

Resolutions of the 5th Conference of the International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations

Note: The 5th Conference was held in October 1966 with the participation of 20 Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations. It approved four main resolutions and adopted a special resolution on the 25th anniversary of the martyrdom of Comrade Charu Majumdar.

Parties in attendance were the following: Marxist-Leninist organization from Afghanistan; Revolutionary Communist Party, Argentina; Workers' Party of Bangladesh; Marxist-Leninist Communist Organization Revolutionary Way, France; Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany; Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Janashakti; Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) New Democracy; Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) People's War; Japan Communist League; Communist Organization of Luxembourg; Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninists); Marxist-Leninist Group (Red Dawn), Netherlands; Workers' Communist Party, Norway; Communist Party of the Philippines; Communist Unification of Spain; Pan Africanist Congress, South Africa; ChingKang Mountains Institute, Taiwan; Revolutionary Communist Party, Uruguay; a revolutionary organization from Zaire; and another revolutionary organization that has opted to remain unnamed.

1 The Economic and Political Developments in the World as Basic Circumstances for Revolutionary Work

1. The Sharpening General Crisis of Capitalism

The collapse of the bureaucrat-capitalist regimes in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe was a deep crisis of modern revisionism.¹ It did not constitute a defeat of socialism but is a vindication of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

A unified capitalist world market has been fully restored.² However, objective reality has exposed the myth of a crisis-free capitalism and of an almighty imperialist system, propagated throughout the world with the aid of modern anticommunism. The capitalist world system is characterized by general destabilization.

The crisis of the imperialist world system is the result of the contradiction of the productive forces and the relations of production. It is aggravated by the use of high technology.

The internationalization of production in the current period has led to the centralization of capital in a few industrial capitalist countries. The same process is taking place in a few big cities in

¹ *CPP annotation:* Monopoly bureaucrat capitalism persists in a big way in the former Soviet Union. The privatization of state assets and aggrandizement of private capital involve the use of political power, public resources and the cooperation of state and private capital. What has collapsed is the revisionist political system in which the ruling party masqueraded as communist and the state as socialist.

² *CPP annotation:* Relative to the past existence of major socialist economies or even to the defunct Comecon of Soviet social-imperialism, there is now a unified capitalist market once more dominated by the traditional imperialist powers without serious challenges from any socialist country. But there is also multipolarity and competition among the three global centers of capitalism, North America, the European Union and Japan.

countries dependent on imperialism. On the one hand, such centralization advances the material preconditions for socialism. On the other hand, it leads to the destruction of a large part of the productive forces on a global scale. Thus, the development of the world capitalist system has become more uneven than ever before.³ This rapidly worsening crisis of the capitalist system has enormously aggravated the neocolonial plunder of the masses in the countries of oppressed nations and peoples and of the proletariat and peoples in the imperialist countries. Under these conditions, the fundamental contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between the imperialists and the oppressed nations and peoples, and among the imperialists, are becoming sharper.

1.1. The situation in the imperialist countries

International production is dominated by only 100 multinational companies, which in 1993 commanded 60 percent of world capital investments. The international monopolies fight to liquidate each other. This is linked to the so-called lean production process in industrial capitalist countries and the intensification of exploitation in the world. Mass unemployment has become a permanent phenomenon. The crisis programs adopted by the antipeople governments erode the social gains of the working people. In many countries, the monopoly capitalists' state is increasingly losing its ability to blunt class contradictions and has itself become the target of growing mass discontent manifested in latent and open political crises and in an upswing of mass struggles and protests. The biggest mass strikes up to now were those in France of December 1995. In many countries, new youth movements imbued with internationalism and militant women's

³ *CPP annotation:* Seventy-five percent of the flow of global foreign direct investments are concentrated in the three global centers of capitalism. The remainder flow only in some ten countries. The main aspect of capitalism is destructive, especially to the third world and former Soviet-bloc countries.

movements have developed. Nevertheless, the influence of reformism and revisionism on the masses must be overcome. This situation demands from Marxist-Leninists painstaking revolutionary work and support for the self-organizing efforts of the masses.

1.2. The situation in the neocolonies and dependent countries in Africa, Latin America and Asia

Africa is the continent most devastated economically by old colonialism and by neocolonial methods of imperialist and social-imperialist exploitation and oppression. African society is imploding once again. It has plunged all the people into generalized distress and undermined the conditions of life for future generations. Thirty-three of the 50 poorest countries of the third world are here. The global overproduction of raw materials, deteriorating terms of trade with the imperialist countries and heavy foreign indebtedness since the late '70s have plunged the African countries, which depend on the export of agricultural and mineral products, into a state of depression. Worse, massive displacement of people and massacres are being perpetrated in the African continent. The objective conditions there cry out for revolutionary work.

In Latin America, the imperialists and reactionary governments have imposed on the people the IMF policy of structural adjustment program, which means privatization, economic liberalization, heavy indebtedness and reactionary reforms in the state, in the educational and the social security systems.

Unemployment is increasing in the cities and among the landless peasants. The landlords and the finance capitalists are profiting from this situation. The contention for markets among the monopolies is sharpening. All these have led to a new upswing in the people's struggles. Armed struggle is being launched in Chiapas and Guerrero (Mexico), persisting in Peru and developing in Colombia. The strikes being conducted by the proletariat

in Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay are growing in significance. In Brazil and Paraguay, the struggle of the poor peasants for land is developing to a higher level, with occupations that rely on self-defense. There are also uprisings of students, women and pensioners. Political crises are brewing.

In the Middle East, imperialist oppression and exploitation is very intense because this region is strategically important.

The Kurds and Palestinians are in the forefront of the struggle for national liberation and social and democratic rights.

In South Asia, the semifeudal economies are in grave crisis.

The huge Indian economy, with its heavy and basic industries, has been undermined by increasing compradorization and tighter integration with the world capitalist system since the late '80s. Militant mass movements and/or armed struggles in varying degrees are on the rise in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Nepal.

The Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and other countries in Southeast Asia suffer from the same economic ills as Mexico. The promise of industrialization remains false in the face of endless foreign trade deficits and dependence on foreign loans and speculative investments. In the Philippines, protracted people's war is being waged under the leadership of a proletarian revolutionary party, while in Indonesia democratic mass protests have broken out against the Suharto regime.

In the current period, the struggle between armed revolution and armed counterrevolution is focused on the countries of the oppressed nations and peoples.

1.3. The situation in the former Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe

The collapse of bureaucrat capitalism⁴ and integration into the new international capitalist division of labor have led to a decline in industrial production in these countries. The openly anticommunist governments that replaced the revisionist regimes have been rapidly discredited as a result of the general economic and social devastation as well as of their subservience to western imperialism. Hence, many big revisionist or "Left" reformist parties won elections by peddling a mixture of nationalist, social-democratic and neoliberal slogans. Rival cliques are locked in civil wars, with various forms of Russian imperialist intervention.⁵ These developments have resulted in the impoverishment of large sections of the people and has sharpened class contradictions. This has led to the first mass struggles in Russia, Poland and other countries. However, in these countries no proletarian revolutionary party has developed to the extent of being able to make thoroughgoing and fundamental criticism of modern revisionism and capitalist restoration.

1.4. The intensification of the contradictions among the imperialists

The contradictions among various monopoly capitalist groupings and among the imperialist states are sharpening. Since the collapse of the former Soviet Union, the United States has been trying to play the role of a world policeman in striving for a new imperialist world order. So far the United States has not succeeded in solving its economic problems caused by enormous budget and

⁴ Bureaucrat capitalism continues, especially because of the growing compradorization of the formerly revisionist-ruled economies. Compradorization involves the destruction of the erstwhile national industrial base by the combination of bureaucrat and private capitalism in subordination to foreign monopoly capitalism.

⁵ In Bosnia, the US and other western imperialist powers are the main interventionists. In Central Asia, Russia is ahead of other imperialists in military intervention.

trade deficits. The centers of the imperialist world economy are the United States, Japan and the European Union, of which the strongest are Germany and France. In Russia, the remaining state sector of the economy as well as the private monopolies are making efforts at cooperating, even as they compete with western multinational groups. Russia continues to be an imperialist power.

The imperialists today use various organizations such as the United Nations, IMF, World Bank (WB), World Trade Organization (WTO) and the Group of Seven (G-7) to exploit and oppress the world's peoples. Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany have joined in the building of imperialist intervention forces and strive for permanent seats in the UN Security Council to expand their political power. Interimperialist rivalry sharpens the general danger of war. The imperialist policy of pacification has failed in such areas as Palestine, Central America, Latin America, Eastern Europe and Russia.

2. Perspective of the World Proletarian Revolution

The scientific basis for the optimism of the revolutionary forces of socialism and anti-imperialism is to be found in the accelerated contradiction between the capitalist forces and relations of production. However, there is neither an automatic collapse of imperialism nor an unhindered and limitless industrial capitalist growth. There is enough disorder and instability to stimulate the emergence and development of revolutionary forces which have to be vigilant against the enemy's capacity to do damage to the masses and the revolutionary forces. The ground is fertile for Marxist-Leninists to build proletarian parties and international solidarity in order to raise the level of the anti-imperialist and socialist movements to a new and higher level than ever before

in the struggle against imperialism, the common enemy of the international proletariat and peoples of the world.

Signatories: Marxist-Leninist organization of Afghanistan • Revolutionary Communist Party, Argentina • Workers' Party of Bangladesh • Marxist-Leninist Communist Organization, Revolutionary Way, France • Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany • Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) New Democracy • Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) People's War • Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Provisional Central Committee • Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Red Flag • Communist Organization of Luxembourg • Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninists): (excluding first paragraph and point 3 of part I) • Marxist-Leninist Group (Red Dawn), Netherlands • Workers' Communist Party, Norway • Communist Party of the Philippines • Communist Unification of Spain • Pan Africanist Congress, South Africa • ChingKang Mountains Institute, Taiwan • Revolutionary Communist Party, Uruguay #

Tasks and Perspectives of the Marxist-Leninist and Working-Class Movement

1. We are in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The international proletariat struggles in unity with the oppressed peoples and nations against imperialism and for socialism. The struggle for national liberation and democracy is part of the world proletarian revolution.

2. It is necessary to continue promoting the unity of parties which are guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and with those parties which have a positive attitude towards Mao in order to confront and defeat revisionism with which we can have no ideological unity but without negating the broad political unity of all anti-imperialist forces.

3. We reaffirm and advance the line of proletarian internationalism whose first principal task is solidarity with all the struggles of the working class throughout the world.

We call on the world's proletariat to militant concerted actions against mass unemployment and deteriorating terms of employment and for the defense of workers' rights. Let us fight the policies of the IMF, WB and WTO and measures of labor flexibility and of withdrawing other social gains all being pushed by the monopoly capitalists globally.

4. The historic mission of the working class is to end the exploitation of man by man by overthrowing the capitalist system and building socialism in transition to communism. To this end, it is necessary to destroy the reactionary states through armed revolution. The proletarian party must learn to use all forms of struggle in accumulating strength necessary for the seizure of political power.

5. We give all-out support to the struggles of the oppressed peoples who with arms in hand confront their oppressors in the

Philippines, Cambodia, India, Kurdistan, Mexico, Colombia, Peru and others. We also support the peoples' struggles of North Ireland against British imperialism, Chechnya against Russian imperialism, Palestine against Zionism and other peoples' struggle for self-determination.

6. It is necessary to promote and help the resistance of the peoples and nations of the third world against imperialist economic plunder, and oppose imperialist intervention be it under the UN banner or not, as in the cases of Cuba, North Korea, Iraq, Bosnia, Rwanda, Somalia, Haiti and others.

7. We act in solidarity with peoples suffering human rights violations against the genocide instigated by imperialist powers and local reactionaries, as in Africa, Afghanistan and Yugoslavia.

We demand freedom and democratic rights for thousands upon thousands of revolutionary fighters and leaders as Abimael Guzman and Jose Maria Sison.

8. Every party integrates Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with its country's concrete conditions in determining its form of struggle and each tactics in the struggle for the strategic objectives.

Revolutions can be carried out and advanced and the people's democratic dictatorship and the proletarian dictatorship can be established only in specific countries by the proletarian masses led by their revolutionary parties.

9. In the capitalist countries, the character of the revolution is socialist.

In countries of the oppressed peoples and nations, be they semicolonial or dependent, the character of the revolution is new-democratic (agrarian) and anti-imperialist. The revolutionary proletariat struggles to advance the revolution continuously towards socialism and communism.

In former and current revisionist-ruled societies, efforts must be exerted to encourage the proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary mass movements for socialism.

10. History shows us that no revolution has triumphed without the leading role of a vanguard party with a revolutionary theory.

It is not by mere self-proclamation that determines whether one is the vanguard or not. That is determined in class struggle. First, the party has to be the vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat. Second, the revolutionary proletariat has to be the vanguard of the broad masses of the people.

11. The working class should forge a united front with all oppressed classes and forces interested in revolution, according to the conditions in each country, in order to defeat the reactionary clique of each country. In the backward countries, the worker-peasant alliance is the foundation of any united front.

12. It is necessary to promote unity and cooperation of the parties guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with the working people, anti-imperialist forces and revolutionary movements in the struggle against imperialism and reaction in order to advance the cause of national independence, democracy and socialism.

Signatories: Marxist-Leninist organization of Afghanistan • Revolutionary Communist Party, Argentina • Workers' Party of Bangladesh • Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany • Marxist-Leninist Organization, Proletarian Way, France • Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Janashakti • Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) New Democracy • Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) People's War • Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Provisional Central Committee • Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Red Flag • Communist Organization of Luxembourg • Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninists): (excluding nos. 2, 4, 5, 8, 9 and 12) • Marxist-Leninist Group (Red Dawn), Netherlands • Workers' Communist Party, Norway • Communist Party of the Philippines • Communist Unification of Spain • Pan Africanist Congress, South Africa • ChingKang Mountains Institute • Revolutionary Communist Party, Uruguay • Revolutionary organization of Zaire #

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Development of the Marxist-Leninist and Working-Class Movement in the Struggle Against Revisionism

1. We must fight against revisionism of every variety. It is the most dangerous form through which bourgeois ideology exerts its corrosive influence on the working class. Thus the proletarian ideology must struggle against all varieties of the revisionist ideology. Without overcoming the influence of revisionism within the working-class movement, there can be no new upswing in the struggle for socialism nor victory for the proletarian revolution.

2. The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 was not the defeat of socialism. Khrushchov's modern revisionism had betrayed socialism at the 20th Party Congress of the CPSU in 1956. From then on, capitalism was restored and the Soviet Union evolved into a social-imperialist superpower.

3. Under the leadership of Mao Zedong, the Communist Party of China resolutely denounced and fought Khrushchovite and later Brezhnevite modern revisionism. It exposed the modern revisionists as the capitalist roaders within the party. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was launched to prevent the restoration of capitalism in China and defend the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was an historic achievement.

4. The collapse of the Soviet Union was also a decisive practical defeat, which led to the weakening of modern revisionism. However, this did not automatically solve the problem of revisionism. The struggle against revisionism will have to be carried out for as long as there is class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The revisionists deny the Leninist theory of the state and thus the necessity of revolutionary violence and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In addition to long standing ones, various neorevisionist tendencies have emerged. The neo-

revisionists wish to whitewash modern revisionism and conceal the betrayal of socialism. Thus, they also express some criticisms of the Soviet development. However, such criticisms do not touch the essentials because the revisionists deny the restoration of capitalism. Neorevisionism blurs the distinction between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism. The neorevisionists attack Mao Zedong and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, in particular, supposedly as "Left" sectarian. They slander revolutionary parties that adhere to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as splittists. All parties present condemn the attacks on Mao Zedong as well as the attempt to collide Marxism-Leninism with Mao Zedong Thought.

5. In the past, the Communist Party of China fought against modern revisionism. Today, the modern revisionism of the Communist Party of China has to be combated. The People's Republic of China is no longer a socialist country and the Communist Party of China is no longer a Marxist-Leninist party. After the death of Mao Zedong, the dictatorship of the proletariat was destroyed and under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping capitalism was restored. Deng's "reforms" are not socialist but are capitalist. It is the task of the Marxist-Leninist parties to expose this revisionist swindle and help Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought gain new esteem among the working class and the working people.

Signatories: Marxist-Leninist organization of Afghanistan • Revolutionary Communist Party, Argentina • Workers' Party of Bangladesh: (excluding point 5) • Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany • Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Janashakti • Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) National Democracy • Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) People's War • Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Provisional Central Committee • Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Red Flag • Communist Organization of Luxembourg • Marxist-Leninist Group (Red Dawn), Netherlands • Communist Party of the Philippines • Communist Unification of Spain: (excluding point 5) • ChingKang Mountains Institute, Taiwan • Revolutionary Communist Party, Uruguay • Revolutionary organization of Zaire #

On Continuing the International Conference

1. The Fifth Conference resolves to prepare and hold a Sixth Conference within a period of two to three years in order to continue, step by step, the process of reaching ideological and political unity in the Marxist-Leninist and working-class movement internationally.

2. The Fifth Conference was very successful. Twenty organizations and parties from four continents participated.

Aside from the progress made in the ideological, political and practical exchange on questions regarding economic and political developments and the theory and practice of class struggle, which are expressed in the various resolutions, the conference was marked by a pronounced proletarian, democratic, open and broad debate carried out on a principled basis. This success runs counter to the questioning from outside about the character of the International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations. Mutual respect and equality of rights, a strictly objective discussion and comradely treatment of each other characterized the efforts of all participants for unity and progress of this forum of revolutionary parties and organizations, which met on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought in the struggle against revisionism.

3. The participants of the Fifth Conference recognize and affirm the work of the Joint Coordinating Group (JCG) as indispensable for the preparation and holding of this meeting.

The JCG's method of work was distinguished by a systematic dissemination of information among the participants, by efforts towards a democratic exchange of views and by the multilateral cooperation in carrying out the conference. It unanimously approved the report of the JCG on the preparation of this conference as the JCG strictly adhered to the principles set forth by the

Fourth Conference, as amended and readopted by the Fifth Conference.

Cooperation among Marxist-Leninist organizations internationally is based on the following principles:

- a. Independence and equality, mutual respect, mutual support and cooperation
- b. Noninterference in internal affairs as well as in bilateral or regional relations of any party or organization with other parties and organizations
- c. Consensus and unanimity in decision-making
- d. Achievement of unity step by step through principled debate and cooperation among parties/organizations, with no party making public attacks on other parties/organizations.

4. To prepare the Sixth Conference, a new Joint Coordinating Group shall be formed.

5. The Fifth Conference shall exert all efforts to call on all Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations to participate in the preparation and realization of the Sixth Conference. It is open for criticism, suggestions and active participation on the basis of the following three main criteria:

- a. Adherence to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought,
- b. Struggle against modern revisionism and a positive attitude towards Stalin and Mao, and
- c. Acceptance of the Rules of the Conference.

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**Special Resolution
Marking the 25th Year
of the Martyrdom
of Comrade Charu Majumdar**

Drafted and Presented by the CPI[M-L] Janashakti

1. Comrade Charu Majumdar, the founding General Secretary of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) and the ideological-political leader of the Naxalbari peasants' armed struggle, was murdered in police lock-up on July 28, 1972. The coming July 28, 1997 will be the 25th year of his martyrdom.

No rulers so far, including those who replaced the killers with all false promises, have shown even a shred of democratic gesture to investigate this, like so many others, cowardly and barbaric act which is "illegal" even by their own laws and rules.

2. A committee to commemorate his death and to develop a strong people's movement against such killings has been formed comprising leaders of several Marxist-Leninist organizations, leaders of the Naxalbari movement, close comrades and friends of Charu Majumdar and noted personalities.

3. Comrade Charu Majumdar was the ideological-political leader of the historic peasant armed struggle of Naxalbari, which remains as a milestone in the history of the communist movement in India and marked the open beginning of the new formation of the Marxist-Leninist movement in India upholding Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

This movement was hailed by the Communist Party of China (CPC) under Mao's leadership, through a Red Flag editorial entitled "Spring Thunder Over India".

4. In the middle of the sixties, Comrade Charu Majumdar started developing a core to fight modern revisionism and put

forward the importance of acknowledging Mao Zedong Thought as the development of Marxism-Leninism and started leading an ideological-political struggle along with developing class struggle, adding emphasis to the fact that the revolutionary struggle in a semicolonial and semifeudal country like India should follow the general orientation of the Chinese revolution.

5. Far from being only a theoretician or ideologue, Comrade Charu Majumdar was a leader of vast experience in leading the class struggle, be it with the railway workers or tea-garden workers or with the peasantry, specially the famous historic peasant struggle of the mid-40s called Tebhaga (meaning, three-fourths share of the crops in favor of the tenant peasant) which turned into a massive armed peasant struggle.

6. He summed up all these experiences and guided a group of comrades to put into practice a revolutionary line, thus leading to the onward development of the Naxalbari struggle and the Marxist-Leninist movements, known in India as the Naxalite struggle. It was his unique achievement, after the betrayal of the Telengana armed struggle by the revisionist leadership, that the question of seizure of power by the masses through armed means was placed on the agenda for the first time in the history of the Indian communist movement.

7. From 1965 and specially after Naxalbari and onwards, Comrade Charu Majumdar asserted and formulated one after another the foundation of the Marxist-Leninist movements in India, that is, defining India as a semicolonial and semifeudal country and characterizing the Indian big bourgeoisie as comprador. His credit was enormous while drawing attention to the peasant problem and the importance of the role of landless and land-poor peasants in the agrarian revolution under the leadership of the working class.

8. As against the traditional middle-class living and lifestyle and way of thinking, Comrade Charu Majumdar brought forth the question of integration with the working class and the landless

and land-poor peasants. And putting forward Comrade Mao's concept of "new man", "socialist man", Charu Majumdar wrote, while introducing Mao's "Serve the People": "The most important question of middle-class life is, what shall I gain in this struggle? What do I want? Am I ready to sacrifice myself for the people's interest?" Time and again he stressed the question of self-sacrifice, struggling against the petty-bourgeois self, of courage and daring and of internationalism.

Quite a few times his essays were printed in the CPC organs and were broadcast through Radio Peking.

9. The "Left" mistakes that were committed under his leadership, under the influence of the concept of "new era" and due to over-reaction to the long dominance of revisionism in the Indian communist movement, have to be reviewed and debated within the Marxist-Leninist movement in India. But the revolutionary legacy Comrade Charu Majumdar left behind has its everlasting influence and will never be forgotten.

10. On the occasion of the 25th year of his martyrdom, we pay our homage to this great revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist leader. We believe that the development of the Indian revolution will be the befitting answer to the killers of our Comrade Charu Majumdar. We welcome the initiative to develop a movement against the heinous crime, his murder, and to commemorate the 25th year of his martyrdom.

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