



## 7 | Fighting Communist Cells

Original Language (French): Cellules Communistes Combattantes

The Fighting Communist Cells (CCC) was a small, Marxist-Leninist, urban terrorist group that operated in Belgium from 1984 to 1985. It had the shortest lifespan of all the European fighting communist organizations. In a sense, the CCC was a hybrid of groups like the RAF, DA and Red Brigades. Its founder, Pierre Carette, had interacted with members of all these groups and set up the CCC after observing the political-military development of these groups. An analysis of CCC operations and written communiqués indicates that the CCC had patterned itself more upon the Red Brigades than the RAF and DA, which the CCC claimed were more anarchist than Marxist. While countries like Italy, France, Germany and Spain had a history of Marxist revolutionary terrorist activity, Belgium had been spared this particular 'disease'. As a result, the surfacing of the CCC in October 1984 was a surprise not only to the Belgian authorities, but also to other Western security and intelligence services.

From October 1984 to December 1985, when the entire membership (four persons) of the CCC was arrested, the group carried out 26 bombings against NATO, American, Belgian, and German targets. None of these attacks was designed to cause casualties, although two Belgian firemen were 'accidentally' killed in one CCC operation.

### TACTICS

All of the CCC's attacks were bombings, and took place within the context of three separate 'thematic' campaigns. When Carette and the three other CCC members were arrested in December 1985, there were indications that the CCC was about to escalate its tactics from bombings to assassinations. The CCC had the smallest membership of all the European fighting communist organizations. However, its emergence in October 1984

contributed significantly to the 'Euroterrorism' scare that preoccupied the European media and security services from late 1984 through 1985.

### TERRORIST LITERATURE

The CCC published written attack communiqués, several special communiqués and one major ideological tract. Given that Pierre Carette was the founder and past publisher of a Belgian radical journal known as *Ligne Rouge* (Red Line), this publication served as an unofficial propaganda organ for the CCC. The group usually telephoned Belgian newspapers after an attack and directed them to a place where the CCC communiqué could be found. CCC attack communiqués were longer than those of most of the other European fighting communist organizations. They were also more readable to the layman and provided information on CCC operations, such as how the group conducted surveillance.

### SELECTED CHRONOLOGY OF CCC TERRORIST INCIDENTS

#### 1984

- 2 October – Brussels: Detonated a bomb at Litton Business International.
- 8 October – Brussels: Bombed the office of Honeywell Inc.
- 26 October – Liège: Bombed two radio communication towers on the Hierset Air Base.
- 11 December – Belgium: Bombed six pumping stations of the NATO pipeline which stretches across Belgium.

#### 1985

- 15 January – Brussels: Bombed the US Army NATO support activity facility.
- 1 May – Brussels: Detonated a van filled with explosives in front of the Belgian Employers Federation. Two firemen were killed when they approached the booby-trapped van. According to the CCC, the operation was not intended to cause casualties. The group claimed the firemen died because of poor communication between the police and firemen.
- 5 November – Charleroi: Bombed the offices of the Manufacturers Hanover Trust Bank.

- 21 November - Brussels: Bombed the offices of the Motorola Company.
- 4 December - Antwerp, Belgium: Bombed the office of the Bank of America.
- 6 December - Belgium: Bombed a NATO fuel pipeline in central Belgium.
- 6 December - Versailles, France: Bombed the offices of the allied agency which operates the control center of the NATO pipeline in central Europe. According to the CCC, this attack was carried out with the help of a 'group of international communists in France'.

## Communiqué on the Bombing of Honeywell's Office in Brussels on 8 October 1984

Following our attacks against Litton and M.A.N. companies, we, the Fighting Communist Cells, attacked this morning, 8 October 1984, the European headquarters of the US multinational Honeywell at 14 Avenue Henri Marasse, Evere, a few hundred meters from NATO headquarters. Thus, at every level we are reaching the heart of the beast! The attack on the headquarters of Honeywell Europe, situated alongside the Honeywell S.A. building, whose activities are limited to Belgium, was achieved by means of a strong explosive charge that our unit placed there in spite of police arrangements and the security measures adopted by Honeywell (cameras, guards, etc.).

This action was undertaken in the precise spirit of the October anti-imperialist campaign that we started on the second of this month, because in fact the Honeywell group, a multinational well known in electronics and information systems, is playing an active role in the Cruise missile construction program and supplies, among other things, the electronics of the control systems.

Honeywell is also the principal supplier in the production of MX 'Peacekeeper' intercontinental missiles, the producer of navigation systems for the giant B-52 bombers (today equipped with the air-ground version, type AGM86, of the Cruise missile) and the manufacturer of a range of armaments from torpedoes to radars, from military computers to fragmentation bombs, which puts Honeywell among the 20 principal military collaborators in the USA.

And since we are not short on memory, we recall that it was Honeywell that made the computer that co-ordinated the massive bombardments of 1972 over North Vietnam, which the Red Army Faction - July 15 Commando - destroyed during its attack against the American Army headquarters in Europe at Heidelberg.

The new blow aimed this morning against Honeywell allows us now to express a point of view that we have not so far underlined and which is essential. Here are some facts:

14 October 1982 - The Direct Action revolutionary group bombed (with a truck loaded with 200 kg of explosives) the industrial company Litton Systems Canada Ltd., at the very place where Cruise guidance systems are manufactured, thus causing very major damage.

23 June 1983 - At Düsseldorf, Litton Business Systems was attacked by revolutionaries with an incendiary bomb.

19 September 1983 - Revolutionary units destroyed the data processing center of the M.A.N. factory at Mainz (West Germany) where the chassis for the vehicles which transport and launch the Pershing missiles are made.

20 November 1983 - revolutionary units attacked Honeywell Hall in Düsseldorf.

14 December 1983 - a detachment of the United Freedom Front attacked, also with explosives, Honeywell offices and facilities in New York.

We have mentioned here only known actions directed against the three companies that we, in our turn, have attacked; but while the bourgeois press remains silent, revolutionary militants, in every country, daily sabotage the preparations and production for war. The convergence of targets between, in this case, the militants of the USA, Canada, West Germany and Belgium is certainly not by chance. The globalization of the exploitative relations in the imperialist phase has the immediate effect of a growing homogenization of social antagonism at the heart of the imperialist centers which are North America and Western Europe. Confronted today by the menace of war, millions of workers in North America and the entire peoples of Western Europe are saying NO to the bellicose aims of their governments.

If, as the few examples above show, from the guerrilla against imperialism-militarism to the mass opposition, a breath of revolutionary hope crosses - with highs and lows - the entire core of imperialism, that is certainly not to say that objective political unity exists as a result of all these ideas. We, revolutionary communists, think that Lenin's directives are particularly pertinent in this respect and we will put them into practice:

They, the 'communists', will actively participate in every movement and every demonstration on this earth, but they will not fail the people in letting them believe that in the absence of a revolutionary movement it is possible to achieve a peace by annexation, by oppression of people, by theft, without there remaining the seed of new wars between present governments and the present governing classes. To fail the people thus would only add more grit to the mill of the secret diplomacy and counter-revolutionary plans of the warlike governments. Whoever wants an enduring and democratic peace must be a partisan in the civil war against governments and the bourgeoisie.

And it is, in this spirit too that we adopt the Red Brigades' position as ours:

The backdrop that faces the international proletariat is very clear: capitalism is ready to make them pay the highest price that its social system is obliged to present cyclically to the masses that it exploits and oppresses: war.

But a slogan unites the exploited: CHANGE THE IMPERIALIST WAR INTO PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION FOR COMMUNISM!!!

In the accelerating maturation process of the capitalist crisis towards war, an exceptional opportunity is given to the international proletariat: to take a giant step forward in the global process of the worldwide proletarian revolution in overcoming the political powers in one or several capitalist countries. In particular, the possibility of beating the bourgeoisie in the advanced capitalist countries is readily available today and thus of delivering

a decisive blow to imperialism. But for that, in order not to be thrown by events, the objective unity of the proletariat everywhere in the world must be developed by a conscious unity of its communist avant-garde. Communists in every country must work resolutely towards the creation of a new COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT based rigorously on Marxist-Leninist principles.

Our attachment to the principles of proletarian internationalism is based at the same time on the need for a worldwide proletariat to unite so as to confront an imperialist bourgeoisie long since organized at a transnational level, as well as on the obligation in the march towards communism to improve simultaneously the lot of all humanity: 'Either there will be communism for all or there will be communism for none.' This attachment to international proletarianism is and always will be present in our policy.

A last point that we want to mention concerns the choice of our present practice of political-military action. The type of action practiced principally by the fighting communist cells is urban guerrilla warfare which we suggest as a strategic choice to the worker and anti-war movements of this country in order to take a positive step in the crisis - the blind alley of the revolutionary movement. We certainly do not pretend that political-military actions can exclude every other form of struggle developed by the proletariat over two centuries, but we insist that what matters now is an alternative strategy to bring about our victory against the plans of the bourgeoisie, a victory unmatched by the workers since the end of the Second World War. For decades, the socialist movement and its so-called revolutionary leaders have gone to the limit of the old democratic means of combat, and for those who are not blind it is now apparent that these are not - and above all, cannot be - sufficient! Mass demonstrations, violent or not; strikes, general or not; union activity, aggressive or deceptive; voting, left or right, have brought to the anti-capitalist movement and its anti-war extension only costly and demoralizing defeats.

The opening of a political-military front of anti-imperialist guerrillas is certainly not the miraculous solution which will sweep away the years of humiliation, defeat, and discouragement, but it can and must serve as a basis and a launching platform for the anti-capitalist offensive in this country.

This is the spark that must free us from the sticky traps of parliamentarianism and of consultation. There can be no discussion with the exploiters of humanity! At a time of transnational imperialism, parliamentary cretinism is even more despicable: Parliament is no more than dusty scenery - the real decisions about our future - and not the deplorable local chit-chats - are taken within the supranational and extra-parliamentary organizations (the headquarters of multinationals, the International Monetary Fund, the EEC, the OECD, NATO, the World Bank, etc.).

We are also saying that it would be mistaken and reformist not to see in our practice of the armed fight, and above all in the armed fight as strategy, a radical means of refusing the Cruise and Pershing missiles and furthermore, to fight against the plans of the Martens-Gol Mafia. The revolutionary movement has

tasks in which the armed struggle plays a historic role: the social revolution for communism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the building of a socialism marching towards a classless society free from state control.

It is on this march toward a new humanity, a humanity without misery or exploitation, obscurantism or despair, that we want to join now in battle with the bourgeoisie, because this confrontation, for every sincere revolutionary, is unavoidable. Power over our own lives, working class autonomy, will never fall freely into our hands: we must snatch it from the claws of the bourgeoisie which has all the means to rule: police, prisons, armies, etc. Faced with this, the workers must acquire the means to implement their policy, and the Guerrilla movement is one of these means.

As Engels emphasized: 'The emancipation of the proletariat will show itself also at the military level and they will know how to create new methods of combat which are specific to them', and Lenin: 'the crisis has shown that the bourgeoisie breaks the law in all countries, even the most free, and that it is impossible to lead the masses to revolution without creating a clandestine organization to advocate, discuss, appraise and prepare the means of the revolutionary fight.'

AGAINST THE IMPERIALIST WAR, THE CIVIL WAR!

WE MUST ORGANIZE AND STRIKE WITHOUT END!

FORWARD TOWARDS THE CREATION OF THE FIGHTING ORGANIZATION OF THE PROLETARIAT!

FORWARD TOWARDS THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION!

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS!

The Fighting Communist Cells  
for the construction of the Fighting  
Organization of the Proletariat

## CCC Communiqué, dated late April 1985 and entitled 'Concrete Answers to Concrete Questions'

This document is the one we are tempted to call the least important. Our decision to write it and to publish it is based on the need we felt, following numerous 'public' discussions, to illustrate what our struggle is about, in response to a number of persistent questions.

The armed struggle for communism is, of necessity, a clandestine struggle, and it is this forced clandestinity that gives rise to all sorts of false ideas, questions and ill-will. The only way this problem can be fully understood is through our actions and our political writings. It has become clear to us, however, that a more vivid, direct illustration may also make our struggle easier to understand.

We start with the specific to illustrate the general. In its 12 December 1984 edition, the newspaper *Le Soir* carried the headline 'NATO PIPELINES SABOTAGED - MILITARY SECRETS IN THE HANDS OF THE CCC?' In our communiqué on these actions, we felt it was more important to explain Belgium's role in NATO and how NATO is the instrument of military and political imperialism than to describe how we located and destroyed the pipelines.

The media, of course, are not interested in such things, being a tool of ideological and imperialistic domination. This explains why the newspapers are adorned with headlines as stupid as this. There are actually three reasons for this.

The most fundamental reason lies in the materialistic sensationalism of the press, which affects not only us. Under capitalism, information is a consumer and market commodity, often confused with the marketing of intrigue. Enticing headlines are only one incentive among many inviting us to 'air our laundry along with princes and movie stars'.

The second aim is to harm us politically by distorting the nature of our struggle, confusing the issue, and casting doubts and suspicion on it. The mobilization aspect of our policy throughout the proletariat world has become lost in the confusion over the source of our explosives or infiltration of the Canadian police in 1970. In a period of six months, we have been seen everywhere, linked to every fighting group or organization in Europe, and allied with the Libyan secret service, the CIA and KGB, the Mafia and its heroin trafficking and, the very latest, turned into anarchists!

Thirdly, and most insidiously, is the attempt to disassociate us from society and its everyday reality. The press has to portray revolutionary politics as inaccessible to the working class, a matter for 'specialists' in a Star Wars scenario. Nothing could be further from the truth, which is why we are going to describe some of our activities in an attempt to demystify this campaign in the press against our armed struggle.

In doing so, a great many journalists will come across as either complete jerks or as storm-troopers, the former being the less contemptible.

The information we furnish will be lapped up by the cops and their devoted hacks, but they will be disappointed, for we are not pretentious, egotistical storytellers. What we did, perhaps not even an animal would do, but militants everywhere are talking about it!

How did we choose our targets for the first anti-imperialist campaign, and how did we gain access to them?

The choice of the targets we attacked was basically dictated by the political purpose of our campaign. The problem was one of making our attack one against that part of the economic sector linked directly with the war machine, against the political power of the bourgeois state, and against the domination and military organization of the imperialist apparatus.

This decision was unalterable and inalienable. There were also other considerations; to what level of revolutionary violence could we take the attack, given the degree of consciousness of the class movement and the actual size of our forces?

Since mobility is one of the tactical foundations of guerrilla warfare, we decided to attack 'sector by sector'. We decided, in other words, that we would 'never look back' during our campaign. We undertook three actions against the economic sector, two against the political sector, and then three against the military sector. When we blew up the headquarters of the PRI/PVV, the cops expected us to be at SABCA, and when we hit NATO in Bierset, they thought we would be at the PSC headquarters.

The attacks on Litton, M.A.N. and Honeywell arose out of the same imperatives as for the American, Canadian and German revolutionaries who launched their own. All serious studies on the military industry or the issue of missiles point the finger at these multinationals, whose addresses can be found in the phone book.

We then went to examine these buildings, selected their 'weak points', analysed the police aspect of the problem (location of stations, frequency of patrols, etc.), and organised the operation taking all these details into account.

A little story will illustrate the stupidity of the questioning and intrigues of certain so-called journalists. In June, we had sized up the Honeywell building and observed that it enjoyed no special protection. At night, a team of watchmen was on duty in the east wing, which was perfect because our target was the international headquarters located in the west wing. Thus there would be no risk of either confronting the guards or injuring them in the explosion.

A few days before the attack, comrades who had gone back to the building to make sure nothing had changed were terribly upset when they discovered that hidden cameras had been installed just where we had decided to hide our explosive.

Self-styled 'journalists' have said in this respect that we should have known that the cameras were not yet operating, and have written such idiocies as 'the CCC are financed by Honeywell, which wants to get a new building for itself out of the insurance money'.

When we saw the cameras, we went out and bought identical hoods, jackets, pants and shoes for all our comrades involved in the operation so that they could all

pass anonymously in front of the cameras. One other militant monitored the night watchmen, so that when the order was given to begin, it was certain that no one would be hurt.

The attack on the JR Foundation and on the Martens offices was dictated, as we stated in our communiqué, by their government participation. The telephone hook (again) and a visit to a few Belgian cities allowed us to decide on Brussels and Ghent.

In Brussels, the garbage cans of the JR Foundation told us that there was a concierge, and we knew what floor her apartment was on by the light shining from the windows at night. This was why the bomb we placed was a weak one intended to destroy the offices alone. Without the concierge, we would have gained a certain degree of pleasure out of doubling the charges and blowing up the whole building.

In Ghent, we discovered that the main entrance was closed at night and at weekends by means of a shutter. To direct the force of our explosive towards the inside of the building, we had planned to cover it with five 50-kilo bags of sand out in the street, but we didn't need to after all — the shutter was not closed that night!

The NATO targets were selected in the course of very pleasant Sunday outings in the country. The Bierset telecommunications pylons, rising 25 meters in the sky, were not hard to detect. What would really be difficult would be to miss seeing them! As far as the pipelines are concerned, we will offer a fuller explanation, since our attacks gave rise to the brilliant 'conclusions' we referred to at the beginning of this document.

We must first go back a few years; the beginning is not only simple, but funny. Some comrades had read in *Le Soir* the misadventures befalling an audacious man from the Kontich region who, driven by thrift and by the knowledge that the NATO pipeline passed through the back of his garden, decided to tap it for his personal use. The man must have had more nerve than good sense, for his efforts were crowned by a garden flooded in crude oil and a few problems with the authorities.

Our first thought upon rereading the article had been to go and ask this handyman to point out to us the exact scene of his exploit so that we could stage a performance there ourselves.

Being methodical types and having considered the relative accessibility of the pipeline, we again consulted the top-secret telephone book — where, under 'Ministry of National Defense', every pumping station in the entire country is listed. We drew up our own list of all the towns these stations were located in, and decided to explore them during long walks in the countryside.

We set out with the idea of staging a direct attack on a particular pumping station, but closer examination revealed how difficult this would be. These facilities are extremely well protected (military guards, dogs, etc.) and require a large-scale attack. During our walks around these stations, searching for a crack in their armor, we were struck by how often we came across little orange hats set on top of stakes, similar to those out in the countryside that indicate where the gas pipes are.

These stakes have a telephone number printed on them to call in case of emergency, and the first three digits (016) tipped us off to the fact that Louvain

would be where we would find the NATO pipeline headquarters in Belgium. We verified this (using the telephone book, again), and the number corresponded to the 'La Gerbe de blé' district in Louvain.

We thereupon decided to locate as many of these markers as possible throughout the country. We would then make a selection and dig down under the stakes to the line, where we would place our explosives.

Off we went in the heat of July with our list of pumping stations, trying to find the route of the pipeline. Not being blind, we naturally came across the valve chambers. They were imposing metal structures painted orange and perched on two metal posts. Access was restricted by means of a padlock.

Having made up our minds, off we went again merrily in search of the valve chambers. A few weeks later, we stuck a red tack on a map of Belgium for every chamber located, so that we could determine, in relationship to the military bases, ports and other installations, the nerve center that would have to be destroyed. We must admit that we did not really succeed in this, which explains why one of our attacks was a duplicate. Today, the full plans of the NATO network in Europe have been published — get ready for the fireworks!

A few days before our attacks, on Thursday, 6 December, to be precise, we forced open the trapdoor of the valve chamber at Ittre. Two questions remained: what were we really going to find inside these chambers, and what kind of explosive charge should we plan for? Moreover, what would happen if under this simple metal covering there was an armored door or an alarm system?

There was nothing at all, except for the pipeline and its valve just three meters away from us! We closed the trapdoor with a new padlock, careful not to lose the key, and returned every day to make sure that our visit and the change of locks had not been detected.

On the morning of 11 December 1984, the CCC attacked the NATO pipelines. The enormous success of our actions was felt both in Belgium and abroad, and is a moment in our struggle of which we are extremely proud.

So much for the 'military secrets' in the hands of the CCC! So much for the pipeline plans we received from the Red Army Faction! The story illustrates, rather, how militants can strike NATO a very hard blow and do it again whenever they feel like it!

Intelligence gathering is nothing to be ashamed of; it is a totally necessary activity. We devote a great deal of our actual work to spying on the economic, political or military systems of the bourgeoisie. The more we do, the more we succeed in penetrating its 'secrets'. In self-defense, the bourgeoisie says that this is impossible, and that our information came from the KGB or the Mafia! One final example of how we obtain our information comes from our attack on SITAPE at Sint-Stevens Woluwe.

The headline in *La Dernière Heure* of Wednesday, 16 January, read 'Well Informed', and the article began thus: 'Somebody must have been fiendishly, incredibly well informed to discover that No. 13, Chaussée de Louvain in Sint-Stevens Woluwe housed a clandestine US military complex.' This must be another of our 'military secrets'!

Comrades travelling to Louvain by car noticed a brown van with US Army

plates parked in front of the building. They transmitted this information to the CCC and we went to verify their report. Indeed, members of the US military were seen entering the building, and all the license plates on the vehicles parked in front indicated that they belonged to SHAPE. In addition, American MPs were guarding the entrance.

For further information, we went back to consult our 'secret files', that incredible phone book for the district of Zaventem! On page 1,216 you will find a list of the Yankee institutions at that address, which also explained why we had not known that the 'US Benelux Contracting Directorate' had moved out of the building shortly before, probably after the phone book was published.

The phone book is a number one best-seller, and the telephone itself is so easy and so convenient to use!

We wish to make one more thing clear regarding our attack on SHAPE. Having examined the problem of class consciousness, we decided that for our first campaign, our action would not include the execution of enemy leaders.

We did, however, wish to launch a direct attack on SHAPE, yet all its buildings are kept under military guard. The new militant consciousness served as the basis for our decision, after the attack on the pipelines, to risk wounding or killing the US military guards. We must admit that this new, offensive attitude surprised even us, yet the historical justification of our policy is a great incentive. After three months of struggle, therefore, favorable reactions to our efforts encouraged us to plan and to carry out the attack.

Since the MPs were not VIPs and it was not the purpose of the attack to execute them, we gave them the opportunity to desert their posts, which is what they did and why they are still alive. Desertion is the only way out for agents and mercenaries of capitalism.

This is not the only illusion we have to destroy, and the bubble we have to burst now is an important one. The police have made their assertions, but our comrades have often wanted to know from us, given our attitude in regard to the matter, which is not typically 'leftist', just how the CCC and their struggle are financed.

Accustomed to being taken for everything they have by leftist swindlers, many comrades are surprised upon meeting us that we do not proceed to empty their wallets. They all still remember that these past 20 years of the so-called leftist struggle have also been marked by the racker engaged in by certain printers or other money-hungry persons. The libertarian or socialist paradise was obtained during long nights of black marketing, the co-management of debts and bankruptcies or still other frauds. Those of the ilk of J-C Garot, Roger Nuel and other clumps of militantism have corrupted everything they have touched, and no one has forgotten them!

Hence the question of how we are funded, since we will not pimp for a living. In the pile of junk that constituted the 'investigation' by J-P Colette in the issues of 12 and 13 January of *Le Soir*, into the financing of the revolutionary struggle, we find such phrases as 'too costly for simple leftist', 'financed by a secret sponsor', 'crime does pay', and 'subversive patronage'. The first premise was correct, for our initial campaign did cost a great deal of money, and the development and operation of the cells requires a large monthly budget.

The first thing to do in attempting to stay within a budget, which is a political decision for communists, is to combat waste and mismanagement. This may seem naive, but it must be realized that for our militants there is no private property and that all our strengths and skills are devoted to the cells and to their political objectives.

This strict discipline means we can give a militant whose work brings in more than the starting salary of a teacher the choice of contributing his excess salary to the cells. We must say, however, that there are not many among us who earn that much - CCC members are not college teachers or white collar workers.

Comrades who are not militant members of the cells but who are attracted by our political struggle wish to show their solidarity with us by assisting us financially. We accept this solidarity for the progress in communication and the political discussions it engenders.

However, most of the money the CCC need for their struggle is obtained from the 'proletarian expropriations' made by our militants from banks and their branches. The money taken from the bourgeoisie during these proletarian expropriations is administered by the cells for purposes of the struggle. We take from the bourgeoisie a small part of the spoils stolen from the workers, and return it to the proletariat through our revolutionary action.

The expropriation of bank funds, under the direction and in the service of the revolutionary struggle, is fair and has always been practiced. As Lenin said, 'the confiscated funds are used partially for the needs of the Party, partially to buy weapons and prepare for insurrection, and partially to maintain the militants leading the particular struggle'. Comrade Stalin himself took part in bank expropriations and transporting funds for the Bolshevik Party, such as the famous 12 June 1907 expropriation in Tiflis, which brought 341,000 rubles into the Party.

Proletarian expropriation is a military task implemented, as others are, under the direction of the organization. It is done conscientiously and seriously, with firmness and determination, humbly and proudly.

We hope that those worried about our finances will be satisfied by our answer! Those cops who were hoping we would publish a list of our proletarian expropriations will have hoped in vain. When we decide to claim credit for one of our fund-raisers, we will make the decision before, not after, the operation.

There is one other point. The reformist and legalist movement characterizing the entire political struggle in this country since the end of the Second World War has reinforced the notion of the invincibility of the domination by the bourgeoisie through its cops and its gendarmes. Do not try to deny this objective power, because anyone who believes that the revolutionary struggle can progress without the cops sooner or later arresting or killing our comrades is not only a dreamer, but also is dangerous.

Today, however, we are opposed by filth, and the ideology of the vanquished has so polluted the militant world that no one can imagine being victorious in combat; our initial campaign and its great success seem almost surrealistic! Let us leave surrealism to the artists and despair to the past. Who we are, where we come from, and why our first campaign was so successful can easily be understood and grasped by all authentic communist militants.

The *petite bourgeoisie* has the idea that the CCC do not 'fit in' with the present-day left in Belgium. This is quite true, yet what they have concluded is false, because the CCC are from Mars, at the very least. True, the CCC do not fit in with the present-day left in Belgium for the simple reason that they 'fit in' with the class struggle for communism. The 'petit bourgeois' seem to think that they are the center of the universe and that what they do not know does not exist.

In this section we will have to be quite discreet. Real comrades will understand that we cannot publish our family history without risking an unpleasant surprise.

The CCC first became a definite political and organizational entity in the struggle for communism in late 1982, and was the idea of a few comrades who had known each other for a long time through their militant or social activities. All had concluded, however, from thoroughly examining the national and international situation, that it was time to establish a communist guerrilla organization based on a critical evaluation of 15 years of armed struggle in the cities and on the restoration of Marxist-Leninism as a political objective.

The political and strategic plan and the unification of the cells emerged after numerous meetings, discussions, specific struggles; and when a certain level of development had been attained, a start was made on the organizational and clandestine work of the militant infrastructure.

As soon as their political unity was formally established, the cells attempted to stand on their own two feet with respect to matters of military organization, although this is not something that can simply be improvised. So, based on our meetings and critical discussions with other groups and organizations from abroad, we were able to establish, on minimal foundations, a distinct unity on matters of logistics.

What all the authors of detective stories believe will happen finally happened, when international revolutionaries raided the storage shelter of the Scoufflény quarry at Excaussines. They seized 815 kilos of fémite, tolamite, triamite and dynamite: all the explosives used by the CCC during their first anti-imperialist campaign.

All the pompous nonsense we have heard about combinations of military explosives or other secret formulas can be attributed to either the incompetence of the Army's munitions specialists or the shady dealings of the GIA-PTB.

Perhaps the future will provide other examples of comrades with more practical experience sharing their knowledge collectively. The CCC believe that a strong sense of solidarity among revolutionaries is just as important as the most radical of political criticisms.

Yet our most basic activity in 1983 and 1984 centered around our efforts at establishing a political approach and at expanding our operations. Our militants went out to explain the political purpose of the CCC to as many trusted comrades as possible, and learned how to listen to criticism, consider demands, and communicate their enthusiasm to others.

As our initial campaign began, we felt that we had taken our efforts as far as our forces and the situation allowed. The political positions of the CCC were set out in action communiqués (an easy task) and our political militants were turned into guerrilla fighters (not quite as easy). The anti-imperialist campaign was the

culmination of the political work undertaken, and also made it possible to weed out the undecided and the adventurer-anarchists.

What simply must be understood, and explains why the *petite bourgeois* of the 'left' take a licking every time, is that the success of our struggle lies in its political orientation, not in any pathological paranoia. The resources we were able to assemble for our offensive came to us only when it became evident that they were essential for carrying out our political will.

'We want another world and we are fighting to get it' is not a cry of despair; it expresses total confidence in the future of mankind, an objective attachment to the theories of scientific socialism and their historical justification.

When members of the left grant interviews to the press and wax poetic over our struggle, we realize that they do not understand how we came on the scene as an aggressive political force, while they themselves lean more towards alcoholism and nervous depression. The PTB [Belgian Labor Party] cannot figure out where we came from, seeing that it became official in 1979, and that, outside the Party, nothing is possible. But let class differences and the objective strength they generate disturb their blind subjectivism and every single one of them falls flat on his face. This is the proof that they understand absolutely nothing and have no hope of ever improving their lot.

We noticed this defeatist attitude referred to above particularly at the time of the big [police] raid on 19 October. Some, in all sincerity, still cannot understand why we were not all arrested (gee, thanks!), why we did not then 'respond', why we have never said anything, and so forth. Others cannot believe that we haven't been infiltrated by all the different police units or manipulated by the ghost of Goering. We get the feeling that when these people get up in the morning they do not face their day very optimistically.

To be provocative about it, we would be tempted to say that we have no comment on the 19 October raid. The only advice we could give to those interested is that it will certainly not be the last such raid and that the years of pacifist-social misery are coming to an end. Not as a result of our political-military battle, but because the crisis can only get worse, and will radicalize the antagonism between the classes and inevitably lead to an imperialist war or a revolution.

The political idealism with which the bourgeois democrats deceive the masses is an attempt to portray the historical types of bourgeois dictatorship as external to the traditional movement of capitalism. This is a fraud because it fails to attribute to economics and its contradictory laws a decisive role in social history while attributing a false authority to the role of political power.

Whether the democrats like it or not, the bourgeois dictatorship is characterized by selfish domination. It masquerades, as its interests dictate at different times and in different places, as bourgeois democracy or military fascism, or at times somewhere between these two extremes.

Bourgeois democracy is the form it takes when society is pacified to such an extent that no antagonism can be considered threatening.

Fascist dictatorship, with its police or military apparatus, is the way bourgeoisie defends its hegemony when irreconcilable class differences create a struggle in which class power is at issue.

The big raid of 19 October is an example of this situation. The bourgeoisie fears revolutionary politics because it knows how dangerous they are. And so, when confronted with a genuine demonstration of such politics for the first time in a very long time, it is forced to react very violently.

Parenthetically, when we say that the 19 October raid was a violent reaction, we do not wish to be grouped with those whining ecologists. Those who are always griping that their bourgeois honor has been violated will never understand, since they are so comfortable within the system, that they are part and parcel of imperialism and that it is thanks to them that the system is able to function.

There are two main reasons behind the 19 October raid. The first, and most obvious, involves a direct police action: arrest the CCC militants and destroy the guerrilla infra-structure. On that level, their failure is overwhelming. Why? Because we have thoroughly analysed the bourgeois dictatorship even in its democratic form, have evaluated the quality and objectives of our revolutionary struggle, and have organized ourselves accordingly.

After the raid, the 'in' thing to say in 'leftist' circles was 'we expected it to happen', whereas in truth none of these little democrats had done anything about it. This separates the true revolutionaries from those who are always running to their blessed mother democracy!

The second reason for the raid was to try to isolate us through large-scale police terrorism. This is not a new technique. The German police call it 'drying up the swamp of sympathy'. Society must be terrorized so that it cannot sustain the revolutionary communists. This strategy is only effective against the petty bourgeois, who are the first to become traitors in their desire to maintain their little privileges. Since the policy of the CCC is directed by the cause of the proletariat and is developed directly within the working class, the cops are not isolating us; the opposite is true, for we are expanding.

We recall that immediately following the raid, the left regained some of its vigor by organizing a response to it. A number of meetings were held in various places and all were pathetic failures. Why? Because these little has-beens did not want to understand the terrorism of the bourgeois state, and followed a course of action, condemning our struggle, both frenzied and solitary.

No one followed them, and not only did they, for the nth time, as if this were necessary, give themselves away and cover themselves with ridicule, they destroyed any chances for a spontaneous revolt and the possibilities generated by the police aggression.

We said above that the police raid would certainly not be the last, but it would be more accurate to say that they have never stopped since October 1984. Search warrants, shadowing, phone-bugging, blackmail, etc., are here to stay and will only get worse.

One of the silliest explanations imaginable is being chanted by the media and mimicked by others who are really ignorant but don't want to seem too dumb: 'the revolutionary guerrilla movement hopes to bring about a situation of police fascism and thus provoke increasing social discontent.' A statement like this reveals only the extent of the stupidity of those who make it.

There has never been any intention, especially by the CCC, to have an historic



revolutionary strategy on the radicalization of the police. How stupid can you get! What the Marxists know, however, is that the expansion of the class struggle inevitably leads to police and military repression. The issue, then, is not one of whether or not one 'wants' the exercise of repression, but of being prepared for it, because it will be increasingly evident as the revolutionary process continues.

The problem can only be expressed in the following terms: in order to vanquish the forces of the enemy and install its own dictatorship, the proletariat and its vanguard must deploy superior forces, under the direction of the Communist Party. At our embryonic organizational level, the fact that the 19 October raid did not weaken us indicates that our political goals are right, and that our analysis of the situation and its requirements, as implemented by us, are correct. Our revolutionary policy is based on clandestine guerrilla warfare, the only path to change.

Why did we make no 'response' to the raid? Simply because we do not engage in dialogue with the bourgeois State; we are, however, engaged in combating it. For the communists, it does not matter whether repression does or does not exist, since we know that there will be more and more of it. The task of the revolutionaries is to organize and lead the proletarian forces in the class struggle. In the class struggle, as in any other type of war, one side does not show its indignation when dealt a blow by the other side, unless the reason for fighting has been forgotten and all other reason has been lost.

This manner of 'responding' to repression is indicative of political positions that remain mired in bourgeois legalism or an idealism based on a complete lack of understanding of the totally opposite interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

We do not wish to say at this time that we will never respond to the extortion of the enemy, but that is another matter and each situation must be thoroughly analysed to determine the political or military interests of each particular counter-attack. To conclude this discussion of the 19 October raid, we will say that our 'response' is permanent and is based on the continuity of our ongoing struggle.

Since we came on the scene in early October, a dubious game seems to have become disturbingly popular here in this little country — bomb scares, often attributed to us. We have several remarks to make on this subject.

'Remarks' is all we can offer because we can do little to change this situation. Since we are directly involved, however, we would like to give our opinion.

We are the Fighting Communist Cells, a revolutionary political organization in which our comrades are collectively responsible for our militant activities. For us militants, the CCC organization is our identity, our struggle, and our entire life. It is dishonest, therefore, to attribute actions to us when we have had no part of them, even if carried out by anarchists with the best of intentions, and all hell breaks loose in the office of a government minister we do not accept such behavior and strongly criticize these immoral actions.

Our criticism is even stronger when our actions are claimed by those whose policy we protest against. We will not say that the police provocation of 16 October (Commando Delta) was such a case, but we do know that responsibility for our attack on the CVP in Ghent was falsely claimed by others, advocates of the Walloon federalist policy in Liège.

We said when we broached this subject that we cannot prevent this from happening, but we feel that some are using us, albeit in good faith. They do not know us and, although they are acting with the best of intentions, we ask that they immediately cease this practice which we entirely oppose.

We wish to say two things to those who are hoping to sabotage the operations of bourgeois institutions through a series of false alarms, even if our name is not used. First, they may think this is funny, but it still cannot be taken seriously and is rather unimaginative. The revolutionary organization and its struggle is more than just using the phone to send shivers down people's spines. Second, this practice is shameful when workers are the ones who suffer as a result. In October, a false alarm on the Brussels-Tienen railroad immobilized all trains for several hours. Taking workers hostage simply in order to help somebody release his pent-up frustrations must have been the work of either irresponsible imbeciles or the cops.

Recent events require us to add one final point to our 'concrete answers'. On 20 and 21 April, two attacks were carried out in Brussels on the NATO Assembly and the multinational corporation AEG-Telefunken. The following week, these attacks were claimed by 'FRAP', a unit of the 20/4 (20 April).

We do not intend to analyse these actions or the FRAP, for all we know about them is what the media reported, however reliable that may be. We are not familiar with this group or its political orientation, but from what we read it appears to consist of insurgent anarchists. Time will tell.

Talking about these people and their actions is not important, however. What is important is to denounce the psychological battle the media have launched against us on the basis of those actions.

The 22 April edition of *Le Soir* asked, 'FRAP — new name for the CCC?' On the same day, in *Dif*, we read, 'A CCC splinter group?' This morning, *La Libre Belgique* observed: 'Some, not finding the CCC combative enough, perhaps created FRAP to carry on with these terrorist activities.'

We repeat, we do not know this group FRAP and have no contact with these militants. We wish to make it clear that no division has occurred within the ranks of the CCC, which happens to be expanding these days.

The communist has no fear of political clarification; if this becomes necessary at some future date it will never be refused, for otherwise the organization will have no future. Thus, if some day, as has happened many times in the past, the revolutionaries have to split from the revisionists, we will do so and inform the working class.

But how can anyone think that such a split within the CCC is possible today? Do the journalists believe that our political struggle and the committing of our lives to the revolution is a mere whim? They cannot make any sense out of what they write, e.g., '... the sympathy they [the CCC] have garnered since then [the fall of 1984, the time of the political-military initiative] has probably increased their membership'.

The only excuse we can find for the ineptness of Roger Rosart, who wrote the above in *La Libre Belgique*, is that he has become so used to the show put on by the left that he has got them mixed up with us. Inasmuch as personal success is the criterion in all these different 'Parties', more communist than internationalist, the

URDT included, the thing to do is to create as many little groups as there are potential members. The main activity of these little groups is casting aspersions on each other.

In the cells, however, the unifying activity is the class struggle for the communist revolution. Rather than wanting to split, we are increasingly eager to unify ourselves along the Marxist-Leninist line. Becoming a CCC militant and being willing to risk our lives and sacrifice our freedom for the revolution are highly responsible political decisions that can be made only when a strong political identity exists that does not change with the changing seasons.

This is the conclusion of our communication. The struggle continues and nothing will stop the proletarian offensive. We shall be victorious. <

Fighting Communist Cells  
Late April 1985

## Communiqué, dated April 1985, on 'Armed Struggle'

1. It would be an understatement to say that the advent of revolutionary guerrilla tactics has created ripples in the miserable daily grind of political struggle in Belgium. At first glance, it might be thought that this uproar is caused solely by the fact that the activities of the CCC, offensive politico-military attacks, are upsetting the collaborationist tendencies of organizations born out of the class struggle. What emerges from a cursory examination, and what would appear to set us apart from the reformist groups, organizations or parties, is the fact that we are waging an armed struggle.

But this simplistic view of what separates the revolutionary struggle from the reformist fossils is mistaken. It is not armed struggle that sets the CCC fundamentally apart from the rest of the political spectrum, but, above all, our authentic Marxist-Leninist leadership and genuinely revolutionary outlook. Political analysis has dictated the need for armed struggle and it is on the basis of this analysis that the unity, collective progress, and mobilization of the proletariat will be established on a lasting basis.

We have already experienced great sympathy and great hatred over this hazy view in which our struggle is reduced to its armed actions alone. Furthermore, we are all the more mistrustful of the fragility of sympathies that rely on this feature alone and we realize how fleeting such sympathies are. We therefore intend to explain, for the first time in this text, the political will that drives the fundamental strategic option of armed struggle, together with its origins, perspectives, and tactical appropriateness, etc.

2. In order to analyse a particular strategic choice correctly, one should examine what the fundamental task of the revolutionary really is. One thing forgotten long ago by all those who, amidst their calm integration, usurp and dilute this undertaking, is that *the task of the revolutionary is to wage a revolution*. In the broadest terms, this is reflected in two important focal points. The first, of primary importance at a time when the international revolutionary movement is experiencing a rebirth, is a political task. It is the struggle to bring about the emergence and expansion of class consciousness. Class consciousness means a collective analysis by the workers of their plight within the capitalist mode of production, of the class contradictions within this system, of the historical outlook of the evolution of the proletariat, and of the political and organizational means to be used to overthrow the bourgeoisie. This class consciousness provides the ideological basis for affirming the Marxist-Leninist outlook in a progressive and qualitative movement that draws its sustenance within an offensive balance.

From an international stance, a materialistic analysis of the proletarian class, its objective situation, and its evolution does pose a great many questions that Marxism-Leninism alone can answer. For example: what organization should the working class use to gain victory; what is the nature of the State under the

bourgeois dictatorship; what is the contemporary outlook for class combat; why should one fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat; etc?

This political work, which consists of propaganda, debate, of building political, theoretical, and strategic models, of critical and instructional appraisals of the experiences of past and present, and of awareness-building, can exist only within the framework of class struggle. Awareness can be born only through combat and it reinforces combat in a dialectical relationship. This priority political task should therefore be understood not as the mysterious absolute from the carriers of the good word, but as a central and decisive element for developing the revolutionary process on the march toward socialism.

3. The second fundamental task, inseparable from the first, is to engage in organizational work. This means organizing and unifying the ever-expanding potential for the emergence of class consciousness and the manifestations of spontaneous struggle under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism in order to create a genuine, historical, revolutionary force.

We shall discuss this feature of organizational work later. We wish to emphasize, however, that while we have relegated this task to a second, albeit inseparable, position, it is only because, for us, and for the entire international communist movement alike, the critical appraisal of 15 years of armed struggle in the metropolises reveals certain gaps in the political leadership which absolutely need to be filled. It is therefore our contention that since politics is the key factor in class unification, in the current setting, after 40 years of revisionism, great efforts must be made to reinsill revolutionary Marxism in the proletariat.

4. All political work must be viewed starting with specific situations. Only a clear and correct view from the perspective of class makes it possible to define the priority focal points for this work, the gaps to be filled, the responses to be provided, and the errors to combat. Starting with specific situations also means that in order to optimize this political work, it must be adapted and modelled in terms of the landscape on which it is being conducted. Political work must provide comprehensive and historical responses drawing from specific struggle scenarios. In particular, it must start with the specific features of every struggle in order to arrive at the general nature of revolutionary combat.

5. Currently, in Belgium and in other countries alike, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are confronting one another on two basic levels: in the struggle against austerity and the struggle against war. Contemporary class conflict centers on these two confrontations.

On each of these two battlefields, one or more irreducible contradictions pit the exploited and the exploiters against one another in absolute terms. In each instance, the impossibility of reaching a negotiated settlement with the bourgeoisie forces the opposition to the capitalist mode of production to become increasingly absolute, and thereby increasingly political as well. Ultimately, faced with these two knots of antagonism, the reformist and collaborationist organizations (the PC [Communist Party of Belgium], PS [Socialist Party of Belgium], the labor unions, and the peace movements, for example), have lost all credibility in terms of their commitment and ability to confront this situation.

It is therefore our contention that the setting is historically auspicious for

establishing and developing a strong revolutionary movement, provided the political leadership of the vanguards of this movement is capable of understanding the potential and the demands of this setting and of carrying out its duty in confronting these factors.

The CCC therefore base their policy within the two areas in which the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are confronting one another as part of the historic evolution of communism.

6. There are nevertheless many other areas of mobilization through which popular discontent and its commitment to a less unjust world are expressed. There are, for example, the struggles against the oppressive gala for the 'Waityla incursion' [visit of Pope John Paul II], the famine in Ethiopia, the criminalization of abortion, the sterzied development of the nuclear industry, the degradation of the environment, the US interventions in Latin America, etc., etc.

But, even if it is true that these demands are essentially legitimate, they are reformist in nature and therefore secondary concerns, and they cannot be taken into account as the kind of contradictions that would make it possible to achieve the political and organizational homogenization of the working class. Reformist struggles are by no means inimical to capitalist development, are generally aimed at seeking accommodation with it, and are never aimed at its destruction, which also explains why these struggles are almost always led by *petit-bourgeois* intellectuals, whose historical role in this age is to serve as the conveyors of bourgeois ideology to the masses.

To summarize, it is our belief that reformist struggles are the expression of objective contradictions between society and imperialism, and revolutionaries must therefore respond to them. But in no way do they offer the all-encompassing potential, the historical irreducibility that defines the struggle against austerity and the struggle against war (even if today the organization of the masses with regard to these issues is in the hands of the bourgeoisie and the *petit bourgeoisie*).

7. According to this analysis of the state of affairs, what is the main focal point on which political work should concentrate? An understanding of the universal nature of all the problems our class confronts should be fostered: expanding understanding of imperialism as the final stage of the capitalist mode of production, of class struggle as the driving force of history, of the need to destroy the capitalist mode of production and establish the Workers' State - socialism - as the only answer to our problems.

For the CCC, as for any logical revolutionary, the objective unity of interests for the proletarian class must therefore be given the spotlight, and, on that basis, the specific perspectives of the march toward socialism must be delineated.

The entire activity of the CCC leans in this direction by joining the anti-austerity and anti-war movements into a single class movement against capitalism, the maker of crises and wars, and by joining each portion of the whole into the struggle for socialism.

8. As we stressed earlier, any political development requires organizational development. Today, in an age when the effects of the crisis and the memory of the working class nurture a trend toward increasing worker awareness, when the development of a mass revolutionary strategy for seizing power is essential, and

when imperialism has brought about a proletarianization of the entire working world, the creation and building of a vanguard organization of all sectors is a very timely concern.

The appropriate political and military instrument for formalizing and optimizing the potential and the demands of the situation, the tool whose need is making itself felt with increasing gravity in all workers' struggles, is the Combatant Proletarian Organization.

The establishment of this organization is the first great historic step to be taken, and the CCC will be one of its constituent elements.

9. The task of this organization, this organized form of the proletarian class and its struggle, is to provide political leadership for the class movement. This function has become essential because only the organization, already guided by the teachings of scientific socialism, is capable of seizing the entire class movement and of correctly organizing it out of the expression of a radicalized antagonism. The organization finds legitimacy in proletarian combat and becomes essential to the development thereof. It assumes concrete form in the disciplined unification of the vanguard and combatant elements under the leadership of Marxism-Leninism. The merger of these two components is essential and will enable the organization to restore just and revolutionary leadership to mass combat, which, from the radicalization of the confrontation and the development of revolutionary forces, will necessitate and allow the establishment of the Combatant Communist Party, whose most important role will be to lead the proletariat onward to class dictatorship.

10. The qualitative, and, unavoidably, quantitative, leap, that the legitimate establishment of the organization represents for the class movement can therefore only result from, and be a reflection of, the qualitative and quantitative development of its forces. In concrete terms, this will be reflected in the field by Marxist-Leninist workers' leadership, the establishment of numerous clandestine cells in the factories, utilities, unemployment offices, militant anti-war committees, and the labor union movement (its base), etc.

This organizational work will be, as it already is for us today, clandestine, but we must explain here what we mean by this clandestinization. It is a mass clandestineness within the masses. It is clandestinization of revolutionary activity and not of revolutionary militants. The militants must remain inside the working world, the social universe of the proletariat, and must hide, with forethought, their militant activities within the organization with a discretion necessitated by the degree of repression the bourgeoisie exerts against the level of revolutionary development.

The repression conducted by the mercenaries of the bourgeoisie is inevitable when the Proletarian Organization develops a truly revolutionary policy, that is, is organized on the basis of destroying the bourgeois State and establishing the workers' state, destroying the capitalist mode of production and building socialism, and annihilating the bourgeois army and imposing the authority of the Red Army. Both political leadership and clandestinization of the masses require strict collective discipline unfettered by even the slightest dissent, which will knock out more than one democrat or liberal, but which will provide an objective indicator of serious revolutionary commitment and confidence.

11. How can revolutionary vanguards carry out this political and organizational work, and thereby claim legitimacy in this obligation? How can the mass movement make itself homogeneous and forge ahead in the revolutionary cause? We must henceforth advance the fundamental strategic options that can guide the mass movement under Marxist-Leninist leadership. For the CCC, historical materialistic analysis makes armed struggle the main strategic option for today, one that cannot be put off, and one that alone can bring about the qualitative and quantitative development of class combat for communism.

12. A word of caution is in order with regard to this point. When we say that armed struggle is the main strategic option for today, what is our position regarding other forms of struggle carried out by the workers? Our answer is that everything that contributes to strengthening the revolutionary process, to the growing penetration of theories of scientific socialism into the working world, to the ever more combative unity of the proletariat, is correct, even if the form of struggle is not armed. We certainly do not regard the rifle as the gauge of correctness. We simply regard the waging of revolutionary armed violence as particularly suitable and useful in the fight for communism today.

13. It should be clear that the increasingly vital role played by armed struggle in the revolutionary process depends, on its offensive capacity, on the increasingly absolute evolution of the capitalist dictatorship, which has reduced a good number of formulas for 'participatory' struggle to uselessness or worse.

Today, because monopolistic capitalism is triumphant, and because, through its worldwide reach, it has made imperialism its hegemonic form of the capitalist mode of production, the State's merger with capital is on the rise, it is becoming a direct function of capital, and the latter is invading all areas of human life. The consequence is the widest possible spread of alienation and dehumanization, and an increasing merger of all superstructures, i.e., repressive tools of control, culture, ideology, communications, and the fragmentation/articulation of social groups. This makes any participation, even tactical, in running the State through 'democratic' institutions and mechanisms lead to the strengthening of this operation, and therefore to the power of the bourgeoisie, and it becomes completely unrealistic, given the homogeneity and the power of the ideological, political, military and economic devices, to attempt to build awareness among the proletarian masses in order to overthrow State power by traditional means of peaceful class struggle, since the might of capital and its institutions is much too powerful to enable one to envision competition ever successfully striking a balance in the correlation of forces in this area.<sup>1</sup>

14. One of the intrinsic assets of armed action (one at which people far too often stop) is that it is the direct, concrete destruction of the authorities of domination and of bourgeois power. It is true that the decommissioning of the essential organs of bourgeois power clearly makes it possible to draw a very distinct line between the enemy and us.

15. But we think that today another asset should be accorded fundamental

attention. Armed action reinforces and stimulates the awareness of the working class in that it may be the bearer of victories (even partial). For the first time in far too many years, it is no longer we, the workers and militants, who are taking it by the throat, but the bourgeoisie which is suffering defeat after defeat. Even if one thinks that these victories are fleeting in the course of events, after years of treachery, of defeats, of demonstrations leading to beatings, of prison, of hopeless plant or workshop occupations, of sacrifices during strikes in which we won nothing, all under the scornful eye of the lords who govern, the slightest victory counts in that it teaches how it was won, and opens the door to future victorious combats.

16. The armed struggle for communism is a particularly effective vector of propaganda when it is conducted correctly. This strength lies in the fact that it carries with it a break with the democratic circus, in which the bourgeoisie writes the script, in that it is objective destruction among the enemy, in that it bears witness to the organization, albeit still limited, of organized proletarian forces for class struggle, and in that it is irreconcilable with the paid ideologies of bourgeoisie: "Deeds are stubborn!"

17. Furthermore, insofar as it is a revolutionary break, the waging of armed struggle anticipates and prepares for future stages of the revolutionary movement, the civil war, insurrection, for the seizure of power by the proletariat and the elimination of the bourgeoisie and its agents. The class movement, steeped in guerrilla struggle, will arrive at the decisive watersheds of its history with experience and organization, the genuine strengths of political, organizational, and even subjective maturity that are absolutely necessary.

18. The armed struggle for communism makes it possible at last to unmask with actions all the traitors in the workers' movement, all those who never fail to side with the bourgeoisie and to denounce revolutionaries when the storm warning is heard! Armed struggle has a character of concrete anticipation of workers' power, and it unmasks the politics of collaboration and integration of the labor union and reformist traitors.

19. Above all, armed struggle expresses the practice of genuine proletarian internationalism, because, in an age when the capitalist mode of production has made its dominion worldwide, in an age of Imperialism, increasing unity has taken root between the vanguards and the masses of the dominated countries and of the metropolises. This unity, confronting a common enemy, is born of revolutionary combat and makes it essential to attack the enemy on all fronts. At a time when so many of the world's peoples are fighting the beast with weapons in hand, the revolutionaries in the metropolises must attack the imperialist machine from behind with the same determination.

20. To summarize, the armed struggle for communism is: destruction within the bourgeoisie camp; demonstration of and confidence in the capacity to win; an instrument of propaganda, the revelation of a class position and an objective class practice; the possibility for progress and evolution; an outlook for the proletariat; and an internationalist effort.

21. Since the time of Marx, and up until the end of the second world war, rational communists have defended the idea of the rapid seizure of power by the

working class, in the form of an insurrection. Using the triumph of the October Revolution as its support, this idea was at the center of the establishment of the Third International (the Comintern), according to which the role of the communist parties was to develop a policy of awareness-building and organization of the masses on the basis of this deadline, and to do so either legally or 'paralegally'.

The failure of 'communist' parties organized according to this idea forces us to look at why the PCI, PCP, PCE, (communist parties of Italy, France and Spain) and others have sunk, first into revisionism, then into the most imbecilic of reform movements, transforming themselves into social democratic parties.

This idea, in which insurrection is put off for better days, for a remote deadline for which one should be 'ready', has, gradually, or for years and years, led these parties to lose sight of and forget the purpose of their reason. The mushrooming of the light work of 'awareness building' has wound up encompassing the full range of activities of these parties, leading them, driven by an anxious populism, to move only within the arena of bourgeois legality, that is, to participate actively in its balance.

If, henceforth, the goal - the violent seizing of power by the proletariat - and the deadline are not taken into account in each of our actions, then, in fact, this deadline will become even more remote.

The 'vanguards' of the working class who do not conduct all their efforts with an aim to achieving the seizure of power by the masses and the waging of revolutionary violence quickly become 'rearguards', foundering in revisionism, reformism and treachery.

22. If, politically speaking, the limited concept of seizing power through insurrection and its relationship to an ever more remote and ideal deadline have opened the door of the worker parties to bourgeois and reformist lines of thought, today, moreover, it has lost all relevancy from a military standpoint. The overwhelming power of imperialism, its transnational politico-military organization of counter-insurrection (NATO), its constant vigilance against revolutionary initiatives through its policy of 'preventive counter-revolution', and the demonstrated impossibility of conducting revolutionary work within the legal framework of the bourgeois dictatorship, force communists to re-examine their strategic options.

For, if it is true that the final phase of process by which the working class seizes power remains violent mass insurrection, then the strategy guiding the vanguards and revolutionary forces toward this deadline cannot be merely 'legal' political preparation for this goal.

23. In order to close the door for ever more to revisionism and its betrayals and in order to provide concrete organization (politically and militarily), those working for the final confrontation with the exploiters (who for years have consequently been arming themselves), the revolutionary struggle in general, and the armed struggle in particular, must therefore adopt the form of a *protracted people's war*.

24. It will be a war, because this entails a relationship of complete antagonism, with no room for mediation, there being nothing the belligerents have to share. Class warfare is a confrontation in which the existence of one party depends on the death of the other. In such a setting, the most extreme violence of the oppressed against the bourgeoisie expresses the greatest humanity, and the violence of the

mercenaries of capital against the oppressed expresses the greatest savagery and barbarism.

25. It will be a people's war, because a trend will take shape by which it will become the act of an ever-expanding stratum of people. There are two reasons for this. First, because it is the masses who decide history, and not a few groups, however well-motivated. The revolutionary process must be brought about by the mass movement and must cross all segments of the class. Second, because while the working class, especially the workers concentrated in the large factories, alone is capable, owing to its position within the mode of production, of completing the revolutionary process and the establishment of socialism, today it is the vast majority of people who, assembled around the working class who have an objective interest in overthrowing the bourgeoisie.

26. It will be protracted, because the road leading from the minority spark of revolutionary guerrilla war (even if truly welcomed by the masses), to popular insurrection is a long one, a lengthy process that will be forged by defeats and victories. The advanced sophistication of the power of the bourgeoisie and its might at all levels, political, military, ideological, repressive, etc., have raised mountains in the path of the revolutionary movement that will have to be moved and that will require great progress, and numerous tools, which remain to be built today! The process of political mobilization and organization of the working masses can never be accomplished within the space of a few days.

27. How can the revolutionary political vanguard mobilize and organize the masses toward the process of protracted people's war? We have already seen that the political vanguard must emphasize at all times the confrontation with bourgeois power and mobilize workers in this area. We have also stressed training in the waging of armed struggle to carry out this work in the current situation. These two observations meet in the tactic of armed propaganda. What do we mean by this term?

28. An armed propaganda action has a 'demonstrative' objective within a political goal. It demands the effective destruction (thus non-symbolic) of an important cog in the bourgeois system (this cog may just as well be a ship, a piece of equipment, a public official), chosen on the basis of the sectors of struggle that the masses have chosen for themselves, and on the basis of historically decisive confrontations.

This attack should make it possible to achieve a quantitative leap in the process of mobilizing the workers and increasing their awareness by raising qualitatively the level of spontaneous confrontation and by unifying the various forms of combat into an offensive and all-encompassing practice.

29. Only by expanding the actual waging of armed propaganda will the anti-austerity and anti-war movements be able to begin anew on just and offensive bases, to appraise critically the errors of the past, to create the political and practical instruments needed for this relaunching. The waging of armed propaganda, such as that in which the CCC engages through their attacks against imperialist militarism and the leaders of the crisis, unifies the working class within a new combat alternative: the armed struggle for communism.

30. In order for armed propaganda to attain every goal established, the CCC

have chosen a mode of operating through campaigns (not the least of which is this May Day action). By 'campaign' we mean a series of politico-military operations defined around a central theme. We start from a genuine and specific contradiction and then gather a series of attacks around that theme that will connect this or that specific aspect of the chosen sector with the overall strategy of armed struggle for communism.

Our 'first and-imperialist campaign' was therefore centered on the question of the imperialist war, linked to the issue of missile-basing, was aimed against the arms industry, the ruling bourgeois parties, NATO and the ABL, and successfully outlined the revolutionary political alternative against the imperialist war: the civil war!

Moreover, operating through campaigns makes it possible to connect aspects that directly affect daily life with more universal concerns that are absolutely decisive. Campaigns also make it possible to demonstrate the power of the main tactical principles of warfare, and set into motion extremely varied forms of struggle (from Molotov cocktails at M.A.N. to car bombs at SIAPE), of which some are accessible to those who have the political will to fight. There are no 'high' or 'low' forms of action. There are only right or wrong actions!

31. Armed conflict in general should be demystified. We have therefore written the document 'Specific Answers to Specific Questions', and we hope that it will contribute toward that end. The core problem is a political one, in that the decision to conduct guerrilla attacks can be made only on clear and sturdy political bases, after which point the technical procedures will be settled according to needs and capacities of each one.

It should again be recalled that our primary task is agitation and propaganda and that it is only important to steer a correct political line, to anchor it deeply amidst the masses, and to ensure that it reverberates there, before thinking about effectively dismembering the enemy.

We are not at the stage where defeating the full force of the bourgeoisie has become a priority. Actions aimed at harassment may nevertheless be conducted with limited means, against peripheral targets, if these attacks produce genuine progress in the revolutionary process.

32. To assume an objective vanguard position is one thing. To achieve the full range of possibilities offered to the revolutionary movement through this role is quite another. Whatever the result, the sole task to which the political vanguards should devote themselves is to advance the mass movements on the road of the revolutionary process. This makes it essential not to lose sight of the constant link between the vanguards and the masses, and to ensure that each movement, each aspiration of the masses, fits into the policy of the vanguard, and that this policy is able to restore an all-encompassing perspective, one that unifies the class along Marxist-Leninist lines.

33. Today, the CCC are still too weak a force, too limited a social reality, to be able to seize the fertile field of the class movement in Belgium. Struggles, numerous worker and militant struggles, are undertaken each day without our being able to establish constructive political and organizational ties with them.

All sincere militants must assume a revolutionary line and practice at their work

places on their own. In each plant, in each workshop, in each partial struggle, comrades who know that the labor unions and reformist parties have always betrayed a Marxist-Leninist line should wage their combat from the stance of a protracted people's guerrilla war. It is there that we will meet one another, and out of the strength of these struggles, out of the unification of a thousand CCCs, the Combatant Proletarian Organization will at last be born. Mao Zedong said 'count on your own forces', and it is from that vantage point that the working class, its vanguard elements, should organize itself today.

34. 'Conventional' agitation and propaganda work should not disappear entirely; quite the contrary! This lawful work should always be conducted with all due seriousness, so that to whatever extent the bourgeoisie and its cops leave us the slightest possibility of public expression, we will exploit it to popularize our political stances to the widest possible extent. In this effort, the armed struggle waged by the guerrilla organization and the legal work of popularizing the revolutionary political line of Marxism-Leninism form a close dialectical relationship.

These two struggles are politically connected in that they are aimed at social revolution, and they must remain within reach of one another, nurturing and strengthening one another. This political bond must be even closer, since it alone is able to provide the link between the forum for legal agitation and revolutionary guerrilla warfare. An organizational link between legality and illegality is inopportune, which is something everyone can easily understand.

35. *Conclusion:* In October 1984, the CCC launched a radical and offensive alternative, one genuinely Marxist-Leninist in nature, as part of the class war. In a reform-minded militant setting, mired in the defeat and disorientation brought about by the infamous leaders of the *petite bourgeoisie*, we have uncovered the traitors and cleared the way for the mass anti-austerity and anti-war movements to coalesce. Sincere comrades, from this small step taken by the Cells, combatant workers must take a giant step! A giant step forward, following the Marxist-Leninist political and strategic line. "There are two methods that we communists must apply in any work. The first is to connect the general with the specific. The other is to connect the leadership with the masses." This is very easy to understand. One must begin with specific situations and partial struggles (strikes, occupations, militant demands . . .) to arrive at the totality of the problem, at the overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship and the capitalist mode of production, by launching a comprehensive and historical alternative capable of responding to it. Marxism-Leninism must therefore be placed at the forefront of the class movement as a comprehensive political line and as a concrete weapon through the activities of organized communist vanguards.

AGAINST CAPITALISM AND ITS CRISIS, CIVIL WAR!

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WARFARE, CIVIL WAR!

LET US ORGANIZE AND STRIKE RELENTLESSLY!

ONWARD TOWARD ESTABLISHING THE PROLETARIAN COMBATANT ORGANIZATION!

ONWARD TOWARD COMMUNIST REVOLUTION!

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS!

CCC

NOTES

1. The 'Subversion' Collective, Review No. 1, 'Against the Imperialist War, Long Live the Armed Struggle for Communism!'
2. Mao Zedong, *On Methods of Leadership*.

## Communiqué on the Bombing of the Bank of America in Antwerp on 4 December 1985

On 4 December 1985 the Fighting Communist Cells attacked and destroyed the offices of the Bank of America at Van Eyckel 34 in Antwerp. The Bank of America is the second largest bank in the world and is one of the principal pillars of imperialism. Our action on 4 December was the fourth operation undertaken in the course of the 'Pierre Akkerman Campaign against bourgeois militarism and petty bourgeois pacifism', following the attacks made against Infosermi, the pacifist leadership and the Motorola Corporation.

Before we say anything else, we think that we need to clarify a point which our choice of objective will certainly raise.

On 4 and 5 November the cells began their offensive against the financial oligarchy, in the context of the 'Karl Marx Campaign.' We attacked the three largest banks in the country: the BBL, the SGB, and KB, as well as the MHB, one of the principal credit banks in the world. Now we are again attacking the banks, in the context of the 'Pierre Akkerman Campaign.'

So why are there two campaigns, if they are aimed at the same objective, if they overlap in covering the same ground?

Our first appearance, in October 1984, opened the 'October Anti-Imperialist Campaign', thus indicating that from the beginning of our struggle we chose, both now and in practice, to organize our program in a very carefully arranged way. Regarding our armed struggle, Point 30 in 'Documents of 1 May' declared:

For our armed propaganda to achieve all of the goals established for it, the cells chose a system of operating by campaigns. By 'campaign' we mean a series of political and military operations of armed propaganda around a central theme. We started from a real and concrete contradiction in order to develop around it a series of operations which would connect this or that specific aspect of the sector chosen and the overall strategy of the armed struggle for communism. Furthermore, operating in terms of 'campaigns' makes it possible to connect those aspects which directly affect daily life and broader causes which are decisive.

Experience and the various lessons which we can draw from this first year of combat now strengthens our view that this tactic was correct. The organization of our political and military struggle by 'campaigns' became necessary in the sense that we are pursuing a very specific goal. That is, we started from the historical materialist analysis of the specific situation affecting the class struggle in our country and the world situation in order to change in an objective way the balance of forces between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Thus, our whole struggle has been organized within an overall strategy, aimed at particular and progressive stages which are quantitatively and qualitatively favorable to the organization of the working class as a class by itself.

Contrary to the gossip in the media, which misrepresents our policy by presenting it as an accidental and anarchic congeries of operations by partisans, we always act after reflection and criticism, in a spirit of order and method, on the basis of precise analyses and as a function of the goals to be achieved, both political and organizational, immediate or historical.

Although the objective reality affecting the Fighting Communist Cells does not yet make it possible for us to claim the historic role of a communist organization, that is, the organism achieving the objective unity of the proletarian advanced guards and following the Marxist-Leninist line (whereas this is seriously lacking in the class struggle in our country), we must have an 'action element' in our organization, not only in our internal activity, above all in our place within the proletarian struggle.

Therefore, we have noted the following:

- Our first October anti-imperialist campaign led to the appearance of the cells and the resumption of the revolutionary struggle within the general contradiction: the people against imperialist war.

- the 'Karl Marx Campaign' posed the nature of the crisis: the failure of the capitalist system and the organization of the proletarian forces against the austerity program.

- The 'Pierre Akkerman Campaign' was a fighting initiative against bourgeois militarism, as well as a definitive criticism of *petit bourgeois* pacifism. It revealed the political and tactical correctness of our struggle and the development of our forces. On two occasions we made our offensive coincide with timely events and were therefore able to transform them: the anti-war mobilization and the Reagan visit. We will speak of these events again.

The course of events shed light on our work in this sense. The 'Pierre Akkerman Campaign' showed the progress made by the communist guerrilla movement against bourgeois militarism and the nature of petty bourgeois pacifism as seen through its failures. Our action taken against the Motorola Corporation was the best example of this.

However, the question still remains: why have we returned to the same objectives in different campaigns?

We returned to them quite naturally, in the sense that our various campaigns have all taken place within the class struggle and, in that way, they have confronted the same enemy: capitalism and the bourgeois dictatorship. Our correct analysis of imperialist war as a product of the system of capitalist production made it evident that sooner or later we were going to be faced with objectives in common with those of the 'Karl Marx Campaign.' In this case, the objective is financial capital.

However, we chose to attack banks as a function of the particular characteristics which linked them to each campaign: the BBL, the SGB, and the KB, which were directly identified by the proletariat as the bloodsuckers of the world of the workers, and the MHB as an aggressive representative of the imperialist economic order (in connection with Third World debts) for the 'Karl Marx Campaign.' The



Bank of America was chosen for the 'Pierre Akkerman Campaign' as a 'symbol' of decadent, warmongering capitalism.

Now we will review another point: the progress made in our struggle.

After the Geneva Summit, a war summit between the two super imperialisms, Reagan passed through Brussels to report to his clique of accomplices the timing and the organization of an early war involving the European theater. And in the face of this imperial and provocative visit by this gangster who was engaged in brooding his evil schemes, with the help of the sixth Martens cabinet, who was there to face up to him?

The Fighting Communist Cells and their Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary policy, and no one else! We showed what should be – and always has been – the proper and exemplary attitude of communists toward the imperialist pigs: standing up straight, ready to fight, with weapons in our hands! And the petty bourgeois pacifists, the reformists and the revisionists in the PC, the PTR, the POS, and their related groups were only able to show their eternal and hypocritical sulky expressions. (We must recognize the honesty of the POS, which replaced its slogan of 'Throw NATO Out' by the theme of 'Let's Get Out of NATO' in its most recent electoral publicity. In the next stage its slogan will be, 'Please, Mister Reagan.')

However, the fact that the cells turned out to be the only organized force objectively fighting against US imperialism and the summit meeting held between the imperialist powers demonstrated much more than our offensive capabilities or voluntarist practices whose subjectivism would certainly be open to criticism. What is important to emphasize is the Marxist-Leninist, political foundation of our struggle. This struggle requires confrontation and a objective class struggle. This gives it a sense of direction, a reason, a leadership, a mature objective, absolutely contrary to the various versions of *petit bourgeois* pacifism which misrepresent the historical facts of imperialist war, denying the class struggle, requiring an attitude of resignation and slave-like submission, and justifying a permanent process of retreat.

What are the reasons explaining the absence of the petty bourgeois pacifists when there was a question applying their political line when Reagan paraded through the bunkers of NATO? In the first place and very simply because the objective reality of the brutality of this visit was based on thousands of troops, and there was no longer any place for their illusions and their fine theories, as there cannot be any place for their poison in the consciences of sincere militants.

The Fighting Communist Cells attacked the visit by Reagan to NATO in a political and military way because our political line – in reality and not in theory – raises the question of imperialist war and the proletarian revolution. The cells were able to attack the Reagan visit in a political and military sense because they have learned, through the study of history and through the experience of daily life, that between the capitalists, the militarist, or the members of Parliament supporting them and the peoples of the world there is an abyss, an unconditional antagonism. Our final objective is the seizure of power by the proletariat under the leadership of their Communist Party. The attack against Reagan and the 'Geneva Summit' was a small, constructive step in this direction.

Pacifism and its supporters were not able to attack the Reagan visit because pacifism does not fight against anything (certainly not imperialist war but rather the anti-war movement). This is a policy organized by and logically emerging from the bourgeois dictatorship, in order to defend its interests more effectively. The objective of pacifism is to beg the warmongers for peace. For that reason we don't really see why pacifism should attack its own masters.

When pacifists need to polish up the image of their mediocrity and their treason, they can do no more than turn themselves over to the bourgeois courts, acting like sheep that people suffering from insomnia count, in this case jumping over the fences of military bases to fall into the arms of the police! The self-paralysis of pacifism is a form of collective desertion from the struggle.

The development of our revolutionary policy through the 'Pierre Akkerman Campaign' and a clarification of the question of which is fighting against warmongering imperialism in opposition to the organizers of country picnics or other collectors of funds for the 'party' – these will become increasingly clear within the contradiction between the workers of the world and the warlike project of the bourgeoisie. The future will favor the struggle, the organization of the proletariat, advanced guard, communist forces. The professional parasites and the traitors to the class struggle will be swept aside by this formidable movement!

We will now conclude this statement with a final point directly linked to reality.

In the same way that we have explained our offensive position against imperialism and bourgeois militarism by the proper kind of Marxist-Leninist leadership, and certainly not by voluntarist subjectivism, we have been able to deliver blows against the enemy that are as incisive as they are destructive. Once again, the proper choice of tactics for the struggle rests on our political orientation. It has been determined as a function of our objectives and not by who knows what absence of military experience. We might mention parenthetically at this point the limited stupidity with which the 'extreme left' rambles on about our so-called military capabilities. This is only an admission of their own ignorance, their fetish for militarism, coupled with a limitless cowardice.

The choice we have made – and it is certainly not an absolute choice – to carry out our activities up to this point through the use of the revolutionary guerrilla movement is not a recipe regurgitated from Lomonosov University in Moscow. Rather, it was adopted when our forces raised firmly and in a determined way the question of the struggle for communism within the class war here.

It is only with absolute confidence in the proletariat as a class, as well as with an objective attachment to historical and dialectical materialism, demanding human dignity in the struggle against exploitation, injustice, and misery, that our militants and our comrades have assembled the force and the intelligence which lead to victory.

We have certainly many criticisms to make of ourselves and we are learning from them. However, while distrusting a misplaced feeling of victory at hand, we can say that we are demonstrating now, by action, that the class enemy can be attacked and can be forced to suffer defeat and that maintaining a continued effort is possible in the offensive of the revolutionaries and the workers of the world!

The Fighting Communist Cells are showing that, starting from a position in

which we were encircled, paralysed and controlled by the bourgeois enemy, we can go over to the offensive against those surrounding and attacking us. They are showing that even weak forces, guided by the demand for a proletarian victory, that is, in that framework of the march of history, and guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, can be powerful forces for the workers. What is necessary is for this revolutionary policy to have an increasing impact on the proletariat.

We will say it once more. Let every militant of the anti-war movement – if he is sincere – open his eyes, without fear and without weakness, to the outcome of the years of pacifist errors, comparing them to the results of the recently begun struggle of the Fighting Communist Cells on the question of imperialist war. As far as we are concerned, the fight goes on, but we want to tell everyone that there are moments when history speeds up in the sense that during certain periods the outcome can be either a future of misery or a future of progress and of liberation! It is in such a situation that we must now make the choice which will determine the outcome of the imperialist war: a proletarian revolution or several more decades of imperialist barbarism!

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR, CIVIL WAR!

FORWARD TO THE BUILDING OF THE FIGHTING ORGANIZATION OF THE PROLETARIAT!

LET US ORGANIZE OURSELVES AND STRIKE WITHOUT PAUSE!

FORWARD TO THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION!

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS!

The Fighting Communist Cells  
For: the Construction of the Fighting Organization of the Proletariat

## Letter, dated 6 December 1985, to the 'Workers and Comrades in France'

This morning, a group of the internationalist communists in France and the Fighting Communist Cells conducted three revolutionary guerrilla actions together, one at Versailles, two in Belgium. For the first time, the internationalist character of this offensive clearly shows our organization beyond national borders. Thus, having intervened in your situation, we wish to present and explain, although very briefly, the political project of the cells, our history, and our struggle.

This presentation seems necessary as a precaution: we already know that the media as a whole are sure to raise the specter of 'international terrorism', the KGB, or the 'Bulgarian connection', and, in particular, Direct Action. We are completely separate from all that. Those who know something about our struggle and our political positions are aware that what separates us from DA is the insurmountable gulf between Marxism-Leninism and anarcho-radicalism.

What are the Fighting Communist Cells? We are a young – and still very weak – organization of militants fighting for the communist revolution.

Unfortunately, however, history is filled more and more with improper manipulations of the communist idea or betrayals of its essence: one of the two principal imperialisms shamefully always claims to be acting in its name: the Chinese counter-revolution is reinstating capitalism in the name of its ideal and perceptiveness; and, under its cover the PCF [*Parti Communiste Français* – French Communist Party], since 1920, has been peddling its social-democratic orthodoxy. We must therefore give some clarifications regarding our communist affirmation.

We fight for the communist revolution, for the destruction of bourgeois power, for the construction of a classless and stateless society – a society in which the exploitation of man by man will be abolished, a humanity without misery and without war ...

For us Marxists, this is a very concrete objective that we consider attainable and know is inescapable in the evolution of humanity. Our entire commitment, identity and subjectivity are based on faith in the cause of the exploited, justified by so many heroic pages in the struggle of the people; draw their strength from the need for a new world, and find their rationale in the theories of scientific socialism. Our entire political, strategic and tactical organization is united on those grounds and has but one aim: revolution!

The policy, strategy and practice of the Fighting Communist Cells are guided by the living teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Very briefly, this means:

- Human societies are organized fundamentally on the basis of historical economic conditions; that is, the organization and development of production methods. The hegemonic method of production characterizing this era is

capitalism. In its current stage, monopolistic and world-wide, it is imperialism, the 'highest stage of capitalism'.

- Capitalism is a class system in which the interests of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are in opposition to each other, in an antagonistic way. The means of production and accumulated wealth are in the hands of a small band of parasites – the bourgeoisie – while the vast majority of the population is deprived of the fruit of its labor. At this stage of this absolute imperialism, we say that the principal contradiction propelling the movement of history is the one setting the world proletariat against the imperialist bourgeoisie.
- The following issue emerges from history: the capitalist rationale no longer generates any progress in the development of productive forces. On the contrary, it can only generate, with increasingly tragic consequences, all its inherent defects: economic crises, over-exploitation of labor, unemployment, incessant wars, continent-wide famines, ecological catastrophes and disturbances, existential alienation and despair, etc. – Therefore, it makes good sense and is of current interest to consider getting beyond the situation and causing the disappearance of this economic order, which is as absurd as it is criminal.
- The proletariat is the social class called upon to accomplish this revolution. It alone is able to do so because of its position in the economic contradiction, and, by organizing itself as a class for itself under the guidance of its Communist Party, to bring together the living strength and the proper proletarian direction for seizing power. When the working class seizes power it means absolute authority of the world of labor over all the economic and political sectors, particularly the disappearance of private property and the socialist organization of production.
- The proletarian revolution will be a violent revolution. The dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is based inherently on the terrorist brutality of its mercenary armies, and at the time of the historical confrontation it will throw all its deadly madness into the battle. To defeat the bourgeoisie and its police henchmen, the working class must acquire a great political, ideological and military unity capable of crushing the enemy forces. The Communist Party, guided by Marxism-Leninism, and the Red Army, placed under its direction, are the political and military instruments that the working class must acquire (and which must emerge from its midst) to impose its own dictatorship: the dictatorship of the proletariat. By establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, the working class will eliminate the bourgeoisie and thus will create the conditions for its self-extinction as a class.

The Fighting Communist Cells are full-fledged participants in the class struggle in Belgium. On the basis of the historical materialistic analysis of the social climate of our country and the potential and weaknesses of the proletarian movement – and taking into consideration the international context – we are working on the 'first task': the construction of the *Organisation Combattante des*

*Proletaires* [Proletarian [Fighting Organization], that is, the organizational unification of the proletarian avant-gardes into an offensive and revolutionary association.

The construction, in the class struggle, of the Proletarian Fighting Organization, is therefore a primary task that the communists must tackle in our country ... and in yours! In our case, we have defined the current strategic period of the cells' battle as one of 'armed propaganda'.

The armed struggle for communism is a particularly effective propaganda vehicle when it is handled correctly. This force resides in the amount of change it causes in the democratic circles for which the bourgeoisie writes the program, in the extent to which it causes objective destruction to the enemy camp, in the fact that it attests to the still limited organization of proletarian forces organized for class war, and in that it is irremovable insofar as the paid ideologues of the bourgeoisie are concerned: facts are facts!

Moreover, the practice of armed struggle as revolutionary change anticipates and prepares the future phases of the revolutionary movement, civil war, insurrection for the seizure of power by the proletariat, and elimination of the bourgeoisie and its agents. The class movement, immersed in the guerrilla war, will come to the decisive crucial moments of its history with experience and organization – the absolutely necessary real strengths of political, organizational and even subjective maturity.

The armed struggle for communism finally makes it possible, through events, to unmask all the traitors of the workers' movement, all those who are sure to join the bourgeoisie and denounce the revolutionaries when the storm breaks! Armed struggle is characterized by real anticipation of worker power; it unmasks the politics of 'collaboration' and integration of union and reformist traitors.

And above all, the armed struggle expresses the practice of a true Proletarian Internationalism because, in the era of imperialism, increasingly greater unity is required among the avant-gardes and the masses of the dominated countries and the metropolises. This unity in the face of a common enemy is being achieved in the revolutionary struggle and is necessary to attack the enemy on all fronts. At a time when so many nations of the world are fighting the beast with weapons in hand, the revolutionaries in the metropolises are duty bound to attack the rear of the imperialist machine with the same determination. (Items 16 to 19 of our 'May 1 Document Regarding Armed Struggle'.)

In practice, to date, our policy has taken shape in three campaigns:

1. The First October Anti-Imperialist Campaign raised the issue of the revolutionary policy emerging within the contradiction that opposes entire populations to imperialism: the imperialist war. In our country, a big mass movement was mobilized against NATO's bellicose preparations, which are exemplified particularly by the establishment of US missiles on our territory. Through this campaign,

we restored the question of imperialist war to its matrix: the capitalist mode of production. We took the offensive against three multi-nationals directly involved in the war industry, against the political parties in the government, the Christian-Socialists and the Liberals, and finally against NATO armed forces. We ended this campaign on 15 January 1985.

On 1 May, Labor Day, we attacked and destroyed the headquarters of the *Fédération des Entreprises de Belgique* [Enterprise Federation of Belgium] in Brussels, the base of Belgian employers. In the course of our operation, the police were responsible for the death of two firemen, a tragedy to which we were only able to respond weakly a few days later by attacking the Logistics and Finance Administration of the police force, a special body of anti-worker repression under NATO command via 'National Defense'.

On 1 May we also published a series of documents, the main one of which was an initial overall definition of our revolutionary strategy: 'Regarding Armed Struggle'.

2. The 'Karl Marx Campaign' raised the issue of the workers' struggle against austerity and the need for worker organization. We began it on 8 October last with the action against Intercom, a giant in the production and distribution of power (gas, electricity), responsible, along with its peers in Europe, for hundreds of deaths last winter from freezing and destitution. Next, we destroyed the headquarters of Pabrimetal, a metallurgy employers' union, and on the same day, still in Charleroi, we attacked the 'Office of Direct Taxation'. On 4 and 5 November, the cells attacked and destroyed three main headquarters of the financial oligarchy: the three top banks in the country (already attacked on various occasions during worker demonstrations) and MHB, fourth largest credit institution in the USA, a veritable empire of the Third World. The 'Karl Marx Campaign' is still on today.

3. The 'Pierre Akkerman Campaign, fighting bourgeois militarism and petit-bourgeois pacifism', came about as a continuing progression of our first campaign. It is linked to recent current events: the anti-war mobilization of 20 October in Brussels, the inter-imperialist summit in Geneva, and Reagan's untimely incursion into NATO on the 21st. On 19 and 20 October, we attacked Inforsermi, a military recruitment center, and then denounced in a practical way the infamous doings of the pacifist *petits-bourgeois* whose only reason is to betray the anti-war movement by enveloping it in defeatist legalism. While Reagan was strutting around in the NATO bunkers, under the protection of thousands of cops and soldiers, our organization destroyed the European headquarters of US Motorola, the military electronics corporation, and the day before yesterday we attacked the Bank of America in Antwerp. This morning's three simultaneous actions ended the 'Pierre Akkerman Campaign', named after an internationalist communist who fell on 1 January 1937, in the battle of the International brigades.

Workers, Comrades,

This short presentation is certainly insufficient to inform you of the universality and characteristics of the Fighting Communist Cells. Nevertheless, we think it was proper to write it in that it is an approach that may tempt some of you to

continue to ponder over the standard and path of the communist revolution's battle. All we can do is address the same message to the workers of our country.

The Fighting Communist Organization, unifying those most ready to fight among the proletariat, is not born as a result of its own proclamation. The avant-gardes, with their wealth of experience and forces developed for the revolutionary fray, are unifying in the definite movement of battle. Today, we say to slottere comrades who are ready to fight: read, study and discuss the teachings of Marxism and Leninism; study and discuss the experiences of our class; read, study, circulate and criticize the political expression of revolutionaries in Europe and throughout the world today, enrich this heritage with your criticisms and in that context confront it in practice with the organization of the proletarian forces, and the doors of the future will open before you!

For communists,  
Fighting Communist Cells

## Communiqué on the Bombings of NATO Pipeline Facilities in Belgium and France, on 6 December 1985

On 6 December 1985 the Fighting Communist Cells and a group of internationalist communists in France carried out three simultaneous and complementary operations in Belgium and France. In Belgium the cells twice attacked the Belgian network of NATO oil pipelines (the Central Europe Pipeline System), dynamiting the security stations of Petegem and Huissignies, while in France a group of internationalist communists struck the CEOA (Central Europe Operating Agency), the general headquarters of the GEPS, located at 11 Avenue General Pershing (!!!) in Versailles.

For the Fighting Communist Cells, these actions marked the close of the 'Pierre Akkerman Campaign against bourgeois militarism and petty bourgeois pacifism.' This third campaign was begun on 19 October 1985 with two attacks against a military recruiting office and pacifist stupidity, in the form of our most recent operations against the Motorola Corporation and the Bank of America.

The cells and the revolutionary militants in France consider that the offensive begun on 6 December was an expression of the progress made by proletarian internationalism within the communist movement. The 'Pierre Akkerman Campaign' ended with a great victory for the anti-war movement in Belgium. It was a continuation of the 'First October Anti-Imperialist Campaign' (1984). Above all it testified to the great political and organizational progress that had been made.

Politically, it constituted a central criticism of *petit-bourgeois* pacifism, and it thereby had immediate, tactical value. Organizationally, it demonstrated in practice the progress made by the guerrillas. The internationalist action found its proper place in this effort, in the sense that one of the most hateful areas of pacifism is nationalism. For the hundreds of thousands of men and women threatened in Europe by the warlike projects of imperialism and who reject this sinister future, this campaign therefore ended with what was certainly a minimum step but which was an indication of a victorious future in the form of proletarian internationalism.

We have chosen to time our joint operations immediately following the 'Geneva Summit', where the two leaders of the principal imperialist systems have reached a private understanding about the future of the world. They presented themselves - and were praised - as apostles of peace, whereas they have unceasingly brought war and misery to the four corners of the planet. At the summit meeting they considered the question of now bringing war to Europe.

Whereas the wonderful promises of the period after the Second World War and, later on, the theme of 'peaceful co-existence' seemed to offer us a radiant future of eternal economic and social progress and a peaceful universe ruled over by the UN or some other kind of nonsense, the European people must recognize that 45 years after having subjected the world to a baptism of fire and blood, and

after these same 45 years of unending war against the peoples of the Third World, imperialism is dragging us into the most serious economic crisis in history. It is leading us into 'restructuring', that is, super-exploitation or unemployment, into restrictions and ceaselessly growing misery, with a new war as the last event!

In this situation two tendencies stand out and are becoming more pronounced.

The first involves the imperialist bourgeoisie and its lackeys in the various governments who have set foot in a deliberate way on the path leading to war, on neo-colonial expedition in Africa or in the Americas, in the race for conventional or atomic super weapons, in economic 'restructuring'. These are reflections of competition and increasingly sharp tensions within the imperialist camp (between East and West, between Europe and the United States, and between Europe and the USSR), which are setting the people and the workers against their class brothers in other countries in the framework of economic conflicts while they await being forced to confront each other on the battlefield.

The second tendency involves the world of the workers. This is the world of all of the exploited men and women, the world of the revolutionaries, the world of the free men and women of the entire world who say: we have had enough of capitalism, enough of imperialism, enough exploitation of our work and of our lives, enough misery, enough war against the peoples of the world!

This tendency, which is also our own, is today to be found in a full process of development, a full reflection of our struggle, here in the cities. There are many workers who are plunged into perplexity in the face of this period of upheaval where, without any prior warning, the bourgeoisie has struck them with full force, where the recipe of trade union and reformist struggle has revealed its conciliatory function in the service of the bosses, where strikes, however heroic they may be, systematically end in failure and the victory of the bosses or the state. Where so-called 'Workers' Parties' are revealed, by their insignificant participation in governments, as the zealous lackeys of multinational capitalism. Where the masses in large numbers refuse to become involved in essential questions (as, for example, the millions of signatures against the deployment of missiles in the Netherlands) but this leads nowhere.

This situation has been experienced by all of the working class in all of the European countries. This is the situation which the communist advanced guards in these same countries have had to take into consideration to provide answers to it. Although even today it is the lack of an historical, revolutionary and up-to-date strategy that the advanced guards of the workers suffer from most profoundly, it is the result of all of these questions, sometimes painful ones, of all of our previous failures, of all of our disillusionment, or all of our questions, and above all, as a result of the richness of the experience of victories and of defeats, that little by little and progressively the elements of our future are becoming clear.

The revolutionaries and the fighting workers draw on these elements in the history of their class and in the lessons drawn from all of their struggles. They confront them in their demands and in present circumstances. They project them into the future which remains to be won. The cause of the proletariat and the formidable weapon of Marxism-Leninism, which decades of revisionism and of rotten reformism have called outmoded, utopian and even harmful, demand that

we fight for the self-organization of the working class as a class by itself, totally breaking with bourgeois institutions as the only possibility for the workers of the world to defend their interests, whether in the immediate future or over the long term.

Realizing that the state is the state of the capitalists, that the bourgeois parties which are associated with it, at the orders of company boards of directors, hold full power in our countries and can only be completely unaware of the slightest interests of the workers, we can see that this evidence must be accepted. This gives this analysis all of its sense of direction. We conclude that the proletariat must seize power, without sharing it with anyone. That is, it must overturn the bourgeois state and create a socialist workers' state.

Therefore, realizing that, having exhausted in vain all of the old forms of struggle, from voting in elections to trade union strikes, including occupations of factories and demonstrations which can no longer change anything, it is essential for the workers of the world to learn from these defeats and develop a new strategy for the struggle, adequate for the situation and prepared on the assumption of a fully antagonistic relationship with the bourgeoisie.

Generating a new strategy for the struggle means nothing less than again grasping, with confidence and care, the living thought of Marxism and of historical and dialectical materialism to direct our struggle! It is through such an understanding that the working class will find the answers to its class dynamic: building the Fighting Communist Party of the proletariat in the fire of the class struggle, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat by the violent conquest of power, destroying the system of capitalist production and building socialism! These are the slogans which are again emerging from the revolutionary advanced guards of the working masses in the old continent of Europe, which is now in a state of crisis.

Because even if Europe is not as homogeneous an entity as simplistic internationalism imagines it to be, that is, although national rivalries and the history of the respective struggles of the workers specifically characterize each European nation, the political, ideological and strategic crisis of the revolutionary movement may be found everywhere with the same overall dimensions. Therefore, these factors require the same pace of progress.

It is on the basis of this generalized contradiction within the class struggle that we may explain the renaissance of the revolutionary communist movement in more and more countries in imperialist centers. After decades of revisionism, opportunism and reformism, Marxism-Leninism continues to impose itself within the organizations of the revolutionary guerrilla movement. Therefore, this reaffirms proletarian internationalism as the supreme form of the communist conscience.

That is how we may explain the unity of the Fighting Communist Cells and a group of internationalist communists in France in a joint offensive against NATO.

That is what demonstrates the ineptness and spitefulness of the comments expressed everywhere regarding the 'Euroterrorist hydra'. The joint political offensive and daily practice have been imposed and built on the single foundation of our common communist identity, on the determined will of the internationalist communists to carry on the class war, wherever they may be found, in order to ensure the progress of the revolutionary forces.

Therefore, in this view of things, this does not mean that the Fighting Communist Cells or others are committed in a voluntary way to cross national frontiers! On the contrary, this involves paying attention to the objective development of Marxist-Leninist leadership everywhere in the world and beginning an internationalist dialectic between the advanced guards who have emerged from this development. This is proletarian internationalism. The time has come for the reconstitution of the revolutionary movement around the fundamental, historical principles of Marxism-Leninism, renewing its contacts with its history and its legacy, and confronting the future as conquerors. The time has come for this everywhere!

The attacks made on 6 December are the first evidence of this situation and reveal the decision by the revolutionaries to move in this direction.

**'EITHER THERE WILL BE COMMUNISM FOR EVERYONE OR THERE WILL BE NO COMMUNISM FOR ANYONE.'**

At this time this is evident for several reasons: in the economic area first of all, because there is such interdependency between all of the countries of the world that isolating a country is impossible to achieve at present.

- Then in the military area, when we see that each revolutionary surge in the world implies an immediate reaction by the special forces of the imperialist countries (such as the joint intervention of French and Belgian parachutists in Kolwezi [Zaire]), that these forces have been rapidly expanded in the last few years, and that the division of the world was decided on in Geneva.
- In the political area as well, by the tragic light of the complete re-establishment of the system of capitalist production in the USSR and in the People's Republic of China, we must fight against the historical deviations of the themes of 'socialism in one country' or some other 'fatherland of socialism'.

Internationalism is inherent in the revolutionary process, in the sense that every particular step forward influences the overall contradiction (the balance of forces between the world proletariat and the imperialist bourgeoisie) and that the political, ideological and no doubt military unity of the organized revolutionary forces will finally defeat an enemy which is necessarily unified as the dominant class.

Let us also add to all of these factors the important aspect of communist subjectivity, which expresses itself through the spirit of internationalism in the hearts of the workers. In this sense it is the standard-bearer of fraternity among the oppressed peoples. It is the symbol of class identity in the hopes that are shared and in the joint struggle carried on.

We claim the subjectivity of our class identity, and we nevertheless fight as hard against subjectivism. This is a curse which seriously infects certain struggle movements in Europe. From the time of their first appearance in the 1970s guerrilla movements in the cities have been marked, to varying degrees, by this deviation. Today subjectivism and its developments: idealism, anarchism and its corollaries - opportunism and radical-reformism - still have an effect on too many struggle movements. At a time when a strong social explosion is imminent, we must fight against these deviations and put an end to them.

To conclude this communiqué, we will now speak of the particular circumstances that have led us to choose this moment to carry out our first operation, which raises the question of internationalism.

Broadly presented as the summit of peace, the conclusion which the peoples of the world can draw from the Geneva Summit meeting is very clear. The tendency towards war is strengthening and accelerating, in the same way that the good words of 'peace' by Reagan and Gorbachev are an integral part of this process.

They are preparing and conditioning the peoples of the world to the idea of war, a concept which the imperialist bourgeoisie had removed from their cities at a time when peace in those areas was necessary for the export of conflict to the Third World. During the process of decolonization, of neo-colonial operations aimed at reconquering former colonial territories, of national liberation struggles and the maintenance of an imperialist order, of rivalries between imperialist powers through the medium of local forces operating on their behalf, etc. Today the people must again be brought to realize that war is possible, whereas 40 years ago an effort was made to shelter and exploit them in the interests of 'peaceful co-existence'. It is in this sense that the Geneva Summit has brought the people of the world to accept the logic of the fire and blood of imperialism. This peace summit was transformed into the 'summit of the last chance', and its failure clearly underlines the brutal growth of the threat of war.

However, this is not intended only to make war inevitable and historically logical in the eyes of the masses or to have it accepted as something which is unavoidable. It is also needed to mobilize the masses in support of the criminal programs of imperialism. The Geneva Summit meeting also pursues this objective. For each of the imperialist leaders it is necessary to present himself as the 'defender of peace', the 'defender of the free world', and, in the eyes of their respective public opinions, assume responsibility for the foreseeable failure of what resembles an episode in a gangster movie, written by competing imperialist systems. On the one hand, there is 'the future of socialism against imperialist warmongering'. On the other, there is 'democracy against Soviet totalitarianism'!

The Geneva Summit was only an infamous manoeuvre by the imperialists. No one expected them to reduce their armaments, and neither of the parties intended to resolve anything at all. The object was to take a major step towards war by mobilizing the masses behind their bourgeoisie.

Revolutionaries must fight against imperialist intrigues. They must denounce and attack the sordid plans of the bourgeois political, financial and military general staffs. The Geneva Summit must be attacked before the court of public opinion. In the West, the accused is the defense of 'democracy'. In the East, the accused is the defense of 'socialism'. The principal defendant is world imperialism, which is responsible for provoking crises and war!

Let us strengthen the revolutionary struggle of our class. Let us unite across our frontiers, because for us communists there is only one border: that which separates the decaying world of the exploiters and that of the exploited! Let us follow in that regard the heroic example of Pierre Akkerman who, as a true communist militant, made the struggle of our Spanish class brothers against fascism, militarism and reaction his own struggle!

PROLETARIANS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE!

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR, CIVIL WAR!

FORWARD TOWARDS THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE STRENGTHENING OF THE PROLETARIAN FIGHTING COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION EVERYWHERE IN THE WORLD!

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

FORWARD TOWARDS THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION!

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS!

Fighting Communist Cells for the Construction of the  
Fighting Organization of the Proletariat  
A group of internationalist communists in France  
Brussels, 6 December 1985

Owing to a problem that has arisen, the operation being prepared against the CEPS in Thuissignies did not take place this morning.