

Collapse of
REVISIONISM
in the East

Cast Away Illusions!

Revolution - All the Way!

An Appeal to the People of Eastern Europe
from the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

The following appeal from the RIM Committee was translated into Polish, Czechoslovakian, Romanian, Serbo-Croatian, German and several other languages and tens of thousands of copies have been distributed throughout Eastern Europe.—AWTW

Marxism consists of thousands of truths, but they all boil down to the one sentence, "It is right to rebel!"

— Mao Tsetung

The old order in Eastern Europe has been dramatically shaken. Where yesterday protest was whispered, today it explodes in fierce rebellion in the streets. The corrupt gang of E. European "communist" party bosses are now reeling, scorned and reviled. The situation is excellent!

But for the guardians of the established order East and West, things have gone far enough; they warn darkly of "mob rule" and direct people to "settle down" and "get back to business" — "the revolution is over", they declare. We Maoists in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement reply: No! The revolution has only just begun — and it still has a long way to go.

The sight of the former bosses of E. Europe hounded and on the run has given joy to the world's oppressed. These were great criminals. In the name of communism, these "red bourgeoisie" exploited the toiling masses, they talked piously of "egalitarianism" while stuffing millions into Swiss banks, they declared their "proletarian internationalism" while enforcing Soviet social-imperialism's empire from Czechoslovakia to Afghanistan, they quoted Lenin while secretly living like the Tsar. Today their parties are tossing aside the label of "communist" and adopting new names — fine, let them call themselves what they are: the Party of Privileged Parasites or, more precisely, the Party of Bureaucrat Capitalists.

For *capitalists* is what they are. It is said that E. Europe is being rocked by the "crisis of communism" — but E. Europe is not communist! Does anyone seriously believe that Honecker, Zhivkov, Jaruzelski and their parties were struggling to advance the world revolution towards Marx's vision of classless society?! How ridiculous. The doddering corrupt old dictators who ran E. Europe were the representatives of bourgeois classes that exploit the masses in much the same way that capitalists do anywhere else. They used the forms of socialism they inherited, but the essence was the same: a small minority used their control of the means of production and the state to suck the blood of the workers and accumulate wealth and privilege. Some, like the E. German bourgeoisie, even rose to become imperial-

ists, and profit from activities abroad, in Angola, Cuba and elsewhere.

Today, the entire Soviet social-imperialist bloc is in such deep crisis that its most powerful rulers, Gorbachev and the Soviet bourgeoisie themselves, have undertaken a program of unprecedented change. This has unleashed decades of pent-up fury, resulting in an explosion of anger and protest from below. The ruling classes are divided and in disarray; the masses of people have awakened to political life. Unparalleled opportunity exists to intensify the struggle of the people, but in developed capitalist countries like E. Europe, such moments are rare and short-lived. By common consent, the ruling classes of East and West are deploying their considerable forces to establish a new stability. Either you will advance the people's struggle in the face of this, or you will be defeated by the masters old and new.

Stabilisation is now the common programme of all the ruling classes. One of the chief weapons in their arsenal is the introduction of the parliamentary democracy that so many of you look to. They say that because you now have parliamentary democracy you can cease your fight, that this democracy is the guarantee that you can solve your problems and better your lives. This is a lie. Look at Poland: why is it that despite the collapse of the vicious martial law regime, despite the introduction of multiparty elections, free press, free speech, and even the electoral victory of the pro-Western opposition, the suffering of the masses has become even worse?

Parliamentary democracy has never brought freedom to the broad masses. Everyone is free and equal, it is said, "one man, one vote"; but one class controls the wealth and power — the means of production, the mass media, the army and police — and is free to use all this to exploit, suppress and manipulate the people. Parliamentary democracy is a means by which capitalist rule is disguised as the rule of the people; the masses' hopes are pinned to illusions that one or another representative of the ruling class will bestow changes upon them, instead of relying on the only force for real change: the revolutionary struggle of the people themselves.

Parliamentary democracy is democracy for the privileged. They now have more competition in their own ranks over who will have what share of the rights to rule and exploit and live leisured lives. New sections of the elite previously out of power are being let into the privileged ranks. "Comrade" party bosses will give way to modern Western-style executives, collective farm managers will be replaced by big farm owners — but often it is the old party managers who will become the new owners, since they have the money, connections and know-how to profit from the new opportunities. But the concentration of power and wealth in the hands of a small minority, and the propertyless and powerless condition of the broad masses, will remain unaltered, for this is the essence of capitalism in both its Eastern and Western forms.

It is not democratic reforms from above but the people's struggle from below together with the disarray of the rulers that has brought forth any truly fresh and vital change. Look at the seizure and destruction of the Stasi headquarters in E. Berlin. Imagine what would happen if youth in democratic W. Germany were to try to storm the secret police headquarters there — how many would be gunned down, how many imprisoned? Look at Romania, where across the country workers have gone on strike, held mass meetings, forced out hated factory administrators and chosen new ones themselves. Such things rarely happen in the "democratic" West, and if they do they are quickly and viciously suppressed. As soon as your ruling regimes get back on their feet, then they too are sure to crush any such fruits of popular power — undoubtedly under the banner of protecting the new-born democratic power!

As for the grand promises of change to be wrought by free enterprise and Western investment: a few privileged will benefit, the basic masses won't. Look at what Western technology is bringing Poland: some get computers, others get laid off. Competition is intensifying, as is polarisation; the rich grow richer and the poor poorer. But make no mistake: all these measures chiefly serve to accelerate processes *already going on*. Profit has been the driving force of the E. European

economies for years; the gap between the rich and poor was already enormous; total debt to Western banks already stands at near \$100 billion — every year they suck billions in interest payments out of E. Europe.

The change in E. Europe is not from stagnant socialist economies to dynamic capitalist ones, but from disguised to undisguised capitalism. What is new is a desperate attempt by your rulers to replace inefficient capital with efficient capital, to streamline the mechanisms of exploitation and make the wheels of capital accumulation turn even faster, including by expanding the share of the Western imperialists in this process.

Look at what's already going on in Poland and Hungary, where Western penetration and Western-style reforms have gone farthest. How many more soup kitchens will Poland need, as hundreds of thousands are laid off because factories and mines are "not profitable"? How many more homeless will join the thousands already huddling on Budapest's streets, because new housing is "not profitable"? The regimes are now freed up from the compromises made by the state capitalists to maintain the facade of socialism; like people in the West, you are free not only to vote, but to be unemployed and homeless.

Western propagandists tell you to forget the evidence from Poland and Hungary of what more Western penetration will mean for you; look instead to Germany, Scandinavia or France — if you adopt democracy and join Europe, someday you too will live like this, they claim. What poison pours from their lips! Of course the West is richer — it has been more successful than its Soviet-bloc rivals in building a worldwide empire. Their exploitation fields stretch from Chile's copper mines to South Africa's gold mines up through the Middle East oil fields through South Asia and into the Far East, where tens of millions produce textiles and electronics for pennies an hour. Because the West is richer and has a relatively large middle class, it can allow some of its people to say what they want (some of the time) and go abroad (*if they can afford it*). The West is not rich because it is democratic, it is democratic *because it is rich* and it is democracy *for the rich*; the secret of its riches, and hence of its democracy, lies in its empire built on bloody conquest and maintained through savage wars like Vietnam, continual invasions of little countries like Panama, Grenada or the Malvinas, and perpetual misery and suffering for hundreds and hundreds of millions under apartheid regimes and military juntas and including within the borders of the imperialist countries themselves. If you want to know what Western democracy is really about, turn off Radio Free Europe and find the way to ask South Africa's blacks, or Palestinians in the Gaza strip, ask Arab dustmen in Paris or Turks in Hamburg, ask England's coal miners or Chicago's ghetto inhabitants — get them to tell you about the "marvels" of Western democracy. Or you can just wait to find out for yourselves.

The Western imperialists' promise of better lives if you tie your dreams to them amounts to an invitation to join them in their plunder of the world's people. It is a shameful invitation; it is also a lie, a lure to get you onto their hook. Do you really think they're going to allow the likes of Polish, Romanian and Bulgarian workers to pull up a chair and dine on the fruits of their worldwide plunder side by side with respectable German burghers?! Of course not. They don't want to and they can't, for the Western imperialists are also facing a worldwide crisis. There is simply no room left at the imperialists' feast for more chairs. At most a few crumbs will be tossed to your elites — if they learn to beg properly — while the majority of you will find that you are to be served up as part of the next course! It is time to cast away illusions. You Polish professors teaching your students about the Swedish social welfare system, you Romanian doctors drawing up health care plans based on the French model — Wake up before it is too late! You have drunk too much of their German schnapps and French champagne — better try some Yugoslav brandy or Portuguese madeira, for there are the models which the Western imperialists have in mind for you.

Do we exaggerate? Consider their plans for Poland. Have the German imperialists remoulded themselves, do they now generously and unselfishly want to build up a new, prosperous, strong Poland, as they claim — or are they

scheming and plotting to subordinate the Polish people as subjects of a new Reich stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea? Just look at the new swagger in the W. German rulers' step as they goosestep around Central Europe, or listen to the strains of "Deutschland Uber Alles" belching forth from W. Germany's Parliament or the chauvinist crowds chanting "Ein Volk! Ein Vaterland!", and you know the answer.

There are those of you, particularly from E. Germany, who might be able to successfully integrate yourselves into this nightmare: you will find that living in the belly of this powerful imperialist beast exacts a severe price. The drive for a German Reich helped fuel two bloodbaths already and produced the concentration camps which shocked the entire world. But such horrors have not even given pause to the German imperialists' renewed march to Greater Germany. We say, Deutschland, never again!

We know that words like "Marxism" and "proletarian revolution" sometimes sound in your ears just like "democracy" and "freedom fighter" do to Westerners who have heard them used to justify the US war against Vietnam or CIA goons in Central America. But even as the Soviet bloc rulers buried genuine Marxism and kept only a deceptive mask to legitimise their oppressive rule, Mao Tsetung rose to oppose their betrayal of Marx and Lenin. He showed how they had restored capitalism and he called for a new revolution in the USSR and E. Europe. Mao upheld the accomplishments of the October Revolution under Lenin and Stalin, including Stalin's leadership of the Soviet people in defeating the Nazi invaders in World War 2, but he recognised that Stalin made serious errors, that he failed to understand that the revolution had to be continued so as to prevent the rise to power of a new class of bureaucrat capitalists, as indeed happened. Mao showed how socialism is a transition period, full of revolutionary leaps and struggle, to classless society, it means the proletarians and all those who have been on the bottom of society for generations rising up and seizing and wielding power themselves — not a stagnant bureaucratic system where party bigshots govern "on behalf of" the people.

Mao sought to avoid the fate of the USSR by mobilising the biggest mass movement in human history, the Cultural Revolution, to drag would-be party bigshots from their thrones and chase them from power. This sent Brezhnev and your own rulers into a frenzy; they declared Mao a "madman" and vilified, distorted and, most of all, censored his teachings. For many years the Chinese people succeeded in fighting off attempts to reverse the revolution, however, following Mao's death, Deng Xiaoping & Co seized power and restored capitalism in China; the bloody fruits of this were seen in Beijing's Tiananmen Square in June 1989. Even though capitalism was restored, the struggle waged during the Cultural Revolution gave the present generation in China a revolutionary point of reference that people in the USSR and E. Europe sorely lack. That Mao's authentically revolutionary vision is still alive could be seen on Beijing's streets as many workers carried pictures of Mao and called for a new socialist revolution, and student rebels sang "The Internationale".

In the last few years Maoist forces from around the world have gathered in the RIM and are waging revolutionary struggle against all oppressive systems, East and West. Wherever they exist, the organisations of the RIM have sought to mobilise those who have nothing to lose, the downtrodden proletarians and their allies, to rise up in revolt and to organise for the revolutionary overthrow of the ruling classes. The RIM salutes the rebellion of the peoples of Eastern Europe and calls on you to attack the old order more thoroughly, more radically and with more determination, to take up the revolutionary weapon of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought which your rulers have hidden from you, and to establish contact with the RIM and its participating organisations so as to strengthen the ties of those from all parts of the world who are resolved to struggle until all oppression and exploitation under any name are done away with forever. □