperialism. Stalin said as early as in 1925, "The fundamental and new features of the conditions of life in colonies like India is not only that national bourgeoisie (i.e. bourgeoisie as a whole) has split up into a revolutionary party and a compromising party, but primarily that the compromising section of this bourgeoisie has already managed, in the main, to strike a deal with imperialism. Fearing revolution more than it fears imperialism, and concerned more about its money-bags than about the interests of its own country, this section of the bourgeoisie, the richest and most influential section, is going over entirely to the camp of the irreconcilable enemies of the revolution, it is forming block with imperialism against the workers and peasants of its own country" (Vol. 7).

This does not mean that a capitalist sector, though weak, does not exist at all. So, India, for that matter any other country in the third world, cannot satisfactorily fit into the framework of a case study on subjects like changes in the composition of the working class, changes between primary, secondary and tertiary sectors, changes in the qualification of the workers, the age and sex of the workers etc. This does not mean that the changes that have been taking place in the advanced capitalist countries are not reflected or affect the small and weak capitalist sector and naturally the consequences on the conditions of the working class.

We have seen that the Indian economy has to broaden segments; the organised and the unorganised; and about 90 percent of the total working force belong to the unorganised sector and a mere less than 10 per cent to the organised sector. The public sector employs about 65 per cent of the total organised section. The annual rate of increase in employment till 1980 has been 3.5 per cent in Public sector and a mere 0.4 per cent in the private sector.

Public sector industries form an important part of the industrial complex in India. A major part of the capital invested in this sector is state capital. There is fusion of foreign finance capital, native monopoly and bureaucratic capital. Thus, on all counts, the so-called public sector industries are at the service of imperialists and their compradors to loot the vast resources of the state and to strengthen their hold on the economy of our country.

The very fact that it was the Indian big bourgeoisie like Birlas and Tatas, which assigned a big role to the public sector to build the infrastructure like Railways, communications etc. which requires massive investments, for the growth of the private sector and for increasing profits. In fact, after the world economic crisis of 1929-30 and the consequences of the Second World War, world capitalism found the need for state intervention and the idea was public sector.

Capitalist nationalisation is different from nationalisation in a socialist state. A semi-colonial, semi-feudal India is no exception. Capitalist nationalisation of the expenditure and stabilisation and expansion of the capitalist concerns.

Having laid down the infrastructure like transport, communications, power etc. and also certain key industries like steel, coal, machine tools etc., with the resources collected from the people, the Indian bourgeoisie is no more interested in the industrial front of the public sector. At the same time they do not mind the financial institutions pour into their coffers the resources collected from various sources. Now, the comprador big-bourgeois, big landlord class, being subservient to imperialism, are offering this sector too to imperialists and their compradors in India resulting in unfettered entry and expansion of foreign banks in India; Privatisation in essence means handing over the properties of the Public Sector to private capital.

In India, major sections of the present monopoly bourgeoisie were managing agents of foreign goods up to the transfer of power in 1947 and in the early period afterIndian capitalists mainly were off-shoots of traditional mercantile and usurious communities and not products of free competition. On the other hand, foreign monopolies were mainly interested in exporting capital and not goods. For the Indian bourgeoisie this was one way for resource mobilisation. At the same time, for capital mobilisation for national level ventures they had to resort to social mobilisation on national scale and therefore the inevitable role of the state. Most corporate Companies effectively control the organisation with less than 5 per cent share. The bureaucrat financial institutions invest in equity shares and hold ranging from 25 to 60 per cent of the capital. Thus with less than 5 per cent and in certain case with just one per cent, they claim hereditary rights of ownership.

In India, there is not only a fusion of finance (bank) capital and productive capital, but also a fusion of private capital and bureaucrat monopoly capital. The Indian industries were not born out of the struggle against either to old mode of production or foreign exploitation or amongst themselves in an atmosphere of free competition. This is the inbuilt weakness of Indian capitalism.

In the context of this inherent weakness, the developments of capitalism in India was bound to be distorted. A major feature of this distortion is the fact that unlike in the Western countries Indian capitalism possessed a monopoly character almost from the very inception - a monopolistic development from above i.e. directly under the auspices of imperialism and the state.

The most fundamental role of bureaucratic finance capital in India is that of concentration and centralisation of capital. By mobilising savings from the public it centralises capital and presents withdrawal and erosion of capital - usually in the non-profitable units. It also enables monopolisation of capital. By siphoning surplus from monopoly sector to monopoly sector it fosters the development of monopoly capital in India. The Indian capitalism being underdeveloped as it is, lacking internal dynamism and resources for growth is being artificially fostered by the state through the bureaucratic finance capital. The most significant role played by the bureaucratic finance capital is financing and promoting private sector industrial development. Another important function of finance capital is that of providing export-credit. Loans from the imperialist finance capital constitutes quite a considerable portion in the bureaucrat finance capital in India. The bureaucrat finance capital function as a conduit for imperialist finance capital which controls Indian economy. In creating a market for foreign monopolists and in making their technology and capital goods available for Indian economy. In creating a market for foreign monopolists and in making their technology and capital goods available for Indian monopolists it raises foreign currency resources to finance the foreign currency requirement of the latter for imports. In this process it also acts as an agent of the imperialist financial capital. Thus it makes not only individual monopolists but

the whole of bureaucratic-monopoly capital of India comprador of the imperialist finance capital. The acceptance and implementation of the IMF conditionalities bear testimony to this.

By the end of 1970 the stagnation in Indian economy assumed its full shape and industrial growth, whatever, came to a stagnation point. The domestic market had exhausted over years. Monopoly exploitation and pauperisation of the masses offered no prospect for industrial growth. In 1979-80 economy suffered a serious setback. It was in such a situation that the Indian monopoly bourgeoisie which has been keeping an eye on the export market decided to give a new lease of life to the economy and to bring about a major shift in the strategy towards modernisation for an export led growth in the economy. It was in this context that the government approached: the IMF for a 5 billion dollar loan which was granted with a set of conditions. In accordance with these conditions and the above mentioned strategy, a new industrial policy resolution was declared in 1982.

This strategy suits the interests of imperialists who want to relocate some of their labour intensive industries to certain third world countries. Moreover, they want to transfer some intermediate technology to "relatively developed" third world countries through joint ventures. To create market for their high technology capital goods they want to export them to certain countries like India which can absorb them and to balance the terms of trade and to buy those goods cheap. Thus they are effecting a structural change in the relationship between them and third world countries and trying to further integrate their economies with imperialist economy via industrialising countries" like South Korea, Taiwan, Hongkong and Singapore. #

On experiences of trade union struggle - in organising women

Workers Communist Party (AKP), Norway

1. The theoretical basis for the way we have developed the trade union struggle among women and trade unions that are predominantly female

- a. Women in the working class are oppressed both as workers and as women.
- b. The capitalist system has inherited oppression of women from earlier forms of oppressive societies. And has developed the oppression in such a way that oppression of women is an inseparable part of capitalist society. Therefore women's liberation is a revolutionary force that will participate in overthrowing the capitalist system.
- c. Capitalism is based on the family system. The family presupposes that the male is the main wage-earner, and that the wife has a secondary role. If the wife works, her wage is considered an extra wage for the family.
- d. On the other hand capitalist accumulation leads to a growing need for exploitable wage labourers. This has led to increased participation in the wage-labour force of women, all over the world. At the same time women still have the main responsibility for reproduction work in the households. In Norway today women make up half the workforce. At the same time half of the wage-earning women work part-time. At the same time women are still considered secondary to the male, and this is mirrored in the fact that women earn less than men. Occupations that are predominantly female are paid less than equivalent occupations that are predominantly male.
- e. This double exploitation of women in the workplaces and elsewhere in society is the basis for building a movement to fight this oppression.
- f. Because women both are oppressed as class and as women they need to find organisational forms that will unleash the power that lies in organising to fight this double oppression. It is not enough with class organisation in the unions. Finding organisational forms where women can organise across the borders of the union structures and also to organise with women that aren't organised and also women that aren't a part of the wage-labour force is necessary.
- g. It is central that the female communists can organise within the party and that they can participate in a front outside the party on an anti-capitalist basis. In Norway the Women's Front has this

platform. But it is not a party front in the general sense. By working in the Women's Front with general women's issues the communists have been able to develop new politics both for the communist party and for the unions.

2. Historical background for developing the movement

AKP participated actively in women's liberation struggle already during its own birth in the early seventies, and participated in founding the Women's Front. It was essential for the further political development of the party and the mass movement that women had their own organisation. It was also essential for developing theory that women had their own organs inside the party. In the beginning of the 80s the party statutes were amended so that all leading bodies of the party must have 50% women. The party members partook actively in the mass struggles on women's issues (six hour working day, no to pornography, free kindergartens, self-determined abortion, 'minimum-wage guarantees', solidarity with 3rd. world women etc.).

At the same time we developed new theory based on these struggles and studies of Marxist classics (especially women's groups in the party that studied Capital) and feminist authors. Because of this we developed both strategic and tactical policies that have been important for the party's work in all fields. As women make half the population and more than half of the working class, developing correct theory and politics on this question necessarily has impact on all societal questions. During the 80s the party developed the theory of two main forces in the working class: the industrial proletariat and the women workers. The essence of this theory is that alongside the importance of the industrial proletariat the women in the working class are just as important. Women today are both wage-earners and still have the main responsibility for reproduction in the households. This increases the oppression of women and at the same time gives them extra reason for struggle. And the possibility of organising the struggle of the women workers has changed as they now are 'socialised' into the labour force. This theory helped put the question of how to develop the struggle of the women in the workplaces in focus.

3. Starting up 'Women Across'

One Saturday in May 1982 the Women's Front group that dealt with the issue of women and employment gathered 10 to 15 women from different trades, from both public and private sector, some shop stewards, some without trade union experience. The round where everyone told about their conditions concerning wage and work was the most important thing about this meeting, and the following meetings. By getting women together from such different environments we were able to overcome the divisions in understanding reality. The terms we use are different; timepay, weekly pay, monthly pay, salary scales, regular and additional pay, different shift systems. The vocabulary itself makes it difficult to understand what the others earn and to compare. Through discussion we found out how much we had in common, concretely.

During these years many nation-wide trade unions supported the claim for a six hour day, and in the wage negotiations in 1986 the working week was regulated down to 37.5 hours week.

In 1987 The Women's Front initiated 'Women's wage negotiation campaign'. We gathered female shop stewards, women's lib. activists and women without experience from trade union or feminist movements. The goal was to make a policy on wages with both a trade unionist and a feminist base. The aim was also to have a policy that was easily understood for people that aren't familiar with the internal language of collective bargaining.

'Women's Wage negotiation Campaign' launched the term: Women's Wage, and the slogan: A wage to live on. "We want a wage to live on and a working day to live with".

In addition, the political platform of the campaign stated that women earn less, but also that there is less wage-differentiation between women than between men. The low wage of women is more dependent on

gender than on education or profession. We also emphasise the fact that the reason women get lower wages is not because we are stupid, have chosen the wrong education, or the wrong profession or are organised in weaker trade unions. We are paid less than men, because we are women.

We have experienced that the term 'Women's Wage' is important because it makes it clear that this is a common problem in our society, not chance differences between individuals. The common interests among women is not biological nor mythological, it is based on the reality of women's situation in society. In this perspective we consider the struggle for legal abortion, the struggle against pornography and sexual harassment to be of importance in the struggle for higher wages and the 6 hour working day. They are different sides of combating the oppression of women.

The debates on the term 'Women's Wage' created an understanding and unity between women with different wages, and from different classes, and from both the private and the public sector.

In 1993 the Women's Front, together with seven different trade unions from both public and private sector initiated a women and trade union conference in Oslo. The campaign on 'women's wage' and 6 hour day were the common background for the initiative. Since then there have been conferences in Oslo and in other cities all over the country. There have been approximately 200 participants at the largest meetings. The 1997 conference in Oslo was initiated by 20 different organisations. Both local trade unions and women's organisations. In Norway there are four national trade union confederations and some independent unions. Women Across organises across the borders, and as pointed out above, organises trade unions and women's lib. Organisations together.

Oppression of women and a common consciousness of this fact unites. The way we organise and work leaves no place for the traditional male games of power and rank.

We are still working to broaden participation on these conferences. Women's politics and consciousness gives us possibilities to reach agreements across controversies between trade unions. We want 'Women Across' to be co-operation between women with positions in the unions and grass-root women in the same unions. Unorganised women are also welcome. Also women that aren't wage-labourers are welcome. We can mention that an activist group for single mothers has participated in Woman Across conferences. In the preliminary works we create room for disagreement and sharp debates. At the same time we hold onto and develop the political platform of the co-operation. The Women's Front plays an essential role in 'Women Across'. We promote feminist issues and arguments, and thereby prevent narrow trade unionist thinking and organising. Besides debate on wages 6 hour day and strategies for the forthcoming wage negotiations, the conferences have discussed sexual harassment, EU membership, a report from the Women's conference in Beijing, destruction of the welfare state, and the new attack on women through the ideology of socio-biology. The conference in the autumn of 1997 discussed among other things racism. This was prepared by women from the third world countries in the Women's Front and the local branch of the Hotel Workers' Union. The main characteristic that the shop stewards and the feminists give this work is that it is FUN! The union representatives love the meetings as sanctuaries. When anyone gets a good idea, they can realise it, without any leadership having to recognise it first. It is possible to discuss topics that generally are not discussed in the trade unions. The mutual understanding strengthens the shop stewards in their work for women's claims in the trade unions.

'Women Across' is a co-operation with room for women's reality and claims. A co-operation which allows space for thinking and acting untraditionally. An informal co-operation not tied up to the main confederation leaderships or other structures. A co-operation where women aren't defined as problems, but are regarded as strong because we are women.

4. Impact of the 'Women Across' movement

The development of the women's struggle in the working class, has strengthened the power of the working class as a whole, and strengthened the positions of the oppositional forces in the social-

democratically controlled confederations. (Only one confederation has formal ties with the Norwegian Labour Party, but all the confederations have, more or less, social-democratic programmes.)

Another impact in the trade unions is that the method of co-operating across borders between unions, professions, and competing union confederations has become more common. This has gained so much strength that the social-democratic leadership of the largest confederation, LO has been forced to condone these conferences, while only a few years ago they were considered to be 'factional' and undermining the rules of the unions. But the main impact has been in the area of wage struggle. The concept that there is a women's wage that is based solely on the fact that women get less wages than men is now widely accepted. Officially 'everyone' wants to close the wage gap. Women's unions on the national level have also demanded the wage gap to be exterminated by the year 2000. And the question of raising women's wages is central in the rhetoric surrounding the national wage settlements.

Many female dominated trade unions are the most willing to take strike action in this years wage negotiations and the positive mood in the women's unions poses problems for the bourgeoisie's strategy concerning wage-differentiation, individualisation of wage structures and negotiations etc. The women's wage issue is the most 'dynamic' force in the movement concerning the wage negotiations today. But as the oppression of women is an inseparable part of capitalist society itself, there is no doubt that this struggle will, sooner or later, develop into putting the question of an alternative society on the agenda.#

Philippines: Revolutionary underground workers' movement advances

Report from the Underground

The militant workers' movement is vigorously advancing in the face of the severe economic crisis. It has contributed greatly to the expansion and strengthening of the overall people's revolutionary struggle.

The experience of building the revolutionary workers' movement in "Y", an agribusiness corporation, provides one of the best examples. On their own, the company's close to 500 workers organized a union in the `80s. Affiliating with the militant workers movement, the union actively participated in the campaigns and struggles of the masses of workers and in protest actions of the broad legal democratic movement.

Starting in the latter part of 1997, the Party appointed a team to conduct mass work in Y. Because the workers had already been exposed to national democratic propaganda, it did not take long for an organizing group to be set up in one of Y's five factories.

The factory, however, closed down a few weeks after the underground group was organized. Determined to pursue revolutionary work, the group members decided to be reassigned to the other factories of Y instead of accepting the retirement pay offered by the capitalist.

This initial group was like a seed that rapidly grew and bore fruit in the other factories of Y. After just a few months, its members were able to organize a group in each factory while conducting systematic investigation and leading study sessions concerning the trade union movement and revolutionary struggle. The organized workers exhibited greater militancy and supported the revolutionary movement and armed struggle. Revolutionary work advanced further, including integration with the New People's

Army. Six months after joining the first organizing group, four mass activists were recruited into the Party as candidate members.

A Party branch composed of the four new candidate members and two others from the Party's mass work unit was organized. The branch prepared a six-month program aimed at further raising the workers' revolutionary consciousness and practice and developing the revolutionary character of the union in an all-round way.

The revolutionary movement firmly advanced the workers' welfare. Through the Party's leadership, a strike was launched towards the end of 1997. The strike, which lasted close to 10 days, pushed for wage increases.

The mass of workers ardently supported the strike. More than 98% participated, practically resulting in the full stoppage of the capitalist's operations. Having lost millions of pesos from the strike, the capitalist had no choice but to enter into a Collective Bargaining Agreement (CBA) favoring the workers. The workers won a wage increase, the biggest pay hike ever in the history of the union's negotiations with the capitalist.

The successful strike accelerated the pace of revolutionary work in the factory. Within five months, the number of mass activists more than doubled and Party membership reached several score. Three Party branches were organized.

According to the latest reports, more than 200 workers have taken courses on wages, prices and profit. More than a hundred have attended basic courses on Philippine society and revolution. The workers actively and continually solicit and send material support to the armed struggle and peasant movement in the countryside, such as clothes, food, medicine, bullets and grenades. Several members have also expressed their readiness to join the people's army.

The workers' revolutionary spirit continues to heighten. Their perseverance and unity with the Party and the Philippine revolution will surely lead to their attainment of more resounding victories.

Ang Bayan Oct-Dec 1998

The People's Struggle Against War

Jose Maria Sison

The choice of theme for this seminar is highly significant and urgent. Imperialism means war. It is necessary for us to comprehend the nature and history of imperialism as the source of war and confront the current reality of a worsening new world disorder and the spreading scourge of war.

The point is to arouse, organize and mobilize the people against war and necessarily against imperialism which is the cause of war. The way to oppose and defeat imperialism is to wage all forms of revolutionary struggle for national liberation and people's democracy and socialism.

As long as it exists, imperialism breeds and unleashes wars. These arise from the impulses of the monopoly bourgeoisie within the imperialist countries, from the contradictions among the imperialist countries and from their interventions and aggressions against the countries and peoples that they oppress and exploit.

To deny or obfuscate the aggressive nature of imperialism and the corresponding need for revolution against it is to condone imperialist war. Both classical and modern revisionists have played the special

role of drumming up pacifism only to promote imperialism and war. Today in Europe, social-democratic and some "green" parties that have taken pride in depicting themselves as pacifist are actively supporting the US and NATO war of aggression against Yugoslavia.

There are also the phrasemongers of "civil society" who are financed by the imperialists to gloss over the oppressive nature of the monopoly bourgeois state and the aggressive nature of imperialism. Their role as special agents of imperialism is to whip up a bias against the anti-imperialist struggles of the people, to spread the notion of cooperating with the imperialist and local reactionary states and monopoly firms as a way of promoting so-called civility and to rationalize the interventions and aggressions of imperialist powers against weaker countries in order to further oppress and exploit the people.

We are still in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Imperialism or monopoly capitalism is the highest and final stage of capitalism. It is parasitic, destructive and moribund. It is proven by the increasingly worse crises of monopoly capitalism and interimperialist world wars and by the ensuing rise of proletarian revolution and socialist states against imperialism in the 20th century.

The epochal struggle between the forces of imperialism and those of socialism is far from finished. Capitalism is not the end of history. As a new thing in the history of mankind, socialism has to go through twists and turns and ups and downs. The revolutionary parties of the proletariat have to learn their lessons well from both positive and negative experiences in order to resurge and prevail over imperialism.

The revisionist betrayal of socialism and the success of monopoly capitalism in neocolonialism have set back the people of the world to a situation comparable to that period before World War I, when there was as yet no powerful socialist state to oppose imperialism. The temporary success of the US-led imperialist alliance and the exacerbation of oppression and exploitation are precisely the reasons for the proletariat and the rest of the people to make revolution even more resolutely and more militantly than ever before. Only the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and the people can put an end to the daily violence of exploitation and to the outbreaks of war.

I. Imperialism as the Source of War

In its evolution from free competition capitalism in the 19th century, monopoly capitalism or modern imperialism in the 20th century has not only persisted in extracting surplus value from the proletariat but has relentlessly increased the rate of exploitation in both imperialist and client countries. Having gained dominance in industrial capitalist society and having merged industrial and bank capital to form a finance oligarchy, the monopoly bourgeoisie has throughout the century pushed the concentration and centralization of capital at the expense of the proletariat and the people of the world.

It has ceaselessly sought to raise the organic composition of capital by accumulating constant capital for the instruments of production at the expense of variable capital for wages. On top of using productive capital for reproduction and further accumulation, it has used distinctly financial transactions to accelerate the exploitation of the proletariat and people, submerge them in indebtedness and draw superprofits from the parasitic practice of international usury.

In sharp contrast to the laissez faire doctrine raised by the rising industrial bourgeoisie in most of the 19th century against the mercantilist doctrine of the trading monopolies, the monopoly bourgeoisie has taken full control over the bourgeois state and used it as an instrument to keep the proletariat in subjugation, to appropriate public resources for private profit, to protect national industry and invoke free trade to subjugate other countries and nations and to launch wars of intervention and aggression in order to divide and redivide the world. Whatever is the policy shift or fashionable language of imperialism at a given period, be it "free market" or "state intervention", the monopoly bourgeoisie somehow uses the state to preserve and enlarge its

class interest. As its own necessity dictates, the monopoly bourgeoisie resorts to state monopoly capitalism and fascism.

The use of finance capital to stimulate production and circulation of goods and, more importantly, to draw profits from distinctly financial transactions has made the monopoly bourgeoisie an increasingly parasitic class. At any rate, the monopoly firms proceed to higher levels of competition, technology and production. These lead to the crisis of overproduction upon the contraction of the market resulting from the reduction of the wage fund in the effort of the monopoly bourgeoisie to counter the tendency of profit rates to fall upon the expansion of production.

The crisis of overproduction further leads to the destruction of the forces of production, through production cutbacks, mass unemployment and bankruptcies of firms losing in the competition, the intensification of class struggle between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the absorption of the weaker or bankrupt firms by the stronger firms, use of the state funds to bail out the monopolies, the intensification of interimperialist contradictions and, in the worst situation, the outbreak of world war.

In trying to resolve the contradictions within the imperialist countries, the monopoly bourgeoisie resorts to the export of surplus goods and surplus capital to the weaker capitalist countries and to the underdeveloped countries. It thereby seeks to extract superprofits from abroad in order to make up for and countervail the falling rate of profit within its domestic economy.

But there are limits to the expansion of capital and extraction of superprofits from abroad because, in the first place, imperialism prevents the emergence and growth of industrial capitalism and potential competitors in most countries of the world. The uneven development of countries becomes more pronounced under imperialism, with capital increasingly concentrated in the imperialist countries. Under old-style colonialism, the export of surplus goods rather than the export of surplus capital was more important. Under imperialism, the export of surplus capital gain more importance.

In turn, loan capital and direct investments for quick profit-taking gains importance rather than for the comprehensive and well-balanced development of other countries. The export of surplus capital is not aimed at spreading productive capital but at financing the export of surplus goods from the imperialists, whetting the appetite of the local exploiting classes for the consumption of imported goods and, most importantly, drawing superprofits from some amount of direct investments for the purpose of market penetration and from increasing amounts of loans that are incurred by the client states for covering their chronic trade and budgetary deficits.

Through the export of surplus capital, the imperialists convert the overwhelming majority of countries into their debt vassals. Under the auspices of the IMF, World Bank and WTO, the client states have thus far become more financially and economically subjugated than they were before World War II, despite the claims of these states to national sovereignty and independence.

The practice of international usury exposes most starkly the parasitic and decadent character of imperialism. It is at the core of the phenomenon called neocolonialism. Crushed by heavy debt burden, the client countries regress farther into underdevelopment. They have to ceaselessly beg for new loans to pay the interest of old loans. The levels of debt service rise but still the accumulated debt continues to rise. The client countries plunge to lower levels of austerity, poverty and misery, as we can see in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the former Soviet-bloc countries. Eventually, the global market for the surplus goods and surplus capital from the imperialists contracts and puts the imperialists themselves in a more severe crisis.

Monopoly firms form international combines to arrange production and the market and to maximize profits at the expense of the proletariat and the people. But the competition among the monopoly firms also never ceases. It brings about the crisis of overproduction from one cycle of boom and bust to another. So long as imperialism persists, so will this crisis proceed from one level of severity to another. Under conditions of economic crisis, interimperialist competition sharpens and can sharpen to the point of causing the breakup of international combines and the realignment of monopolies and lead to wars, such as World War I and II.

But imperialism will not collapse on its own accord, even if interimperialist wars occur. The crisis of overproduction and interimperialist wars can only provide the favorable objective conditions for the subjective forces of the revolution to take advantage of in order to grow in strength through struggle and overthrow the imperialists and local reactionaries. Only the armed revolution of the proletariat and the people can destroy the power of imperialism and reaction. There are those who claim that monopolies which have been rechristened as multinational or transnational firms have lost their national character and national basing.

There can be nothing farther from the truth. To deny the national character and national basing of the monopolies amounts to saying that imperialism has disappeared. It is anti-Leninist to obscure the national and ultranational rapacity of any imperialist power.

The Bretton Woods agreements, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and now the World Trade Organization (WTO), the regional banks and regional trade agreements and capital mergers across borders must be seen as reflective of a balance of strength at a given period and not as the indivisible unity of monopoly capitalism, no matter how much higher has been the level of imperialist unity against the proletariat and the people since World War II.

To this day, each imperialist country has its own set of monopoly firms and banks, its flagship corporations, with most of the capital in the hands of its own monopoly bourgeoisie and its own state, with most management personnel recruited from among its own nationals and with its principal headquarters and main plants on its own homeground. The imperialist powers have their respective national interests and have contradictions among themselves. They use such international organizations of states as the Group of 7, the OECD, IMF, World Bank and WTO and so on to arrive at common economic policies at the expense of client-states and, most of all, the proletariat and the people.

In the era of imperialism since the end of the 19th century, the entire world has become the economic territory of monopoly capitalism. There is no part of the world that is not somehow a field of investment, market, source of raw materials or position of strength for the imperialist countries. Surpassing the mercantilistic thrust of old-type colonialism, which had promoted the commodity system of production, but which had left so much of the world still in the realm of the natural economy of self-sufficiency, modern imperialism has blanketed the entire globe with the commodity system of production.

At the beginning of the 20th century, no part of the world fell beyond the tentacles of colonial and imperialist powers. Beyond the homegrounds of these powers were countries that were either colonies, semicolonies or dependent countries. It would entail war for any imperialist power or group of imperialist powers to redivide the world according to their growing economic and military power.

Wars have occurred because the crisis of overproduction constricts the market for the growing imperialist powers and generates within the imperialist countries the economic and political forces and currents that demand expansion and war. The real motivations for war are misrepresented when the imperialist warmakers and warmongers express these in terms of "civilizing" mission, Christianity, democracy, human rights, humanitarianism or peacekeeping.

World War I (1914-1918) broke out as the first interimperialist war between the Allies (Great Britain, France, Russia and US) and the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey). This was preceded by the crisis of overproduction and by jostling for economic territory in various parts of the world. Such latecomers in the colonial game as Germany, Japan and the United States had persisted in pushing over the old and weakened colonial powers and trying to erect their own colonial domain since the waning years of the 19th century. Their imperialist drive and ambitions upset the old balance of power.

Tens of millions died in World War I. British imperialism, prominently supported by US imperialism, led the pack of winners. But the war led to the establishment of the first socialist state in one-sixth of the world, at the weakest link in the chain of imperialist powers. The victory of the Bolsheviks also served to arouse the national and democratic aspirations of the oppressed peoples and nations. From the beginning, the imperialists hated the proletarian revolutionaries. They instigated civil war, unleashed an interventionist war against the proletarian state and imposed an economic blockade against it all the way. World War II (1939-1945) broke out essentially as an interimperialist war even as the Soviet Union joined the Allies against the worse side of imperialism, the Axis powers. Before and during the war, the fascists set as their special mission the destruction of the communist parties and the Soviet Union. The world war came from the concatenation of the Great Depression, the intensified contradictions among the imperialist powers and the rise of fascism. Again tens of millions of people died in the war.

The Soviet Union suffered more than 20 million dead as it bore the main brunt of the war offensive of Nazi Germany. But it carried out the strategic counterattack that broke the backbone of the Axis Powers. China also suffered more than ten million dead, as it became the main arena as well as the main graveyard of Japanese aggression in the Far East. The scale of the war was unprecedented in the entire history of mankind.

As in World War I, US imperialism took advantage of its geographic position and profited tremendously by engaging in war production, for a while supplying both sides of the war and later joining in the fray late in the day to pick up the lion's share in the spoils of war. It emerged as the strongest imperialist power after World War II, pushing aside British imperialism to a secondary waning position.

To preempt a Soviet offensive on Japan, US imperialism dropped the atom bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki even as Japan was already poised to surrender. The atom bombing of the civilian population was in fact the signal act for the beginning of the Cold War, which would be declared only much later. The US was terrified by the demonstrated strength of the Soviet Union and by the advancing forces of socialism and national liberation movements in Europe and Asia.

The outcome of World War II was worse for the entire world capitalist system than World War I. Several socialist countries and people's democracies arose in one-third of the world. With one-fourth of humanity, China became the biggest loss for the world capitalist system. A great wave of national liberation movements emerged and tended to take the road of new-democratic revolution in the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The Cold War ran for most of the second half of the 20th century. In Europe especially, a strategic stalemate existed between the US and the Soviet Union with both sides avoiding a world war, especially after the latter developed its own nuclear weapons. For half a century, there was neither a hot world war among imperialist powers nor one between the imperialist powers and the socialist countries. But in fact the Cold War involved a series of wars of aggression launched by US imperialism and its local reactionary allies in various countries.

The US waged the most brutal wars of aggression against Korea, Vietnam and the rest of Indochina where the death toll for the people ran into many millions. It conducted anticommunist

campaigns of suppression in Asia, Africa and Latin America from the late '40s onward and instigated massacres, of which the biggest was of more than one million people in Indonesia in 1965. In the 70s and 80s, it systematically carried out counterrevolutionary wars under the doctrine of low-intensity conflict in Angola, Mozambique, Nicaragua, El Salvador and Afghanistan. The total death toll in the Cold War ran into millions, comparable in magnitude to a world war. Thus, the Cold War was practically World War III.

The wars unleashed by monopoly capitalism have made the 20th the bloodiest century in the entire history of mankind. And under conditions of imperialist domination, the people of the world in their billions have suffered excruciating oppression and exploitation. Even in the socialist and anti-imperialist countries, the people have suffered US economic blockade and the threats and acts of intervention. And yet the "civil society" propaganda of the imperialists and their special agents focus on depicting the armed revolutions of the proletariat and the people, as the source of war and "uncivility".

To override its contradictions with its imperialist allies, especially after the economic reconstruction of West Germany and Japan in the course of the Cold War, the US incurred high trade and budgetary deficits and heavy public borrowing in order to accommodate its allies in the US and world capitalist market, engage in war production and maintain US military bases and forces overseas and spend for military and space research and development. As the Soviet Union further turned away from socialism to state monopoly capitalism and social imperialism, the Cold War became an interimperialist struggle between the US-led imperialist alliance and Soviet social-imperialism.

To win the Cold War, the US and other traditional imperialist powers used the full power of the state and state monopoly capitalism. In the name of an anticommunist crusade, they used tremendous amounts of social wealth to defeat the Soviet Union.

However, the Soviet Union was defeated principally due to the internal factors of modern revisionism, the rise of the new bourgeoisie, social degeneration and wastage of resources in the arms race. The US and its imperialist allies did not defeat the Soviet Union in a shooting war but rendered its highly developed military power impotent by inducing the new bourgeoisie within the Soviet Union to degrade the Soviet economy under the guise of reforms and integrate it fully into the world capitalist system.

The victory of US imperialism and the traditional imperialist powers in the Cold War is a Pyrrhic kind of victory. US imperialism carries over from the Cold War certain fatal weaknesses which it can try to overcome only by coming into serious contradictions with its own imperialist allies. It continues to suffer the effect of the high costs incurred in waging the Cold War. The crisis of the world capitalist system has gone from bad to worse. All basic contradictions in the world capitalist system, such as between the proletariat and the monopoly bourgeoisie, between the imperialist countries and the oppressed peoples and among the imperialists, are intensifying and have ushered in a new world disorder.

II. The Trend Towards More and Bigger Wars

In the last decade of the 20th century, the trend towards more and bigger wars is well established. This is most glaringly exposed by the series of wars of aggression against Iraq and against Yugoslavia. Social and political turbulence is rising from year to year, contrary to previous propaganda of the imperialists and their camp followers that the end of the Cold War would yield a "peace dividend", like ensuring global economic growth and promoting human rights, democratization and civil society.

The sole superpower is more arrogant than ever before in herding its imperialist allies towards war and in imposing itself on client countries. It is quick to make and carry out threats. The weapons it uses against other countries include political interference in internal affairs, withholding of loans and supplies, reduction of market accommodations and military pressure, intervention and aggression, including use of high-tech military weaponry. It demonizes as "rogue" states those states that defend their national independence and thereby seeks to intimidate all countries to stay under the sway of neocolonialism.

The US and its imperialist allies practice terrorism at the level of state-to-state relations and at the level of confronting the proletarian revolutionary parties and anti-imperialist mass movements. They tack the label "terrorist" on all anti-imperialist forces and thus rationalize all sorts of barbarities that they inflict upon them. The fevered language of imperialism reflects the intensifying contradictions in the world and their own propensity, together with their local reactionary puppets, to use brute force against the people.

The shift in stress of imperialist policy from Keynesian to neoliberal fits in with the US scheme to recover from the heavy cost incurred in order to win the Cold War. Under the pretext of promoting the "free market", US monopoly capitalism accelerates the rate of exploitation and the appropriation of state resources, takes advantage of its imperialist allies and withdraws from the underdeveloped countries the false promise of development.

Originally, the neoliberal shift of stress in economic policy was aimed at countering the phenomenon of stagflation, which was blamed on supposedly rising wage levels and big government spending. However, the policymakers underplayed as factors of stagflation the cost-push effect of high military spending in the arms race, the war of aggression in Indochina, the US deployment of military forces abroad and the growing global crisis of overproduction from the reconstruction and competitiveness of Japan and West Germany.

To this day, the US and its imperialist allies acclaim neoliberalism as their common policy stress. The naked common interest of the monopolies is to squeeze more profits from the proletariat, cut back on social benefits, enjoy tax deductions and exemptions and grab state assets and funds. These are done under the rationale of fighting inflation and making more capital available to the monopoly firms for the purpose of economic growth and job generation.

The result is rapid concentration and centralization of capital in the hands of the monopolies, the inflation of assets in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie, the chronic mass unemployment and stagnant growth rates, averaging between two and three percent for all the OECD countries in the last ten years.

Relative to the European Union and Japan, which have lower growth and profit rates and openly high rates of unemployment, the US has the most buoyant and strongest economy. But in fact, the relatively high US growth rate is largely accounted for by the inflation of monopoly assets and by the flow of investments from Japan and Western Europe. What the US presents as full employment is characterized by replacement of regular jobs with part-time jobs.

So far, the US is able to hold its No. 1 economic position but this is at the expense of its imperialist allies. It has revived its manufacturing capacity for export and has therefore cut down the global market for its imperialist allies. However, it has failed to reduce its trade deficit and colossal foreign debt. It maintains a high level of military spending and consumption through foreign borrowing. Thus, it retains its title as the world's No. 1 debtor.

The aggravation of exploitative relations under the flag of neoliberalism and the adoption of higher technology in social production are an explosive combination in the imperialist countries. This spells the chronic global crisis of overproduction and stagnation. Productivity in all types of

goods is so high and yet concentration of both productive and finance capital by the monopoly bourgeoisie is so fast. Thus, effective demand in the global market has shrunk. The crisis of overproduction in all types of goods, industrial and agricultural, intensifies inter-imperialist competition. Despite paeans to "free trade" and the WTO, there is growing protectionism under various guises among the imperialist countries. Frictions among them are increasing over the issue of dumping various types of goods. Thus, the trend grows towards cutthroat competition in the face of the shrinking global market.

Even as the US strives to preserve its No.1 position as economic and military superpower, inter-imperialist competition is intensifying and leading to multipolarization. The European Union is a form of consolidation in competition with the US. Japan is also consolidating itself to be competitive with the US, especially in East Asia. Everyone of the three global centers of capitalism is trying to consolidate. All the three global centers of capitalism are trying to consolidate their domestic and regional markets and penetrate those of each other.

The dozen or so "emergent markets", all clients previously favored with inflows of foreign investments from the imperialist countries have been sinking since 1997. They are stricken by a global crisis of overproduction in all their export specialties. Contrary to the expectations of the imperialists, they have ceased to be the expanding market for imperialist goods in exchange for their export income from their export specialties.

This is true in the case of South Korea, Taiwan and Brazil (which produce and export cars, home appliances and steel), China and Southeast Asia (semiconductors, garments, shoes and toys) and Russia and Mexico (oil and gas). Plant overcapacity, upper-class overconsumption and dwindling export incomes have led to huge trade deficits and default on loan payments. Their bank defaults have caused one global wave of financial crisis after another since 1997.

All countries which in the past had built an industrial foundation or some basic industries either under the banner of socialism or bourgeois nationalism have been stricken by the global crisis of overproduction, have shut down industrial plants, have disemployed millions of people and are now crushed by heavy debt burdens. All of them are economically depressed.

They are sinking in the direction of raw-material exporting countries which have become depressed since the late '70s when the crisis of overproduction hit the raw materials. It must be recalled that the imperialists had derailed in the 60s and 70s the demand of the underdeveloped countries for development by directing foreign loans mainly to programs of building infrastructure and enhancing raw-material production. Now, even the few countries that have tried to become "emergent markets", mostly in the style of China and Southeast Asia, find themselves in dire economic straits due to the global glut in consumer semimanufactures for export to the imperialist countries. Under the conditions of rapidly worsening economic crisis of the world capitalist system, the consequent political crisis is spawning all kinds of counterrevolutionary forces and generating all kinds of counterrevolutionary violence. It must be remembered from history that the impulse for war in an imperialist country passes from economic crisis to political crisis.

In the imperialist countries, the monopoly bourgeoisie anticipates the intensification of the class struggle. Thus, it pushes antilabor, antiwelfare and so-called antiterrorist legislation, encourages nationalist, fascist and racist propaganda and groups and keeps a high level of spending for military and police forces at the expense of social welfare and social services.

The US is strengthening its bilateral and multilateral alliances, like the NATO in Europe and the US-Japan strategic partnership in East Asia. The US also uses the OSCE as a framework for manipulating European states and involving them in imperialist acts of intervention and aggression. Whenever possible, the US uses the UN Security Council to legitimize its wars of

aggression. It has taken advantage of its role of sole superpower and its possession of high-tech weaponry and has launched a series of major wars of aggression.

In carrying out under UN banner the wars of aggression against Iraq, it has succeeded in tightening its control of the oil resources and oil income of client countries in the Middle East.

It stirs up troubles in the Balkans in order to gain more ground from its bases in Western Europe and Turkey. After conceding Croatia and Slovenia to German influence, it has taken control over Bosnia, Macedonia and Albania under the guise of fighting Yugoslavia. It is already proclaiming that its current war of aggression against Yugoslavia over the question of Kosovo is decisive in converting all the Balkan states into US and NATO protectorates.

US strategic objective is to control both sides of the Mediterranean and all flanks of Russia in order to control oil resources on a wider scale and keep its own NATO allies subordinate to its hegemony. The disintegration of the Soviet Union and the subordination of Russia to the West have enabled the US and the NATO to launch wars of aggression in Europe.

The US is carried away by the arrogance that it can launch a war of aggression with impunity and subjugate any country. By enlarging the NATO (with the inclusion of the Czech Republic, Poland and Hungary) and expanding it to the borders of Russia, the US lays the ground for US involvement in more and bigger wars across Central and Eastern Europe and within Russia. By having used the forces of NATO for aggression in the Middle East and the Balkans, the US has agitated a broad array of Russian political forces to threats posed by US intervention and aggression. The Caucasus and the former Central Asian republics of the Soviet Union continue as areas of internecine warfare and the US has interest in their oil resources and oil passage to the Mediterranean.

In the meantime, the US has a pliant partner in Yeltsin, the chief political representative of the criminal new bourgeoisie that gorges on public assets and pockets every inflow of IMF bailout funds. Yeltsin and his pack serve the US strategic policy of further weakening Russia economically and socially and thereby letting the high-tech weapons system of Russia deteriorate.

Russia has become so desperate that it is subject to two trends: one is increasing subservience to the Western imperialist powers and the other is polarization between the criminal new bourgeoisie and a broad array of opposition on an immediate basis as well as between the opposite currents of military fascism and proletarian revolution on a longer basis. Beneath the success at continuous expansion, the US is germinating future problems with its own major imperialist allies. By pushing Germany and Japan to participate and share the costs in its wars of aggression, it is practically encouraging them to strengthen themselves and follow their own imperialist impulses,

In many respects, the economies of China and Russia are complementary. This can be the basis for a political and military strategic partnership. Russia is threatened by the NATO in Europe and by the US-Japan security partnership in the Far East. So is China threatened by the US-Japan security partnership. However, the US can also play off one country against the other or either one of these two can manipulate one against the US. Farther in the political horizon, Russia can also play off the European Union against the US just as China can play off Japan against the US.

The US maintains a dual policy towards China. One aspect is to "engage" China and induce it to degrade itself further into a US neocolony and throw away the signboard of socialism and the communist party as the Soviet Union had done. The other aspect is to "contain" China with the US-Japan strategic partnership and possibly to manipulate the India-Pakistan contradiction in order to keep it pre-occupied on another flank.

At present, the prevalent strategic position of the US towards China is to "engage" it even as certain sections of US officialdom conjure illusions of China's growing industrial and military might and claim that China would become the No. 1 enemy of the US in the 21st century. But within China, economic and social conditions continue to deteriorate in a profound way and social contradictions are generating political instability.

There are the contradictions between one section of the new bourgeoisie that still wants to retain the signboard of socialism and the communist party and another section that wants to get rid of these.

China has in fact been weakened economically and socially by its capitalist-oriented reforms and full-scale restoration of capitalism, by its concentration on the semimanufacture of low value-added consumer goods for export and on prolonged splurges of private construction and by the ongoing dismantling of its state-owned industrial foundation. The growing weakness of China is an open invitation to Japan and the Western imperialist powers to intervene in its internal affairs.

The deep-seated instability of China spawned by the restoration of capitalism has been exposed since 1989 by the mass uprisings not only in Beijing but in more than 80 cities and by recurrent peasant uprisings and workers strikes in the 90s. While it has a strong preference for a gradual "democratization" of China, as in Russia, US imperialism is also prepared for aggressive action against China. In this regard, the US-Japan security partnership has been further strengthened as the supposed protector of Taiwan and South Korea, as the counter to China and North Korea, as the guard at the back of Russia, as guarantor of peace and security for "free trade" and "democracy" against revolutionary movements in East Asia and as base for rapid deployment forces to the Middle East.

In an increasing number of countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the former Soviet bloc, the social and political turbulence has taken the form of coups and countercoups, mass uprisings, internecine warfare among reactionary forces, civil wars of short duration and protracted people's wars. Outbreaks of counterrevolutionary violence are still predominant. Conflicting reactionary forces invoke the slogans of ethnocentrism and religion. Some pedants call these the "war of civilizations". But in fact, the social strife is always preceded and caused by economic and social devastation inflicted by the foreign monopoly firms and by such multilateral agencies of imperialism as the IMF, World Bank and WTO.

As a result of economic and social devastation wrought by imperialism and in the absence of any strong revolutionary party of the proletariat or revolutionary movement, the local reactionaries compete for local power by resorting to chauvinistic, religious and other reactionary slogans, either upon the instigation of the imperialists or upon their own initiative. The chain of events leading to the big massacre in Rwanda in 1994 as well as that leading to the breakup of Yugoslavia, to the more complex communal strife in Bosnia and further on to the current US and NATO war of aggression on Yugoslavia started with the economic and social crisis generated by imperialism.

The collapse of the so-called emergent markets has caused social turbulence and the downfall of Suharto in Indonesia. Now, the US-directed military forces manipulate ethnic and religious differences and instigate communal strife in order to draw away the people's wrath from US imperialism and from Suharto and his henchmen, prolong the role of the military fascists as social arbiters and preempt the advance of the people's revolutionary movement.

Imperialism is responsible for the sequence of economic devastation and political turmoil, either in instances when it cynically declares that it has no vital interest in the raw material exports of a client country and seems not to care enough to intervene or in those instances when it grandiloquently claims humanitarian interest and intervenes brazenly and aggressively.

Imperialism is responsible for the abject economic and social conditions preceding the political turmoil that led to the massacre of more than one million people in Rwanda, more than 250,000 people in Bosnia and so many deaths in internecine warfare elsewhere.

There are revolutionary armed struggles that are anti-imperialist and democratic in varying degrees, such as those overthrowing long-running despots like Mobutu of the Congo and Suharto of Indonesia, and there are protracted people's wars along the line of the new-democratic revolution, with a socialist perspective, under the leadership of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties. These revolutionary armed struggles of the people are of great importance in overriding the senseless armed conflicts where only the reactionary forces vie for power and in contributing to the defeat of imperialism and the victory of the world proletarian revolution.

III. The People's Struggle Against War

The worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the intolerable oppression and exploitation impel the proletariat and people of the world to struggle against imperialism and therefore against war in the industrial capitalist countries, in former socialist countries, in countries with anti-imperialist governments and in so many depressed raw-material exporting countries.

In all major imperialist countries, like the United States, Japan, Germany, France and Britain, the class struggle between the proletariat and the monopoly bourgeoisie is steadily coming to the surface. Workers strikes are occurring in key industries and some entire industrial lines. Occasionally, there are general strikes.

What is currently significant about these strikes is that they constitute a breakthrough. They must be seen against a backdrop of the erosion of the trade union movement from decade to decade since the late 50s, and the predominance of the labor aristocracy in what has remained of the movement. Now there is a growing desire among the workers to form militant unions that are genuinely in their class interest.

The West European workers have been running ahead of the American and Japanese workers in launching strikes. The most frequent and widespread strikes and mass protests are in the lesser industrial capitalist countries, such as Spain, Greece and Portugal, because of the higher rates of unemployment and worse social conditions. So far, American workers have launched more strikes than their Japanese counterparts. They have reacted more strongly against mass layoffs and plant closures and being pushed into part-time jobs.

But the Japanese workers are poised to break out of the clutches of the discredited labor aristocracy and company paternalism. Japan is the major imperialist power hit hardest by the crisis. In nearby South Korea, the workers have launched large and sustained general strikes because of the abrupt plant closures and mass unemployment.

The social disaster is so grave that the US, Japan and their South Korean puppets have been frustrated in their scheme to use South Korea for baiting North Korea and take advantage of the natural calamities in the latter. In the industrial capitalist countries, conditions are favorable for building Marxist-Leninist parties, progressive trade unions, other basic mass organizations and solidarity organizations in support of other peoples. The proletariat and people have growing contempt and hatred for the monopoly bourgeoisie, the labor aristocracy, the entire array of conservative and pseudoprogressive parties and the currents of revisionism and reformism.

The unemployed, the women, the youth and the migrant workers join up with the workers still on the job in mass protest actions. They take up common issues affecting every aspect of their social life. Together with the proletariat, they fight for the immediate improvement of social conditions as well as for the strategic aim of building socialism. They also stand in solidarity with the peoples who are struggling for national liberation, people's democracy and socialism against imperialist domination, economic blockade,

intervention and aggression. Throughout the world, the workers are rising up against the so-called labor flexibility policy which robs them of job security, hard-won employment benefits and all basic democratic rights. This policy is at the base of the neoliberal policy regime which encourages the monopoly capitalists aided by the state to inflict the most brutal forms of exploitation on the workers.

The workers have therefore fought back with strikes in the imperialist countries and in the industrial enclaves in the client countries. There is growing consciousness among them of the need for a genuine and strong trade union movement against the efforts of the monopoly bourgeoisie to outrightly destroy unions or to coopt them in schemes of collaboration with big business and the counterrevolutionary state.

The revisionist betrayal of socialism has set back the historical advance of mankind. The full restoration of capitalism in the former Soviet-bloc countries has resulted in the destruction of productive forces, unleashed the most hideous forms of exploitation and has allowed US imperialism and the NATO to launch a war of aggression in Europe. Both industry and agriculture are further being devastated under the auspices of Western imperialism and the new bourgeoisie. This comes on top of the decades of revisionist betrayal, bureaucratic corruption and economic stagnation since the late '70s.

Mass discontent and disgust are rising, taking the form of general strikes and broad mass protest actions. Some parties and groups strive to uphold the Marxist-Leninist position and to lead the mass struggles of the people. They are under the test of learning from historical experience, applying the revolutionary legacy of Lenin and Stalin and waging the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and the people.

In Russia, the rapacity of the criminal new bourgeoisie is boundless. After privatizing the most profitable enterprises, this kind of bourgeoisie continues to use state agencies and state resources to further enrich itself. But it evades taxation and payment for goods and services delivered by state agencies and by the remaining state enterprises. The state has become bankrupt and is unable to pay the wages of government workers. Private companies are also delinquent in payment of wages. Thus, general strikes and mass protests have broken out frequently and on a wide scale.

Having returned fully to capitalism, Russia has reassumed the traditional role of a weak imperialist power similar to its role in the period before WW1. In an all-round way, it is in a desperate situation. Genuine communists are now faced with the challenge of leading the proletariat and the people against the new monopoly bourgeoisie and taking the revolutionary road amidst the cacophony of the nationalists, revisionists and liberals.

The proletariat and the people hate the new bourgeoisie as well as the US and German imperialists and the IMF and other multilateral agencies and the NATO for coming to the borders of Russia and launching the war of aggression against Yugoslavia. In mass protests, they cry out: "First, Iraq, second, Yugoslavia and third, Russia!" In China, struggles are mounting against shutdowns and production cutbacks in state enterprises, the deteriorating wage conditions in sweatshops, delayed payments for deliveries of the peasants' produce and proliferating special levies reminiscent of Guomindang rule. Keynesian pump-priming through public works are now being undertaken but cannot solve the bust in the long-favored low-value semimanufacturing-for-export and private construction.

A few proletarian revolutionaries are striving to build a revolutionary communist party in order to promote the legacy of Mao and lead the people on the revolutionary road in order to override the growing struggle between the blatantly anticommunist section of the new bourgeoisie and the revisionist section that continues to carry the signboard of socialism and the communist party. Revolutionary mass organizations and institutions are being developed discreetly even as revolutionary groups are maintained within the discredited ruling party and state.

In posing the dual policy of "engagement" and "containment" with regard to China, the US is pursuing the objective of promoting capitalism and in due course causing the overthrow of the ruling communist party and the reunification of Taiwan with China under US auspices. Insofar as the US and other imperialist

powers threaten the national sovereignty and independence of China, the people of the world can and should support the Chinese people, just as they support the people of Cuba, North Korea, Libya, Iraq, Yugoslavia and other countries which are the target of blockades, intervention and aggression by the US and other imperialist powers.

There is a broad range of anti-imperialist forces in the world today. This includes Marxist-Leninist and other revolutionary parties, mass organizations, mass movements, institutions and some governments that stand for national independence. These forces wage various forms of struggle. There is a positive interaction between the broad anti-imperialist struggle and the revolutionary struggle for people's democracy and socialism

A significant number of armed revolutionary movements for national liberation and democracy are persevering and growing in strength in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Some of these are led by Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties, as in the Philippines, India, Nepal, Peru and Turkey. They take the general line of national-democratic revolution, with a socialist perspective.

Others are led by non-Maoist parties, as in Colombia, Mexico, North Kurdistan, Eelam and several other countries. They are revolutionary to the extent that they fight imperialism and reaction. Beyond the Cold War, all of these signify the continuation of revolutionary struggle against the continuing oppression and exploitation by the imperialists and local reactionaries.

These armed revolutionary movements play the highly significant role of striving to answer the central question of revolution, which is the armed seizure of political power. They inflict real blows on the imperialists and the local reactionaries and inspire the proletariat and people in other countries to prepare for armed revolution.

The weakest links in the chain of imperialist domination are in the semicolonial and semifeudal countries. These have the overwhelming majority of the people of the world and have large peasant populations. In most of these countries, it is possible to wage protracted people's war along the line of the new-democratic revolution. The devastation being wrought by imperialism in its current crisis has made the ground fertile for protracted people's war.

In this regard, together with other parties, Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties have come together through a seminar last December in order to uphold the theory and practice of the revolutionary proletariat, promote protracted people's war in semicolonial and semifeudal countries and to gather support for their revolutionary struggles for national liberation and democracy. The Declaration on Mao and People's War issued by the seminar points out the important role of protracted people's war in the semicolonial and semifeudal countries and its dialectical interaction with the revolutionary struggles in other countries.

Upon its distinct initiative, the proletariat in the industrial capitalist countries wages class struggle to weaken imperialism and prepare for armed revolution. They can take advantage of the defeats and weakening of the imperialists abroad. Ultimately, for socialism to triumph over capitalism on a global scale, the proletariat in the imperialist countries must defeat the monopoly bourgeoisie.

It is highly significant and urgent to promote in semicolonial and semifeudal countries the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside to build and accumulate armed strength for a protracted period of time until it becomes possible to seize power in the cities. This line is at present and for a long time to come the soonest possible way to deliver the lethal blows of armed revolution against imperialism and build Red political power in the localities before the nationwide seizure of political power.

The global influence of Mao's theory and practice of people's war was at a high plateau from the victory of the Chinese revolution to the end of the Vietnam war and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. But such influence would be countered by strong revisionist influence, the notion of Soviet assistance as the decisive factor and various petty-bourgeois notions of quick military victory, even as the longest lasting

armed revolutionary movements, whether Maoist or non-Maoist, have made extensive use of the countryside in practice.

Ironically, when the influence of Mao's strategic line of protracted people's war was being denigrated by revisionist and petty-bourgeois radicals, the US imperialists were succeeding in the use of some kind of rural mass base, ethnocentric or religious, to fight city-based Soviet-supported regimes as in Angola, Mozambique, Nicaragua and Afghanistan. Whereas the Kennedy line of "special war", using counter guerrilla warfare, previously failed in the Vietnam war, Reagan would succeed with the doctrine of low-intensity conflict.

In contrast, it is well proven in the case of the Philippines that when a revolutionary party of the proletariat correctly applies the strategic line of protracted people's war, the imperialists and local reactionaries fail in their efforts to copy and turn the tactics of people's war against the people's army. Anticomunist NGOs, renegades hired as psy-war agents, paramilitary units, armed religious cults and projects designed to pit one community against another have been frustrated by the armed revolutionary movement. Mao's theory and practice of people's war is a powerful weapon of the world proletarian revolution, when correctly applied in semicolonial and semifeudal countries. As more parties of the proletariat adopt and carry out the strategic line of protracted people's war in such countries, the imperialist powers and their client regimes will find themselves in a steadily losing course.

In countries where the strategic line of protracted people's war is applicable, the high-tech weaponry of the US is impotent, as proven in the Vietnam war. And if more peoples wage revolutionary war along this line, the imperialists and the local reactionaries would be at a loss as to how to cope with close-in fighting and ceaseless hemorrhaging. With their cowardly method of striking from a distance, they will never have enough cruise missiles and laser-guided bombs to target the shacks of the peasants and the people's army.

In the arsenal of the proletariat and the people, protracted people's war is the indispensable weapon for making imperialism a losing enterprise. It can cut the ground from under the feet of the imperialists even before they launch a war of aggression or a world war. It can do so on a far wider scale when the imperialists wage a world war or a big war in one or two regions of the world.

In the history of the Bolsheviks, the workers first seized power in city uprisings. But the war proceeded to the countryside among the peasants in the civil war and in the anti-interventionist war. In the Chinese revolution, however, power was first seized in the countryside over a protracted period of time.

Does it mean then that revolutionary war in the countryside is possible only in countries where the peasants constitute the majority of the population? In countries where the peasants constitute a significant portion of the population but are no longer a majority, a combination or a sequence of armed city uprisings and rural warfare is possible. In some former socialist countries, whose industries have broken down and are being subjected to compradorization and refeudalization, the proletarian revolution can start the possibilities of rural warfare in conjunction with workers' uprisings. Even in some industrial capitalist countries, under conditions of interimperialist war, some form of rural warfare is possible as in World War II.

To fight imperialism and war and advance the world proletarian revolution, it takes more than waging protracted people's war in semicolonial and semifeudal countries. Advancing the world proletarian revolution in different parts of the world, under different conditions, takes various forms of revolutionary struggle.

At this time, when there is yet no socialist country as the industrial bulwark for the world proletarian revolution, it is of utmost importance to develop the revolutionary movement in both the former socialist countries and in the imperialist countries. Protracted people's wars and other forms of revolutionary

struggles in the client countries help the proletariat and people in the imperialist countries to develop their revolutionary movement.

India is a semicolonial and semifeudal but has some amount of basic industries like the Russia of 1917. Unlike India, the Philippines has no basic industries. For the Philippine revolution to pass from the national democratic to the socialist stage, there must be other peoples winning the revolution in their own countries with whom the Filipino people can cooperate in order to establish their own industrial foundation and preempt any imperialist economic blockade.

By waging protracted people's war along the new-democratic line, the Communist Party of the Philippines is now among the Marxist-Leninist parties at the forefront of the struggle against imperialism and reaction. Being at the forefront is something to be proud of but it involves heavy responsibilities, great risks and sacrifices.

Filipino communists hope that in a relatively short period of time so many more peoples take the road of armed revolution. They regard the current period as one of transition from a temporary trough to a new and higher level in the struggle of the proletariat and the people.

We are optimistic that the broad anti-imperialist movement and the world proletarian revolution will resurge and make great strides forward in the 21st century because we see in the last decade of the 20th century the violent, destructive, parasitic and moribund character of imperialism. The Marxist-Leninist parties and the proletariat and peoples of the world must resolutely and militantly prepare for another big round in the epochal struggle between capitalism and socialism.#