

The proletarians have
nothing to lose
but their chains.
They have...

A WORLD TO WIN

INTERNATIONAL
MARXIST-LENINIST JOURNAL
No. 1, May 1981

Joint
Communique of
13 M-L Organizations

Refutation
of Hoxha

C.P. Ceylon

M-L Movement
in Spain

U.L. ML Spain

On Pro-Soviet
Revisionism

PCR Chile

2 Line Struggle
in the ICM

PIP France

On the
Class Struggle
in China

RCP, USA

Threshold of
a Great Leap

Clandestine
Document
from Chinese M-Ls

Editions in
English, French and Spanish

Mass Line, India

“To carry out the struggle against revisionism and to aid the process of developing and struggling for a correct general line in the international communist movement, the undersigned Parties and organizations are launching an international journal. This journal can and will be a crucial weapon which can help unite, ideologically, politically and organizationally, the genuine Marxist-Leninists throughout the world.”

—From the joint communiqué “To the Marxist-Leninists, the Workers and the Oppressed of All Countries”

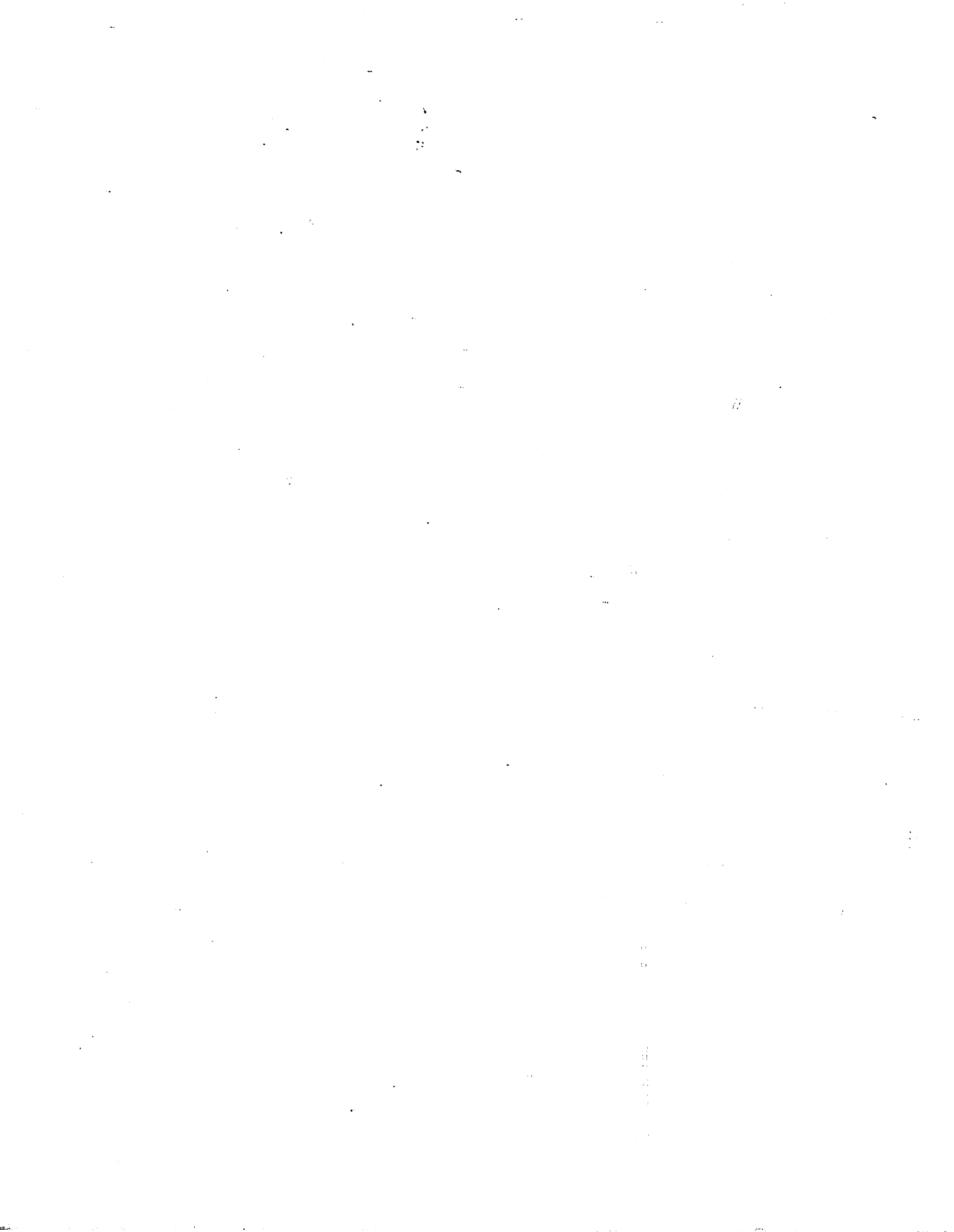
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To the Marxist-Leninists, the Workers and the Oppressed of All Countries

Today the world is on the threshold of momentous events. The crisis of the imperialist system is rapidly bringing about the danger of the outbreak of a new, third, world war as well as the real perspective for revolution in countries throughout the world. During the last few years revolutionary struggles have erupted, including in certain areas of strategic importance. All the imperialist powers are preparing to lead the workers and the oppressed people to an unprecedented mutual slaughter to protect and expand their empires of profit and exploitation throughout the world. The imperialist powers and reactionary ruling classes are joined in two rival bands of cutthroats and slavemasters, two blocs which are led one by the U.S. imperialists, the other by the equally imperialist USSR. This war is looming on the horizon and will break out unless the revolutionary struggle of the masses, the seizure of power by the working class and oppressed peoples, is able to prevent it. Still if this does break out, it will represent an extreme concentration of the crisis of the imperialist system and will heighten the objective basis for revolutionary struggle that must be seized by the Marxist-Leninists.

But at the very time when such great dangers, challenges and opportunities are placed before the workers and oppressed of all countries, a great crisis exists within the ranks of the Marxist-Leninists who have the responsibility of leading the working class

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給所有國家中的
馬克思列寧主義者
工人和被壓迫者們

- 錫蘭共產黨
- 塞內加爾馬列主義小組
- 捍衛馬列主義小組 (西班牙)
- 毛澤東小組 (丹麥)
- 馬列主義集體組織 (英國)
- 西蘭紅旗小組
- 漢共產主義小組 (英屬)
- 階級馬列主義共產組織 (意大利)
- 革命共產黨
- 無產階級 (法國)
- 黨 (馬列) 重組委員會
- 共產黨
- 革命者聯盟 (多明尼加共和國)

Marxistas,
eros y
midos
s Países

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Paris
del Nacional
del
Dinamarca
Ve. (Bretaña)
Group
Group (Bretaña)
Partidos
Italia)
Partido de Chile
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Paris, U.S.A.
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and peoples in making revolution. After revisionism had clearly come to power in the USSR with Khrushchev, the international proletariat suffered a further grievous loss after the death of Comrade Mao Tsetung in 1976 with the seizure of power in socialist China by a new, counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie dragging one fourth of humanity back down the capitalist road. This great loss was further compounded by the attacks on the great contributions Mao Tsetung made to the revolutionary science of the working class, Marxism-Leninism. These attacks were not only launched by the new reactionary rulers of China, but have been joined by deserters from the revolutionary ranks, and clearly the Soviet revisionists themselves are mixed up in these attacks.

In the face of this sharpening situation, and recognizing the critical need to rise to the great challenge that this situation represents, delegates from a number of Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations have held a meeting to discuss how to emerge and advance from this crisis on the basis of forging and uniting around a correct ideological and political line for the international communist movement. Through the course of the meeting unity was achieved on the following points, which the undersigned Parties and organizations consider important elements for the development of this line:

I. THE CURRENT SITUATION

—Imperialism means war. This basic truth analyzed by Lenin holds particular meaning for today as another world war shapes up on the horizon. This is not a result of the desire of any particular bourgeois leader but stems from the very laws of the imperialist system.

—In the current historical conjuncture it is only the two most powerful imperialist powers, the U.S. and the USSR, who are capable of heading up imperialist blocs to go to world war. These two imperialist powers are also the most powerful bastions of reaction in the world today.

—All the other imperialist powers are also driven by their nature toward war—they are also big exploiters, thoroughly reactionary, aggressive and enemies of the proletariat and the peoples of the world.

—In the face of the growing danger of world war the proletariat and the oppressed people must develop their revolutionary struggle against imperialism and all reaction. If such a war breaks out they must strive to turn inter-imperialist war into a revolutionary war aimed at the overthrow of the reactionary ruling classes.

—In the last few years powerful revolutionary movements have developed in a number of countries, which have greatly battered or even toppled the reactionary regimes and shaken the imperialist system. While none of these revolutionary movements has yet led to the dictatorship of the proletariat, they are another clear indication of the possibility of doing so. The objective conditions for revolution are ripening throughout the world and in some countries these conditions are already mature. But the subjective conditions, especially the development of the Marxist-Leninist movement, are lagging seriously behind the objective conditions.

II. TASKS OF MARXIST-LENINISTS

It is necessary to rescue and build upon basic principles of Marxism-Leninism which revisionists and opportunists have done their best to obscure and bury.

—The dictatorship of the proletariat has been and remains a cardinal point of Marxism-Leninism. This principle too has been trampled on by revisionism. From the time of Karl Marx down to the present, fighting to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and to defend and strengthen it where it is established, have remained touchstone questions for Marxist-Leninists.

However, it is not correct and is especially harmful today, to fail to take into account the important experience, positive and negative, the proletariat has acquired in this respect since the time of the October Revolution. In particular the great teachings of Mao Tsetung on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the

proletariat and the experience of the Cultural Revolution he led are of vital importance. Comrade Mao Tsetung correctly pointed out that during the entire period of socialism, that is in the period of the transition to communism, classes and class struggle still exist. He pointed out the continued existence and constant regeneration of the bourgeoisie under socialism, its material and ideological base, and the means for combatting it. Mao clearly indicated, for the first time in the history of the science of Marxism-Leninism, that the ringleaders and most important section of the bourgeoisie during the socialist period (after the socialist transformation of ownership has in the main been completed) are those leading people in the Party and the state apparatus taking the capitalist road. Mao made clear that it would be necessary to wage repeated mass revolutionary struggles, such as the Cultural Revolution, against the new bourgeoisie during the entire socialist transition.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was an unprecedented mass revolutionary movement which succeeded for ten years in blocking capitalist restoration, training revolutionary successors who are fighting today against the new capitalist rulers in China, and helped to spread Marxism-Leninism throughout the world. The fact that the Cultural Revolution did not succeed in the final analysis in preventing the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat in no way lessens its historic importance nor its important lessons for the world proletariat.

—“The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution.” This is universally true for all countries. The “peaceful road to socialism” is littered with the corpses of countless masses who were pointed down this road by revisionist betrayers.

The principle of armed struggle of the masses has also been abandoned by revisionists who replace it with putschist theses and practices or empty phrases which renounce all types of political and organizational preparations. No matter what stages the revolution may go through, the need to seize political power by the force of arms must be propagated broadly among the masses of people, the Marxist-Leninists must carry out the necessary ideological, political and organizational preparations with this goal in mind and must strive to launch the armed struggle for power as soon as the conditions are ripe. In short, communists are advocates of revolutionary warfare.

The armed struggle must be carried out as a war of the masses and through it the masses must be prepared ideologically, politically and organizationally to exercise political power.

Whatever the necessary forms and stages of the revolutionary process the principal reliance must be based on building up the armed forces of the masses led by the party, while it is also necessary to carry out political work among the armed forces of the enemy to help disintegrate these armed forces and win over as many of their soldiers as possible in the course of the revolutionary struggle.

—The existence and the leading role of the party of the proletariat is another cardinal principle. This is expressed in an organization of the vanguard of the proletariat which must be based on a Marxist-Leninist ideological, political and organizational line on the principal problems of the revolution; which at every moment, inside and outside its ranks, combats all bourgeois and revisionist influences; which permanently practises criticism and self-criticism and centralism based on democracy; which has a conscientious iron discipline, all in order to link closely with the masses, to raise, generalise and coordinate their struggles, particularly political struggles, leading them to seize power from the ruling classes. With this aim, the party must attach great importance to formulating and spreading, according to principles, a concrete strategy, line and policy in accordance with the concrete conditions of the country and the interests of the masses and their wish to liberate themselves. The party must give great attention to the illegal forms of struggle and organization, in order to preserve its independence and to educate the masses in the struggle against their enemies. From a strategic point of view, illegal forms of work are fundamental. At the same time the party must make use of legal

opportunities in order to broaden its influence without falling into or promoting bourgeois democratic illusions and while preparing for the inevitable repression by the reactionaries.

The party must gain the leadership of the struggle of the masses and the revolution in practice, by correctly applying the mass line. The party must continually strengthen its leading role by ensuring that the masses and the working class continually raise their ideological, political and organizational level and that they take over an increasingly important part of the tasks of the revolution. In this way, the party will create the conditions for an authentic dictatorship of the proletariat and likewise the final withering away of the party with the withering away of social classes, communism.

Capitalism has long ago reached its final stage of imperialism, one of the most important features of which is the pillaging of the dominated countries and the exploitation of the oppressed peoples. In doing so, imperialism also greatly expands and strengthens the gravediggers destined to overthrow it.

As Lenin analysed, the world proletarian revolution, in the era of imperialism, consists of two great currents allied against the imperialist system—the proletarian socialist revolution in the capitalist countries and the new democratic revolution in the semi-feudal, colonial, semi-(or neo-) colonial countries subjected to imperialist enslavement. There are many features in common between the revolution in these two types of countries: above all that in both instances the revolution must be led by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, through whatever stages, and to the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialism. But there are also some important distinctions in the path of the revolution in the two types of countries.

COLONIAL AND DEPENDENT COUNTRIES

In the semi-feudal, colonial, semi-(or neo-) colonial countries the revolution must in general pass through two stages—first that of the new democratic revolution led by the proletariat which leads to the socialist stage. Those who insist on making a principle of skipping this stage or eclectically combining the democratic and the socialist revolution do great harm to the revolution.

While the exact course of the revolution in any given country is dependent on the concrete conditions found there, the teachings of Mao Tsetung concerning protracted people's war are of great relevance in these types of countries. Those revisionists who attack Mao's theory of surrounding the city by the countryside as having failed to insure the hegemony of the proletariat or dogmatically insist that insurrection in the city is the sole form of seizing power in these types of countries are in fact attacking the revolutionary struggle there.

Experience has shown that without the leadership of the proletariat and a genuine Marxist-Leninist line it is impossible to free these types of countries from imperialist enslavement, still less to advance on the socialist road. While in general it is possible and necessary to build a very broad united front in such countries, even at times involving sections of the exploiting classes, experience has underscored the importance of the Marxist-Leninists maintaining leadership and political and organizational independence, of conducting widespread education on the need to advance to socialism and ultimately communism, to combat narrow nationalist tendencies even while waging a struggle for national liberation, and exposing and combatting in the appropriate ways the bourgeoisie, even the sections with which it may be allied in this struggle against foreign imperialism and the reactionary ruling classes in power.

There is an undeniable tendency for imperialism to introduce significant elements of capitalist relations in the countries it dominates. In certain dependent countries capitalist development has gone so far that it is not correct to characterize them as semi-feudal. It is better to call them predominantly capitalist even while important elements or remnants of feudal or semi-feudal production relations and their reflection in the superstructure may still exist.

In such countries a concrete analysis must be made of these conditions and appropriate conclusions concerning the path, tasks, character and alignment of class forces must be drawn. In all

events, foreign imperialism remains a target of the revolution.

IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES

In the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels pointed out that the "workers have no fatherland". Lenin stressed that this is particularly applicable in the imperialist countries. This, too, is not only a cardinal principle of Marxism-Leninism that must be rescued from decades of revisionist distortion but takes on special importance in the current conjuncture with the approach of a third world war. Communists combat every form of national chauvinism within the working class and other sections of the oppressed people. This means fighting against every tendency which identifies the interests of the proletariat with the interests of its "own" imperialist ruling class either in plundering people of the colonial and dependent countries or, especially in today's situation, in going to war to protect the interests of the bourgeoisie. If a third world war breaks out the proletariat must work actively for the defeat of its own bourgeoisie in the war, attempting to transform the war into revolutionary civil war and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

While the road of the October Revolution is universally applicable in the sense of the need for the armed revolution, the leadership of a proletarian vanguard party, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the establishment of socialism, etc., in all countries; in addition in the capitalist and imperialist countries the October Revolution remains the basic point of reference for Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics. The Marxist-Leninists recognize that in each country the revolution will take specific forms and must analyse the concrete conditions and sum up the experience of the masses in struggle while upholding the basic Leninist line concerning the political and organizational measures necessary for the preparation for and the seizure of power by the proletariat. Again, the distortion and negation by the revisionists of basic Leninist principles in this regard is not only an historical fact but continues to be a current problem. While paying attention to concrete analysis of concrete conditions in each country, it is necessary to study and apply correctly Lenin's theses on the importance of raising the political consciousness of the working class to its historic mission and developing its political and revolutionary struggle, on the importance of the communist press, and of combatting the influence of economism while paying attention to the needs and conditions of the life of the masses. It's also necessary to study and apply Mao's teachings of the need to base oneself on the profound sentiments of the masses to liberate themselves.

III. ON THE UNITY OF THE MARXIST-LENINISTS

The proletariat is a single class worldwide with a single historic class interest in liberating humanity from all exploitation and oppression and in ushering in the era of communism throughout the globe. For this reason proletarian internationalism is something inseparable from Marxism-Leninism and a constant need of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard in all countries. In addition to this obvious, but often forgotten, truth, the current conjuncture also demands vigorous efforts to establish the unity of Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionaries in all countries if we are to meet the tests and opportunities facing us. In fact, the need for the unity of the Marxist-Leninists is not only objectively necessary but is increasingly demanded by revolutionaries and the masses throughout the world. In this process, as in all things, ideological and political line is decisive.

As Lenin emphasized, "Unity is a great thing and a great slogan. But what the workers' cause needs is the *unity of Marxists*, not unity between Marxists and opponents and distorters of Marxism".

In our view unity can only be achieved on the basis of drawing firm and clear lines of demarcation with revisionism and opportunism of all forms. These lines of demarcation are not something which have dropped from the sky or been concocted by sectarians nor can they be treated as mere topics for sterile, academic debates—they reflect the main and decisive forms in which revi-

sionism confronts the revolutionary proletariat and the Marxist-Leninist movement in the world today.

Upholding the contribution of Mao Tsetung to the science of Marxism-Leninism represents a particularly important and pressing question in the international communist movement and among the class conscious workers today. The principle involved is nothing less than whether or not to uphold and build on decisive contributions to the proletarian revolution and the science of Marxism-Leninism made by Mao. Mao Tsetung made important developments of Marxism-Leninism in the area of the anti-imperialist democratic revolution leading to socialism, people's war and military strategy generally, philosophy (where he made important contributions on the analysis of contradictions, which is the essence of dialectics, and on the theory of knowledge and its links with practice and the mass line), revolutionizing the superstructure and continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as in the struggle against revisionism on the practical and theoretical fronts. It is therefore nothing less than the question of whether to uphold Marxism-Leninism itself. Mao's theoretical and practical leadership represent a quantitative and qualitative development of Marxism-Leninism on many fronts and the theoretical concentration of the historical experience of the proletarian revolution over the last several decades.

We are still living in the era of Leninism, of imperialism and the proletarian revolution; at the same time we affirm that Mao Tsetung Thought is a new stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism. Without upholding and building on Mao's contributions it is not possible to defeat revisionism, imperialism and reaction in general.

Closely linked to the above is the need to vigorously oppose the new revisionist rulers in China who have overthrown the dictatorship of the proletariat and are restoring capitalism. They have utterly capitulated to imperialism, and have demanded that others follow suit, at the present time under the signboard of their reactionary "strategic theory of the three worlds" which they have fraudulently tried to pass off to the ignorant as the work of Mao himself.

The Soviet revisionists and those revisionist parties historically linked to them remain bitter enemies of the international proletariat. In recent years the Soviet revisionists have adopted a more militant posture vis à vis the Western imperialist powers. This is consistent with their own requirements as a great imperialist power heading up a rival imperialist bloc. They have on several occasions intervened directly by military means or made use of the Vietnamese and Cuban revisionists who are part of their bloc, to seek to expand their imperialist domination. This is often masked as "internationalism". In some cases revisionist parties historically tied to the USSR have prompted such counter-revolutionary lines as "peaceful roads" and "historic compromise" with the bourgeoisie; in other cases these revisionist parties prepare military coups and armed actions divorced from the masses. The role and nature of the revisionist parties today must be further analyzed and studied, both in particular cases and in general, but in any event it is completely clear that they stand as bitter enemies of the proletarian revolution and must be unmasked and defeated as a crucial part of developing the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and mobilizing the masses in revolutionary struggle.

The Albanian Party of Labor and its leadership have fallen completely into the revisionist swamp. Shortly after the counter-revolutionary coup in China the PLA attracted a number of genuine revolutionaries because they opposed some of the more hideous features of the Hua-Teng clique in China, especially regarding international line. Very quickly, however, they outdid even Hua and Teng in the virulence of their attack on Mao and Mao Tsetung Thought. The PLA leaders have adopted classic Trotskyite positions on a number of questions, including the nature of the revolution in semi-feudal, semi-colonial countries, e.g. excluding people's war as a form of revolutionary struggle.

More significantly their position grows daily closer to the made-in-Moscow revisionist line on a number of cardinal questions and world events, as already shown by their stand on Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia, the workers' upheaval in Poland, and their attacks on Mao, which are similar to the Soviets' attacks.

The influence of Trotskyism has been strengthened by revisionism in general and has been especially strengthened recently by the coming to power of the revisionists in China and by the revisionist stands of the PLA. The organizations and Parties which endorse this communique are calling for the struggle against revisionism to be linked to the struggle against the positions of the Trotskyites, which are left in form but deeply rightist in essence, and are especially calling for opposition to the following points: their "purist", "workerist" line of negating the alliance with the peasantry or other non-proletarian forces, negating in particular the policy of a united front against the reactionary classes in power; the negation of the possibility of seizing power and embarking on the socialist transition period in a single country; and their economist conception of the mass struggles and with regard to the way in which they see the transition to communism as consisting basically of a development of the productive forces.

The signatory organizations and Parties underline the increased danger posed by social democracy which holds power in a number of countries and which continues to serve as a Trojan horse for the interests of the Western imperialists. In addition to its usual conciliatory tactics, in some countries social democracy is attempting to form or influence armed groups in order to play a role in a situation of changing conditions. Marxist-Leninists must steadfastly combat their influence among the masses and must denounce all their tactics.

While it is not only possible but vitally necessary to take important steps now to unify genuine Marxist-Leninists on the basis of clear lines of demarcation that have emerged and in the face of the urgent tasks of the international movement, it is also necessary to carry out collective study, discussion and struggle over many important questions. This is particularly evident in relation to the necessity of developing a much fuller and deeper understanding of the history of the international communist movement. As the Chinese Communist Party pointed out in 1963 when it was a genuine communist party, in its polemics with the Soviet revisionists, with regard to the history of the international communist (and national liberation) movement there are "many experiences and many lessons. There are experiences which people should praise and there are experiences which make people grieve. Communists and revolutionaries in all countries should ponder and seriously study these experiences of success and failure, so as to draw correct conclusions and useful lessons from them". Today, in light of further momentous experiences, positive and negative, since that time, and with the present situation and the looming possibilities in mind, this orientation assumes all the more profound significance. The need to dare to ponder and analyze more deeply and penetratingly in order to act more boldly is all the more decisive.

Before modern revisionism revealed itself openly in the USSR and various other countries, there already existed within the international communist movement different erroneous conceptions which facilitated its development.

While recognizing the undeniable contributions made by the Third International to the unity of the international proletariat, to the founding of communist parties and to their struggles; and while recognizing the tremendous role played by the October Revolution, which initiated the epoch of proletarian revolutions and opened the way for the construction of socialism in the USSR, communists must endeavor to critically sum up these experiences, making it possible to explain in the light of Marxism-Leninism the seizure of power by the bourgeoisie in that country and in other socialist nations, and also making it possible to learn from the errors and deviations which were committed and to evaluate to what extent they had bearing on the degeneration into opportunism of the majority of the international communist

movement. In the face of the demoralization caused by these facts among broad sectors of the masses, and given that the bourgeois sectors are taking advantage of these facts, claiming that they prove the "failure" of Marxism, it falls on us communists to show that it is not scientific socialism which has failed, and that, on the contrary, scientific socialism makes it possible for us to grasp what objective and subjective factors gave rise to these events. Among other things, we must investigate and struggle over the experiences of the Third International and the reasons which led to its self-dissolution; the way in which the relationship between the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie and imperialism and the policy of forming an anti-fascist united front was handled during the last world war, and also the very reasoning behind this policy; the origin of the revisionist tendencies, such as Browderism, which spread faith in the idea that it would be possible to establish a lasting peace and improve the living conditions of the masses on the basis of agreements between the USSR and the imperialist powers who were fighting against the fascist states, and of the tendencies to conciliation which these gave rise to; the deep roots that led to the restoration of capitalism in the USSR and other socialist countries, paying particular attention to the way in which the development of the class struggle was handled and the question of how the need to consistently apply the dictatorship of the proletariat was treated in those countries, to the handling of the relationship between politics and ideology, between politics and economic and technical questions, the question of the mass line, the question of the correct handling of contradictions among the people and with the enemy on the basis of mobilizing the masses, the relationship of centralism and democracy within the party and the relationship of the party to the masses. By throwing light on these questions, while staying clear of the slander of the Trotskyites and other enemies of the revolution, we will be able to draw important lessons for the development of the revolution.

In sum, in order to achieve the unity of the Marxist-Leninists, it is essential to deepen the study so as to make an evaluation of the theoretical and practical activity of the communists during the period of the Third International, the Second World War and especially the causes of the coming to power of the revisionists in the countries in which the proletariat held power, particularly in

the USSR and in China.

The undersigned Parties and organizations received and discussed a major draft text prepared jointly by the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. They hold that, on the whole, the text is a positive contribution toward the elaboration of a correct general line for the international communist movement. With this perspective, the text should be circulated and discussed not only in the ranks of those organizations who have signed this communique, but throughout the ranks of the international communist movement.*

To carry out the struggle against revisionism and to aid the process of developing and struggling for a correct general line in the international communist movement, the undersigned Parties and organizations are launching an international journal. This journal can and will be a crucial weapon which can help unite, ideologically, politically and organizationally, the genuine Marxist-Leninists throughout the world.

These Parties and organizations signing this communique stress the need not only to maintain contact and carry out discussion and struggle with each other but actively to seek out and develop relations with other genuine Marxist-Leninists around the globe and carry out an ideological struggle and political work to win still broader forces of the international movement and the masses to consolidate the revolutionary position and reinforce the revolutionary struggles.

The current conjuncture in the world and in the international movement presents the revolutionary proletariat, the oppressed peoples and the Marxist-Leninists with great tasks, trials and, above all, great opportunities. Marxism-Leninism, the science of the revolutionary proletariat, has always been forged and tempered in the furnace of class struggle. Today we must rise to meet the challenges before us, race to catch up with the rapid developments of the objective conditions, reconstruct the unity of Marxist-Leninists on the basis of a correct line and summing up the experience of the past, fight for proletarian internationalism—and in so doing push ahead the advance toward communism throughout the world.

Autumn 1980

Joint Communiqué of

Ceylon Communist Party
 Groupe Marxiste-Léniniste du Sénégal
 Grupo para la Defensa del Marxismo-Leninismo (Spain)
 Mao Tsetung-Kredsen (Denmark)
 Marxist-Leninist Collective (Britain)
 New Zealand Red Flag Group
 Nottingham Communist Group (Britain)
 Organizzazione Comunista Proletaria Marxista-Leninista (Italy)
 Partido Comunista Revolucionario de Chile
 Pour l'Internationale Proletarienne (France)
 Reorganization Committee, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)
 Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
 Unión Comunista Revolucionaria (Dominican Republic)

* "Basic Principles for the Unity of Marxist-Leninists and for the Line of the International Communist Movement" is available in English, French and Spanish editions from: RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654, USA.

Since the appearance of this communiqué, revolutionary groups and activists from diverse countries have indicated their support for the joint communiqué, including from Peru, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Sweden, Australia and Germany. All support, commentary and criticism should be sent to the following address:

A World to Win
c/o Red Star Publications
Flat 2, 10, Villa Road
Nottingham NG3 4GG
Great Britain

The following is a list of public addresses of groups signing the joint communiqué (we will attempt to forward correspondence to signatory Parties and organisations which are not included here):

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Enver Hoxha Refuted

—N. Sanmugathasan
General Secretary,
Ceylon Communist Party

From its very origin, Marxism has been internationalist in its form and content. That is why Marx and Engels ended their famous *Communist Manifesto* in 1848 with the stirring call: Workers of the world, unite! They also went on to give organisational form to this concept by forming the International Working Men's Association, which has come to be known as the First International. It was this organisation that was responsible for spreading the seeds of Marxism among the advanced workers of Europe and North America.

When the heavy hand of repression fell on Europe, after the defeat of the Paris Commune in 1871, and made impossible the functioning of the International from Europe, its headquarters was shifted to North America, where it died a natural death. After the death of Marx, the Second International was formed under the leadership of Engels. This was the period of the emergence of the mass socialist and labour parties in Europe—many of whom exist to this day.

Engels did not live to see its degeneration to bourgeois opportunism at the beginning of the First World War. Lenin waged a titanic struggle against the revisionist leaders of the Second International, Kautsky and Bernstein, who had now claimed the mantle of Marx and Engels as leaders of the strongest social-democratic party—that of Germany.

The success of the October Revolution in Russia in 1917 and the end of the First World War completed the exposure of the opportunism of the leadership of the Second International. Lenin painstakingly gathered together what was good in the old International and in 1919, in Moscow, was formed his Third International, which, despite many shortcomings and mistakes, was to play the historical role in establishing mass communist parties in most parts of the world. Certain compromises forced on it by various reasons—mainly, the need to facilitate the entry of local communist parties into national anti-fascist coalitions which included even non-proletarian forces—led to its dissolution in 1943.

The correctness and wisdom of this decision continues to be a source of controversy. What is perhaps more difficult to understand is the failure to re-establish the unity of the international communist movement in an organisational form at the end of the Second World War. It is true that the Cominform played a role as a centre for a brief period. But it was not an international body, and its role was limited.

The death of Stalin and the usurpations of power by the Khrushchovite revisionists in the Soviet Party and State struck a deadly blow at the monolithic unity of the international communist movement which had been built up under Stalin. Besides, the ideological rift between Marxism-Leninism and Modern Revisionism completely sundered both the organisational and ideological unity of the international communist movement.

New Marxist-Leninist parties that repudiated Khrushchovite revisionism sprung up everywhere. They looked for leadership to the glorious Communist Party of China, led by Comrade Mao Tsetung, which had remained steadfast in its defence of Marxism-Leninism and had launched polemical battles in its defence.

Perhaps this was the most opportune time to revive the Communist International. But the opportunity was not taken. The leaders of the Chinese Communist Party seem to have considered that the time was not yet ripe for such a venture, and confined themselves to bilateral exchanges between parties. Their later practice of recognising more than one party in a country as Marxist-Leninist did not help unity of Marxist-Leninist forces on the national level. Instead, it proved to be divisive. For its part, the Party of Labour of Albania recognised only one party in a country as Marxist-Leninist. But it had no clear-cut or principled norms.

The only opportunity that delegates from Marxist-Leninist parties and groups got to meet each other was at national congresses of the Parties of China and Albania. In respect to China, that opportunity, too, ceased with the 9th Congress, when the Chinese Communist Party ceased its practice of inviting fraternal delegates from other parties to its congress. It also discontinued the practice of sending its delegates to Congresses of other fraternal parties. No official explanation has been given for these actions.

Perhaps, the absence of an international forum for Marxist-Leninists was felt most when, immediately following the death of Mao, the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party slid into the slime of modern revisionism and put forward the utterly revisionist theory of the "Three Worlds" as a strategic weapon for the international communist movement.

Undoubtedly, a large number of Marxist-Leninist parties and groups—and, foremost, the Party of Labour of Albania—came forward to denounce the revisionist theory of the Three Worlds. But, instead of uniting these forces firmly and posing a formidable front to both Soviet and Chinese revisionism, the Party of Labour of Albania further dis-united these forces by dragging still further in the mud the flag of Mao Tsetung Thought, which had been flung into the mud by the Chinese revisionists. The Albanian Party had the chance of picking up the banner of Mao Tsetung Thought from the mud into which the Chinese revisionists had thrown it and to unite all the genuine Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries round that banner. Instead, they chose to do the opposite. Using the influence of their State power, they subverted a number of undoubtedly revolutionary forces into the false position of opposing Mao Tsetung Thought and led them into the political wilderness where they are floundering.

Why did the Albanian Party do this? This will probably remain an enigma. But the magnitude of their treason can only be understood if one realises the magnificent potential that existed in 1977 and that was not tapped because of the disruption by the Albanian Party.

But, it is our duty to rebut the false theories of the Albanian Party. Because, today, the defence of Mao Tsetung Thought has become the central task of all Marxist-Leninists. For, the defence of Mao Tsetung Thought is nothing short of the defence of Marxism-Leninism because Mao Tsetung Thought is a further development of Marxism-Leninism. Whoever rejects Mao Tsetung Thought is rejecting Marxism-Leninism. Herein lies the importance about the debate on Mao Tsetung Thought.

What disconcerts anyone in this debate with the Albanian Party is their dishonesty. Writing at the end of his foreword to his *Reflections on China*, in May 1979, Enver Hoxha says that the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania "made a thorough analysis of the anti-Marxist stand and counter-revolutionary actions of the Chinese revisionist leadership, *without excluding Mao's responsibility for the situation created.*" This is just not true.

The present writer was present at the 7th Congress in 1976 and never heard a word against Mao Tsetung. On the contrary, in his report to the 7th Congress, Enver Hoxha referred to Mao not only as a great Marxist-Leninist, but also as a great friend of the Albanian people. It is there in the report. Lies cannot be tolerated in any polemic.

Enver Hoxha is trying to trace the origins of the revisionism of the present Chinese leadership back to Mao. He seems to ignore the fact that Teng Hsiao-ping has reversed all the correct decisions of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and is seeking to erase the entire period of Mao's leadership of the Chinese Party as a bad dream. Even the rehabilitation of Liu Shao-chi, whose denunciation as a capitalist roader by Mao has the approval of Enver Hoxha (in his book *Reflections on China*), has not woken up Enver Hoxha to face realities. Perhaps, only the expected open denunciation of Mao by the next Congress of the Chinese Party alone can completely expose the political bankruptcy of Enver Hoxha. Surely, it must be clear even to the meanest intellect that if Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionism springs from Mao, Teng could not be so venomously opposed to Mao and everything he stood for.

Enver Hoxha accuses Mao of being an idealist and a metaphysicist. But, in fact, it is Enver who is guilty of that charge. Let us illustrate this by the way he approaches the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which is, perhaps, one of the greatest revolutionary events that has ever happened. In calling this great event as being neither great, nor proletarian nor cultural nor a revolution, Enver Hoxha displays not merely total ignorance of what the revolution is all about, but also displays his mechanical, metaphysical attitude.

From the angle from which he approaches this great event, he sees the great Chinese Communist Party with its constitution and an elected Central Committee which should decide everything and give leadership. There can be no place for turmoil or what he calls "chaos". This is precisely how Liu Shao-chi also approached the question. He thought he was sitting pretty because he knew that he commanded a majority inside the Central Committee. He also further envisaged that, as a good communist, Mao would have to first raise his differences inside his Central Committee where Liu Shao-chi was confident of victory. He little thought that Mao would go over the head of the Central Committee and appeal to the masses outside with his famous slogan: "Bombard the Headquarters". Whoever heard of a communist appealing to the masses to overthrow the leadership of the Party—or, that part of it which had gone revisionist.

But this was what Mao precisely did. He was not inhibited by mechanical rules or by metaphysical thinking. He thought dialectically and acted to preserve the dictatorship of the proletariat from those capitalist roaders who had seized power in the superstructure. To follow rules would have been to court sure disaster.

Besides, Mao had immense confidence in the masses. He knew that they could make mistakes. But he also knew that, fundamentally, they would act correctly, under proper and revolutionary leadership. That is why he was not afraid of "stirring" up trouble.

But Enver Hoxha cannot understand this. Therefore, he describes this great revolution in which literally millions participated, as a palace putsch on an all-China scale. This is indeed a naive description.

If Mao had to go outside the Party leadership and appeal to the people 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 alternatives if he wanted to safeguard the 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.

It was called a Cultural Revolution because it was in the cultural front that both the revisionists and the revolutionaries fired their first shots. Like the role of the Petofi Club in 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.

The Cultural Revolution was no hoax, 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. That is why Mao said that revolution was not a dinner party. It was an attempt by one class to overthrow another. Destruction always precedes construction.

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.

Enver Hoxha objects to the role of the youth in the Cultural Revolution. Why the youth? Why not the proletariat? he asks—forgetting that the Albanian Party, itself, called upon the youth to build their railways and to terrace their mountainsides. The youth is not a class by itself. They come from different classes. But they have the common trait 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.

But this does not mean that the working class youth were not in the forefront of the Cultural Revolution. Youth from the working class and the 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 pace-setting events of the Cultural Revolution—was the organisations of revolutionary workers in Shanghai, led by Chang Chun-chiao and his comrades.

One of the most serious political charges made by Enver Hoxha against Mao is that the latter had repudiated the Marxist conception of the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution, and instead, assigned that role to the peasantry. This is both an incorrect and unsubstantiable charge which can be easily answered. Throughout his theoretical writings and in practice, Mao has always stressed the leading role of the proletariat and has referred to the peasantry as the main force. He has never deviated from this position.

In his very first essay in Volume I of his *Selected Works*, answering the questions: 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 resorts to a dishonest trick. He quotes two sentences from Mao's famous: "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan" in an attempt to prove that Mao had said that all other political parties and forces must submit to the peasantry and its views. This is what Mao said in that celebrated report: "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," and, "they will put to the test every revolutionary party and group, every revolutionary, so that they accept their views or reject them."

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. He wanted a proper appreciation of the role of the peasantry, which formed between 80 to 90% of the population, as the main force of the Chinese revolution. He declared that "without the poor peasants there would be no revolution." He never argued for the hegemonic role of the peasantry in the 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' centres 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 guerrilla 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 among 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.

Comrade Mao Tsetung is also being criticised by Enver Hoxha for alleged non-Marxist conceptions about the two stages of the democratic revolution and the Socialist revolution. None are so blind as those who have eyes and yet do not see. Comrade Mao Tsetung has explained his point of view in several of his writings. The most important one of these is his article "On New Democracy". He has pointed out: "The Chinese revolution is a continuation of the October Revolution and part of the world proletarian-socialist revolution. The Chinese revolution must take two steps. First the new democratic revolution and then the socialist revolution. These are two essentially different revolutionary processes which are at once distinct and interrelated. The second process, or the socialist revolution, can be carried through only after the first process, or the revolution of a bourgeois democratic character, has been completed. The democratic revolution is the necessary preparation for the socialist revolution, and the socialist revolution is the inevitable sequel to the democratic revolution."

Thus it is quite clear that Mao had no misconceptions about the existence of a Chinese wall between the democratic and socialist revolutions. He has stressed this when he said, "It is correct and fits in with the Marxist theory of development to say that of the two revolutionary stages the first provides the conditions for the second and that the two must be consecutive without an intervening stage of bourgeois dictatorship."

"It is however a Utopian view, unacceptable to true revolutionaries, that the democratic revolution has not its specific task to be accomplished during a definite period of time, and that this task can be merged and carried out simultaneously with what is of necessity a future task, i.e., the socialist task, thus accomplishing both at one stroke." Thus Comrade Mao Tsetung has clearly stated that the democratic revolution is the necessary preparation for the socialist revolution, and the socialist revolution is the inevitable sequel to the democratic revolution. This naturally means that during two different stages of the revolution, the working class will have different allies. Specifically, Comrade Mao Tsetung said that, during the democratic stage of the revolution, it would be possible both to unite and struggle with the national bourgeoisie which has a dual nature. On the one hand it has contradictions with foreign imperialism and domestic bureaucratic capitalism. On the other hand, it has contradictions with the working class and the peasantry. Consequently it has a dual nature in the Chinese people's democratic

revolution.

Mao has pointed out, "From this dual nature of the national bourgeoisie, we can conclude that at a certain period and under certain circumstances, it can take part in revolution against imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and landlordism, and it can become a part of the revolutionary forces. But at other times, it may serve the big bourgeoisie by assisting the counter-revolutionary forces."

This view about the temporary alliance between the working class and the national bourgeoisie had earlier been stated by both Lenin and Stalin. In his "Preliminary Draft of the Thesis on the National and Colonial Questions", Lenin has said, "The Communist International must enter into a temporary alliance with bourgeois democracy in colonial and backward countries, but must not merge with it, and must unconditionally preserve the independence of the proletarian movement, even in its most rudimentary form." In his "Chinese Revolution and the Tasks of the Communist International", Stalin has concluded that an alliance with the national bourgeoisie was permissible.

Mao was aware of the need for vigilance and of the need to both unite with and struggle with the national bourgeoisie. He has said, "The people have a strong State apparatus in their hands, and they do not fear rebellion on the part of the national bourgeoisie." This is somewhat similar to the sentiments voiced by Lenin when he introduced the New Economic Policy. He said, "There is nothing dangerous to the proletarian State in this so long as the proletariat keeps political power firmly in its hands, so long as it keeps transport and big industry firmly in its hands."

Enver Hoxha denies that such a situation existed in China after the democratic revolution, but apart from making a categorical statement, he does not adduce any facts to justify the statement. But it is well known that even in the first years of People's China big banks and big industrial and commercial enterprises were state owned and that enterprises such as banks, railways and airlines were operated by the state. Besides, the most important arm of the state machinery, the People's Liberation Army, was exclusively under the leadership of the Communist Party.

Neither was Mao unmindful of the necessity for the class struggle even after the revolution. In 1957, he said, "In China, although in the main socialist transformation has been completed with respect to the system of ownership, and although the large scale and turbulent class struggles of the masses characteristic of the previous revolutionary periods have in the main come to an end, there are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie, and the remoulding of the petty bourgeoisie has just started. The class struggle is by no means over."

Earlier in 1952 he had said, "With the overthrow of the landlord class and the bureaucrat-capitalist class, the contradiction between the working class and the national bourgeoisie has become the principal contradiction in China; therefore the national bourgeoisie should no longer be described as an intermediate class."

The democratic stage of the revolution in China lasted for about seven years. By 1956 privately owned industrial and commercial enterprises had been converted into joint state-private enterprises and the co-operative transformation of agriculture and handicrafts had taken place. Sections of the bourgeoisie had become administrative personnel in joint state-private enterprises and were being transformed from exploiters into working people living by their own labour. But they still got a fixed rate of interest on their capital in the joint enterprises. That is, they had not yet cut themselves loose from the roots of exploitation.

Clearly, the class contradiction had not been completely resolved and was not to be resolved for some more years to come. It was only during the Cultural Revolution that the Red Guards forced the cancellation of the payment of interest to the national bourgeoisie. This was China's specific method of limiting, restricting and transforming the national bourgeoisie.

Every party in different countries will have to apply different

methods in overcoming the contradictions that always arise as society proceeds further and further on the socialist path. The methods each party uses would differ from country to country. The degree of resistance encountered by the Bolsheviks in Russia from the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes was very great. They had to take harsh measures to eliminate such resistance. They were entirely justified in doing so. In China, too, counter-revolutionaries were eliminated. But, in China, Mao advocated using two different methods under the people's democratic dictatorship, one dictatorial and the other democratic, to resolve the two types of contradictions which differ in nature—those between ourselves and the enemy, and those among the people. In his article "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" written in 1949 and also published in the Cominform Journal, Mao had explained that "The combination of these two aspects, democracy for the people and dictatorship over the reactionaries, is the people's democratic dictatorship."

This method of using persuasion and not compulsion to resolve contradictions among the people may sound non-Marxist to some people. But it is a cardinal principle of Marxism that when working among the masses Communists must use the democratic method of persuasion and education, and never resort to commandism or force. This method was particularly successful in its application to China as gauged by the fact that when, during the Korean War, the Americans raced up to the banks of the Yalu river, there was not a single Chinese traitor to be found. This contrasts with the situation in Hungary at the time of the counter-revolution in 1956.

Enver Hoxha also finds fault with the theory of contradictions, as outlined by Mao, whereby he asserts that the law of contradictions, i.e., the law of the unity of the opposites, is the most basic law of materialist dialectics and that all other laws spring from it. It would need more space and time than we have at our disposal to reply to all these criticisms.

We will confine ourselves to re-stating what we think are the basic principles of the law of contradiction in things, as enunciated by Mao. Contradiction is universal; contradictions express themselves in a particular form; of all the contradictions there is always a principal contradiction and also a principal aspect of the contradiction which plays the leading role in resolving the contradiction; all aspects of contradiction have identity as well as opposition, and under certain circumstances, can exchange places (identity is temporary and relative while opposition is absolute); finally, among contradictions there are antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions and they must be handled properly without permitting non-antagonistic contradictions to turn into antagonistic contradictions.

It is the same fundamental failure to understand the theory of contradiction in things that makes Enver Hoxha criticise Mao's views on the two-line theory. According to Enver Hoxha, a party can have only one line and therefore it was un-Marxist to conceive of the existence of two lines inside the party. But what Mao was referring to was the universality of contradiction, i.e., that contradictions exist in everything; even in thought, in parties and even inside an individual. It is correct that at a particular point of time, a party or an individual can and should speak with only one voice. But formulation of that one voice is always the result of the bitter conflict between two contradictory points of view. It is this conflict of contradictions, even in thought, that pushes things forward. In this sense, there have always been two lines inside a party or even an individual. It is on the basis of the contradiction between these two lines, between what is right and what is wrong, that development and progress takes place. To deny this is to deny Marxist dialectics.

Similarly, there is a failure to understand the dialectical principle of the unity of opposites between opposite aspects of a contradiction and that, under certain conditions, opposites can change places. Under capitalism, the working class and the bourgeoisie are two contradictory aspects of the same contradiction. They are opposed to each other and this opposition is ab-

solute. But there is also an aspect of unity between the two, i.e., one cannot exist without the other. And, under certain circumstances, i.e., as a result of revolution, the working class and the bourgeoisie can exchange places. That is, the working class, from being a class that is ruled, can become the ruling class, while the bourgeoisie, from being the ruling class, would become the class that is ruled.

Enver Hoxha also criticises the method used by Mao to deal with counter-revolutionaries and contradictory forces among the people. While admitting that the proletariat had no choice but to finish off the bourgeoisie in Russia which was a counter-revolutionary class, Mao pointed out that there was a slightly different situation in China. By 1956, the bulk of the counter-revolutionaries had been cleared out. Therefore, while still advocating harsh treatment against counter-revolutionaries and other enemies of the people, he advocated a different method of democratic persuasion and remoulding through labour for other enemies. He said that too many people should not be shot and that there must be a limit even to the number of people arrested, and that whenever mistakes are discovered they must be corrected. This policy was advocated because of the large number of petty bourgeoisie in China and of the necessity of winning over all non-working class sections of the people (other than the feudal landlords and the big bourgeoisie) to the side of the working class.

Similarly the theory of "Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom, Let a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend" was put forward in order to encourage struggle between contending schools of thought among the people, but under the supervision of the Communist Party. Mao held that it would be wrong to suppress wrong ideas among the people by administrative actions. Instead he held that such wrong ideas should be allowed to come out into the open and face competition and struggle. He had no doubt that the correct ideas would triumph because socialism was in an advantageous position in the ideological struggle. The basic power of the state was in the hands of the working people led by the proletariat. The Communist Party was strong and its prestige high. Therefore the only method of ideological struggle should be painstaking reasoning and not crude coercion.

This campaign to "Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom" was an ideological struggle against "poisonous weeds" and for the supremacy of Marxism in the cultural field. The opportunity was used by the rightists to call for Western-style democracy. There were even ugly incidents, like people being beaten up. As Mao said, "Only when poisonous weeds are allowed to sprout from the soil can they be uprooted." A fierce counterattack was launched against the bourgeois rightists who had jumped out and exposed themselves and they were beaten back. Some of them were punished and dubbed as rightists, one of the five groups who were considered black in Chinese society. This decision was reversed only after Teng returned to power. The same is true with regard to Mao's policy of permitting all the classes that had participated in the democratic revolution to share in the government after the revolution. This was a peculiar feature which obtained in China as the result of a section of the urban bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie allying themselves with the workers in the revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. This was a historical fact. But such a policy was carried out on the basis of the leadership of the Communist Party and the acceptance by the other parties of the transition to socialism. But this "long term co-existence and mutual supervision" of the Communist Party and the democratic parties is not to the liking of Enver Hoxha.

He forgets that even after the October Revolution in Russia, there were two parties in the government—the Bolsheviks and the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries. The alliance with the latter was broken up only after they rose up in revolt against the Bolsheviks. Even in Albania, there exists even today the Democratic Front.

It is useful in this connection to note that this idea of remoulding and re-educating other classes dates back to Lenin. He said in *Left Wing Communism*, "Classes have remained and

will remain everywhere for years after the conquest of power by the proletariat. . . The abolition of classes means not only driving out the landlords and capitalists—that we accomplished with comparative ease—it also means abolishing the small commodity producers [whom he considered engender capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale], and they cannot be driven back, or crushed; we must live in harmony with them; they can (and must) be remoulded and re-educated only by very prolonged, slow, continuous organisational work." Thus, Mao's policy, is by no means an expression of his liberalism.

Enver Hoxha refers to the criticisms of the leadership of the Communist Party of China and Mao Tsetung by Stalin and the Comintern. These criticisms apparently refer to the failure by Mao to implement the principles of Marxism-Leninism consistently on the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution, proletarian internationalism, strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle, etc. We have already dealt with some of these points.

It is true that there were differences between the Comintern and the Chinese Communist Party. But it must be admitted that in almost all the issues, Mao was proved right and Stalin, to his credit, was one of the first to admit it. There was of course no difference between the two sides about the character of the revolution, which both considered to be bourgeois democratic, and about the key role of the peasantry and agrarian revolution, and the fact that armed revolution was the only solution for revolution in China. For his part, Mao considered the USSR as the homeland of the international proletariat and correctly understood the historic importance of the October Revolution and its global impact. But there were differences on the question of strategy and tactics of the Chinese Revolution.

Between 1927 and 1935, through the respective lines of Li Li-san and Wang Ming, the Comintern influence was felt on such issues as the simultaneous capturing of power in the cities, the necessity to resort to positional warfare instead of guerrilla warfare, and the refusal to build rural revolutionary bases. In fact, the Long March had to be launched as a method of escaping from the fifth encirclement campaign of Chiang Kai-shek. Today Albanian comrades (in discussion with our Party delegation that visited Albania in April 1979) have taken to belittling the Long March and are asserting that it would have been better if the Red Army had given battle where it was and saved such tremendous losses. One need hardly add, that had such a policy been adopted, there would have been no revolution, no party and no Mao. The Albanians also belittle the Tsunyi Conference which elected Mao to power in 1935 as being unrepresentative. One wonders whether they expected a fully fledged legal and representative Congress to be held in the midst of one of the most hotly contested civil wars in the world.

At the end of the Second World War, too, Stalin had his differences with the Chinese Communists. He doubted their ability to win in an all-out civil war against Chiang Kai-shek (who was being backed by U.S. imperialism) and maintained relationships with Chiang Kai-shek even during the civil war. But, Stalin was gracious enough to say that he had been glad to have been proved wrong.

Despite these mistakes, there is no doubt that Mao considered Stalin to be a great Marxist-Leninist and that fundamentally he was correct. Besides, Mao did not blame the Comintern and its representatives in China for the mistakes of the Chinese Communist Party. He blamed those Chinese Communists who tried to blindly follow the Soviet pattern without paying attention to the peculiar characteristics of the national situation in China.

And, unkindest cut of all, Enver Hoxha suggests that the Chinese Communists' stand against Soviet revisionism was not dictated from correct, principled, Marxist-Leninist positions. This is not merely unkind but also completely untrue. Not only had Mao correctly understood Khrushchov's revisionism as far back as 1956, but it was under his leadership that the Chinese Party initiated the great polemics with the publication of *Long Live*

Leninism in 1960. These polemics, which consisted of several letters to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to certain other revisionist parties of Western Europe, were brilliant for the clarity of thought and depth of argument. They schooled a whole generation of Marxist-Leninists all over the world in revolutionary principles and styles of work. To deny this today is to fly in the face of facts.

Albanians would now have us believe that Mao was always pro-American, or that he shifted his positions continuously. They told our delegation that, during the Second World War, there was in America a Chiang Kai-shek lobby and a Mao lobby. It is true that there were differences of opinion among the American ruling class as to who should be supported in the common fight against Japanese fascism. Chiang? or Mao? There were honest Americans who wanted support given to the Chinese Communists because they were the only forces genuinely fighting the Japanese, not the Kuomintang under Chiang. This does not mean that Mao was a pro-American.

His attitude to U.S. imperialism has been unambiguous and consistent. During the Second World War, when Japanese fascism became the main enemy of China, he used the contradictions between Japanese fascism and U.S. imperialism and stood for an alliance with the latter. But, no sooner had the war against fascism ended and U.S. imperialism replaced Japanese fascism as the main enemy of China by supporting Chiang Kai-shek in his civil war against the communists, he characterised U.S. imperialism as the main enemy which had to be defeated before China could be liberated. And, defeat it he did!

In the years following, nobody could doubt the anti-U.S. imperialist bona fides of Mao when he sent the Chinese volunteers across into Korea to stem the U.S. led invasion of that country, and when he gave unqualified support to the peoples of Indochina struggling against U.S. imperialism and, in fact, to all peoples struggling for their independence. His famous 1970 statement, calling for the unity of all forces opposed to U.S. imperialism and its running dogs, still rings in our ears.

But, by this time, a new element had entered the international situation. With its brutal occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1968, Soviet revisionism signalled its development as a social imperialist power. A new imperialism has been born and Mao took note of the change in the relation of forces. Thereafterwards, he was to bracket Soviet social imperialism along with U.S. imperialism as the twin enemies of mankind. This was the position to which he stuck to the last when, for the last time he presided over the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China held from August 24th to 28th, 1973.

The Report adopted at this Congress contains this excellent formulation: "Therefore, on the international front, our Party must uphold proletarian internationalism, uphold the Party's consistent policies, strengthen our unity with the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations of the whole world and with all countries subjected to imperialist aggression, subversion, interference, control or bullying, and form the broadest united front against imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism, and in particular, against the hegemonism of the two superpowers, the U.S. and the USSR. We must unite with all genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations the world over, and carry the struggle against modern revisionism through to the end."

It is useful to note that there is not even a hint of the theory of the Three Worlds to be found in this report. It is also absolutely slanderous for the Albanians to state now that Mao, at any stage, characterised Soviet imperialism as the main enemy and, therefore, called for an understanding or an alliance with U.S. imperialism. This is a monstrosity born out of Teng's mind and has nothing to do with Mao.

Thus we vehemently repudiate the thesis that the anti-Marxist-Leninist Theory of the Three Worlds was a product of Mao Tsetung Thought. There is no evidence whatever to support such a possibility. Comrade Mao Tsetung is a leader who has expressed his point of view on almost all conceivable subjects that came within his purview. The fact that the apologists for the Theory of the Three Worlds cannot dig up a single quotation from Mao in support of this absurd theory is sufficient proof that he never did advocate the unity of the second and third world against the first world; or, worse still, advocate the unity of the second and third world along with one part of the first world against the other half.

The favourite technique used by Enver Hoxha, right throughout his book, is to attribute to Mao views that are not his and then to proceed to demolish them. This is a most dishonest method of debate.

It is unfortunate that we have to spend so much time and space refuting Enver Hoxha. But this, in itself, is an education in Marxism-Leninism. Just as the international debate between Marxism-Leninism and Modern Revisionism became a school for all Marxist-Leninists, so today the principled defence of Mao Tsetung Thought constitutes an education in Marxism-Leninism.

The international communist movement must and will unite itself over again and forge ahead towards victory. But that unity must be a principled unity—a unity between revolutionaries who base themselves on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Notes on the History of Spanish Marxism-Leninism

—Unión de Lucha Marxista-Leninista [Marxist-Leninist Union of Struggle]
(formerly Grupo para la Defensa del Marxismo-Leninismo)

"¡Ay, cigüeña que picas en el viento del mal, fieramente, anhelando su exterminio total!" —Miguel Hernandez.

If we use the situation in 1975, one year before the death of Mao Tsetung, as a point of reference in relation to the situation today, we can see that the International Communist Movement has undergone important changes in the past five years. Today, a good many of the Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations born out of the rupture with revisionism in the 1960s have *not* been able to move beyond the two anti-Marxist waves we have suffered after Mao's death, first Teng's attack centered around the restoration of capitalism in China, and later that of Hoxha aimed at attacking Marxism-Leninism under the pretense of opposing Mao Tsetung. Only five years ago Marxism-Leninism worldwide seemed to be generally going along the correct path, with only some negative phenomena, like the appearance in 1974 of the "three worlds theory." Today the situation is very different.

Because many parties around the world have capitulated to one or another of the two great revisionist assaults mentioned above, we must examine the profound reasons for these facts. We believe that already by 1975, and even since the beginnings of the Marxist-Leninist forces created in the 1960s, there were very important errors that have served as the basis for the current revisionist degeneration in so many parties and groups, errors which are still afflicting us to a certain degree, which we must better delineate and combat.

To demonstrate this we base ourselves on the analysis of a particular case: the history of Spanish Marxism-Leninism, which we believe synthesises and represents, to a certain point, what happened throughout the ICM. For this reason, we believe that this article can be useful not only for those doing work in the Spanish state but for all Marxist-Leninists. In this article we are presenting a summary of our work, *The Theory of Marx is All Powerful Because It Is Correct* (May 1980). It takes ideological problems as a starting point and presents a critical-self-critical *summary* of the causes of the present state of the Marxist-Leninists, from how they grew during the 1960s to their current degeneration and (in many cases) their organisational liquidation.

We can state, by way of introduction, that by 1975, when the situation seemed stable and the ICM homogeneous, those who formed the founding nucleus of our organisation in 1977 already had important disagreements with *all* the parties and organisations that dominated the Marxist-Leninist movement here, with those that later followed the Chinese revisionists (ORT, PTE, etc.), those who support Hoxha (PCE m-l) and those who sail the murky waters of eclecticism, drifting ever closer towards pro-Soviet revisionism (MC, PCER).⁽¹⁾ With no little amazement our comrades learned step by step that *all of them*, underneath their noisy eulogies of

Mao, Albania and Marxism-Leninism, were simply reformist and economist forces who didn't want to know anything about revolution and who completely misunderstood the cornerstone of Marxism: the theory of the State and the dictatorship of the proletariat, exactly the points on which the first differences centred. Little by little, it became clear that they all held *revisionist positions* on this and other essential questions which made them indistinguishable from the PCE of Santiago Carrillo. This began to be clear at the end of 1976 when they all, in one way or another, fell to their knees before bourgeois "democracy," putting it forward as an alternative to the fascism of Franco's time and of Juan Carlos, his heir.

This is why we weren't very surprised by the later evolution of these parties, some following Teng Hsiao-ping, others falling into the practice of gross eclecticism, and finally the PCE m-l, without any of its own analysis as a party, rapidly falling for Enver Hoxha's irrational attacks on Mao Tsetung. What else could be expected of people who had lost touch with Marxism-Leninism years ago?

Characteristic of the Spanish situation is that the two great worldwide revisionist assaults found fertile ground here that had been prepared beforehand. Something had happened *before* 1976 that had caused the degeneration of these parties which we sought to discover, in the ideological realm in the previously mentioned statement, and in the political and organisational realms in several other statements. The practical and concrete character of this is obvious. If we want to save Marxism-Leninism from its sorry situation, we must begin to analyse the reasons for the complete bankruptcy of the efforts undertaken in the early 1960s to build a genuine vanguard party: these errors should serve as a lesson. Summing up, the dialectical principle, *without destruction there can be no construction*, had to be carried out.

But in addition we must be fully aware of the times which the ICM faces. It faces a peculiar situation characterised by the rapid sharpening of the contradictions leading to revolution and to imperialist war, and because of that it is more important than ever to emphasise the *rectification* of the line and prepare politically, ideologically and organisationally for the coming turbulent times. And that demands a self-critical, *scientific* summation of what the Marxist-Leninists have done since their beginnings, in order to synthesise their positive and negative experiences, drawing useful lessons from them for the present and future problems. In addition, now that Hoxha and his disciples have gone over to the enemy, we believe a whole historical stage is coming to an end. Marxism-Leninism, which has acted under conditions of relatively stable capitalism and a moderate level of the sharpening of all its external contradictions, is entering another new stage of great tensions and vaster possibilities for the advance of proletarian revolution worldwide. It is no accident that in the past few years there has

been an open battle against two major revisionist tendencies. In this way, through internal struggle, the ICM is getting rid of an important part of all the baggage that weighs it down, preparing for the future and strengthening itself. But this tendency has to be put forward in the most conscious form possible, and so we present this contribution, a self-critical summary of what Marxist-Leninists have done here since the 1960s, a summary now fundamentally centred on ideological problems. Furthermore, we believe that all Marxist-Leninist parties must break *consciously* with the errors which, although synthesised in the lines of Teng and Hoxha, to a certain degree also survive among us. In this regard, we do not agree with the comrades who insist one-sidedly on an examination of the Third International and thus neglect the essential summary of the work of the *present* ICM since the split with Soviet revisionism and its successors after the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU. The errors of the Third International, without doubt, are echoed in the present, but it's undeniable that the present has its own *particularity*, its characteristic concrete nature, which must be understood now, first and foremost in order to understand our tasks. The analysis of the past for us must be subordinate to analysis of the present, serve it and precede it and not the other way around.

Let us begin with the summary of *The Theory of Marx is All Powerful Because It Is Correct*.

The Birth of Spanish Marxism-Leninism

The process of breaking with revisionism, a complex and fragmented process because, among other factors, it was carried out in conditions of strict clandestinity, began here in 1960. In 1963 the first Marxist-Leninist organisations arose, and after that, various others developed either through subsequent splits or by indirect or direct routes.

Certainly there was an organisational rupture, a separation from the revisionist PCE, but how much of a political, ideological and organisational rupture was there? An examination of documents of the time shows that there was and there wasn't a rupture, that there was both split and continuity at the same time. Important questions were posed for the whole ICM: the defence of Stalin, support for the Chinese and Albanian CPs, defense in the abstract (note this) for the dictatorship of the proletariat and revolutionary violence, etc. Also, interest in the study of Marxist classics grew. Criticism of the strategic and tactical line of the PCE achieved some partial successes; for example there was a rejection of the formulations that later took the concrete form of the line of the *Pacto para la Libertad*, etc. But the points of continuity with the revisionist line were *numerous*. In the same way, there was little break regarding ideological questions, on the key question of the use of dialectical materialism. Neither was there a break regarding organisational matters, since there still was an incorrect understanding of the question of democratic centralism and other questions. In the political realm, grabbing our attention even then was the fact that there was no concrete clarification of the problem of the State, and from the beginning a dangerous ambiguity was fallen into, verging on bourgeois democratism (a beast which has haunted the workers' movement here for the last 100 years). The national question received exactly the same reactionary and chauvinist treatment that revisionism gave it, consistently denying *in deed* the right to self-determination of the nations oppressed by the Spanish state (the Canary Islands, Catalonia, Euskadi [Basque country] and Galicia). U.S. imperialist domination was somewhat incorrectly addressed as well. The important agrarian question was completely forgotten (here it could be said the nascent Marxist-Leninists were to the right of the PCE). Fundamental questions of the country's history, of the bourgeois republic of 1931-36 for example, were analysed in a completely opportunist way.

It goes without saying that all the worship of spontaneity of the previous period (when the PCE was still Marxist, and when it had already degenerated) was passed intact to the Marxist-Leninists; it's incredible that such an important point didn't undergo—that we know of—one single criticism! The same *narrow* understanding of

Marxism and the tasks of the party that had been the heritage of the old PCE, passed completely to the new organisations. Likewise the odious "theory of stages" and Bernstein's phrase "the movement is everything, the final goal nothing" remained intact and continued to occupy a basic place when it came to determining the tactics and tasks of the new parties. Much was spoken about the leading role of the party, without understanding what this meant at all, and, in fact, putting into practice a line and methods that denied this leading role.

In summary, the depth of the split was very shallow.

The new parties continued to be slaves of right opportunism, even though they resorted to "leftist" poses and postures, trying to cover up and to *artificially* paint a credible line of demarcation with revisionism. In that framework, for example, the infantile "armed actions" of the PCEm-1 occurred in 1975.

Why did all this happen? In the background was a completely incorrect (pragmatic) idea of what it meant to rebuild a party, an idea that stands out clearly in the material of all the parties and groups of that time. They didn't understand the reconstruction of the party as the reconstruction of a *correct* political, ideological and organisational *line*, but rather as numerical increase, implantation among the masses and the spread throughout the country of each of the organisations created. That the decisive thing, the determining thing is that the line must be correct was not understood, and this was sacrificed for immediate "successes," for cheap numerical and organisational prestige. The political line (an ideological line was never formulated), instead of being the centre of the party's activity, served to make its proselytising more effective... and for that it was concocted hastily, without any scientific basis. Thus, the PCEm-1 confesses that it formulated its political line in a couple of months. To do that, they concocted an unstable mixture of phrases copied from documents of the CP of China, arbitrarily selected dogmatic quotes and empirical facts. With all that, they concocted some cookbooks their authors heroically labelled Political Line which were anything but. There was no understanding of what Mao said, that without a scientific attitude the spirit of the party dies. In addition, given that since the beginning economism and anti-fascism (not the struggle against fascism to replace it with the power of the workers and the people, but a "radical" form of bourgeois democracy) had filled a very important place in party activities, why was a correct line truly necessary?

We have spoken of *pragmatism* and, note, this is very, very important. Spain is a country dependent on U.S. imperialism, to which it is subordinated by a thousand economic, political, military and also ideological ties. Since 1953, when it signed the treaties with the U.S., our country has undergone an invasion of U.S. philosophy, sociology, etc., which became especially intense in the 1960s. Leading members of the PSOE and PCE, among many others, dedicated themselves to poisoning the progressive media with all these imperialist ideological wares, and the intoxication quickly showed up among the nascent and weak Marxist-Leninists. Then there appeared a real rage for achieving "results" and a no less furious contempt towards the step-by-step development of a *scientific, true and correct* line. Numerical strength was valued and political-ideological strength despised.

But there was the traditional metaphysics as well. The rebuilding of the party and the struggle against revisionism was not understood as a *process*, as something necessary to develop step by step, but rather as a phenomenon to be carried out once and for all. This was very important. Actually, even assuming that the initial rupture with revisionism would be weak, it could, in theory, have been deepened and broadened as time went on, but this didn't come to pass. On the contrary, the process was reversed and even where ruptures with revisionism had been made, things tended to move towards revisionism, until the point that, by about 1975, the differences were practically non-existent (except on merely verbal, marginal, demagogic or similar questions). It's clear that the Marxist-Leninists then didn't put forward the question of breaking with revisionism and rebuilding the party in a *dialectical* way, as a process taking place over time, and they hastily concocted

political lines and statutes that they thought of as complete, perfect and finished, to the point that the PCEm-1, 16 years later, has made no correction, development, etc., of importance in its political line. That is to say, it seems that these admirers of the "purity" of Enver Hoxha have found, against all odds, some kind of absolute truth, like that which Engels criticised Hegel for.

The Struggle Against Revisionism

As we have seen in the previous section, even in the beginning, the Marxist-Leninists' struggle against revisionism was quite weak, partial and superficial. These two characteristics continue plaguing us today, since one can't thoroughly criticise a line one fundamentally agrees with. Furthermore, by not seeing the rupture with revisionism as a long-term process and by happily considering it finished after a few months, this decisive question couldn't play the important role that it should.

Soon the struggle against revisionism the Marxist-Leninists were waging turned into a frivolous and treacherous game. Behind the fierce condemnation and insult hurled against Carrillo's PCE, there was nothing serious, scientific nor convincing, only some mediocre attempts to hide the fact that they and revisionism held the same line and agreed on everything fundamental. The MC, in its pamphlet *Marxism and Reformism* (1976), clearly proves this. The PCEm-1 for many years successfully practiced dogmato-revisionism, imitating Enver Hoxha (and Kautsky, among others). The trick is well-known — covering one's own opportunism with pompous and fanatical dogmatic declarations and with unending praise for the "purity" of Marxism-Leninism. In this way, for a long time they were able to partially hide from the eyes of the advanced their incredible agreements with Santiago Carrillo.

Another question that brought out the "differences" with the PCE was that of mobilisation: revisionism did "not" mobilise the masses and they "did" mobilise the masses. In this way they put aside the essential question of the political and ideological content of what they were taking to the masses and again put forward the supposed differences with the PCE on a pragmatic basis. But all such mediocre sophisms didn't bear many results and as soon as the PCE made a slight tactical feint to the left, all these parties stood completely exposed. So in 1975 the ORT, PT and MC are found in the same groupings as the PCE, carrying out the exact same line, following its leadership and having to go along with the mocking congratulations of Carrillo, who was well assured that the prodigal sons would return to the fold in the end. The PCEm-1 and others expressed their differences on formal questions: yes, they wanted a bourgeois democracy as did the PCE, but, please, one that would be a republic and not a monarchy.

In this period, early 1976, to call oneself a Marxist-Leninist in the Spanish state was to feel ashamed, because all those self-appointed Marxist-Leninists were reformists of the worst kind, people blind and fanatical in their struggle for political reforms and economism. It was hard to bear hearing them talk with olympian disdain for revolution and their ironic little laughs when someone spoke to them of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Five years later, now that they are completely bankrupt, it is pleasing to see how badly things have worked out for this band of narrow-minded pragmatists.

The main question, which was never understood or not understood fully, is that a correct line can only be developed through an implacable struggle against revisionism: without struggle, there is no development, and without struggle against revisionism, a correct line can not be created, the party can't be rebuilt. It is an elementary question of dialectics. But Marxist-Leninists, in determining their line and concrete plans, seldom bothered to do so in concrete struggle against revisionism. This also flows from their pragmatism, since what sense does it make to do this when the correctness or incorrectness of your line doesn't matter much?

Another consequence of all this mess is the inability of the Marxist-Leninists to take on the PCE with even minimal success; and that follows logically, since for a long time they've lacked the

fundamental weapon to do so: a correct political and ideological line, truly different from the revisionists' and taken to the masses without bowing down to "the average worker."

Marxism-Leninism, Theory of the Vanguard

Reviewing the basic documents of the Spanish Marxist-Leninists, many times we find the well-known formula of the "vanguard party," but what this means was never really understood. Instead Marxism-Leninism was defined as "the experience of the workers' movement as a whole" and as the synthesis of "the concrete experiences of the mass movement"; unfortunately these latter formulas were broadly applied in practice. They are totally incorrect and constitute a theoretical representation of the old time-worn vice, the worship of the spontaneity of the mass movement and religious adoration of the proletariat's posterior.

Lenin states in his magnificent work, *The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism*, that the basis of Marxism is not the experience of the workers' movement, but science, concretely, English political economy, German philosophy and French socialism, and that scientific socialism was not created by members of the proletariat, but by "educated representatives of the owning classes," like Marx and Engels. Therefore, Marxism is not the experience of the workers' movement, but the synthesis of "human knowledge gained under capitalism" (Lenin). In relation to this, we note Engels' famous definition, that socialism, having become a science, demands to be treated as such, that is, it must be studied.

But now we see the practical consequences of these concrete errors of Spanish Marxism-Leninism in its definitive revisionist degeneration. If we define Marxism only or principally in relation to the experiences of the mass movement, of the working class "in itself" as Marx says, we separate it from its sources, the social and natural sciences, as well as philosophy, and strip it of its fundamental internal basis: *its scientific character*, and negate what it really should be: *the science-ideology of the vanguard in the service of the vanguard class of our time, the proletariat*, and how then can the masses be torn out of the political-ideological grip of the bourgeoisie? Or, more concretely, how can they serve as the basis for a vanguard party? If, facing these fundamental questions, those who consider themselves Marxist-Leninists don't have a scientific outlook based on the most recent experiences and theories arrived at through the three kinds of social practice that Mao spoke of (class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment), then there can't be a vanguard party and in Spain we have seen in practice that these self-appointed Marxists were despicable sects, always trailing behind one or the other variety of bourgeois politics and ideology (today pragmatism, tomorrow bourgeois democratism, yesterday eclecticism), unable to ever give a really independent answer to the big questions at each stage and unable to base themselves on the theoretical, political and organisational independence of the proletariat as a class.

Basing themselves on a narrow and barren conception of Marxism (that inevitably led to revising or bastardising it), they were not armed to face the continual political, ideological and theoretical attacks of big capital and revisionism and couldn't do anything but lose ground step by step, accumulate one error on top of another and finally change colour: that's exactly what we've seen with our own eyes, here in the Spanish state, in the clearest way, in the last 12 years.

These people who spoke so much of the "vanguard" (the PCEm-1 is a true virtuoso of this empty chatter) held a political line which seemed more like the babbling of a five year-old than something said by more or less serious people who at least understood the world they lived in and had some slight understanding of Marxism, at least more than absurd quotes designed to intimidate the uninformed. And so could they really be vanguard or a rearguard? The answer is obvious. If Marxism ceases to be a science, if someone strips it of its principal aspect, then it becomes absolutely nothing and a party based on it will serve as

nothing except a tool of the ruling class. Studying the history of Spanish Marxism-Leninism, all this stands out clearly, especially the irrationalism Spanish-style (we should say, Torquemada-style) that dominates all its activity since the beginning.

But another consequence of the idiotic definition of Marxism as "the experience of the workers' movement" is that as soon as the party is opened up wide to bourgeois ideology and politics, precisely by taking the workers' movement "in itself" as a guide, under such conditions the proletariat can't help but be dominated by the dominant politics and ideology in bourgeois society which infect the proletariat and which only through the patient and broad activity of the party can be turned around among a majority of the masses (although not among all) in this clearly pre-revolutionary situation. Even after the seizure of power bourgeois ideology continues to dominate society as a whole. Therefore, our pious worshippers of "the masses," falling to their knees before them, in reality fall on their knees before the politics and ideology of the bourgeoisie, and under such conditions, one doesn't have to be too intelligent to understand that they would end up degenerating.

The obsession of these guys with "the masses" was truly pathological (and still is among those who remain). They always talked about them, but always forgot about Marxism-Leninism, about science, about the struggle for truth, about the conscious element, and with all that, inevitably in practice they also forgot the party: they could never build one except some sorry caricatures, in the end pro-Teng, pro-Hoxha or pro-something as bad or worse.

Marxism or Pragmatism?

Spanish Marxist-Leninists have certainly never felt "that passion for truth" that Diderot spoke of, in fact the truth worried them very little and they proved to be devout followers of the fundamental principle of pragmatism: only that which is useful is true.

They never understood that the proletariat as a class, in the process of its struggle against the bourgeoisie, must, through its vanguard, know the world scientifically, understand its laws and apply that knowledge to the destruction of the bourgeois order and the completion of its fundamental goals. For that, scientific truth is completely necessary for revolution: without truth there is no revolution.

The Spanish Marxist-Leninists were only interested in immediate and tangible "results" that could be measured in prestige, numerical strength, etc. The struggle for a scientifically correct line, that gives the proletariat, as Lenin said, a true picture of reality and of its tasks at each moment, interested them little. Such a mentality, very blatant, for example, in the statutes of all of them, separated the party overall and each one of the militants from the decisive battle against errors and against the advance of revisionism *inside* the very party itself. They concentrated on winning "practical results" and so revisionist degeneration was a very difficult process to avoid. This explains the attitude of the PCEm-1 on the question of Mao Tsetung. In reality, as a party, they took from Mao whatever seemed to bring immediate results. But since Hoxha attacked Mao, it suited them to fall in with the PLA which is definitively in power and can provide advantages of all kinds. Of course, it doesn't make sense for them to ask themselves: Are Hoxha's criticisms of Mao true and scientific? In the end, as has already been said by a well-known U.S. sociologist, "Concepts are not true or false. They are more or less useful."

The basic error of pragmatists is that they only see in practice its ability to satisfy their needs and not, at the same time, its role as the ultimate criterion of truth. In practice we materialists, Lenin says, look for proof of the truth of our ideas, and at the same time the transformation of reality. But the pragmatist is only interested in this last point, and understands it only narrowly and in a limited way. From that arises the worst of pragmatism: the total separation between truth and the transformation of reality, in such a way that it fully focuses on achieving the latter without paying attention to the former. But, from the

proletariat's point of view, that is impossible. This view puts forward the following dialectical relation: by transforming reality, we confirm what is correct in our thinking and we develop it, but to transform reality, we need correct ideas. In any case, we transform and we learn: this is key.

Saying "the theory of Marx is all powerful because it is correct," Lenin explains it admirably, summarising: because it is correct, because it is scientific and true, the theory of Marx is able to transform reality, for that reason and no other. If we leave out the scientific character of Marxism, as Spanish Marxist-Leninists have done from the beginning, or if we aren't clear on this point and don't rigorously apply it in the daily work of the party and of every member, then we will *not* transform the world, we will not make revolution and probably will soon become revisionists.

Naturally, speaking of scientific truth, you have to have a dialectical idea of this, not a metaphysical and absolute one, as happened with the line and politics of Marxist-Leninists here, a line and politics they thought were 100% true and valid forever. All truth for Marxists is objective, can reflect reality as it is, but at the same time it is relative, because our knowledge of a thing is never exhaustive and our understanding never completely encompasses what is studied, leaving part of it unknown.

One of pragmatism's worst manifestations, before the degeneration of Spanish Marxist-Leninists, was the way in which the struggles inside the different parties and organisations were focused. Attention was not paid to putting forward questions in terms of the contradiction between the true and the false, and the struggle was not waged for truth and Marxism-Leninism. Instead what was essentially focused on was the organisational and personal aspects of the questions in debate. That sterilised internal struggle and allowed the revisionist line to occupy one position after another. In reality the pragmatic mentality was so powerful that few true polemics arose on key questions. They lived in a world of bickering, gossip and personal squabbles which hid the political-ideological basis of questions. Certainly it didn't arouse much interest in the search for truth.

Summing up, we dare to state that we are against the pragmatic and neo-positivist *revision* of the Marxist theory of knowledge which has meant catastrophe for Spanish Marxism-Leninism. It has a significant historical antecedent in the Kantian revision of Marxist philosophy by the theoreticians of the Second International, which even before Lenin, Plekhanov had to combat.

A generation of Marxist-Leninists has in good measure been wiped out by pragmatism: let this serve as a warning *now*.

Bowing to the Spontaneity of the Movement

This question is extraordinarily important. Spanish Marxism-Leninism has suffered from this since the beginning, inheriting it from the old PCE, and it has been one of the aspects most responsible for its current revisionist degeneration. Already in previous sections we have dealt with that theme, now we will concentrate on certain important points.

For example, an untouchable dogma was that to formulate the line and determine the tasks of the party you must "begin at the level of understanding of the masses," their opinions, mood and the struggles they are carrying out at a given moment. The idealist character of this proposition is clear. As materialists we think that you have to begin with what's objective, with the problems which really exist (whether the masses see them or not) and with Marxism-Leninism. You have to begin with the conscious, not the spontaneous. Well then, with this tiny phrase they opened the doors of the Marxist-Leninist organisations to the ideas of "the average worker," used this as a model (for those who didn't live through it, it's hard to imagine how fanatical this was), and in name of that began to look with contempt and smugness at all attempts (that there were) to introduce consciousness and base oneself on Marxism in response to fundamental questions of the time. We can say without exaggeration that "the average worker" was the prophet and supreme being of those people.

Of course the subjective mood of the masses has to be taken

into account by the party, but not as the only or principal criterion, excluding everything else and negating the vanguard and Marxism. In the strictly philosophical realm that brings us to the well-known polemic over what is principal, the objective or subjective, matter or consciousness, and how this basic thesis is applied in the daily activity of the party members. This got so out of hand that some years ago we had to coin the term "subjective method" for these maniacs of that style of thinking à la Berkeley. It is, as Stalin says, an attempt to lower the party to the level of the masses instead of raising the level of the masses to that of the party.

We want to emphasise something. This error implicitly includes the liquidation of the vanguard party as such, which is in fact what is now happening in the Spanish state in an obvious way.

For those worshippers of spontaneity, the working class, by producing surplus value, through some fantastic and mythical means, produces its own class consciousness and elevates itself to the conscious level of a class "in itself." According to this thinking, the party should restrict itself to proving this and faithfully imitating the masses, remaining at their level, at the level of the economic and political struggle for reforms and in most cases at the level of spontaneous and desperate struggle. This is the complete negation of the Leninist theory of the vanguard party.

All this brings us straight to the famous "theory of stages," to that damned sophism that has been another of the built-in dogmas which blocked the process of building a party begun in the 1960s. The basis for this argument is well known: "the conditions aren't right" now for the revolutionary preparation of the masses, first you have to go through a stage or phase (hence its name) in which "starting at the level of the consciousness of the masses" we dedicate ourselves to the struggle for wages and the general anti-fascist, anti-repressive and reformist struggle (the so-called struggle "possible at this moment") so that later, in another stage, we can shrewdly carry out revolutionary agitation for the final goals. Naturally this stage never arrives.

The opportunists of this country blame the masses for their own cowardice and ineptitude: they say they'd like to carry out revolutionary agitation, now, but clearly the masses don't understand all that, they would avoid us, we would isolate ourselves. In reality, the whole process is exactly the opposite. If the masses don't understand, it is because *we* aren't able to use all the many phenomena of social life to fully educate them, because *we* are lagging behind the objective situation and because furthermore *we* (the Spanish Marxist-Leninists) dedicated ourselves for years to dulling the masses even more and robbing them of their spontaneous attempts to understand scientifically what is happening, obsessively focusing their attention on the economic struggle and the struggle for political reforms and against fascism.

Lenin explains how the vanguard should continually call on the masses to wake up, to understand, and furthermore should *go against the tide*, combatting the prejudices, the revisionist line, the tendency towards simple economic struggle, *among* the masses.

And let's not forget the most classic form the worship of spontaneity assumes: wage the economic struggle and the struggle for reforms in order to, *on that basis* (according to its defenders), create the class consciousness of the proletariat. Lenin's answer is devastating: that is impossible, because the very basis is too narrow, because on the basis of those secondary manifestations of the class struggle, *it is not possible to educate the proletariat to make revolution*.

We have read, heard and seen all this practiced thousands and thousands of times in the Spanish state in the last 12 years, and there is something curious: it is in practice itself that all this has completely failed and, despite that, the opportunist remnants, who still remain here, continue on without changing, relying on those relics. That indeed is a faith that moves mountains!

On the basis of worshipping spontaneity, the tactic of those parties could not but conform to the well-known principle of Bernstein, "the movement is everything, the final goal nothing." They always found some "stage" which, according to them, allow-

ed them to leave until some future time the revolutionary education of the proletariat in Marxism-Leninism and the final goal. Engels already said in *Critique of the Erfurt Programme*, that "This sacrifice of the future of the movement for its present may be honestly meant, but it is and remains opportunism," and Lenin said in *Marxism and Reformism*, "When the 'ultimate goal' . . . is pushed further and further away from our agitation, that is reformism." It is significant that many pro-Albanian parties today in different countries are loyal followers of Bernstein on tactics, such that they focus all their attention on the immediate struggle and totally forget everything else. This very clearly shows that their attacks on Mao are what one would expect a handful of reformists to hurl against a revolutionary, the slanders of neo-Bernsteinians against the genuine Marxist-Leninists who think above all of the *future* of the movement, without being overwhelmed by what *is* today, because tomorrow this will be nothing, since the flow of history forces us to think of what *is not* yet: socialism and communism.

Methods of Thought and Work

Lenin began his brilliant work (and in this case this adjective is correct, not mere Enver Hoxha-style rhetoric) *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* asking, "Does the lecturer acknowledge that the philosophy of Marxism is *dialectical materialism*?" Spanish Marxist-Leninists have heard the point before but without interest or comprehension of its true significance. Let's not forget that they are "practical" people who concentrate on obtaining "palpable results," "successes," through the anti-fascist economic and political struggle. But despite that, it happens that Marxism has its own philosophy, dialectical materialism, and that to make revolution it has to be taken as a basic component of the party's methods of thought and work.

In the rupture with the PCE there was no attention given to breaking with revisionism on this essential question. Except for some general phrases about it to cover appearances, nothing else was done. This attitude is in the framework of the profound contempt for the study of Marxism-Leninism inherited from the old PCE; there was no realisation that it wouldn't do to repeat some isolated and undigested phrases, but rather that what was needed was a thorough understanding of the stand, outlook and method of Marxism-Leninism, and that demanded prolonged, serious study. There was such a haste, an irresponsible frivolity, when it came time to deal with basic questions, that looking back on it now makes one dizzy. This contempt for the science of revolution has its philosophical roots in the predominance then, in Spain, of neo-positivism as a dominant system of thought. This is characterised by a hostility towards all attempts to explain the essence of phenomena through scientific theories and generalisations which go beyond the level of "the facts," of the evidence, of what is immediately perceived.

Thus from the beginning there arose in Spanish Marxism-Leninism a strong empirical deviation whose best example is the PCEm-I's statement, *U.S. Domination of Spain* (1968). This is a vulgar description of "the facts" according to the most orthodox Anglo-Saxon empiricism, in which Marxism only appears as dogmatic quotations that hide the reactionary method and content. With empiricism came the worst superficiality, a kind of ignorant self-satisfaction which overshadowed all questions with a jumble of, on the one hand, "the facts," and on the other, dogmatic quotes. At that time it created a hybrid type of empiricism which we could call empirio-dogmatism.

It's important to see how this empiricism leads directly to economism, reformism and thus to degeneration. Because it sanctifies the obvious, "the facts", it prevents an understanding of the true nature of events, and leads to limiting one's activity to these directly perceived expressions of the class struggle, the economic and political struggle for reforms. There is a contradiction between appearance and essence which only science can resolve. Empiricism, that petty way of thinking, denies such a contradiction and puts forward absolute identity between appearance and

essence. This can only bring disaster to revolutionary activity.

But as we said, empiricism existed together with dogmatism, united in common opposition to dialectical materialism. This appeared as the tendency to juggle Marxist ideas and terms, separating them completely from concrete reality and concrete needs and tasks, a pure, sterile verbalism which converts Marxism into a petrified dogma separate from the real world. In this it seems that the school of the revisionist French philosopher Althusser had much influence here, since some of his books and those of his disciple Marta Harnecker were read quite a bit in certain circles close to Marxism-Leninism. This insufferable dogmatism, as is obvious in Hoxha's case, already masked grave errors and rightist deviations. We find its model in the PCEm-l's work, *The National Question in Light of Revolution in Spain*(2), which, with an abundance of dogmatic quotes from Lenin and Stalin, totally bastardises the Marxist theory of national oppression and upholds positions that objectively can only be classified as fascistic.

Of course, all this has led to the negation of concrete analysis of concrete reality. On page 37ff of the statement summarized above, we find numerous examples of the lack, throughout the history of Spanish Marxism-Leninism, of concrete analysis, of the investigation of events in the particular conditions of their time and place. Perhaps the most negative manifestation was the examination of the crisis which the fascist form of the domination of the big bourgeoisie entered after 1970. Reasoning abstractly, bourgeois "democracy" was defined as better than fascism, and logically the former must be supported over the latter. This really meant collaboration with the ruling class in making changes in the form of its dictatorship, more suited to the new period of generalised crisis and the rise in mass struggle. There is no understanding that, by making a concrete analysis, one could see how this "democracy" concretely was a form in which big capital hoped to contain, by political methods, the upsurge of workers' and popular struggles which took place from 1974-77. Not without reason does Lenin say that there are no abstract truths, that the truth is always concrete and that which is true in the abstract can be completely false in the light of concrete analysis.

A result of the abstract method of thought is that it can't solve contradictions and inevitably leads to metaphysics, and that is because only concrete analysis can reveal the essence of phenomena, and only then is it possible to understand contradictions. Spanish Marxism-Leninism was generally unable to think in dialectical terms. A picturesque detail that gives an idea of the level at which it operated then is the refusal to see that its own policies and line had errors, that is to say, that it divided into two, that it had internal contradictions. No, they (concretely the PCEm-l and MC) went on to theorise that Marxist-Leninists couldn't be wrong about anything important and that: . . . therefore they were as infallible as god is said to be! Their line was correct, in its application and everything else: therefore it had no errors. In addition, this proves that already, by around 1972 (when this position was put forward), the mad metaphysics which Hoxha now preaches was in common use among Spanish Marxist-Leninists.

In summary: the lack of concern for the practical supremacy of dialectical materialism, which is never an easy thing, led to a pro-

gressive degeneration of Spanish Marxist-Leninists who, by 1974-77, had already become revisionist, indistinguishable from Eurocommunists. Therefore what resulted after this is easily explained.

January, 1981

- (1) For those not very familiar with the political scene in the Spanish state, a brief explanation of the present situation of the political forces relevant to the content of this work is useful. The PTE, faithful follower of the Chinese revisionists, which only two years ago had a certain number of members, today is completely liquidated after a frustrated attempt to merge with the ORT. This revisionist organisation is liquidated in fact and there is no real chance that it can escape its present, gravest crisis. Thus pro-Chinese revisionism remains without organised representation in the country, aside from an insignificant little group and Carrillo, who on his trip to China last fall became a close friend of Teng. The MC holds on with great difficulty, sliding into a bottomless opportunism in which all kinds of tendencies are mixed: Trotskyism, Eurocommunism, "Maoism," and pro-Soviet revisionism, among others. This is a consummate model of eclecticism, similar to the Chilean MIR, with whom they maintain cordial relations. Lately they are very close to pro-Soviet forces. The PCEm-l is Hoxha's mouthpiece here and it couldn't be in a tougher situation. Every day it becomes more reformist and more economist, agreeing to work with the most suspicious and equivocating people. Due to the crisis of its whole line and to the internal dissension created by the attacks on-Mao and the lurches towards Hoxha, its membership is quite diminished, its press hardly exists, and given these symptoms, it has entered a period of not too far off extinction. The PCE(r) is practically liquidated, due to its reformism and also its absurd practice of "urban guerrilla warfare." Several years ago it moved towards eclecticism and pro-Sovietism. This group is a good example of what we call "reformists with guns," people like those "liberals with bombs" that Lenin criticised. The changing times are leaving all those "Marxist-Leninists" from around here in the lurch.
- (2) This criticism is not without basis, nor an exaggeration of the struggle that we had with these revisionists: it is the most precise. Thus in their work, *The National Question in Light of Revolution in Spain*, on page 73, we read that "the vicious policy" of fascism against the oppressed nations (Canary Islands, Catalonia, Euskadi and Galicia) "has brought the undeniable positive result of the elimination or reduction of many national barriers." This is a *shameless praise of fascist policy which for 40 years has tried to wipe out such oppressed nations by genocidal terror and violence*. Therefore, we don't exaggerate: These are the people who attack Mao Tsetung without letup, the same ones who support and praise fascist terror! And the same ones who never open their mouth without letting out a pedantic and stupid quote of some classical Marxist to better bastardise Marxism!

Some Particularities of Contemporary Pro-Soviet Revisionism

—Partido Comunista Revolucionario de Chile [Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile]

The growing decay of bourgeois society and the restoration of capitalism in a series of socialist countries, among them the USSR, have led to a series of new features in contemporary revisionism. These changes do not alter the essence of revisionism i.e., "bourgeois castration of Marxist truths," as Lenin defined it, aimed at defending the system of exploitation. The essential role of the revisionists as servants of bourgeois rule continues in full force, for their principal task continues to be that of preventing revolution and preserving the bourgeois state. Moreover, the present features of revisionism make it a political and ideological movement even more openly reactionary and dangerous than in the past.

However, with the rise of the struggles of the proletariat in the epoch of moribund capitalism; the advances of the liberation movements against imperialist oppression; the ever-deepening and sustained crises of the capitalist system; as well as control of state power by revisionists in a series of previously socialist countries, among them the USSR; revisionism in the capitalist world has ceased to limit itself to the crumbs offered by the ruling sectors. Today, the revisionist chieftains in each capitalist country seek to control state power, and to this end they promote as a model an exploitative society which they try to pass off as socialism. This model is none other than the type of exploitative society which countries such as the USSR and the countries of Eastern Europe dependent on it have become, due to the degeneration of socialism. That is, state capitalism based on the dictatorship of a bureaucratic bourgeoisie, whose base of economic support is state control of the principal means of production. This state, for its part, rather than being a tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is a tool of that bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

During the period analysed by Lenin and the Third (Communist) International, there were no countries in which the revisionists had usurped state power, and the decay of the capitalist world was not as acute as it is now. At that time, the only source giving rise to revisionism was the corruption which the bourgeoisie, which was raking in tremendous profits from colonial exploitation, promoted among certain sections of the labor aristocracy and petty bourgeoisie infiltrating the workers' parties. These revisionist forces, open or concealed agents of the bourgeoisie utilising the means the bourgeoisie provided to them, deceived relatively broad sections of the proletariat and the people by spreading reformism, chauvinism, economism, parliamentarism, and other opportunist distortions. Essentially, their role consisted of promoting mere reforms, holding back the class struggle in order to keep it on an acceptable and controllable level for the bourgeoisie, thus preventing the proletariat, at the head of the masses, from advancing towards the destruction of the

bourgeois state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. "Opportunism today, as represented by its principal spokesman, the ex-Marxist Karl Kautsky," wrote Lenin in 1917 in *State and Revolution*, "fits in completely with Marx's characterisation of the *bourgeois* position quoted above, for this opportunism limits recognition of the class struggle to the sphere of bourgeois relations. (Within this sphere, within its framework, not a single educated liberal will refuse to recognise the class struggle 'in principle!') Opportunism *does not extend* recognition of the class struggle to the cardinal point, to the period of *transition* from capitalism to communism, of the *overthrow* and the complete *abolition* of the bourgeoisie."

The policy of the bourgeoisie, aimed at oppressing and exploiting the proletariat and other sections of the people, has traditionally taken two basic and interrelated forms, the carrot and the stick, that is, deceit and open repression, although at a given moment one or the other predominates. The revisionists have played (and continue to play, although with certain shades of difference) the role of agents of the bourgeoisie infiltrating the ranks of the proletariat and the masses in order to carry out these policies. In times of stability or economic boom (and consequently, political boom), the bourgeoisie prefers to use the method of deceit, and grants certain minor concessions, certain reforms, so as to facilitate the work of its revisionist agents of holding back the revolutionary momentum of the masses and diverting them from the path of destroying the bourgeois state. In these periods (increasingly less frequent due to the sharpening and deepening of the capitalist crisis), the revisionists are better able to camouflage themselves, and their deception of the masses is more effective. As Lenin said in "What Next?" in 1915, "The particularly rapid growth of this social element of late years is beyond doubt: it includes officials of the legal labour unions, parliamentarians and the other intellectuals, who have got themselves easy and comfortable posts in the legal mass movement, some sections of the better paid workers, office employees, etc., etc. The war has clearly proved that at a moment of crisis (and the imperialist era will undoubtedly be one of all kinds of crises) a sizable mass of opportunists, supported and often directly guided by the bourgeoisie (this is of particular importance!), go over to the latter's camp, betray socialism, damage the workers' cause, and attempt to ruin it. In every crisis the bourgeoisie will always aid the opportunists, will always try to suppress the revolutionary section of the proletariat, stopping short of nothing and employing the most unlawful and savage *military* measures. The opportunists are bourgeois enemies of the proletarian revolution, who in peaceful times carry on their bourgeois work in secret, concealing themselves within the workers' parties, while in times of crisis

they *immediately* prove to be open allies of the *entire* united bourgeoisie, from the conservative to the most radical and democratic part of the latter, from the free thinkers, to the religious and clerical sections."

We see, then, that according to Lenin, the revisionists' ability to serve the bourgeoisie lies in their ability to camouflage themselves and to deceive, and that this ability is limited when, due to the crisis, they are forced to expose themselves and to come out openly in defense of the bourgeoisie. Needless to say, then, as the decay and crisis of the capitalist system deepen, the revisionists must use more subtle and covert methods in playing their role. The very development of revisionism on a grand scale towards the end of the 19th century is linked to a situation in which the bourgeoisie, due to the development of the proletariat and the spread of Marxism, was no longer able to openly defend liberalism, and capitalism had to resort to the "fig leaf" of reformism in order to hide its open sores.

In his work, "Reformism in the Russian Social-Democratic Movement," written in 1911, Lenin points out, "The tremendous progress made by capitalism in recent decades and the rapid growth of the working-class movement in all the civilised countries have brought about a big change in the attitude of the bourgeoisie to the proletariat. Instead of waging an open, principled and direct struggle against all the fundamental tenets of socialism in defence of the absolute inviolability of private property and freedom of competition, the bourgeoisie of Europe and America, as represented by their ideologists and political leaders, are coming out increasingly in defence of so-called social reforms as opposed to the idea of social revolution. Not liberalism versus socialism, but reformism versus socialist revolution—is the formula of the modern, 'advanced,' educated bourgeoisie. And the higher the development of capitalism in a given country, the more unadulterated the rule of the bourgeoisie, and the greater the political liberty, the more extensive is the application of the 'most up-to-date' bourgeois slogan: reform *versus* revolution, the partial patching up of the doomed regime with the object of dividing and weakening the working class, and of maintaining the rule of the bourgeoisie, *versus* the revolutionary overthrow of that rule.

"From the viewpoint of the universal development of socialism this change must be regarded as a big step forward. At first socialism fought for its existence, and was confronted by a bourgeoisie confident of its strength and boldly and consistently defending liberalism as an integral system of economic and political views. Socialism has grown into a force and, throughout the civilised world, has already upheld its right to existence. It is now fighting *for power* and the bourgeoisie, disintegrating and realising the inevitability of its doom, is exerting every effort to defer that day and to maintain its rule under the new conditions as well, at the cost of partial and spurious concessions."

And he concludes: "The intensification of the struggle of reformism against revolutionary Social-Democracy *within* the working-class movement is an absolutely inevitable result of the changes in the entire economic and political situation throughout the civilised world."

At that time, due to the development of the working class and a genuine socialist movement inspired by Marxism-Leninism, the bourgeoisie, making use of revisionism, was forced to oppose socialism with reformism instead of with liberalism. Nevertheless, this reformism continued to be trite and lacked a long-term perspective; it continued to propose the patching up of bourgeois society, without offering a well-defined model of a society as an alternative. The revisionists, as Lenin pointed out, continued to be "the nurses of capitalism," content with promoting minor reforms. In characterising the tendency of revisionism in this period, Lenin writes in his article, "Once Again About the Duma Cabinet," "We repeat: this is the fundamental, the typical argument of all opportunists all over the world. To what conclusion does this argument inevitably lead? To the conclusion that we need no revolutionary programme, no revolutionary party, and no revolutionary tactics. What we need are *reforms*, nothing more. We

do not need a revolutionary Social-Democratic Party. What we need is a party of democratic and socialist reforms. Indeed, is it not clear that there will *always* be people who admit that the existing state of affairs is unsatisfactory? Of course, always. Is it not also clear that the *largest* number of discontented people will *always* be in favour of the *smallest* rectification of this unsatisfactory situation? Of course, always. Consequently it is our duty, the duty of advanced and 'class-conscious' people, *always* to support the *smallest* demands for the rectification of an evil. This is the surest and most practical policy to pursue; and all talk about 'fundamental' demands, and so forth, is merely the talk of 'utopians,' merely 'revolutionary phrase-mongering'. *We must choose*—and we must always choose between the existing evil and the most moderate of the schemes in vogue for its rectification." And in *State and Revolution*, Lenin points out, "Kautsky's thoughts go no further than a 'government... willing to meet the proletariat half-way'—a step backward to philistinism compared with 1847, when the *Communist Manifesto* proclaimed 'the organisation of the proletariat as the ruling class'."

These merely reformist type opportunist tendencies within bourgeois society, whose model didn't appear very different or coherent, were successful in the relatively "peaceful" period between 1871 and 1914. In 1914, the sharpening of the capitalist crisis led to the first inter-imperialist world war for the redivision of the world. This war, together with the development of the Marxist-Leninist movement, had the virtue of completely unmasking the role of the revisionist leaders of the Second International as servants of the bourgeoisie. In spite of the fact that at the congresses of the Second International held in Copenhagen in 1910 and in Basel in 1912 they had adopted a resolution calling for opposition in Parliament to the war credits demanded by the bourgeoisie in each imperialist country, they voted in favour of the credits in 1914 when their countries entered the war. In this way, the "reformers" of bourgeois society openly exposed themselves as lackeys of *their* bourgeoisie in each country, and the Second International collapsed, totally discredited.

Lenin took this opportunity to reassert the stand which he had always argued for regarding revisionism: it had to be combatted relentlessly and completely broken with organisationally. In 1915, in his work, "The Collapse of the Second International," he maintains, "The building of a revolutionary organisation must be begun—that is demanded by the new historical situation, by the epoch of proletarian revolutionary action—but it can be begun *only over the heads* of the old leaders, the stranglers of revolutionary energy, *over the heads* of the old party, through its *destruction*." Around that time Lenin initiated several different truly internationalist conferences and made efforts both to promote the formation of genuine communist parties and to unite them in opposition to the chauvinism and reformism of the parties of the Second International.

This formation of truly Marxist-Leninist communist parties was given a tremendous boost by the triumph of the October Revolution in Russia and the weakness of the bourgeoisie as a result of the imperialist world war. In March 1919, various communist parties met in Moscow and formed the Third (Communist) International. The communist parties launched an assault on discredited revisionism on all fronts: ideology, politics, trade unions, parliament, etc. In opposition to dead-end reformism, the communist parties, aside from their superior ideology, were able to offer a concrete model of society, the USSR. Reformism beat a retreat on all fronts.

The bourgeoisie, facing the revolutionary assault, the sharpening of the crisis and the decay of its system, and the rise of the liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries—a movement in which the proletariat step-by-step began to play a leading role, linking it to the struggle for socialism—intensified its demagogic offensive in some places, and in others imposed fascism, in order to stop the revolution. On the demagogic front, it even presented as "socialist" certain bourgeois governments which promoted the nationalisation of some unprofitable privately owned

businesses and brought some "socialists" into their cabinets, where, according to Lenin, "they prove to be a useless ornament or a screen for the bourgeois government, a lightning rod to deflect mass indignation, an instrument of that government to deceive the masses." At the same time it redoubled its offensive aimed at corrupting the communist parties, as well as its aggression against the USSR, the first socialist country in the world.

The fascist regimes, in addition to their viciousness against the masses, stirred up chauvinist feelings, taking advantage of the unfavourable position in which they found themselves after World War I, and World War II was unleashed. This war was accompanied by aggression against the USSR by the fascist countries headed by the most reactionary monopolist bourgeoisie, which had ambitions of dominating the world. In order to confront this brutal aggression, the USSR was forced to ally itself with certain rival imperialist powers who opposed (although for different reasons) the fascist Axis. This necessary alliance, like the formation by the International Communist Movement of a United Front in each country even with sections of the bourgeoisie, offered the bourgeoisie an excellent opportunity to successfully intensify its efforts to promote revisionist tendencies in the communist parties. To give just one example: during the war the majority of the communist parties of Latin America fell into conciliatory tendencies with regard to U.S. imperialism, following the anti-Marxist orientation of Secretary-General Browder of the Communist Party of the United States. At the same time, in many cases they allowed bourgeois forces to gain leadership in the anti-fascist United Fronts, casting aside proletarian leadership. Different opportunist tendencies which arose in this period, and not only in Latin America, lasted after the war. In the post-war period, the international bourgeoisie combined cold war repression with efforts to corrupt leaders who'd become used to cushy jobs within bourgeois democracy during the war, or at least to the hope of obtaining this democracy at any price in those countries subjected to fascism. In this way different opportunist tendencies persisted and became stronger after the end of the war.

At the same time, after World War II the international bourgeoisie continued its efforts to undermine the construction of socialism in the USSR and those countries where the proletariat had seized power after the war. Titoism played an important role as pawn of imperialism in its efforts to subvert and corrupt the socialist system from within. For various reasons, which we cannot analyse here, these tendencies developed in the majority of the socialist countries. In the USSR, after the XX Congress of the CPSU, following Stalin's death, Marxism-Leninism was openly discarded and revisionist theses were promoted as the line for the International Communist Movement. With the exception of Albania and China, which rejected this revisionist line initially formulated by Khrushchev, all the other countries, as well as almost all the communist parties of the world, took it up. The overwhelming majority of the leaders of these parties, already corrupted, adhered to the opportunist line and were able to drag the majority of their members behind them. In opposition to this corruption of the old communist parties and this revisionist counter-current, new communist parties arose, although they lacked the mass influence which revisionism retained. In the socialist countries where Khrushchev's line was enforced, and certainly in the USSR itself, a process of capitalist restoration developed.

However, the imperialist countries, which had gleefully counted their successes in corrupting the communist parties and undermining the construction of socialism from within, found themselves trapped in a serious dilemma. In the post-war period, as long as socialist construction lasted in the USSR and in the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe, the economies of these countries developed powerfully, and the USSR became one of the foremost powers in the world. In addition, the prestige won by the USSR in its struggle against fascism during the war was tremendous. Similarly, the communist parties of the world had gained a vast influence over the masses. The repression which was

launched against them in the post-war period in a series of countries could not destroy them, and the attempt to encircle the USSR and use atomic blackmail during the "cold war" failed. Very soon the USSR broke the encirclement of atomic weapons, and it became the first country to launch an artificial satellite, demonstrating its technological advances to the entire world. In this way, when the establishment of revisionism "bore fruit" in the USSR and the communist parties were also dragged towards openly opportunist positions, the USSR and the countries of Eastern Europe dominated by it constituted a formidable bloc rivaling the one under the hegemony of U.S. imperialism. Due to certain features acquired during the period of the construction of socialism, these countries not only enjoyed a pace of growth superior to that of the capitalist countries, but also social-imperialism was not yet as discredited as the U.S. They had, moreover, the support of powerful revisionist parties in a series of capitalist countries. The concessions which the bourgeoisie had to grant them, inasmuch as they acted to hold back the revolution, reinforced their influence even more. On the one hand, they fed on petty-bourgeois forces ideologically inclined towards opportunism, and on the other, they utilised the prestige won by the USSR in its first years, deceiving in this way vast sections of the people.

The strength of the revisionist movement in the post-war period, along with the hegemonic policy of social-imperialism rapidly becoming a superpower, as well as the growing crisis of the capitalist world, were some of the factors which determined certain changes in the role of the revisionists in the present period, as compared to the past. Objectively, as we have pointed out, as far as holding back the revolution and defending the bourgeois state, they continue to be in essence agents of the ruling bourgeoisie in its opposition to the proletariat and the people. However, their role as mere tools of traditional bourgeois rule, which they played in the pre-war period, has been modified considerably. At the present time, the revisionist pro-Soviet leaders don't aspire to be mere agents of the ruling bourgeoisie in exchange for a few crumbs, as they did in Lenin's time, *but rather to transform themselves into the ruling bourgeoisie*. In order to do so, they need to force out certain bourgeois sectors and seize the means of production in the key areas of the economy which are in the hands of those bourgeois sectors. In general, they set out to do so in alliance with other sectors of the bourgeoisie, within the framework of the bourgeois state. To this end, in order to deceive the masses, they present a more coherent political plan than the mere scattered reformism of the past, a model of pseudo-socialist society inspired by the state capitalism of the ex-socialist countries. Not that the revisionists had not previously formulated certain political programs in accordance with their opportunist outlook. But their close dependence on the bourgeoisie at that time, their inability to offer a concrete model of society, and the lack of support from an important centre of power (such as that provided now by social-imperialism), forced them to limit themselves, as Lenin pointed out, to promoting mere band-aids for bourgeois society, ending up at times of crises openly identifying themselves with the policy of the bourgeoisie.

In fact, we may remember that before World War II, the social basis of revisionism was limited to simply the charity bestowed on its leaders by the bourgeois sectors made wealthy by colonial domination. Lenin, in characterising this situation, pointed out the following in his 1915 report, "Conference of the RSDLP Groups Abroad," with regards to the economic base for revisionism: "The collapse of the Second International is the collapse of socialist opportunism. The latter has grown as a product of the preceding 'peaceful' period in the development of the labour movement. That period taught the working class to utilise such important means of struggle as parliamentarianism and all legal opportunities, create mass economic and political organisations, a widespread labour press, etc.; on the other hand, the period engendered a tendency to repudiate the class struggle and to preach a class truce, repudiate the socialist revolution,

repudiate the very principle of illegal organisations, recognise bourgeois patriotism, etc. Certain strata of the working class (the bureaucracy of the labour movement and the labour aristocracy, who get a fraction of the profits from the exploitation of the colonies and from the privileged position of their 'fatherlands' in the world market), as well as petty-bourgeois sympathisers within the socialist parties, have proved the social mainstay of these tendencies, and channels of bourgeois influence over the proletariat." Further, in summing up the rise of opportunism, Lenin said at the Second Congress of the Communist International, "Here we must ask: how is the persistence of such trends in Europe to be explained? Why is this opportunism stronger in Western Europe than in our country? . . . It is because the capitalists of these countries obtain a great deal more in this way than they could obtain as profits by plundering the workers in their own countries.

"Before the war, it was calculated that the three richest countries—Britain, France and Germany—got between eight and ten thousand million francs a year from the export of capital alone, apart from other sources.

"It goes without saying that, out of this tidy sum, at least five hundred millions can be spent as a sop to the labour leaders and the labour aristocracy, i.e., on all sorts of bribes. The whole thing boils down to nothing but bribery. It is done in a thousand different ways: by increasing cultural facilities in the largest centres, by creating educational institutions, and by providing co-operative, trade union and parliamentary leaders with thousands of cushy jobs. This is done wherever present-day civilised capitalist relations exist. It is these thousands of millions in super-profits that form the economic basis of opportunism in the working class movement."

Many of these gifts from the bourgeoisie continue to flow towards present-day revisionism, because in view of the bankruptcy of the previous opportunist current, the bourgeoisie cannot totally do without it. However, pro-Soviet revisionism, due to the strength it has acquired for reasons pointed out earlier and due to its ability to deceive vast sections of the masses, also develops its own resources and counts on, above all, *the many-sided support of Russian social-imperialism*, which, having become a superpower, needs these parties' aid in order to push through its plans for world domination. This last factor, especially, is a totally new one in regard to the propping-up of present-day revisionism. Social-imperialism needs governments which open the door to its domination, forcing out those sectors which the other super-power, U.S. imperialism, relies on. In this sphere, although not exclusively and not without certain contradictions, social-imperialism requires the complicity of the revisionist parties as much as these parties need its complicity to fulfill their new plans.

These new characteristics of the present situation have made the revisionist movements in the capitalist countries bolder in carrying out their plans than in the past, due to their greater force. The revisionist leading circles, especially those in the capitalist countries who aspire to seize power and the economic base from powerful traditional bourgeois sectors, while serving as an obstacle to the proletariat overthrowing the latter, represent in particular those bourgeois sectors with whom they hope to form an alliance in order to carry out their task, on the one hand, and on the other, represent their own independent interests with their hopes of becoming big capitalists through state capitalism, as well as those of the social-imperialists on whom they rely for their plans. Because of the bourgeois interests that they represent and their own bourgeois interests, they may come into conflict (as in fact they already have in certain countries) with the ruling social-imperialist bourgeoisie, on whose support, however, they depend to come to power. Further, frequently some of the contradictions between the revisionists in the capitalist countries and the rulers of the USSR and other countries of Eastern Europe dependent on them, can be explained for tactical reasons, making it difficult to determine exactly to what degree these "differences" are real or simply allowed by the Soviet leaders to

facilitate their own maneuvers. Since the brutally repressive character of the ruling circles of the USSR and pseudo-socialist countries of Europe is well-known and hated by broad sectors in the West, the revisionists (especially those in Europe where this hatred is more obvious) feel forced to condemn it demagogically. And since bourgeois propaganda points to these regimes as "socialist" and as "Marxism in practice," for these as well as other reasons they also feel ever more impelled to renounce Marxism's basic theses. Obviously, the essential reason why they renounced Marxism is rooted in the impossibility of reconciling this revolutionary theory with their reactionary plans to set up a new system of exploitation disguised as socialism. With respect to this last point, it is significant that their "condemnations" of the countries ruled by revisionists always refer to violations of bourgeois-democratic rights and never to the fierce exploitation in those countries which is the purpose of the oppression of the masses. On the other hand, the need of the revisionists in the capitalist world (especially in Europe) to win over certain bourgeois allies in order to eradicate the more powerful ones, as well as their need to adjust their tactics in accordance with their ability to challenge U.S. domination, often moves them to accept forms of imperialist domination (for example NATO and the Common Market) to a certain degree in opposition to the hegemonistic interests of social-imperialism. In other cases, however (as appears to have been the case in Chile before the coup, in Portugal after the overthrow of fascism, and possibly in France during the last presidential elections), social-imperialism itself calls for them to advance with more caution in carrying out its plans and even to retreat, in conformity with their overall world strategic plans and its ability to actually militarily and economically support the displacement of powerful local and U.S. imperialist interests. Therefore, in the evaluation of contemporary revisionism, we must guard against past errors of merely considering them agents of the local bourgeoisie, ignoring their strong ties to social-imperialism and the changes that have taken place with respect to the role they carry out in bourgeois society; as well as the simplistic absurdity of merely considering them agents or "fifth columns" of social-imperialism, since viewing them in this way actually makes it impossible to expose the interests and plans they embody in each country so as to be able to confront them.

The new features of contemporary revisionism (which we call pro-Soviet so as to differentiate it from the ruling revisionism in China, which as we will see has its own particular features)—that it is at the same time a servant of the bourgeoisie and aspires to replace it as the ruling and exploiting class—have determined that today its contradictions with the bourgeois sectors whom it hopes to replace in power and in the control of the key means of production are much more acute than in the past. Earlier, it was simply a matter of struggle for certain reforms (a struggle which was often more fictitious than real), reforms frequently conceded to a considerable degree by the bourgeoisie to facilitate revisionism's role as "castrators of revolutionary energy." However, the revisionists today, making use of their renewed ability to deceive the masses (for the reasons already pointed out) and acting in accord with the hegemonistic appetites of the social-imperialists, push hard to politically and economically replace powerful sectors of the bourgeoisie, as well as the monopolies of the USSR's superpower rival, in the Western countries of the capitalist world. Where the interests of the ruling bourgeoisie and the penetration of U.S. imperialism (and its allies) are relatively weak or unstable, as is the case in Africa, for example, they carry out more direct and aggressive measures to accomplish their aims: coups, military intervention, etc. The weakness of the local revisionists in those African countries means that the external factor, that is, the presence of social-imperialism and the mercenaries at their command, such as those provided by the Cuban government, plays a decisive role. On the other hand, in regions such as, for example, Latin America, where there is a powerful U.S. imperialist presence, united with a powerful local monopoly bourgeoisie (as is the case in Western Europe), the pro-Soviet revisionists pursue

their objectives in an indirect manner (for now). That is, they seek to divide the bourgeoisie and to unite with one sector (especially the sector which poses as reformist and has a strong influence over the masses) in order to eradicate certain monopoly sectors (from power and from the economy) and to meddle in the sectors controlled by U.S. imperialism.

Without taking into account these new features of revisionism today and the sharpening of the contradictions with the bourgeois sector which they hope to replace, it is impossible to understand the events which have taken place in countries like Chile, for example. There the revisionists were able to take over the government through elections, in alliance with other forces integrated into the so-called Popular Unity coalition which they dominated. State power, however, remained in the hands of the monopoly sections of the bourgeoisie, the landlords and U.S. imperialism, which controlled key instruments of the state, such as: the armed forces, Parliament, an important administrative sector, the courts, as well as the principal means of production, publications, etc. Before and during the Popular Unity government, the revisionists tried to incorporate the Christian Democrats (in opposition to some of their allies) into their plan to seize the basic means of production belonging to monopoly sectors of the bourgeoisie, the landlords and the U.S. monopolies in Chile. The leadership of this party, the largest one in the country, with a large influence among the masses, including among the workers and peasants, represents certain bourgeois sectors (principally non-monopoly sectors), as well as the most dynamic monopoly sectors of U.S. imperialism, principally represented by the Democratic Party. Due to the pressure of the imperialists and the political skill of the monopoly and landlord sectors of the bourgeoisie, the revisionists failed in their attempt to reach a "historic compromise" with the Christian Democrats, an alliance insisted upon for quite a few years by the Soviets, and the CD moved closer and closer to the most reactionary forces. For its part, the Popular Unity government, in carrying out the program inspired by the revisionist "C" P and in spite of their bold efforts (in view of the failed alliance with the CD) to negotiate such a program, carried out an advanced set of reforms, nationalising banks, industrial monopolies and imperialist enterprises, and expropriating large sectors of the landed estates. The contradictions between those who wanted to expand state capitalism, and the Chilean and U.S. monopolies and the landlords, became extremely sharp. The central policy of the revisionists was to block any revolutionary response by the masses to the reactionary offensive aimed at overthrowing the Allende government, and at the same time to try desperately to reach a compromise with the CD. Finally the Allende government was overthrown by a bloody military coup and a vicious fascist repression was unleashed on the masses of people and members of the traditional and revolutionary left organisations. As demonstrated by what has happened in all Latin America and not only in our country, the bourgeoisie must resort to fascism with ever more frequency in order to confront the struggle of the masses who escape from the revisionists' control, as well as to confront the plans of the revisionists to make use of bourgeois legality to displace them from power and deprive them of the means of production. Bourgeois democracy, utilised today by revisionism for its own plans and not only for demagoguery in the service of the bourgeoisie, becomes ever more unstable, transitory and conditional.

This contradiction (in the context of the struggle between the two superpowers) makes revisionist demagoguery among the masses easier. In fact, many sectors of the masses are led to believe that the state capitalism offered as a political perspective by the revisionists is in fact true socialism. At the same time, the tenacious and aggressive resistance with which the affected sectors, generally the most reactionary and most hated by the masses, oppose the plans for reforms (especially when there is a real possibility of carrying them out), strengthens the deception and tends to give prestige to revisionism, which of course jealously hides its intentions of replacing the old exploiters and opening the door for do-

mination or interference by the social-imperialists instead of or alongside the other superpower. This confusion created among the masses by the sharp struggle between the U.S. imperialists and the most reactionary forces in Chile on the one hand, and the revisionists and their allies in government on the other, contributed to a large degree in our country to maintaining illusions about these forces among the masses and preventing the masses from going over to a truly revolutionary alternative.

At the same time, the promotion of their plan for state capitalism masked as socialism (pointing, to different degrees, depending on public opinion's reservations about what is really going on in those countries, to the pseudo-socialist states as proof of its practicality) provides the revisionists with the opportunity to carry out more active demagoguery than in the past, when they almost exclusively played the role of servants of the ruling bourgeois interests, promoting some reforms only to maintain their prestige among the masses. In the past, when revisionism's dependency on the ruling bourgeoisie was much greater and their contradictions more restricted than at present, such reforms were by necessity fundamentally limited to the necessities and interests of the bourgeoisie, and were in no way in serious contradiction with it. At present, for the reasons already given, these contradictions—which at certain points become antagonistic, although they occur within the framework of inter-bourgeois contradictions and are not for the benefit of the people but rather for the benefit of the revisionists, of certain bourgeois sectors and of social-imperialism—take on a more acute form and provide the revisionists a much broader field for demagogic maneuvering among the masses. □

Moreover, revisionism today, given the influence and demagogic power that it has obtained and the substantial support of one of the superpowers (and the countries dependent on it), and given its aim to press for the realisation of its political objectives within the framework of bourgeois society, works in many places with all the powerful means of a bourgeois party: propaganda on a vast scale costing millions, thousands of officials, offices and meeting halls, etc. This allows them to reinforce their demagoguery even more. To carry out this demagoguery and their struggle against revolutionary ideas, they employ the most powerful means provided by modern technology to influence public opinion: the press, radio, TV, polls, etc. Further, they actively take advantage of all these means to recruit indiscriminately, based on careerism, economism and deception, and leaving out, obviously, any revolutionary ideology.

Finally, contemporary revisionism's reactionary objective of replacing the present system of exploitation with one in which they could play a dominant political and economic role has helped reinforce their opposition to the revolutionary principles of Marxism, as well as their even more open support for the laws and institutions that serve as the foundations of bourgeois society. Now they not only oppose revolution and defend the pillars of bourgeois society as second-rate lackeys of the bourgeoisie, but also due to their own reactionary plans. They must take advantage of their demagogic influence among the masses, their alliances with certain sectors of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, as well as the support of social-imperialism, in order to displace powerful bourgeois and U.S.-controlled interests. Nevertheless—first and foremost—they must keep the people from fighting to destroy the bourgeois state and from making revolution under the leadership of the proletariat and its vanguard party.

This constitutes a much more serious threat to their aims of imposing on the people a new system of exploitation and oppression with a socialist mask than the fascism promoted in defense of their own interests by the bourgeois sectors who are threatened by revisionism's state capitalism and terrified that the masses may take advantage of that contradiction to rise up in their own independent interests. This was particularly evident in Chile during the reactionary offensive aimed at kicking the Popular Unity out of the government. Here the revisionists gambled everything (as

they did in France in 1968, and in many other places) in order to prevent any revolutionary mobilisation of the masses, not hesitating to repress them and the revolutionary forces which led their struggles, at every opportunity. In the face of the ultra-reactionary offensive against the Allende government, all they did was try to divide the bourgeoisie, to conciliate with the most aggressive section and U.S. imperialism and try to win over a section of the armed forces, while stubbornly opposing any mass mobilisation. They even facilitated both the disarming of the few political forces which had any arms and the brutal intimidation of the masses, providing the armed forces with a law which authorised drastic raids in factories and working class communities, and the punishment of those who possessed arms, a law approved unanimously by the opposition and government parties in Parliament, a law which in fact served the military's practical preparations for the coup. Finally, after a prolonged campaign of praise and promotions for the putschist chiefs of the armed forces to buy them off, and failing in this way to stop the coup, on the day the coup was unleashed the revisionists made public calls on radio and TV through one of their top leaders in the Central Unica de Trabajadores (National Trade Union Confederation) to not resist the coup and to submit to the new fascist authorities. After the coup, following the same political line, the revisionists have opposed any resistance which might overthrow the fascist junta and sought support among the military, the Christian Democrats and even U.S. imperialism, on the basis of pledging to prevent any manifestation of mass indignation against the crimes committed by the dictatorship, calling for nothing more than the replacement of the dictatorship by "less fascist" military chiefs who little by little are to open the way for a return to the reactionary civilian governments of the past, with the repressive forces intact "behind the throne."

All the intensification of the anti-Marxist harangues of the revisionists today, their public abandoning of Marxist theses which in the past they at least pretended to accept, derives from their necessity (no longer only in support of the traditional bourgeoisie, but also of their own objective of becoming a bureaucratic bourgeoisie) to oppose the revolution by every means. Obviously the wanton demagoguery they must carry out to further their objectives; the sharpening of the class struggle which gives rise to their conflict with certain sectors of the bourgeoisie and imperialists (against whom the people also struggle but for other reasons); the rise of genuine Marxist-Leninist parties in opposition to revisionism; the interference of the superpowers in this conflict; all of this along with the general crisis of the capitalist system imperils their plans and the capitalist system itself. The danger they face is that the masses will escape from their control, and, under revolutionary leadership, bury capitalism along with their dreams of becoming exploiters. This is why they are forced to open the way for their plans by uprooting all revolutionary influence and by vigorously defending the basic laws and institutions of the bourgeois state which hold back the revolutionary mass struggle, while they maneuver to seize a position as the dominant exploiters. In this way, the bourgeoisie, which certainly is not about to accept being cooked in its own sauce, its own laws and institutions, finds itself obligated to renounce them, promoting an increasing fascistisation of the state or the open establishment of fascism.

The essence of this revisionist policy of—first and foremost—holding back the revolution is expressed in their defense of the anti-Marxist thesis of a "peaceful road to socialism." The bottom line of this opportunist thesis is that the people are forbidden to make revolution and destroy the bourgeois state apparatus that the revisionists seek to seize peacefully from within. The whole hypocrisy of the revisionist formulation of the "peaceful road to power" and the clear proof that it is only meant to hold back the masses of people, is obvious from the fact that the ruling revisionist circles do not tremble at the prospect of resorting to armed violence when it is necessary for their objectives, so long as it does not mean arming the masses. Thus, they

did not hesitate to intervene with their troops in Czechoslovakia; to use Cuban and other kinds of mercenaries in Africa; to foment coups where they were able to bribe a section of the reactionary armed forces; to foment local wars, etc. In the name of the "peaceful road to power," they not only preach a dead-end road for the people, as they did in Chile, but further, they *actively* oppose and suppress those who refuse to follow this road, even at the expense of opening the door for fascism and along with that, the repression of their allies and their own members. If during the rise of revisionism there were honest opportunists, who genuinely believed in reaching socialism through the legal apparatus of bourgeois society and through reforms, if even now this naive species could exist in sectors influenced by the petty-bourgeois mentality and even among the rank and file influenced by revisionist leadership, the leadership does not adopt these opportunist positions due to errors in their understanding of Marxism, but rather as a fully conscious strategy in line with their reactionary aims. Therefore, those who consider the revisionist point of view on this subject mere "errors" in their comprehension of Marxism and seek to convince them of their "mistake," are wasting time and doomed to failure. This strategy is entirely in agreement with their reactionary aims and is only designed to prevent the masses from taking up arms. When they have their own revisionist armed forces to make use of, mercenaries or bourgeois armed forces put at their disposal for their own aims, they immediately do away with the "peaceful road" and they do it without any hesitation.

The efforts by the revisionists to utilise their ability to deceive the masses, to use them as an electoral contingent or pressure group to advance their reactionary plans, at the same time preventing them from escaping their control and taking a revolutionary road, have intensified the bureaucratic deformations which have always been a characteristic of their leadership of the masses. More than ever, they tend to put all power of decision in the hands of revisionist bureaucrats and hold back any initiative (especially any initiative of struggle) on the part of the masses of people, smothering any real expression of democracy within the mass organisations. In Chile, where they promoted the formation of thousands of mass committees on the eve of the elections which gave the Presidency of the Republic to Allende, these committees were used purely for electoral purposes and dissolved once the Allende government was elected. They even systematically opposed all Allende's proposals to carry out national plebiscites, when his government was the most popular, to win approval of the points in his program sabotaged by the opposition which had the majority in Parliament. This would have contributed to "inciting" the masses and interfered with their plans to reach an agreement with the Christian Democrats.

This bureaucratic tendency is also manifested within the revisionist parties themselves, where they have suppressed all internal democracy, all rights to thoroughly debate ideological and political questions, and the membership is manipulated by a corps of bureaucrats on the payroll of the revisionist leaders who impose their decisions. The objective of this policy is not only to keep the masses or the members from breaking with the revisionist leadership, but also to create the appropriate conditions for their future society, in which a group of bureaucrats who control state power and the production in the hands of the state impose their dictatorship over the masses, brutally suppressing every attempt to rebel.

In the labour movement and the mass movement in general, today the revisionists continue to promote spontaneous economic tendencies and call for certain reforms from the bourgeoisie, so as to preserve their influence over the masses. However, they concentrate more of their efforts than in the past on electoral mobilisations, and frequently they put off the demands of the masses (especially in pre-electoral periods), turning these demands into demagogic promises for when their candidates are elected.

Having analysed these characteristics—which basically corres-

pond to pro-Soviet revisionism, in which there is a unity between the expansionist aspirations of the social-imperialists and the present reactionary plans of the anti-Marxist current which has taken over the old communist parties—the revisionist line promoted by the Chinese leaders, with sinister chauvinist and hegemonistic intentions, proves to be much more clumsy and naive. They haven't renounced the principal theses of Marxism part by part (like the pro-Soviet revisionists); instead, they have invented a "theory" (the infamous "theory" of the "three worlds") in complete opposition to Marxism. Another difference is that they don't even promote plans for a false socialism as the other revisionists do in the capitalist and dependent countries. Lacking any "serious" pseudo-Marxist political basis of support in the capitalist and dependent countries, since all they have at their disposal is isolated sects, they look to unite with any reactionary forces: the fascist military, petty kings, monopoly circles and even U.S. imperialism, with the aim of expanding their sphere of influence and interests and becoming a superpower. In order to obtain this influence, they sacrifice not only the Chinese people, who have to pay for the economic aid their rulers give the most reactionary forces, they also negotiate an alliance with these reactionary forces in exchange for pledges to stop the liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples and to stop revolution in the capitalist countries. Having come late to the division of the spheres of influence in the world controlled by powerful monopolist interests and in particular the two superpowers, they have not hesitated to openly ally themselves with U.S. imperialism and the monopoly groups linked to it in the hope of finding a "place in the sun" of imperialist hegemony, on the basis of replacing the social-imperialist superpower. To further these expansionist plans, linked to their aim of speedy capitalist restoration in China, the Chinese revisionists have bribed small groups of pseudo-Marxists, who, in open opposition to their own people, simply play the dismal role of mouthpieces for the hegemonistic international line of the Chinese leaders. Their points of view are so anti-Marxist that one wonders if it is even legitimate to call them revisionists simply because they continue to invoke the name of Marxism.

We feel that it is of great importance for the development of the Marxist-Leninist movement to discuss the characteristics that the revisionist movement has assumed in the present period. With a clear understanding of the enemy, its plans and methods of action as well as its demagogic arguments, our struggle against them will be more powerful. One of the obstacles to a vast development of the Marxist-Leninist parties and their influence over the masses is the demagogic force and the international support of the pseudo-socialism on which contemporary pro-Soviet revisionism relies.

To take on our revolutionary tasks, we must first of all strengthen our ideological struggle in defense of Marxism-Leninism, which is not only abandoned more and more openly by the revisionists, but is also criticised with redoubled force by the traditional bourgeoisie which presents what goes on in the pseudo-socialist countries as the "application of Marxism" and not as it really is: a betrayal of Marxism.

In opposition to the revisionist parties now completely transformed into bourgeois social-democratic parties, we must vigorously build parties with a solid revolutionary ideology and spirit, capable of integrating Marxism-Leninism with the objective concrete conditions of the class struggle in their countries and the world. We must forge combat parties, disciplined and fit for legal and illegal struggle, fully conscious of their central task of leading the proletariat and through it the broad masses of people to their liberation, and likewise, parties deeply rooted in the masses. Parties that are clearly different than the revisionist parties which recruit indiscriminately on the basis of unprincipled careerism and manipulate and deceive the masses in the same way as the bourgeois parties do.

We must be capable of unmasking both the role of the revisionists as servants of the bourgeoisie and the reactionary

character of their false plans for socialism. Capable of showing that the degeneration of the societies where the revisionists have usurped power is not due to the failure of Marxism-Leninism, but on the contrary, to the betrayal of Marxism-Leninism by the revisionists, refuting them as well as the traditional reactionaries who present this as socialism.

With respect to the struggle to prevent capitalist restoration in a socialist state, Mao Tsetung's contributions on the continuation of the class struggle under socialism are of great importance. Summing up what had occurred in the USSR and other countries which became revisionist, Mao determined, for the first time, that the principal danger of capitalist restoration did not lie in the old expropriated bourgeoisie, nor in the massive engendering of bourgeoisie through the (uncontrolled) development of small production, but rather, that a new bourgeoisie was engendered on the basis of state property, setting up its headquarters within the socialist state and the communist party itself. This bourgeoisie is characterised by the promotion of a revisionist line within the state and the economy, taking advantage of its position of leadership within the party, which leads to abandoning the dictatorship of the proletariat and the step-by-step (and at certain points violent) restoration of a bourgeois dictatorship and capitalist exploitation in the form of state capitalism. Further, he pointed out that the leftovers of bourgeois right under socialism—the division of labor, wage differences, privileges of the leaders, as well as the existence of a commodity system, the differences between the cities and the countryside and between mental and manual labor, and other leftovers of the old system which must be rooted out step-by-step but firmly by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat—make up the basis for the formation of a new bourgeoisie. Further, Mao Tsetung demonstrated a universally applicable method for combatting the new bourgeoisie: the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, that is, a broad mobilisation of the masses under the leadership of the proletarian sector within the party, to overthrow the bourgeoisie from those sectors of power that they have usurped, and the active participation of the masses in all aspects of society: the state, cultural, military, the party, etc., so that they can recognise their enemies and struggle against them in all spheres, thus liberating themselves.

We must be capable of showing the masses the particular features of a real socialist society in opposition to state capitalism dressed in socialist garb, and of the real dictatorship of the proletariat in opposition to the fascist dictatorships exercised by the revisionists. In particular, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is exercised over a minority of exploiters, guaranteeing a broad democracy for the people, a democracy which is not only formal, but one in which the masses progressively take into their own hands the affairs of state and have at their disposal vast democratic rights not only on paper, as is the case in certain bourgeois societies, but with the means to put it into practice.

We must show that under true socialism, the leading party draws its force not from some bureaucratic control of the state organs, nor from imposing repression on the people, as under revisionism, but rather from its ability, recognised among the proletariat and masses, to lead them effectively in their own interests and educate them to take these interests into their own hands. As Lenin put it, "The vanguard of the proletariat, the Communist Party, leads the masses of non-party workers it instructs, prepares and educates the masses (the 'school' of communism), first the workers and then the peasants, so that they can take and hold in their hands the whole of the administration of the national economy." And elsewhere he says, "What is important to us is to be able to enroll all the workers in the running of the state. This is an extremely difficult task. But socialism cannot be established by a minority, by the party. It can only be established by tens of millions of people when they have learned for themselves how to carry out this task." In other words, a socialist society where there is active struggle against the bureaucratic tendencies left over from the old society or arisen within socialism itself, sources of the resurgence of revisionism.

We must put forward a socialist society in which the vanguard party not only leads and educates the masses, but also learns from them, systematising their experiences from a Marxist point of view, as Lenin puts it: "Collective experience, the experience of millions can alone give us decisive guidance in this respect, precisely because, for our task, for the task of building socialism, the experience of the hundreds and hundreds of thousands of those upper sections which have made history up to now in feudal society and in capitalist society is insufficient. We cannot proceed in this way precisely because we rely on joint experience, on the experience of millions of working people." Likewise we must put forward a socialism in which the vanguard party does not pretend to "strengthen itself" by turning into the "private property" of the party the knowledge and other conditions which make it the vanguard, but instead progressively raises the masses to the level of the vanguard, to identify with it, in such a way that along with firmly applying repression against internal and external enemies through the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the aim of abolishing class society and bourgeois right it also progressively creates the conditions so that in the future classless communist society, the state will wither away, as put forward by the founders of Marxism, making even the existence of the vanguard

party itself unnecessary.

Lenin points out: "We set ourselves the ultimate aim of abolishing the state, i.e., all organised and systematic violence, all use of violence against man in general. We do not expect the advent of an order of society in which the principle of the subordination of the minority to the majority will not be observed. But in striving for Socialism we are convinced that it will develop into Communism and, hence, that the need for violence against people in general, for the *subordination* of one man to another, and of one section of the population to another, will vanish altogether since people will *become accustomed* to observing the elementary conditions of social life *without violence* and *without subordination*."

Today more than ever, in order to confront the complicated present situation, we must raise very high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, and in opposition to all the bourgeois and revisionist distortions, show the bright features of socialist and communist society as they were put forward by the founders of scientific socialism. We have complete confidence that the revisionists of all stripes will be defeated and that their vile influence will be eradicated from the ranks of the proletariat and masses of people, by us, the Marxist-Leninists, an essential condition for leading the exploited to their complete liberation.

The Objective Situation and the Struggle Between Two Roads in the International Communist Movement:

Some remarks on the history of world proletarian revolution and the tasks which the present situation sets us

—Pour l'Internationale Proletarienne [For the Proletarian International], France

INTRODUCTION

The present political reality faces us with a burning question: how to rebuild the International Communist Movement?

The importance of this question lies in two basic facts. First, the International Communist Movement is riven by the most profound crisis of its history, and the origins of this crisis go back beyond the coup d'etat in China.

Second, the crisis of the imperialist system opens up a period of war and of revolution, for which the proletariat must have a correct ideological, political, and organisational line in order to be able to transform the crisis of imperialism and the inter-imperialist war into revolutionary war and proletarian revolution.

Thus, we find ourselves in a period which presents certain similarities with the situation which the Bolshevik party faced before the First World War. Synthesising this experience, Stalin said: "Meanwhile, a new period of imperialist wars and of revolutionary battles of the proletariat was approaching. The old methods of fighting were proving obviously inadequate and impotent in face of the omnipotence of finance capital. . . . It became necessary to overhaul the entire activity of the Second International, its entire method of work. . . . It became necessary to examine the entire arsenal of the Second International, to throw out all that was rusty and antiquated, to forge new weapons. Without this preliminary work, it was useless embarking on war against capitalism. Without this work, the proletariat ran the risk of finding itself inadequately armed, or even completely unarmed, in the future revolutionary battles." (Joseph Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*).

We cannot replace concrete analysis with the imitation of a past attitude. There are important differences both in the objective situation and in the form and development of opportunism. Nonetheless, we should pay full attention to the attitude adopted by the Bolsheviks.

In fact, the problems which are at the heart of the crisis and of the rebuilding of the International Communist Movement crystallise around two questions:

—What situation is the proletariat facing? Where is the crisis of imperialism leading: to inter-imperialist war? to revolutionary civil war? to world revolution? In other words, what are the conditions of the class struggle and of the historical movement which is concretely taking place before our eyes?

—What ideological and political weapons does the proletariat have at its disposal in order to be able to face this situation? What parts of past experience must be developed, what transcended, what rejected? What was incorrect or on the other hand, what has a universal value? What new questions must be resolved in order

to go forward? A correct answer to these two questions is the essential condition for the effective reconstruction of the International Communist Movement.

Here and now, the struggle between Marxism and opportunism has begun to develop around these two points. This is manifested through the struggle over Mao Tsetung Thought and the Chinese revolution. It has also been manifested around the positions taken on the international situation, notably in respect to the three worlds theory. However, this struggle has not yet grown to its full extent.

In this context, the signing of a joint communique by thirteen organisations and parties represents a qualitative step forward. For four years, an intense ideological struggle has been waged by a sacred union of the reactionary bourgeoisie, the humanists and the false Marxists of the left or the right. However, this was not able to impede the development of a revolutionary counter-current. The signing of the joint communique as well as its implications (in particular this journal) are the concrete act by which our current manifests itself, and a first step in creating conditions favourable to the resolution of the essential questions.

Although the communique takes into account the two essential questions mentioned above, it does not provide a solution to them. However, it is a preliminary basis on which to engage in struggle for the rebuilding of the International Communist Movement.

It is from this point of view that we have chosen our article for this international journal. The first version has already been published in our journal "Etude et Critique". The second, below, has been revised and ends with a new conclusion.

A—SOME REMARKS ON THE PARIS COMMUNE

Proletarian revolution began in 1871 with the Paris Commune. (Marx and Engels, and later Lenin, emphasised the fact that the Paris Commune was the first proletarian revolution and the first attempt at the dictatorship of the proletariat. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the Chinese people, and in particular the proletariat of Shanghai, restored this first revolutionary experiment to its position of honour.)

The value of the Paris Commune results from the greatness of its aims and from the spontaneous forms of power that were set up.

This revolution showed in practice that an important revolutionary class existed, which had at its disposal what Marx called "revolutionary spontaneity". It showed that the proletariat was much more than the wretched class which the utopians thought they could help by means of their doctrines.

When Marx said of the communards that they were attacking the very heavens, this should not be seen as just a poetic image.

The commune was the first experience of the destruction of the bourgeois state by the proletariat. The bourgeois state was replaced by what Lenin called a semi-state, i.e. a State apparatus which emanated from the majority, in the service of and controlled by the majority.

Through this experience, a great aim took shape: communism, the radical destruction of capitalist relations of production. The aim of proletarian revolution is to achieve a society based on conscious co-operation between men; a society where the domination of a minority class, owners of the means of production, has disappeared, where the division of labour, counterpart of the private ownership of the means of production, has disappeared.

Speaking of proletarian revolution, Marx said that it would be the end of natural society, the end of prehistory.

In fact, it is only with the proletarian revolution that men begin to become masters of their own historical destiny, while up till then society has developed independently of men's will. And the key to this transformation is the correct consciousness of which the proletariat is the bearer, and which has as its condition the material base of capitalism.

The communards themselves were not able fully to express this aim, for only a theoretical understanding enables such an aim to be clearly defined. However, the objective situation which made proletarian revolution come to a head also created the conditions for the birth of this theoretical understanding.

Also, the first proletarian revolution coincided with the appearance of Marxism. This unity between the objective (the real revolutionary movement) and the subjective (the birth and development of proletarian theory), would continue throughout the course of revolutionary history.

Each qualitative step in this history was preceded by a qualitative leap in the theoretical domain. This was the case with the October Revolution and Leninism, and with the two Chinese Revolutions and Mao Tsetung Thought. These qualitative steps in the actual movement created the conditions for the corresponding theoretical leaps.

It would have been mistaken to believe that following the Commune or even in a few years thereafter, the proletariat would be able to achieve communism or to establish a base which would create an irreversible situation. The belief that the proletarian revolution can bring about decisive and irreversible victories in a few decades stems either from a naive and idealistic conception of history, or from a very narrow conception of the aims of the proletarian revolution, as being confined to the legal forms of ownership. Besides, the Paris Commune itself provides an illustration of the necessarily limited nature of the first revolution. In fact, while this revolution attacked the heavens and laid down the practical foundations for the proletarian revolution and for the radical transformation of the world which results from it, it had its limitations. We shall emphasise two of these limitations which are fundamental.

—The first lies in the origin of the Commune. The Parisian workers initially mobilised around aims of national defence, and it was in the course of the struggle for the defence of Paris that, progressively, proletarian aspirations grew and the defence of Paris was transformed into proletarian revolution.

—The second limitation lay in the objective class situation. The Commune was very rapidly encircled by peasant and bourgeois forces united. Also, the communes which grew up in other towns under the influence of the Parisian revolution had nothing like the same influence as in the capital. So the conditions were not united for a proletarian revolution to be able to develop in a durable way.

B—THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Forty-seven years later, the objective situation was profoundly changed. The appearance of the world imperialist system had created the objective conditions which were indispensable for world proletarian revolution.

—The first characteristic of the October Revolution was that it

was the practical demonstration of the proletariat's ability to create a vanguard political organisation to prepare for revolution. It was also the demonstration of the proletariat's ability to build up a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Of course, this is relative. The Russian Revolution had its weak points and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat had great imperfections. Finally, the policy which was used to keep the revolution in power has been the object of numerous criticisms which cannot just be rejected out of hand. But in the necessary critical analysis, we must not forget an aspect which is fundamental from the point of view of historical materialism. Proletarian power in Russia was the first experience in the defence and building of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and it took place under very difficult objective conditions (isolation, civil war, weakness of the proletariat, etc. . . .). Despite the inherent limitations of the objective situation, the practical demonstration remains.

The Commune had demonstrated the existence of a revolutionary class, but this class had not been able to hold on to power and consolidate it over a relatively long period.

The October Revolution practically demonstrated the opportunity and the road to be taken in order to create a political line and a vanguard organisation so as to prepare for revolution by continuous work, and to defend that revolution.

—The second characteristic of the October Revolution relates to its international nature. The fact that revolution broke out in Russia was due to the place occupied by Russian society and the Russian State within the totality of the world imperialist system; it was not a strictly national phenomenon.

Russia was the weak link of the imperialist chain. It was the country where all the contradictions of the world imperialist system of that time were most strongly concentrated.

This is the first aspect of the international character of this revolution.

This relates to the *causes* of the revolution, but the international character would also be shown by the extent of the wave of revolution.

After October 1917, other European countries would be affected: Germany, Hungary, and to a lesser extent Italy. Asia, and China in particular, would also be affected by this revolutionary shockwave. So the revolutionary movement was essentially an international movement.

This fact was well understood by the Bolsheviks, who wanted to make the Russian Revolution the starting-point for world revolution. They considered that the victory of the revolution in one or two other European countries would be essential for the future. But the revolutionary wave did not maintain its momentum long enough to achieve such a triumph.

Once this tide had receded, how do we sum up the situation? We are faced with the following situation:

On the one hand, the proletariat succeeded in establishing its power in an immense country and it maintained a State of the dictatorship of the proletariat despite the armed aggression and the blockade to which Soviet Russia was subjected. Moreover, the victory of the revolution went far beyond the context of Russia because the proletariat built a world vanguard organisation in the Communist International. This second achievement was extremely important because it would allow communist forces to grow throughout the whole world, and so cause a great qualitative leap forward by the world proletariat.

But on the other hand, opposed to the achievements, are the limitations of the victory of the proletariat. The international bourgeoisie was certainly defeated in Russia, but on the world scale it managed to maintain a balance of power which was favourable to counter-revolution. In particular, it succeeded in preserving intact the heart of the imperialist system: the citadels. The Russian proletariat also came up against its own limitations. Though the country which it led was vast, it was also economically backward and drained by the imperialist war.

The vanguard class was quantitatively weak and bled dry by the civil war. These limitations were very great, given the enormi-

ty of the tasks facing Soviet Russia, and they were to weigh heavily on the development of this proletarian revolution.

Finally, the Communist International came up against its own limitations, in particular in Germany and China. The lead had been taken in building the world proletarian vanguard, but in order for this effectively and correctly to carry out its role, a very large number of questions still had to be resolved.

And to this day, these questions have not been resolved.

C—THE BALANCE OF POWER BETWEEN REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION

The limitations which the Russian Revolution met with were the same as those which were to be met by the proletarian revolution as a whole, including in China. If we look at the period from the First World War, to the beginning of the 60s, we can establish the following facts:

a—Although we had entered the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution, *the balance of power between revolution and counter-revolution was unfavorable to the proletariat.*

This stems from two basic reasons: firstly, as has already been said, imperialism was able to keep intact a vital part of its system (the citadels). Secondly, it was able to confront its enemies on several fronts at once. So it always had at its disposal a stable rearguard, either by relying on colonial domination between the two world wars (with the exception of a few countries like China), or by relying on the citadels when national liberation struggles broke out after the Second World War.

This balance of power had obviously evolved under the thrusts of the October Revolution, the revolutionary movements linked to the Second World War, and national liberation struggles, each new wave of revolutionary struggles reducing the advantage held by world reaction. But it had not undergone a qualitative transformation and, globally, the principal tendency remained that of reaction.

b—We note that proletarian revolution *develops in waves.* The surging of these waves corresponds to the periods when imperialism is weakened.

We have seen two main waves: that of October 1917, which has been discussed above, and that which developed after the Second World War.

Proletarian revolution grows when imperialism is undergoing profound crises which lead it into imperialist world war. In these periods the imperialist system is brutally shaken; the crisis seizes up the ideological, political, and economic works of the mode of domination and reduces its effectiveness. This temporarily creates a balance of power which is much more favourable to revolution.

For imperialism, and for each imperialist power taken separately, the aim then is to get out of the crisis, through generalised war, while preserving its bases in order to reestablish a balance of power which is favourable to imperialism, i.e. preserving the essentials of the imperialist system. This is what imperialism succeeded in doing in 1918 despite the jolts which shook it right up to the beginning of the 1920s; this is also what happened at the outcome of the Second World War.

The long development of the Chinese Revolution from 1919 to 1949 only seems to contradict this reality. In fact, leaving aside the fluctuations in the Chinese Revolution, inter-imperialist war never ceased in China throughout this period; the struggles between warlords were precisely the specific internal forms of this war. The Japanese invasion did no more than to anticipate the Pacific conflict of the Second World War.

c—The third characteristic of the balance of power between revolution and counter-revolution is the problem of *weak links.* The imperialist system consists essentially of two parts: the imperialist citadels and the dominated countries. Of course, there is a whole series of intermediate cases: secondary imperialist powers, or dominated countries with an industry, or which have territorial ambitions over weaker countries, etc; these intermediate cases develop with imperialism. But mainly, the imperialist system consists of these two parts, of two poles.

A very special importance is accorded to the citadels, which are the very heart of imperialism. That is to say that a maximum of wealth is concentrated there, and social and political stability have developed there thanks to the superexploitation which the dominated countries are subjected to.

As a counterpart of this, the dominated countries are subjected to very severe oppression and exploitation.

So in some ways the conditions are riper for revolution in these regions of the world because mass revolt is continually simmering, because imperialist domination is much less subtle, much more brutal, and therefore much weaker than in the citadels. But the possibility of victory on the periphery of the imperialist system comes up against the inherent weaknesses of these countries: the remnants of pre-capitalist relations, a small proletariat, weak economic development, etc. . . These victories on the periphery restrict the proletariat to building socialism in one country with a double handicap: firstly, an internal handicap, linked to the weakness of the proletariat and pre-capitalist or neo-colonial remnants, secondly an external handicap: a revolutionary country is subjected to the economic, political, ideological and military pressure of the whole imperialist system.

If we consider the experience of the Russian and Chinese Revolutions, we note that these two countries were in fact on the periphery of the imperialist system and occupied a pivotal position which made them particularly vulnerable. Russia was pivotal between Europe and Asia, between militarist feudal reaction and imperialist capitalism. China was pivotal to inter-imperialist contradictions, because it was the last part of the world to be shared between all the imperialists.

It was this situation, linked to the vast size of the territory (human resources and the opportunity for manoeuvre on the military front), which permitted the victory of socialism in these countries.

So, for nearly 60 years, the general context of proletarian revolution was marked by an unfavourable balance of power. Only conditions peculiar to certain times or places allowed geographically limited victories.

But during this long period, the world proletariat acquired a wealth of experience which would allow it correctly to resolve the problems posed by revolution when the balance of power swings in its favour.

D—THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND REVISIONISM

Taking into account these characteristics and the balance of power between revolution and counter-revolution on the world scale, the victory of revisionism does not seem out of the ordinary: if you look at objective reality from a materialist point of view, it can even be said that the victory of revisionism after the Second World War was logical.

What happened after the seizure of power by the proletariat in the USSR?

—*Internally*, the victory of the 1917 revolution did not abolish capitalist relations of production. Of course, private ownership of the means of production was abolished, but two other aspects of bourgeois relations of production remained intact: the division of labour and the relations of distribution. Because of this, the essentials of bourgeois relations of production were maintained. It was on this basis that a new bourgeoisie developed, which, far from being defeated, wore the label of communist.

—*Externally*, the encirclement of revolution by imperialism had an influence on the socialist countries. This influence was not only economic, but also ideological and political. In these three aspects there was a corruption of the revolution which was made manifest through international affairs. The example of the policy of the Allies towards the USSR during the Second World War is particularly significant, and a similar tactic is found in the policy of the western countries towards China from 1976 onwards.

The failure of the Chinese Revolution also has its fundamental source in the isolation of the revolution. But this phenomenon

did not happen in an identical way.

Many people say: "The result is the same in China and the USSR because capitalism has been restored in both countries." This is an ahistorical view of things which fails to take into account the fact that the development of the situation in China was based on a summing-up of the Soviet experience, and that the basic difference lies in the fact that the capitalist road was struggled against in China. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was a revolution whose aim was precisely to defeat the new bourgeoisie which inevitably appears under socialism.

—This revolution aimed to seize power from the bourgeoisie in the sectors in which it dominates, to extend and make more thorough-going the power of the proletariat in all domains and particularly in the superstructure. In fact, even under the dictatorship of the proletariat, because of the division of labour, a part of the old bourgeoisie remains intact in teaching and in the arts and sciences, and a new bourgeoisie is constantly forming in the State administration and in the Party.

—This revolution also developed the ideological and political consciousness of the proletariat through struggle against bourgeois relations of production and attempting progressively to reduce the objective bases of these relations such as bourgeois right and the division of labour.

In this way, the Cultural Revolution showed the reality of the struggle for communism. This revolution showed that class consciousness is the key factor in strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and struggling against bourgeois relations of production, particularly the division of labour.

It showed in practice the ability of the proletariat to struggle against the new bourgeoisie even when it is hiding under the banner of Marxism, to struggle against bourgeois ideology, against bourgeois right, against the division of labour, especially that between mental and manual labour.

So the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution provided the practical proof of the proletariat's ability radically to transform the world, a transformation which goes far beyond the taking of central power, of State power.

What remains for the world proletariat today?

All the objective results of decades of revolutionary struggle have been destroyed, there is no socialist State left, not any sizeable military strength. As for the vanguard forces, they are sparse indeed.

But through all these failures, the world proletariat has acquired indispensable political, military, and ideological experience.

In fact, taking into account the enormity of the revolutionary tasks, the balance of power between revolution and counter-revolution, and the limitations of the victories of revolution, it would have been impossible for the world proletariat to triumph irreversibly in just a few years.

The historical task of the proletariat is to make the most profound revolution that humanity has ever known.

Now in order to transform the world, this class must transform itself, for the proletariat is also a product of bourgeois society, and carries within itself remnants of this society which act as limitations to its revolutionary ability.

Through the Paris Commune, the October Revolution, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the totality of these different revolutionary experiences, the proletariat has blazed a revolutionary trail, tested its own limitations, criticised its own errors. It has thus begun to transform itself through all these attempts to transform the world. In parallel with this, throughout the period when the balance of power was globally unfavourable to revolution, the proletariat has been able to profit from all the weaknesses of the bourgeoisie, all the opportunities to advance the revolution.

In this way, the proletariat has acquired the necessary bases on which to found a conception of the world, a theory and a politics which are necessary in order effectively to transform the world.

E—THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE TWO ROADS IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Thus it can be said that proletarian revolution has come up against great limitations resulting from the objective situation, and revisionism has drawn its strength from these limitations. But this statement of fact should not be used to justify all past errors. At a given epoch, men act within a specific objective context, and in no case can they go beyond this objective context. However, within this context, their actions can have a positive effect, a heroic action, or play a very negative role. In order to understand the evolution of the International Communist Movement, we must examine the objective context within which proletarian revolution has developed. But once that has been done, we must analyse another aspect of the problem: that of the struggle between the two roads in the International Communist Movement. The concept of the struggle between the two roads was elaborated by the Chinese communists on the basis of their concrete experience within the CPC, but also in their struggle against the CPSU and other parties rotten with revisionism.

What is the struggle between the two roads? It is the reflection of class struggle, within the heart of the communist forces. The class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat is the basic contradiction of our societies, and so this class struggle develops in every domain of social life. It is manifested in different ways according to the different sectors and different concrete conditions, but it is manifest everywhere, including inside a communist party and in the International Communist Movement.

In the communist party, it is the expression of the contradiction between bourgeoisie and proletariat within a country. As far as the International Communist Movement is concerned, the struggle between the two roads is the expression of the struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat on the world scale.

The bourgeois road has its source and its foundations in the influence of bourgeois ideology; this influence is inevitable when one takes into account the historical importance of bourgeois society and the still-present importance of capitalist relations of production. This bourgeois road also finds support and encouragement from outside. The international bourgeoisie uses, more or less consciously, a thousand ways to strengthen the road which seems least dangerous and most acceptable to it.

Throughout the course of the development of the International Communist Movement, we have always had a struggle between two roads. It appeared at the First Congress of the International, and grew throughout the whole life of the Communist International, then after its dissolution. This struggle crystallised in particular around the opposition between the CPSU and CPC.

This struggle has been marked by a certain number of decisive stages, such as the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, the dissolution of the Communist International, the Sino-Soviet split, etc. . . . and in order to understand the history of the International Communist Movement, we must fully understand the whole development of this struggle.

Obviously, we are not going to present such an analysis here; we are far from having made it. But a preliminary study of the history of the International Communist Movement enables us to note that the struggle between the two roads always crystallises around a certain number of questions. So, without claiming to give a complete inventory of these, we would like briefly to point out a certain number of them which seem basic to us.

1—The opposition between nationalism and internationalism

The bourgeois line always relies at one time or another on nationalism, while the revolutionary line always keeps to an internationalist point of view. By that, we do not mean the rejection of every national struggle. What we call nationalism here is the subordination of the interests of world revolution to the interests of a particular state or group of countries. This "nationalism" has historically played a very negative role. The most important manifestations of this appeared in regard to the priority given to the defence of the Soviet Union over other revolutionary tasks,

and in regard to the dissolution of the Communist International in 1943.

It is a similar point of view which has triumphed in China with the three worlds theory.

This nationalism is to be found at many times in history and in many parties. The PCF [Communist Party of France], for example, has always been riddled with this point of view. At the present time, the two roads are opposed on the concept of internationalism: whether there is a need for an International to lead the struggles of the world proletariat and the oppressed peoples, or merely for the reciprocal support of each force within its national context.

2—*What is the genuine creative force of history?*

Throughout the history of the International Communist Movement, and latterly in relation to the positions taken on the Chinese Revolution and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in particular, we still find an opposition between two theories:

The first is bourgeois, and goes in the direction of the constitution of a new bourgeoisie which dominates the masses. It consists of saying that it is the party which makes history; according to this concept, when the masses participate in history in a positive way, it is because they are guided by the party. Linked to this concept are more or less clearly-formulated ideas about infallibility. The revolutionary conception considers that it is the masses who make history, and while the party is a necessity, and plays an important role, this is because it is the emanation of the masses, because it is capable of making a theoretical and political synthesis of the ideas and revolutionary will of the masses. A party which no longer satisfies these criteria should be criticised, or even destroyed by the masses.

These two concepts are at the heart of the evolution of the USSR and of the concept of the party as it was developed by Stalin from the beginning of the 1930s.

They are also at the heart of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the struggle between the two roads in China.

Finally, the revelations of Hoxha about his feelings on the Chinese Revolution since the Sino-Soviet split clearly show that this question was at the heart of the struggle between the PLA and the CPC led by Mao, and Hoxha's betrayal has its roots in this struggle.

3—*The building of socialism*

—Here also, two theories confront each other:

The first considers that the essential thing to do is to acquire a socialist economic base, even without the consent of the masses. This concept, by allowing the productive forces to develop within the context of bourgeois relations of production, is a line which allows the new bourgeoisie to develop in the name of "socialist relations of production". The revolutionary line considers that *the essential thing is that the masses constantly raise their ideological and political consciousness*. It is on this basis that they become able to extend the dictatorship of the proletariat and reduce bourgeois relations of production, especially by reducing the division between mental and manual labour.

While this opposition concerns the class struggle under socialism, there is an analogous opposition when the bourgeoisie is in power: this is the opposition between economism, a more or less openly avowed reformism, and the revolutionary point of view, which is based on the raising of the level of consciousness of the masses and on confidence in the masses.

Here, then, are three basic oppositions which demarcate the struggle between the two roads in the International Communist Movement. Of course, the struggle between the two roads cannot be reduced to these oppositions alone; it affects all aspects of the politics of the International Communist Movement and the underlying concepts. But when struggle between the two roads develops, opposition on these three points is always found; it is here that the essence of the struggle between the two roads is crystallised.

In this respect, the importance of Mao's contribution concerning the development of the revolutionary line is important, par-

ticularly in respect to the second and third points. In the ideological struggle concerning the place of Mao Tsetung Thought, opposition is centred precisely around these points.

F—THE PRESENT SITUATION

In a little over ten years, the world situation has been radically transformed, in very many domains. One of the fundamental aspects of this upheaval is the transformation of the balance of power between revolution and counter-revolution.

1—Firstly, let us examine the *objective situation*. The imperialist system is sinking into the most profound crisis which has ever hit it. This is not the place to describe all the aspects of this, but the situation can be summed up in a few sentences.

—The crisis has a more pronounced international character than any of the preceding crises and it affects every part of the globe. This is the result of the internationalisation of the imperialist system, linked to the growth of the world market and to the existence of imperialist powers capable of extending their domination over the whole earth.

A consequence of this crisis is the imperialist countries' loss of control of the situation. Their manoeuvres fail, their lackeys will only do what they want to do, the governments of the different dominated countries are trying to profit from this situation. This crisis, like the previous ones, can only be resolved by the imperialists by means of the outbreak of inter-imperialist war. But apart from the fact that its worldwide character will be more pronounced than the previous ones, this war threatens to be transformed very rapidly in very many countries into revolutionary civil war. This is particularly true in the countries dominated by imperialism.

Finally, with this crisis, a period of revolutionary upsurge has begun, which has affected numerous countries in the world and will inevitably affect others. This phenomenon is special in that it has extended over a long period and world reaction has not found the strength to crush revolutionary movements in a lasting way, and in many cases has only been able to fend them off. Even in cases like China, the situation of counter-revolution remains uncertain, even fragile.

These different aspects of the world situation show that the thesis put forward by Mao in 1970, to the effect that the principal tendency is towards revolution, remains objectively entirely correct. The balance of power between revolution and counter-revolution is being transformed, because the revolutionary upsurge affects many regions of the world, because the imperialists do not have sufficient strength to resist this, because now more than ever reactionary war contains the embryo of revolutionary civil war.

This tendency to revolution does not mean that imperialist war is impossible. On the contrary, faced with the strengthening of this tendency, imperialism may see war as a last hope. But this does not alter the balance of power between revolution and counter-revolution.

2—*Subjectively*, the situation has also changed. The imperialist system has, to start with, been affected by an unprecedented ideological and political crisis, the structure of bourgeois values is collapsing and a very important element of this collapse was the revolt of the youth at the end of the 60s, brought about by the effects of colonial wars. This revolt coincided with the revolt of the Chinese youth during the Cultural Revolution.

This crisis is a determining factor at a time when the imperialist bourgeoisie is trying to prepare public opinion for war.

The political crisis of imperialism is also obvious, in that the forces of reaction in the world need a firm leadership in order to resolve their crisis. All these are important factors in the weakening of imperialism; all the more so because this ideological crisis is directly attacking the citadels of imperialism.

On the other side, the world proletariat appears to be equally weakened. The last socialist countries, and China in particular, have been transformed into counter-revolutionary countries, and

the International Communist Movement is put to rout. But things must be looked at in depth. The problems which are at the root of this collapse do not date from October 1976; they have to do rather with the fundamental weaknesses of the world proletariat. The tactical limitations of the proletariat cannot be denied. It takes more than 60 years of struggle for the proletariat to become a class capable of radically changing the world, all the more so since during that period the very heart of imperialism has remained on the whole stable.

In fact, the crisis in the International Communist Movement, the failure of the Russian and then the Chinese Revolutions, the turnaround of the PLA, have had the effect of revealing a latent opportunism which has grown up based on the weaknesses of the proletariat. This crisis has exposed the two roads which have been opposed to each other within the International Communist Movement since its origin.

In parallel to this, the world proletariat has not lost its fundamental subjective gains. The different revolutions which have been made under an unfavourable balance of power are so many vanguard experiments, which can be generalised. And the condition for this generalisation is that the proletariat first synthesises these experiences in order to be able to forge its weapons. It is after this has been done that the world balance of power will be favourable to revolution; as we have seen this second condition has been fulfilled.

This then is the exceptional situation in which the proletariat finds itself.

CONCLUSION

This exceptional situation is also extremely contradictory. On the one hand we have the imperialists whose material force (economic, technological, military) has proliferated in the last forty years; on the other hand, we can see that never have they been so poorly in control of the situation in the world.

For the proletariat also we find a major contradiction: the world proletariat has at its disposal a wealth of revolutionary experience and a balance of power which was never so favourable; on the other hand the International Communist Movement is going through the most serious crisis of its history and no revolutionary force is in a position to play the role of a pole as the Bolshevik party did during the First World War.

This situation sets great tasks for us. One of the most urgent is the building of an International. The growth of class struggle and the sharpening of all the contradictions of the imperialist system demand a *single leadership* of the world proletariat in order to face a period of upheaval on a world scale.

Because of past errors, particularly the bureaucratic leadership of the Communist International at certain periods, the Marxist-

Leninist forces are hesitant about the idea of an International. These forces refuse to see it as a single leadership of the world proletariat and only accept the idea of an association of national parties. According to their concept, the building of strong national parties is the precondition for the building of an International. This point of view leads directly to polycentrist, indeed nationalist, concepts: according to this, the national context takes precedence for party-building over the international character of the proletariat and of the imperialist system.

On the contrary, the International should be seen as the vanguard party of the world proletariat; this is the most accomplished form and the most complete concept of the party. And it was in basing themselves on this point of view that Marx and Engels, and later Lenin, defined internationalist tasks.

Another argument in favour of the building of an International is our current weakness. Of course, no one would defend the idea of immediately building a powerful International which could lead effectively, with our present forces. But our weakness implies precisely that we would struggle more fiercely for the building of an International. Uniting the Marxist-Leninists into a single force cannot but compensate for this weakness; mutual support, the exchange of experiences, the joint resolution of ideological, political, and organisational problems would hasten our development. Moreover, given the objective situation, it is necessary to work to build Marxist-Leninist forces or to strengthen them in regions or countries which occupy a strategic position; there too an International organisation can provide decisive support.

This then is what necessitates the creation of an International. But the essential condition for such an organisation is the establishing of a correct ideological, political, and organisational line. This condition has still to be created.

Today, we have achieved a preliminary regrouping of the left within what was the International Communist Movement. Taking into account that which unites us, we cannot say that the left has been rallied, in so far as a sufficient ideological and political base does not exist. It is on this that it is therefore necessary to concentrate. The rallying of the left, as well as the future development of an International, takes place through ideological struggle.

We must conduct this struggle in two aspects: demarcation and unity, that is to say, demarcating ourselves from the different opportunist currents and ideas, and uniting the left more profoundly by mutual criticism in a spirit of unity.

In conducting these struggles, we must be able to expose the two roads which inevitably oppose one another, their ideological and historical roots as well as their concrete objective basis, notably in respect to the three points raised in part E.

On the Class Struggle in China

—Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

The trial of the "Gang of Four" in Peking once again focused world attention on the developments in China since the death of Mao Tsetung, and more precisely on the struggle for power which resulted in the arrest of the "Gang of Four" and the coming to power of Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping. In many ways the trial has clarified certain issues which the Chinese revisionists, for their own ulterior motives, had until recently tried to obscure and befuddle. Gone is any pretext that the current rulers are acting on Mao's behests, or that the arrest of those who led the Cultural Revolution was somehow a continuation of that great struggle. Now it is openly proclaimed that the Cultural Revolution was a great "disaster," that "nothing positive" occurred between 1966 and 1976 and that Mao himself was fundamentally in error at least since 1956. Not only do the reactionary inquisitors proclaim these counterrevolutionary theses from the trial and every other conceivable forum, but the two central figures in the trial, Chiang Ching through her revolutionary speeches at the trial, and Chang Chun-chiao through his defiant silence, are standing firm in the face of the new reactionary rulers, defending the Cultural Revolution, upholding Mao Tsetung Thought and calling on the masses to resist the revisionist usurpers. Thus in the trial one sees clearly the opposition of two lines and two classes: that of those who are dragging China onto the capitalist road, repudiating the teachings of Mao, selling out to imperialism and betraying the world revolution, and exercising a brutal bourgeois dictatorship; and, on the other hand, those who fought them tooth and nail, who fought to maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat and advance toward communism.

Cultural Revolution and the International Movement

Simple, one might hope. But the developments in China have proved to be anything but simple for the international communist movement. It was the events of October 1976 which initiated and brought to a head the crisis in the international movement and served as the impulse for a great portion of the erstwhile communist forces to retreat to one form or another of revisionism. And it remains no less true today that an inability to come to terms with the developments in China, to distinguish revisionism from Marxism, and to support revolutionaries and oppose counterrevolutionaries, remain "simple questions" which if answered incorrectly will (and have already in the case of no small section of the international movement) lead into the revisionist quagmire, or can, if resolved correctly, play a vital role in advancing further along the road to communism.

In Lenin's famous definition of proletarian internationalism he writes, "There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is—working whole-heartedly for the develop-

ment of the revolutionary movement and the 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." (1)

This citation, while often quoted, has been frequently distorted by separating his call to wage revolutionary struggle in "one's own country" from his insistence on supporting this same struggle in *all* countries without exception. And certainly one revolutionary struggle that cannot be made an "exception" and which requires support from all genuine revolutionaries by "propaganda, sympathy and material aid" is the struggle of the proletarian revolutionaries in China and, more specifically, two of their foremost leaders who are clearly and courageously fighting for a revolutionary line in a very difficult situation.

Given that the Cultural Revolution had so much to do with the birth and growth of the new communist movement, it is not surprising that the defeat (if temporary) in China would have so much to do with its near collapse. On the part of many Marxist-Leninist parties and groups we have witnessed for several years now the step-by-step and systematic repudiation of the very principles on which they were founded and long claimed to uphold.

It is clear that Mao and the revolutionaries in China saw the Cultural Revolution as part of the international revolutionary movement and the march toward communism. Mao spoke clearly on this point in October 1968:

"We have won great victory. But the defeated class will still struggle. These people are still around and this class still exists. Therefore, we cannot speak of final victory. Not even for decades. We must not lose our vigilance. According to the Leninist viewpoint, the final victory of a socialist country not only requires the efforts of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people at home, but also involves the victory of the world revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man over the whole globe, upon which all mankind will be emancipated. Therefore, it is wrong to speak lightly of the final victory of the revolution in our country; it runs counter to Leninism and does not conform to facts." (2)

Nor can one forget that, in line with the quote above, Mao constantly emphasized that only by liberating all mankind can the proletariat liberate itself. (3)

Despite the growing strength of the Right even before the coup d'état of 1976 and despite errors Mao and the revolutionaries may have made regarding certain questions of international line, China under Mao remained a bulwark of world revolution.

The main importance of revolutionary China, however, to the international movement was the political and theoretical devel-

opment and clarity Mao Tsetung and the revolutionary headquarters in China shed on a number of vital questions which had long been misunderstood or distorted or had never been systematically addressed in the international movement. Further, the very action of millions of people rising up to protect the victory of the revolution and push it forward, attacking everything old and outmoded in society, attracted a whole new generation of revolutionaries to Marxism-Leninism and helped to rescue our revolutionary science from the pits of revisionism or sterility.

Mao stated very directly in 1965 on the eve of the Cultural Revolution, "If China's leadership is usurped by revisionists in the future, the Marxist-Leninists of all countries should resolutely expose and fight them and help the working class and the masses of China to combat such revisionism."⁽⁴⁾ However it must be admitted that despite the repeated statements by Mao and the obviously bitter and complex nature of the class struggle in China, the possibility of a counterrevolutionary coup in China was viewed much more as a "theoretical conception" than a matter of life and death struggle. In the main, the seizure of power by Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping came as a shock and a surprise in the international movement.

But surprise or not, the materials to analyse and understand the development of the class struggle in China—above all the writings of Mao and of the revolutionary headquarters upholding his line—were and remain widely available in many languages. Thus all Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations were confronted with the choice of whether to grapple with and deepen their understanding of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought in the course of *applying* this scientific body of thought to a study of the developments in China, or, as has been unfortunately the greater number of cases, in one form or another to use the fact that revisionists had come to power in China to "criticize," retreat from, or outright abandon Mao's scientific theses on the development of the class struggle under socialism. The myriad of forms of this wave of rejection of Mao's most pathbreaking teachings, and the fundamental unity between all of them, is something to which we will return. First it is necessary to examine in some detail Mao's line on "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" and how and in what forms it was being opposed in China in the last, bitter struggle that resulted in the temporary reversal of the revolution in that country.

"Lack of Clarity On This Question Will Lead To Revisionism"

On January 11, 1975 an important meeting, the Fourth National People's Congress, was held in Peking to set forward key tasks for the Chinese people immediately and for a period to come. The night before Mao Tsetung reportedly could not sleep. Shortly thereafter he was to issue two brief but profound statements:

"Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to get this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation."

"Our country at present practices a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted. Therefore, if people like Lin Biao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system. That is why we should do more reading of Marxist-Leninist works."⁽⁵⁾

These statements were to cause the revisionists to have a few sleepless nights of their own.

While this is not the place to review the entire history of the Cultural Revolution, it is necessary to situate the above quotes in their proper context. The Fourth People's Congress represented an important nodal point in the struggle that was developing between two rival headquarters in China: one led by

Mao Tsetung and the "Gang of Four"*; the other led directly by Deng Xiaoping with Zhou Enlai playing the behind the scenes role of patron saint. This struggle began to take shape in the wake of the "Lin Biao Affair" which had done serious damage in China and had, for various reasons, led to an increase of strength for the Right, particularly in the form of the "rehabilitation" (around the time of the 10th Party Congress in 1973) of a large number of old cadre who had been overthrown in the course of the Cultural Revolution, led of course by the arch-revisionist Deng Xiaoping.

The Fourth People's Congress established a task which was to be used as the rallying cry of the bourgeoisie in China, the call "to accomplish the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology before the end of the century, so that our national economy will be advancing in the front ranks of the world." This call, contained in the report of Zhou Enlai to the Fourth People's Congress, was later to be transformed by Hua Guofeng and the revisionist clique into "China's historic mission" for the next 25 years, a mission which would justify every revisionist deviation imaginable, which would replace the class struggle as the "central task" of the Party and the proletariat, the new "yardstick" with which to measure (and, naturally, reject) the "socialist new things" that had emerged in the course of the Cultural Revolution.

The quotes from Mao given earlier were highlighted in signed articles by Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wenyuan which were hard-hitting opening shots in the struggle of the revolutionary headquarters against the mounting counterrevolutionary threat. This struggle, known as the campaign to study the dictatorship of the proletariat, focused on Mao's call to understand "why" Lenin had insisted on the proletarian dictatorship. These two articles are not only indispensable for understanding the content of the political line struggle in China at the time, but remain, despite the capitulatory role Yao played during the trial, important Marxist-Leninist works in which Mao's line on the nature of socialist society and the class struggle in it are presented.

These two pamphlets explore a number of extremely important themes. By discussing the actual conditions of socialist society in China, these pamphlets help to illustrate the material basis for the famous statement by Mao that "which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is not really settled yet."⁽⁶⁾ In particular they call attention to the continued existence of *bourgeois right*, the term first used by Marx in his *Critique of the Gotha Programme* to describe the exchange of commodities at equal values. Lenin pointed out that during the socialist period "'bourgeois right' is *not* abolished in its entirety, but only in part, only in proportion to the economic revolution so far attained, i.e., only in respect of the means of production."⁽⁷⁾

Lenin (and Marx) illustrate the bourgeois character of "equal right" by calling attention to the single, healthy worker who under the socialist system would receive the same amount in wages as a parent of five children—formal, legal, bourgeois "equality" which translates into a vast, real inequality in their actual standard of living. This principle also means, for example, that skilled labor is paid higher wages. The existence of "bourgeois right" is inextricably connected with the commodity system, in which the law of value continues, even under socialist society, to be the principal regulating factor in the distribution of consumer goods.

The continued existence of "bourgeois right" was a point accepted by all in China, revolutionaries and counterrevolutionaries

* The fact that Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen capitulated at the trial does not change the fact the "gang of four" represented the core of the revolutionary headquarters led by Mao himself within the Communist Party of China. The cowardly performance of Yao and Wang at the trial reduced them to irrelevance, except from an historical standpoint. In fact, their performance only served to highlight the heroism of Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao in their revolutionary defiance at the trial.

alike. The point of struggle was whether this bourgeois right was something that had to be criticized and restricted or whether in fact it was "a socialist new thing" (8) as one revisionist wrote in justifying the coup d'état in China.

The revolutionaries in China pointed out how the continued existence of bourgeois right, as well as the "three great differences" (between mental and manual labor; between town and country; and between worker and peasant) provide the soil on which a new generation of bourgeois can and will inevitably arise.

In his pamphlet Chang Chun-chiao discusses at length the relation between the existence and the regeneration of bourgeois elements and the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He analyses concretely the three component parts of the relations of production—the ownership system, the relations between people in the labor process, and distribution—under the socialist system. He points out that, indeed, the ownership system had been changed in China. The great majority of industrial enterprises were under the control of the proletarian state, and in the countryside private farming had, in the main, been replaced by socialist collective ownership. He concludes from this "we can proudly declare that the system of ownership in China has changed, that the proletariat and other working people in China have in the main freed themselves from the shackles of private ownership, and that China's socialist economic base has been gradually consolidated and developed." (9) Chang Chun-chiao does not stop here. In going on to discuss what is meant by saying that ownership "has in the main been settled," he points out, "this means that it has not been settled entirely, and also that bourgeois right has not been totally abolished in this realm." Besides calling attention to the fact that, in agriculture, ownership by the whole people has not been achieved, he stresses "we should pay attention not only to its form [of ownership] but also to its actual content. It is perfectly correct for people to give full weight to the decisive role of the system of ownership in the relations of production. But it is incorrect to give no weight to whether the issue of ownership has been resolved merely in form or in actual fact, to the reaction upon the system of ownership exerted by the two other aspects of the relations of production—the relations between people and the form of distribution—and to the reaction upon the economic base exerted by the superstructure; these two aspects and the superstructure may play a decisive role under given conditions. Politics is the concentrated expression of economics. Whether the ideological and political line is correct or incorrect, and which class holds the leadership, decides which class owns those factories in actual fact." (10)

As Chang Chun-chiao began his pamphlet: "The question of the dictatorship of the proletariat has long been the focus of the struggle between Marxism and revisionism." Not only has the Marxist thesis on the nature of the state been the key point of departure between Leninism and the social-democracy of Kautsky, it has also been at the heart of both the revisionist triumph in the Soviet Union and in China as well. With each victory of Marxism over revisionism and with the science of Marxism growing in strength, it was not possible for the Chinese revisionists to openly demand the abolition of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as Khrushchev did in the Soviet Union. The struggle around this question took place on a higher level, and the distortions of Marxism involved a higher degree of sophistication.

The revolutionaries in China gave prominence to Marx's famous letter to Weydemeyer in which he stated: "... no credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society or the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove: 1) that the *existence of classes* is only bound up with *particular historical phases in the development of production*, 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the *abolition of all classes* and to a *classless society*..." (11)

Chang Chun-chiao stressed that these three points are "inter-related and cannot be cut apart. It is impermissible to accept only one of the three points while rejecting the other two. For the sentence gives complete expression to the entire process of the inception, development and withering away of the dictatorship of the proletariat and covers the whole task of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its actual content." (12) This is an extremely important point that was quite germane to the struggle then raging in China and to the debate in the international communist movement.

Viewing the dictatorship of the proletariat as a *transition* to classless society has, of course, always been a cardinal principle of Marxism. But there can also be no doubt that in the history of the international movement and in the experience of building socialism in a number of countries there has been a strong tendency to, in fact, separate Marx's "three points" and especially not to see the link between maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat and its task as a transition to communism. The Chinese revisionists tell us, "socialism is the first phase of communism, not the higher stage of capitalism" (13), a point which is repeated in almost the same words by Hoxha in his vicious *Imperialism and the Revolution*. By emphasizing this, what the revisionists are trying to do is present socialist society as the basic achievement of communism, that is, that the necessary changes in social relations have been essentially accomplished and all that is really required to reach the classless society is the necessary industrial and technological base. (Hoxha stresses that there is no *qualitative* difference between communism and socialism.)

What Mao and the Four were arguing was exactly the opposite. Unless the dictatorship of the proletariat was actively pursuing the task of "transitioning" to communism, that is, uprooting, as Marx put it, all class distinctions generally, all the relations of production on which they rest, all the social relations which correspond to these relations of production and all the ideas that result from these social relations (what the Chinese revolutionaries referred to as Marx's "four alls"), then it was bound to fail, to be transformed into a dictatorship over the proletariat, which is exactly what has happened in China.

The dictatorship of the proletariat can be no "holding pattern," it cannot be seen as something that is fixed and established once and for all which needs only to rest in place until the advance of the productive forces comes to its rescue and then makes it unnecessary. The dictatorship of the proletariat must be seen, as Lenin put it, as a bitter class struggle, sometimes peaceful and sometimes bloody, until the conditions are created in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for it to arise anew.

The question of whether the "birthmarks" of the old society had to be fought against, restricted and dug away at bit by bit colored every aspect of the political struggle in China. Today we all see the program of the capitalist roaders in China—to reintroduce, build up and strengthen every capitalist way of doing things from a system of bonuses and piece work in the factories, to reintroducing expertise (and experts) in command of politics in science and technology and reestablishing a hierarchy in education aimed at training an elite from among the "most qualified" and "brightest" young people—read: the children of the old exploiting classes and, above all, of leading cadre in the Party itself. All this is justified by arguing, in a tautological manner, that since the state is still socialist (!) and the Party Marxist-Leninist (!) any methods used, no matter what effect they have on the actual relations in society, is justified on the basis of "pushing forward" socialism and especially the "historic task" of modernization by the end of the century.

The revisionists in China (and some of their critics as well) argue that since the ownership system in China has been changed, how could one refer to a bourgeoisie? They even went so far as to attack Chang Chun-chiao for wanting to make an analysis of classes in socialist China, claiming that it was unnecessary since Mao had made an analysis of classes in China—in 1926!

In fact, doing a class analysis of socialist society and of the newly engendered bourgeoisie was a crucial task begun by the revolutionaries in China shortly before their overthrow. In several articles, signed by pen names associated with the revolutionaries in China and appearing at the time of the movement to "Criticize Deng" right before Mao's death (14), this question of the newly engendered bourgeoisie was deepened further and linked to the very important question of criticizing bourgeois right first raised in the statements by Mao cited earlier. Several articles published at the same time sum up experience in China where the capitalist roaders were able to transform (to a certain extent, given that the society as a whole remained *socialist*) the actual relations of production in sectors under their control.

One article further explores the question of the material base of the "bourgeoisie in the party" and directly refutes the argument that it is impossible to talk of a bourgeoisie that does not "privately" (personally, legally) own capital:

"Through a class analysis, we can see clearly that Party capitalist roaders in power like Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao and Deng Xiaoping, by the position they occupy in the relations of production in society today, fully represent the decadent capitalist relations of production. As individuals, they may not necessarily own capital, run factories and operate banks like the former capitalists, but their political line which energetically upholds the capitalist relations of production reflects in a concentrated way the economic interests and political aspirations of the bourgeoisie as a whole. If the capitalist is only the personalization of capital, then his soul is the soul of capital." (15)

This article and others describe the dialectical relation between the continual emergence of a bourgeoisie under socialism and the fact that only by overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat and seizing power will they be able to fully establish themselves as a bourgeoisie and fully reinstitute the capitalist system. In this way it is easier to see the dialectical relation between the two-fold task the revolutionaries spoke of, on the one hand defeating the continued attempts of the bourgeoisie to seize power, and on the other continuing to dig away at the soil which engenders them. (16)

These two, interrelated, questions were strikingly clear in the last great battle in China where the *political program* of both the proletarian revolutionaries and the new bourgeoisie was concentrated precisely on the question of whether to defend and develop the achievements brought about by the Cultural Revolution, or whether in the name of efficiency and modernization, to reverse these verdicts of the Cultural Revolution and give full play to bourgeois right and the "division of labor" inherited from capitalist society.

It is interesting to examine some of Hua Guofeng's pronouncements on these questions, particularly his speech to the "Learn from Tachai" conference held in October 1975 when the campaign to study the dictatorship of the proletariat was in full swing.

In his speech Hua Guofeng gives no emphasis to the problem of "restricting bourgeois right." He quotes Mao about how China practices a commodity system, the eight-grade wage scale and that such things can only be restricted. What is striking is that he leaves off Mao's conclusion: "Therefore, if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system. That is why we should do more reading of Marxist-Leninist works." Thus he robs Mao's quote of its meaning and in fact turns it into its opposite. In fact Hua Guofeng inserts instead his own conclusion to Mao's quote: "Therefore, new bourgeois elements will invariably be engendered continuously. This is true of the countryside as well as the cities. The traditional influence of small production still remains among the peasants, and there are still fairly serious spontaneous tendencies towards capitalism among the well-to-do middle peasants." (17)

In other words, Hua *diverts* attention away from the problem Mao was focusing attention on (the capitalist roaders in the Party) and instead concentrates on the spontaneous tendency toward

capitalism among the peasantry. Later he goes on to give a taste of what was and remains a constant theme of the revisionists in China. "In criticizing capitalism, the spearhead of the struggle must be directed against the handful of class enemies who have committed sabotage." (18) Gone again is any conception that exactly *because* bourgeois right "can only be restricted" "people like Lin Biao" will inevitably develop in the Party, especially at its highest levels, and will seek, and have the material basis for, a capitalist restoration. This is why Chang Chun-chiao was attacked for saying on hearing Hua's Tachai speech, "what's the use in criticizing foxes [petty capitalist elements] when wolves are in power?"

The Problem of the Party

The fact that as the socialist revolution progresses the bourgeoisie is concentrated to an ever greater extent within the ranks of the communist party itself poses important questions for the proletarian revolution. Mao and the revolutionaries have been accused, again from all quarters, of having abandoned the leading role of the party in socialist transformation.

Experience has shown that in socialist society there are always sections of the communist party which are following the bourgeois line and that at particular times this can be an extremely acute problem. During the first stages of the Cultural Revolution it is quite clear that the organizational apparatus of the Party was, in the main, in the hands of the revisionists, in particular Liu Shaoqi's headquarters. Thus it was necessary for the Party to be a target as well as the leader of the revolution at the same time. This contradiction has never ceased to befuddle those who refuse to accept dialectics.

In the final analysis, whether a communist party is in fact or only in name communist depends upon the ideological and political line that leads it. For this reason it is correct and necessary to see the nodal point in China coming in October 1976 when the *line* of the Party was brutally and dramatically changed with the overthrow and the arrest of the revolutionaries.

Chang Chun-chiao's pamphlet is again interesting in this regard. He concludes with "*The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.*" This infinitely bright prospect will surely continue to inspire growing numbers of awakened workers and other working people and their vanguard, the Communists, to keep to the Party's basic line, persevere in exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end!" (19) Notice the formulation in this quotation (consistent with others that were to appear in China in the short years before the coup): the vanguard is the "Communists" who adhere to the Party's general line. In the section that precedes this quote Chang Chun-chiao gives appropriate attention to the importance of the role of the Central Committee and senior cadres, calling on them to "take the lead and join the vast numbers of other cadres and the masses in reading and studying assiduously. . . ."

Thus a picture is painted of a section of the Party, the "Communists," vigorously taking up Mao's call to persevere in the dictatorship of the proletariat, while the question of the role of the Central Committee and the senior cadres is clearly in doubt. What he is calling attention to here is that the key leading role of the Party is its *basic line* and that at any time there will be sections who carry it forward and others who oppose it. While this is a general truth, this phenomenon, like all others, goes through a spiral-like motion. The degree of unity (organizationally and politically) of the Party varies according to the ebb and flow of the class struggle. Relative unity coming as a result of a major battle against one revisionist headquarters will give rise to a process of the further development of contradiction in the Party, the desertion of new leaders from the basic line, and hence to another struggle. This process is conditioned by the overall class struggle both within the country and internationally. Through this process the basic line of the Party itself, as was the case in China, will

continue to be deepened. The recognition of this law is in no way a departure from the fact that the construction of socialism and the advance toward communism requires the leadership of a genuine Party. Rather it is the key to understanding how the leadership of the Party is manifested in the complex situation in which a section of the Party itself represents the enemy, and to understanding how the Party exercises its leading role precisely in leading the masses at key junctures to overthrow capitalist roaders in its ranks. In so doing, the Party strengthens itself, not only ideologically and politically, but organizationally as well, bringing forward new revolutionary elements in the process.

In the wake of the counterrevolutionary coup in China, it was popular, in some circles, to speak of "three lines" in China. This analysis, which the revisionists in China themselves found useful to maintain for a short period, provided a handy way to support the revisionist usurpers while dodging the real questions involved. According to this theory of "three lines" the "Gang of Four" was "ultra-left" (or "ultra-right"), and while it may have been correct to oppose the line of Deng Xiaoping they committed many excesses in that struggle, thereby isolating themselves from the masses and the cadre. The correct line, according to this view, was represented by Hua Guofeng who was fighting a battle on "two fronts" against the "Gang of Four" and the Deng Xiaoping forces as well. This theory became more and more untenable as the revisionists in China quickly dropped most of their revolutionary pretensions and began vociferously and vigorously demanding a return to the naked revisionist line of Liu Shaoqi. This flowering of a more naked form of revisionism parallels to a large extent the growing strength of Deng Xiaoping, whose hatred for the Cultural Revolution and Mao's line is uncontested (and whose careerism isn't served by pretending otherwise), and who is universally recognized to be the key political figure in China today. Recently, however, Hua's disappearance from sight during the trial in Peking and rumors of his arrest pumped new life into those who want to discover or invent "three lines."

This "theory of three lines" is perhaps most clearly promoted by *The Forge* (the Workers Communist Party M-L of Canada) which criticizes the revisionists now in power in Peking and many of their lines and policies but refuses to make self-criticism for having supported Hua Guofeng in the first place and is still continuing to denounce Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao as "ultra-leftists." No doubt this eclectic sleight of hand is made easier for them by the absence of any force in Canada that has consistently defended the teachings of Mao Tsetung, a position abdicated by *In Struggle!*, which has allowed *The Forge* to pose as the real upholders of Mao Tsetung Thought in that country.

The Question of the Majority

After the seizure of power, the revisionists in China raised a hullabaloo about the "majority," the "95 percent," etc., all in an effort to show that the revolutionaries in China were acting in the interests of a "handful" and not proceeding from the interests of the majority. To bolster this portrayal, the revisionists sprinkled their writings with quotes from Mao regarding the need to unite the great majority, as well as a number of quotations of far more dubious origin in which he is alleged to have cautioned the revolutionary leaders not to be a "gang of four." It is certainly true that Mao (and for that matter the "Four" also) stressed that the revolution and the socialist transformation was in the interests of the great majority. But it is also true that in the writings of Mao one also finds many references to the fact that the masses are always divided into advanced, intermediate and backward. During the initial phases of the Cultural Revolution Mao was quite aware, for example, that the broad grouping of the left remained a minority. This led him to stress the importance of the left uniting its own ranks and with the masses of people who may have been confused or even opposed to the Cultural Revolution at its inception, while at the same time he also stressed the necessity to *rely on* the left and instructed the People's Liberation

Army (which was playing a key political role at the time) to "support the broad masses of the left."

The contradiction between the interests of the masses and their political views at any given time should hardly come as a surprise to communists. Isn't it true that in any country revolution is in the *interests* of the great majority, yet under most conditions, the majority (for a number of reasons, especially the influence of bourgeois ideology) follows the political leadership of the bourgeoisie, the revisionists or social democrats?

In fact Mao and the revolutionaries were struggling to resolve this contradiction between the current *understanding* of the masses and their highest interests exactly through the wide-scale campaigns they waged to raise the consciousness of the basic masses, and also Party members at all levels, of the vital questions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the transition to communism. It is clear that Mao (and the other revolutionaries) felt that the longer the period of mass study and criticism could go on, the broader and deeper the campaigns against the Right could go, the more favorable the situation would be in another showdown with the revisionists. This policy is in keeping with the way Mao unfolded previous struggles in China in which all-out battles were preceded by and accompanied by great efforts to "create public opinion"—that is, through education, propaganda and agitation, and through the struggle itself, to make clear the interests of the vast majority in carrying the revolution forward and uniting with all possible on that basis. After all, we should not forget that it is the *revisionists* who launched a coup d'etat, not the Marxists.

Why Did They Lose?

Many of the arguments against the line of Mao Tsetung and the revolutionaries in China boil down to the simple statement, "they lost, so they must have been wrong." Instead of examining the real fundamental issues as to why there was a reversal, questions that were spoken to at great length by Mao and the revolutionaries, some people insist on emphasizing the role of the revolutionaries, as if this, under all circumstances, is the key to the question of victory or defeat. Theories which were generally accepted as true before the coup, particularly Mao's teachings on the nature of the class struggle in socialist society, all of a sudden are rejected for the simple reason that the very thing Mao was warning against—the possibility of a revisionist coup—came to pass!

This rejection of Marxism has taken a particularly extreme form in the case of the Albanian Party of Labor and Enver Hoxha, who argue that Mao was never a Marxist-Leninist, that he "allowed" the bourgeoisie in the Party and the struggle between two lines, ad nauseum. Others, repelled by Hoxha's counterrevolutionary conclusions, accept a great deal of his argumentation and method. The Cultural Revolution was, in the eyes of some, at best a necessary evil, a sort of payment for the crime of having "allowed" the bourgeoisie to exist in the first place.

But even among some of those who criticize Hoxha correctly in many regards and who uphold the universal significance of the Cultural Revolution, there is a stubborn resistance to admit that it is possible to lose state power in socialist society primarily as a result of the objective situation rather than errors on the part of the revolutionaries.

No one will deny, of course, that a revolution, such as that of 1905 in Russia or the Paris Commune in 1871, can fail because of the balance of forces or because the conditions for its success are not fully mature. But somehow materialism and dialectics vanish out the window when talking about a socialist society in which the proletariat has held power for some time and the ownership system has been fundamentally changed. The problem with this theory, however, as much as its holders might not like it, is that it leads inevitably to the conclusion that once the proletariat has seized power and carried through a certain degree of socialist transformation, the relation of forces is changed irrevocably in favor of the proletariat, barring some mistakes on the part of the

revolutionaries. It also effectively separates the building of socialism in one country from the world revolution.

Mao, on the contrary, argued that while the change of the ownership system was a great victory, in many ways "China is not much different than the old society." In other words, the 10,000 *li* march is exactly that and the basic change of the ownership system is really but a step, however important, on this march. As pointed to earlier, in many domains bourgeois right can and unavoidably will have the upper hand (the commodity system, wage scales, etc.). If in addition one recognizes that the superstructure—the state system, the ideas, customs and habits—is also largely marked by the bourgeois era and the fact that the process of remolding people's thinking is a protracted process involving many generations, it is easier to see how at any particular stage, the bourgeoisie may not only be quite strong but may succeed in mobilizing a substantial section even from among the people to support a restorationist program.

When Marx and Engels first developed the theory of scientific socialism, they conceived the "transition period" between capitalism and communism as a relatively short affair (hence Marx's often misused quote that socialism is the "lower phase of communism"). History has shown that the transition to communism is far more complex, prolonged and bitter than conceived of by Marx. But what stands out particularly sharply about Marx's writings on the subject of communism is precisely his *historical vision*.

Seen in the sweeping way that Marx viewed the transition to communism, it is easier to grasp that such things as the commodity system, wage differentials, division between mental and manual labor, etc., are all obstacles, fetters, holding back and hampering the working class from accomplishing its historic mission.

It is wrong to underestimate the vital importance of seizing political power and constructing a socialist economic system, but it is also wrong to fail to recognize that in many ways the proletariat remains the "underdog" in the sense that even while holding power and having won great victories it has only begun the process of transforming the "four ells" Marx described.

These questions have been further complicated by the fact that the two most important experiences of socialist society, in the USSR and China, took place in countries which were relatively backward economically and in which large elements of even precapitalist production relations remained, and they existed in a world still dominated by imperialism. It is certainly true, for example, that the final victory of communism requires a level of the productive forces considerably higher than that found in China. And it is also true that the degree to which some of the birthmarks of the old society and bourgeois right can be restricted depends in no small degree on the level of the productive forces. But it is absolutely wrong to draw from this the conclusion that revolution in class relations and in the superstructure were "outstripping" the development of the productive forces. There can be, and historically always has been in socialist society, varying degrees of harmony and contradiction between the socialist system and the development of the productive forces, but from a sweeping, global view, it is necessary to emphasize that class relations and the superstructure based on them lag constantly behind the needs of the proletariat to liberate all of humanity, and in so doing, itself.

In understanding the complexity of the class struggle under socialism and the possibility of a capitalist restoration, it is important to keep in mind Mao's statement cited earlier, that the final victory of the socialist revolution in one country cannot be conceived of apart from the world revolution and such a conception "runs counter to Leninism." History has shown that the class struggle in socialist countries is inseparably linked with the development of the situation in the world as a whole and the international revolutionary movement.

The existence of imperialism in the world exerts a tremendous pressure on a socialist country and greatly strengthens the revi-

sionists, not only through military aggression, its direct agents, political and cultural influences, etc., but also by forcing a socialist country to maintain a relatively large standing army to protect against external aggression, to enter into various agreements with imperialist countries, and so forth. On the other hand, the revolutionary struggle of the working class and masses of people throughout the world is a direct support for those who want to carry forward the revolution in a socialist country—not only because such struggles strike blows against the imperialists and weaken their ability to invade or interfere but also because such struggles help to clarify and illustrate the truth that the final goal of the proletarian revolution, in all countries, is the achievement of communism which can only be done on a world scale, and are, of course, part of advancing toward it. Giving up on supporting the world revolution means giving up on communism, and in the final analysis can only mean abandoning socialism where it has been achieved. Supporting the world revolution is not a guarantee against reversals, but it does accelerate the advance toward communism and strengthen the international communist movement despite whatever setbacks in this process.

A Final Word On Hua Guofeng and Coups

We have tried to show at several points in this article that Hua Guofeng upheld and promoted the revisionist line in China, that his role was simply to apply a few red ribbons to a thoroughly counterrevolutionary program. In our opinion, any careful study and comparison between the documents of Mao and the revolutionaries on the one hand and Hua on the other, reveals this incontestably.

Hua Guofeng's role *vis a vis* Deng Xiaoping has an historical precedent in the relation between Kautsky and the Scheidemanns and Plekhanovs of the Second International. These latter two, of course, were well-known for their open and undisguised calls to "defend the fatherland" during the first inter-imperialist war and their complete subservience to the bourgeoisie. Kautsky, on the other hand, struck a "centrist" pose. But does history have a different judgment of Kautsky than the open revisionists? If anything, one can only say that Kautsky, by *uniting* with the Right, by drawing up theoretical *excuses* for capitulation, by demanding the Right not be driven out of the socialist movement while attacking the Left bitterly, played a more destructive and vicious role in combatting the revolutionary proletariat. The same can be said for Hua Guofeng.

Hua Guofeng, who claimed to be the "successor of Mao," who claimed to have "brought the Cultural Revolution to a successful conclusion," who has written and spoken many *words* in defense of Mao's line on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, against modern revisionism, etc.—what has he done as the current regime in China has moved ever further (actually more *openly*) to counterrevolution? As everyone knows, he has gone along with each and every "rehabilitation" beginning with Deng right through to Liu Shaoh-chi, with the condemnation of the Cultural Revolution, adoption of one revisionist program after another, each more openly reactionary. If he was a revolutionary, why has he remained silent in the face of this? Compare his role to that played by Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao in the trial. Where is his denunciation of revisionism, his calls to rebel? Even if one were to accept *all* the arguments and inventions of Hua Guofeng at the time of the coup, his present performance would still be unexcusable. The only "defense" of Hua Guofeng, as heard on behalf of a bourgeois reformist or liberal imperialist, is that he is doing his "best" under difficult circumstances, serving as a "pressure" against the Right and "working from within" a bourgeois dictatorship.

Certainly it has been apparent from the beginning that the revisionist rulers of China were rife with internal contradictions. It is not surprising that some are deeply worried at the pace and brazenness of Deng & Co. in restoring capitalism and tearing down Mao. In fact, even many imperialist observers have offered

the Chinese rulers words of caution about going too far, too fast. Those who declared their rule would bring "unity and stability" have shown that like all capitalists, they are jackals and hyenas ready to eat each other up at the first opportunity. But on the crucial dividing lines as they posed themselves at decisive points in the struggle between antagonistic classes—and most importantly whether "modernization by the year 2000" was the "new historic mission" for the next 25 years or whether, as Mao insisted, the class struggle remained the key link—Hua and Deng have been on the same side of the barricades.

Conclusion

As Lenin said "substituting eclectics for dialectics" is a favorite ruse of opportunists. To deny the qualitative change that occurred in October '76, or to refuse to draw conclusions about the nature of the current Chinese regime and that which it replaced is simply a dodge to avoid taking a stand on the life and death questions concentrated in the line struggle in China, questions which are full of complexity but boil down to the fact that revisionism triumphed with the coup d'etat of Hua and Deng. Whether this is done on grounds that the "two line struggle is a constant feature in China" (as some argue) or because of the "impurity" of socialist China under Mao (as the semi-Hoxhaites say) is of little interest.

The Cultural Revolution represented the furthest forward point yet achieved by the international proletariat in the march toward communism. The theoretical summation made by Mao Tsetung of the class struggle under socialism remains, more than ever, a vital and indispensable enrichment of the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism, without which it is impossible to advance further.

The Cultural Revolution and its lessons are not only important for the proletariat that has achieved power, it is also rich in lessons for the proletariat that is struggling to achieve power. One of the outstanding features of the Cultural Revolution which helped inspire millions around the world was its radical rupture with the legacy of reformism and revisionism which had been slowly poisoning and strangling the international movement for quite a long time. The actions of tens of millions of workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary students daring to trample on centuries of "tradition's chains" and to take a great further stride in consciously shaping the features of the future world served—and serve today—as a great rebuff to all those who claim that the workers can never address questions more important than their next paycheck or that the running of society must always remain in the hands of experts or condescending saviors.

The Cultural Revolution emphasized that the proletarian revolution can only be a conscious act, aimed not only at toppling a reactionary regime or improving the conditions of the masses, but most importantly and essentially, a process that must lead to the very abolition of classes. That the working class is capable of realizing its class interest, of grasping its revolutionary science, of focusing its attention on mastering affairs of state, culture, science and so forth, of fighting and sacrificing to achieve its lofty

goal, was demonstrated on a scale unprecedented in history. To take up and advance on the lessons and legacy of the Cultural Revolution, or to compound the reversal in China with erroneous summations and retreat—this remains an important question in our movement.

1. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution," *CW*, Vol. 24, p. 75.
2. Quoted in the *Documents of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China*, FLP, 1969, pp. 64-65.
3. See for example, "A Letter to the Red Guards of Tsinghua University Middle School," August 1, 1966, in *Chairman Mao Talks to the People*, Stuart Schram ed., Pantheon, 1974, p. 261.
4. Quoted in "Open Letter of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile to the Communist Party of China" (November 1977), p. 8 of English translation.
5. Quoted at the beginning of "On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship Over the Bourgeoisie," Chang Chun-chiao, FLP, 1975. Also reprinted in *And Mao Makes 5*, R. Lotta ed., Banner Press, 1978.
6. Mao, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," *SW*, Vol. 5, p. 409.
7. Lenin, *The State and Revolution*, FLP, 1976, p. 114.
8. Lin Hung-lin, "To Each According to His Work: Socialist Principle in Distribution," *Peking Review* No. 7, February 17, 1978. Reprinted in *And Mao Makes 5*, p. 519.
9. Chang Chun-chiao, "On Exercising . . .", p. 8.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
11. Marx, "Marx to J. Weydemeyer in New York," *Marx Engels Selected Works*, Vol. 1, Progress Publishers, 1973, p. 528.
12. Chang Chun-chiao, "On Exercising . . .", p. 16.
13. Lin Hung-lin, "To Each According . . ."; *And Mao Makes 5*, p. 521.
14. See, for example, Fang Kang, "Capitalist-Roaders are the Bourgeoisie Inside the Party," *Peking Review* No. 25, June 18, 1976. Reprinted in *And Mao Makes 5*.
15. Chuang Lan, "Capitalist-Roaders are Representatives of the Capitalist Relations of Production," translated from *Study and Criticism* No. 6, 1976. Reprinted in *And Mao Makes 5*, p. 371.
16. See Yao Wen-yuan's pamphlet "On the Social Basis of the Lin Piao Anti-Party Clique" on this point.
17. Hua Guofeng, "Let the Whole Party Mobilize for a Vast Effort to Develop Agriculture and Build Tachai-Type Counties Throughout the Country," FLP, 1975, p. 16.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
19. Chang Chun-chiao, "On Exercising . . .", p. 25.

On the Threshold of a Great Leap

—From the Indian Marxist-Leninist Journal, Mass Line

The Joint Communique signed by thirteen Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations addressed to the tasks of uniting genuine Marxist-Leninists all over the world is undoubtedly a major achievement in the international communist movement. Events in the latter half of this century leading to restoration of capitalism in Russia greatly undermined the unity of communists internationally as well as nationally. Even though the Communist International ceased to function back from 1943, it was the ideological surrender and capitulation to bourgeoisie by the great party of Lenin and other parties that led to the setback of the international communist movement. But there were no years of silence, as the Chinese Communist Party and the Party of Labour of Albania came forward to take up the task of defending revolution and Marxism. The Great Debate helped salvage the revolutionary essence of Marxism and the world saw the result in increasing revolutionary struggles. Revisionism was repudiated in the open and Marxist-Leninists rebelled against their revisionist leadership. Marxism-Leninism found its further development in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. When the revisionists failed to grasp the meaning of class struggle in a socialist society, Mao Tsetung led the great proletarian cultural revolution to ferret out bourgeoisie inside the party itself. Cultural revolution marked a historic stage where it became part of the world revolution and where no revolutionary struggle can develop divorcing itself from cultural revolution and not being part of it.

But the revisionist coup in China in 1976 again brought to the fore disrupting elements. International communist movement immediately set out to answer the questions posed by these new developments. Parties and groups independently came out to denounce the new revisionist world leaders Teng Hsiaoping and Co. on the one hand and Enver Hoxha on the other. The Party of Labour of Albania had taken a neo-Trotskyite stand. In the face of the new challenges, parties and groups conducting revolutionary struggles in various capitalist, semi colonial and colonial countries of the world rose to build a revolutionary unity of communist organisations. That is why the communique marks a historic victory for the revolutionary forces. It could be possible only if a principled struggle on defending Mao Tsetung Thought emerged victorious over still existing Albanian revisionism, camouflaged or open. This struggle will continue, and unity depends on the struggle itself.

It can be looked upon as a major event also as it is intended to break the silence in the organisational sphere in the international communist movement after the Third International. The parties and organisations are determined "to deepen the study so as to make an evaluation of the theoretical and practical activity of the communists during the period of the Third International, the

Second World War and especially the causes of the coming to power of the revisionists in the countries in which the proletariat held power, particularly in the USSR and in China." It indicates that an international platform has been felt necessary for the Marxist-Leninists to further develop the struggle against revisionism. For that, the communique has rightly stressed and clearly expressed the view that "Marxism-Leninism, the science of the revolutionary proletariat, has always been forged and tempered in the furnace of class struggle. Today we must rise to meet the challenges before us." This is a solemn proclamation of the maturity of the world proletariat and revolutionary forces. It is revisionism that divides and disintegrates communist movement, and Marxism is the unifying force. So stress on ideology is a clear guarantee for unity of communists. "Unite, don't split" that is the call of Marxism.

Today, when the imperialist-social imperialist powers are running amuck for hegemony and control of the whole world, it has become necessary for the revolutionary forces to unify and consolidate their ranks. Both the imperialists are trying hard to smash them with gun and through infiltration into their ranks. Only a concerted ideological and political struggle can achieve such a unity. That is why the correct view on unity expressed by Lenin is underlined in the document.

In the analysis of the current situation, the signatories candidly admit that though "the objective conditions for revolution are ripening throughout the world and in some countries are already mature, subjective conditions, especially the development of the Marxist-Leninist movement, are lagging seriously behind." This brings us to the most urgent task of building Marxist-Leninist movements, and in our country it would mean accelerating the reorganisation of the party.

Revisionists have not only sabotaged armed struggle but have on many occasions come out openly on the side of the ruling classes in their bid to crush the party. While opposing revisionism and upholding the principle of armed struggle, errors of mechanically applying this principle have been committed. The correct formulation in the document that "the armed struggle must be carried out as a war of the masses and through it the masses must be prepared ideologically, politically and organisationally to exercise political power" would no doubt serve as a guide in the future course of our movement.

The unity gained through intense ideological and political struggle definitely marks the development of the world communist movement into a higher plane. This is a great leap forward to the establishment of a common platform for Marxist-Leninist movements at the international level.

“When A Trial Backfires On The Judges”

By Putting the Party on Trial, the Reactionary Force Following the Road of Capitalist Restoration Has Itself Been Indicted

**—Clandestine Document from the Central Committee of the
Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of China**

After a long period of planning and repeated rehearsals of their rigged-up “Special High Commission of the People’s Prosecution” and “Special Tribunal of the People’s High Court,” the Deng, Hu, Zhao clique who are clamorously, blatantly, smugly and ferociously going down the road of capitalist restoration, have put on a series of most unjust and ugly dramas in the history of the Chinese Communist Party and the international communist movement—the so-called “Great Trial of the Ten Evils,” at No. 1 Justice Road, Peking. Among the “Ten Evils,” Chiang, Chang, Wang, Yao, the good sons and daughters of the Party and upholders of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought who are labelled as the “Gang of Four,” are the main targets of the “trial” and revengeful attack. Chen Boda and Hwang, Wu, Li, Qiu and Jiang only serve as props!

Precisely because the Deng, Hu, Zhao clique stole power directly from the hands of Chiang, Chang, Wang and Yao, from the beginning of their plot they had planned the use of super-fascist methods and those from the days of dynasty takeovers in order to deal with the other side. If we are to look for fitting words in the literature of the international communist movement to describe what has happened to Chiang, Chang, Wang and Yao, and also to condemn Deng, Hu, Zhao and their gang’s contemptible poison, then Marx’s phrase speaking of the positive and negative aspects of the Paris Commune applies fully: “What elasticity, what historical initiative, what a capacity for sacrifice in these Parisians! . . . However that may be, the present rising in Paris—even if it be crushed by the wolves, swine and vile curs of the old society—is the most glorious deed of our Party since the June insurrection in Paris. Compare these Parisians, storming heaven, with the slaves to heaven of the German-Prussian Holy Roman Empire, with its posthumous masquerades reeking of the barracks, the Church, cabbage-Junkerdom and, above all, of the philistine.” Are not Hu, Zhao and those ghosts and monsters that howl in the “Special Court” precisely the wolves, swine and vile curs of today?

**In The Final Analysis, What Crime Did Chiang, Chang,
Wang and Yao Commit?**

Any person who has been illegally arrested and sent to jail and deprived of all political rights can be arbitrarily saddled with a whole big load of charges according to the wishes of the rulers. To artificially include Chiang, Chang, Wang, Yao in the “Ten Evils” already fully exposes their devious intentions of scheming

day and night and recklessly implicating people. Furthermore, what stands out in the part of the indictment that refers to the Four—Chiang, Chang, Wang, Yao—in the so-called “crimes” under four sections, is the clique’s reformism, which Marx opposed with all his strength throughout his life, in their use of the 48 charges to oppose the extraordinary measures that need to be taken in a revolution. If one wants to persist in saying that Chiang, Chang, Wang and Yao, especially the two proletarian heroic fighters, Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, really committed “crimes” which warrant punishment, then their crimes can be summarized as:

1. Chiang Ching should not have been Mao Tsetung’s wife, shouldering all the crimes she did not commit that derive from the feudal practice of “the wife pays back the husband’s debt.” Comrade Mao Tsetung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time. In the struggle to oppose imperialism and internal reactionary classes, in the line struggle against inner-Party right and left opportunism, in the struggle against various shades of revisionism, in combining the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, as well as in the cause of liberation of oppressed nations and oppressed people all over the world, Comrade Mao has left a brilliant record that will never be diminished in the annals of history of our country’s revolution and that of the revolutions of the peoples of the world. But Comrade Mao Tsetung was a man, not a god. In facing the attack and retaliation of imperialists, internal reactionary classes, inner-Party right and left opportunists, assorted revisionists, as well as those wolves, swine and vile curs, he could not be so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous, or treat them as if doing embroidery, holding a dinner party or writing an essay. Therefore in sweeping away all ghosts and monsters in the fierce struggle to uphold Marxism-Leninism and continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, it was inevitable that a small number of self-styled “saints and heroes” would be treated as ghosts and monsters and swept away, or that one or two ordinary human heads would be treated as dog heads and be smashed. This is an unavoidable sacrifice in the process of any revolution. But today, the traitorous clique Deng, Hu, Zhao and gang who restored the capitalist road are posthumously giving the title of “saints and heroes” to all those ghosts and monsters that were struck down, making into human heads all those dog heads that were smashed. They not only want to howl “frameups,” but also want to use all this to throw mud on Com-

rade Mao Tsetung, who was a great revolutionary figure looked up to by the Chinese people and people of the whole world; they furthermore want to make Mao's wife, Comrade Chiang Ching by herself, or the so-called "Gang of Four," shoulder the responsibility for a few, small, unavoidable mistakes made by Comrade Mao Tsetung in leading the Chinese Communist Party and establishing great achievements for the Chinese revolution. Can this be called just?

2. Comrade Chiang Ching and a few close comrades in arms were too civilized and suffered a lot from "too good a heart and too soft a hand." Conducting revolutionary struggle cannot be so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous, and it is not so refined as embroidery, a dinner party or writing an essay. Furthermore one must not, during times when the revolutionary situation seems favorable, be careless and speak of equality with antagonistic classes, speak of peaceful coexistence. The "May 16 Circular" personally drafted under Mao Tsetung's supervision clearly pointed out: "In the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the truth of Marxism and the fallacies of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, either the East Wind prevails over the West Wind or the West Wind prevails over the East Wind..." Furthermore it is stressed, "...the faithful lackeys of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists, together with the bourgeoisie and the imperialists, cling to the bourgeois ideology of oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and to the capitalist system, and they oppose Marxist-Leninist ideology and the socialist system. They are a bunch of counter-revolutionaries opposing the Communist Party and the people. Their struggle against us is one of life and death, and there is no question of equality. Therefore, our struggle against them, too, can be nothing but a life-and-death struggle, and our relationship with them can in no way be one of equality. On the contrary, it is a relationship in which one class oppresses another, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie." Under this brilliant and incisive directive the proletariat launched the earth-shaking Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. At that time Comrade Chiang Ching and her comrades in arms gained the complete trust and powerful support of Comrade Mao Tsetung. They no doubt had enough strength to put the whole string of anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements in the fields of the Party, government, army and literature, consisting of Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, Peng Zhen, Lo Ruiqing, Lu Dingyi, Yang Shangkun and others, into a position from which they could never recover. But very unfortunately, Comrade Chiang Ching and her close comrades in arms were able to do so but did not do so. In the ten glorious years of the Cultural Revolution, in general the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements going down the capitalist road were given the opportunity to turn over a new leaf, and were even given a certain political future, except for a few whose crimes were very serious, who could not face up to the Party and the people and walked into a dead end street of self-destructive suicide. However, because Comrade Chiang Ching and her comrades in arms overlooked the principle that revolutionary work doesn't necessitate being kind and soft, they could not dig up the roots of these anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements, even being taken in by the schemes of the leading reactionary gang's chieftain to make confessions in order to resurface and take power, spread more poison, and rescue other dogs who had fallen into the water. All this gave him the opportunity to retaliate later.

3. Those comrades that Comrade Chiang Ching could trust and who would persevere in the revolution to the end and would not capitulate even up to death were too few! Unqualified people were even used so that at key junctures which determined the success or failure of the revolution, there arose surprise incidents of people turning against us. In investigating the reasons why this was so, it was found that in the past several decades, our Party's Marxist-Leninist education and the work of implementing Mao Tsetung Thought appears to have been very shallow. All along, the majority of Party cadres, especially many cadres in important leader-

ship positions, have not firmly grasped the ability to distinguish real from false revolution. Also we were not able to develop the kind of lofty revolutionary moral character needed by professional revolutionaries—not giving a second thought to being beheaded or having their house searched in order to find evidence. Therefore in such revolutionary ranks as ours, there infiltrated those turtles who pull their necks into the shell, cunning rabbits who run away from the battlefield, and those who only recognize selfish material interests. Even such well-known standard bearers as Wang Hongwen and Yao Wenyuan could fail to pass through the harsh test of revolutionary struggle. In the end, under torture and the carrot and stick tactics of the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary elements, they are repudiating what is necessary for communists to achieve their revolutionary goal, brazenly slandering the destruction and revolutionary violence that are inevitably part of the struggle, as well as self-defense, which is obviously justified. They have also been manipulated by the enemy to admit to all kinds of "crimes" and "mistakes" arrogantly thrown at them in the thoroughly reactionary and extremely ridiculous "court" that was set up to show off the temporary anti-Party and counter-revolutionary victory.

Only true gold can withstand a test by fire, and only those that dare despise the enemy, like Comrade Chiang Ching and Comrade Chang Chun-chiao, can show the great spirit of sacrifice of us communists of fearing not even death in making revolution.

4. Our military armed actions were not able to closely coordinate with the change of the political situation. During the Cultural Revolution, by relying on the brilliant guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and relying on the theoretical inspiration and leadership in action of Comrade Chiang Ching and Comrade Chang Chun-chiao, our revolutionary ranks deeply won the hearts of the people, became a rallying place for the masses of workers and peasants and revolutionary intellectual youth of the whole country, who fought with enthusiasm for a common goal. Especially in the People's Liberation Army, we had the overwhelming majority as our supporters, so that even today, when our revolutionary cause has suffered a temporary setback, the unmatched strength that we planted deeply in the various branches, military academies, and various levels of the command structure in this invincible people's army is still a reliable force in defeating all anti-Party and counter-revolutionary renegades. Besides this, we had spread militia troops made up of workers and peasants throughout the country. This was a mass armed force for combatting and preventing revisionism and for smashing attacks by class enemies, anti-Party and counter-revolutionary renegades. But while we deepened and broadened the political call and built up a political situation extremely favorable for a revolutionary situation, on the one hand we did not take initiative to strike directly and forcefully at the various anti-Party and counter-revolutionary strongholds; on the other hand we were off guard—that is, we did not see that the reactionary forces might seize the opportunity of the death of our great revolutionary leader and great revolutionary teacher Comrade Mao Tsetung, and the period when the whole Party, the army and the people of the whole country were in deep mourning, to launch a sudden attack to arrest and imprison several leaders of our revolutionary ranks headed by Comrade Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao. Also after the surprise incident took place, the Liberation Army and the militia in various areas were not able to take the initiative and take immediate action in response, which would have been favorable to continuing the revolution and broadening the fight. The abandoning of the Shanghai armed insurrection as it neared completion was because our vigilance during ordinary times proved insufficient, and the emergency measures which should have been taken were delayed for quite a while before being launched. Therefore a good opportunity for resistance was lost.

Among the many "criminal" charges thrown at Comrade Chiang Ching, some she herself could not avoid under the conditions of the continued existence of feudal ideology in Chinese

society; some are because in this historically unprecedented revolutionary struggle, facing such tough, widespread and hidden anti-Party and counter-revolutionary enemies, both Comrade Chiang Ching, as the leadership center of this revolutionary organization, as well as the newborn revolutionary forces under her leadership, lacked experience. Because of this, we do not deny the shortcomings and mistakes which existed in our revolutionary work, and we recognize our failure and temporary setback. That is, they cannot be solely the responsibility of Comrade Chiang Ching, Comrade Chang Chun-chiao and other leading comrades. Our reversal is the reversal of the perseverance of the Chinese Communist Party on the road of the Marxist-Leninist line, it is the reversal of Mao's revolutionary line of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; it is also a reversal of the line of the revolutionary people of China and the world of combatting and preventing revisionism. And also because of this, the more faults and mistakes we can consciously discover and point out in a more concrete way, the more beneficial for us it will be in taking warning from the past to be more careful in the future. Thus these faults and mistakes can be avoided, overcome and corrected one by one, so that our revolutionary cause can go through a thousand forgings and a hundred smeltings, and we can unyieldingly persist in carrying it out to the end.

The People Are The Judge Of Everything

The masses are the makers of history. In the same way, every anti-Party and counter-revolutionary element must be tried by the people and only then can a final verdict be given. Today, Chinese proletarian state power has been usurped by a handful of reactionaries who were knocked down before and who now have restored the capitalist road. Ghosts and monsters are all coming out of their cages. Wolves, swine and vile curs are strutting around restoring all the bourgeois rights. They have set up a bourgeois form of "court" and with their bourgeois outlook, are exercising arbitrary dictatorship over and putting on "trial" outstanding proletarian revolutionary leaders. This kind of farce and ugly display, just as Comrade Chiang Ching righteously and forcefully pointed out, "is to put the Chinese Communist Party on trial!"

Exactly because this handful of reactionaries who have restored the capitalist road are blatantly carrying out anti-Party, counter-revolutionary activities, in their bourgeois "court" they are therefore viciously depriving Comrade Chiang Ching of the minimum right to defend and argue on behalf of the Marxist-Leninist line which the Chinese Communist Party has consistently persevered in, and on behalf of the interests of the Chinese proletariat and revolutionary people. Isn't this clear proof that they are afraid to death of the truth? Isn't this an exposure of them desperately and nakedly putting the Party on trial and exercising brutal dictatorship over the proletariat?

But for these reactionaries who have restored the capitalist road, the more they, in fear of the truth, try to bury and persecute it, the more the truth will become an indestructible beacon in the minds of hundreds of millions, and the more people will see clearly from the past to the present the vicious intentions and ugly faces of that bunch of reactionaries who have restored the capitalist road. Today, if these reactionaries who have restored the capitalist road really take seriously the cries about so-called "seeking truth from facts" and "practice is the sole criterion of truth," then people cannot help but look at these four years of practice since they have usurped power, taken control of the Party, restored bourgeois dictatorship and gone all out to "promote bourgeois ideology and liquidate proletarian ideology." People can line up things one by one and use the magic mirror of Marxism-Leninism, dissect the sparrow, compare and examine. It's not hard to distinguish between what they want to achieve and what they have already carried out, to see whether it is the Marxist-Leninist criterion of truth or what the bourgeois revisionists regard as the "criterion" of truth which is directly opposed

to Marxism-Leninism.

We can say for certain: for that small handful of diehards, wolves and vile curs who have restored the capitalist road, all the slanders, frameups, curses and even all the unimaginable rumors that they have thrown upon those in the proletarian ranks who have persevered in the Marxist-Leninist line, the successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause—now especially directed at Comrade Chiang Ching and Comrade Chang Chun-chiao—this can very fittingly be turned back against them, because from "judging" their own "practice," their anti-Party, counter-revolutionary, anti-people activities, the precise facts are:

1. Exercising feudal and fascist dictatorship.

The aim of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was to open up a forum for the people's political expression, to let the people of the whole country, particularly the workers, peasants and revolutionary educated youth freely express themselves, to make them concerned about the cardinal affairs of the Party and the state, to promote the Party's mass line, to prevent anyone—especially Party members and cadres—from using their position to seek privileges and self-interest, and further link up with the masses to carry out a determined struggle against bourgeois thinking. This was in order to help the socialist revolution and construction, and further create a political situation where there is both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness. Thus, at the Second Plenum of the Ninth Party Congress, we passed a constitutional amendment to officially guarantee in the highest legal form that "people have the right to speak out freely, air their views fully, hold big debates, and write big character posters." But exactly because the four freedoms are a weapon to link up with the masses to carry out determined struggle against the bourgeoisie, it made the actual agents of the bourgeoisie—that is, the reactionaries who have overthrown the political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat and restored the capitalist road—concoct the idea of using it to erect the so-called "socialist democratic legality" as a cover to hide the real nature of their fascist dictatorship. But then they found that the four freedoms are extremely unfavorable to them in consolidating their rule and restoring the capitalist road. They turned around to slander the four freedoms as "disrupting democracy, disrupting law and order and production, splitting the unity of the Party and the masses," and viciously wrote them off. This kind of vile step backwards, these anti-Party, counter-revolutionary activities in transforming socialism into fascism, force us to add a supplement to the earlier "from bourgeois democrat to capitalist roader," to "from capitalist roader to fascist dictator." This is determined by their reactionary character, we have not invented it.

2. They have pushed the national economy into the depths of an appalling catastrophe.

Since the reactionaries restored the capitalist road some four years ago, they've heaped malicious slander on the radiant, fruitful 10 years of the Cultural Revolution as "10 years of appalling catastrophe." But the people see clearly. Who created "an appalling catastrophe"? It is them. Because in fact before the 1976 October counter-revolutionary coup, our country was a financially sound and economically stable socialist country with no external or internal debts and a treasury of over tens of billions in reserve. However, by 1978, under these wasteful, squandering reactionaries who have restored the capitalist road, we only had around one billion left. As we entered 1980, due to their going against correct principles and the serious effects of this, our country went from a surplus to a deficit of 17 billion yuans. It is predicted that in 1981-82, we'll still be saddled with over 10 billion yuans in deficits.

In the final analysis this shocking deficit cannot be separated from the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary restoration of the capitalist road. Under the frantic direction of the handful of swine, vile curs, self-proclaimed "supermen" who can summon wind and rain, and who regard themselves as "saviors"—from the "four modernizations" which they retrieved from what others spit

out, resurrecting their own blown-up version in the name of "reorienting the economy," to the so-called "Ten-Year Economic Plan," followed by the so-called "Eight Point Program" for a three year re-adjustment—all this bullshit has been blown apart one by one. One after another plan has fallen flat. Especially noteworthy are the so-called "special economic districts" they have created, seeing only dollar signs in their eyes and worshipping anything foreign. These serve in fact to attract foreign capital, from overseas Chinese and others, for the wholesale exploitation of the sweat and blood of our people's labor. They want to make these special districts in a socialist country into a "paradise" for openly conducting illegal activities, profiteering, smuggling, avoiding taxes, and hoarding.

They have completely lost confidence in socialism. They have blown apart the policy of self-reliance and building up the country through hard work and frugality. They recklessly turn towards capitalist countries to import machinery and equipment, bringing in so-called "advanced technology." In less than two to three years time, the total amount shot up to \$60 to \$70 billion U.S. dollars. And all these imported goods were bought through high interest loans. On the Baoshan Steel Mill alone, they spent several billion dollars. They're truly the ones "blindly directing" and disregarding economic accounting. The end result is insufficient raw materials, lack of knowledge of how to run and maintain the machinery, and no matching or spare parts. And in turn, it has become a serious burden. The sweat and blood of the broad masses of people is being wasted by them in this way! As far as their turning tail and begging for capitalist countries' aid, they stick their head into the capitalist noose, letting the capitalist "gentlemen" play, laugh and pull them around, but still they don't feel any shame. These kind of actions not only disgrace socialism, but are a disgrace for the Chinese people.

3. Creating a serious "crisis of confidence."

In the last several decades ever since the founding of the Chinese Communist Party and the nation, the Party has built up tremendous prestige among the people of all nationalities in the country. Especially in the brilliant ten years of the Cultural Revolution, masses of youth hungrily, thirstily studied Marxism-Leninism and the works of Mao Tsetung. More than a few Red Army fighters and old cadres rejuvenated their revolutionary vigor and fiercely advanced forward to serve the people. Educated youth went to the countryside, conquering nature, and from that emerged group after group of Lei Feng-type heroes like Zhu Kejia, Xing Yanzi, Bi Ximei, Chai Chunze, Lin Zhaoqiang, and Cheng Youzhi.

"7/21 Workers Universities," "May 7 Universities," village political night schools, theoretical study groups, etc. and other such open-door education were important educational reforms and also popularized upsurges in mass study campaigns. It allowed the workers, peasants and soldiers to climb into the political superstructure, training for our socialist revolution and construction countless revolutionary cadres through the "Three Great Revolutionary Movements," tempering them as fighters capable of struggling and winning. All these creative developments not only shed light on the glorious milestone of our socialist cause but also received respect and confidence from all the anti-revisionist Marxist-Leninist fraternal parties around the world. However, even when we advanced one step it became a thorn in the side of those anti-Party, counter-revolutionary cliques. Therefore, as soon as the conspiracy to restore the capitalist road held sway, they desperately and with vengeance went all out to sabotage and trample upon the line, direction and policies, and all the socialist new things. They frenziedly distorted Marxism-Leninism, threw mud on socialism, slandered revolutionary leaders, and persecuted revolutionary cadres and masses. They drowned justice, making good people suffer. They promoted the cowardly semi-feudal, semi-colonial philosophy of bowing to the almighty dollar, looking only after profits, "whoever feeds you, you call them mother," and worshipping anything foreign. To build up this evil atmosphere and let bad people run rampant, they painted

socialism all dark. The broad masses of youth feel empty and purposeless; workers, peasants and soldiers have no hopes, no future. This naturally has created a "crisis of confidence" unheard of since the birth of socialist China.

Today it is hard to find the Party's true sons and daughters who seriously study Marxism-Leninism. Many of the sons and daughters from the ranks of workers, peasants and soldiers who contributed in the various battlefields of production and were given important leadership positions are now being kicked out, and also suffer brutal persecution.

Going to the countryside is no longer the goal of those educated youth dedicated to making revolution. It is just the opposite. These revisionists opened the back door wide,* blatantly pursued privileges, and whipped up an insidious atmosphere of competing to send children abroad. This has in turn unleashed an ugly display at the present time by some fools who think they know some ABC's, of scheming in a thousand and one ways in a mad rush to go abroad and pay "homage," eat capitalist bread and refuse to eat Chinese steamed buns and rice! Even more pitiful and despicable is how this bunch of half-assed "going abroaders" spend hard-earned foreign exchange saved through the sweat and blood of the motherland. Some became so enamoured by criminal capitalist "civilization" that they don't even think about home while they are abroad. And then there are those who turn their back completely on the motherland and grease their shoes to slip away altogether; some even commit suicide. This provides an endless stream of propaganda material for capitalist countries and the Taiwan KMT, who talk of shocking "defectors to freedom," who are dissatisfied with China's "totalitarian" rule. When you insult yourself, others then can do it easier. Judging from this serious situation, this anti-Party clique not only created a "crisis of confidence" in our country but is swinging the pickaxe to demolish our socialist building brick by brick until there is nothing left.

4. Increasing bourgeois cultural pollution and spreading bourgeois ideological poison.

In the ten glorious years of the Cultural Revolution, spring lights were bright, orioles sang and swallows swirled.** There could not have been enough praise for the heroic achievements of our worker, peasant and soldier literary workers who were active in all battlefronts of the "Three Great Revolutionary Movements"; there were more military epic poems than could be recited; pictures depicting the development and progress of workers and peasants, technology and national defense were numerous; even more, on the road of socialist construction, weeding out the old to let the new emerge, we had endless enjoyable, inspiring, colorful and poetic revolutionary literary works. However today, the proletariat has not only lost state power, but also power in the field of literature. Therefore, a yellow bell*** was discarded and replaced by the thunderous noise of tile banging together, and those ghosts and monsters in the field of art and literature who were knocked down before have now floated back to the surface, writing sour and stinking "revenge literature" and "settling-accounts literature." And the shameless petty tyrants responsible for cultural work, who are used to kissing ass and making a habit of pursuing stinking trash in order to please the reactionaries who have restored the capitalist road, have seized the opportunity to put out their "wound literature" and "conspiracy literature."**** They thought that

Translator's notes:

* Pulling official strings to get youth into college

** From a poem by Mao

*** Yellow bell refers to an ancient Chinese musical instrument, representing here the sound of the great breakthroughs made in cultural work during the GPCR

**** "Wound literature" is literature bemoaning the "mistreatment" these people received during the Cultural Revolution; the "conspiracy literature" is literature portraying the Cultural Revolution as factional fighting among leadership cliques

by squeezing out a few crocodile tears, they could portray the bright sky of the Cultural Revolution as a clouded, gray mess. But the radiance of the Cultural Revolution is not something they could cover up. Instead, it is the "revenge literature," "settling-accounts literature," "wound literature" and "conspiracy literature," purposely cooked up and put forward by the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary clique which restored the capitalist road, that have already spread a dark cloud and filthy air throughout the sky of our motherland. Under the cover of this cloud, without any light of sun or moon, some capitalist decadence—pornography, tight pants, long hair, dark glasses, disco, degenerate music, etc.—at first quietly smuggled in—has become brazenly marketed. All the education about revolutionary tradition, the hard and simple lifestyle, has been wiped out by this handful of wolves, swine and vile curs who have restored the capitalist road! Judging from all this, we ask, can you find a single iota of Marxism-Leninism in their body and soul?

The Trial of the Party Has Backfired on the Ruling Clique Who Restored Capitalism

In order to find a reason and excuse for their criminal conspiracy of usurping the Party and seizing power, their anti-Party, counter-revolutionary, anti-people conspiracy pushed Chiang, Chang, Wang, Yao—these Marxist fighters who had opposed them but are now in prison due to their surprise attack—onto the stage and copied bourgeois legalities in order to stage this thoroughly farcical ugly show—the so-called "trial." But everybody knows that what Chiang, Chang, Wang and Yao implemented were the instructions of Comrade Mao Tsetung, who was supported by the whole Party, the nation, and the army; Comrade Mao Tsetung's instructions were issued after summing up and were based on the common will of the Party Center and the people of the whole country. Even that small handful of people who are today sitting high on the judge's seat at the "trial" were at that time yelling "Long Live Chairman Mao!" and closely following Chairman Mao's brilliant leadership. If they are not two-faced people who say one thing and do another, and indulge in intrigue and conspiracy, then why did they not openly uphold the capitalist road while Comrade Mao was still alive, directly oppose the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, or even apply this special talent of surprise attack to arrest and imprison the great revolutionary leader who was supported by the people of all nationalities in the whole country? This is because the people did not stand on their side, and neither did the truth stand on their side. Therefore they had to wear an obedient mask of following Chairman Mao and following the Party Center. Following the key campaigns of rectification through criticism of revisionism, and of criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius, they showed an even more extraordinary enthusiasm in order to falsely gain trust. Only when Comrade Mao Tsetung died, as the people of the whole country were in mourning, did they launch a sudden attack and finally completely expose what has always been their true anti-Party, counter-revolutionary and anti-people face. Precisely because they are two-faced plotters, when they "try" Chiang, Chang, Wang, and Yao today, actually they are putting on "trial" the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time, the great founder of the Peoples' Republic of China, Comrade Mao Tsetung. Furthermore, they are putting on "trial" the great Chinese Communist Party, which has a 60 year history and went through 28 years of revolutionary struggle to overthrow the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratism.

But when they perform this ugly drama of a "trial" of the revolutionary teacher and a "trial" of the Chinese Communist Party, they also by necessity bring to trial the wild ambitions of their own small handful of people to attempt in vain to restore the capitalist road. Actually the serious damage, outlined in this pamphlet, to our politics, economy and society as well as to education and culture inflicted by them after they took control of the Party and seized power, is already sufficient to make each one of us, especially every Marxist-Leninist, recognize that their anti-Party, counter-revolutionary and anti-people crimes have already reached such a point that they are hated by all the people. What is especially so hateful is that they are not ashamed of their treachery to the Party and the country, but instead have taken one scene after another from their ugly drama of putting the Party on "trial" and putting themselves on trial, and chosen TV footage that most brings out their "arrogant frenzy" to be relayed by satellite. The rights to the footage were sold to the American Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) for \$40,000. The American ABC station, not wanting to be left behind, also broadcast footage from the satellite. Seeing that ABC could get the film without paying, and unwilling to suffer any losses, CBS refused to pay up. Seeing a sure jackpot slip out of their hands made this handful of white cats, black cats, greedy dogs, hungry dogs who have restored the capitalist road yell like mad and charge the other side with violating the contract. Now this fight is really getting heated! In addition, this bunch of shameless trash have put fragments of their dirty act onto a cassette and are selling each tape for 230 Hong Kong dollars, marketing it in great quantities abroad and in Hong Kong and Macao. This further proves that these bad elements that have restored the capitalist road will do anything to make money, even making shameless international laughing stocks out of themselves, and are willing to commit any criminal schemes to harm the country and the people's interests.

But we seriously warn this handful of bad elements: your clumsy performances will not only fail to subdue the Chinese Communist Party and thousands and millions of heroic fighters who firmly uphold Marxism-Leninism; in fact under your tortures and threats, Comrades Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao dared to despise the performances of your pack of rats and clowns, having long since disregarded the question of their own lives and deaths. The spirit of the two comrades Chiang and Chang in upholding the truth and persevering in struggle has greatly encouraged the revolutionary people of our country, the revolutionary comrades of our Party, and all those in the Liberation Army who refuse to be dragged into the swamp by these reactionary capitalist-roaders, and who are determined to make revolution and fight to the end. Countries want independence, people want revolution, and we want Marxism-Leninism, not revisionism and especially not capitalism—this road towards the future nobody can block. As long as we live, you bunch of wolves, swine and vile curs who have restored capitalism, you'd better not swagger too soon. We must intensify our vigilance a hundredfold, correct our mistakes and shortcomings. We must also increase our work a hundredfold, strengthen our fighting ability and persevere. We vow that we will seize political power and put it back in the hands of the proletariat. If you do not believe it, just watch!

Central Committee
of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of China
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