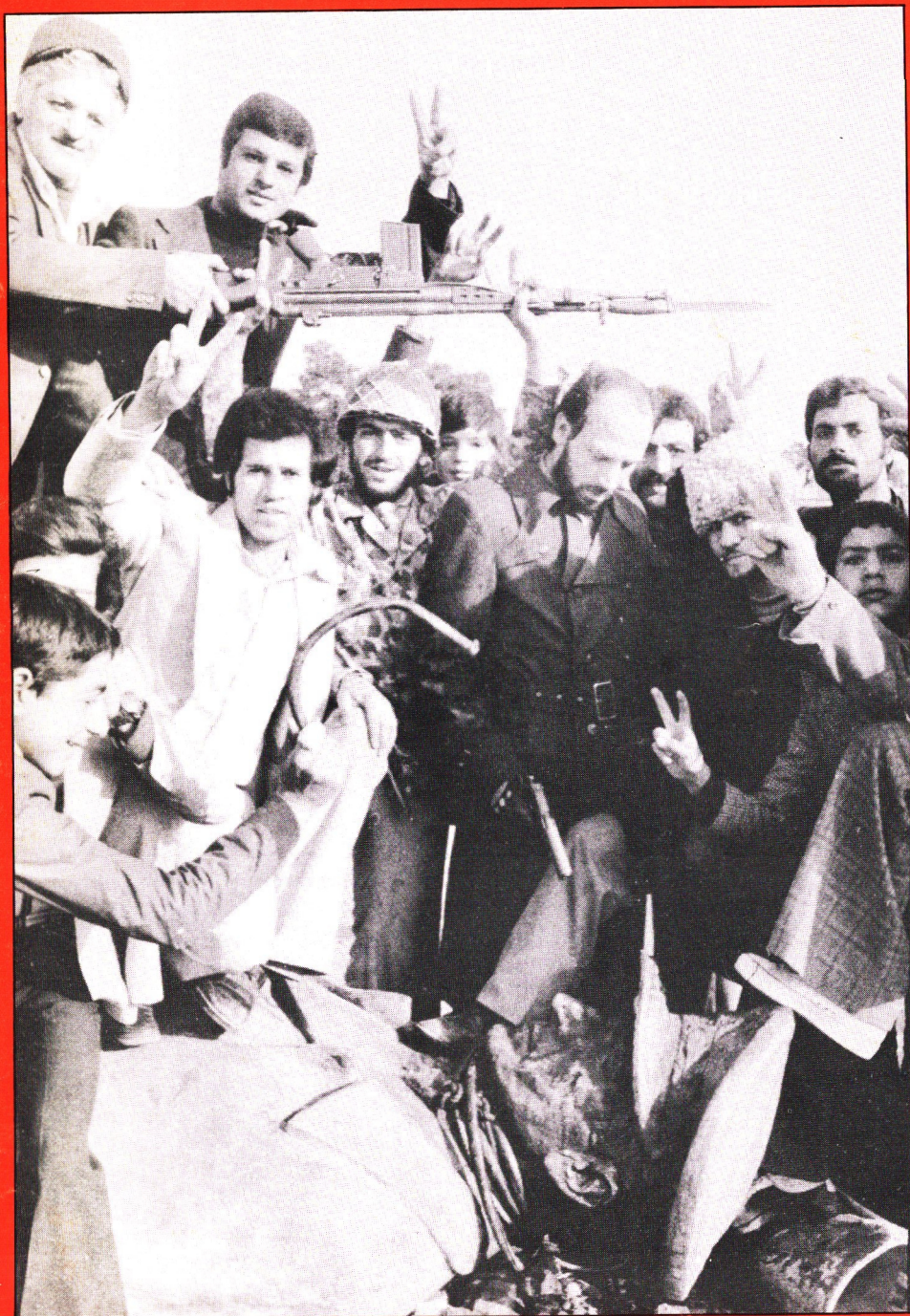


INTERNATIONAL **FORUM**

FOR THE UNITY OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST MOVEMENT



- **The ICM revisionism debates**
- **Brief informations on the ICM in over 30 countries**

What is INTERNATIONAL FORUM?

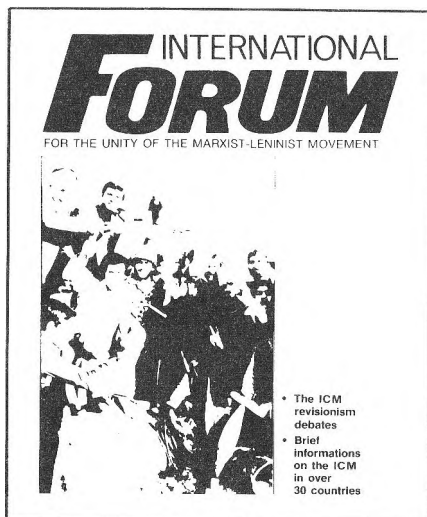
International Forum is a vehicle of information and polemical debate. Its objective is to step up the struggle for the unity of Marxist-Leninists on an international level. For the moment it will be coming out in French and English every three or four months. The first issue is dated April 1980. It is published by the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada IN STRUGGLE! and is distributed in many countries for the benefit of Marxist-Leninist organizations and parties, democratic individuals and organizations and revolutionary national liberation movements.

International Forum will mainly contain material that serves the purpose of letting the reader know who the different revolutionary organizations and parties fighting revisionism and reformism are and what their views are. It will provide information on the ideological and political life of the international Marxist-Leninist movement. It will publicize the activities and struggles of the various revolutionary forces in different countries and the world. **International Forum** is trying to be a helpful instrument in advancing the struggle for the unity of the world's communists.

The subjects covered will be selected on the basis of what the ideological, political and organizational problems are that need to be resolved at present in the revolutionary struggle of the working class and peoples of the world: the unity of communists, building the Marxist-Leninist party, the path of the revolution in different types of countries, the building of socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat, communism. It is in this sense that **International Forum** will be open to polemic and to the criticisms of viewpoints expressed elsewhere in its pages.

International Forum seeks the active collaboration of Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary forces at all levels: in conducting ideological struggle, in writing letters and corresponding in various ways, by helping in production, mailing and local distribution in as many countries as possible.

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A new instrument in the struggle for the unity of Marxist-Leninists

Why publish a new journal to serve the struggle for the unity of the international Marxist-Leninist movement?

It is widely recognized that Marxist-Leninist communists are not united around a single line, a single programme. They are not all united in a single organization on a world scale.

The unity of Marxist-Leninists is not an end in itself. Its importance lies in the fact that it is essential to ensure the victory of the working class in its historic battle against the bourgeoisie. And today, when the revolutionary struggle of the masses is on the rise in many parts of the world, this unity is of crucial importance.

If one considers the proletarian revolution and the struggle for socialism on a world scale, and not simply in terms of each separate country, it is clear that the unity of Marxist-Leninists is a goal we must set ourselves today. Achieving this unity will be a decisive step forward.

But it is one thing to assert that unity is necessary. Working to achieve it is quite another. **International Forum** intends to play a definite role in achieving that unity.

* * *

Unity, but around what line, what programme? Whom should we seek to unite? How can it be done? Why did the previous unity of the international communist movement crumble? How should we evaluate the initiatives taken and work being done at the present time?

What are the roots of modern revisionism? What are the objective and subjective factors that explain why countries that at one time were taking the socialist road have now decisively returned to capitalism?

What is the path of revolution in countries where

capitalism has reached its supreme stage, known as monopoly capitalism or imperialism? What are the stages of the revolution in backward countries dominated by foreign imperialism?

What attitude should the proletariat adopt towards inter-imperialist wars and towards the various bourgeoisies that make war because they can profit from it?

What tactics should Marxist-Leninists use in trade unions, among youth, peasants and other oppressed strata of the people?

How should we work to build authentic Marxist-Leninist parties? Everywhere there is a crying need for parties that will be able to convince workers to make a clean break with all ideologies and political lines that contradict their interests. This is an immediate necessity because the revolutionary struggle is growing more acute everywhere.

Workers and communists in every country are demanding answers to these questions today. Marxist-Leninists must achieve solid, principled unity that will really influence the course of the struggle in each country and on a world scale. To do that these questions must be examined in depth and debated publicly and without any preconceptions. For until Marxist-Leninists provide convincing answers to these questions, the workers of the world will in all likelihood continue to equate the struggle for socialism with the idea of socialism imposed by the Russian and other revisionists. The bourgeoisie and its mouthpieces will thus be able to continue to distort the very essence of this struggle. As a result, they will continue to convince workers to ignore and abandon the struggle for socialism and help instead to perpetuate the capitalist system of exploitation.

International Forum intends to serve the struggle for the unity of Marxist-Leninists by reproducing the

various statements of stands taken by Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary forces around the world and opening its pages to contributions that will help advance the polemics and debates. At the same time, we will do our best to make known the existence and work of these forces in their own countries and in the world.

International Forum is designed to be a way of acquainting the greatest possible number of Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries around the world with the debates going on at the present time. It is true that its capacity to do so is objectively limited by the fact that initially it is published in only English and French. Nevertheless, this is a limitation that we hope to overcome; we will work to make it available in other languages as soon as possible, with the co-operation of comrades in other countries.

Making known the stands taken by Marxist-Leninists on the key questions with which they are confronted is a first and fundamental step towards being able to evaluate and criticize them. Our policy will therefore be to make known the different positions without imposing any censorship or discrimination against various tendencies.

The stands taken by organizations and parties that you will find in **International Forum** are included because they express specific points of view on line questions that are at the heart of the debates for unity. They are points of view worthy of being examined and considered, but they must also be discussed and criticized. Inasmuch as these points of view are already being put forward in one or several countries, the proletariat in all countries — and in particular the Marxist-Leninist movement — has both the right and the duty to examine, evaluate and criticize them. In this way they will contribute to eliminating the obstacles to truly internationalist unity.

This brings up a second important aspect of **International Forum's** objective. We intend to contribute to the intensification of the polemic in the ranks of Marxist-Leninists and of the forces throughout the world that are seeking to make a break with revisionism. **International Forum** is intended to be a forum of debate on the line, programme and work of Marxist-Leninists.

There is always a need for debate and polemics, but today they are more important than ever.

A number of parties and organizations have put forward answers to the questions raised above. Others have sought and are seeking to solve these problems on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. These positions are not shared, however, by all of the Marxism-Leninist forces in the world.

Although there is a certain confluence of views among some parties and organizations on specific issues, and even on some very important issues,

it would nevertheless be a distortion of reality to pretend that unity has been achieved on all the fundamental questions confronting Marxist-Leninists today. Certainly, there is not yet sufficient unity to constitute an orientation and guide for action that is one and the same in all countries. Indeed, it can be said without fear of contradiction that unity on important questions — for example, the rejection of the “three worlds theory”, or the rejection of defence of Mao Zedong Thought — is sometimes accompanied by equally important differences on other questions, such as the path of the revolution, one's attitude towards one's own bourgeoisie or party-building.

This points to one conclusion: discussion and debate must be stepped up among the forces that are resolutely working to break with modern revisionism (be it the Titoite, Russian, Chinese, Euro-communist or Trotskyist variety). For this is a necessary step towards clarifying in full what is at stake in the questions under discussion. It must be done to clearly demarcate the positions that serve the struggle for proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat from positions that are in contradiction with this path, either in specific countries or on a world scale.

Lastly, part of each issue of **International Forum** will be set aside to reporting on the ongoing activities of Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary forces in their respective countries.

Although this section will not be exhaustive it should provide many workers and activists with enough information to keep them up to date on the important developments in the work of Marxist-Leninists around the world. It will be of use to readers who are unable to get a hold of the publications of the international communist movement on a regular basis. As well, this section will be a basic source of information for those who wish to become further acquainted with the specific situation in a given country or the positions published on this or that question.

* * *

In the first issue of **International Forum** we are republishing a number of stands taken in the past year on the question of the unity of Marxist-Leninists and the struggle against revisionism.

The struggle against Chinese revisionism and — and, consequently, the evaluation of the role played by Mao Zedong in the light of the decisive victory of the capitalist road in China — is certainly the question on which Marxist-Leninists have concentrated the most. As can be seen in this issue, Marxist-Leninists do not all agree on how to evaluate the contributions of Mao. Some say that Mao Zedong Thought is the ideological and political basis for the restoration of capitalism in China, while others hold that, on the contrary, Mao made crucial contributions to the development of

Marxist-Leninist theory on a number of points. As some of the articles in this issue also indicate, some organizations tend to take the position that our task is not to make this kind of evaluation of an individual, and that what is needed is a more thorough-going debate in the context of an examination of revisionism as a whole.

The debate on how Mao Zedong Thought should be evaluated certainly raises fundamental questions for Marxist-Leninists. For instance, how can we scientifically explain and understand the temporary victory of capitalism in China? This debate is increasingly related to the same kind of questioning about the U.S.S.R., for both these countries had, in different conditions and historic periods, begun to build socialism. The articles included in this issue do not cover all aspects of this debate. We hope, however, that they will indicate which path various parties and organizations are channelling their efforts along at the present time.

For some of these parties and organizations, there is little left for Marxist-Leninists to debate on this question. They consider as proven that the demarcations between opposing points of view are demarcations between Marxism-Leninism on the one hand and revisionism and opportunism on the other.

While we respect this point of view, we are not yet convinced by it, at least in the light of what we know of the stands taken on this issue in the Marxist-Leninist movement. Nor are we alone in holding this position. There are a number of parties and organizations that do not consider that the question has been settled once and for all. They are continuing the struggle to understand more thoroughly what is at stake. This is a fact that cannot be denied, and **International Forum** does not intend to try to in either this or future issues.

In the past year, a number of parties and organizations have also taken stands and worked to actively defend their points of view on how the unity of the international communist movement can be achieved. State-

ments made and discussions organized on a number of different occasions have focused on this question.

For many organizations, the definition of who should be united and on what political basis is inseparably tied to one's position on how to evaluate Mao Zedong Thought. This position comes through clearly in some of the articles included in this issue.

In the course of the debates on unity, an increasing number of opinions have also been voiced on the need to re-establish an international organization of Marxist-Leninist communists. This is undoubtedly one of the most significant developments of the past year. The section "Life and Action of the ICM" reports on the stands that have been taken on this question. As well, it is clearly taken up in some of the articles published in this issue, and notably the texts from **Que Hacer** (Venezuela), **IN STRUGGLE!** (Canada) and **The People's Star** (Japan).

* * *

The MLOC IN STRUGGLE! has taken the initiative of producing this new publication. But we do not intend to make it the tribune of a single organization. We want it to be an instrument that will contribute to making information and points of view more widely known than they are at the present time.

This new publication is open to comments and criticisms of the points of view expressed in its pages. Furthermore, **International Forum** intends to cooperate actively with Marxist-Leninist forces in other countries so as to steadily improve its contents, both in terms of the texts chosen to be included and in terms of the information provided about the life and work of the international communist movement.

Long live the unity of the international Marxist-Leninist movement!

The MLOC IN STRUGGLE!
(March 1980)

Editor's note

Other than those written by IN STRUGGLE!, the articles and documents reproduced in this publication do not necessarily reflect IN STRUGGLE!'s positions. We have taken the initiative of reproducing these texts because we consider that they are of interest in the ideological and political struggle being waged among the forces who are struggling to demarcate from revisionism in their country and in the world.

As well, the articles reproduced have been chosen by IN STRUGGLE!, in certain cases at the suggestion of those who wrote them. We intend to develop this type of collaboration as much as possible so that the content of International Forum will not depend solely on the knowledge and capacities of our organization.

Polemics within the ICM

"Mao Tse-tung Thought" an anti-Marxist, counter-revolutionary theory

Servet Pëllumbi, **Albania Today**, Tirana, no.3 (46), 1979

Editor's note: This and the following article on the work of Stalin deal with two of the most important issues on which the Party of Labour of Albania has waged ideological struggle in the past year. They sum up briefly the positions of the PLA on both these questions. A more extensive defence of its positions on these questions can be found in Enver Hoxha's Imperialism and the Revolution as well as in his recent book, With Stalin.

We have chosen to include them because the questions dealt with have without a doubt been major issues in the debate about revisionism in the past year; and the positions of the PLA have played a decisive role in this debate.

The discovery of the truth about Mao Tsetung and the anti-Marxist content of his ideas, of "Mao Tsetung thought", is another example of the revolutionary courage and the Marxist-Leninist loyalty to principles of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha in their struggle against modern revisionism in general and the Chinese variant of revisionism in particular.

The major and historically important contribution of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha to the struggle for the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism from the many attacks, distortions and anti-Marxist theorizing of the titoite, khrushchevite and other revisionists is increased by the work "Imperialism and the Revolution" which completely tears off the mask of another dangerous variant of modern revisionism, Chinese revisionism.

In this new work of all-round theoretical and practical value, Comrade Enver Hoxha, making a dialectical analysis of the situation in the Communist Party of China, its opportunist stands, the chaotic road of

the Chinese revolution, and the counter-revolutionary strategy synthesized in the «theory of three worlds», arrives at the conclusion that «the cause of the illness», the ideological basis of Chinese revisionism, is «Mao Tsetung thought». «Mao Tsetung was not a Marxist-Leninist». «Mao Tsetung thought' is a 'theory' devoid of the features of Marxism-Leninism», Comrade Enver Hoxha concludes. This conclusion is of great importance for a correct understanding of the regressive processes which have occurred and are occurring in China.

As emerges from Comrade Enver Hoxha's work «Imperialism and the Revolution», our Party has reached this unshakeable Marxist-Leninist conclusion gradually, on the basis of a thorough and continuous analysis of the facts, of the stands taken by the Chinese leadership and Mao Tsetung himself, and of the class and ideological roots of «Mao Tsetung thought». The discovery of the truth about Mao Tsetung and the anti-Marxist content of his ideas, of «Mao Tsetung thought», is another example of the revolutionary courage and the Marxist-Leninist loyalty to principles of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha in their struggle against modern revisionism in general and the



Chinese variant of revisionism in particular.

To uncover the anti-Marxist ideological roots and the counter-revolutionary, revisionist content of «Mao Tsetung thought», Comrade Enver Hoxha follows a rigorously scientific method in his work «Imperialism and the Revolution». On the one hand, he refers to the «works» of Mao Tsetung, written in various periods of his life, confronting them with the immortal teachings of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and with the revolutionary experience of the world proletariat; he also refers to the history of the Chinese revolution and the facts of present-day life in China, and reveals the negative consequences

SERVET PËLLUMBI — docent, specialist for problems of Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

and the harm which the application of «Mao Tsetung thought» has caused the struggle of the Chinese people. In this way Comrade Enver Hoxha brings out into the open and makes very tangible the insurmountable gap which divides «Mao Tsetung thought» from Marxism-Leninism.

On all the more important questions of revolutionary theory, «Mao Tsetung thought» is opposed, at times openly and at times in a disguised way, to Marxism-Leninism. Thus, «Mao Tsetung thought» opposes the metaphysical, evolutionist concept to the materialist dialectical concept of development, and narrow pragmatic empiricism which justifies vacillations and

scorns theory, to the general revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism; it opposes the hegemonic role of the petty-bourgeoisie to the historic mission of the proletariat, which is the main thing in the doctrine of Marx; it opposes its liberal-opportunist concepts of the «peaceful integration» of the bourgeoisie and the counterrevolutionaries into socialism to the Marxist-Leninist concepts of class struggle; to the thesis of the absolute necessity of the leading role of the Communist Party in the revolution and the construction of socialism; it opposes «political pluralism», the revisionist concept of protracted coexistence and collaboration with the parties of the bourgeoisie, and the sharing

of power with them; to the monolithic unity of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and the lofty spirit of proletarian partisanship it opposes «ideological pluralism», «let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend», which is an anarchist bourgeois-revisionist concept. Thus, the analysis of Mao's «works» shows that the whole essence of «Mao Tsetung thought» is anti-Marxist. This cannot be hidden by the carefully arranged «revolutionary» and «Marxist» phraseology and slogans, of which there is no lack in Mao Tsetung's «works».

The aims, slogans and methods utilized by the Chinese revisionists are in essence the same as those of other revisionists, although a characteristic of «Mao Tsetung thought» is that it is an eclectic mixture of isolated Marxist phrases with theses not only from present-day bourgeois ideology and philosophy, with theories and concepts borrowed from the other revisionists, but also with ideas, theses and principles taken directly from the ancient Chinese philosophers. «Mao Tsetung thought», says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «is an amalgamation of ideologies, from anarchism, Trotskyism, revisionism à la Tito, à la Khrushchev, à la «Eurocommunist», going so far as to use some Marxist phrases.

An honoured place in this whole amalgamation is occupied by the old

ideas of Confucius, Mencius and the other Chinese philosophers».

The class roots of «Mao Tsetung thought» lie in the petty-bourgeoisie which, by its nature, vacillates from one side to the other and is inclined to unite with the bourgeoisie, as it effectively did in China. From this standpoint, «Mao Tsetung thought» is a theoretical justification of the vacillations, compromises, and idealism of the petty-bourgeoisie which Mao Tsetung considered the base and banner of the Chinese revolution.

Placing such an eclectic, anti-Marxist and revisionist «theory» at the foundation of the activity of the Communist Party of China the doors were flung open to opportunist, adventurist, left and right, centrist, chauvinist and racist tendencies, to factional struggle, the lines of opposing «staffs», the unlimited power of Mao Tsetung, who took no notice of the party forums, of principles and norms, but appointed and dismissed whom-ever he pleased and whenever he liked, and designated his own successors.

These «principles» of «Mao Tsetung thought» are also being implemented in the Communist Party of China today. The army has been placed above the party, the «Disciplinary Commission», in the capacity of a «General Directory» is placed above the Central Committee, the ranks of the party are being swelled with all kind of rehabilitated bourgeois and counterrevolutionary elements who are officially declared to be part of the working class. An ever fiercer struggle for power is going on, and in today's China the law is made by the more powerful factions of the army, which are also the more reactionary and intend, just as Mao Tsetung did, to transform China into a superpower.

A direct consequence of China's being guided by «Mao Tsetung thought» is the chaotic road followed by the Chinese revolution which, as Com-

rade Enver Hoxha indicates in his work «Imperialism and the Revolution», never grew into a proletarian revolution and, as a result, China did not set out on the road of socialism. In reality, Mao Tsetung did not stand for the elimination of capitalism, but for the preservation, strengthening and modernization of the Chinese bourgeoisie, for the transformation of China into a capitalist superpower and the realization of the centuries-long dream of seeing China become the «centre of the world»! That is why even if, after Liberation, under the pressure of the masses who had fought and aspired to socialism, the Communist Party of China and Mao Tsetung were forced to take some isolated measures of a democratic and socialist character, the privileges of the bourgeoisie and rich peasants were preserved, elements from the bourgeoisie, and even generals of Chiang Kai-shek become ministers, while the bourgeois parties preserved key positions in all sectors of the state and the economy. Mao Tsetung gave all these things a «theoretical» basis and advertised them as a «new» road of transition to «socialism» together with the bourgeoisie.

In accordance with these basic concepts of «Mao Tsetung thought», on the decision of the Central Committee, the businessmen and industrialists were restored their property, their possessions and bank deposits, with the appropriate interest added. At the same time, the decision was also taken that all these capitalists, all these landowners, rich peasants and other counterrevolutionaries should be declared «re-educated» and considered as part of the working class and members of the people's communes.

These measures are nothing but the carrying of the opportunist viewpoints of Mao Tsetung to their logical conclusion, and are intended to create all the conditions possible for the Chinese bourgeoisie to get rich itself and exploit the working class with ease, and to give assurances to the businessmen and monopolists of other

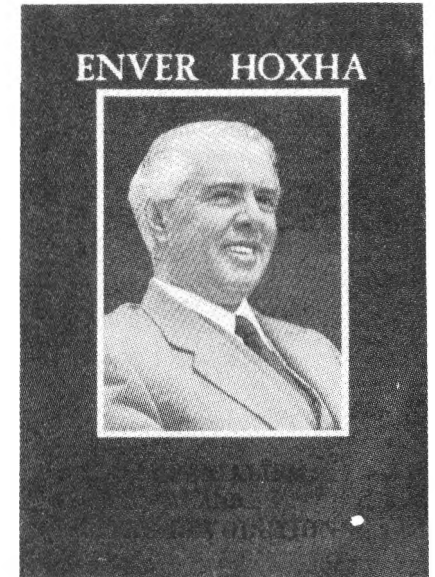
countries that they need have no fears about investing their capital in the Chinese «open market».

In order to make these assurances as convincing as possible and to confuse the Chinese working class and people, to make them bend their backs and work to satisfy the chauvinist appetites of the Chinese bourgeoisie, the revisionist leadership is insisting on the broad implementation of Mao Tsetung's concept, «Let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend!» Many facts show that in China, along with foreign capital and credits, the penetration of foreign ideology and culture and decadent bourgeois-revisionist art is also being stepped up, from idealist and reactionary philosophical trends, the propagation of the bourgeois way of life and pornographic films, to requests to the «voice of America» to increase its broadcasts to China.

Along with the spiritual degeneration and the discrediting of revolutionary ideals, the present Chinese leadership, inspired by the imperial style of leadership practised by Mao Tsetung, is strengthening its open fascist dictatorship under the mask of «freedom», «democracy», «emancipation of thought», etc. etc.

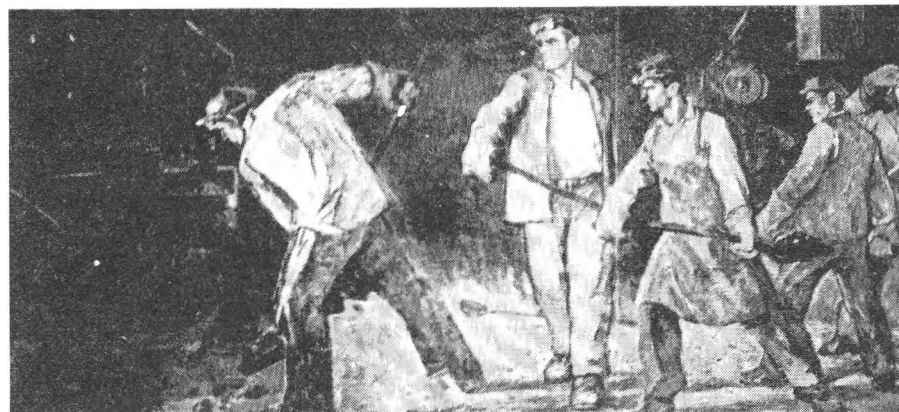
The connections and open collaboration of the Chinese leadership with imperialism, especially with American imperialism, also have their theoretical basis in «Mao Tsetung thought», which is a typical ideology of unprincipled compromise, of «uniting» with all those who can be united. In keeping with these concepts, the present Chinese leadership considers the «abnormal» situation which existed between China and the USA to be purely «the result of a misunderstanding», for, as Teng Hsiao-ping stated during his recent visit to the USA, it was precisely «Chairman Mao Tsetung and the President of the State Council Chou En-lai who opened the way for the normalization of Sino-American relations».

All these things once again con-



firm the correctness of the profound and well-argued conclusion Comrade Enver Hoxha arrives at in his work «Imperialism and the Revolution», that «Mao Tsetung thought», stripped of its demagoguery, is against the revolution and the freedom of the peoples, and comes directly to the assistance of imperialism in decline and decay.

Likewise, of great value for understanding and correctly waging the struggle against Chinese revisionism is Comrade Enver Hoxha's other conclusion that present-day Chinese revisionism, the social-imperialist policy followed by the groups of Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping, are not at all a phenomenon which developed only in recent years, following Mao Tsetung's death, but a phenomenon with its roots in the political and ideological past of China, its militaristic state practice, its policy of collaboration and alliance with the bourgeoisie which was advocated and implemented by the so-called Communist Party of China and Mao Tsetung himself. The only difference is that, in the present conditions, «Mao Tsetung thought», as the ideological basis of Chinese revisionism, is displaying its hostile essence, its anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary essence, fully and undisguisedly. This conclusion,



which is argued in an all-round way, with convincing facts, in the book «Imperialism and the Revolution», leaves no room for illusions about the theoretical and practical value of «Mao Tsetung Thought».

There are people in China and outside it, says Comrade Enver Hoxha, who compare the «criticism» of Mao by the group of Teng Hsiao-ping with the crime of Khrushchev who slung mud at the immortal work of Stalin, who was and remains a great Marxist-Leninist. But «nobody, however few brains he has in his head,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «can accept such an analogy. The most correct comparison which can be made is that Brezhnev and his revisionist group toppled Khrushchev, and now

the Chinese Brezhnev, Teng Hsiao-ping, is toppling the Chinese Khrushchev, Mao Tsetung, from his pedestal».

Many facts revealed recently the correctness of this conclusion of Comrade Enver Hoxha. In reality, the campaign of wall-posters which the Teng group has unleashed in China, the «philosophical» discussions being held there on «the role of genius» and «practice as the criterion of truth», and the calls to do everything «proceeding only from the facts and not from books», etc. etc., are nothing but a revisionist game and struggle for power, an attempt to preserve «Mao Tsetung thought» and to adapt it better to the policy of «four modernizations» which aims to transform Chi-

na into a superpower, with the assistance of world imperialism. But regardless of these «criticisms», Teng Hsiao-ping is the man who declared that «Mao Tsetung thought has been, is and will always be the banner of our joint struggle».

Hence, in these conditions, Marxism-Leninism and the revolution in China will triumph, as Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, only as a result of the great efforts of the Chinese working class and people, who must bring forth from their midst their true leadership purged of all traitors, of «Mao Tsetung thought», «Teng Hsiao-ping thought» and other such anti-Marxist, revisionist and bourgeois thought.

J.V. Stalin's Work is Immortal

Petro Lalaj, *Albania Today*, Tirana, no. 3 (46), 1979.

Stalin devoted his whole life and all his mental and physical energies to the cause of the proletariat, the revolution and socialism.

This year a hundred years are completed since J.V. Stalin was born and 26 years from the day when the heart of this great Marxist-Leninist revolutionary and thinker, the disciple, the loyal collaborator and the unwavering continuator of Lenin's ideas and work, ceased to beat. Stalin's work is immortal. It lives and will live on in the centuries, for it is indissolubly linked and merged into one with the ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism, with the triumph of the Socialist October Revolution, which was inspired and led by Lenin, with the establishment and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in

Russia, with the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, which was carried out on the basis of the teachings of Lenin and under the leadership of Stalin, with the powerful upsurge of the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat and the international communist movement. Stalin, Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, "as a person and as the leader of the Bolshevik Communist Party, is at the same time the most outstanding leader of international communism after Lenin's death. With his great authority, he influenced very positively the consolidation and the development of the victories of communism throughout the world".

Stalin devoted his whole life and all his mental and physical energies to the cause of the proletariat, the revolution and socialism. With his revolutionary work and struggle, Stalin became very soon one of the most



revolution and socialism. With his revolutionary work and struggle, Stalin became very soon one of the most

PETRO LALAJ — Professor, chief of the department of the history of the PLA at the University of Tirana.

known figures of the Russian proletarian movement, one of Lenin's closest collaborators, who made a major contribution to the organization and triumph of the Socialist October Revolution. Side by side with Lenin, he fought for the founding and construction of the first socialist state in the world, for its defence against the counter-revolution and foreign intervention.

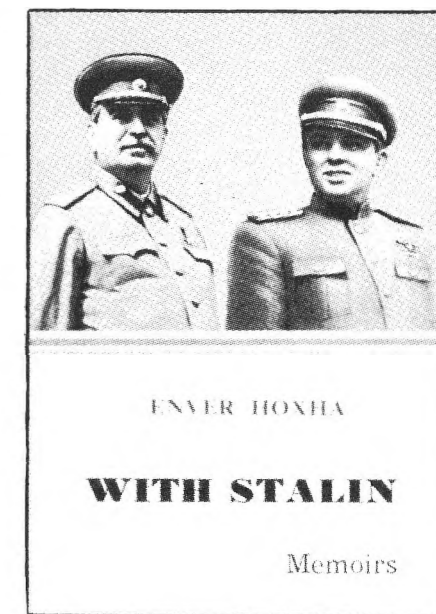
After Lenin's death, Stalin defended, developed and carried forward Lenin's ideas and work. At the head of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state, Stalin organized and led the struggle for the realization of the brilliant Leninist plan for the construction of socialism. Under Stalin's leadership, through a fierce class struggle against the internal and external enemies, against the Trotskyite renegades, the Bukharinists, Zinovievists and others, the socialist industrialization of the country was carried out at a quick pace, on the basis of self-reliance, the inner resources, the collectivization of agriculture — one of the most difficult and complicated tasks, as a result of which the socialist relations of production were extended to the countryside, too, was successfully accomplished, thorough-going revolutionary transformations were carried out in the field of education and culture.

The fascist aggression of Hitlerite Germany against the Soviet Union interrupted the construction of socialism. At the head of the defence of the country and the Soviet Army, Stalin was the strategist who forged the victory of the Soviet Union and brought about the complete destruction of the fascist aggressors. The war and victory of the Soviet Union were of vital importance for the liberation of the peoples from under the fascist heel. The prestige of the Soviet Union rose to unprecedented heights, and Stalin's name became the symbol for the resistance, freedom and independence of the peoples.

Great were the victories of the Soviet Union led by Stalin also after the Great Patriotic War. Within a short time, the Soviet people healed the grave wounds of the war, restored the economy and created the necessary material and technical base for a new impetuous development of the socialist construction. This was a new proof which showed the great vitality of the socialist order.

Stalin continued and developed further the brilliant Leninist tradition of the consistent implementation and strengthening of proletarian internationalism. Both at the time of the Comintern and later on, he worked and fought untiringly for the development and strengthening of the world workers' and communist movement and the liberation movement of the peoples oppressed by and dependent on imperialism. He was the first to expose the betrayal of the Yugoslav revisionists, this first variant of revisionism in power, which had taken upon itself to play the role of the Trojan horse, in order to split the international communist movement and to sabotage the liberation movement of the peoples. Proceeding from the absolute necessity for raising the cooperation of the communist and workers' parties to a new level and fighting the enemies of the revolution and Marxism-Leninism, he became the initiator and inspirer of the creation of the Information Bureau, he played a major role both in the strengthening of the links and the exchange of the revolutionary experience among the communist parties, and in stigmatizing and exposing the betrayal of the Yugoslav revisionists. Time fully confirmed the correctness of Stalin's opinions and the decisions of the Information Bureau.

Stalin was not only a great revolutionary, a great leader of the Bolshevik Party, the Soviet state and the world proletarian and liberation movement. He was at the same time an outstanding Marxist-Leninist theoretician and thinker. The principal merit of Stalin in this field is that he defended Leninism to the finish, with revolutionary fierceness, with rare ability and in a creative manner and developed it further. Stalin defended the Leninist theory of the proletarian revolution against the attacks of Trotsky and others. In his works he has revealed all the magnificence and inexhaustible riches of Lenin's theoretical legacy. In his fight against opportunists, revisionists, and all the other enemies, Stalin defended and developed in a creative manner the Marxist-Leninist theory of the violent proletarian revolution, as a general law of the transition from capitalism to socialism, defended and enriched the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the dictatorship of the proletariat as the irreplaceable weapon in the hands of the proletariat for the destruction and the definitive liquidation of the resistance of the exploiting and overthrown classes, for the defence of the victories of the revolution and socialism from the internal and external enemies, for the construction of socialist and communist society, as weapons which must be continuously sharpened and tempered over the entire period of the



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construction of socialism and the transition to communism. The leading role of the Marxist-Leninist proletarian party is decisive everywhere and at all times, for the destinies of the revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism. Stalin has made his contribution also to the elaboration and development of the other major questions of the Marxist-Leninist science such as are those of the classes and the class struggle, imperialism, the stand towards it, and so on.

The Khrushchevite revisionist renegades and their followers demolished and discarded the ideas and teachings of Lenin and Stalin, all that great non-stop revolutionary process which was going on in the world in Stalin lifetime, under the triumphant banner of Marxism-Leninism, the brilliant victories of socialism in the Soviet Union and the progress of socialism in the other countries, the impetuous development of the revolution and the liberation struggle which was growing ceaselessly and would sweep away the capitalist world.

After Stalin's death, the Khrushchevite revisionist traitor group, which had been working on the sly and was lying in wait to stab the Party of Lenin and Stalin in the back, seized the opportunity, usurped power, got hold of the leadership of the Party and the Soviet State with anti-Marxist and anti-revolutionary methods, on the putschist road. In order to smuggle in their anti-Marxist and counterrevolutionary course, the Khrushchevite revisionists launched a rabid diabolic onslaught against Stalin, an onslaught which was based on slanders, lies, the falsification of facts and the reality. They conducted the attack against Stalin under specious slogans and theses of the struggle against «the cult of the individual of Stalin and its consequences». In their rabid efforts for denigrating, discrediting and uncrowning Stalin, the Khrushchevite modern revisionists intended to denigrate and uncrown

Leninism, intended to deny and reject Marxism-Leninism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as to justify their revisionist course together with all its consequences. That their intention was to uncrown Leninism, this was proved by the revisionist ideological platform which was advanced by Khrushchev and was approved at the ill-famed 20th Congress.

The onslaught against Stalin served the Soviet revisionists also to accuse and slander the Party and its Marxist-Leninist line, to present in a distorted light the 30-year long period of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, a period over which Stalin was at the head of the Soviet Party and State. In fact, the attacks against Stalin and his period served the Soviet Khrushchevite revisionists to attack and reject the entire revolutionary experience of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin and the entire revolutionary experience of the international workers' and communist movement.

All the currents of present-day revisionism — the Yugoslav and Chinese revisionists, the Eurocommunists, and all the other enemies of the revolution and socialism, who accept any sort of «socialism», the «Yugoslav self-administrative socialism», «socialism with a human face», or the «developed socialism» of the Khrushchev-Brezhnev type, and who reject only one socialism: the true one, that which was created by Lenin and Stalin on the basis of Marxism, that socialism which exists and is developing in Albania on the basis of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, — along with the Soviet revisionists launched themselves rabidly, with unprecedented hatred and hostility, against this revolutionary experience, against Marxism-Leninism, and against Stalin, who stood for their consistent defence and implementation.

The Marxist-Leninist forecasts, analyses and conclusions of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha about the great betrayal of the Soviet revisionists, as

well as about all the other currents of modern revisionism, were thoroughly confirmed by time. The Khrushchevite revisionist betrayal and the spread of the revisionist wave into the other countries, with all negative consequences and the damages it caused, did not succeed in conquering Marxism-Leninism. Its transforming force grows every day, at a time when revisionism, with all its variants, is in the decline. «Khrushchev and the other petty theoreticians of the so-called 'creative' Marxism failed ignominiously», Comrade Enver Hoxha declared at the 7th Congress of the Party, «the science of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin remains deeply implanted in the minds and hearts of the world proletariat, it is always the unerring compass of the revolution and socialism, the triumphant weapon in the class battles of the proletariat and the working masses».

The question of the stand towards Stalin, as our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have declared, is a great question of principle, a demarcation line which has divided and divides the genuine Marxist-Leninists from the revisionists and opportunists of all hues, the genuine revolutionaries from the pseudo-revolutionaries and counterrevolutionaries.

The struggle of the PLA in defence of Stalin and his work has had and still has a deep revolutionary, principled content. While defending Stalin, the PLA defends Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary traditions of October, the experience of the first socialist state, founded by Lenin and led by Stalin, defends the universal experience of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, carried out on the basis of the teachings of Lenin and under the guidance of Stalin, an experience which the Soviet revisionists threw overboard and betrayed.

Our Party and people, together with all the revolutionaries, the workers and the peoples of the world, cherish the brilliant memory of J. V. Stalin.

In defence of Mao Tse-tung Thought

by M. Sanmugathasan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ceylon, July 1979.

*Editor's note: This declaration issued by a special congress of the Communist Party of Ceylon undertakes to refute Enver Hoxha's point of view on Mao Tse-tung Thought. It specifically addresses itself to the arguments put forward by the Party of Labour of Albania in the book **Imperialism and the Revolution**. The declaration deals with the major aspects of the current debate on the thought and work of Mao and the Communist Party of China: the cultural revolution, the transition from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, the theory of contradictions, the method of solving contradictions put forward by Mao and his attitude towards Stalin and the Comintern. The basic elements of the Communist Party of Ceylon's defence of Mao can also be found in the publications of other organizations, such as the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and the Revolutionary Communist Party of U.S.A.*

*Below you will find an excerpt from the declaration dealing with the cultural revolution, as well as the conclusion of the declaration. The full text is available in English in **Revolution**, published by the RCP of the U.S.A., vol. 4, no. 10-11, Oct.-Nov. 1979. It is available in Spanish in **Revolucion**, also published by the RCP of the U.S.A., vol. 5, no. 1, January 1980.*

It has become necessary for all Marxist-Leninists to reassess Mao Tsetung Thought because of late it has begun to be attacked from both the right and the left. It is not difficult to understand why the right attacks Mao. The present revisionist leadership of China, under Teng Hsiao-ping and the imperialists of all kinds have all the reasons in the world to attack Mao because they hate everything he stood for. Teng Hsiao-ping is currently engaged in the process of de-Maoisation of China, of reversing all the policies of Mao, of reversing the correct verdicts of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Therefore he has every reason to attack and abuse Mao.

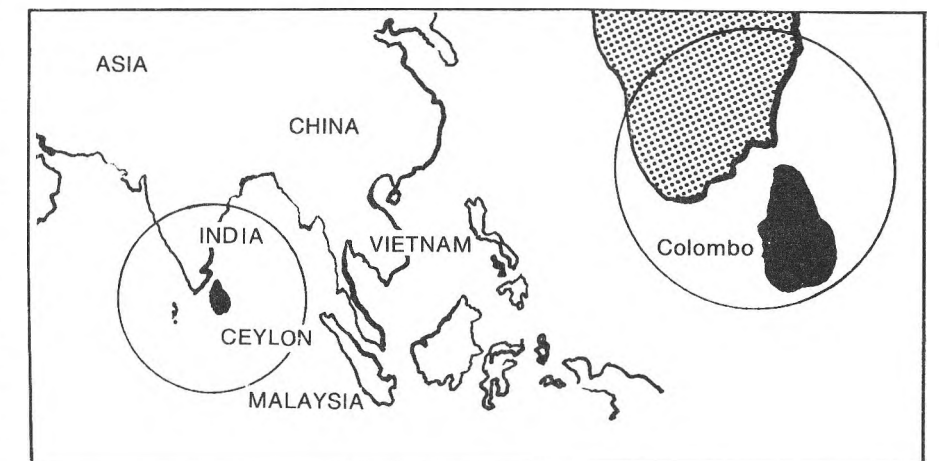
But, what is more difficult to understand is why the left personified by the Party of Labour of Albania and certain other so-called Marxist-Leninist parties have chosen precisely this moment to lend weight to Teng's elbow by coming out with a wholesale condemnation

and rejection of Mao Tsetung Thought.

The present anti-Maoist activities of Teng can only be compared to the denunciation of Stalin by Khrushchev in 1956. It does not need much intelligence to perceive this parallel. Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist who took part, with Lenin, in founding the Soviet state and after Lenin's death, in

constructing socialism in the Soviet Union and then defending it successfully against the savagery of Hitler's attack. Khrushchev reversed all these, restored capitalism in the Soviet Union, collaborated with U.S. imperialism and shattered the unity of the world communist movement which Stalin had built. Mao, too, was a great Marxist-Leninist who liberated one-fourth of the world's population from imperialism and feudalism and, thereafter, constructed socialism in China and by means of the Cultural Revolution showed how to carry on the class struggle under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent China from going the way of the Soviet Union.

Teng has reversed this whole process and is now busy restoring capitalism, in reversing all the correct verdicts of the Cultural Revolution. It is a little insulting to our intelligence to suggest, as the Albanian comrades are doing, that Mao should be compared to Khrushchev and not to Stalin and that Teng is China's Brezhnev.



One question pops up immediately. Why did the Albanian comrades remain silent so long? Nay, why did they hail Mao as a great Marxist-Leninist as late as 1977 at their Seventh Congress? No convincing reason is forthcoming. The only reason trotted out is that the Chinese Party was a closed book to them and they did not know what really was happening there. If that were really so, despite the fact that both parties were members of the Cominform in the post-Second World War period, who opened this closed book to the Albanians now? Surely not Teng Hsiao-ping?

Recently, our Party delegation which visited the Iron and Metallurgical Works at Elbassan which was built with Chinese aid was told that Chinese economic sabotage had started even during Mao's lifetime, i.e., before September 1976. Then, why did Enver, in his report to the Seventh Congress, refer to Mao not only as a great Marxist-Leninist but also as a great friend of the Albanian people? Surely, Enver must have been aware of the sabotage! He need not have abused him. But need he have praised him if the charge is true?

Even before the detailed questions to be analysed later, let us first answer the central question. What is Mao Tsetung Thought? Mao Tsetung Thought is Marxism-Leninism as applied to the specific, concrete revolutionary practice of China and our era. As the Chinese comrades have themselves put it, "Marxism-Leninism holds that the fundamental question of revolution is political power and that the seizure of power by armed force is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This is the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism. Whoever denies this or admits it in words but denies it in deeds is not a genuine Marxist-Leninist. But specific conditions vary in different

countries. And in what way would this task be carried out in China? On the basis of the great practice after the October Revolution, Lenin in his Address To the Second All-Russian Congress of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East in November 1919, told the communists of the Eastern peoples that they must see the characteristics of their own areas and that, relying upon the general theory and practice of communism, they must adapt themselves to peculiar conditions which do not exist in the European countries. Lenin stressed that this was 'a task which until now did not confront the communists anywhere in the world. Obviously, the seizure of political power and the victory of the revolution are out of the question if the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism is not integrated with the concrete revolutionary practice of a specific country.'

Comrade Mao Tsetung set out to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete revolutionary practice of China. The strategy and tactics that he used to achieve this aim have now come to be known as Mao Tsetung Thought. Unfortunately some European "Marxist-Leninists" do not see, as Lenin did, the specific characteristics of a country like China, which was heir to a very ancient civilisation and where lived a quarter of the world's population and which was oppressed both by feudalism and by foreign imperialism. They see only the dogma and accuse Mao Tsetung of having allegedly deviated from it. But they do not pause to study and understand the specific characteristics of the concrete revolutionary situation.

What seems to have attracted the Albanian comrades' attention to the mistakes of Mao Tsetung was the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolu-

tion which Enver Hoxha describes as being neither a revolution, nor great, nor cultural, and in particular, not in the least proletarian. He calls it a palace putsch on an all China scale for a liquidation of a handful of reactionaries who had seized power.

This is a naive and childish description of, perhaps, one of the greatest revolutionary events of our time. To call a revolution that convulsed the entire Chinese society and involved the militant action of millions upon millions of Chinese people a palace putsch passes one's understanding. Let us try and understand what the Cultural Revolution was all about. In 1965, on the eve of the Cultural Revolution, China was poised on the path of capitalist restoration, a path that had already been taken by the Soviet Union. Liu Shao-chi, who was correctly dubbed the Krushchev of China, was the head of the state. Teng Hsiao-ping was the General Secretary of the Party. Mao was virtually reduced to a minority in the Central Committee. He found working conditions in Peking impossible and had to go to Shanghai to fire his first counter shot.

If Mao had to go outside the Party leadership and appeal to the people to bombard the Headquarters of the Party and thus give a personal leadership to the Cultural Revolution, it was because the leadership of the Party was riddled with revisionists and capitalist roaders. Mao had no other alternative, if he wanted to safeguard his Party and keep China from changing colour.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is an example of how to carry on class struggle under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, to prevent China from changing colour and going down the path of capitalist

restoration, and to preserve China as a base for world revolution.

A question that is asked is: Why call it a Cultural Revolution? It was so called because it was in the cultural front that both the revisionists and the revolutionaries the Hungarian counter revolution in 1956, cultural activities played a big role in the attempt of the revisionists in China to put the clock back. Besides, the whole revolution was about the question of capturing and influencing men's minds, to create a new kind of socialist man, devoid of selfishness and the lust for personal power and grandeur. That is why it was called a Cultural Revolution.

It was certainly great because nothing like that had ever before happened in history. We repeat that it was one of the most momentous events of our time. It certainly was not a hoax, as Enver Hoxha claims. Nor did it liquidate the Communist Party of China, as Enver Hoxha claims. Nor did it liquidate the Communist Party of China. It only demolished its bourgeois headquarters, that part of its leadership that had gone revisionist. In its place, it introduced new blood. Of course, there was chaos. Every revolution produces a certain amount of chaos. That is inevitable. As Mao has pointed out, revolution is not a dinner party. Destruction always precedes construction. To say that the revolution was led by non-Marxist elements is simply absurd. It was led by one of the greatest Marxist-Leninists, Mao Tsetung himself.

That Mao and the revolutionaries did not achieve all the aims they set out to achieve by means of the Cultural Revolution is true. This was because, half-way through the revolution, acting on the pretext that the revolution had gone too far to the left, certain leaders like Chou En-lai succeeded in rehabilitating

people dethroned by the Cultural Revolution. That this could not be prevented represented the weakness of the social classes represented by Mao and the revolutionaries.

Others ask: Why did Mao call upon the youth to rise up in revolt through the Cultural Revolution? This question has been raised by the Albanian Party. One is tempted to reply: Did not the Albanian Party call upon the youth to construct their railways and to terrace their mountain sides. The youth is not a class by itself. They come from different classes. But they have the common trait, particularly under socialism, of being idealistic, self sacrificing and willing to change society. Therefore, they can play a vanguard role — which means taking the lead in marching in the forefront of the ranks. That is why Mao appealed to the youth.

But this does not mean that working class youth were not in the forefront of the Cultural Revolution. Youth from the working class and peasantry formed the bulk of the Red Guards even though there were small sections of workers who were opposed to the Revolution.

Let us not forget that the driving force of the January Storm in Shanghai — one of the outstanding and pace setting events of the Cultural Revolution — was the organisations of revolutionary workers in Shanghai, led by Chang Chun-chiao, Yao Wen-yuan and Wang Hung-wen.

But this, by no means, suggests the repudiation of the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution. As far as Mao is concerned right throughout his theoretical writings and in practice, he has stressed the leading role of the proletariat and has referred to the peasantry as the main force. He has never deviated. In the very first essay in Volume I of

his *Selected Works*, answering the question: Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? he has stated in his "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society," "The leading force in our revolution is the industrial proletariat." In his essay on the May 4th Movement, he has stated "it is impossible to accomplish the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution without these basic revolutionary forces and without the leadership of the working class." He has further analysed in detail this question in his essay "On the Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party." Therein, he states, "The Chinese proletariat is the basic motive force of the Chinese Revolution. Unless it is led by the proletariat, the Chinese Revolution cannot possibly succeed" He has returned to this position several times in his writings. In practice, too, he has given prominence to the organisation of workers, e.g. those of the Anyuan coal mines.

But Enver Hoxha has written that Mao has said that all other political parties and forces must submit to the peasantry and its views. In support of this contention he quotes the following two sentences from Mao's "Report Hunan": "Millions of peasants will rise like a mighty storm, a force so swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to hold it back," "they will put to the test every revolutionary party and group, every revolutionary, so that they accept their views or reject them."

This is nothing short of gross dishonesty. Mao wrote this essay not to urge the hegemonic role of the peasantry in the Chinese Revolution; but to urge the then leadership of the Chinese Communist Party to give leadership to the already emerging peasant movement in the countryside. It must be pointed out that the then leadership

of the Chinese Communist Party was only interested in the alliance with the national bourgeoisie and neglected the task of forging the worker-peasant alliance. Mao correctly wanted this policy changed. But he has never argued for the hegemonic role of the peasantry in the revolution. He has always described the peasantry, which in China formed between 80 to 90% of the population, as the main force in the revolution and declared that "without the poor peasants there would be no revolution."

Enver Hoxha further cites the thesis about the "revolutionary villages" and that the "countryside must encircle the city" as proof that Mao had elevated the peasantry to the position of the leading role. But what did Mao mean? As far as we could understand it, Mao pointed out that in the semi-colonial countries of the present time, the forces of the enemy were superior to the initially inferior forces of the people and that the enemy forces were concentrated in the cities, e.g. the headquarters of the government, the military, the police, the radio, the railway, the postal department, etc. were all in the cities.

In such a situation, the enemy forces were, at the beginning, superior to the initially weaker people's forces. In such a context, Mao suggested that it would be folly to hit our heads against the stone wall of the enemies' superior might. Instead, he suggested that the people should move away, as far as possible, from the enemies' centers of power. In countries like China where the majority of the people lived outside the cities, this would mean going among the people, organising them and building up revolutionary bases within which a people's army could be built and trained. This would change a disadvantage into an advantage and

would oblige the enemy to send his forces in search of the people's forces. In such an event the enemy should be lured deep among the people and destroyed by using the tactic of pitting ten against one. The people's army will learn and grow in actual combat with the enemy till a qualitative change is reached when the people's forces would have become superior to the forces of the enemy. This is the theory known as protracted guerilla warfare. When the people's forces had become superior to those of the enemy it would then be possible to surround the cities and finally liberate them.

This was the brilliant military strategy and tactics worked out by Mao in the course of guiding the Chinese revolution. By no means does it negate the leading role of the proletariat or allocate such a role to the peasantry. The leading role of the proletariat is realised through the proletarian ideology of Marxism-Leninism and as expressed through the Communist Party. It does not mean that the proletariat should numerically be the superior force or that all actions must originate or take place in the cities. This is so because, in an undeveloped and big country like China, the proletariat is numerically weak while the vast countryside gives ample room for the people's forces to manoeuvre. Neither do these tactics mean doing no work or less work in the cities. In the conditions of illegality that prevailed in pre-revolutionary China, Mao has said that in the enemy occupied Kuomintang areas their policy should be to have well selected cadres working underground for a long period, to accumulate strength and bide our time.

Besides, when we consider the practice of the Chinese Revolution, we find that the greater number of the forces that formed the first Workers and Peasants Red Army

which Mao led to the Ching Kang mountains in 1927 were composed of coal miners from Anyuan whom Mao had worked earlier.

Nevertheless, Mao did not offer this tactic as a universal solution to all countries. On September 25th, 1956, in a talk with the representatives of some Latin American Communist Parties, he had said that the Chinese experience in this connection may not be applicable to many of their countries, though it can serve for their reference. He begged to advise them not to transplant Chinese experience mechanically. (...)

But nevertheless, we have to admit that there had been mistakes committed even during Mao's life. These constitute mistakes in the application of Mao Tsetung Thought. Some of them seem to have been committed when Mao was powerless to prevent them. In other cases, Mao himself seems to have participated in the mistakes. We refer specifically to the period following September 1971 when mistakes of a serious nature were committed in the field of foreign policy and in the sphere of relationships with foreign Marxist-Leninist parties.

This was the period when Lin Biao turned traitor, tried to assassinate Mao and died in an air crash in an attempt to flee to the Soviet Union. It was a traumatic experience for the whole of China. This opportunity was seized by the many elements who had been toppled by the Cultural Revolution to have themselves rehabilitated. Chou En-lai, who was never a genuine follower of Mao, lent his weight to this movement. One of the most prominent to be rehabilitated was Chou En-lai's protégé, Teng Hsiao-ping. It was under their influence that many mistakes in foreign policy were committed although, in

internal matters, the four leaders who were associated with Mao managed to see that a correct policy prevailed.

We have to refer to one incident relating to our country. In 1972 the Chinese Government gave military aid to the government of Sri Lanka and even sent officers to train the army. It was an indefensible act and we told the Chinese Communist Party so, by letter, in 1973. Similarly indefensible was their attitude to Chile, Iraq, etc. But there were also actions in which Mao personally participated and which cannot be defended. Examples are the reception to the German Fascist leader Strauss and to Nixon (particularly on the second occasion when he was no longer a head of the State and had been discredited by the Watergate scandal) and fascist dictators like Marxos.

This period was also marked by a reversal of policy toward foreign Marxist-Leninist parties. During the period of Cultural Revolution and the period immediately following that and even during the period preceding it, there is no question but that the Chinese Communist Party gave active support to foreign Marxist-Leninist parties even though, at stages, one could not

agree with its policy of recognising more than one party in one country — thus contributing to dis-unity. A possible reason for this change could have been a change of personnel in the leadership of the international department of the Chinese Communist Party. In 1972 died Comrade Kang Sheng, an old and trusted follower of Mao, who was the head of the International Department of the Chinese Communist Party. His place was taken by Ken Piao, one of Chou En-lai's enemies and who was opposed to Mao. It was under his leadership that the policy of indifference to and non-support of foreign Marxist-Leninist parties began.

Despite these and certain other mistakes, we do not think that they invalidate the basic tenets of Mao Tsetung Thought. We consider slain a great Marxist-Leninist despite certain mistakes he had committed. In the same way, despite certain aberrations in practice, we consider that Mao Tsetung Thought is Marxism-Leninism of our era and that anyone who attacks Mao Tsetung Thought is in fact attacking Marxism-Leninism.

It gives us no happiness to disagree with the Albanian Party, for whose defense of the purity of Marxism in

the past we had had a great respect, and from whom we had learnt much. When Teng Hsiao-ping and the present Chinese leadership dropped the flag of Mao Tsetung Thought, the Albanian Party and Enver Hoxha had a chance to unite parties of the world who had come forward to denounce the obnoxious Theory of the Three Worlds and to inherit the mantle of Mao. But, instead they decided to do the opposite and have given comfort to both Soviet and Chinese revisionists and to all the imperialists and reactionaries of the world.

Let us remember that since the time of Lenin and Stalin, no ideology had claimed such world wide acceptance and mobilised revolutionaries all over the world as Mao Tsetung Thought. The reactionaries and revisionists would dearly love to see it smashed to pieces. That is why they are rushing to the aid of China because of their dread that China might go back to the days of Mao.

In such a difficult situation all revolutionaries must make a choice. We stand by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao.

(Adopted at a special congress of the Ceylon Communist Party, held in July 1979)

A critical examination of Mao Zedong Thought

Libertad, Popular Dominican Movement — Marxist-Leninist Party (MPD), no. 86 (first two weeks of November) 1979

Editor's note: The on-going debate on the evaluation to be made of Mao Zedong Thought and the Chinese revolution has caused serious soul-searching within a number of Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations. This was the case with the communists in the Dominican Republic, as the following text indicates.

It is drawn from a resolution adopted by the MPD — Marxist-Leninist Party at a conference for cadre. In the part of the resolution that is not republished here, there is an explanation of the importance of the current questioning in the MPD in the context of the 24 years it has existed. It points out that, up until now, the successive crises in the party had not led to fundamental solutions to its problems, but that now a greater grasp of Marxism-Leninism would enable the party to identify and understand more fully the basic reasons for its problems. The translation is by MLOC IN STRUGGLE!

Leninism: the revolutionary proletariat's theoretical guide and doctrine in the present era of imperialism

The conference reaffirmed that Leninism — and not Maoism, as had previously been held — is the theory of proletarian revolution in the present era of imperialism.

We will have the opportunity to deal more extensively with this question at a later time, but there are a few important assumptions that should be pointed out right away, in connection with the resolution adopted by the conference.

When Marxism was developed by Marx and Engels, capitalism was still in its competitive stage. Imperialism, and the monopolies that are its basic element, were not yet fully developed. The proletariat was relatively weak. It was just beginning to build its own independent political organization and tended by and large to fight "its enemy's enemies".

Marx and Engels saw the revolution essentially as a question con-

fronting workers in industrially developed countries. Thus the theory worked out by the founders of communism was for the most part designed to solve the contradictions arising out of the situation in industrial countries.

The general belief at that time was that the revolution would occur in these advanced countries. The guarantee of its stability and consolidation would be the simultaneous triumph of the revolution in all these countries.

Later, capitalism reached the stage of imperialism. On the basis of the doctrine developed by Marx, Lenin analyzed the contradictions spawned by this new stage. He understood that this stage is the stage of decaying, parasitic capitalism in its death agony. It is the "eve of proletarian revolution".

With the growth of monopolies and the resulting oppression, the question of revolution could no longer be seen solely as something affecting developed capitalist countries. Lenin developed a theory of revolution that encompassed both the struggle in the advanced countries and the struggle in the



dependent countries. He did not ignore or overlook the specific characteristics of each situation; instead, he analyzed them correctly. He set out a correct orientation for relating democratic tasks adequately to socialist tasks as an integral part of the revolutionary movement in a given era. At the same time, he developed strategic and tactical principles as well as the theoretical foundations for building the leading instrument of the revolution and of building socialism after the proletariat takes power.

In the new conditions of his era, Lenin emphasized the importance of identifying the weakest link of the chain of imperialist domination and making revolution where it is possible to do so. He led the Russian proletariat to power, and opened up vast new horizons for the international working class. Guided by his theory, Leninism, the world proletarian movement has made unprecedented gains.

Stalin based himself on Leninism to continue leading the international revolution. And the communists of the entire world also based themselves on Leninism to define their general orientations and decide on various forms of organization and struggle.

Leninism is the theory of proletarian revolution in the current era of imperialism. The basic foundations of Lenin's analysis have been borne out in practice. As long as we live in the era of imperialism, Leninism will not be "replaced" or "surpassed" by any other "thought".

The revisionists' aspirations to distort or replace Leninism

It is natural for revisionism and its agents to attack Leninism. Sometimes they try to deny its universal nature, presenting it as an expression of Russian Marxism and nothing more. At other times, they try to suggest that it is "old" and "out of date". Most of the time, they try to replace it with this or that kind of "thought" — that of Tito in Yugoslavia, or that of Khrushchev, or Euro-communism, or Castroism, or one of the many other variations of opportunist "theories".

The attempt to "go beyond" Leninism and "replace" it with Mao Zedong Thought took on a much broader scope mainly during the Cultural Revolution, at the obvious initiative of Lin Biao and with the implicit consent of Chairman Mao.

We were told that we were living in a "new era", and that the leader of the Communist Party of China had raised Marxism and Leninism to a higher level than any previous thinker. But this proclamation was not accompanied by any explanation of the social changes that justified such a conclusion.

Tailism and a narrow-minded attitude towards the theory

developed by Lenin made it possible for the absurdities spouted by the Chinese leaders to be endorsed by a number of organizations, including the MPD.

Some basic study of Lenin's fundamental theses and a less subjective analysis would have allowed us to understand that we were not living in a "new era". We were still living in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

It took many long years of experience, before we really took a hard look at the path we were taking "on the basis of Mao Zedong Thought". In particular, it took the disclosure of the cruel reality of the Chinese experience and the clarifications of fraternal organizations in other countries that enlightened us on many points. Finally, armed with our own point of view and a spirit of independent-mindedness, we recognized the value of Leninism as a guide for world revolution in the situation today in more than mere words. We reviewed our conclusion that "Maoism is the Marxism-Leninism of our era". We began to understand just how different and antagonistic these two theories are, we saw how vital it was to reject "Mao Zedong Thought" before we could even hope to be seen as the dialectical negation of the old line.

The need for more thorough study of the problem

It goes without saying that a process of negating the old, of correcting matters, includes an examination of the "theory" that was the basis of the edifice that is today in crisis.

But apart from this specific reason, there are other urgent reasons why Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought need to be studied and examined more thoroughly. For Mao Zedong Thought is in contradiction with Marxism-Leninism

on a number of fundamental points. Let's examine them more closely.

1) Mao Zedong lost all sense of historical perspective when he held that 10,000 years will pass before it is known whether the proletariat or the bourgeoisie, socialism or capitalism, will emerge victorious.

Yet Marx and Engels, realizing that the bourgeois system had exhausted all its progressive potential, affirmed more than a century ago that the death knell had sounded for the capitalist regime. Later, Lenin established that capitalism in its supreme stage was a decaying, dying system. It had become the eve of socialist revolution.

2) In his text "New Democracy", Mao deviated from Leninism, which makes socialist tasks inseparable from democratic tasks, socialist revolution inseparable from bourgeois-democratic revolution. Mao, however, stated that these were "two qualitatively different processes" and that "one could not talk of socialism" until the democratic revolution in China had been completed.

3) Mao contradicted the fundamental way in which Marxism-Leninism analyzes contradictions when he claimed that the antagonistic contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie could be transformed into a "non-antagonistic" contradiction if it was handled correctly.

4) This same conciliating vision of classes and class contradictions led to a further contradiction. Mao defended the idea that there could be "lasting co-existence and reciprocal control" between the proletariat and its sworn enemy, the bourgeoisie. He claimed that these two opposing forces could share power and exercise a joint dictatorship over a lengthy period of history. Consequently, this theory holds, there can be several parties, even under socialism, and different classes can control power, even un-

der socialism. In all these aspects, this theory revises the Marxist-Leninist theses on the State and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

5) On the basis of the same erroneous position on classes and class struggle, this theory contradicts Lenin's and Stalin's conception of the party. The Lenin — Stalin theory holds that the political detachment of the working class is a "monolithic entity whose existence is incompatible with the existence of factions". The party defends a single Marxist-Leninist line. Mao Zedong advocated the existence of "two lines", "two general staffs" — the bourgeois and the proletarian lines and general staffs — as well as the continued presence of various different banners within the same party leadership.

Because of this position, Mao was never successful in uniting his party. It was always a hotbed of factions and counter-factions with which Mao occasionally made deals and reached agreements. Sometimes, for instance, he removed persons from power and then later rehabilitated them. In 1956, for example, Mao himself took up the defence of Li Li-san and Wang Ming. He advocated that they be elected to the Central Committee because they represented the petty-bourgeois tendency. They were "infamous" and well known "for the line errors they had committed".

6) Mao tolerated a practice of the personality cult that was completely out of line. He thereby violated the principles of historical materialism on the role of individuals in history. He cast aside democratic centralism and Leninist principles on inner party life.

7) Mao also violated the tenets of Marxism-Leninism when, with incredible arrogance, he named a series of successors: first Lin Piao, who was later called a traitor by

these same Maoists; and then later Hua Guofeng, a representative of the worst reactionary forces and a faithful collaborator of Deng Xiaoping in practising revisionism.

8) The undying efforts of Mao and the party he led to reconcile contradictory points of view and antagonistic class interests led them to adopt an ambivalent attitude towards international revisionism. On several occasions Mao supported Khrushchev's positions; and on other occasions — for example, at the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of China, held in September 1956, during a wave of attacks against Stalin by Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites — he congratulated the Khrushchevites for having "...acted in conformity with Leninism". The CP of China had already earlier "rehabilitated" Tito and Yugoslavia. Despite the fact that the Third International, under Stalin's leadership, had condemned Tito as a revisionist, Mao began once again to consider Yugoslavia as a "fraternal socialist country". Attempts were made to justify all this on the pretext that "in 1954, ...Khrushchev had suggested that relations with Yugoslavia be improved". Other justifications included the childish and useless argument that they wanted to "put Yugoslavia back on the road to socialism", or that they wanted to "keep an eye on developments within Tito's clique".

9) Marxism-Leninism was once again denied when, under Mao's leadership, the "three worlds theory" was consecrated. Facts and the combined efforts of the genuine international communist movement have shown up and discredited this theory.

Each of these positions would be worth analyzing in greater depth. They cannot be understood in isola-

tion from one another, for there are close and intimate links between them that must be seen and understood. But taken together, they reflect basic attitudes and positions that express a very specific class content and world outlook.

On the basis of these positions and all the others that we have not had the time to discuss here, we have serious reason to undertake a critical evaluation of the position we took on Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought. This analysis will allow us to reach definitive conclusions and take a stand once and for all on this question.

Each group or party is free to choose which path it will follow. Indeed each comrade, each sincere revolutionary, today has the duty to choose. He or she may choose to remain attached to the old and sink with it or comrades can decide to embark on a process of self-criticism and rectification and thereby succeed in sifting out and reaffirming which views are valid and in accord with Marxism-Leninism.

The Joseph Stalin National Conference of leading cadre has pointed out the path to follow. We will not be hindered or stopped from taking that path by fear of what the enemies and traitors may say. We are convinced that victory will not go to the opportunists, those who are fearful or who hesitate. Victory will go to the communists.

It is in this spirit of decisiveness and courageous determination that we have made public our main resolutions. We believe that these resolutions and our revolutionary attitude set a good example of how these serious problems should be dealt with. There cannot be any middle ground position. No conciliatory attitude can be tolerated. For this would mean working hand-in-hand with the revisionist traitors and collaborators.

The proletariat must wage class struggle on a major battlefield today: The defence of Marxism-Leninism

from an editorial in the newspaper *Bandeira Vermelha*, central organ of the Communist Party of Portugal (Reconstructed), June 1979.

*Editors' note: The Communist Party of Portugal (PCP(R)) adopted a resolution entitled "The deepening of the struggle against revisionism, a present-day imperative" at their Third Congress. The resolution was in three parts. We are printing the first section in this issue. The two other parts are entitled **Cunhalite revisionism: a counter-revolutionary bourgeois theory and practice (Cunhal is the leader of the Portuguese revisionist party) and Mao Zedong Thought, an eclectic system of anti-Marxist ideas.***

In this first section, the PCP(R) puts forward its analysis of modern-day, revisionism and the current situation in the international communist movement. The analysis includes a presentation of the tasks that the PCP(R) has set for itself in the struggle against revisionism in Portugal and on an international level. The translation is by the MLOC IN STRUGGLE!

Today more than ever it is vitally necessary that the struggle against all expressions of revisionism be intensified. The always fresh and relevant principles which constitute the doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin must be defended not only across the country but at the international level also.

The Third Congress has determined that it is necessary to understand the indispensable and permanent character of the struggle against the expression of bourgeois ideology, and particularly of revisionism. Our party must build up its ability to fight on this battlefield and it must pay attention to the particular forms it takes in Portugal itself.

The struggle against revisionism is a fight to demarcate between Marxism-Leninism and the opportunist trends which are trying to corrupt the revolutionary movement. The ideological and practical struggle against all forms of revisionism is critical to the consolidation of the PCP(R) itself. Any

underestimation of this form of struggle will result in an erosion of the Marxist-Leninist movement. It is only by waging a permanent struggle against revisionism that we will be able to drive it out of the working-class movement and to bring an end to its activities which fragment the people's movement. Fighting firmly and steadily against revisionism is the only way to ensure that Marxism-Leninism will be recognized as the revolutionary guide to action for the working class in its struggles.

The ideological offensive of the Portuguese bourgeoisie today against the revolutionary movement is a constant and intense onslaught. The capitalists want to play down and make the people forget about the lessons drawn from going through the revolutionary crisis. Worse still, they are trying to revive reactionary and fascist ideas. The attacks against the gains won by the people, against the revolution and socialism, never stop. Revisionist ideology is an obstacle to the grow-



ing consciousness of the working class and people. It is a barrier which gets in the way of the open struggle against the offensive launched by the big bourgeoisie against the people, who remain vulnerable to reactionary ideas.

The Third Congress of the PCP(R) recognized that the working class must develop its own world view, its understanding of its class goals, its socialist consciousness. This means pointing up the antagonism which exists with revisionist ideas every bit as much as with openly reactionary capitalist concepts. Throughout its history, the Portuguese working class has never managed to develop a real socialist consciousness. Anarcho-sindicalist ideas were dominant for a time. Revisionism has smothered class consciousness for the past

twenty years. The struggle waged by the old PCP between 1921 and 1956 overcame the storm of anarcho-syndicalism. However it was not able to establish scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism, as a force to be reckoned with in the Portuguese working class. It is the job of our Party to educate the proletariat about socialism. We must battle against bourgeois and revisionist distortions and make up for the fact that scientific Marxist-Leninist traditions were never developed in the Portuguese workers movement.

1. Only Marxism-Leninism equips the proletariat for the revolution

Revolutionary situations are springing up or maturing rapidly in a large part of the globe. This is true for both the developed countries and those which are economically more backward. Victories have been won in the peoples' revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle, which continues to move forward. The working-class movement in the imperialist metropolises is standing up to repression. It is dealing with the purposefully confusing "socialist" rhetoric employed by capitalist governments. It has organized courageous battles against the effects of the crisis. Every day there are more and more parts of the world which develop into points of tension or scenes of war. The capitalist system is mired

in its most serious crisis since World War Two. All economic structures and the entire institutional superstructure have been severely shaken. What is happening in Portugal is part of what is happening on a world scale. We went through a revolutionary crisis in 1974-5. The factors contributing to such a crisis are still very much with us.

The proletariat is the most advanced class in the world today. It is in its best interests to contribute a revolutionary solution to the capitalist crisis by violently overthrowing capitalist State power. The working class must make revolution and become the leading class in society. Thus it will free itself from the violent exploitation and degeneration which is its lot under capitalism. Even more important, it will thereby accomplish its historic mission of leading all working people along the path of building socialism on the ashes of capitalism and finally eliminating all classes and achieving communism.

The proletariat needs a theoretical weapon which can show it which road to follow in the practical accomplishment of its revolutionary tasks. Marxism-Leninism synthesizes the historical experience of the international working-class movement. It is the revolutionary scientific doctrine of the proletariat. Leninism is the Marxism of our era, the era of imperialism, of the breaking down and collapse of capitalism and of the revolutionary transition from

capitalism to socialism. Leninism is the theory and tactics of proletarian revolution in general. It is the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular. Leninism is still completely relevant and a precious weapon which will enable the proletariat to win.

The working class wages the economic struggle against the effects of capitalist exploitation. It carries out political struggle with the aim of overthrowing the bourgeois State. The other great battleground is that of the theoretical struggle to defend the revolutionary purity of Marxism-Leninism against all opportunist and revisionist deviations.

2. The main trends of modern-day revisionism

The existence of a goodly number of revisionist trends is an international phenomenon these days. Revisionism has already inflicted incalculable damage to socialism and the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. It has brought about the restoration of capitalism in various forms in socialist countries. It has led to the bourgeois degeneration of communist parties and the contamination of the revolutionary consciousness of the mass of workers. It has set back the process of world revolution several years. Revisionism is the consequence of the penetration of the working-class and communist movement by a

regressive and decadent social climate which decomposing capitalism engenders in society as a whole. Capitalism desperately grabs at anything to figure out new ways to save itself from the crisis and revolution. Revisionism is bourgeois ideology in Marxist clothing. New variants of revisionism will continue to spring up as long as there is imperialism. It will be necessary to conduct an uninterrupted battle to defend revolutionary proletarian ideology.

Modern-day revisionism internationally can be subdivided in a number of major trends:

— **Soviet revisionism** is represented in Portugal by Cunhalite revisionism. It originated with the Khrushchovite theses presented to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which attacked both the person and the work of Comrade Stalin. These theories became the basis for the restoration of capitalism and the coming to power of a new capitalist class in the Soviet Union and in the majority of the other socialist countries. These theories also enabled small groups of revisionist traitors to take over the leadership of the communist parties and to make them degenerate into counter-revolutionary bourgeois parties. Ultimately these ideas were to convert the Soviet Union into a social-imperialist superpower.

— **Titoite revisionism** promotes the concepts of "worker self-management" and "non-alignment". It is allied with imperialism and is its preferred instrument for the purpose of accelerating the degeneration of the socialist countries into capitalism. It also serves imperialism by sabotaging the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations. It does so by preventing oppressed peoples from forging a fighting alliance with the working class and socialism. That

alliance is the only path to complete national and social liberation.

— **So-called "Eurocommunism"** grew out of the intensification of the bourgeois degeneration of the revisionist parties. Those parties threw off their "Leninist" and "socialist" masks entirely. They came right out and nakedly converted their organizations into social-democratic type parties and subdued appendages of the capitalist State.

— **Chinese revisionism** has its ideological and political roots in so-called "MaoZedong Thought". It is the underpinning for the rapid restoration of capitalism in China. Chinese revisionism promotes a counter-revolutionary strategy of allying with U.S. imperialism and all reactionary forces against the proletariat, peoples and progressive forces in the world. It stands for a chauvinist policy which clashes with Soviet social imperialism in order to obtain zones of influence for itself. This all works to undermine the reorganization of the international communist movement, which has already been weakened and divided by Khrushchovite revisionism.

The main trends of modern-day revisionism take on various specific forms in each country. Soviet, Chinese and Yugoslav revisionism are represented by Cunhalite revisionism, the counter-revolutionary theories of the "Vilarites", (*) and the sections of the SP and UEDS (**) which call for a "self-management" line, respectively. Marxist-Leninists have to go beyond just the peculiarities of the particular representatives of these trends in their countries if they want to fight them on a theoretical plane. They must get down to what is common to all of them and deal with the central theories they are built upon. On the political and practical front, however, great attention must be paid to the national moulds into which this revisionism

is poured. Portuguese communists must deal with the concrete ways in which the Portuguese revolution is being sabotaged.

The Third Congress stated that the two most important expressions of revisionism at the present time are the Russian and Chinese versions. Both merit our full attention and will require a sustained struggle to destroy them ideologically and politically.

Russian revisionism is the most dangerous enemy of the revolutionary proletariat. It is the leading centre of revisionism on a world level. It has the most completely developed revisionist theory. It dominates the working-class movement in the majority of the capitalist countries and has substantial influence. Cunhalite revisionism is the most dangerous in Portugal because it is the most effective in fooling the masses.

Chinese revisionism, which has recently come out in its open form at the international level, has not shown itself to be capable of winning over any important sections of the working class. Its influence among the masses in Portugal is practically nil. All the same, it poses new problems for the communist movement. It comes across as a friend and ally of the peoples fighting liberation struggles against imperialism. It claims to be the undying enemy of social imperialism and even poses as the initiators of struggle against it. Special attention must be paid to Chinese revisionism in order to root out its ideological and political influences.

No matter what theories they dress themselves in, all the revisionists have in common the idea that revolution is impossible in today's world. They all say that it is not possible to move from

(*) Vilar is the former leader of the Communist Party of Portugal (Marxist-Leninist), a pro-Chinese and "third-worldist" party.

(**) Union of the left for socialist democracy.



Portugal. May Day 1979. Workers, peasants, women and youths stage massive demonstrations against starvation wages and repression.

capitalism to socialism by following the revolutionary path blazed for the working class by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. All of them want to deprive the proletariat of its principal and decisive role in the overthrow of the capitalist system.

The scientific conference in Tirana, Albania, stressed that "the struggle between the Marxist-Leninists, on the one hand, and the bourgeois ideologues and various opportunists, on the other hand, is today focused on a key problem: is revolution necessary to transform society? Do the conditions for revolution and victorious revolution exist? Is it essential to resort to revolutionary violence or can this transformation be achieved by reformist, parliamentary means? These are vital questions for the proletariat and all oppressed and exploited people. One's position on them has been and continues to be a line of demarcation between Marxist-Leninists and all the varieties of opportunists and revisionists."

All revisionists — whether Russian-style, Chinese, Yugoslav or "Eurocommunist" — answer this crucial question in the negative. Each of them in their own fashion rejects the revolutionary path. Our party must be alert to this common thread which runs through all revisionists so that we can bear down on the fundamental issue which pits us against them: the necessity of leading the proletariat onto the path of revolution. It was also stated during the Tirana scientific conference that: "No one who slights and rejects the most fundamental aspect of Leninism can be a true Leninist. This basic element is the theory of revolution, a theory that is still fresh and pertinent, a theory which says that exploitation and oppression can only be eliminated through revolution. Any turning away from the path of

revolution leads to revisionism. The consistent defence and application of Marxist-Leninist theory is therefore one of the most important tasks for Marxist-Leninists today."

There you have, in brief, the common basis of all expressions of revisionism and an indication of how important it is to combat them.

3. The consolidation of the communist movement cannot be separated from the struggle against revisionism

The PCP(R) is a fighting detachment of the international communist movement which was reorganized after the great betrayal of Khrushchovite revisionism. Today, the international movement is making decisive steps forward in the struggle to strengthen its unity on a Marxist-Leninist basis. The various parties are broadening their involvement in the struggles of the working class. We are now moving from the period of propaganda against revisionism internationally to the stage of drawing up concrete revolutionary programmes for action in each country and fighting to implement them. All Marxist-Leninist parties must thus deepen the struggle against revisionism. They must act to restore the revolutionary tradition of Leninism and the ideas of the great socialist October Revolution which the revisionists have betrayed. They must work out genuinely revolutionary strategy and tactics which are adequate to the tasks which the proletariat and peoples have before them today. Communist parties also regard it as imperative to eradicate from the Marxist-Leninist movement all the Maoist influences which exist side by side with Soviet revisionism. The impact of Maoism has been serious distortions in ideology, methods of

work and in the building of new Leninist parties. In fact, it has even managed to bring about the degeneration of several of the new parties.

The Party of Labour of Albania and its great leader Enver Hoxha have played a vanguard role in the reorganizing of the communist movement on a Marxist-Leninist basis. The PCP(R) takes as its model the consistent and unbending attitude of the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha in leading the socialist construction in Albania and defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism against the opportunists and revisionists.

The Third Congress feels strongly that in Portugal, the PCP(R) and all of its members and leaders, being as we are a detachment of the international communist movement, are faced with the task of developing the anti-revisionist struggle in two main ways:

First, we must intensify the theoretical, political and practical struggle against Cunhalite revisionism. It has not yet been exposed in the working class and is the most important block to the development of the working-class awareness of the need for revolutionary struggle. It may thus exercise some influence within our own ranks.

Second, we must consolidate the building of the PCP(R) into a proletarian communist party for socialism and revolution. Every member must be made aware of what it is that distinguishes us radically from Maoism on the ideological and political planes and in the area of organizational principles.

To do all this, the PCP(R) will have to participate actively in the international ideological struggle against revisionism and in the fight to determine a revolutionary strategy and tactics for the communist movement.

Forward in the development of revolutionary struggle and the unity of Marxist-Leninists on a world scale

by the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, December 1979.

Editors's note: This article is in fact the introduction written by the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile (PCR) for the Spanish edition of For the political and organizational unity of the international communist movement, the Appeal issued by the Third Congress of IN STRUGGLE!. At our request, the PCR of Chile wrote the introduction, which upholds the Appeal but which also demarcates on certain points.

The PCR of Chile is one of the organizations that has openly taken up the defence of the thought and work of Mao Tse-tung. Apart from commenting on the Appeal, this introduction criticizes certain events that have occurred in the international communist movement in the past year or two and puts forward this party's point of view on various aspects of the struggle against revisionism and for the unity of the international communist movement. The translation is by IN STRUGGLE!.

The Canadian Marxist-Leninist Organization IN STRUGGLE! has written and published this Appeal for the Political and Organizational Unity of the International Communist Movement and asked us to write the introduction to the Spanish edition.

Since we are basically in agreement with the points of view expressed in this appeal, we gladly accepted this request. There are, however, differences of opinion on certain aspects and others which we believe must be further developed. But we wanted to contribute to the distribution of this work, with the understanding that comradely discussion and polemics and the exchange of opinions, ideas and experiences between Marxist-Leninists on a world scale is positive and helps to strengthen unity.

At the same time, we wanted to point out that we consider the initiatives being taken by the Canadian

Marxist-Leninist Organization IN STRUGGLE! and other really Marxist-Leninist organizations with regard to the unity of the communist revolutionaries on an international scale to be very positive. For its part, our Party will continue making all the necessary efforts to contribute to this task.

We want to take advantage of this occasion to briefly put forward some opinions on the unity of the international communist movement.

Our Party, both in its writings and its practice, has defined itself as a firm believer in the unity of the international communist movement. We believe that we would not serve this cause if we made no efforts to achieve it. However, we would not serve it either if we let ourselves be carried away by our wish for an international communist organization without duly demarcating from the present variants of revisionism, not



only from those which are being openly fought, but also from others that must yet be unmasked.

Organizational unity will only be achieved as a result of political and ideological unity. The latter can only be reached by deepening the struggle against the different bourgeois and revisionist conceptions.

In other words, to really unite we must put politics in command, make ideological struggle the centre of political work and, without ignoring, shelving or being spontaneous about organizational questions, make them serve the political ones. To consider organizational questions as basic, leaving ideological and political ones in second place, to quickly build organizations without going through the indispensable process of reaching political and

ideological unity, would have the clear advantage of being a spectacular victory, in the desire for unity, but it would be more a superficial victory than a real and lasting one.

Although it would have some effect in stimulating the struggles in our countries it could easily be transformed into discouragement and frustration as a result of the inevitable political and ideological contradictions that had been set aside.

It seems to us that ideological and political unity, which is the key problem, as well as organizational unity, are the fruits of a process in which common actions and discussions are carried to a higher level. It is at this point that the first organizational links are formed.

It is in this sense that lately we have had a few positive experiences at the same time as we have had negative ones: on the one hand the boycott of the Chinese revisionists at multilateral meetings, and on the other hand the imposition of this decision by some parties that call themselves Marxist-Leninists. We also consider as negative the manipulation of Marxist-Leninists' correct desire for unity for the exclusive purpose of propaganda, or agitation or solely to serve immediate goals. This has happened in some Joint Declarations and demonstrations organized by several parties which played such an important role in isolating the Chinese revisionists when they took complete power in the People's Republic of China. These could have been the starting point for unity, but it quickly became evident that they did not correspond to a real spirit of advancing in practice in the process of unity around Marxist-Leninist principles, and that some considered unity as slavish adherence to certain incorrect positions which they were not even willing to discuss. For

example the last joint declaration proposed to us was supposedly in defence of Stalin. But its objective was evident: it endeavoured to obtain a collective condemnation, which it did not dare to propose openly, of the thought and work of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. (Our Party is ready to discuss a Marxist-Leninist evaluation of Mao Tse-tung, because it considers that these are some of the fundamental questions linked to the principle problems that the international communist movement faces and will continue to face. However, such a discussion has always been avoided and instead, there have been hasty publications of declarations — largely unsubstantiated — against comrade Mao Tse-tung.

This fear of discussion has reached such a point that the Chilean delegation was assaulted and expelled from the Third International Meeting of Anti-imperialist and Anti-fascist Youth held in Saler, Spain in August, 1979 because it was distributing its point of view and that of other parties on the work and thought of Mao Tse-tung, in terms that did not imply any attack whatsoever on the parties present at this gathering. These parties, however, felt free to reply with the worst epithets to those of us who defend the very important legacy of comrade Mao Tse-tung.

What unity can be built on such a basis? Does the replacement of ideological and political discussion by other "methods" promote or damage unity?

Since it is very important to adopt a certain number of political and organizational agreements, we believe it is of crucial importance for the unity of Marxist-Leninists to make a thorough and collective analysis of the history of the international communist movement, its In-

ternationals, the origins of revisionism in the different stages, as manifested in each of our countries and in the U.S.S.R. and China, and of the efforts to formulate a general line opposed to revisionism, etc.

The reasons for this analysis of the origins of revisionism is to prevent and fight it effectively, to demarcate from it on all levels and to demonstrate to the masses that despite what has happened in the U.S.S.R., the other East European countries and in China, Marxism-Leninism is still the most precious weapon for liberation from all exploitation and oppression.

If we leave this process of clarification until later, if we proceed to study an international programme for communists for instance, or to set up certain organizations before we have made progress in this clarification, we will inevitably come face to face with the problems of the history of the international communist movement during the discussion, and be prevented from advancing in theory or practice.

We believe that the development of world Marxist-Leninist forces must not be seen as linked solely to the need to amass and co-ordinate our forces but as also linked to a qualitative leap forward in the comprehension and application of Marxism-Leninism, especially in its merger with the mass movement in each country. We therefore see unity not only as unity between limited groups of the vanguard, but as the fighting unity of our proletariat and people against their common enemy.

We think that the present weakness of the international communist movement is basically due to the fact that in many of our new parties there are still important aspects of revisionist and bourgeois attitudes and conceptions which have not

been sufficiently unmasked and combatted on a daily basis on all levels. It is clear that these influences will remain as long as social classes exist, but our struggle to have Marxist-Leninist principles prevail will make the dividing line between these principles and revisionism more clear-cut.

We believe that all agreements and joint declarations, and in general all agitation, propaganda and discussion on the unity we will be striving to achieve, must stress the generalization and deepening of the process of demarcation with revisionism, not only on the level of certain leading groups, but also on the broad level of revolutionary communist militants and the broadest progressive sectors of each country. We must stimulate thinking among honest elements, be very convincing in order to win all those likely to be won over and be unafraid of self-criticism of errors and deficiencies, and try to have an attitude of looking for the truth in facts, in our own experience and in the history of the international communist movement.

We must clearly differentiate our style and propaganda from that of revisionists and opportunists, be they defeatists, incurable optimists,

arrogant, sectarian, mechanical, superficial, dogmatic or sloganeering, whether they have recourse to insults in order to avoid any scientific analysis or whether they attempt to put a stop to debate or dialogue in order to obscure the roots of the problem.

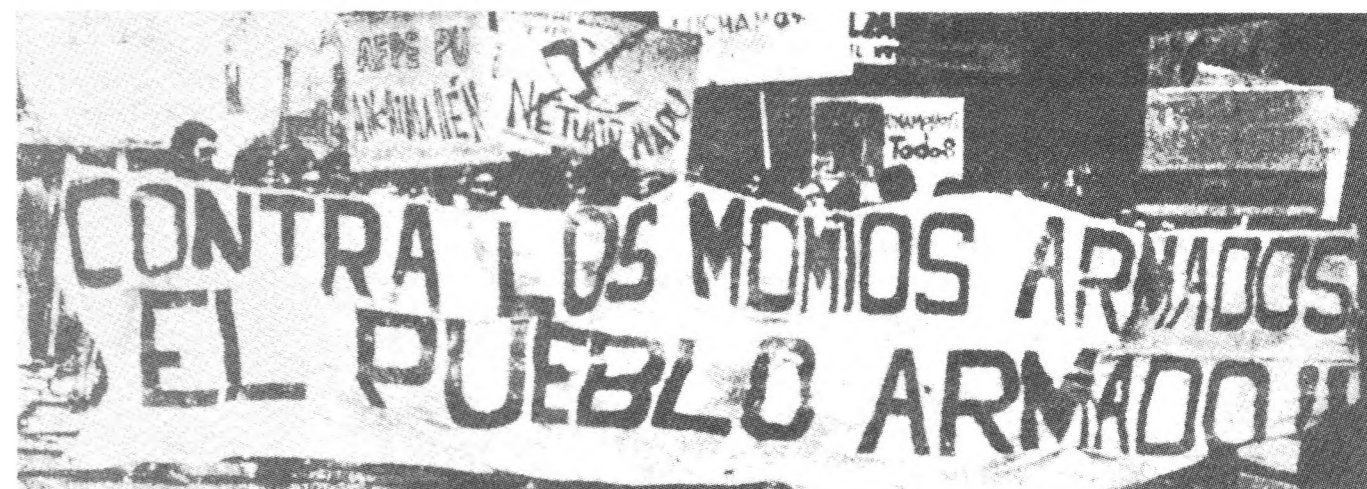
Ideological and political unity must be thought of dialectically; that is, it should be sought through the struggle against common enemies on the national and world levels and in the midst of discussions among the people and Marxist-Leninists. It is fully possible to reach a consensus around certain points during a more or less prolonged period, but history has proven that it is not possible to reach unity on all points once and for all.

The important thing is to use the same criteria for the most important problems at each stage (always referring to the unity of revolutionary communists, where there is agreement on questions of principle). As there will always be areas of disagreement, it is of fundamental importance right from the beginning to set up collective and democratic methods to discuss and resolve secondary aspects on which there is no agreement so that they do not later become points of principled disagreement.

It is also important to consider the negative experience of those parties which yesterday struggled correctly to impose the criteria of reaching collective agreement by unanimous votes and after previous mutual consultation; who fought for the recognition of the principle to have the viewpoints of parties heard, whether they be small or big, in power or not; but who today try, as the revisionists do, to impose their positions as the general line of the international communist movement, using bad methods or shielding themselves from discussion.

In order to advance in the process of ideological, political and organizational unity, we must concentrate our efforts on an exchange of opinions on what we judge to be the most important aspects for the unity of revolutionary communists at the present stage of the revolutionary struggle. At the same time, we must proceed in the heat of the struggle against our common enemies to carry our discussion to higher levels on those points which are not of prime importance at this time and on which we have no precise opinion or where disagreement exists.

Forward in the development of revolutionary struggle and the unity of Marxist-Leninists on a world scale!



For a frank and public debate on all the burning questions facing the world communist movement

from "Rote Fahne" (Red Flag) central organ of the Marxist-Leninist central organ of Austria, August 1979.

Editor's note: The Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria (MLPO), and the organizations in West Germany and West Berlin, Gegen die Strömung (Against the Tide) and Westberliner Kommunist, have published several common declarations on the problems facing the international communist movement. These declarations include a Criticism of the revisionist line of the Communist Party of China's 11th Congress, as well as a series of documents on the analysis of the era in which we live, the tasks of the proletariat in the imperialist countries, those of the proletariat in the colonial and semi-colonial countries and in the socialist countries... The following excerpt constitutes the conclusion of the first document, which is entitled, On some of the burning problems in the development of the world Marxist-Leninist movement and the necessity of criticizing the documents of the 'Great Polemic' (sub-titled: "On the proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement put forward by the CP of China in 1963: The need for a general, international Marxist-Leninist line and the struggle of the CP of China against modern revisionism").

The excerpt deals with the method for attaining greater unity within the international communist movement. The translation is by the MLOC IN STRUGGLE!

Another manifestation of the unsatisfactory situation and atmosphere in the world Marxist-Leninist movement is the widespread **negative attitude with regard to direct and frank criticism.** (1) This is partially due to an intense fear of sincere and fundamental self-criticism, linked to fondness for the so-called **norms of 1957 and 1960.** These norms were in fact major concessions to the Khrushchevite revisionists and, as the present work demonstrates in detail, are not really based on the revolutionary methods of Marxism-Leninism, on the norms and traditions of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and the Communist International.

On this question, as on the others, we feel that it is indispensable in the current situation that each section of the world communist movement develop in an autonomous way a

clear Marxist-Leninist viewpoint on the basis of its own study of the great masters of Marxism, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin as well as on the basis of its own experience and the experiences of the world revolutionary movement. Each section must use its own head.

However, that in itself is not enough. We will only arrive at positive and sustained results under certain conditions. At the same time, it is also necessary for an **open ideological discussion in the entire world Marxist-Leninist movement** to take place. Each party must seriously examine the others' viewpoints, openly present its objections when it has a different opinion, and be open to correcting its own position in a self-critical way when its arguments are refuted. In short, it must be a discussion in which each



party struggles to ensure that the **conceptions which are considered correct win out on an international level.**

To act in any other way is to adopt a closed-minded nationalist position which is incompatible with the achievement of truly solid political and ideological unity in the international communist movement.

In this context, we should especially point out that we believe it ne-

(*) The position taken on the question of Mao and on the other questions dealt with in this first document are positions which the three organizations defended in April 1979. The latest information which we have received indicates that these positions evolved, particularly during a conference on the life and work of Stalin held in Frankfurt, Germany, in December 1979.

cessary to seriously consider the experiences of the international communist movement in a creative way, and this, for our own struggle. It is only when this task is seriously undertaken that the different sections of our world movement will be able to correctly resolve the problems confronting them and make a greater contribution to the accomplishment of the principled unity of the world Marxist-Leninist movement.

To accomplish this task, as well as all the others which today face the Marxist-Leninist movements in every country, we must not presume that the limits have already been clearly determined and that we only need to grow bigger, extend our forces or put into practice things which are already clear and known to all. That sort of practice can only result in new setbacks, defeats and catastrophes.

In the current situation, which is extremely complicated and confused in a number of ways, it is particularly necessary to defend the principles of Marxism-Leninism with regard to ideological struggle and the combat for greater clarity. And this need can only continue to grow.

Combat the underestimation of the role of revolutionary theory!

If we are to appreciate the full scope of the tasks we are faced with in the struggle for the unity of the world Marxist-Leninist movement, we must be fully conscious of the fact that today there is no genuinely Marxist-Leninist organization or even platform, elaborated in common with the world communist movement. There hasn't been one for the quarter of a century since the death of Comrade Stalin. Yet just after the death of Stalin, the recognized leader of the world commu-

nist movement, and after the betrayal by the modern revisionists at the head of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), it was of utmost importance to elaborate such a platform in order to meet the attack against Marxism-Leninism by the Khrushchevite revisionists head on in a closely united way with well founded and consistent arguments.

The documents of the meetings in Moscow in 1957 and 1960 which were adopted by the international communist movement in the presence of the Khrushchevite revisionists are necessarily useless as a basis for the struggle against revisionism because they are texts of compromise, full of revisionist mistakes and weaknesses. They cannot be considered as Marxist-Leninist documents.

In the same way, the **Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement** presented by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in 1963 does not suffice in its current form. It could have been a beginning, a useful starting point for the collective development of a principled Marxist-Leninist platform for the international communist movement, if an appropriate collective discussion had been organized, applying Leninist methods, and especially criticism and self-criticism. **Since such a debate or such a collective correction of the mistakes, imperfections and insufficiencies of the Proposal did not take place, this possibility did not become a reality.**

This situation persisted during the decade which followed, so that there was never a global Marxist-Leninist answer to the provocations of modern revisionism. No real principled platform of the world Marxist-Leninist movement existed, although this was of vital necessity for its solid unity.

Since we are increasingly confronted with people claiming to be Marxist-Leninist who argue that such a platform is useless or harmful, we must look for the source of this major insufficiency. We believe that this source is to be found first of all in an **underestimation of the modern revisionists** and their hostile ideological activity, as well as in an overevaluation of the real existing unity, the degree of unity among the forces which oppose modern revisionism, among the traditional communist parties which did not capitulate under the pressure of Khrushchevite revisionism and the forces and parties newly created in the anti-revisionist struggle. But in our opinion, the roots of the problem go even deeper. They also reside in the **underestimation of the fundamental lesson of Leninism: without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary practice.**

The great importance of the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism and the programmatic documents which result were frequently underestimated in terms of their role as the basis for the unity of the international communist movement in revolutionary practice. The role of revolutionary theory was often admitted in words, but this verbal recognition was not really the basis for common actions. In some cases, in fact, there was even a polemic against the role of revolutionary theory.

We are also disturbed to see that within the current world communist movement, much too little is being done to change things. In a complex situation on the ideological and theoretical levels, there are tendencies within more than one of the revolutionary forces which seek their salvation in "practical activity" without principles, while at the same time remaining silent about the fact that certain elements who are not

only tolerated within the world Marxist-Leninist movement, but who are even demanding a choice place within it, have begun campaigning against "dogmatism" and "left-wing sectarianism" as being the so-called "main danger". They do so in order to stifle through pragmatic therapy any serious approach to the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, the thorough-going study, defence, and consistent usage of it and the discovery and correction of mistakes.

This means that there is supposedly nothing to learn from all the important past experiences, that there is no desire to learn. **We will never take up this path, which, even as of today, is condemned to catastrophe and new defeats.** In the current situation, in the struggle against all shades and nuances of revisionism, in the struggle for the principled unity of the international communist movement, we can only emphasize the historic words of Lenin:

"Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. This idea cannot be insisted upon too strongly at a time when the fashionable preaching of opportunism goes hand in hand with an infatuation for the narrowest forms of practical activity." (Lenin, **What is to be done?**, *Collected Works*, volume 5, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow 1961, p.369).

Study the nature and the development of the struggle in the world Marxist-Leninist movement with composure and the greatest attention!

When we establish all this in a critical and self-critical way, we do not have the intention of "questioning and denying everything". On the contrary, it is our opinion that it is necessary to distinguish in a clear and incisive way between what is

true and what is false between what is positive and what is negative, to distinguish in a clear and incisive way between what is true and what is false, between what is positive and what is negative. We must draw the lessons from the mistakes of the struggle against modern revisionism. Marxist-Leninist forces, organizations and parties are courageously involved in the historic struggle which is becoming sharper and which must be continued in a consistent and effective way.

We believe that what Lenin said in such a striking manner about the method for resolving differences in the party is equally valid for the entire international communist movement today.

"We must have the courage to face the bitter truth. The Party is sick. The party is down with fever... What is it that needs to be done for a rapid and certain cure? All members of the Party must make a calm and painstaking study of 1) the essence of the disagreements and 2) the development of the Party struggle. A study must be made of both, because the essence of the disagreements is revealed, clarified and specified (and very often transformed as well) in the course of struggle, which passing through its various stages, always shows, at every stage, a different line-up and number of combatants, different positions in the struggle, etc. A study must be made of both, and a demand made for the most exact, printed documents that can be thoroughly verified. Only a hopeless idiot will believe oral statements." (Lenin, **The Party Crisis**, *Collected Works*, volume 32, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, pp. 43-44, emphasis in the original.)

In our opinion, this lesson for-

mulated by Lenin in January 1921 must be applied to the entire international communist movement.

We must constantly advance analyses and demonstrations that can be verified, we must use our own intelligence and our own judgement and not simply have faith in words. In the ideological struggle, we must **know** that we cannot form an opinion on blind faith.

Concerning all of the major questions which confront the world Marxist-Leninist movement today, we must reflect and consider in a realistic (objective) way with as much composure and as little emotivity as possible. We must also proceed with as much care as possible. We must not have preconceived global justifications or condemnations with regard to the evaluation of the history of the Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China, its line and policies during Mao's lifetime, and all of Mao Zedong's work. This is all the more important given that during the past fifteen years, the majority of the forces of the international communist movement firmly supported the (propaganda) line of the CP of China and were undoubtedly strongly influenced by it in their general activities.

April 1979
Editorial Board of Rote Fahne (Red Flag), central organ of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria (MLPO)
Editorial Board of Westberliner Kommunist organ for the creation of the Marxist-Leninist Party of West Berlin
Editorial Board of Gegen die Stromung organ for the creation of the Marxist-Leninist Party of West Germany

1. The emphasis is in the original text.

The situation in Latin America. The international communist (Marxist-Leninist) movement

in *Que Hacer?*, organ of the National Committee of the People's Struggle Committees in Venezuela, October 1979.

Editor's note: This article is taken from a special issue of the newspaper Que Hacer?. This issue, entitled On the general revolutionary line, is available in Spanish. It presents the positions of Venezuelan Marxist-Leninists on the international situation, their analysis of Venezuelan society and the nature of the revolution. It puts forward a programme of people's democracy and a strategic and tactical line for the revolutionary struggle in Venezuela. The two excerpts included here are taken from the chapter on the international situation.

The position of the Venezuelan Marxist-Leninists on the unity of the international communist movement reflects a point of view that is being expressed more and more openly by a number of parties and organizations concerning the development of the debate within the international communist movement at the present time. This debate has centred in particular on the role played by Mao and on what method should be used to achieve the principled unity of Marxist-Leninists on a world scale. The excerpts have been translated by IN STRUGGLE!

The situation in Latin America

The situation in Latin America deserves a separate chapter in the analysis of the international situation. It has been the principal zone of North American imperialist domination in the West since it basically took over from British imperialism 100 years ago.

Even though our continent is burdened and subjected to oppressive regimes, it presents a fertile ground for revolution. This is true despite imperialism's attempt to mask its domination through a demagogic campaign of the so-called defence of human rights.

The Latin American people have opposed foreign domination in a continuous process of armed struggle which began against the colonial domination of Spain and Portugal. The desire for victory which has guided these struggles has been frus-

trated by the actions of social-democratic movements like Ad in Venezuela and APRA in Peru, which made themselves the political spokesmen of the pro-imperialist bourgeoisies among the peoples. This current still plays a singularly important role as spokesmen of the dominant classes. They safeguard the interests of the dominant classes which are associated with imperialist capital, and thus defend imperialism's interests even though they speak an anti-imperialist language.

The absence of real communist parties is the main reason that our people's struggles have not developed correctly. The old Latin American revisionist parties educated in Browderist ideas never truly represented an alternative of revolutionary power. The triumph of the Cuban revolution raised the hopes of the Latin American masses that this would be the start of an inexorable march toward their total libe-



ration. However, the fact that the Cuban leaders transformed this process into a further link of dependence on Soviet social imperialism has made our people more cautious when considering other popular victories, such as that of the Sandinista Front in Nicaragua. This weakness will only change when true Marxist-Leninist parties are built, capable of combatting the different projects of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie (including the revisionists who only seek to replace one imperialism with another) by putting forward really revolutionary projects, taking into account the specific characteristics of each country, with the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat as an objective.

Despite the greater or lesser degree of development in our countries, we generally have the same problems: all are dominated by imperialism; internally, our people oppose the bourgeoisie and landlords; their living conditions are deteriorating at an increasing rate; they are victims of imperialist plots to maintain divisions that cause conflict between brother-peoples, etc. This forces Marxist-Leninist parties to play their vanguard role, strengthening their unity and struggling for the union of our people based on proletarian internationalism.

The fundamental key to the unity of our peoples relies on the numerous Marxist-Leninist parties which, basing themselves on principles, must strengthen their unity with their respective people. There are parties in North, Central and South America and in several Caribbean islands that have taken up their people's tradition of revolutionary struggle. They set them-

ves the most important task of raising the revolutionary violence of their people in struggle into forces capable of destroying imperialist domination and building a free America. This objective implies that our parties multiply mutual consultations exchange experiences, reach political and practical agreements which will fortify the revolutionary struggle in our respective countries and seek collective solutions to satisfy the needs for political, moral and material support for each respective country.

In their expansionist zeal, imperialism and the indigeneous Latin American dominant classes have created an accumulation of border problems between our people. Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries must base themselves on the principle of proletarian internationalism and denounce the reactionary character of these disputes in front of the masses. We must not be blinded by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism. We must organize the

proletariat and the rest of our people and not only denounce the voracity of the bourgeoisie of other countries but also the voracity of the bourgeoisie of our own country. We must lead our people to the dictatorship of the proletariat, the stage in which it is possible to solve the problems of our borders in a just way.

The present struggles against imperialism and the military dictatorships endured by the Central American people are of singular importance. Each time it gets harder for imperialism to continue its game of changing military dictatorships for pseudo-democratic civil governments and then changing these for openly fascist military governments.

The growing opposition of the peoples to the U.S. foreign policy of military intervention has forced the States to increasingly rely on pseudo-democratic governments which are just as repressive as the military dictatorships.



There is growing militant solidarity with the Chilean resistance among popular and democratic forces around the world. In the photo, a solidarity demonstration on the university campus in Caracas, Venezuela.

The fact that the leaders of Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia and Costa Rica have fallen all over each other "to calm" the revolutionary crisis in Nicaragua has not stopped the peoples of El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras from also overthrowing military governments. Nor has it stopped the growth of the anti-imperialist consciousness of the peoples of Latin America.

Central America is an important zone in the confrontation between imperialism and social imperialism. This confrontation has given rise to two main trends. On the one hand, there are those who call themselves social democrats, like Carlos Andrés Pérez, Tubay Ayala, Rodrigo Carazo or the reactionary Accion Democratica party. On the other hand, there are those who support the Cuban revisionists and the false "progressive" who claim that they want to "help" the peoples struggling for their liberation. We should expect nothing from these opportunists. Marxist-Leninist organizations must, on the contrary, consolidate their ties with all liberation movements which oppose imperialism, fascism and reaction through armed struggle.

As the whole, Latin America is mainly under the thumb of U.S. imperialism. Nevertheless, the presence of social-imperialism in this part of the world should not be underestimated. We have only to think of Cuba's influence as a political, military and ideological base for social-imperialism or of the different revisionist parties with which the U.S.S.R. maintains cultural and commercial relations. Bilateral exchanges between the Soviet metropolis and Latin American countries have reached more than \$5 million per year.

Although we must continue to denounce the interference of social imperialism on our continent, the main

enemy of the Latin American countries remains U.S. imperialism. In alliance with the national bourgeoisie and the land owners, it constitutes the main obstacle to revolution.

The different solutions proposed by imperialism to get itself out of the general crisis of capitalism have led some people to make an erroneous analysis of the contradictions between imperialism and the local bourgeoisies. They claim that imperialism has been so weakened by the crisis that it has no choice but to give in to the pressures of the local bourgeoisies. The new commercial exchanges and the new modes for accumulating capital imposed by imperialism in no way affect the power of imperialism. On the contrary, they increase the dependency of the Latin American countries, which are assigned a lesser role in these negotiations.

Given this situation, the dominant classes of our countries use an "anti-imperialist" and third worldist vocabulary. They appeal to patriotism to justify the increased exploitation of workers' labour power which is indispensable to their existence. The same rhetoric which the Chinese revisionists vigorously turn to is used to justify foreign interference in our countries and the increased exploitation of the working class which we are experiencing today.

There are certainly contradictions between the international monopolies concerning production sectors or the question of markets. There are also contradictions between the international monopoly bourgeoisie and certain sectors of the national bourgeoisie over the sharing of gains. But none of these contradictions are antagonistic.

The national bourgeoisies of our countries have the same fundamental interests as those of imperia-

lism. To claim that the bourgeoisie can be an ally of the revolutionary forces is to falsify the character of the revolution in the independent countries. It creates the illusion that it is possible to put an end to the dependency of our countries by a path other than armed struggle, which is the only path for really putting an end to imperialism, the bourgeoisie and the great landowners.

The international communist (Marxist-Leninist) movement

The international Marxist-Leninist movement was formed over the past ten years in the struggle against modern revisionism. First it had to deal with the Soviet revisionist clique and then with the Chinese revisionists, who did everything they could to sabotage the principled unity of various parties.

As Marxist-Leninists, we believe that the revolution in Venezuela is an integral part of the world-wide socialist revolution. We are firmly committed to practising proletarian internationalism, to the struggle for the unity of Marxist-Leninist parties, and to building an international organization that will allow the development of struggles led by Marxist-Leninists around the world. In order to reach these objectives, Marxist-Leninist parties must have more exchanges, share points of view and experiences, analyze in common the reality of the class struggle in the world, and thus make the necessary preparations for drawing up the general line of the international Marxist-Leninist movement.

Unity must be built on the basis of principles:

- by recognizing the independence of each party to define its own political line on the principles of Marxist-Leninist theory;

- by following the principle that all parties are equal, however big or small they may be, whether they were formed recently or long ago, whether they are in power or still struggling to seize power;
- questions of common concern should be decided by unanimous agreement through consultations;
- differences should be resolved by developing the ideological struggle through internal debates which should not be made public as long as the differences are between fraternal parties; and meetings or congresses of one party should not be used to publicly attack another.

The progressive degeneration of the world-wide capitalist-revisionist system is evident. The class struggle in the world requires that Marxist-Leninist parties increase their exchanges. Adopting common general agreements as a first step would

lead to adopting certain common practical measures concerning the revolutionary struggle in the world. That, of course, does not mean exporting revolution. Revolution will continue to be a problem that each people, led by its vanguard, must face.

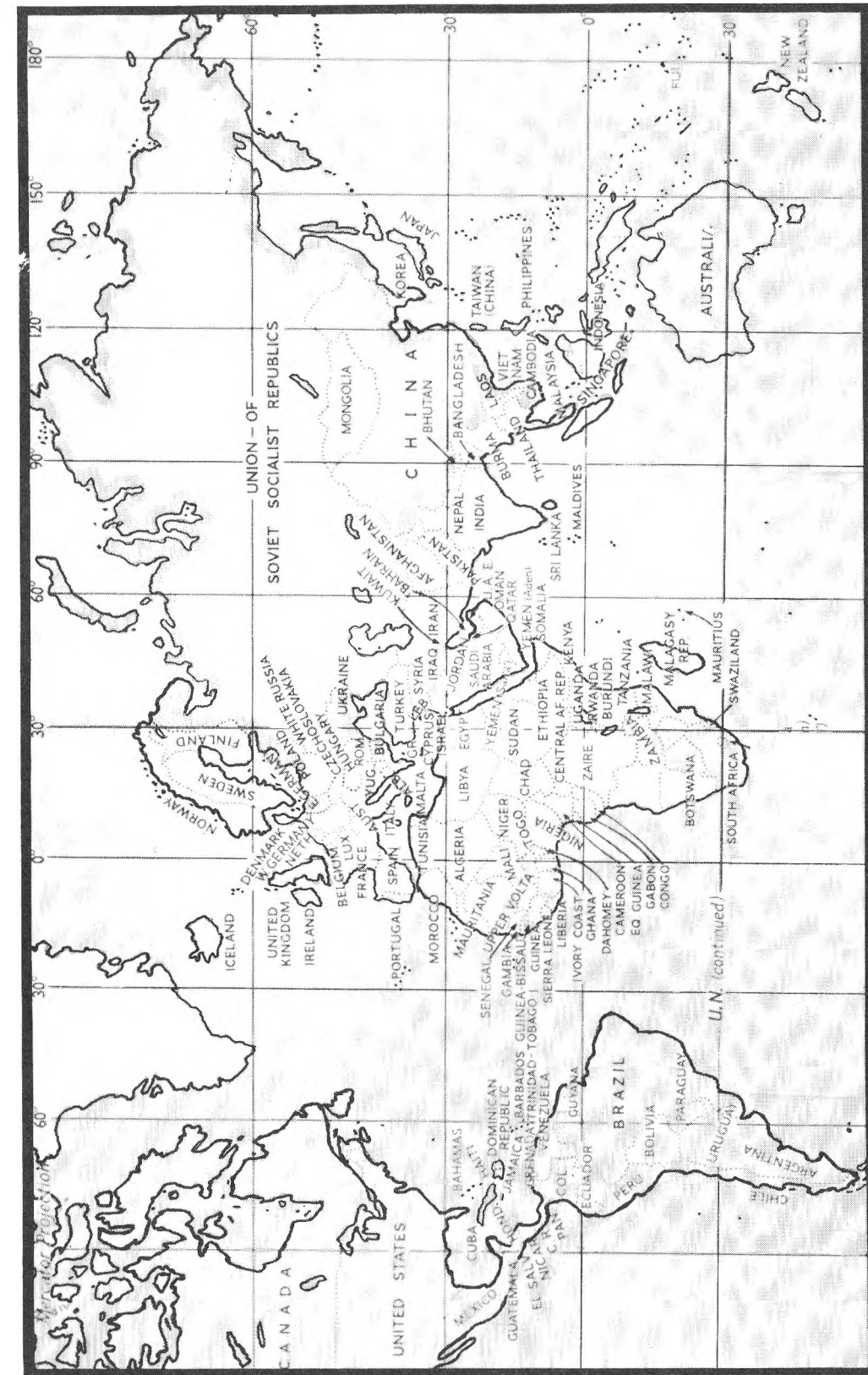
Concerning the ideological struggle that currently exists within the international Marxist-Leninist movement on the personality and contributions of Mao Zedong, we believe that this struggle should not be reduced to a simple positive or negative verdict on the personality and contributions of Mao Zedong. We feel that this ideological struggle should be an important step forward in clarifying the problem of the proletarian revolution as a whole. Marxist theory is required for this, not preconceived ideas. It is only in this way that we can contribute to consolidating and enriching Marxism-Leninism as the scientific theory of the proletariat and of proletarian revolution.

In this struggle, Marxist-Leninist parties must combat superficial analyses that lead to subjectivism and unilateralism. Moreover, it is essential that Marxist-Leninist parties help each other in making these analyses. The kind of haste which results in taking statements as fundamental without taking into account the developing political practice must end.

In order to study these and other problems facing the international communist movement, our organization's point of view is based on a community of Marxist-Leninist parties guided by general principles which take a concrete form in each specific real situation. This means we must take into account the unequal and multiple development of our community of parties. To start from the assumption that unanimity would be possible on specific problems which are not directly linked to principles would deny the ideological struggle that exists within each party.



Venezuela. For a general wage increase of 50%! For a national day of protest against the cost of living! For a national rally of workers! Long live the unity of the working class!



The international communist movement

in *Revolution*, organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party U.S.A., Vol.4, No. 10-11, October/November 1979, p.11

Editor's note: This short excerpt is taken from a report adopted by the Second Central Committee of the RCP-U.S.A. entitled 'The prospects for revolution and the urgent tasks in the decade ahead.' The excerpt presents the RCP's position on the evolution of the unity of Marxist-Leninists.

This position reflects the development of a movement which is strongly opposed to the condemnation of Mao Tse-tung and which seeks to make the defence of Mao Tse-tung Thought the line of demarcation which separates opportunism from Marxism-Leninism.

The Second Congress of our Party called for stepped up efforts to make contact, carry on struggle and build principled unity with Marxist-Leninist forces in other countries, on the basis of drawing and upholding clear lines of demarcation. And over the past period we have in fact increased both correspondence and direct contact with representatives of Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations in other countries. At the same time, with the full flowering (weeding?) of opportunist tendencies in the line of the Albanian Party and its degeneration into counter-revolution, we have not only taken up the task of resolutely upholding the immortal contributions of Mao Tsetung against attacks from this quarter but have begun to make a thorough (and continuing) criticism of the dogmato-revisionism of the Albanian Party and its hangers-on, which is an important task because Albania still retains some prestige as a revolutionary and socialist force even among some organizations and parties which, at least up until now, have generally adhered to a revolutionary line. Overall, it is clear that there is a process of clarification and alignment occurring within the international communist movement, and

we have an important role to play and responsibility to fulfill in this process, which is in fact a very sharp and crucial struggle.

In general, it can be stated that the situation today in this regard is better than it was a year ago: the Chinese revisionists are widely discredited among all those who have any serious intention toward revolution, and the dogmato-revisionists are overall losing ground among such forces; the number of organizations and parties that have taken a clear stand in support of Mao Tsetung and his contributions to Marxism-Leninism while opposing and exposing the revisionist rulers of China, is growing. But, at the same time, the contacts and level of unity, in theory and practice, among these forces (and some we may not even know of as yet) are still extremely primitive. For both these positive and negative reasons, the need for a qualitative leap in this situation stands out very starkly.

In fact, it calls for not only more consistent and systematic exchanges and increasing practical support and unity in struggle. It calls for step by step (but constantly advancing) progress toward ongoing and concrete



unity in theory and practice, on every level — ideological, political and organizational.

This is a point we must discuss seriously — and urgently. Of course, if we were not able to achieve principled unity with a single force internationally, that would not mean that it would be impossible for us (or others) to make revolution (in this country or others). But we are proletarian internationalists, the working class in this country is in fact one part of the international army of the world proletariat, and we should in no way raise the primitiveness and present low level of concrete unity among Marxist-Leninists to a principle nor fail to recognize that the forging and further development of such unity will greatly enhance the revolutionary struggle in each country and internationally.

The unity of the international communist movement and the struggle against revisionism

PROLETARIAN UNITY, theoretical journal of the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada *IN STRUGGLE!*, issue-17-18, June-September 1979.

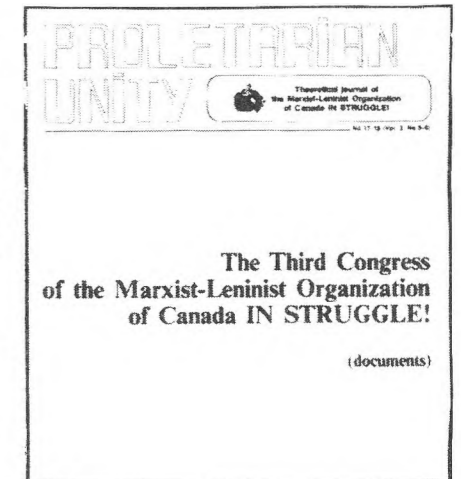
Editor's note: The MLOC IN STRUGGLE! held its Third Congress in March 1979. The following text is excerpted from chapter IV of the Political Report adopted at the Third Congress. That Congress also adopted the Programme for the proletarian revolution in Canada, IN STRUGGLE!'s Constitution and the Appeal for the political and organizational unity of the international communist movement. The Appeal indicates the basic approach which IN STRUGGLE! has taken in the struggle to rebuild the unity of the communist movement. That approach is what led to the decision to publish the Appeal. IN STRUGGLE! has already announced elsewhere its intention to publish a booklet this year which will discuss the history of the struggle for socialism and the causes of revisionism. IN STRUGGLE! texts are available in English and French. The Appeal for the political and organizational unity of the ICM is also available in Spanish.

For the principled unity of communists on a worldwide scale

At the present time, the Marxist-Leninist movement is divided for lack of a political leadership capable of orienting the efforts of the groups, organizations and parties in the different countries which are engaged in the essential task of rebuilding the vanguard party of the proletariat. Not only does this leadership not exist, but the very conditions for establishing such leadership do not exist. In reality, each Marxist-Leninist party or organization is left on its own when it comes to establishing the practical rules to follow in the conduct of its relations with other parties. This results in a particularly difficult situation, when we know that some parties have the rule — applied in the time of the Comintern, dissolved 35 years ago! — of only recognizing one party or organization in each country, on the basis of the correct principle that there can be

only one communist party in any given country.

Reality today is quite different from what it was between 1919 and 1943 or even 1950. The Comintern had a **Programme and a Constitution**, and joining the Communist International meant adhering to this Programme and this Constitution. All those in the same country who joined the International necessarily belonged to the same party; that is quite obvious. But today, where is the Programme? Where is the Constitution? On what basis should we recognize this or that party or organization rather than another? This situation not only creates serious confusion; we are convinced that it has already led to serious errors, such as the recognition of the CPC(M-L) in relation to the Canadian situation. If this gang which behaves in a literally fascist way in Canada has been recognized by three, four, five or ten foreign parties, we have to take this into consideration; but we also have to take into consideration that Bains' gang



The Third Congress of the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada *IN STRUGGLE!*

(documents)

is totally rejected by the proletariat in our country, just as its U.S. English, Indian and Irish branches are totally rejected by the proletariat in those countries. We also take into consideration that this same party puts forward a line borrowed directly from the revisionist programme of the LPP developed under the leadership of the renegade Tim Buck during the Second World War. Here we have a situation which is, to say the least, rather embarrassing for the international unity and international solidarity of the Marxist-Leninist movement. It is a situation that must be rectified, for the interests of the proletariat are at stake.

The international unity of Marxist-Leninists can only be built in the same way that the unity of communists in each country is built. Lenin formulated the fundamental guideline for any struggle for prin-

pled unity: "Before uniting, and to unite, we must begin by demarcating clearly and resolutely. Otherwise our unity would be fictitious and only serve to conceal the existing disorder and prevent us from putting an end to it." Lenin applied this guideline both to the unity of the Soviet party and to unity between different parties. The Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP) was rebuilt on the basis of a rigorous criticism of, and polemic on, economism and a call to all communists in the country to unite around a programme which re-established its foundation in Marxism after demarcating from the opportunist errors of that period. The Communist International was created after five years of intense struggle and polemic against the social chauvinist revisionism of the opportunists of the Second International, on the basis of a call to communists (parties or party factions) around the world to unite around the revolutionary line resulting from this demarcation with opportunism. In fact, the creation of the Comintern led many communists who had remained isolated up to then to unite and create the party of the Communist International in many countries.

It must be said that since the modern revisionist split, Marxist-Leninists have failed in their duty to build their unity on a solid basis, a principled basis. For reasons that still remain unclear today, we have not only moved away from the principle of an international organization of communists — could it be that this is a tacit rejection of the Comintern?... Why?; we have also replaced collaboration between communists, the common definition of line and programme, by bilateral relations based on one's own particular conclusions as to the correctness of the line of those with whom one establishes such relations.

And on the pretext of breaking with the practice of a "father party", the practice was reintroduced in a new form...with the results that are now evident. The most striking of these in undoubtedly the new revisionist split now taking place, a split which developed without the knowledge of many Marxist-Leninists throughout the world, a split that has caused considerable disarray in many countries and that thus has serious negative effects that must not be underestimated.

Many parties and organizations, starting with the PLA, have firmly rejected the revisionist path of Houa Guofeng's CPC. One can say that this is the result of the demarcation around the "three worlds theory". This is true. But does this mean that the rejection of the "three worlds theory" is sufficient proof in itself that the programme of those who reject it is devoid of all traces of revisionism? We think not, for at least one good reason: in our country there is a "party", the CPC(M-L), and a group, Bolshevik Union, which both noisily reject the "three worlds theory" but whose lines are still thoroughly revisionist.

It is also of interest to point out that, in many cases, the opponents of the "three worlds theory" have differing positions on many fundamental questions. One reason for this is that for many of them, their opposition to this theory is completely formal. This is the case with the CPC(M-L). Some people feel that the victory of revisionism within the leadership of the Chinese party is a relatively recent affair corresponding to Houa Goufeng's arrival in power after the death of Mao Zedong in 1976. For others, however, the CPC, and more especially Mao Zedong, hadn't applied Marxism-Leninism since the 1930s!

It could be said that, after all, the differences are of a secondary

nature and will be resolved in time. Perhaps... But there is something which is somewhat more troublesome. The programmes put forward by all of the parties which reject the "three worlds theory" contain a variety of rather astonishing positions on essential questions of strategy. Among these viewpoints, there are some which are dangerously close to the positions of the "three worldists", such as the positions on two-stage revolution in capitalist countries which have reached the stage of imperialism. A striking example of this is the CPC(M-L)'s line on the "mass anti-imperialist and democratic revolution" in Canada.

* * *

The situation is all the more troubling given that, in practice, it leads to interminable splits. In certain European countries, where "parties" of a dozen people are formed, every month brings new reasons why demarcations leading to splits should take place. Sectarianism is winning out — we have to call a spade a spade. And sectarianism is winning out because the desire for unity is not there. Without a struggle for unity, drawing lines of demarcation becomes an end in itself, and the winner is the one who can find the most reasons for differing from the others and rejecting them into the swamps of opportunism.

The same situation is to be found on an international scale. The demarcation made with the "three worlds theory" was a step forward. Then there was demarcation with the CPC and Mao Zedong, and already we're starting to hear about demarcations with the PLA and Enver Hoxha! If things continue like this, we have to have enough clear-headedness to understand that the international communist movement will never rebuild its unity and that the disunity which has reigned

for the past twenty years will be perpetuated indefinitely.

Another factor has played into the game of division. This is the application which is today made of the principle according to which there shouldn't be more than one party in each country. A certain number of parties mutually recognize one another and maintain relationships among themselves. This would be a factor of unity if, at the same time, they didn't make it a rule to close their eyes to everything that is not "the party" in countries where they have recognized this party. This would be a factor of unity if they didn't keep the fruits of their exchanges, which sometimes deal with basic questions where major differences exist, to themselves...

Given current conditions, this exclusiveness — which deprives a large part of Marxist-Leninist forces of the chance to take an active part in the struggle against revisionism on an international scale because, to a large extent, they are unaware of what is really at stake — is nothing but sectarianism. It leads to unacceptable situations, such as the fact that many communists did not learn before 1977 that several parties had had major differences with the CPC for years. We will never be convinced that such methods can ever advance the unity of the international communist movement.

To progress along the path of unity, we must want unity. Unity must clearly be posed as an objective to attain and we must put into place the means for truly uniting the communist forces that want to do so. Today, however, instead of being seen as a political and organizational objective, unity is sometimes seen as the organization of different forms of meetings which provide an opportunity to demarcate from the different manifestations of revisionism. We believe that you do not unite in order to demar-

cate but that you demarcate in order to unite! As long as our unity is not oriented towards a clear objective which would give meaning to demarcation, we will not be able to unite. This objective, let us repeat, is the reconstitution of the international communist movement as the only force capable of offering leadership to the proletariat's struggle for socialism in the different countries, the only force capable of combining the different national liberation, anti-fascist and democratic struggles with the fundamental struggle of our era, the struggle for socialism. From this point of view, unity is not one eventuality among many others; it is an historic necessity. And it is this point of view which is the Marxist-Leninist point of view.

Demarcating from revisionism means determining the programme for revolution

The history of the communist movement since the end of the 1950s is as a whole not too well known. In fact, it is as little known as the history of the period of the Second World War and the years immediately afterwards. We do know that major struggles were waged against various forms of revisionism. Some of those forms were the line preached by Tito, by Khrushchev, by Togliatti and by others besides them. We know that those who tried to re-unite communists into new parties in places where the old party had been swept up in the modern revisionist wave were given some real encouragement. We know that many different kinds of relationships existed between the communists in different countries...

But the practical results of all this work over more than 20 years are pretty meagre as of yet. Not only has the unity of communists in the

world still to be accomplished, but many of the parties created in this period have in turn fallen into opportunism such as, for example, the "three worlds" theorists. The analysis which has been made of the main deviations of modern revisionism has so far not succeeded in bringing about the one practical result that we have the right to expect: the reformulation of the programme for proletarian revolution, adapted to present conditions and freed of all traces of revisionism. We are lacking, in other words, a programme which takes into account the lessons drawn from the successes and errors of the communist movement since the creation of the Comintern.

The struggle against revisionism is only useful insofar as it enables us to chart a correct path towards the proletarian revolution. Today, as in the past, it is in the programme that communists must formulate the basic outlines of the path to be followed to accomplish the historic mission of the working class.

If communists are today disunited, without a programme and haunted by an endless series of new deviations which all lead to new splits, it is not by chance. The unity of the communist movement has never been placed on the agenda as a necessary task since the Communist International was dissolved. The programme has not been put forward either as the means to accomplishing the unity of communists on a genuinely Marxist-Leninist basis. People seem to be satisfied with the view that accompanied the disbanding of the Comintern, to the effect that all this wasn't necessary any longer. Parties had been consolidated in the different countries and conditions were too uniquely different from one country to another.

Since that point the struggle against revisionism has suffered from a major handicap: it was out of

the question to challenge or even to analyze a decision taken while Stalin was alive, a decision which was made undoubtedly at his initiative. To do that would play right into the hands of the Trotskyists! Wonderful logic, it turns out. The result has been just the opposite of what was intended. The field has been left clear for the Trotskyists and the capitalist elements of all sorts who have taken up the task of doing the evaluation of the Comintern and of Stalin — in their own way, of course, which has nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism.

The struggle against revisionism was then carried out in the way that many people seem to wish to continue it, that is by criticizing various parties and communist leaders one at a time and in isolation from one another. This has been done with Tito, Togliatti, Khrushchev, Liu Shaoshi, Lin Biao, Deng Xiaoping... and now Mao Zedong! We have almost gotten to the point now where to be accepted in certain communist circles one has to be ready to say that Stalin never uttered a single sentence that was not a pure expression of Marxism-Leninism — and to add that Mao Zedong was never anything but a bourgeois patriot. We reject these simplifications for the very sound reason that they do not do justice to historical reality.

There is no doubt in our minds that Stalin was a firm defender of Marxism-Leninism. He upheld steadfastly the fundamental principle of building socialism in the U.S.S.R. under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We also feel that he played a decisive role within the Comintern and thereby in the development of communist forces in the world. And, briefly, we are of the opinion that Trotsky had become, certainly by the time he was expelled from the U.S.S.R. if not well before, a genuine counter-

revolutionary in terms of his line and his practice. He objectively served the counter-revolutionary forces in the world up to the end of this life, and his disciples are worthy continuers of his work.

But to say that Stalin never made the slightest error and to chant it over and over again like the rosary is quite something else. It amounts to simply dismissing the need for any historical materialist analysis of the dissolution of the Comintern and the subsequent evolution of the majority of the parties which belonged to it. This is a frontier we are not prepared to cross, for the simple reason that such an attitude deprives today's communists of a proper comprehension of the modern revisionist-engineered split. It makes the struggle to drive modern revisionism out of the workers' movement impossible to carry through to the end and to complete victory.

The question is all the more important because it is coming up again in yet another form. Just yesterday all the communists around the world had nothing but fulsome praises for Mao Zedong. When he died in 1976, messages flowed in from everywhere declaring that his death was a great loss for the international communist movement. We were ourselves part of this universal tribute.

But today people say that Mao was never a Marxist-Leninist and that **this has been known since the 1960s**. That is where we lose track of the argument completely. We would like to know why, if Mao was known to be a "phoney Marxist" all these years, people have been pretending that just the opposite was true. The problem is posed.

As far as we are concerned, we believe that the history of the international communist movement, and that of the communist parties in different countries, is still a source of lessons which the working class must learn to master fully in order

to deal properly with today's struggles. We think that the Comintern left an indelible mark on the shape of a quarter of a century of the history of the workers' movement. It was a period when the communist forces shook the very foundations of imperialism. We believe that Stalin played a leading role during this period and that he showed himself to be a great communist leader. We also think that, during the same period, the Communist Party of China, which belonged to the Comintern, played a major role within it. We think that the CPC led the liberation struggle of its people to victory over foreign imperialism. We believe that that struggle contributed greatly to the defeat of the fascist Axis countries of Germany, Japan and Italy and to the victory of democratic forces around the world as well as to the consolidation of socialist power in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. We affirm all this because this is what the facts of history tell us.

As for the last twenty years, we would say that an intense struggle has been carried out in China to guarantee the triumph of socialism in the wake of liberation. We think that, generally speaking, Mao Zedong was in the camp of those fighting for socialism.

A more developed analysis of history will undoubtedly make it possible to comprehend why a revisionist leadership was able to take over the leadership of the CPC. As it stands now, we think that certain errors were made after liberation in the attitude which was taken towards the bourgeoisie; we think that democratic centralism was violated in many respects, illustrated for instance by the lengthy intervals of time between Congresses. The analysis and understanding of the precise reasons for the recent evolution of the CPC, whatever these reasons may be, is an important

task that remains to be accomplished.

However, the analysis of the Communist Party of China cannot be separated from that of the whole international communist movement. For example, while it is true that "concessions" may have been made to the bourgeoisie in China during the 1950s and 1960s, we must not forget that the same thing occurred in the Eastern European countries as far back as the 1940s. In other words, it is by no means certain — far from that — that the source of modern revisionism is to be found in the history of the CPC in the 1950s.

In order to avoid the slightest ambiguity about what we mean here, we would like to add that we attach very great importance to the positions of the Party of Labour of Albania and its leader, Enver Hoxha. The PLA is one of the few parties which has held fast to its Marxist-Leninist positions throughout a whole series of splits in the movement since the 1940s. It remains the party which led the Albanian people to victory in its struggle against fascism and consolidated Albania's national independence against imperialist manoeuvres at the end of the Second World War. It is the same party which established the dictatorship of the proletariat and which has since that point led the Albanian working class in building socialism. These are victories which nothing can ever erase from the historical record. The same is true for all the other working-class victories since the Bolshevik Revolution.

* * *

All that we have said up to now indicates that we do not share the viewpoint of those who would reduce the struggle against revisionism to a storm of wild, fiery denunciations. Such an approach has the rather fundamental drawback that it dilutes the lessons that can be

drawn from the historical experience of the communist movement in the struggle for socialism.

The fight against revisionism must not be waged in the perspective of trying first and foremost to unmask a few individual "imposters". Rather it must be conducted with a view to uniting the communists and the international proletariat around the road that will lead the workers of the world to victories over imperialism right up to the victory of socialism. Communists are not going to unite around a series of policies and personalities that have to be condemned. They will unite around a programme, the programme of the proletarian revolution. The programme will move the struggle forward precisely in as much as it is formulated on the basis of drawing lessons from the past, of avoiding past errors that paved the way to revisionism.

Communists today are in a good position to give correct leadership to the struggle of the proletariat, for the problems that are posed by this struggle are for the most part not new ones. The working class has already taken part in struggles for national liberation, in the fight against fascism. It has fought in times of war and in times of peace. It has struggled to take power and it has battled to build socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It has won victories in all of these situations.

What remains to be done today is to single out those errors which led to the defeats. Once this is done it is undeniable that the proletariat will be in possession of a rich panoply of experiences such as has never been seen in any other period of history: Communists do not have the right to deprive workers any longer of these formidable lessons by reducing the struggle against revisionism to just one or two of its aspects.

Conclusion — Forward in the development of international communist forces

The international situation suggests that conditions favourable to revolution may well emerge in some parts of the world. The proletariat aspires to socialism because capitalism is increasingly incapable of putting an end to misery. Indeed, it only succeeds in making things much worse.

If the socialist revolution is going to succeed, then the struggles of the working class and working people must have proletarian leadership.

Revisionism is dominant within the working-class movement in most countries. Serving the interests of the revolution, the working class and oppressed nations and people today requires that the struggle against revisionism be waged through to victory.

We think that Marxist-Leninists will accomplish this historical task by uniting in order to deepen their understanding of revisionism and by uniting their efforts to defeat it within each country and on a world scale. For it is clear that the division and isolation that have been the rule for communist forces for the past twenty years and more have in fact ultimately served the interests of imperialism rather than the interests of revolution and socialism.

As far as we are concerned, we intend to pursue the struggle to better understand and combat revisionism.

In this task we will be guided by one single concern: to serve the revolutionary proletariat. We will also continue our efforts to achieve greater unity of communists throughout the world on a principled basis.

The struggle against revisionism

has made important progress in a number of countries. Parties are being reconstituted. The working class will soon be able to rely on revolutionary leadership in many parts of the world. The development of this trend on a world scale requires the unity of communists on an international level. It is in the struggle to unite around a communist

programme that communists will be able to win a decisive victory over modern revisionism.

In short, we believe that:

1. In the conditions prevailing today, communists must commit themselves resolutely to the struggle to unite on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist programme for proletarian revolution.

2. It is in the framework of this struggle for the political and organizational unity of all communists that the past errors can be identified. This will make it possible to defeat revisionism within the very ranks of the communist forces and dislodge it as the dominant ideology in the working-class movement.

Proletarians and oppressed nations around the world, Unite!

in the English Summary of the newspaper **The People's Star**, central organ of the Communist Party of Japan (Left), no. 40, April 15-May 31, 1979.

Editor's note: The Communist Party of Japan (Left) regularly published summaries of its publications in English. The following text deals with the lessons to be drawn by communists from the founding of the Third International (1979 marked the sixtieth anniversary of its founding). The text stresses more especially the struggle against nationalism and social chauvinism, that led to the creation of the Third International and shows why this struggle is still important today.

This text is pertinent because it undertakes to show that nationalism has been and still is the source of a number of revisionist theories in the history of the international communist movement.

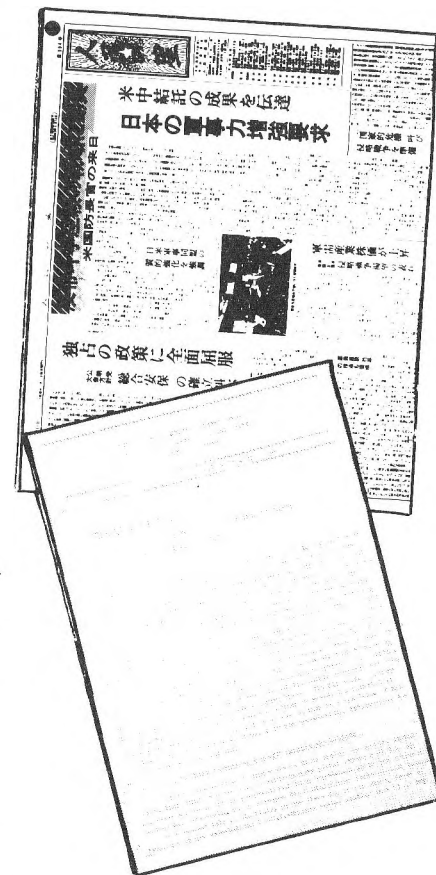
The Communist Party of Japan (Left) is one of the parties and organizations that openly supports the creation of a new communist International.

We have taken the liberty of making certain minor changes in the style of the text to make it easier for our readers to understand. In no case, however, do these changes affect the meaning in any way.

Under the above title, the "People's Star" No. 917 publishes an article dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Communist International. At the outset, the article points out the characteristics of the convulsive international situation, in which we are commemorating the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Communist International. These characteristics are, to be brief, the crisis of the world capitalist economy, the sharpening scramble for conquest among imperialisms and monopoly groups headed by both American

and Soviet superpowers, the Chinese social-imperialist alliance with U.S. and Japanese imperialism as well as its aggressive war against Vietnam on one hand; and the growth of the proletarian-socialist revolutionary movements in the individual capitalist countries, the ever-powerful advance of the national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, as is the case with the anti-imperialist and national-democratic revolution in Iran, on the other.

These turbulent situations today demand us to bear freshly and



deeply in mind the significance of the formation of the Communist International.

Under the direction of Lenin, the Founding Congress of the Communist International was held victoriously in Moscow from March 3 through 6, 1919. It was the inheritor of the best revolutionary traditions of the Communist League and the First International, both led by K. Marx and F. Engels, and of the Second International created under the helm of Engels. The principles of proletarian internationalism, established by the Communist International through its frontal struggle against the social chauvinism of the Second International, and the revolutionary practice guided by these principles — these represent a precious treasure of the international communist movement.

The Communist International inaugurated a new era of transition from capitalism to socialism, opened in the history of humankind a new chapter for the realization of the proletarian dictatorship throughout the world. It also heralded the world proletarian revolution in the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, with the aim of "promoting the final collapse of the imperialist world system."

On occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Comintern, we must clarify its historic merits, and especially some essential ones.

Communist International founded through fight against social-chauvinism of the Second International

For one thing, stresses the article, the Communist International was founded through a relentless and irreconcilable struggle against the social chauvinism of the Second International. Therefore, it unified into one force the revolutionary trends of the international proletariat and, according to the unitary strategy and tactics of the world party that it was, pushed powerfully forward the revolutionary struggles

of the entire world and united into a single front the proletariat and the oppressed nations of various countries. At the outbreak of the First World War, the treason of Kautsky and the parties of the Second International were clearly exposed when they stood by their "own" imperialist bourgeoisie and substituted bourgeois nationalism for proletarian internationalism, unfurling the banner of "defence of the fatherland". To the internationalism in word only of Kautsky and company, Lenin opposed real internationalism as he stated, "There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and revolutionary struggle in one's own country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) this struggle, this and only this line in every country without exception".

Revealing the growth of opportunism into social-chauvinism and declaring the Second International already collapsed, Lenin made a clarion call for the building of a Marxist International which would uplift proletarian internationalism against bourgeois nationalism, oppose and demarcate itself definitely from opportunism and social-chauvinism. The Russian October Socialist Revolution radically changed the international situation and created new and more favourable conditions for the founding of the Communist International.

The Comintern was formed in a fierce clash with the chauvinism of the Second International, clearly dividing itself organizationally, too, from the latter; and rallying the revolutionary trends, genuinely opposed to opportunism, around the ideological and political Marxist line. This was why it was formed as an organization adequate to practise proletarian internationalism and proved to be workable as a single

world party closely uniting the proletarians of various countries.

Carrying forward revolutions of individual countries as parts of the world revolution

Secondly, the article underlines that the Communist International did not confine the revolution in each country within the boundaries of that country, but based on the practical lessons of the Russian Revolution, it directed all its strength to carrying forward the revolutions in individual countries integrally as a complete process of the world revolution. Lenin described the founding of the Third Communist International as something which "heralds the international republic of Soviets, the international victory of communism" (V.I. Lenin, "Won and Recorded", Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 28, p. 480).

Standing for the viewpoint of proletarian internationalism, Lenin sought with might and main to carry the Russian Revolution further ahead. He regarded it not as an aim in itself, but as a link of the class struggle on the international level of the proletariat and oppressed nations against imperialism, as a prelude to the world socialist revolution. Thus, he developed in theory and practice the proper integral relationship of the revolution in one country with the world revolution. The Russian proletariat guided by Lenin did not spare any sacrifice of their "own homeland" — be it sacrificing a part of its territory, or suffering heavy losses to imperialism — if only this enabled them to become the initiator of the international proletarian revolution, in order to really promote the cause of the world socialist revolution. Consequently, Lenin summed up the Russian Revolution as follows: that it "did the utmost possible in one country for the development, support and awakening of the revolution in all countries" (V.I. Lenin,

"The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", Collected Works, Vol.28, p. 292).

What permeates this practice is the view of proletarian internationalism based on the tremendous historic mission of the proletariat, and the correct linking of the revolution in one country with the world revolution.

Bring out the quintessence of proletarian internationalism

Third, the article writes that we have to grasp firmly the quintessence of proletarian internationalism defended resolutely by the Communist International, the truth that ensured for it the unity of strategy and tactics, of thought and action. Underlying the spirit of proletarian internationalism is the truth that "the working men have no country." That is the truth put forward by Marx and Engels in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party", upheld by Lenin, and defended as a guiding principle by all communists of the world who participated in the Comintern. That "working men have no country", continues the article, means that the economic status of workers as wage slaves is not national but international, just as Capital, their class enemy, is; and that the heroic battle of the working class against capitalism, toward the establishment of the proletarian power and socialist construction, is essentially of an international character.

After exposing the viewpoint of "one's own country" of the Second International, which accepted nationalist prejudices, national hostility and dissensions, the continuing division from country to country of the proletariat and the rule over it by its own bourgeoisie, as well as the oppression of the other nations by one's own imperialism, the article stresses the following:

Only the union of the workers of different nationalities into one single organization allows the prole-

triat to wage a successful struggle against international capital and reaction, against bourgeois nationalism. Only the socialist union of workers of various countries offers a possibility of uprooting the terrain of national discord which has been implanted historically.

The nation and the national State, created along with the rise of the bourgeoisie, have been made an instrument of capital for the quest of profits, so that national hostility, discord and discrimination have been intensified. Under imperialism, national oppression is inevitable and invariably tends to increase on a worldwide scale. Similarly, neocolonialism is nothing else but sophisticated national oppression. There can be no solution to the national question, no national liberation, separate from the anti-imperialist struggle.

At the same time, we cannot fail to notice the emphasis in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" to the effect that the working class must first constitute itself in the framework of the nation.

In the Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels indicate the limits to and conditions for recognizing the nation and the fatherland as inevitable forms of the bourgeois fatherland. That is, the proletariat must constitute itself as the nation, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word, and fight the revolutionary struggle on a concrete basis in each country. This means to apply concretely the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism to the reality of each country, without failing to take into account the peculiarities of each country. Otherwise, the world socialist revolution and proletarian internationalism would be unsubstantial, hollow, abstract and ineffective slogans.

However, it is clear that this cannot be a ground for believing in the "independent road" which

denies the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, nor for justifying nationalism. *"The unity of the international tactics of the communist working-class movement in all countries demands, not the elimination of variety or the suppression of national distinctions (which is a pipe-dream at present), but the application of the fundamental principles of communism (Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat), which will correctly modify these principles in certain particulars, correctly adapt and apply them to national and national-State distinctions"* (V.I. Lenin, **"Left-wing' Communism — and Infantine Disorder"**, Collected Works, Vol. 31, p. 93).

Attacks by international imperialism with its weapon, nationalism

Imperialism and its lackeys have made the Communist International an eyesore, have attacked and are attacking it by every possible means. They were completely horrified at the most powerful unity against international imperialism which the international proletariat had created by arming itself with a common strategy and tactics, by setting up a single general staff. And the fact was that, under the leadership of the Comintern, the international communist movement developed to immense proportions and strengthened the ranks and actions of the proletariat in the individual countries for the overthrow of international imperialism and the realization of the world socialist revolution, thus greatly menacing imperialism.

Imperialism has all along endeavored to tear to shreds this strong international unity of the proletariat. One of its most reliable means of offense has been nationalism.

Benefiting from the case of Chinese social imperialism's ag-

gression against Vietnam, the imperialists have made fashionable the concept of the "war between socialist countries", shouting: "Proletarian internationalism has fallen down", "Socialism cannot overcome the national question", "There is ideological antagonism between socialisms, too", etc. They are speaking as though the proletariat could never break with nationalism, in their effort to impose such demagogues on the proletariat.

In line with the imperialist attacks, all present-day revisionisms including the Chinese one, which have been following in the footsteps of social chauvinism of the Second International, have tried to replace proletarian internationalism by various guises of nationalism.

Whether they are in power or not, and regardless of the variety of their deceptive methods, their preachings seek to have the world viewed from the framework of "one country". The revisionists express this in other words, such as the "right of one's own country", the "national stand" or "stand of one's own nation", etc, etc. In the capitalist and revisionist countries, these expressions simply mean defending the interests of the ruling class — the bourgeoisie. They are nothing other than terms to disguise the most fundamental and irreconcilable class antagonism, that is, the exploitation and oppression of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie.

The article exposes bourgeois nationalism circulated by revisionism, taking some examples.

The Soviet clique, from Khrushchev right through to Brezhnev, has diffused the pseudo-Marxist theory that "the stage has come when communism can be realized in one country". It is the clearest theory divorcing the revolution in one country from the world revolution.

Eurocommunism is propagating the "various roads to socialism", as if various socialisms might exist for various nations. This is aimed at ne-

gating the road of the violent revolution toward the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the one hand, and proletarian internationalism linked insolubly with the former, on the other.

Chinese revisionism sowing disarray and disrupting the fighting ranks of the international proletariat

The article stresses that among others, Chinese revisionism has played an especially criminal role in sowing disarray and disrupting the united fighting ranks of the international proletariat, which are built on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

From the late 1950s to the 1960s, Chinese revisionism posed as if it was allegedly in the forefront of the fight against Khrushchevite revisionism, in defence of Marxist-Leninist principles. But in reality, it did not offer any means at all for achieving the internationalist unity of the true Marxist-Leninist parties — which means holding international meetings to reach a common understanding of the world, and on this basis, proceeding to work out the unitary strategy and tactics and build step by step the unity of will and action — just as the Comintern did.

As well, the Chinese revisionists lifted high "self-reliance" when they saw it advantageous, but once it has gone bankrupt, they have no scruples at all about grasping at the capital, technology and machinery of Western imperialist states like the United States, Japan, etc.

This is clear evidence of the fact that they were waving the banner of Marxism-Leninism, even if in appearance only, not for the practice of internationalism, but for the sake of their own nationalist prestige and egoism.

Laying bare the nature of the

Chinese revisionist theory of "three worlds", the article stresses that such an argument does not differ in essence from that advocated by the disgraceful renegades and social chauvinists of the Second International. This theory alleges that the prime task of the proletariat and working people is to combat the most barbarous imperialism, the Soviet Union, and even makes this a pretext for excusing the buildup of the violent war machine and overseas aggression by the imperialist bourgeoisie of other countries, in the name of "defending the fatherland". This is meant to excuse and legitimize the bandit plunder of various countries by the imperialist bourgeoisie. The Chinese revisionist have wiped out the Marxist-Leninist view on the antagonism between the international bourgeoisie and the international proletariat.

The recent activity of the Chinese revisionists themselves has unveiled ever more clearly that their above-mentioned argument has been, not a slight deviation from Marxism-Leninism, but an excuse for concealing their imperialist expansionism. Because of their national self-centeredness, they were frightened at the nuclear blackmail posed by the sharp U.S.-Soviet rivalry, they submitted to and sought shelter with U.S. imperialism, and they even entered into alliance with American and Japanese imperialism, and at length, undertook the aggressive war against the Vietnamese people, who are consistent in their anti-imperialist struggle.

That is a logical conclusion of their social chauvinism, a practical outcome of the "three worlds" theory.

The Miyamoto clique distorts Marxism-Leninism under the signboard of "autonomy and independence"

After usurping the leadership of the Communist Party of Japan, the revisionist Miyamoto clique has spread bourgeois nationalism using the concept of "autonomy and independence" as a pretext, and has strived to realize its evil aim of drawing the proletariat and working people into the course of social chauvinism. The main object of their theory of "autonomy and independence" is to negate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, distorting the thesis of applying it to the concrete conditions of various countries.

From the late 50s down through the 60s, when the great battle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism was being fought in the ranks of the international communist movement, the Miyamoto clique strove to separate the task of the Japanese revolution from the internationalist duty of the Japanese proletariat.

With the aim of abandoning the revolutionary mass struggle against U.S. imperialism, they raised a theory that the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty can be abrogated through a mere announcement. As is already exposed, this "theory" has been an example of the parliamentarist theory absolutizing the legal formalities; but at the same time, it has also represented a nationalist concept which observes the acute class antagonism between the Japanese proletariat and U.S. imperialism from the viewpoint of interstate relations.

Along with this, Miyamoto and company have adopted the alleged "national standpoint", namely, a bourgeois standpoint represented by the ideas of "Democratization of the economy", "National Railway in the interest of the whole nation", "Public workers as servants of the community", etc., so that they can give up the struggle to overthrow Japanese imperialism.

They also "refuted" the attack by Soviet revisionism from their nationalist stand, opposing the "autonomy and independence" to the "interference in the internal affairs".

What is the class nature of "autonomy and independence" shown in the above stand and practice of the revisionist Miyamoto clique?

Proletarian internationalism is not a simple slogan, but a very practical problem of the revolutionary movement, derived from the objective reality of the world. The "autonomy and independence" of the Miyamoto clique, however, is nothing else but a groundless (and alien to the revolutionary practice of the proletariat) kind of talk of the nationalist petty-bourgeois intelligentsia, who do not want to shoulder any responsibility in the struggle for the triumph of the world proletarian-socialist revolution.



Japan. Women demonstrate on International Women's Day against inflation and for the satisfaction of workers' demands.

This concept has nothing in common with the revolutionary tradition of the Communist Party of Japan. In the pre-war period, the Communist Party of Japan, as the section of the Communist International in Japan, constituted a component part of the single army of the international proletariat. The Communist Party of Japan promoted the revolutionary movement in Japan, while considering itself clearly as a detachment of the international communist movement. The revolutionary proletariat of Japan in no way separated the task of the Japanese revolution from its internationalist duty, nor did it put the former in opposition to the latter. The revolutionary Japanese proletariat never regarded the Japanese revolution itself as the final purpose, but subjected the task of this revolution to its internationalist duty.

This revolutionary tradition was alive in the early post-war period. In the case of the so-called "50 issue", the CPJ made a basically correct self-criticism in response to the criticism the Communist Information Bureau, because the proletarian internationalist spirit existed in the hearts of the Japanese communists and the content of the Cominform's criticism was right.

Nevertheless, Kenji Miyamoto said, "Since that bitter experience in 1950, since the various confusions within the Party ranks at that time, we have pursued the course of holding fast to the autonomous line in any situation" (the party organ **Red Flag**, April 13, 1966). According to him, the confusion arose, not from the wrong definition of the American occupation troops as a liberation army, presented by the leadership of the Party at that time — including Nosaka, Miyamoto and company —, but from the criticism from abroad. This is sheer sophistry. With this as a starting point, the Miyamoto clique under-

took and stepped up all its betrayals, under the signboard of "autonomy and independence".

Under the veil of this phraseology, they denied the duty of the Japanese proletariat in the struggle to achieve the liberation of the proletariat and oppressed nations in the whole world by overthrowing international imperialism, and curtailed this duty to the point that we have just only to pose against the bourgeoisie in our own country. This is a sheer bourgeois nationalism — an outright counter-revolutionary theory which, along with this clique's abandonment of the revolutionary mass struggle and its complete degeneration into opportunism, reformism and class conciliation, intends to justify the capitulation and subjugation of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie.

Fight for a new development of the international communist movement

Now, it is all the more important for us to learn the significance of the founding of the Communist International and its historic merits, because the present situation and tasks of the proletariat are fundamentally very similar to those of that time, and the principles of proletarian internationalism established by the Comintern have become one of the most urgent issues both in practice and in theory.

First of all, various brands of social chauvinism have come out and are parading rampantly in the ranks of the international communist movement, and are disrupting, disorienting and sabotaging the militant unity of the international proletariat. This is combined with the attacks which imperialism is making, in the conditions of the profound crisis in the world imperialist system and increasing war danger, as well as of the growing revolutionary struggles by the peoples.

Under such circumstances, the

following instruction of the Communist International cannot be emphasized too much: to successfully wage the struggle for the overthrow of the imperialist bourgeoisie, it is indispensable to fight against social chauvinism through to the finish.

Secondly, in the evolution of the international communist movement after the Second World War, the road of "perpetuating the one-country socialism", represented by the theory of "realizing communism even in one country", has been established. In addition, the "peaceful coexistence extended to the relations between socialist countries" has been spread and the concept of "autonomy and independence" has thrived, whereas proletarian internationalism is juggled as a mere slogan completely devoid of content. These circumstances show that now it is the duty of the true Marxist-Leninists to uphold in principle the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint of the world revolution by learning the lessons of the Comintern.

Thirdly, it is of cardinal importance to achieve the unity of all Marxist-Leninist parties of the world at a time when imperialism and revisionism, are together, making every possible effort to break the unity of the international proletariat, detach the revolution in one country from the world revolution, and finally, to emasculate the proletariat and keep it bound by the chains of wage slavery. As the example of the Communist International shows, the unity of the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties is the only way to attain the real unity of the proletarians of all countries and build up a solid unity of thought and action in the ranks of the international proletariat, with the object of realizing the triumph of the world socialist revolution for the overthrow of its enemy — international imperialism.

Proletarians and oppressed nations around the world, unite!

The goal of this section of *International Forum* is to present our readers with essential information on the development of the international communist movement (ICM) in the recent period in a form that is both condensed and useful. We are trying to include here the most important events both as concerns the main debates in the ICM and as concerns the political positions and practical actions of the different forces active in the world communist movement.

Our capacity to report faithfully on the life and ac-

tion of the ICM in this section is necessarily dependent on the information we receive from foreign comrades, as well as being subject to limitations of space. Correspondence to help develop this feature of *International Forum* is very necessary, in terms of further information of a more current nature for different countries, in terms of comments or criticisms on the information and analysis presented, and in terms of suggestions to improve the style and content of this section.

Europe

In Britain, *The Worker*, organ of the CP of Britain ML, sums up 1979 as a year of important mass struggles by the working class to combat the growing exploitation due to the capitalist crisis and to fight the plans of the capitalists to destroy the British economy. *The Worker* calls for the overthrow of Thatcher by the working class as an immediate step in the revolutionary struggle. The Association of Communist Workers has published a booklet called *On the Social-Chauvinism of the RCLB*, exposing the opportunism of the Revolutionary Communist League of Britain ML, the main defender of Chinese revisionism and the "three worlds theory" in Britain.

In Belgium, the RCP-ML of Belgium circulates the weekly newspaper *L'Exploité*. The newspaper supports the working-class struggles and strikes and the tendency to develop working-class solidarity and militant unionism, and condemns the destruction of industry in the region of Wallony with its resulting mass unemployment. *L'Exploité* also called recently for the right of self-determination for the peoples of Wallony, of the Flemish nation, and of the Brussels region; and for a programme of regional autonomy for Wallony in the context of the struggle for socialist revolution. The newspaper condemns the restoration of capitalism in China and the imperialist war preparations.

In Denmark, the CP of Denmark ML has published twice weekly its

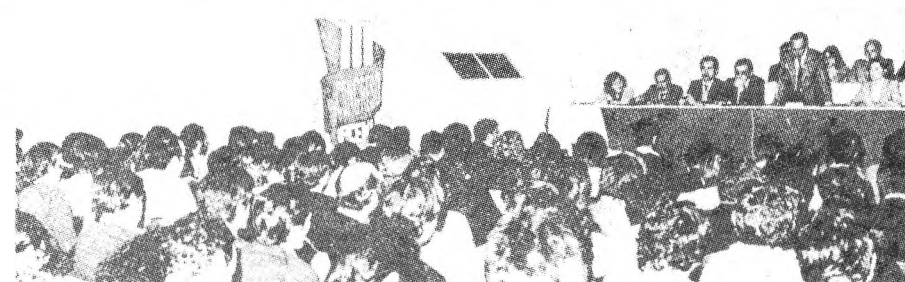
newspaper *Arbejderen* since the founding of the party in December 1978, along with an international bulletin in English of articles appearing from the newspaper. *Arbejderen* denounces the war preparations of the U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and China; supports the struggle against Chinese revisionism and "Mao Tse-tung Thought" in the ICM, and speaks of issues in the revolutionary movement in Denmark like the struggle against the crisis offensive of the bourgeoisie, the revolutionary battle of women for liberation, and the neo-colonial bondage of Greenland.

In France, three organizations produce and distribute newspapers in the working class on a monthly basis: the Workers CP of France (*La Forge*), the OC-ML En Avant Prolétaires (*Combattre*), and Voie Prolétarienne (*Pour le Parti*). The newspapers all speak of the mass struggles of the working class against the capitalist crisis, and especially recently the struggles of the immigrant workers against their oppression and against rising political

repression. They talk about the struggle against imperialist war preparations, and condemn the revisionism of the Soviets, the current Chinese leaders, the Eurocommunists of the CP of France, and the social-democrats.

The three newspapers speak of the overthrow of the French imperialists through socialist revolution. *La Forge*, however, considers that "Mao Tse-tung Thought" is a form of revisionism, and also condemns those groups in France which do not recognize the creation of the party; while *Combattre* and *Pour le Parti* analyze only the current Chinese leaders as revisionist, and also consider that the struggle for the party has not yet been completed in France. Programmatic and tactical differences among the organizations, and differing analyses of the ML movement in France, can be found in the form of polemics in the three newspapers.

In Switzerland, the Communist Movement ML publishes *Roter Prolet* in German and Italian. Recently *Roter Prolet* has highlighted the importance of the struggle of the foreign workers



Spain. The Third Congress of the Communist Party of Spain (CPE(M-L)) reaffirmed the importance of the party's work in big factories as well as on the ideological front. It called for the creation of a communist international.

for complete equality, in their situation of super-exploitation and constant political repression and threat of deportation. *Roter Prolet* also speaks of the continuing struggle for a revolutionary union movement.

In Spain, the CP of Spain ML completed its 3rd Congress in Madrid in early November, 1979. The Congress was attended by 300 delegates representing the party organizations in Spain and abroad. There was also an important presence of foreign delegations, including a delegation of the PLA for the first time. The Congress stressed the importance of the party work in the big factories as well as the importance of the struggle on the ideological front. In relation to the ICM, the Congress linked the struggle against the "three worlds theory" and Chinese revisionism to the necessity to combat "Mao Tse-tung Thought", and also called for the formation of a communist international.

The CP of Spain ML has been able to win the status of a legal political party in the changed political conditions after the death of Franco, but continues the fight for the liberation of imprisoned comrades.

In early 1980 the CP of Spain ML helped organize an important anti-imperialist conference, with the attendance of factory committees, workers delegations, different Spanish political forces, and ML and democratic forces from many foreign countries. The speaker from the CP of Spain stressed the international character of the struggle against imperialism, and the importance in Spain of continuing the struggle to oppose American imperialism and to win complete democratic rights and full national independence.

In Portugal, the CP of Portugal (Reconstructed) completed its 3rd Congress at the end of May, 1979. Among the important decisions of the Congress was the rejection of "Mao Tse-tung Thought" and the mandate given to the new central committee to elaborate a general programme for presentation to the 4th Congress. The programme is to define the objectives of the party to realize the socialist revolution and install the proletarian dictatorship, and is also to indicate the im-

mediate tasks of the popular democratic phase of the Portuguese revolution, "the path of the April 25 of the people", as the basis for the worker-peasant alliance. The Congress closed with an internationalist meeting with an important attendance of foreign organizations.

The PCP(R) developed a campaign to win legal status for the party. The 8th plenary of the CC of the 3rd Congress, held in Jan. 1980, further defined the party's tasks. It insisted on the struggle to Bolshevize the party and the struggle against spontaneism in the leadership of the party. In a situation where the electoral results showed the increased unity of the bourgeoisie, the 8th Plenary called for a strong movement of popular unity against the actions of the rightist government, based on the development of independent mass actions, stronger working class and popular unity, and consistent struggle against reformism and revisionism. More concretely, the 8th plenum called for the practical defence of the Constitution, the defence of the Agrarian reform and nationalizations, united trade-union action against class collaboration, and development of the anti-imperialist sentiment in the masses. Also in January, 1980, the PCP(R) united with many left-wing and revolutionary groups to create a Force for Popular Unity (FPU) which is intended to participate actively in the mass struggles and to elect a revolutionary parliamentary group. The FPU will fight for 3 central objectives: a new practice of democracy, a new political and economic policy, and a new position for Portugal in the world, based on non-alignment and defence of Portugal's national interests.

The independent newspaper *A Voz de Povo* reports in Jan. 1980 on a National Conference of the dissidents who left the PCP(R), including the militants who publish *Unidade Comunista*. They concluded that the Popular Democratic Union and the struggle for popular unity were the main work priorities, and that their central task was the struggle for the re-unification of communists in a single, democratic Congress with a large participation. The militants re-affirmed the correctness of their basic criticisms of the

PCP(R), but also self-criticized for certain rightist positions, and explained that they did not consider there were two antagonistic lines between themselves and the PCP(R).

In Germany, the CP of Germany ML concentrated on the Bolshevization of the party, the struggle to create a party of combat, on the basis of the decisions of its 4th Congress held in December, 1978, and on the lessons of Stalin. The goal of this campaign is a better class composition and increased discipline in the party. The party organ *Roter Morgen* reports on the anti-fascist struggle and on the struggle to develop the revolutionary trade-union movement, through the development of the Revolutionary Union Organization.

The Communist Workers League of Germany (KABD) held its 4th Congress in December, 1979. The Congress indicated that the revolutionary tactic to follow was the unification of the economic struggles with the political struggles. On this basis the KABD has developed its agitation around the workers' demands such as wages, shorter hours, housing, etc...

In Greece, the CP of Greece ML has completed the public meetings of preparation for its 2nd Congress.

In response to the elections to the European parliament in 1979 six organizations made a common statement calling for "No vote for the Europe of the monopolies". The statement was signed by the CP of Germany ML, the CP of Denmark ML, the CP of Spain ML, the Workers CP of France, the CP of Italy ML, and the CP of Portugal (Reconstructed).

North America:

In the United States, the *Revolutionary Worker*, weekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist Party/U.S.A. reports positive results in its activities to organize a large revolutionary demonstration for May Day, 1980. The RCP has made the organization of a revolutionary May Day for 1980 central in its tactic since May, 1979, and has predicted that this day will be "the first mass revolutionary struggle of the 1980s" in

the U.S.A. Organization for May Day includes mobile squads visiting factories and poor and working-class neighbourhoods with the slogan "We won't work that day, will you?". The RCP emphasizes as well that a "real possibility of a revolutionary situation in the 1980s" exists in the U.S.A.

The CPU.S.A.-ML, in its organ **Unite!**, continues to report on its work to oppose fascist groups and repression, fight imperialist war and conscription, and build a revolutionary trade union opposition. **Unite!** reports that the work has been temporarily disrupted by a recent split in the party which involved several members of the central committee. Those who left the party are denounced as ultra-left sectarians and factionalists, with Maoist and Trotskyist characteristics. They criticized the position of **Unite!** that "the most consistent struggle for reforms is the most important way to teach the working class and oppressed minorities that only the overthrow of capitalism can end their misery."

In Canada, the MLOC IN STRUGGLE! has developed widespread agitation to defend the equality of nations and language rights among the working people, and especially to defend the right to self-determination of Quebec and of other oppressed nations in Canada. This work has been developed with the goal of building the unity of the proletariat and its allies, in opposition to the chauvinist and narrow nationalist bourgeois propaganda which has intensified in the situation of political crisis linked to the coming referendum on the political future of Quebec. A declaration supporting the equality of languages and nations has been signed already by over 50,000 workers and progressives, and democratic coalitions to defend the right of Quebec to self-determination have been formed in many cities of English Canada.

During the federal parliamentary elections in February, 1980, the MLOC IS! called for workers to spoil their ballots in protest against the bourgeois parties. The organization also linked the struggle against the class-collaborationist line in the unions with the growing protest movement of the workers against the treachery of the



The MLOC IN STRUGGLE!'s declaration supporting the equality of languages and nations has already been signed by over 50,000 people.

leaders of the main trade union central, through the wide-spread distribution of its booklet **Dump McDermott, Dump the bourgeois policy in trade unions!**. As well the MLOC IS! organized many activities of international solidarity, including public meetings in support of the revolutionary struggles in Chile and Iran, and demonstrations against American imperialist intervention in Iran and opposing the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

The counter-revolutionary CP of Canada ML, continues to publish literature with a mixture of slogans like "Make the rich pay!", "American imperialism is the main enemy of the Canadian people", and "For genuine national liberation for Quebec". The main activity of the CPC-ML in the last period was a large participation in the recent federal elections. Its 175 "worker candidates" only succeeded in wresting 83 votes each, their lowest count ever. Since its revisionist line is increasingly unmasked in Canada, the CPC-ML resorts to organizing internationalist rallies to hide its defeat.

The sect Bolshevik Union (BU) also continues to distribute propaganda material in Canada and mainly abroad, principally to expose what they analyze as the revisionism of the MLOC IS! and of the PLA. The BU was also active in denouncing individual militants working with the MLOC IS! and in supporting the State and police organized inquiries to attack the revolutionary and progressive movement.

Socialist Albania

The 35th Anniversary of the liberation of Albania was celebrated in November, 1979, both within socialist Albania and by Marxist-Leninist and progressive forces around the world. The celebrations stressed the important victories of the Albanian people led by the PLA and comrade Enver Hoxha in socialist construction, under conditions of imperialist and revisionist encirclement, and also the important role of the PLA in the struggle against modern revisionism. Many foreign organizations attended the celebrations in Albania, including the CP of Mexico ML, the CP of Italy ML, the CP ML of Ecuador, the Peruvian CP ML, the CP Denmark ML, the CP of Portugal (reconstructed), the CP of Canada ML, the CP of Germany ML, the CP of Spain ML, the CP of Colombian ML, the CP of Japan (Left), the Workers CP of France, the CP of Greece ML, the CP of Workers and Peasants of Iran, and the CP of Dahomey. Support messages were also received from many other communist and anti-imperialist forces.

During the period the PLA organized a scientific session on the problems of the construction of socialism, with the attendance of delegates from Germany, Denmark, Ecuador, France, Greece, Iran, Japan, Canada, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, Portugal, and Spain.

Since this time the Albanian Telegraphic Agency (ATA) reports the continuing victories in socialist construction and the defence of the revolution in Albania. The state legislature has approved the laws on the state plan to allow the completion of the sixth five-year economic plan in 1980. The new labour code introduced recently brings new measures for the protection of the workers, health and safety, as well as guaranteeing employment for all workers and equal rights for women. The General Council of the Women's Union of Albania prepared the celebration of International Women's Day for 1980 with the goal of mobilization for overfulfilling the five-year plan in 1980 and in the spirit of militant revolutionary solidarity with the women and people of the entire world fighting for national and social liberation, democracy and progress. ATA also announces the publication of a new book by Enver Hoxha, entitled **For the Trade Unions**, dealing with the tasks of the unions in socialist and capitalist countries.

Middle East and Arab countries.

In Tunisia, the ML group of Tunisia "Ech-Choola" continues its activities under conditions of severe repression. The group has recently published programmatic documents dealing both with the basic programme for new democratic revolution and with a tactical programme of united front activity in the struggle to overthrow the dictatorship. The group has also made known its denunciation of Chinese revisionism and the "three worlds theory" and its support to Mao, in the context of an analysis that capitalism is being restored in formally socialist China.

In Turkey the ML and revolutionary organizations have been working under conditions of extreme economic and political crisis and severe fascist terror. Several organizations have undertaken the struggle against Chinese revisionism, including the CP of Turkey ML, the RCP — Construction Organization, and Halkin Yolu. The CP of Turkey ML continues to lead the activities of the Workers and Peasants



The liberation of Albania is an on-going inspiration for communist and progressive forces around the world. This Albanian engraving commemorates the 35th anniversary of the liberation of Albania.

Liberation Army to develop the national democratic revolution through armed struggle. The RCP — CO circulates its newspaper **Halkin Kurtulusu** and its theoretical organ **Parti Bayragi** and has devoted attention to organizing anti-fascist unity and the development of the revolutionary trade union movement.

In Iran, the communist forces have developed their activities in a recent period of continuing mass revolutionary struggles, struggles which led to the overthrow of the fascist Shah in Feb. 1979 and which have continued to develop since this time. Many of the communist organizations, having survived and developed through long years of savage repression by the SAVAK secret police, considered that the movement was too weak ideologically and organizationally to play its vanguard role, and that the struggle for a prin-

ciple unity and the creation of a single vanguard party was central to the further successful development of the revolutionary struggle. A dozen communist organizations had begun to develop conferences to discuss their unity with the goal of creating the proletarian party since autumn, 1978. Two of the organizations active in this process were the Union of Communists of Iran, which publishes the newspaper **The Truth**, and the Peykar Organization. The main questions which were discussed in the struggle for unity were the nature of Iranian society (semi-colonial or dependent capitalist), the nature of the government ruling after the fall of the Shah, the tasks of the communists in the working class, and the role of the peasantry in the Iranian revolution. A few months ago, the unity conferences were suspended by the organizations' newspapers continue the debate and polemic.

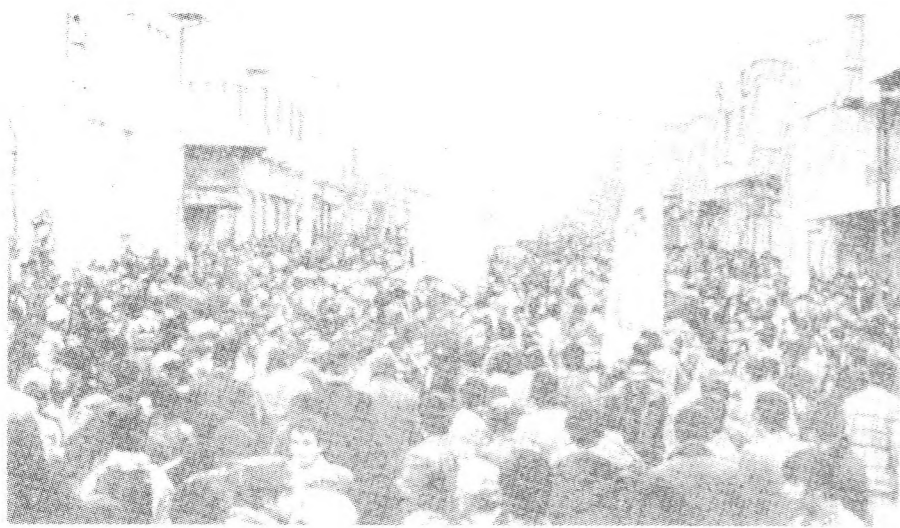
At the same time as this struggle for unity has developed, the Iranian communist groups have increased their influence in the masses, particularly among the oil workers and among the Kurdistan peasants engaged in armed rebellion.

The CP of Workers and Peasants of Iran was not engaged in the unity struggles, but continued to organize the circulation of its newspaper **Toufan**.

Central Africa

The year 1979 was a year which saw the continuing emergence of a ML movement in this region of Africa. The CP of Dahomey, founded in December, 1977, continues to circulate its central organ **La Flamme** under conditions of total clandestinity. The CPD fights for the popular and anti-imperialist national democratic revolution as a stage in the struggle for socialism and communism, and faces an increasingly fascist government in the service of imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

The Voltaic RCP held its founding Congress in October, 1978, to adopt its programme which appeared in the **Bulletin International** of Paris in March 1979. The programme called for the realization of the strategic stage of national democratic and popular revolution in Upper Volta. The newspaper **Le Proletaire** from Upper Volta began circulation in the fall of 1978 and during 1979 continued its polemics with the RCPV. **Le Proletaire** criticized the nationalism and populist reformism of the programme of the RCPV and also insisted on the necessity of realizing the preliminary conditions for the creation of the party. The activities of **Le Proletaire** gave rise to the first Congress of the Union of Communist Struggle (UCS) in Oct. 1979, which published its draft programme and resolutions. The RCPV continues to circulate its organ **Bug-Parga Takise Jewol-Jema** in Upper Volta and the UCS continues to circulate **Le Proletaire**.



Iran. Twenty thousand people marched through the streets of Sanandaj for May Day 1979. Their banners read, "Workers of the world, Unite!", "Hail the peasants, the closest allies of the workers!" and "Forward for the creation of the party of the working class!"

ML newspapers of propaganda were published in the Ivory Coast, with the first appearance of **La Voie Ouvrière** in November, 1979; and in Senegal, with the first appearance of **Vive le Marxisme-Léninisme** in late 1979 and **Le Proletaire** in early 1980.

The newspaper **Le Proletaire** of Upper Volta, **Voie Ouvrière**, and **Vive le Marxisme-Léninisme** support the strategy of the popular democratic anti-imperialist revolution, but consider that the question of national independence, has been resolved in their countries, which are neo-colonies of foreign imperialism where political power is held by the local bourgeoisie.

Asia And Oceania

In the Philippines, the year 1979 was the year of the eleventh anniversary of the reconstruction of the CP of the Philippines and also of the recommencement of the armed struggle. The communications of the party stressed the important development of the armed struggle, which is ready to pass to a new offensive stage, and the

development of the mass organizations and the continual consolidation of the party. The CP of the Philippines, organizes the new democratic revolution against feudalism, foreign domination, and dictatorship, as an essential step in the struggle for socialism. The party considers itself to be guided by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung Thought. The CPP is asking for material aid in order to further develop the armed struggle.

In Japan, the CP of Japan (Left) held important celebrations of its tenth anniversary on Feb. 9, 1980, attended by 500 people. At the same time the party organ **People's Star** was celebrating its 1,000th edition and its new development of publishing every two days, a necessary step to a daily newspaper. The **People's Star** reported that the party had consolidated itself in the process of building closer links to the struggle of the proletariat, by developing mass activities against imperialism and supporting the revolutionary struggles internationally, and by carrying out the many-sided struggle against revisionism. Party spokespersons at the anniversary meeting stressed the importance, for the Japanese communists and for the ICM, of deepening the struggle to understand all the roots of modern revisionism, especially the opportunism

which grew in the ICM during and after the Second World War.

In New Zealand, the **Peoples' Voice**, organ of the CPNZ, has highlighted the struggles of the working class against economic crisis and growing political repression. The CPNZ has also continued its polemics against the forces who split from the party and allied themselves with the leadership of the Chinese CP and the CP of Australia ML. These forces supported the "three worlds theory" and the strategy of a two-stage revolution in New Zealand and Australia.

Latin America

In Chile, the organizations MAPU/PTC and the RCP/Chile published a joint statement in September, 1979. The statement stressed the importance of building a revolutionary political leadership in the masses, in order to overthrow the fascist dictatorship, and finally to destroy the bourgeois state and develop the popular democratic tasks and the construction of socialism. The development of a large front against the dictatorship was identified as the main tactic of struggle, and the statement ended with a platform of immediate anti-fascist struggle. A recent issue of **Causa ML**, propaganda organ of the RCP/Chile, gives a critical summary of the history of the party's work in the masses.

Important actions of solidarity with the Chilean resistance developed internationally during the period of the 6th Anniversary of the fascist coup in the fall of 1979. The CP of Greece ML organized a meeting of more than 2,000 persons in Athens with the participation of the MAPU and the RCP and the support of the Socialist Party (CNR) and the Peoples Front. Activities also took place in Nicaragua, Sweden, France, Venezuela, Canada, the U.S.A., and in other countries as well.

In the Dominican Republic, the newspaper **Libertad**, organ of the Dominican Peoples Movement, ML Party, reports on the official re-



Fighters of the New People's Army of the Philippines.

unification of the DPM in November, 1979, after more than a year of efforts. The two sections overcame sectarianism and agreed on the following points: the necessity of an ML party, the necessity to sum up 24 years of the DPM and to learn from the errors, the necessity to adopt the Leninist-Stalinist viewpoint and not the Maoist conception concerning party-building. The organization will be led by a joint central committee; the viewpoints not agreed on will be further debated, and a National Congress will be organized to ratify the organizational fusion.

In Mexico the newspaper **Vanguardia Proletaria**, organ of the CP of Mexico ML, speaks in a November issue on the results of the elections in Mexico. The newspaper reports that 70% of the people abstained in one way or another, and that the electoral period resulted in the further isolation of the bourgeois and opportunist parties and greater support for their party. The newspaper calls for further work to strengthen the party and its ties with the masses and insists on the rejection of the parliamentary road and the preparation of the path of proletarian socialist revolution.

In Brazil, the CP of Brazil writes in its newspaper **A Classe Operaria** from December, 1979, on the growing struggle of the masses, especially the important strike movement of workers and students and the rising movement against the high cost of living. The newspaper comments that the main tactic of the party in this situation will con-

tinue to be to fight to overthrow the current regime and to win broader democratic freedom, and that this tactic will be based on the broad mobilization of the working class in its economic and political struggles.

In Colombia the newspaper **Revolucion**, organ of the CP of Colombia ML, has reported on the deepening of the oppression and exploitation of the working masses due to rising prices and the actions of the American and local monopolies. The newspaper also reports that the armed activities of the guerilla forces have increased, after the unification in early 1979 of different guerilla forces into the Popular Liberation Army (EPL) on an ML line. Mass struggles and workers' strikes are also increasing, and the newspaper stresses that the main enemies of the Colombian people, U.S. imperialism and the local oligarchy, will be overthrown as the people's anger continues to mount. **Revolucion** also reports that the party is continuing to develop the struggle against revisionism in all of its forms, including the military forms.

In Ecuador the political situation is analyzed by the newspaper **En Marcha**, organ of the CP ML of Ecuador. At the time of the elections in 1979, the newspaper points out that the representatives of the bourgeoisie can neither resolve the deepening problems of the masses or defend the interests of the nation. The newspaper analyzes the present crisis as the result of the

semicolonial oppression of the country by Yankee imperialism and of the superexploitation of the working masses by the ruling classes. **En Marcha** adds that due to their own experience and to the activity of the party, the masses are more and more aware of the need to solve their problems through revolution. The work of the party has included in the last period the popularization of the slogan "Nationalization of oil without compensation", the support for a minimum wage that is 2 and 1/2 times higher than the present minimum wage, and the demand for control of prices on essential goods. The newspaper also reports that the influence of the revolutionary anti-imperialist line is increasing in the Federation of University Students of Ecuador.

In Venezuela, the newspaper **Que Hacer** reports on the activities of the People's Struggles Committees (PSC). These committees participated actively in demonstrations of hundreds of thousands of workers in all the major cities of Venezuela in October, 1979. The demonstrations were organized to protest the rapid rise in the cost of living and to demand immediate wage increases of 50%. The PSC have also made important gains in their work in the union movement, which is oriented towards democratizing the craft and industrial unions and fighting the class collaborationist line. Candidates of the PSC, in alliance with other left-wing forces, were elected to lead the 11,000 member shoeworkers union in Caracas and also a steelworker local in Caracas. **Que Hacer** also reports on the struggles of the peasants for land and better conditions, and on the necessity of the student movement to unite its struggles with those of the working people and to fight the crisis in the educational sphere with the perspective of revolution.

A special Spanish supplement to **Que Hacer**, on its 5th anniversary in October 1979 is titled "On the general revolutionary line". It is a programmatic document which gives an analysis of the situation in the world, in Latin America, and in Venezuela, which comments on the struggle for unity in the ICM, and which explains the strategy

for the popular democratic revolution as well as the tactical line for the struggle in Venezuela.

The Red Flag Party of Venezuela continues to develop its activities on many fronts: the armed struggle, the work in the legal organizations, and the development of mass organizations. The communications of the party have insisted continually on the importance of the struggle to unite the I.C.M. on the basis of a common strategic line in order to combat world imperialism and defeat revisionism and opportunism. The party has recently re-published a document called "The International Situation: contribution to the elaboration of a general line for the international Marxist-Leninist movement" (in Spanish).

In El Salvador the Popular Revolutionary Bloc (PRB) — led by a self-proclaimed Marxist-Leninist party — and the popular liberation forces are preparing the people to deal with the American military aggression which has already begun. A representative of



Venezuela. "Workers, fight for trade-union democracy!" The candidates of the People's Struggle Committees waged major, victorious struggles for trade-union democracy and against class collaboration.

CHINESE REVOLUTION

the PRB stated in an interview published in the Canadian newspaper **IN STRUGGLE!** issues 198 and 199 that although the internal enemies have been politically overthrown, the threat of an American invasion means that the process of arming the people had to be reinforced.

The PRB spokesman said that the string of murders by the paramilitary forces of the junta, including the assassination of Archbishop Romero, is leading more and more petty-bourgeois elements and middle strata to make a definitive choice between the reformist and revolutionary paths. The PRB believes that the working class, allied closely with the peasantry, is presently leading the El Salvador revolution. The revisionist policy of infiltrating the armed forces has failed. The revisionists have thus pulled out of the government junta.

Actions of support for the revolution in El Salvador are growing in Canada, the United States, Latin America and many other countries.

Evaluation of Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Revolution

Following the increasingly open and flagrant revisionist character of the leaders of the Chinese CP who took power after the death of Mao, the disagreements on the historical evaluation of Mao Tse-tung and on the Chinese revolution became the most important subject of debate in the ICM during the last 18 months.

The PLA played an important role in developing the debate on this question. Enver Hoxha's book **Imperialism and the Revolution**, which appeared in the spring of 1979 in many languages, was devoted not only to the analysis of imperialism and different forms of revisionism in the world today, but also to exposing the reactionary character of 'Mao Tse-tung Thought' as the ideological basis of Chinese revisionism. Hoxha concludes in this

book that Mao was never a Marxist-Leninist, that the CPC has not been ML at least since 1935, and that the Chinese revolution never developed into a socialist revolution. Later during 1979 this book was followed by the two-volume work **Reflections on China**, in which Hoxha puts forward facts and arguments to demonstrate the pragmatic, vacillating, and opportunist nature of the leadership of the CPC during the last decade.

Many forces active in the ICM indicated their basic support of the theses put forward by Hoxha and the PLA in terms of identifying 'Mao Tse-tung Thought' as the basis of Chinese revisionism and an important and dangerous form of modern revisionism. This position was adopted by the 4th Congress of the CP of Germany ML, held in December 1978. The CPG ML also published a book entitled **30 years of the Peoples' Republic, 30 years of lies and deception** to explain these conclusions. Similar positions were adopted by the 3rd Congress of the CP of Portugal (Reconstructed) in May 1979, and were ratified by the 3rd Congress of the CP of Sapin ML in November 1979.

These basic positions were supported by the Workers CP of France, the CP of Dahomey, the RCP — Construction Organization of Turkey, the CP of Workers and Peasants of Iran, the Voltaic RCP, the CPU.S.A. ML, the CP of Denmark ML, the CP of Mexico ML, and the CP of Brazil. The CP ML of Ecuador, after the 15th plenary session of its central committee in October 1979, published a document entitled **The CP ML of Ecuador condemns and combats the anti-Marxist Mao Tse-tung Thought**.

Such positions, however, were not accepted unanimously within the ICM. Many organizations reacting by publishing documents to defend the Marxist-Leninist contributions of Mao and the positive experience and lessons of the Chinese revolution. The RCP/U.S.A. was very active in this regard. They published 2 books entitled **The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tse-tung and Mao Tse-tung's Immortal**

Contributions. They also published a reply to Hoxha's **Imperialism and the Revolution** in their theoretical journal **The Communist** entitled **Beat Back the Dogmato-Revisionist Attack against Mao Tse-tung**. The RCP of Chile published a lengthy booklet of historical evaluation of the Chinese revolution, entitled **Evaluation of the Work of Mao Tse-tung**, in which they defend Mao and the lessons of the Cultural Revolution. The CP of Greece ML during 1979 made known its continuing support of the contributions of Mao to the revolutionary struggle in China and the international struggle against revisionism, and its positive assessment of the Cultural Revolution, in its newspaper **Proletariaqi Simea**.

A developed historical analysis of the Chinese revolution by the Ceylon CP, and a shorter declaration by the CP of Turkey ML both defending Mao — appeared in the Oct/Nov. 1979 issue of the magazine **Revolution** published by the RCP/U.S.A.

Many other organizations also published texts defending Mao's contributions on different aspects, including the CP of New Zealand, the KABD in West Germany, the organization Voie Proletarienne in France, the Proletarian Communist Organization (ML) in Italy, and two collectives in the U.S.A., the Chicago Committee for a Communist Party and the former members of the Committee for a Proletarian Party.

Some of the organizations defending Mao also made this question the basic line of demarcation with opportunism. For example, both the RCP/U.S.A. and the newspaper **Mass Line** from India condemned the positions of the PLA and of those supporting the analysis of revisionism made by the PLA, as "revisionist" because of the attacks against "Mao Tse-tung Thought". At the same time, the PLA and many of the organizations supporting the PLA's analysis of Chinese revisionism insisted on the complete repudiation of the influence of "Mao Tse-tung Thought" as an essential condition for the ideological purity of the ICM.

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The disagreements over the evaluation of Mao and the Chinese revolution erupted into bitter struggle at the Third International Youth Camp in Valencia, Spain, in August 1979. Because of their refusal to support the categorical denunciation of Mao, members of the following organizations were expelled from the camp as "Maoist provocateurs": the RCP of Chile, the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria (MLPO), the CP of Turkey ML, the CP of Cyprus ML, Gegen Die Stromung of West Germany, and Westberliner Kommunist. A communique justifying this expulsion was signed by the Red Guard (youth organization of the CP of Germany ML), by the youth organization of the CP of Canada ML, by the youth delegation of the CP of Denmark ML, by the CPU.S.A. ML, by the Workers CP of France, by a section of the Confederation of Iranian Students (National Union), by the CP of Mexico ML, by the League of Revolutionary Communist Youth of Portugal, by the Communist Youth of Spain ML, by the Communist Movement/ML of Switzerland, and by the Communist Youth League of Turkey. Along with the organizations expelled, the RCP/U.S.A. and the MLOC IS! of Canada joined in criticizing this expulsion.

Some organizations in reaction to this debate took positions which gave less emphasis to the repudiation or acceptance of "Mao Tse-tung Thought" as the basis for the struggle against opportunism today. A supplement to the newspaper **Que Hacer** of Venezuela, from October 1979, stated that the ideological struggle which exists in the ICM should not be reduced to a simple positive or negative evaluation of Mao, but should be directed towards clarifying the problems of the proletarian revolution as a whole. The MLOC IS! of Canada published a commentary on Hoxha's **Imperialism and the Revolution** in the April/May 1979 edition of its theoretical review **PROLETARIAN UNITY**. It stated that while the book as a whole was an important contribution to the struggle against revisionism, the MLOC IS! did not agree with the overall evaluation of Mao and the CP of China, and also considered it essential to develop a deeper historical analysis of all the roots of modern revisionism. The CP of Japan (Left) has condemned "Mao Tse-tung Thought" but has also insisted recently on the need to understand all of the forms of revisionism which have effected the ICM since the period of the Second World War.

1979: The year of Stalin

1979, the year of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Joseph Stalin, was also a year in which many different forces in the ICM celebrated this anniversary with important activities to defend and to make better known the life and work of Stalin. A joint statement of defence of Stalin was signed by organizations from 18 different countries and circulated in many different languages. The PLA celebrated with important activities in Albania, with the publication of many of the works of Stalin, and also with the publication of Enver Hoxha's book **With Stalin**. Some of the activities in defence of Stalin were of a mass character, such as in West Germany; where the CP of Germany ML organized a meeting of 800 persons; and where the organizations the MLPO of Austria, Westberliner Kommunist,

Gegen die Strömung, and the newspaper **The Partisan** (organ of the CP of Turkey ML), organized a meeting of nearly 2,000 persons.

Many organizations linked the necessity to learn from Stalin with the struggle to build a really Bolshevik party, such as the CP of Portugal (Reconstructed), the CP of Spain ML, the CP of Germany ML, and the Popular Democratic Movement, ML Party, of the Dominican Republic. Many organizations also linked the defence of Stalin with the need to combat all forms of revisionism today and the need to return to the ideological purity of Stalin to conduct this struggle. For example, the MLPO of Austria along with WBK and GDS published a common statement entitled **Resolve our problems by learning from Stalin!**

The question of the defence and the evaluation of Stalin did not solicit the same kind of debate in ICM as the question of the evaluation of Mao and the Chinese revolution. However, many parties which condemned "Mao Tse-tung Thought" as a form of revisionism also used their defence of Stalin to further condemn Mao and the CCP for having historically abandoned the

Bolshevik line of Stalin and the Comintern. And a certain number of organizations used the occasion of the "Year of Stalin" to evaluate the work of Stalin more critically and to defend the thesis that Mao had corrected some errors made by Stalin in regards to the construction of socialism and the class struggle under the proletarian dictatorship. Articles with this theme appeared in the newspaper **Rote Fahne** published by the KABD of West Germany, in the Dec. 1979 edition of **Pour le Parti** published by Voie Proletarienne in France, and in the Dec. 28, 1979 edition of the **Revolutionary Worker** of the RCP/U.S.A.

The necessity of an international organization of communists

In the context of the increasingly evident need for the greater unity of the world communist forces in order to defeat revisionism and imperialism, many forces in the last year began to



Long live the Third Communist International! This poster was produced in 1920 by the Russian artist S. Ivanov. Today, the need to rebuild an international organization has become an immediate goal for many Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations and a vital necessity for the international proletariat.

call for the re-creation of a communist international.

The 3rd Congress of the MLOC IS! of Canada published an Appeal intitled **For the Political and Organizational Unity of the ICM**, in English and French, and later in Spanish. The document stressed that the deepening of the struggle to defeat opportunism and to build unity of the ICM must be conducted with the goal of creating a communist international united on an ML programme and constitution.

Many other organizations issued statements calling for the creation of the organized unity of the ICM. Such declarations were made by the newspaper **Que Hacer** in Venezuela, the CP of Japan (Left), the CP of Spain ML, the CP of Germany ML, the CP of Dahomey, and the RCP/U.S.A. and the CPU.S.A. ML in the United States. Several organizations in France also supported the need for a communist international, including Voie Proletarienne, Combat Communiste ML, l'Aube Révolutionnaire, and Pour l'Internationale Proletarienne.

ML Press on liberation struggles

During 1979 and the early part of 1980, there was an important development of many different struggles of national liberation in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Three of these struggles which received particular attention in terms of support and commentary from the press of the ICM were the struggles in Nicaragua, Zimbabwe, and Palestine — struggles where the growing victories of the mass mobilization against imperialism produced the possibility of important revolutionary victories for the popular forces.

In Nicaragua, the people succeeded in overthrowing the bloody dictatorship of Somoza, supported by American imperialism, and in installing a new government composed of members of the Sandinista liberation front and elements of the local bourgeoisie. In Zimbabwe, the success of the armed struggle led by the Patriotic Front and particularly the ZANU forced the British imperialists and the Smith-Musorewa regime to negotiate elections. These elections led to the

parliamentary victory of the ZANU. In the case of Palestine, the last year saw the broad rejection of the Camp David agreements by the Palestinian and Arab masses, and also a considerably enlarged diplomatic recognition of the PLO. At the same time, pressures increased inside and outside of the ranks of the Palestinian resistance for the PLO to abandon the armed struggle and to reduce its territorial demands and recognize the state of Israel.

The ML press internationally reports the importance given by different forces in the ICM to building support for these struggles for national liberation and to denouncing the external and internal enemies of the popular movements in these countries. Different organizations in the ICM have consistently denounced the role of American imperialism and its Western imperialist allies in these struggles, and as well have continually warned of the dangers of infiltration by the Soviet Union through its phoney "support" to the liberation struggles. Many organizations as well have developed forms of active mobilization to make known and to build support for these struggles, with actions ranging from educational meetings and exhibits to demonstra-

At the same time, the problem of the future evolution of these struggles has received a particular attention in the press of the ICM. Many organizations have commented, directly or indirectly, on the problem of the revolutionary development of the national liberation struggles in a situation where the forces of proletarian leadership are weak or non-existent.

In relation to Nicaragua, the July, 1979 edition of newspaper **Vanguardia Obrera**, organ of the CP of Spain ML, gave an interview with a representative of the Popular Action Movement (PAM).

At the time of the insurrection against Somoza, the PAM reports that it led the people's anti-Somozistas militia on the basis of the principle of prolonged popular warfare, and that they called on the masses to keep their arms and maintain their clandestine structures when the dictatorship fell. The PAM analyzes that the FSLN (the Sandinista liberation front), includes elements of the national bourgeoisie and some pro-Soviet forces, but insists on the fact that the base of the FSLN is revolutionary.

The RCP/U.S.A. also commented on the situation in Nicaragua in its newspaper **Revolutionary Worker**, from



Fighters of the Sandinista Liberation Front (FSLN) in Nicaragua.

Dec. 1979. The article speaks of two paths for the revolution and insists that the main task for the Nicaraguan people is not economic reconstruction but continuing the struggle against U.S. imperialism. The article continues with the analysis that the masses in Nicaragua have continually taken initiatives to attack their exploiters, but that the FSLN has always tried to limit and compromise this. In conclusion the newspaper states that "the key lies in arousing and mobilizing the revolutionary enthusiasm of the broad masses... to thoroughly root out the old order".

Previous to the electoral victory of ZANU comments on the situation in Zimbabwe were made by **Bandeira Vermelha**, organ of the CP of Portugal (Reconstructed), and by **Unite!**, organ of the CPU.S.A.-ML **Bandeira Vermelha** underlined that the process of armed struggle had driven the most right-wing elements out of the nationalist movement and reinforced the most consequent anti-imperialist force, the ZANU. The Portuguese newspaper also supported the appeals of Zimbabwean patriots to not give up their arms, because the agreements with the imperialists did not represent a definite victory and the imperialist forces would try by all means to disarm the liberation forces. **Unite!** also mentioned the forces in ZANU which had raised the slogan "Down with the ceasefire! Forward with the war!" **Unite!** concluded that "the road of armed struggle and ML leadership is the only sure road to freedom from neo-colonial plunder and domination, national independence and a peoples' state power that takes the road of socialism and proletarian dictatorship".

In the case of Palestine, the representative of socialist Albania at the U.N. in late November, 1979, spoke to denounce the manoeuvres of the imperialists, social-imperialists and David agreements. He mentioned that the Palestinian people, led by the PLO their only legitimate representative, had in the past succeeded in facing difficult situations and plots against the Palestinian Zionists to liquidate the cause of the Palestinians, and particularly the Campian resistance. He went on to indicate the support by the Albanian people of

the armed struggle by the Palestinians for the restoration of their full national rights, and stressed the illegitimate nature of the racist Zionist state created by foreign imperialism. The newspaper **Pour le Parti**, organ of the organization **Voie Prolétarienne** in France, called in its number of January 1980 for greater unity between the people of Palestine and Israel and the international proletariat, but also criticized the attitude of "blind support" to the PLO. It went on to say that "We demand the recognition of the PLO. But what we must support above all in the PLO is the aspects that are democratic, anti-Zionist, and revolutionary". The newspaper commented further that the recognition of the PLO could not be exchanged for the recognition of Zionism. In no. 19 of its theoretical review **PROLETARIAN UNITY**, the MLOC IS! of Canada comments on its own positions on the Palestinian struggle in relation to the positions of the ICM on the national liberation struggles in the last decades. The article comments that the organization has made two errors in the past, that of not criticizing the PLO because it was the leadership of the struggle, and more recently that of rejecting the PLO because it was not a proletarian leadership. The article insists on the fact that the struggle for a proletarian leadership in the liberation movements cannot be separated from active support to these struggles, and concludes by commenting on the difficulties of the ICM today to help develop a proletarian leadership in these struggles.

Invasion of Afghanistan and imperialist war moves condemned

Marxist-Leninists around the world reacted swiftly to condemn the Soviet military occupation of Afghanistan in January, 1980. At the same time the international ML press used the occasion to educate the international proletariat on the questions of the social-imperialist nature of the U.S.S.R., the

aggressive nature of the Soviet and American imperialists, and the growing danger of inter-imperialist war.

Most ML forces were unanimous in denouncing both the Soviet and American imperialists in relation to this issue. The ambassador of socialist Albania at the United Nations delivered the only speech denouncing the imperialist nature of both the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. **Roter Prolet**, organ of the CM ML of Switzerland, denounced both the Soviet invasion and the attempts by American imperialism and its allies to use this opportunity to arm reactionary states in the Middle East. **Unite!**, organ of the CPU.S.A.-ML, featured an article entitled "Afghanistan, Latest Victim of Superpower Rivalry". The article stressed that the situation in the Middle East proved that the two superpowers were the main enemies of the world's peoples.

Many organizations also stressed the growing exposure of the social-imperialist nature of the Soviet Union and the growing resistance by the world's peoples to Soviet social-imperialism. **Revolucion**, organ of the CP of Colombia ML, featured an article entitled "Russians, out of Afghanistan". The article stressed that this Hitler-type aggression exposed the real nature of the Soviet Union as an expansionist power, and that the resistance of the Afghan people will triumph. In its organ **Proletariaqi Simea** the CP of Greece ML also insisted on the fact that the social-imperialist nature of the U.S.S.R. was clearly shown by this act of open aggression, and pointed out that in its growing rivalry with American imperialism the Soviet Union was forced to use the same methods as the other superpower. **Bandeira Vermelha**, organ of the CP of Portugal (Reconstructed), also stressed the social-imperialist nature of the Soviet occupation and the growing resistance of the Afghan people, and concluded that the people of Afghanistan will learn from their own experience that their liberation depends on the struggle against social-imperialism, imperialism, and all reactionaries. The CP of Japan (Left) in its newspaper **People's Star** denounced the bloody military aggression of the U.S.S.R.,

and went on to analyze that the growing anti-imperialist struggle in Afghanistan and around the world had reached a new phase which was shaking the foundations of world imperialism.

The growing danger of world war also was stressed in the analysis and by the actions of many organizations. The CP of New Zealand participated in a march of 400 people in Auckland against the Soviet invasion, with banners and placards which denounced all imperialist wars and imperialist powers, and urged opposition to alignment with any superpower. The organ of the CP of New Zealand, **Peoples' Voice**, linked the growing danger of world war to the capitalist crisis in New Zealand and around the world, and to the alliance of New Zealand with American imperialism. It warned of the American pressures for more New Zealand military forces and of more taxes, hardship, and of possible conscription coming for the workers. **Peoples' Voice** called for the widest and most active united front movement to resist every act of imperialist expansion and aggression, to break alignment with any imperialist power, to expose political deception supporting imperialism, and to support the peoples' just anti-imperialist struggles.

The RCP/U.S.A. in its newspaper **Revolutionary Worker** not only denounced the Soviet aggression but also opposed the war preparations of Carter stressing that the coming world war was inevitable and could provoke a revolutionary situation in the U.S.A. and elsewhere. **Unite!**, organ of the CPUSA-ML, consistently supported the anti-draft movement which is developing in the U.S.A. among progressives, youth and students. The newspaper **IN STRUGGLE!** organ of the MLOC IS! of Canada pointed out the growing danger of world war and denounced the support of the Canadian imperialist bourgeoisie for the war-plans of American imperialism. **Rote Fahne**, organ of the KABD in West Germany, stressed the threat posed by the two superpowers to world peace and the role of West German imperialism in the war preparations. The CP of Germany ML also linked the Soviet aggression and American reaction to the growing war danger, while insisting as

Struggle against repression and fascism

In many countries, one of the most important concerns for the communist forces has been the struggle against repression, both in terms of the defence of the communist revolutionaries and in terms of the mobilization of the masses against repression and fascism.

well that the resistance of the Afghan people to Soviet imperialism and the Iranian people to American imperialism showed the growing desire of the world's peoples to decide their own destiny in opposition to the two superpowers. The newspaper of the CPG ML, **Roter Morgen**, attacked the increased military budget for West Germany and the plans for nuclear armament, and warned of the danger of Germany becoming a nuclear powderkeg.

As well, many other ML forces around the world condemned the Soviet aggression in Afghanistan. But not all the forces active in the ICM reacted to expose the U.S.S.R. For example, the CP of Britain ML in its organ **The Worker** did not directly denounce the Soviet invasion, but concentrated on exposing the war-plans of Carter and Thatcher in alliance with the Chinese revisionists. According to **The Worker**, the Soviet occupation was done to defend its borders against imperialist encirclement, and Thatcher wants war against the Soviet Union because "Russia was, and will be again, a workers state".

NO Registration



NO DRAFT!

United States. A vast movement against the draft has emerged. Oppose the imperialists' war preparations! Fight the draft!

In the U.S.A. the murder of 5 members of the Communist Workers Party in November, 1979, by the fascist Ku Klux Klan led to the march of protest by 7,000 persons in the city of Greensborough, North Carolina, in February 1980. Many other mass demonstrations and struggles also took place in the last year against the terror of the police and fascists, particularly by the Blacks and other oppressed minorities. The CPU.S.A.-ML in its organ **Unite!** supported the formation of a National Network to oppose the fascist Klan. The RCP/U.S.A. analyzed that the main form of repression was the attacks against their party, and devoted its main efforts in the last period to the mobilization in defence of its Chairman and other members threatened with jail terms after arrest at a demonstration against Teng Siao-Ping in Washington. The struggle to defend these militants of the RCP/U.S.A. received support internationally from Marxist-Leninists in New Zealand, Ceylon, India, West Germany, Italy, Canada, and France. According to the RCP the support internationally and from the masses in the U.S.A. was the key element which forced the U.S. government to drop these charges, although the repression against party members and leaders continues.

In Turkey, the struggle against fascist repression has developed on a mass scale in the last period. The growing struggles of the masses in a situation of grave economic crisis have led to martial law in large parts of Turkey since December, 1978; and the different police units and civilian fascists are very active in brutal attacks against the revolutionaries, anti-fascists, and working people.

Thousands are in prison and hundreds have been brutally murdered. This has led to many mass demonstrations of anti-fascist protest, often involving thousands of people. May Day 1979 was a day of important anti-fascist solidarity during which 80,000 people demonstrated and 10,000 demonstrated illegally in areas under martial law. People are also attacking police stations to arm themselves for defence, and punishing fascists and torturers. The CP of Turkey ML and the RCP of Turkey — Construction Organization, along with other forces, have been active in building the revolutionary opposition to fascist repression. They have also been subject to severe repression, as have other revolutionary forces. The CPT ML has suffered numerous arrests recently; and the RCP CO is struggling to maintain the distribution of its organ **Halkin Kurtulusu** in spite of its having been banned.

In Chile, the fascist dictatorship has increased its repression against the growing resistance of the masses. Many hundreds of workers, students and progressives were arrested in December, 1979, but this has not stopped either the workers' strikes or the illegal protest demonstrations. **ANCHA**, organ of the Peoples Front abroad has continued its publication with the goal of organizing the anti-fascist forces on a revolutionary basis, and has recently published a special number on the development of the clandestine press as an important weapon in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship.

In Germany, large protest against police repression and the fascist menace has also developed. In January, 1980, 11,000 demonstrated against the murder of a Turkish progressive by the fascist "Grey Wolves". In Feb., 1980, 2,000 demonstrated to demand the liberation of 11 Turkish anti-fascists and to oppose martial law in Turkey supported by West German imperialism. The demonstration was organized by the ATIF (Turkish Workers Association) and supported by the youth section of the KABD Jan. 26th in Dortmund the CP of Germany ML supported and aided a conference which brought together 5,000 persons

on an anti-fascist basis. The conference decided to create a popular front to unite all anti-fascist forces, and to develop mass struggle against the threat of fascism, based on the support of the working class and with the active mobilization of the trade unions.

The exterior delegation of the Organization of Communists of Angola reports on the large number of communist and anti-imperialist prisoners imprisoned by the MPLA. The report in the July 28, 1979 edition of **Vanguardia Obrera**, organ of the CP of Spain ML, states that 19 of these prisoners, accused of being members of the OCA began a hunger strike in protest against their imprisonment without sentence or trial in December, 1979. The protest led to some prisoners being liberated and others given a rapid trial.

L'Exploité, organ of the RCP ML of Belgium, in its edition of Feb. 2, 80, reports on the repression against Abraham Sefarty, member of the leadership of the ML organization of Morocco "Ilal Amam". The comrade has been held in isolation and subjected to torture since 1974, and has been refused necessary medical treatment.

The Tunisian communist group (ML) "Ech-Choola" in November 1979 called for support of the communist and progressive militants arrested and tortured by the Bourgiba government. These militants have faced continuing repression because of their activities with the clandestine union newspaper "Ech-Chaab", central organ of the Tunisian General Workers Union, and because of their communist activities.



Fascist violence continues to escalate against Turkish workers. Recently workers from many different factories poured into the streets to battle the police in the port of Izmir. Many were arrested and brutally beaten by the police.

What is the MLOC IN STRUGGLE!?

The Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada **IN STRUGGLE!** was created in 1972 when **Pour le Parti prolétarien** (For the proletarian party) was first published. For the proletarian party issued a call for the creation of the Marxist-Leninist party that could give leadership to the struggle of the working class and people of Canada. At the beginning, **IN STRUGGLE!** confined its activities to Quebec, one of the nations which is oppressed by the Canadian capitalist State. (Canada is divided into ten provinces and two federally-run territories in the North. The population is 23 million. The majority nation is English Canada. There are many other smaller nations including Quebec, which is mainly French-speaking, the Dene Nation and the Inuit in the North. There are also a number of immigrant communities in various parts of the country. Seventy per cent of the active population are part of the proletariat; less than 5% belong to the peasantry. A little over 20% of the people are in the petty bourgeoisie.)

Today **IN STRUGGLE!** is active in all the main cities and regions of the country. Its central organ, the weekly newspaper **IN STRUGGLE!**, appears regularly in French and English and is distributed in all parts of the country. It is also available in many other countries. **IN STRUGGLE!** also publishes a theoretical organ, the journal **PROLETARIAN UNITY**, every three months in both French and English. **IN STRUGGLE!** has also printed a considerable number of agitational and propaganda booklets on the different important struggles going on in Canada and internationally: on the struggle for the creation of the party in Canada, on the national question, on the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian people, on the fight against women's oppression, on the various revisionist organizations and theories in Canada and around the world.

The political and organizational basis of **IN STRUGGLE!** is expressed in the **Programme for the proletarian revolution in Canada** and the **Constitution of IN STRUGGLE!**, which were adopted at its Third Congress in March 1979. The goal of the struggle of the Canadian working class is to overthrow the Canadian imperialist bourgeoisie which holds State power in Canada and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat under the leadership of its vanguard party and to build socialism as a transitional stage leading to the abolition of all classes and class differences. Its historic mission is to achieve communism. The Canadian working class will make its primary contribution to the achievement of communism by getting involved in the fight for socialism in Canada. Communism is only possible in a world which has been completely rid of imperialist domination,

capitalist exploitation and bourgeois ideology. That is what underlies our solid support for proletarian internationalism. It is what inspired the Appeal issued at our Third Congress. For the political and organizational unity of the international communist movement. The international proletariat will not be able to develop its unity in the struggle for socialism and communism unless there is a greater unity of thought and action amongst its Marxist-Leninist vanguard at the international level.

IN STRUGGLE! has considerably increased the scope and intensity of its communist agitational, propaganda and organizational work in the working class and among all nationalities since it was first created. It has intervened in all the major struggles of Canadian workers. It has reached tens of thousands of workers who have taken up one or another of its tactical slogans. This was the case for example in the bourgeois parliamentary elections and in the fight for the absolute equality of languages and nations in Canada. **IN STRUGGLE!** has played a major role in the struggle to unite the Canadian Marxist-Leninist movement around a communist programme and within a single organization. The Canadian Marxist-Leninist movement is no longer dispersed. At the end of the sixties and the beginning of the seventies it was composed of a few dozen isolated groups and circles which were all trying to apply Marxism-Leninism and to develop their links to the working class. Now all Marxist-Leninists act under a single and centralized leadership in the struggle to build the vanguard party of the Canadian proletariat.

The results of **IN STRUGGLE!**'s work since 1972 confirm the general correctness of its political line. Despite some nationalist and economist errors, the members of **IN STRUGGLE!** are thoroughly involved in the work of rebuilding a genuine Marxist-Leninist party. The party will not be created in isolation from the class struggle in Canada. It will be developed by getting actively involved in the immediate struggles of working people and working to win workers away from reformism and nationalism over to the path of fighting for socialism.

If you want to get in touch with **IN STRUGGLE!** about any matter of a public nature, write to:
IN STRUGGLE! c/o Librairie Etincelle, 4933 de Grand Pré, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.
or
International Forum, c/o May First Distribution, 1407 d'Iberville, Montreal, Quebec, Canada H2K 3B1.

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WARNING. The addresses are to be used only for public correspondence (to ask for or to send public documents, for example). Readers who intend to use these addresses must scrupulously respect the instructions, and must address their envelopes and letters in exactly the same manner that they are written in the list — nothing should be added to what is indicated in the address.

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Franz Strobl
1150 Wien, Goldschlagsbrasse 64
Austria

BELGIUM

L'Exploité
40 rue des Rives
6080 Montignies-sur-Sambre
Charleroi
Belgium

CHILE

To obtain the publications of the RCP of Chile, write to the following address without mentioning the name of the party on the envelope:

Silvia Chateau
B.P. 198
Paris 75864
Cedex 18, France

ENGLAND

Association of Communist Workers
66 A Etherley Road
London, N 15
England

To obtain "The Worker":
Bellman Bookshop
150 Fortress Road
London, NW5
England

FRANCE

To contact the newspaper "Combatre", write to the following address without mentioning the name of the paper nor that of the organization "En avant Proletaires" on the envelope:

B.P. 330
75025
Paris
Cedex 01
France
P.L.P., B.P. #5
93401, Saint-Ouen
Cedex
France

GERMANY

Redaktion Rote Fahne,
Postfach 6803
4000 Dusseldorf 1,
Federal Republic of Germany

Roter Morgen
4600 Dortmund 30
Postfach 30 05 26
Federal Republic of Germany
To obtain "Gegen die Strömung":
Walter Hofman
Homburger Landstrasse 52
6 Frankfurt/Main
Federal Republic of Germany

GREECE

Proletariaki Simea
Themistokleous 54
T T 145
Athens
Greece

INDIA

Mass Line
Koltayam 686001
Kerala
India

JAPAN

Jinmin No Hoshi
3-28 Kamitanaka 3
Shimonoseki — Shi
Yamaguchi — Ken
751
Japan

NEW ZEALAND

People's Voice
P.O. Box 1785
Auckland 1,
New Zealand

PORTUGAL

Bandeira Vermelha
R. da Alegria
76,2' — DT'
Lisbon
Portugal

To receive the French supplement of "Bandeira Vermelha", you can also write to:

Jornal Portugues
B.P. 52
75661 Paris,
Cedex 14
France

SPAIN

Vanguardia Obrera
Sede Central
C/ Libertad, 7
Tercero, derecha
Madrid 4,
Spain

"Documents from the Bureau de Presse et d'Information" can also be obtained in French

SWITZERLAND

Verlag Roter Prolet
C.P. 3349
CH — 8031
Zurich
Switzerland

TUNISIA

Editor "Ech-Choola"
B.P. 1. 75660
Paris, Cedex 14,
France

UNITED STATES

CPUSA(M-L)
P.O. Box 6205
Chicago,
Illinois 60680
U.S.A.

Committee for a Proletarian Party
Box Holder
P.O. Box 8147
San Diego,
California 92102
U.S.A.

RCP of USA
P.O. Box 3486
Merchandise Mart
Chicago,
Illinois 60654
U.S.A.

VENEZUELA

Que Hacer?
Edifice Cipriano Morales
#5, Piso Ofc. 51
Apartado 4614
Carmelitas
Caracas, Venezuela

Many of the publications of the Marxist-Leninist movement are also for sale at the following bookstores:

Librairie Norman Bethune
76 Bd. St-Michel
75006 Paris,
France

Librairie Internationale
2 rue Boulard
75014 Paris,
France

Librairie L'Etincelle
4933 de Grand Pré
Montreal, Quebec
Canada

Be a correspondent for INTERNATIONAL FORUM

International Forum needs correspondents of all kinds in order to get different views circulated, to inform people of what debates are going on and to describe the life and work of the various revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist organizations in the world. There are all sorts of ways to help improve the quality of the magazine and its distribution.

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Send us information about the most important items being published concerning the revolutionary struggle in your country and around the world. Tell us what Marxist-Leninists are doing in your country. Send us your position on the major events in your country and on a world scale.

Order a number of copies of **International Forum** to distribute within your organization, among the democratic and the revolutionary forces that you have contact with. Take the initiative of sending some copies to comrades that you know in other countries. Ask them what they think of it and send that opinion on to us.

Suggest to local bookstores in your area that they carry **International Forum**. Do the same in the outlets on university campuses, in the committees of solidarity with overseas struggles, in unions and mass organizations, in the armed people's organizations etc.

Every little bit counts. Each thing you do, slight as it may seem, can help build the ties between the Marxist-Leninist forces in the world. It can aid in intensifying the co-operation — and the ideological struggle — between the forces that are working to make the path of proletarian revolution and building socialism prevail around the world.

All correspondence should be addressed to: International Forum, c/o May First Distribution, 1407 d'Iberville street, Montreal, Quebec, Canada H2K 3B1.