

Collapse of REVISIONISM in the East

The following article by the TKP/ML, Maoist Party Centre was shortened by the authors from a brochure published in Turkish in January 1990.—AWTW

"...No war is any longer possible for Prussia-Germany except a world war and a world war indeed of an extent and violence hitherto undreamt of. Eight to ten millions of soldiers will massacre one another and in doing so devour the whole of Europe until they have stripped it barer than any swarm of locusts has ever done. The devastations of the Thirty Years' War compressed into three or four years, and spread over the whole continent; famine, pestilence, general demoralisation both of the armies and of the mass of the people produced by acute distress; hopeless confusion of our artificial machinery in trade, industry and credit, ending in general bankruptcy; collapse of the old states and their traditional state wisdom to such an extent that crowns will roll by dozens on the pavement and there will be nobody to pick them up; absolute impossibility of foreseeing how it will all end and who will come out of the struggle as victor; only one result is absolutely certain: general exhaustion and the establishment of the conditions for the ultimate victory of the working class." (F. Engels)¹

Yet another crown has hit the pavement. Its echoes are still reverberating from one end of the world to the other.

Within a week of his visit to Teheran on December 18 as the honour-guest of the mullah chieftains of the comprador-feudal state of the so-called Islamic republic, Nicolae Ceausescu was already lying dead next to his wife, unceremoniously dumped at the foot of an ordinary wall in an otherwise undistinguished courtyard at a Romanian Army garrison not far from Bucharest.

The speed with which the reactionary bourgeois state and social

order, with its supposedly unquestionable "wisdom" and power, can lose its legitimacy and its loyalty-inducing "sacredness" in the eyes of the broad masses, was displayed before the oppressed the world over.

With astonished eyes, the whole

world witnessed once again how suddenly the question of political power could slip away from being a monopoly behind the closed doors of the state and be taken into the streets and among the masses, and what terror and panic this strikes within the ruling class. All this was there for the benefit of the oppressed who everywhere live just waiting to seize the opportunity offered by such moments.

In this old rotten imperialist world system that is coming apart at the seams, where exploiting classes are so desperate as to lacerate the hide of some within their own clan with bullets in order to save their own hide, and where, due to the same logic and despair, they have already pointed the barrels of their guns towards their rivals, if anyone still has any doubts about whether revolutionary opportunities are indeed fermenting or not, then they should ask Ceausescu how the hell he failed to hold onto his hide.

The Verified Analysis of Maoists

In the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* (1984), which our party participated in the formation of, the developments we are witnessing today are analysed in a farsighted and scientific manner:

"...The rivalry between the two blocs of imperialist powers led by the US and the USSR respectively is

bound to lead to war unless revolution prevents it and this rivalry is greatly affecting world events.

"The post World War II world is rapidly coming apart at the seams. The international economic and political relations — the 'division of the world' — established through and in the aftermath of World War II no longer correspond to 'peacefully' extend and expand their profit empires. While the post World War II world has under-

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gone important changes as a result of conflicts between the imperialists and, especially, as a result of revolutionary struggle, today it is this entire network of economic, political and military relations that is being called into question." (emphasis added)

And in the light of this analysis, our Movement particularly emphasised that the world would witness dramatic events:

"The heightening of contradictions is now drawing, and will do so even more dramatically in the future, all countries and regions of the world and sections of the masses previously lulled to sleep or oblivious to political life into the vortex of world history." (emphasis added)

Furthermore, our Movement called attention to the fact that East bloc countries would not be immune to this world scale crisis:

"In the capitalist and imperialist countries of the Eastern bloc important cracks and fissures in the relative stability of the rule by the state-capitalist bourgeoisie are more and more apparent... In these countries also, possibilities for proletarian revolution are developing and will be heightened by the development and intensification of world contradictions."

(emphasis added)

The rivalry between the US-led Western bloc and the USSR-led Eastern bloc for world hegemony and repartition — which is lurching towards an imperialist third world war — is already wreaking havoc in the political and military positions of the “Cold War” period.

In this tense situation, the imperialists and social-imperialists are doing their best to repair and/or substitute any structural weaknesses in their existing military and economic alliances that can be exploited by their rival’s strategy for carrying out a third world war, according to a war strategy that they consider more advantageous and flexible — even at the cost of extremely dangerous political disorders. On this increasingly slippery ground, both blocs are now considering new, untried scenarios in

bloc. The anarchy/ organisation contradiction innate to imperialist capital — which pits imperialists and the international blocs of capital against one another and pose each as an obstacle to the other — is aggravated even more sharply under these circumstances; and this inevitably both intensifies the oppression and exploitation of proletarians, toilers, peoples, and oppressed nations, enslaved to the gears of these value-producing mechanisms which operate on a world scale and, at the same time, enflames their revolutionary struggles.

Each of the imperialist capital dynasties is faced with a double threat: on the one hand, that their rival, with whom they are breathing nose to nose, might suddenly seize the upper hand in war preparations — and, on the other hand, that world proletarian revolution will gain momentum and gather its forces and strength once again.

The explosion that ripped open holes in Ceausescu’s hide and knocked his crown onto the pavement is the product of these contradictions interpenetrating and intensifying on a world scale; it definitely cannot be explained by the political and economic crisis merely within the national borders of Romanian state capitalism.

In a situation where imperialist warlords are throwing their weight around and making a show of force with their

nuclear arsenals, colliding with and trying to grab positions from each other, one question suddenly struck the European continent and the vortex of world public opinion like a thunderbolt: dear bourgeois gentlemen, is it only an illusion, a “miraculous prophesy”, that masses of people will want to take up arms against the existing order even in Europe, and that some such forces already

exist on the Black Sea front of the continent?!

No matter who says what, the thunderbolt has scorched its mark where it struck. And nobody will be capable of covering it up!

Both the international situation and Moscow’s undertakings in relation to it turned what was once the West’s fir-trees in Romania into cracked wooden mugs (an expression meaning things are not what they used to be — trans.), and furthermore created grounds where the cost of all this could well be thrown on Western shoulders. That’s why articles in the Western imperialist press that used to praise Ceausescu’s “anti-Stalinism” and the “defiant and courageous” attitude of this “daring maverick” toward Moscow were being replaced as early as the summer of 1989 by exposures about the “last Stalinist” dictator. Moscow for its part had no intention of allowing others to enjoy the ripe fruits of all the “tolerance and patience” it had shown Romania in the past.

However, there were *others* in this world who had nothing in common with either them or their Western imperialist counterparts.

As the pulse of history beats more and more rapidly and intensely, what Engels once said about those *others* points to a danger which horrifies the once-friends-turned-fake-prosecutors of the Ceausescu regime in East and West: “history is the judge, the proletariat its executioner”!

At a time when Eastern European countries are passing through a tumultuous period instigated by imperialist rivalry and Gorbachev’s reforms, and millions of people are righteously standing up in fierce revolt against bourgeois dictatorships — regardless of their lack of experience, and despite all the bourgeois democratic prejudices and illusions they might have — it was no little threat that masses of people in Romania took to action to get rid of this bourgeois dictatorship — whose parasitic nature that had reached monarchist proportions was disgustingly showing from under its makeshift “socialist” mask — without asking for or expecting any help from the former friends of the Ceausescu regime in East or West.

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Ceausescu

order to increase the possibility that these efforts to consolidate war strategies and to heighten their flexibility will lead to a loss in their rival’s political and military positions.

The attempts by both alliances to keep their respective imperialist competition and war strategies at the maximum level of yield and reliability lead both to the intensification of position-grabbing between the two blocs as well as to the fueling up of contradictions within each

The crisis of the world imperialist system exists

“...to such an extent that crowns will roll by the dozens on the pavement and there will be nobody to pick them up...”

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Just Who Is Afraid of Civil War?

The sporadic confrontations with supporters of the old regime in the days following December 22 have displayed the dead-end situation the coup makers were in, as well as their true fears. Although anxiously claiming to represent not only the "will" but alas the "revolutionary will" of the Romanian people, the National Salvation Front (NSF) and its Executive Committee were nonetheless terror-stricken — for some reason — that the armed confrontations against the old regime's existing militia would be carried out by anyone — particularly the masses themselves — other than the regular units of the official army.

Those who claimed to represent "the will and provisional government of the popular uprising" refused to be defended by the masses of people, but they easily and trustfully delivered themselves to the protection of Ceausescu's army. Moreover, addressing themselves to masses and youth who confiscated guns during the turmoil and local battles, and who burned with the desire to use these guns against the old regime, spokespersons of the NSF issued one threat after another on television, announcing that "civilians carrying arms will be considered Securitate members or provocateurs." There were immediate orders to collect civilians' guns.

The news about the armed revolt of the masses against the existing order in Romania, and the images of civil war distributed by television to all five continents were definitely of a kind that would upset all the crowned imperialist bandits and their lackeys. Stopping the insurgents from crushing the state's armed forces, and the masses of people from engaging in armed struggle against supporters of the existing system, was in the interest not only of those who made the coup but of the imperialists as well. Slaves possessing guns, and, moreover, seizing the opportunity and acquiring the experience to use these guns, is a phenomenon that has always terrified slave-owners.

One of the reasons why the number of those killed during the fighting

with Ceausescu loyalists was deliberately exaggerated to 60-70,000 was to create pessimism among the masses about their military strength and combat potential. If the experience gained by the masses in such a short time and their innate tendency and capacity towards even more merciless battles were not reined in fast, this would have far worse consequences for the Romanian bourgeoisie as well as their imperialist friends East and West. For the rulers themselves were well aware that it was impossible for the trumped up coup d'etat to bring about a solution to the underlying crisis. It would be nothing but a complete disaster from their point of view if the masses were to enter future confrontations brought about by the crisis — which was sure to persist and carried the possibility of further polarisation — with more comprehensive and richer experience of civil war gained in this battle.

In spite of this, their propaganda was extremely contradictory: they told the masses "to give up their arms and trust the army for their security", yet this was the same army which shot down most of those killed during the confrontations. And had the masses in revolt not waged heroic battles, had they not achieved important gains, which led to serious defeats and signs of hesitation in the ranks of the army, by demonstrating their willingness to fight all the way to the end, there is no guarantee that the massacre in Tiananmen Square would not have been repeated in Bucharest and other cities.

It should still be pointed out that the fact that the masses of people were deprived of leadership, particularly of the guidance of the proletariat and Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology, prevented them from summing up the gains and weaknesses on this issue, as in all urgent issues on the agenda. One of the most instructive manifestations of this is that, when the masses gained positions against the armed forces of the regime with their own determined fighting, and the Army immediately evaluated the situation announcing that "it passed to the side of the popular uprising", this encouraged the ideology of spontaneity that inevitably and naturally exists among the masses; this in turn gave way within the ranks of the insurgents to a certain dizziness with success and an

exaggeration of their gains — to such an extent that it served the maneuvers of the ruling class, its army and state. It strengthened illusions like "the unity and liberation of the whole nation" which cast a shadow on the issue of classes and class distinctions. However, as can be observed in the flurried propaganda and stabilising attempts of the ruling class, the economic and political dimensions and structure of the crisis, intensified by imperialist contradictions on the international level, are of a nature capable of turning these illusions into their opposite.

Grand Viziers Who Give Up the Crown to Hold onto the Throne

The claims and declarations of the NSF, especially its Executive Committee which holds the reins, that it "represents the successful (!) Romanian revolution" and "the popular uprising and its revolutionary will" are nothing but sophistry and a mirror to the dead-end situation of the owners of the existing system.

Likewise, the claim that, "as the Provisional Government of this revolution which was accomplished through a popular uprising", they "have dissolved all the organs of power of the Ceausescu regime", is also a sophistry. And they will face, in fact have already begun facing, immense problems in their attempts to push these sophistries down the throats of the people. They might be compelled to waste away as "scapegoats" a few more veterans of the regime like Ceausescu and his wife, in order to preserve the existing state and social order as well as their ruling class position. But everyone is aware that except for his majesty Ceausescu and his crown, the entire state and class relations remains untouched.

With the decision of this provisional government, the word "socialist" has been dropped from the official name, the "Socialist" Republic of Romania — it had long since been just a tag-on. There were too few who believed that Romania was socialist for such a change to suffice in deceiving the masses. Only some bourgeois elements — like Perincek, Yorukoglu, the journal Cozum² etc.— who plan to deceive the masses of people in Turkey with their own Ceausescu-type "socialism" can

be offended by this long overdue change in protocol.

The masses and especially the toiling masses in Romania have risen up to throw off the yoke of exploitation and oppression — and not just against the phoney "socialist" label attached to it — and it is still their real demand and need. The masses, who refuse to leave the streets of Romania and head back home, are at least clear about the records of those who (continue to) exercise political power. Newly declared President Ion Iliescu was among the most promising senior members of the Ceausescu regime. In the name of the Party, he had been the leader and ideologue of the so-called Romanian Young "Communists", an organisation in charge of training elite bureaucrats. He had served as a secretary of the Central Committee under Ceausescu and — until his dispute with Elena Ceausescu — he was the most favoured from among the bright prospects of the Party bureaucracy. Nicolae Militaru, Defence Minister of the new government and one of the main coup plotters, is the most senior and politically experienced topgun of the Romanian Army. Mihai Glutac, the highly respected general of the Ceausescu regime, now heads the police forces. General Stanculescu has been made Minister of the Economy. Andrei Plesu, former foreign diplomat under the Ceausescu regime, has been named the Minister of Culture. Veteran bureaucrat Dimitriu Mazilu is now a member of the new government.

The army, the fundamental pillar of all bourgeois states, including the Ceausescu regime, continues to be at the heart of the new government, because it was not the state that changed. Nowhere has it ever been seen that one state can be replaced by another through a coup d'etat; through coup d'etats, persons and governments come and go, while states are preserved.

The crisis that came to the surface with the popular uprising is not a crisis of this or that clique or one that can be taken care of with a coup d'etat. First and foremost, this crisis is the structural crisis of *the entire State of Romania as part of the network of imperialist relations of production*. Even if spokesmen from East and West talk about a

“Romanian revolution”, they are knowledgeable enough of the essence of the situation to realise that they cannot console themselves with the demagogy they use to spread confusion among the masses.

The masses of people in Turkey know through their own experience that whenever imperialists side with a “revolution”, there definitely must be something foul in this, or a vicious trap is being set for someone. But then there are also our social-compradors, our comprador-“Marxists”, who run to the rescue of the imperialists in order to muddle the revolutionary feelings, however spontaneous, of the masses; the poison they spread is far more dangerous than all this imperialist propaganda. The political trap that the imperialists want to set in talking about “a revolution” is being defended and strengthened by these comprador-“Marxists” who claim that, no, “it was a counter-revolutionary military coup overthrowing the anti-imperialist, socialist regime”. In case the imperialists fail to make the masses fall into their trap by tripping them up from the right, our “revolutionary” compradors like Perincek assign themselves the duty of tripping them up from the “left” — just in case, you never know. The Dec. 31 issue of Perincek’s *2000’e Dogru* (Towards 2000) has been devoted to this duty.

The reader can see that the imperialists find it to their advantage to vituperate against the past situation of the Romanian state-capitalist bourgeoisie, which is still in place, by presenting it as “changed” and “reformed”, accompanied by demagogy about the “Christmas Revolution in Bucharest”. This is because Romania was the state that offered some of the best possibilities in the Eastern bloc for Western imperialist finance capital and banks to exploit the masses of people. And one of the fundamental reasons underlying the economic and political crisis this state finds itself in today is this unbridled imperialist pillage. The Perincek/Kilic/“S”P circle, however, is jumping up and down to defend the functioning of this same state before the December developments. In order to help the Western imperialists’ disgusting, hypocritical claims that “this state was in the service of Stalinism, not us”, they are

trying to make believe that the capitalist past of the existing state, which operated in full cooperation with Western capital-owners, was “anti-imperialist/ socialist”. Listen to this: “In the past 25 years, few countries pursued as consistent an anti-imperialist politics as Romania. That’s why Ceausescu was levelling the debts to zero.” They hail as “anti-imperialist” the International Monetary Fund and the imperialist states and banks, as well as the politics which they enforced in order to exploit the masses to the bone. They say that this situation will now “change” after the coup. All this is simply to speak from the mouth of the imperialists once again. It is the product of a conscientious lackey logic that even imperialists in both East and West would have a hard time finding. Anybody who opposes our qualification of these people as *comprador-“Marxist”*, including those who still try to wiggle around it, should better think again!

The way imperialists define “revolution” and the way comprador-“Marxists” define “revolution”, “anti-imperialism” and a “socialist regime” are one and the same. Both lead to the same door — the existing imperialist order and the existing counter-revolutionary state. But that’s not where it all ends. Once again, Perincek and gang run to assist the imperialists to support the Romanian bourgeoisie and army whole-heartedly in repressing the rising masses and preventing the state from slipping out of their hands; the imperialists even considered mobilising their armies so that the revolutionary crisis could be brought under control before it deepened further. Perincek’s crew attacks the masses of people rising up against exploitation and oppression by villifying them as “Maradona youth”, in the lumpen manner of Caliskan.

One of the benefits of a revolutionary situation is that it places those impostors who once pretended to be “revolutionaries, workerists, defenders of students’ and womens’ rights” squarely on the side of the exploiters and against people who revolt because they need revolution! It makes the likes of Perincek and his friends scream with fear at the top of their lungs about “Maradona youth”, in the service of the ruling

class — through Hurriyet Holding’s³ distribution network. It rips their masks apart!

Perincek & Co., who opened up a comprador-“feminism” shop (not even feminism) under the pretence of “defending women’s rights”, translating some Juliet Mitchell and the like and participating with a big appetite in the Chinese revisionists’ attacks on Chiang Ching and her comrades, are naturally supporting the Ceausescu regime’s policy of “forced pregnancy or prison”, where women are used as incubators under police supervision, against the young “Maradona youth” women. (See AWTW, No.1985/1, “Babies or Prison”)

Perincek & Co. publish the DEMKAD⁴ statement and join the chorus chanting “Elena Ceausescu will never die”. The fact that Romanian state capitalism, imperialist finance capital in East and West and the IMF use the bodies of Romanian women as incubators is not an issue that their comprador mentality will oppose. Their slogan is: “Long Live the Gynecological Cops, Down with Maradona young women who don’t like them!”...Well, Elena Ceausescu “may not die”, but look how she and her husband are turned into sieves in front of firing squads by their own blood-sucking class brothers when the masses rise up, because Elena’s class and imperialist friends are terrified by the wrath of the oppressed — and, apparently, so is Perincek & Co.!

The Truth as Expressed in the Language of the Plebs

Those who once fulfilled every obligation of the counter-revolutionary three worlds theory and praised all the reactionaries in the world except for the Soviet social imperialists and their lackeys, in order to support the racist fascist state of the Republic of Turkey from the “left” against the rising tide of popular struggle, and who assumed the role of defending the state and army of the bailiffs looking after Turkey for their Western imperialist masters, particularly the Amerikkkan imperialists, are today marketing their same talents once again. The pretended disputes among them over the accounting books of the TIKP⁵ are disgusting. They compete with

each other in protecting the imperialist order and the states run by it from the masses of people.

If Halil Berktaş⁶ has the nerve to discover Marxism in the person of his majesty the "dynamic" social imperialist Gorbachev, how can Dogu Perincek, his ideological brother, not see in the revisionist Ceausescu a "consistent anti-imperialist" and "a socialist" — if of lower gradation — jewel, "whom he respected previously and still respects him today after he has been executed". The TIKP pot rolls around and joins up with its lid once again, because this pot and lid were cast so that together they form a secure place where world reaction can take refuge (against those who want revolution).

Let's pose a question to Perincek, who insists he is not "an ambassador" — apparently he aspires for higher and more respectable comprador positions: since all those who hold the ropes within the NSF are "honourable" and competent senior members of the "anti-imperialist" even "socialist" Ceausescu regime that you so "deeply respected", could it be that perhaps what they have accomplished is a "socialist revolution" after all!? Or consider just the opposite: if they are the dancers of "the USA-USSR conspiracy" doing "Lambada in Malta" — contrary to your claims, the ability of these revisionists to dance to the tune of the dollar is nothing new — then how did they ever implement the "anti-imperialism and socialism" of Ceausescu and his politics "that had the great support of the people" and "honoured national (hear hear!) pride"?! Wasn't it through the same "Lambada" state wisdom they are displaying these days?...

Those who write the following do not even hesitate to express openly whose interests they are out to protect: "Look at the hole that has been opened in the middle of the Romanian flag! The Balkanisation that approaches from that hole is an immense threat to the people of Turkey. Even for Turkey's sensible rulers!" Breh-hey you great fascist Turkish state, why would you ever hesitate to appoint this faithful bag of comprador wisdom as your president! Don't you see with what devotion the chauvinist blood that your state needs is surging in the veins of

this valuable son of yours, pumping his brain so that he can be vigilant in the face of possible "threats" that may be directed against you?!

Above all, this is the cry of carrying the imperialists' and their lackeys' Turkes-type seeds of strife between the proletariat and toiling masses of Romania and Turkey. It is a counter-revolutionary cry whose sole purpose is to oppose the Romanian masses in their uprising against the existing system, and prevent the desire and responsibility of the oppressed in Turkey and the world to support this popular uprising and protect it against the "coupist" Romanian ruling classes and their imperialist friends (that they lean against together with the Republic of Turkey)! It is an old and familiar TIKP-Graywolf⁷ howling, pointing to the "sorry" predicament of the Romanian state which was shaken and threatened with the righteous rebellion of the masses, and calling the "sensible rulers of Turkey" to take rapid precautions.

They are doing all this in order to cover up the class nature of the existing fascist state of the Turkish Republic, to hide the fact that it is a state that should see a much worse end than what the Romanian masses accomplished in their country so far, a state which should be cut to pieces and burned to the ground, and to make it seem that the oppressed masses and the ruling class have something in common.

As for the hole in the Romanian flag, you grandson of fascist Kemal⁸: it is not a bad beginning for the Romanian masses — once a hole is made, it can be enlarged. But come and see what that flag of the fascist Turkish state will look like with a similar hole, with the star and the crescent gone... Now, isn't this exactly what terrifies you?!

Whether or not there is a fake-"socialist" emblem in the middle of the Romanian flag, that flag is the flag of the Romanian bourgeoisie. There is no need to be upset about ripping off that fake emblem which was kept there by force so as to befuddle the minds of the working class into carrying it; on the contrary, there is a need for revolutionary proletarians to use these holes and cracks against the Romanian ruling class and the organisers of the coup, in order to encourage and raise

the consciousness of the workers and the masses so that the whole damned bourgeois flag is thrown into the sewer. But of course, it is not surprising that comprador souls who held their own Party Congress in the 1970s under the fascist flag of the Turkish state, accompanied by the singing of the National Anthem, and who corresponded with Turkes's Gray Wolves in newspaper columns to discuss how they were "planning to unite the whole 45 million under the Turkish flag" are naturally quite disturbed by the hole in the flag of the Romanian bourgeoisie.

As opposed to this, the evaluation of the developments by the Romanian people, who desire an all-around and radical change and who have risen up with the accumulated fury of objective need for a revolution, is far more valuable and on the mark than these false sophistries of comprador-"Marxists" and all the revisionists in Turkey. With their own experience and expression they are saying: "the hat has changed, but it is the same husband." That the plebs who objectively need a proletarian socialist revolution, under conditions of crisis which has no other solution, are searching in Romania's streets is underscored by the spontaneous grumbling in this assessment.

The masses are groping for ways to express that the nature of the Romanian state has not changed. But their enemies, by saying the opposite in various forms, are hoping and trying to make them believe that "the nature of the state has changed."

In order especially to expose the theoretical debt of our comprador-"Marxists" and revisionists to the imperialist bourgeoisie, it would be very helpful for the proletariat to recall the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theory on the state and review it in the light of developments in Romania. On the question of the state Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought states:

Throughout the historical development of human society, the state, wherever it is a necessity and exists and will exist, can, without exception, only be an instrument of class dictatorship; it can never and nowhere be "independent", it cannot represent or apply the nonsense of "democracy for all". In any case, the

state cannot be anything other than the class dictatorship by one or another class; it is a means of dictatorship by one of the classes that takes shape on the basis of class relationships embedded in the economic base of society, it does not represent persons, groups or sections, or any trend and movement. Furthermore, the state, besides not being independent or neutral, is not a simple instrument, a tool (a toy) that can be transferred from one class to another, used by now this and now that class, or put to service in the interest of one or the other class through politics (and by the threat of arms). The state represents the embodiment of the society's objective organisation, and what determines the character and nature of this objective social structure is the existing historically particular division of labour which the state is an integral part of, and the existing objective production relations which the state regulates the reproduction of and actively serves.

The crisis which hit the surface in Romania with a social explosion and rebellion by the masses is the structural crisis of the Romanian state as a whole. There has not been any revolutionary change within this structure, nor could a coup d'état by the army transform the nature of this structure. Moreover, the fact that the Romanian state was also used by Western imperialist capital for reproduction in the conditions of Romania has played a particular role in the explosion of this crisis and exhausted all hopes of solving it through intervention today by the Western imperialists.

Only proletarian revolution could have put an end to their misery: by sending the state-capitalist bourgeois class to hell! Unfortunately, this time history caught the proletariat and the oppressed masses unprepared: they were deprived of a leadership that could analyse the root causes of their suffering, organise their ranks for civil war, show the path to their own political power through the cracks opened up by the winter cold, and guide them through a serious dress rehearsal for power. But let no one fall into thinking that the masses, who are now speaking out in the streets of Romania about how they have been manipulated, are years away from realising that it is not

enough to oppose the bourgeoisie simply in relation to the "socialist" tag which these bourgeois at one time found convenient to wear or with the weapons of bourgeois ideology cleared of its phony "socialist" veneer.

Support the RIM, Strengthen and Build Up the Maoist Parties

The lessons of all this are concentrated in a single point: Waters are once again rising in the riverbeds of proletarian world revolution! The crisis of the imperialist world system is dragging the imperialists towards war, towards intensifying exploitation and oppression, but these same contradictions are also accelerating the revolutionary struggle of the proletarians and masses.

This can no longer be disputed.

If all around us we are already witnessing what Engels had predicted for the time of the war and its aftermath, this indicates that opportunities are increasingly present and beginning to cry out for us to prevent imperialist world war with proletarian revolutions. Today's developments especially underscore how correct was our Party's following criticism of opportunist and revisionist trends:

"The essential point they completely miss is that the current spiral of imperialist dynamics between the 2nd and the looming 3rd World Wars, which has taken so many red bases away from the proletariat in the period following World War II, objectively embodies the material conditions and opportunities which will surrender to the proletariat more, perhaps qualitatively more, than it has taken away!" (*Iktidara*, p.16, January 1988)

As Lenin said in a similar situation, let the dead bury their dead — proletarians have their Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology analysing the opportunities shaping up for proletarian world revolution, and great tasks to be fulfilled with the guidance of this ideology.

To proletarian revolution, there is no alternative in this world!

10 January 1990
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Footnotes

1. Cited by Lenin in "Prophetic Words, June 29, 1918, CW vol. 27, pp. 494-495.
2. Dogu Perincek distinguished himself for his devout services to counter-revolution by boot-licking dedication to the reactionary Three Worlds Theory, to the Chinese revisionists before and after the 1976 coup in China, and by his singularly grotesque distortions of Mao's teachings in order to peddle his defence of legalism, non-violence, and the existing order, including support for the 1980 military coup's re-establishment of "law and order", under the pretext of "the social-imperialist threat". He and his cohorts, including Berktaç, planned but failed in 1971 to assassinate Ibrahim Kaypakkaya, the founder of our Party the TKP/ML, because of his crippling exposure and critique of their revisionism.
- Yorukoglu is the leader of a splinter group from the revisionist pro-Moscow party.
- Cozum* is a legal monthly journal of a formerly focoist current now seeking to moderate its positions and render Gorbachev reforms "more profound" and "socialist".
3. Hurriyet Holding is a major comprador-feudal newspaper and publication network.
4. DEMKAD is the abbreviation for the so-called women's association led by revisionists.
5. TIKP, Workers and Peasants Party of Turkey, was a legal reactionary party led by the D. Perincek clique before the September 12, 1980 coup, and later used by the same gang to fashion their current Socialist Party which tries to be a legal and legitimate opposition party.
6. Halil Berktaç, together with Perincek, is an infamous ideologue of the former TIKP counter-revolutionaries; very recently he seemingly parted ways with Perincek to cast his lot with the mainly pro-Moscow array of revisionist groups and circles to form another Stolypin-type socialist workers' party similar to Perincek's.
7. "Gray Wolves" is the self-proclaimed name of the para-military gangs organized by pre-1980 coup Nationalist Action Party led by the fanatic fascist Alpaslan Turkes clique and secretly funded and backed by the regime to carry out death-squad attacks against the masses and revolutionaries.
8. Mustafa Kemal, otherwise known as Atatürk, was the founder of the existing comprador-feudal state in 1923; Kemalism has been a fascist ideology used by the state and the ruling class, and was a major propaganda drum of the 1980 coup.