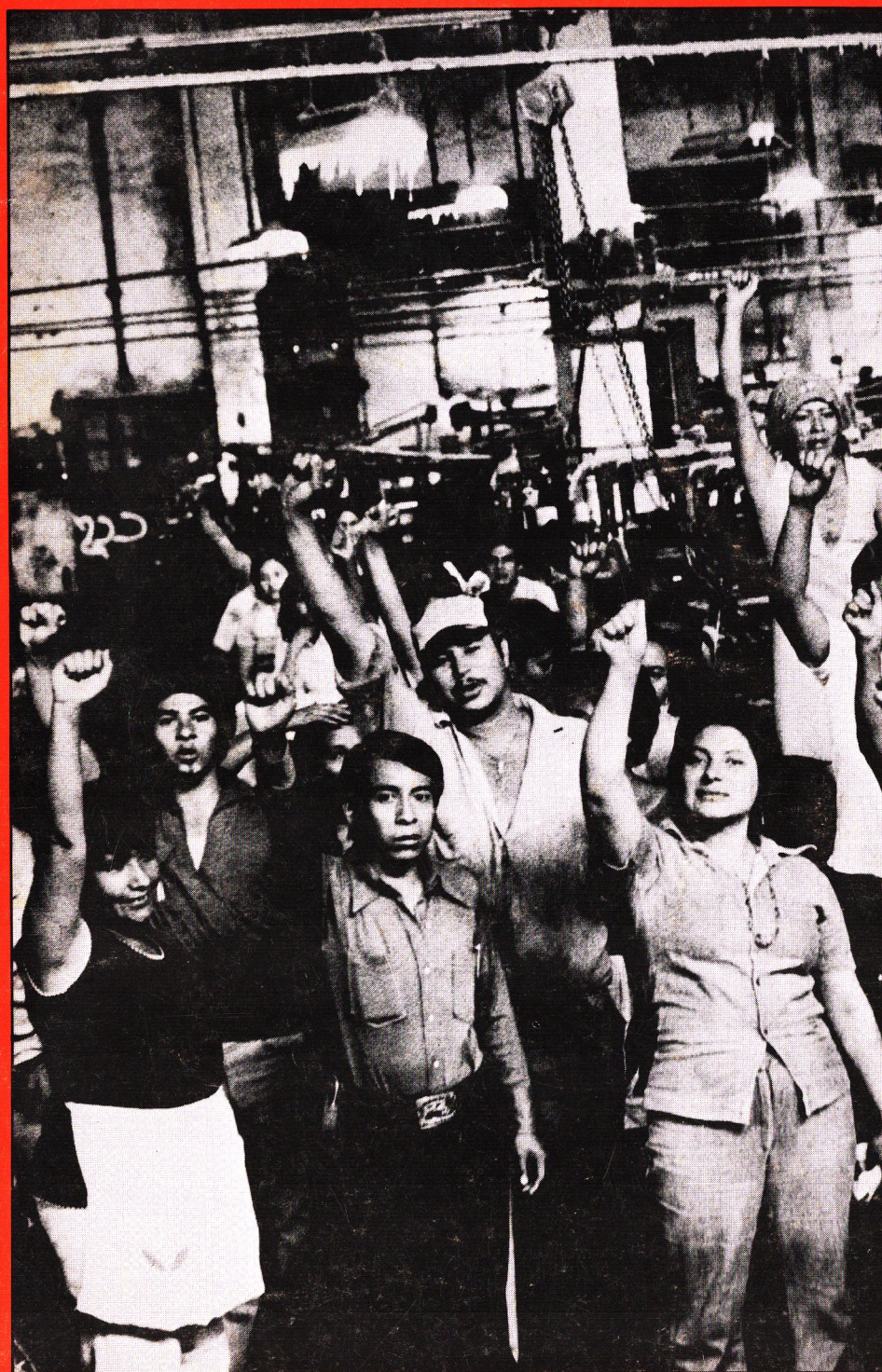


# FORUM

INTERNATIONAL

FOR THE UNITY OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST MOVEMENT



**No. 2** November, 1980  
Vol. 1, No. 2

**Feature  
on the  
liberation  
struggles**

plus...

Debates on the unity  
of communists

News of the world  
revolutionary struggle

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## Introduction

# Correspondence to International Forum

With this issue of *Forum*, we are beginning what will be a regular section with each number: a selection of news and comments that we have received through correspondence from around the world.

The purpose of this section is to allow our foreign comrades to express themselves in a brief way on questions that are topical and relevant to *Forum*: with news from the class struggle and ideological debates from different countries; with opinions on the texts that have already appeared in *Forum*; and with comments on the editorial policy and the priorities for this publication.

This time we are publishing certain comments we have received on the first issue of *Forum*, and a communique sent to us (in French) by the CP of Greece M-L.

## Some comments on the first issue

"We have received your letter regarding the publication of **International Forum** and the first issue of the magazine. Your venture is useful since it helps us to get acquainted with the positions of various Marxist-Leninist parties, groups, and movements. Some of them, such as the position of the PLA, we already know; however most of the parties whose texts and resolutions are not in English remain unknown to us. Your magazine will help us bridge this gap.... We are sending you a copy of the Joint Declaration by two state committees of the CP of India M-L when they joined up to form the Reorganization Committee of the CPIML which has taken up the task of rebuilding the party.... The splittist, revisionist activities of various oppor-

unist cliques have weakened the Party in India to a serious extent and so the prime task Marxist-Leninists face today is that of rebuilding the Party on the all India level on the basis of a correct line. You will be able to get a general picture of the progress of the Reorganization Committee's work and our Party's history from the April 15th editorial of **Mass Line**.... Greetings, **Mass Line**, India. (Editor's note: these two texts, and others from this communist group in India, are available from the address for **Mass Line** found at the back of this issue. The address has been corrected from the first issue).

\* \* \*

"... the question that is most important at this time is that of the preparation of the ICM for the direct struggle

## Preparation of the second Party Congress in Greece

"Our Party is right now going through a period of productive discussion, with the purpose of preparing ourselves for the realization of our 2nd Congress. The discussion, which is tak-

party and inside the organizations led by the party, is centred around the following points:

1) The developments in the international situation.

against imperialist war — a preparation that is both theoretical and practical. Today it has become urgent to elaborate a manifesto against imperialist war, and the preparation for this should be done by opening the debate in **International Forum**. In order to get this debate going, the following process is necessary:

1) To deal with all the questions related to imperialist war, for example:

— Should we, in relation to the coming war, develop a struggle for peace?

— Imperialist war and the liberation struggles (a theme directly related to the question of the world revolution and its enemy, imperialist reaction);

— The unions in relation to the war problem; the practical tasks of the communists in the unions in the struggle against war preparations;

— What are the manifestations of chauvinism in each country?

2) After this was sufficiently debated, there should be a commission which is formed and charged with writing a report; and then this report would once more be discussed and criticized before the production of the final report, which would be a manifesto against war.

"This is what we think would be the most logical way for **Forum** to develop, so that it doesn't become just a debating club, but rather an organization of combat of the different communist sections and of the workers of the world, against the capitalist order and against international war..." **L'Aube Révolutionnaire** (BP 58, 92105 Boulogne, France)

2) The position of Greece in the international conjuncture; the analysis of the economic and political situation of our country; the role of the different political forces and parties; etc.

3) The work and the experience of the party from its 1st Founding Congress (November 1976) up to today.

4) The ideological problems of the Marxist-Leninist movement.

5) The immediate duties and the general orientation of the struggle of the CP of Greece (M-L) for the coming period.

"The origins of the movement called the Genuine Left can be found in the decade of the 1960s. And the building of our movement at that time, just like the construction of the party in 1976, were done out of necessity. This remains true, in spite of the insufficiencies, the objective difficulties, and the errors that were there for those who were the first to begin to work for the rebirth of the communist movement in our country. This necessity was neither determined by international opportunities nor by chance. It was dictated strictly by the need to rebuild the Greek communist movement.

"We learn from both the positive and the negative experience of the past... Our party thinks that a movement that wants to keep its vitality, in order to faithfully serve the interests of the working class and the broad masses, must reject the negative experience of the past. And it must draw out the lessons from its tradition of struggle by assimilating them and by truly making the past traditions serve properly under the new conditions.

"The historical necessity in our country of the rebirth of the communist movement and of its reconstruction on a new basis, points out the burning need to clearly outline the alternative of the liberation of the working class and the people. It also shows the need for the daily reinforcement of the struggle and for the development of new methods of battle, in order to limit the field of action for those ideological and political currents that lead the masses into traps and into a path which will reproduce the same system of exploitation.

"Since our party has as its objective to create an alternative for the people's struggles in our country and to advance these struggles to higher forms, it also is preoccupied with the ideological problems that are an integral part of its

life in the present conditions. Such problems include: the evaluation of the experience of the struggle against revisionism (on the international level); and the contribution of Mao TseTung to the revolution, to Marxism-Leninism, and to the struggle against revisionism, as well as his contribution to the study of the laws governing the class struggle in our epoch.

"In relation to the development of the international situation in the last years, our party has adopted and has put into practice a firm position of opposition to all imperialist and reactionary forces, of defense of all the exploited and of all those who are victims of oppression and counter-revolutionary violence. In applying this political line, our party has succeeded in developing an independent attitude. This has permitted us to have a correct position in relation to different events, and to continue to defend positions which are genuinely internationalist.

"Concerning the ideological and political problems of the international Marxist-Leninist movement, our party has taken a firm position of opposition to the new revisionist leadership of the CP of China. And we have firmly opposed the opportunist groups who through their declarations and through their practice wanted to turn the relations between the brother parties into a regime ruled by the "father-party"; who wanted to impose the counter-revolutionary "theory" of the "three worlds" on the Marxist-Leninist movement, and wanted to put the movement at the service of American imperialism.

"The Central Committee of our Party has underlined the importance of the problem of the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement. Such a unity, in our opinion, must be based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and on the respect of the particular positions of each party.

"Faced with the problems that have developed within the Marxist-Leninist movement, our party has adopted the following position: that we should confront these differences with a comradely spirit, through mutual discussions which are both frank and sincere.

"In particular, there are differences concerning the contributions of Mao TseTung to Marxism-Leninism and the international communist movement, and concerning the experience gathered during the construction of socialism in China. But these differences should not block the development of the solidarity and common struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties against imperialism, social-imperialism, and reaction. It is in the common struggle that we will also develop discussion with the goal of overcoming of our differences. This will be done without making concessions on questions of principle, on the basis of the exchange of viewpoints and of mutual experience.

"Our party considers that it is necessary to undertake an effort to sum up the positive and negative experience of the Marxist-Leninist movement; and to draw out from this process the lessons that will permit it to correctly lead the struggle, and to build in Greece a mass revolutionary movement that is led by the working class. This kind of effort will be undertaken at our 2nd Congress. We are convinced as well that such a discussion is directly linked to the problems and disagreements that have appeared amongst the Marxist-Leninist parties, in particular since the death of Mao and the coming to power (in the Chinese State and party) of the new revisionist leadership.

"All these problems have been brought up in the preparatory discussions for the Congress, not just within the party organizations, but also amongst the organized forces that are sympathetic to the party. The press of our Party is also helping this discussion unfold. The pages of our newspaper remain open to any reader who wants to contribute to this process. At the same time, the party organizations are preparing large meetings and open discussions in different cities and regions across the country. During these meetings there have been very open debates in which the party responsables explained the positions of the Central Committee and organized the discussion."

The editorial board of "**Proletariaki Simea**"

## Editorial by International Forum

# The role of International Forum

This issue of *International Forum* shows two important aspects of the reality of the situation in the world communist movement today. One of these aspects is the existence of Marxist-Leninist voices and forces within a great number of the struggles in different countries and regions of the world. From West Germany to Japan, from Ecuador to Tunisia, from Nicaragua to Afghanistan, we find communist forces who have not only stood up against both Soviet and Chinese revisionism, but who are also becoming more and more active in the mass struggles and revolutionary movements provoked by the deepening of the general crisis of the world imperialist system.

A second aspect of this reality is the extreme division that exists amongst these forces on a series of basic questions concerning the historical experience and the forward path of the world proletarian revolution. And we are not referring only to the already well known disagreements concerning Mao and the legacy of his thought and action. We are also referring to the divisions that exist on such questions as the analysis of the mode of production and the path of the revolution in the colonies and neo-colonies dominated by foreign imperialism; or the thesis of national liberation for the imperialist countries; or the understanding of the contemporary world situation and of particular struggles in countries like Iran or Poland. The texts published in this number of *Forum* are indicative of the importance and the depth of the differences that exist on these kind of questions. And they show as well that they are differences that cannot be fully understood — much less resolved — within the framework of a demarcation that takes place only, or even mainly, around the attitude we must adopt towards Mao.

This second issue of *Forum* is devoted mainly to the question of the liberation struggles today: the involvement of the communist forces, and the debates on the future of these struggles. This choice has been made not only because of the importance of these struggles in today's world, but also because of the fundamental questions that these struggles pose for the world communist movement. In what kind of societies are these struggles taking place? What are their basic class relations? What is the path to real liberation for these peoples? How will proletarian leadership be built in these struggles? What role must the world communist movement play in support of these struggles? Our knowledge of the positions and the practice of different communist forces convinces us that these questions have not been fully resolved. And further, that they will not be fully resolved without the development of a concrete analysis of the conditions in these

societies **today** and a debate on the real class relations in these countries.

But the question of the liberation struggles is not the only one where the communist movement cannot give collective answers, where it does not have a unified political alternative to the false solutions of the reformists and revisionists. And that is why the future issues of *Forum* will take up a certain number of other major questions that are posed by the practice and debates in the world movement today:

— the analysis of the advanced capitalist and imperialist countries, and of the path of the revolution in these countries;

— the understanding of the main characteristics of imperialism today, of the forms of exploitation of the dominated countries, of the role of Soviet social-imperialism, of the rise of fascism and the threat of war;

— the lessons in the struggle to build the Marxist-Leninist party, including the experience of communists in leading mass struggles, in the trade unions, in parliamentary activity, and in coalition with other political forces;

— the question of preparing and developing the armed struggle;

— the historical experience of socialist construction, and the problem of the class struggle and the danger of revisionism under socialism.

Each of these themes will occupy the greater part of the content of a future issue. The order in which this is done will depend both on the comments we receive and on the actual process of international debate that is unfolding. At the same time, there will also be space in each issue of *Forum* both for news and for articles on relevant and timely topics other than the main theme, including for articles of commentary on texts we have already published. And each issue will also continue the polemics on the path to unity for the international communist movement.

\* \* \*

The many positive comments we have received on the first issue of *Forum* encourage us to believe that this kind of publication is serving a need for information and debate that is experienced by many different Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary forces. At the same time, our first issue

provoked some questions or negative criticisms by those who found that this publication did not have enough of a polemical character, and that our explanations of the texts we printed were too "neutral" politically.

We think that these kinds of comments are partially justified, and we intend to correct these problems from now on. As an instrument to stimulate debate and polemics, *Forum* certainly isn't "neutral" either in choosing to produce a certain text or in choosing to concentrate on a particular theme.

So, beginning with this second issue, we will try to more clearly explain what we see as the fundamental stakes of the debates taking place in the pages of *Forum*, as well as the reasons that have led us to concentrate on certain themes and to reproduce particular texts. These kinds of choices do in fact correspond to a particular way of understanding the debates that are taking place internationally; and by better explaining this we will also make it easier for our foreign comrades to evaluate and to comment on our role in the debate.

But this doesn't mean that *Forum* is going to take position on all the debates that unfold in its pages. In fact this would be impossible. *Forum* cannot pretend to have positions on all the important problems posed by the development of the

revolutionary struggle. And, more importantly, it is through the developing contributions of the different active forces that the communist movement will be able to find the right answers to the most important problems.

Nor does this mean that we intend to ignore the many different contributions of those forces who demarcate mainly around the question of Mao. On the contrary. We will continue and will intensify our efforts to make known the essential elements of their positions, not only in relation to the struggle against revisionism, but also in relation to all the other burning problems today. In fact, we believe that it is only through a protracted process in which these kinds of positions are made known, and debated, that the different forces will finally be able to understand and to pronounce judgement concerning the polarizing demarcation on Mao TseTung Thought.

This then is how we see the role of *Forum* in the debates today. We hope this explanation will not only help our foreign comrades to understand and evaluate our work, but will also stimulate them to make even greater efforts to collaborate with us through suggestions, criticisms, letters, and texts. It is the degree to which we can develop this kind of collaboration that will finally determine whether this publication can play some small role in rebuilding the unity of the world communist movement.



### Editor's note

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

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

## Summary and Presentation of the debates by International Forum

The recent months have seen a considerable development of the polemic in the international communist movement (ICM) on the understanding of the struggle against revisionism and on the basis and methods by which the world communist movement can be united. For a great many of the Marxist-Leninist forces internationally, it was the question of the evaluation of Mao and of "Mao TseTung Thought" which continued to be their main pre-occupation in this debate. In fact, the differing points of view on this question continued to consolidate and to become more radicalized in a large number of particular countries. These points of view even became clearly elaborated opinions circulating widely in the ICM.

At the same time, there were many communist forces which spoke out in opposition, in different ways and to different degrees, to these attempts to polarize the ICM mainly or exclusively in relation to the evaluation of Mao and of the Chinese revolution. Many of these opinions came from forces which considered that Mao was a Marxist-Leninist whose historical role should be evaluated critically. Others who expressed these kinds of opinions were more critical of the legacy of Mao's thought, and others again clearly supported Mao as a great leader who had made major contributions to Marxism-Leninism and the international revolution. Still others refused to take developed positions on Mao's historical role without further study. But what these forces shared in common was a dissatisfaction with the way the problem of revisionism and of unity was being posed by most organizations and parties active in the international movement and a willingness to express these views openly and to defend them.

These forces spoke out in particular on a series of problems which they did not see as being solved by the radical demarcations around Mao: the problem of the historical basis of opportunism in

the general line of the ICM, the problem of the experience of the class struggle against revisionism in all of the formerly socialist countries, and the many urgent problems of the line and practice of the communist forces in the revolutionary struggle today. Some of these forces even explicitly challenged those calling for unity through the rejection or the defense of Mao TseTung Thought, by proposing an open debate on these kind of unsolved problems as the pre-condition to any meaningful international unity.

### Opposition to Mao TseTung Thought as revisionist

The Party of Labour of Albania (PLA) and most of its fraternal parties continued to wage ideological battle against Mao TseTung Thought as a dangerous form of modern revisionism. A few more parties joined them in this campaign, including the CP of New Zealand and the CP of Colombia M-L. The communiqué from the 11th Congress of the Colombian party, held in the spring of 1980, stated that: "The deep struggle against revisionism, and in particular against Mao TseTung Thought, and the rooting out of its influence in our ranks, constitute the essential elements of our 11th Congress".

The polemic waged by these parties did not reveal any important new elements in terms of the critique of Mao and his thought,<sup>(1)</sup> but it did begin to show in certain cases what were some of the practical consequences of these positions for these parties. For example, parties like the CP of Germany (formerly the CP of Germany M-L), the CP of Spain M-L, and the CP of Portugal (Reconstructed), linked the repudiation of Maoism and the defense of Stalin to their current campaigns to

create truly Bolshevik parties with a mass and proletarian character.

The Peoples Democratic Movement - Marxist-Leninist Party, of the Dominican Republic, held a national cadres conference in June 1980 with this theme of Bolshevization of the party.

The conference analyzed the world and domestic situation as increasingly revolutionary while noting the domination in almost all the forces of the "left" of class collaboration and revisionism. The conference also analyzed that their party had historically been unable to develop as the kind of authentically proletarian and Bolshevik party that was necessary, stating that: "The old party must get rid of its backwards, maoist, and pro-Chinese conceptions, of its populism, spontaneism, and other deviations...". To reflect the changes that were necessary, the party changed its name to the CP of Labour, and the name of its newspaper from *Libertad* (Liberty) to *Lucha* (Struggle).

The parties leading the polemic against Mao TseTung Thought also identified the repudiation of Maoism as an essential step forward internationally toward the political maturity and unity of the ICM. For example, the CP of

Portugal (Reconstructed) in its newspaper *Bandeira Vermelha* stated that: "The process presently taking place inside the ICM has the goal of liberating all the Marxist-Leninist parties from the influence of Maoism on the ideological, political, and organizational levels, and is a historic step towards the ripening of the subjective factors of the revolution...". This party also polemicized against the Portuguese newspaper *Voz de Povo* and the Portuguese communist group *Unidade Comunista* as representatives of an international trend which wants to conciliate with Maoism. They analyze this tendency as one which grew up with the clear passage of China to the camp of

the counter-revolution and with the resulting struggle against the three worlds theory and against Maoism. They state: "It started to become fashionable to lose confidence in socialism, in the communist movement, in the revolutionary capacities of the proletariat; there was a strong tendency to postpone the revolution forever... Their general tone is disorientation and "systematic doubt". Everything is put into question, and those who defend with conviction the basic principles of proletarian socialism are "hasty", "anti-dialectical", "dogmatic", etc..."

One important element that was added to the polemic against the influence of Mao TseTung Thought was a clarification of some of the positions of the PLA on the historical basis of opportunism in the ICM. In the last period the PLA dealt more explicitly with the opportunism that existed in the communist movement, especially in the European and other imperialist countries, before the death of Stalin and the rise to power of Khrushchev in the CP of the Soviet Union. The basic thesis put forward by the PLA was that this opportunism was due to the treacherous activities of opportunists within particular communist parties. For example, the July 25, 1980 edition of the Albanian Telegraphic Agency carried an article dedicated to the 45th anniversary of the 7th Congress of the Comintern, which stated clearly that the guiding line of this Congress for the ICM had been correct, and that the problems that developed in its application were due to the actions of opportunist elements which did not accept these directives. Enver Hoxha's recent book *Euro-communism is Anti-communism* also identifies the revisionist betrayals of the parties like the Greek, Italian, and French parties in the post World War II period as the results of the actions of traitors who abandoned the general line of the ICM.

To represent the general view-point of those who concentrate their ideological struggle on the repudiation of Maoism, we have included among the documents that follow some extracts from the 3rd Congress of the CP of Spain M-L. They show clearly some of the essential features of this current at this time: not only the aggressive repudiation of all of the heritage of Mao's thought and action, but also the confidence in the strength and unity of the forces in the ICM that are united on this basis.

### Radicalization of the defence of Mao

Along with the consolidation of the current of opinion condemning Mao TseTung Thought, there was also the continuing development of the radical defence of Mao. In many different countries of the world there were organizations, groups, and circles which published texts to repudiate the attacks on Mao and to re-establish what these groups consider to be Mao's essential contributions to Marxist-Leninist theory and to the world revolution. In New Zealand, the repudiation of Mao by the CP of New Zealand led some members of this party to split from it.

Generally the polemics defending Mao remained at the level of statements of principle, without a clear programmatic orientation in terms of the tasks of communists today.<sup>(2)</sup> However, one important common feature of many of the declarations was their insistence on the fact that the defence of Mao's contributions was a question of principle, and their consequent conclusion that those who attacked Mao TseTung Thought were adopting revisionist positions.

In a few cases those who defended Mao linked this to a broad critique of the general positions of the communist forces who are criticizing or repudiating Mao TseTung Thought. The CP of Turkey M-L, for example, published a booklet in the spring of 1980 which made a global criticism of the positions of the PLA, not only in relation to their stand on Mao, but also concerning its practice of proletarian internationalism and its general line on the revolution in the dominated countries. This party argued that the PLA had an incorrect understanding of the struggle in the colonies and neo-colonies which was expressed in its denial of the necessity of the democratic stage of the revolution, in thinking that the local bourgeoisie can eliminate feudalism, in denying the role of the peasantry as the main force in these countries, in attacking the strategic path of people's war, and in forgetting the role of these struggles as the main force of the world revolution today. As well, this party argued that the PLA had a foreign policy which obscured the role of Soviet social-imperialism and created confusion on the nature of the fascist regimes in the world; that the PLA had abandoned the Marxist-Leninist weapon of criticism

and self-criticism in the ICM; and that the PLA failed to understand the nature of class struggle under socialism and the problem of two-line struggle in the party.

Two of the organizations which took the most initiative to raise the defence of Mao TseTung Thought to the level of an international current were the RCP of Chile and the RCP-USA. The RCP-USA, for example, polemicized not only against those who attacked Mao but against those who refused to accept the question of Mao as the fundamental "line of demarcation", in a feature article of the July, 1980 edition of *Revolution*, entitled "What the international unity of the proletariat is and how to fight for it...". This article begins with a self-criticism for the party's past opposition to an international communist organization, and then goes on to attack the positions of the M-L Organization of Canada IN STRUGGLE! on the unity of the ICM. The RCP-USA argues as follows: that in refusing to accept the demarcation on Mao as fundamental, the MLOC IS! shows its desire to obliterate all the basis demarcations with revisionism for the sake of unity. That in proposing unity on a programme, the MLOC IS! obstructs the only possible unity that can be built for the ICM at this time, which is unity on a general line. That the international conference proposed by the Canadian organization is therefore completely in contradiction to what is most needed in the ICM.

Included in the following selection of texts is the common statement issued by the RCP of Chile and the RCP-USA in June 1980. This communiqué clearly identifies the defence of Mao as the essential starting-point for the unification of the genuine communists internationally, but also outlines what these two parties see as the other main elements of a necessary "general line".

### Other voices in the ICM

In spite of the continuing polarization around the evaluation of Mao, many communist forces spoke out to express their belief that this process would not either result in a correct historical understanding of revisionism or solve the burning problems facing the ICM today.

The CP of Greece M-L expressed the

problem in the following way in the documents of preparation for its 2nd Congress: "Today many Marxist-Leninist parties, perhaps the majority of them, have established as their central political task the development of the proof that Mao had nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism. Our disagreements with this position are many. We disagree — as we have already said — with the essence of this position; because Mao was a great Marxist-Leninist, both because he was able to assimilate and apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of China, and because he contributed through his theoretical and practical revolutionary work to opening new roads of an international significance.... We disagree with the procedure, with the fact that the majority of parties have started all together, as if they had been suddenly and simultaneously enlightened, to organize congresses whose principal subject was the de-throning of Mao from the place they used to give him. It's as if the adoption or rejection of an important political position is a question of diplomatic alignment with the evolution of the positions of a party whose authority is recognized as final on general ideological and political questions. We also disagree because all this noise adds new problems without solving any old ones; it does not respond to the questions which are posed in any case by the fifteen years of experience of the international Marxist-Leninist movement — questions which demand a response. Finally we disagree because the type of criticism made of Mao TseTung, while it doesn't clarify any questions or give any convincing answers, objectively weakens the ideological front against revisionism and social-imperialism".

Several organizations also began to try to contribute to a deeper understanding of the historical origins of opportunism in the world communist movement. For example, the organizations Westberliner Kommunist of West Berlin, Gegen die Stromung of West Germany, and the M-L Party of Austria continued to publish their collective evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of the 1963 "Letter in 25 Points" of the CP of China. Because of

the role that this document played in the ICM, this collective work in fact represents an attempt to evaluate what most Marxist-Leninist forces accepted as the programmatic basis for the split with Khrushchevite revisionism. These organizations, collectively and individually, also developed polemics on the political positions of some of the parties and organizations active in the ICM today.

The M-L Organization of Canada IN STRUGGLE! also polemicized on the question of the historical roots of opportunism in the ICM. In the summer, 1980 edition of their theoretical review **Proletarian Unity** they began the first of a series of working documents on this question with an article entitled "What had become of the socialist camp by 1960?" The main thesis of this polemic was that the Moscow Declarations of the world communist parties in 1957 and 1960 did not represent a correct and principled basis of unity later betrayed by the Soviet revisionists — as the CP of China and the PLA were to maintain throughout the following years. They represented rather an erroneous and opportunist analysis of the world situation and the tasks of the communist movement, already profoundly marked by the great power interest of the developing imperialist Soviet Union.

The MLOC IS! also put forward a critical evaluation of Enver Hoxha's **Euro-Communism is Anti-Communism**, while most of the fraternal parties of the PLA hailed this book as a major contribution to the understanding of revisionism. In the fall, 1980 edition of **Proletarian Unity** the following criticisms were made of this book: 1) the partial character of the analysis of revisionism, particularly the underestimation of the source of revisionism in the class struggle in each country, including under socialism. 2) the abstract nature of the perspective for action offered to the ICM, and the neglect of the role of the communist programme in the struggle against opportunism. 3) the fact that Hoxha reproduces the same positions as the Euro-communists in relation to the question of national independence for the imperialist countries, making national liberation a strategic task.

Other forces also spoke out on the necessity to find a way to develop a more protracted and wide-spread debate amongst all the communist forces internationally, a debate that would eventually lead to the kind of unity that would help the communist movement solve its most pressing problems. Amongst these forces there were several that gave open support to the essential elements of the **Appeal for the Political and Organizational Unity of the ICM**, a document issued by the 3rd Congress of the MLOC IS! in 1979 and widely circulated internationally in French, English, and Spanish. The RCP of Belgium M-L and the M-L group ECH-CHOOLA of Tunisia printed summaries of the **Appeal** in their press, and the organization **Peykar** in Iran took on the publication of an edition in Farzi.

Although these kinds of opinions remained a minority voice amongst the forces active in the ICM, there is no question that they represent the questions, opinions, or criticisms of an important number of communists, inside and outside the established organizations. For this reason we are printing here three texts which are representative of this kind of refusal to only demarcate and build unity on the basis of the deepening polarization around Mao. The text from the CP of Japan (Left) speaks directly to the problem of opportunism in the historical positions of the ICM during the period of the Second World War. The text by Unidade Comunista from Portugal speaks out on the difficulties and errors in the struggle for unity in the ICM today, and is preceded by an introduction which summarizes some of the contributions by this group on the historical development of revisionism in the world communist movement. And the last document of this section represents the efforts of four Marxist-Leninist organizations to organize an international conference which would permit the open debate of the most burning problems facing the ICM.

1 & 2. For a selection of texts dealing with the evaluation of Mao, see *International Forum* no. 1.

## CP of Spain M-L on the unity of the ICM

The following texts come from the 3rd Congress of the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist), held in the fall of 1979. They appeared in French in the November and December, 1979 editions of the *Bureau d'Information et de Presse* of the Central Committee of this party, after originally being published in Spanish in their weekly newspaper *Vanguardia Obrera*. The first part consists of extracts from the Congress documents, and the second is taken from a speech by the party's chairman, Raul Marcos, to the internationalist meeting which closed the Congress.

We have included these texts because they express clearly the general viewpoint of a certain number of parties who are united in their opposition to Mao Tsetung Thought as the source of Chinese revisionism and in their defence of the Party of Labour of Albania as the leading party in the ICM. These texts of the CP of Spain (M-L) call for a further intensification of the struggle against the influence of Maoism, and raise the perspective of the organized international unity of the communist forces united on this basis. (Translation from French version by IN STRUGGLE!)

## A few problems concerning the international communist movement (Marxist-Leninist)

The majority of the Parties are getting stronger, consolidating themselves and developing. Their positions are not abstract and general, as they were in the past, but are based on principles applied to concrete situations. They have obtained significant successes; little by little they attain that maturity that was lacking in the past — this, at least, is the opinion of our Party, which, although small, has nevertheless a certain specific weight.

Generally, today the Parties define themselves exclusively with regard to principles and to proletarian internationalism and not, as in the past, with reference to such and such **great** Party instead of another, as was the case of many Parties who went from being dependent on Moscow to being dependent on Peking. What is more, where some parties, which we mistakenly called Marxist-Leninist, have betrayed (as in France and Denmark, for instance), we have seen new parties appear, on solid bases, with more or less strength to begin with, but with the

will to struggle and get stronger, and with great perspectives.

We must underline with particular satisfaction that our relations with the Albanian comrades, with the heroic Party of Labour of Albania, continue to be close and warm like in the past, and that our points of view are totally identical. Today, as in the past, the PLA and its Central Committee, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at its head, remains unshakeable in the defence of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism. We cannot keep from pointing out our respect and affection for this Party which has always known how to fight on firm principled bases all those who have tried to dominate it and lead it on the path of betrayal, whether they were Titoists, Russian or Chinese; which remains firm and vigilant in the face of the attempts made by the capitalists, imperialists and revisionists to put it behind a blockade; and unmasks their manoeuvres and blackmail.

One must point out the great inter-

nationalist aid given by the PLA to communists the whole world over. We refer in particular to the most precious of all kinds of aid, ideological aid; which is of an extreme value to us and to other Parties — at least, this is our opinion — and which is given with such exemplary modesty and lack of complication, with a spirit of camaraderie and brotherhood far better than the relations with the Chinese were, even at the best period. Because of their resolute struggle for national independence, their coherent internationalism and the courage with which they have faced the criminal attacks from the revisionists, particularly from the Chinese social-chauvinists today, the Albanian comrades, their Party and their leaders have won the admiration, respect and affection of Marxist-Leninists the whole world over, but also from the people and progressive masses.

## On Mao Tsetung Thought and Chinese revisionism

After having analyzed profoundly "Mao Tsetung Thought" as an opportunist, revisionist and thoroughly anti-Marxist current, the report declares: "We thus conclude that, despite the enormous propaganda campaign waged by his supporters, Mao was never a Marxist-Leninist. In his thought, we find all the ingredients of revisionism, opportunism and social-chauvinism that openly dominate China today.

## And the report continues...

The path followed by the Chinese since 1976 is not worth going back over, as it is well known. The results are equally obvious. The correctness of the analyses made at all times by the leading bodies of our Party are also obvious. Today the Congress should pronounce itself on whether we were correct in our position, and if we proceeded correctly, with caution, but

without conceding one iota on principles.

For our part, we can affirm with legitimate militant pride that our Party never gave in in the face of any difficulty, nor to blackmail and provocation. Our Party always raised the red flag with vigour, and has defended it against wind and tide. We advise oppor-

tunists of clerical-Maoist hue in our country, and the international admirers of Buddha who try to attack us and tell lies about us that they are stupidly losing their time, because no one has been able, nor will be able to put one over on the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist).

Our flags are red from the blood of our

heroes; they are internationalist flags, and we raise them with increasing vigour, until they fly, free and triumphant, over all of Spain.

**LONG LIVE  
MARXISM-LENINISM!  
LONG LIVE THE  
INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT!  
LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST  
PARTY OF SPAIN M-L!**

## We should oppose the strategy and tactics of revisionism and reaction with a common, firm, clear Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics

At the same time, we understand that some may not have yet grasped the depth of eclecticism, opportunism, anarchism and even trotskyism contained in the so-called Mao Tsetung Thought. We will continue to discuss with them between comrades. But as far as the adorers of Buddha are concerned, those who on the pretext they are defending Mao, give themselves over to a work of sabotage and provocation against the Marxist-Leninist movement, who go all out to divide us, mouthing the word unity the whole time, we solemnly advise them that they are losing their time with us, that they will break their necks against the wall of Marxist-Leninist principles which we defend, and will continue to defend above all. Comrades and friends, our Party thinks that the Marxist-Leninist international movement is in a positive situation, a progressive situation, one of development and taking roots for our Parties.

However, we are not going to have easy victories; those we do obtain, — and I think they will be numerous — will be the fruit of an intransigent and sometimes fierce struggle against all sorts of enemies who huddle in the shade to hit us better.

Imperialists, reactionaries and opportunists of all kinds: Titoists, Krushchevites, Eurocommunists or Maoists have joined together against Marxist-Leninists and the people of the world. That is why our congress has pointed out that we should oppose the strategy and tactics of revisionism and reaction with common, firm, clear and

Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics. This is a far-reaching task and a great responsibility for our Parties and that the Marxist-Leninist Parties of the world should take up collectively. There is no set formula or pre-fabricated solution for this. But if we collaborate very closely, we will solve the problem together, reinforcing our unity, advancing step by step and not precipitously, firmly and resolutely on a Marxist-Leninist base and with active international proletarianism.

**We should come to the point where the whole Marxist-Leninist Movement will say what it wants, where it is going and why communists struggle**

Comrade Enver Hoxha said, in his report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, "The situation might ripen and permit us to arrive at a great reunion of all the Marxist-Leninist communist and workers' parties" (our translation). Our Party totally supports this clear and correct position of the PLA and we firmly commit ourselves to work ardently to create this situation.

We think we should come to the point where **the whole Marxist-Leninist movement will say what it wants, where it is going and why communists struggle.**

And this day will come, although we cannot tell right now when nor how.

Before we leave, comrades, in the name of the Central Committee of our Party, we want to tell the people of Spain and the Parties and organizations who honoured our Congress by their presence and messages, that the Communist Party of Spain M-L will continue to struggle unceasingly for the principles we have in common. We will continue to struggle against the imposed monarchy since the people were not able to chose it freely. We will continue to struggle for a popular federative republic, for socialism and communism. Despite Carrillo Soares and other sold-out leaders, the people of Spain remain and will continue to remain republican and aspire to socialism.

And in this struggle, through its several phases, and whatever form it takes, we Marxist-Leninists will know how to do our duty, without letting anything or any sacrifice stop us. The revolution is red, like our blood and like our flags, which will hang victorious from east to west, from north to south of a people's Spain, of a truly free Spain, without exploiters and oppressors, a Spain where the people will be sovereign.

**LONG LIVE THE  
MARXIST-LENINISTS OF THE  
WHOLE WORLD!  
LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN  
INTERNATIONALISM!  
MARXISM-LENINISM  
WILL OVERCOME!**

## A call to unite the forces defending Mao

The following joint declaration was issued by the RCP-USA and the RCP of Chile. It appeared in English in the July 18, 1980 edition of the *Revolutionary Worker*, weekly organ of the RCP-USA. The declaration was also published in French in the August issue of *Bulletin international* (No. 32).

This text signals the beginning of the public and co-ordinated efforts of these two parties to develop the international unity of those communist forces defending Mao Tsetung Thought. As well, the communiqué outlines briefly what basis of unity these parties propose to unite genuine Marxist-Leninists on a world scale.

## Joint communique from the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

In October 1979, an important meeting was held between Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA, and Jorge Palacios, a founding member of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and a member of the Secretariat of its Central Committee. These discussions on a wide range of subjects marked the beginning of formal relations between our two Parties.

Since that time, and in accordance with the agreements reached during that meeting, representatives of the Central Committees of the PCR Ch and the RCP, USA have continued to hold discussions on many topics, including especially the crisis in the international movement and the struggle for unity on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principle. Through the course of this process a unity of views has been achieved on many questions, including:

1) Opposition to the counter-revolutionary coup in China which overthrew the dictatorship of the proletariat and replaced it with the rule of a new bureaucratic bourgeoisie. The new revisionist rulers are, with breakneck speed, dismantling socialism and undoing the accomplishments of the Chinese revolution under the leadership of Mao Tsetung and subjecting the masses once again to exploitation and all the misery typical of

capitalist society. Internationally the new ruling Chinese bourgeoisie is capitulating to imperialism, which at this time is taking the form of integrating China into the sphere of Western imperialist exploitation and hitching China onto the U.S.-led war bloc. The revisionist usurpers have concocted the "strategic theory of the three worlds" and tried to pass off these tarnished revisionist theses as the work of Mao Tsetung. They have even repudiated the polemics against Khrushchevite revisionism. They are trying to spread capitulation and betrayal around the world.

2) The need to wage a vigorous defense of the great contributions of Mao Tsetung to the science and practice of Marxism-Leninism and the revolution in the face of the attacks on his line from all quarters. Mao Tsetung developed and enriched Marxism-Leninism in the fields of making revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries; the theory of people's war and military affairs; political economy and socialist construction; literature and art; Marxist philosophy; and, most important, the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Mao Tsetung led the struggle in the international communist movement against modern revisionism and developed a thorough critique of

the latter. Mao Tsetung, at the head of the Chinese Marxist-Leninists, unleashed and led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which, for ten years, prevented the restoration of capitalism in China, further revolutionized the socialist society, trained revolutionary successors who today are fighting for the revolutionary overthrow of the new capitalist ruling class in China, and left precious and vital lessons for the world proletariat. For all these reasons the attacks on Mao Tsetung are, in fact, attacks on Marxism-Leninism and must be treated as such.

3) The Soviet revisionists remain mortal enemies of the revolutionary proletariat. Under no circumstances can Marxist-Leninists abandon the struggle against them or the revisionist parties with whom they collaborate and generally lead. All forms of opportunism, including Trotskyism, Castroism, "focoism," and social democracy must continue to be fought.

4) The recognition of the growing danger of a third world war. The deepening crisis of the Western imperialist countries and that of the Soviet bloc states is forcing all the imperialist powers to seek a new, more favorable (for themselves) division of the world. The two imperialist superpowers, the U.S. and the Soviet Union, are heading up rival imperialist blocs to prepare for a new imperialist war that looms more menacing every passing day.

Our Parties condemn recent acts of aggression by the imperialists and those linked to them including the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the U.S. interference in Iran. In this light, the Chinese invasion of Vietnam and the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia must also be opposed.

An inter-imperialist world war could break out soon and there is a very great likelihood that it will break out in the next ten years unless it is prevented by revolution. In the face of this the proletariat must step up its revolutionary struggle, fight against imperialist war preparations, and prepare so that if revolution is not able to prevent a war it will be in a position to turn an inter-imperialist war into a war against the imperialists and their collaborators.



A meeting between Bob Avakian, chairman of the RCP, USA, and Jorge Palacios, a leader of the RCP of Chile (photo taken from the *Revolutionary Worker*, newspaper of the RCP, USA).

5) Not only is the development of the objective situation creating more fertile ground for revolutionary struggle in various countries, but there are actually growing revolutionary movements in many countries at the present time, and already within the last few years reactionary regimes in such places as Iran, Nicaragua and elsewhere have been overthrown or powerfully shaken by mass revolutionary struggle. While, as yet, none of these struggles have advanced to the stage of actually achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat, they clearly indicate the potential for this, in both the colonial (or neo-colonial) and dependent countries and in the imperialist countries themselves.

6) The need to carry out a thorough discussion and summation of the experience of the international communist movement, the proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship. This is necessary, in particular, to achieve a deeper understanding of revisionism so as to better combat its pernicious influence and to continue and deepen the struggle against it even in our own ranks.

7) The urgent need for the ideological, political and organizational unity of the genuine Marxist-Leninists throughout the world. Such unity will only come about through bitter ideological and political struggle against opportunism; no good will come from trying to hide or obscure differences, still less by treating major questions of demarcation as irrelevant

or mere topics for sterile academic debate.

8) Proletarian internationalism requires the active struggle to overthrow one's "own" reactionary ruling class; the full support for the struggle of the proletariat, oppressed masses and oppressed nations throughout the world; and support for socialist countries where they exist or may be established — all toward the goal of achieving the historic mission of the international proletariat.

On the basis of these common views the PCRCh and the RCP, USA have jointly undertaken bold and serious steps to further the process of unity of the genuine Marxist-Leninists on a world scale. It is the view of both Parties that while the crisis of the international movement is deep and the dangers are menacing, the possibilities for revolution, in each respective country and in the world as a whole, are greater still. With this perspective both of our Parties pledge to fight to their full capacity for the defense of Marxism-Leninism and the contributions of Mao Tsetung, for the victory of the revolution and the advance to communism throughout the world.

July, 1980

Signed,

Central Committee,  
Revolutionary Communist  
Party of Chile

Central Committee,  
Revolutionary Communist  
Party, USA

## Japanese communists on the origins of modern revisionism

The following text is part of the resolutions of the 5th Plenum of the Central Committee of the CP of Japan (Left), held in early 1980. It was originally published in the February 23, 1980, edition (No. 1010) of the *People's Star*, the bi-weekly party newspaper, and then translated fully into English in No. 57 of the party's English-language bulletin.

We have chosen this text because it takes a clear position on a very important problem: the problem of the origins of opportunism in the line and practice of the ICM, before the open break with Khrushchevite revisionism. The Japanese comrades point out the degree of opportunism which had come to infect the guiding line of the ICM during and after the Second World War, and they state that this problem must be fully analyzed in order to root out all forms of revisionism today. The positions they express represent a point of view which exists amongst different communist forces internationally, but which up until now has rarely been the subject of serious debate.

### The struggle against modern revisionism

To fight against revisionism, we must base ourselves on the lessons of the anti-revisionist struggle waged by Lenin.

Lenin abided by Marxism and launched an all-out struggle against revisionism which emerged in the Second International. He totally exposed

what errors there were in revisionism, what was the class nature of the revisionist errors and what were the historical and social conditions that brought about them. In this way, Lenin carried out thoroughly the historical liquidation of the revisionist current of that time, clarified the Marxist principles, developed Marxism and, arming the proletariat with it, led the Russian October Socialist Revolution to triumph; re-created the International — the Third International; and pushed the world revolution forward. The October Socialist Revolution in Russia could not have been carried to victory without the thorough and historical liquidation of the international revisionist current. This provides an important lesson.

We are faced with some rigid historical facts:

The revisionist Khrushchevite clique usurped the State power of the socialist Soviet Union and transformed the country into social-imperialism; and a number of regimes of people's democracy, with the exception of Albania, also degenerated and yielded before the imperialist bourgeoisie.

China did not advance toward socialism after the national democratic revolution but capitulated to the imperialist bourgeoisie, and is now running down the road back to capitalism while taking social-imperialist behaviors.

The former communist parties of all capitalist countries, organized after the Great October Socialist Revolution, have slipped into revisionism by abandoning the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Finally, the revolutionary national-liberation movement is seeking the way to defeat the neo-colonialist policies of imperialism.

History has set before the Marxist-Leninists and their parties a task of understanding and overcoming the root cause that brought the above facts.

This duty cannot be fulfilled without totally discovering the historical and social roots of the modern revisionist current which arose about the time of World War II. Yet, the development of situations today which has raised this task before the Marxist-Leninist parties, shows that objective historic conditions have been matured for the liquidation of modern revisionism.

The heart of the problem facing the international communist movement is that modern revisionism has not been liquidated radically and historically.

Lenin teaches us that "opportunism is no chance occurrence, sin, slip, or treachery on the part of individuals, but a social product of an entire period of history". Modern revisionism is a product of an entire historic period which takes its origin in the time of World War II or still earlier, and which has developed from Browderism to Titoism to Khrushchevism, from Eurocommunism to the Miyamoto clique, and down to the revisionist Chinese leadership.

For the liquidation of modern revisionism, therefore, we must proceed from the present reality of the international communist movement and, based on Marxism-Leninism, must thoroughly criticize and break with a number of revisionist trends in this movement, beginning from Browderism in 1935 or so.

In the historical examination of the international communist movement, we have held the stand grounded on the Party's revolutionary practice as well as the objective concrete facts; to analyze them in the light of Marxism-Leninism and thus get at the truth. So we have been against the doctrinaire, liquidationist or spontaneist way of treating the revolutionary struggle. In the constant process of cycle which goes from the study based on facts to the proof in practice, we have advanced step by step to develop what is in conformity with Marxism-Leninism and to overcome what is in opposition to it. We must continue to maintain such a rigorous stand on the international communist movement.

The struggle of our Party against modern revisionism has arrived at a new stage in the course of its development since the founding of the Party. We must bear this well in mind and step up our struggle all the more.

Our Party was founded as a detachment of the international struggle against revisionism, against both the Khrushchevite and Miyamotoite ones. The fight against Miyamoto revisionism within the then Communist Party of Japan was sharpening with a series of international developments — the 20th and 22th Congresses of the CPSU in 1956 and in 1961, the meetings of communist and workers' parties in Moscow in 1957 and 1960, respectively. It also aggravated, domestically, over the "1950 affair" and the struggle against the "Japan-U.S. security treaty" in 1960, and over the "1961 program of the CPJ". And

following the "Chinese-Soviet polemics", this struggle against revisionism in our country turned into an open clash. Our Party decided at its First Congress to liquidate modern revisionism, to work out a correct strategy and tactics of the revolution, and to indicate clear prospects for socialism.

The so-called "Sino-Soviet polemics" during the early 1960s made public the divergence and confrontation between the revolutionary trend and the modern revisionist one. At that time the Communist Party of China conducted polemics on the theoretical front against Khrushchevite revisionism. It was an attempt to re-establish the principle of the proletarian dictatorship in opposition to the general line of "peaceful coexistence", "peaceful transition" and "peaceful competition" proclaimed by Khrushchevite revisionism. But the CPC suspended its controversy with the modern revisionists at a time when U.S. imperialism was brutalizing more and more because of its stalemate in the aggressive Vietnam war, and it finally capitulated before imperialism. The CPC did not carry into effect the line of the international communist movement it proposed, but reduced this to mere rhetoric, and even violated it. This was the conclusion reached by the Chinese party which could not liquidate modern revisionism historically. This fact is an important lesson to us.

The degeneration of the CPC leadership laid bare the historic reality of the international communist movement. Looking straight at this reality, our Party started from the analysis and exposure of Chinese revisionism and then went on to examine the guiding line in general of the international communist movement during the Second World War and later.

The historic struggle against modern revisionism, passing from the phase of quantitative accumulation of struggle against specific types of revisionism, has arrived at a new stage: to expose and liquidate radically the essence and whole system of modern revisionism, that is a social trend of an entire period of history. We can present a full view of modern revisionism, as a trend of general character, by making concrete analysis of specific types of revisionism which have various colors. Then, we can also raise with a qualitative leap our struggle against specific revisionism through understanding the essence and the whole system of the modern



revisionist trend. We have to be clear about this historic stage of the struggle against modern revisionism.

Among many other problems included in the guiding line of the international communist movement during and after the Second World War, we must direct special attention to the following points to be deeply criticized:

Transforming capitalism into socialism is the immediate task of the proletariat in the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolutions. And this task becomes actual and practical at a moment when the revolutionary crisis coming from the threat of war, especially of a world war, deepens considerably.

In the First World War Lenin led the October Socialist Revolution in Russia to triumph, upholding the thesis of "Imperialism as the source of war" and the slogan "Transform the imperialist war into a civil war".

During the years of World War II, there was a guiding line existing in the international communist movement which denied the Leninist principle of transforming the imperialist war into a civil war and fighting for the defeat of imperialism of one's own country. This line erased the task of resolving the capital-labor contradiction through revolution and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, considering it of secondary importance. It placed the interests of the revolution in one country above those of the world revolution and negated the unified strategy and tactics of the world proletariat for the fight against international capital. All of this had its root in the anti-Marxist-Leninist views on imperialism and war. For the alleged sake of combatting Japan-German-

Italian fascism, Browderite revisionism worshiped bourgeois democracy, embellished U.S. imperialism, stood against the revolution, and led itself to dissolve the Communist Party U.S.A. This guiding line of the international communist movement during the World War, which minimized the task of the proletariat and reduced it to the short-sighted objective of "anti-war, anti-fascism and defense of democracy", and which opposed the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, must be radically criticized and liquidated.

It is because these opportunist viewpoints remained still undefeated after the World War, or rather grew and spread during the times of postwar history. According to them, the world after the war was defined as a world that entered a period of two opposing camps — the imperialist and anti-democratic camp, and the anti-imperialist and democratic camp — and in which there was no longer a possibility of relative stability nor rapid development of capitalism. Facts proved that this understanding of the situation was mistaken. Such an idealistic overestimation of the situation widely cultivated easy-going and Utopian concepts and lines of the revolution. One such example was the theory of the revolution of people's democracy which took up socialism, not as a direct target, but as a future goal. It was a theory to the effect that capitalist and imperialist countries would reach socialism through expanding democracy more and more. Another example was the theory of "peaceful transition through a peaceful revolution", according to which if the movement for the defense of democracy grew powerful, it would enable the prevention of an imperialist war and even make the peaceful revolution in a

parliamentary way realizable by binding the hand and foot of imperialism. Still another was the concept of "broadism" in respect to the united front. It was a supra-class concept, devoid of any proletarian substance: that all forces should be united for the defense of democracy in general. Among them was also the theory of non-alignment and neutrality: that the independent national states would proceed to socialism without undergoing any revolution, if they received aid from socialist countries and followed the course of independent development through taking part in the non-aligned bloc.

It was a grave fact that these erroneous viewpoints and lines were prevailing over the international communist movement until the 1950s after the War. That was the prototype of Khrushchevite revisionism; that was the one which evolved into Miyamotoite, Eurocommunist and then Chinese revisionism. We must drastically criticize and liquidate the wrong viewpoints and lines that developed into Khrushchevite revisionism in the postwar international communist movement.

The international communist movement is faced with a historic duty: to totally expose and liquidate the basic errors involved in the understanding of the world situations during and after the Second World War, as well as in the definition of tasks for the proletariat; and to launch a great qualitative step for the world revolution on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint of the revolution.

Our Party, as a contingent of the international communist movement, must resolutely undertake this glorious historic duty.

## The origins of today's problems in the ICM

The following text was produced by the group *Unidade Comunista* of Portugal which is formed of ex-members of the Communist Party of Portugal

(reconstructed) (CPP (r)). *Unidade Comunista* is struggling for the reunification of communists in Portugal and on the international level. The text

which follows is taken from the draft resolution of *Unidade Comunista's* first national conference which took place in January 1980. The text opposes

dominant trends which currently exist in the international communist movement, notably certain positions of the PLA and the parties which it recognizes. *Unidade Comunista* identifies the current ideological and political crisis within the international communist movement as resulting from the insufficient development of the ideological and theoretical struggle against modern revisionism. In the first sections of the text, *Unidade Comunista* advances that the source of the difficulties within the international communist movement at the current time is to be found on the ideological level in the idealism and subjectivism in dealing with the historical analysis of the degeneration of previously socialist countries, principally the Soviet Union and China. Further in the text, *Unidade Comunista* presents its opinion on the evolution of the international communist movement before 1956 and indicates that even before the dissolution of the Comintern and throughout the history of the International, opportunist positions surfaced and were sometimes dominant. These include the following erroneous positions: first, economism which

reached its height after the VII Congress of the International in 1935 when several, and even the majority, of the communist parties merged, in practice, with social-democratic parties and policies. Then there was the thesis of peaceful transition, especially after World War II. Examples given include the Italian "historical compromise", the turning over of arms in Greece, the "front" policy in France, etc. Third, the anti-fascist struggle replaced the struggle for socialism. Finally, nationalism and chauvinism are identified as a source of the international communist movement's problems. The first thing mentioned is that *Unidade Comunista* considers the dissolution of the Communist International in 1943 to be a mistake. According to Jdanov in his report on the international situation (1947), the dissolution of the Comintern was aimed at putting an end to the lies made by the enemies of communism and the labour movement according to which Moscow interfered in the internal life of the other States and tried to create a situation where communists in the different countries would act not in the in-

terests of their own people but according to orders from outside. Other than the sections which we are publishing below which deal with the international communist movement after the XXth Congress of the CPSU, and proletarian internationalism and the relations between different parties, the text deals in detail with the degeneration of the parties of the socialist countries, in particular the Soviet Union and China, and tries to evaluate the work of Stalin and the role of Mao Tsetung in this degeneration. We will have the opportunity to come back to this theme, but, for the moment, we can limit ourselves to saying that among the major reasons emphasized by *Unidade Comunista* as being the explanation for the degeneration of the socialist countries, the following are the most important: the formation of a new bourgeoisie under socialism, the bureaucratization of the State apparatus and the transformation of the proletarian party into a bourgeois-like party. The excerpts which we are publishing are taken from *Unidad Comunista, Bulletin for the reunification of communists, No. 7, October 22, 1979.* (Translation by IN STRUGGLE!)

## Concerning some burning questions in the international communist movement

1. *What is immediately obvious is the fact that, after the XXth Congress, the splits which took place in the communist parties did not have a mass character, and that the sectors affected by this crisis were limited to the intellectuals and the petty bourgeoisie.* This is only an indication of what was to take place later: the incapacity of the groups and parties which did form to influence class struggle in their own country in a revolutionary way. But there is more than the class nature of the splits which were later to lead to the isolation and crisis of Marxist-Leninists. The fact that their dominant political and ideological positions cor-

responded to both an attempt to flirt with the reformist politics and ideology of the revisionist CPs and the appearance of radical petty-bourgeois theses must also be taken into account...

2. *It can thus be concluded that the struggle waged by the Marxist-Leninists in the sixties remained unfinished.* This meant that the revolutionary opposition within the CPs had enormous difficulty in making itself heard. This was due to the fact that the opposition did not seem to be linked to the class struggle in its respective countries, but seemed rather to basical-

ly refer to the international situation, and did not wage a very protracted struggle against revisionism within the CPs themselves. And where a certain opposition did surface, it stayed in the upper structures since, to a large extent, bureaucratic centralism had already replaced real democratic centralism. The results of the splits were thus very fragile.

Why did the Marxist-Leninist groups and parties which were formed develop extreme sectarianism and base themselves almost exclusively on sectors of the radical petty bourgeoisie? In the first place, this problem should be

linked to the social and economic situation under capitalism. Already, capitalism was no longer experiencing growth, even temporary growth. Capitalism was engulfed in a profound crisis which even today it has not succeeded in escaping. And this crisis also hit the petty-bourgeois sectors which were easily radicalized. In some countries, the unequal development of the crisis led to a situation where the crisis in the superstructure was more advanced than the economic crisis. Certain sectors of the petty bourgeoisie were pushed towards rapid and direct solutions. The analysis of Marxist-Leninist groups on the "permanent crisis", their confusion between strategy and tactics, between ideology and politics, and infantile "left-wing communism" on the questions of the parliament and mass organizations influenced by revisionism are known. But, the radical petty bourgeoisie is vacillating and when it does not achieve its desires it rapidly becomes pessimistic. We are also familiar with the openly right-wing positions of Marxist-Leninist groups and parties, like the "theory of cadres", the underestimation of the labour movement in the capitalist countries, etc.

The general portrait of what exists in the Marxist-Leninist movement today is, in reality, a very sad demonstration of the crisis which is very deep, but which many people continue to ignore. We could give dozens of examples, but let us only recall certain facts: during the recent revolutionary events in Iran and Nicaragua, Marxist-Leninists played no major role, neither internally in these struggles nor on the level of international aid; the electoral results in countries where Marxist-Leninist parties already participate in elections are considered as a pretty reliable indication of their influence, and these results are almost ridiculous; in the trade unions their influence is almost non-existent with the Marxist-Leninists generally intervening from outside in "pure oppositions" which are formed of none other than the communist militants themselves; parties continue to be recognized internationally on the basis of their servility before the father parties, and not on the basis of their programme or real activities in their own country. This practice has even led to the recognition of completely opportunist parties, as was the case with Jurquet in a not so distant past, and which only discredits Marxist-Leninists....

## Proletarian internationalism and the relation between parties

1.... Given the era in which we are living, the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, at a time when capitalism has made its means of economic, military and ideological repression over the working class a hundred times more efficient and centralized, no progress is possible in the labour movement, neither on the practical nor the theoretical level, without looking at the labour movement on the international level, without taking into account all of the interests of the world proletarian revolution, and without subordinating the particular aspects of this or that country to the vital interests of the labour movement on the international level. Although the revolution takes on a national form because of the unequal development of capitalism and revolution, it is imminently international in its content.

These are principles which communists have recognized for a long time but they have nevertheless not been applied with all their consequences. One of the conditions for the victory of the proletariat, its unity, has not been achieved, at least on the level of the most developed countries. Not only has it not been achieved, but it has been made more difficult by a series of conceptions and practices which have deformed internationalism and emptied it of its content.

Undoubtedly, it is here that we find a open door for the development of the crisis in the communist and labour movements on an international level....

In conditions where modern revisionism appeared, the Marxist-Leninists had the duty of making an analysis of the historical situation which had given rise to it, and enriching Marxism-Leninism through the criticism of revisionism. It would have been necessary to have all the forces which remained separate from revisionism participate in the work of uniting the international working-class movement. Finally, it would have been important to elaborate a new orientation for the international communist movement and to give it an organizational form. It was thus an era of redefinition, of intense ideological and theoretical struggle, and of the opening of new paths. It was necessary and urgent to completely break with the revisionist basis of communist concep-

tions which had existed for several years.

2. This, however, was not what happened. Instead of intense ideological and theoretical struggle and a analysis of the historical situation which had led to the new revisionism and the degeneration of the U.S.S.R., a tailist attitude was taken in relation to the positions of the Chinese CP. Idealism and the refusal to analyze the process of the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat was adopted. There is no question that the long period of lethargy which the international communist movement experienced, as we saw above, bore fruit — the Marxist-Leninists themselves deformed the method of Marxist analysis and took the easier path of idealist condemnation and tailism with regard to the position of the party with the most authority. This was the result of a process of several years during which the inexistence of the Communist International led to the institutionalization of the inequality between parties, and tailism with regard to a "father-party".

As we have seen, this situation destroyed the theoretical and practical capacities of the different communist parties, prevented their merger with the labour movement as a whole and imposed an orientation on the international communist movement which was determined not on the basis of its correctness, but on the basis of the authority invested in the party which proposed it.

What happened after the split with the revisionists in 1962 is well known. Parties and groups claiming to be Marxist-Leninist and Maoist sprang up everywhere. In the majority of countries, more than one group appeared. At the time when really revolutionary parties appeared which united a significant revolutionary Marxist-Leninist trend around them, petty-bourgeois groups which had nothing to do with class struggle in their countries also appeared.

The Marxist-Leninist groups, isolated from class struggle, with no influence in the labour movement, parodying Marxism by mouthing Marxist vocabulary and repeating "official" positions without ever criticizing them, basically struggled for their international recognition — this is unfortunately the general portrait of the international communist movement.

How can Marxism move forward in these conditions? On this slippery ground where all internationalism is absent, only opportunism and bourgeois conceptions can develop....

The Communist Party of China has particular responsibility for this situation. It underestimated and abandoned bilateral and multilateral contacts between parties. Then it developed a policy where the principle of "I recognize anyone who is completely in agreement with me" was put into practice. This led the CPC to recognize different groups and parties in each country which, in the majority of cases, had no influence in the struggle of the working class. Gradually, China, adopting the policy of "great power", began to decide who belonged to the international communist movement and who did not, without any Marxist-Leninist criteria whatsoever.

It is therefore not difficult to understand how the relations of servility which are typical of bourgeois diplomacy appeared in the relations between communist parties. We cannot be too astonished that openly petty-bourgeois parties and groups were recognized by the international communist movement solely because they sensed which were the official theses and they developed intensive diplomatic activity within the international communist movement.

The very existence of several groups was limited to the publication of stereotyped analyses in various languages or the outright translation of Chinese and Albanian articles....

3. At this point, we should talk about an extremely negative phenomenon which developed in the dictatorship of the proletariat countries with regard to their internationalist tasks. Evidently we are referring to the concessions they made to nationalism and the so-called "reasons of State", to the detriment of active internationalism. This was particularly the case in two fields: the abandoning of the public polemic with other parties in power on deviations of principle, for economic reasons. As is now known, the Chinese CP only began its public polemic against the CPSU, and the PLA only waged open struggle against the Chinese CP, after the adoption of chauvinist policies which led to



the rupture of relations and an end to economic support. On the other hand, there was a nationalist tendency which was the expression of the petty-bourgeois class interests of the bureaucrats and upper strata of the economic and military sectors of society in transition, which did not see the countries of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the base for world proletarian revolution....

4. What has happened today in the international communist movement since the open split with the Chinese is not very different from what happened to the relations between parties over the past decade. A trend has been formed in the movement which considers that the only internationalism, the so-called "touch stone", is support of the PLA and Albania. We also feel that this support is just. But, as for the material and moral support to struggling peoples, as with the recent examples of Iran and Nicaragua, nothing was done. The continual education of the proletariat in the spirit of militant internationalism has not been achieved. The continual propagation of the revolutionary experiences of other peoples, even when they do not fit the "pure" framework adopted by Marxist-Leninists, is considered suspect.

This is "closed-door" internationalism where the door does not open to those who are developing the

real revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie, but rather to those who develop perfect plans, or who are the "official translators" of the positions of the most authorized parties.

It is a sad situation that internationalism has fallen so low in the practice of Marxist-Leninists. Although the experience from before the split with the revisionists obstinately shows another path, the still weak international communist movement stubbornly stays on the same path....

It is correct to support genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, and to struggle and work for the creation of an international, and little has been done on this. However, recognizing groups which have no audience, and creating others in a hasty fashion in order to give birth to an international which would have no "credibility" is a completely unacceptable practice. And when alongside this, parties which are not entirely in agreement with the PLA's methods and analysis are left out, we can already clearly see what kind of an international this will be: a paralyzed, lifeless, and tailist international, incapable of drawing Marxism-Leninism and the international communist movement out of the crisis they are currently in....

The principles which we consider essential if the Marxist-Leninists of the entire world are going to be able to unite and take a firm path for raising themselves to the level of the vanguard of the proletarian revolution of the whole world are: giving an important place to the ideological and theoretical struggle within the international communist movement and the entire revolutionary movement; struggling for an international organization of Marxist-Leninists on the basis of a general programme for the movement which has been widely discussed, even if it must necessarily be limited; criticizing the authority of a "father-party" and the "race" for international recognition; looking for the past errors of the movement by particularly analyzing the life of the III International; practising active internationalism with regard to all revolutionary movements....

# Call for an international conference of Marxist-Leninists

The following document, signed by communist organizations from Belgium, Canada, France, and Tunisia, is currently being circulated internationally in Spanish, Portuguese, and Arabic, as well as in English and French.

This document represents the concretization of the collective efforts of certain forces to develop a broad debate leading to the eventual unification of the ICM. The organizations signing this appeal call for an open debate on a wide number of political problems related both to the historical experience and the current practice of the world communist movement, and they explicitly reject a demarcation which is based mainly or exclusively on the evaluation of the Chinese revolution and of Mao.

At the current time, the world is in considerable disorder. The capitalist countries, including the revisionist countries, are going through a period of profound crisis. The peoples of different regions are openly struggling against oppression and exploitation. The proletariat is resisting the measures taken by the bourgeoisie to deal with the crisis.

In this situation, which is accompanied by major political upheavals and which opens up the possibilities for revolutionary struggles as well as a real danger of war, we are forced to remark that communist forces are not playing their role of giving political leadership to the proletariat and the peoples. On the contrary, they are weak, divided, isolated and sometimes in-existent or absent from important struggles on the national and international levels. The

Marxist-Leninist movement is experiencing a deep crisis. Several trends and tendencies exist within its ranks. But the lines of demarcation which divide them are often only formal.

The criteria for distinguishing Marxist-Leninists from revisionists remain the basic principles of class struggle, proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and proletarian internationalism.

Therefore, the under-signed organizations refuse the new line of demarcation between Marxist-Leninists and revisionists which certain would like to impose on the international communist movement which is based solely on the condemnation or not of the Chinese revolution and more specifically the teachings of Mao Tse Tung.

Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations will become the force needed for successful socialist revolution only if they are able to qualitatively and quantitatively raise their activities in the class struggle in their countries and to unite among themselves. The political and ideological bases for this unity should constitute a genuine victory over the different forms of revisionism, including the one based on the "three worlds theory", and this within their own ranks as well.

The under-signed organizations and parties met to exchange their present points of view on these questions. They came to the conclusion that a deeper and broader debate is needed on the level of the entire Marxist-Leninist movement.

That is why they have become involved in the organization of a first international conference where these problems will be examined on the basis of individual and collective contribu-

tions formulated and widely circulated beforehand by the participating organizations.

The organizations which have signed this call and which respect the principles of the equality and independence of the different Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations consider that these contributions can deal with any question which an organization participating in the conference feels should be dealt with.

However, they hope that the following points will be discussed:

- class analysis of the different countries, including the U.S.S.R.;

- summation of the building of socialism and its failures;

- the weight of past errors in the international communist movement, particularly the application of principles such as the equality of parties, democratic centralism and collective leadership in Marxist-Leninist organizations;

- the process of moving from the democratic popular stage to the socialist stage;

- the question of alliances, of work in united fronts and trade unions, and more generally the relation between the party and the masses;

- the national question in the dominated countries and in the multinational imperialist countries.

The under-signed organizations call on the Marxist-Leninist forces in the different countries to fully participate and collaborate in this project.

The under-signed organizations invite the entire international communist movement to study, consider, and draw up documents, and to organize bilateral and multilateral meetings with the goal of deepening the ideological and political debate around all the currently important questions.

- **The Revolutionary Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (L'Exploité), Belgium**

- **The Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada IN STRUGGLE!**

- **The Communist Organization (Marxist-Leninist)**

- **EN AVANT PROLÉTAIRES of France**

- **ECH-CHOOOLA of Tunisia**

September 13, 1980

## On the liberation struggles

# Introduction to the articles on the liberation struggles

The liberation struggles of the oppressed masses in the colonies and neo-colonies dominated by imperialism continue to be one of the most important fronts of the revolutionary movement in today's world. In the Philippines, in El Salvador, in Turkey, in Palestine, in Azania, and in many other countries, the masses are engaged in both political and military struggles which are increasingly isolating their enemies. Recently we have seen a series of countries like Iran, Zimbabwe, and Nicaragua where the liberation movements have won important victories — victories which in turn bring new problems and new perspectives for the revolutionary forces in these countries and around the world. And in still other countries, like El Salvador today, it is clear that the liberation forces are moving continually closer to winning political power. With the current deepening of the all-round crisis of world imperialism, we can only expect the further acceleration of this development of the liberation movements. The rapid development of the mass struggles and the increasing isolation of the pro-imperialist regimes in Central and Latin America demonstrates this clearly.

The growth and multiplication of these struggles creates very favourable conditions for the progress of the world proletarian revolution. These struggles are winning real and important changes for the working masses of these countries. They are striking important blows at the local exploiters and their different imperialist masters. They are helping the communist forces in these countries to convince the masses, through their own experience, of the treachery of the different opportunist forces and of the necessity of revolutionary solutions. And, most important, they are opening up new possibilities in these countries for real and lasting victories against all exploitation and oppression, for the triumph of the proletarian revolution.

For all of these reasons, it should be

clear that the liberation struggles must have the full support of all the communist forces. But what kind of support? Is it the kind of support that has become the dominant tradition, that consists of cheering these struggles on to immediate victories, and of pretending that their spontaneous development will automatically produce long-term defeats for the imperialists and lasting victories for the people? Or is it another kind of support that is necessary, a support that helps to develop a real **proletarian leadership** for these struggles?

The answer to this question should be clear, if we look at the historical experience of the last few decades. The international communist movement has not been able to provide a real proletarian leadership to the liberation struggles during this time. And the result has been that the heroic battles of the masses in the dominated countries have been used to profit new imperialist masters and new local exploiters, and that the struggles themselves have been used in the interests of inter-imperialist rivalry rather than being able to weaken the world front of imperialism.

All of this means that the communists are faced with enormous responsibilities in relation to the liberation struggles — responsibilities that the communists today are far from being able to assume, either within the liberation movements themselves, or as an international movement. The communists cannot continue to accept the situation where they give almost no effective political and material support to the most important liberation forces, leaving this field practically uncontested to the revisionists and social-democrats working for their different imperialist masters. They cannot continue to accept the situation where the activities of the opportunist and bourgeois forces in the liberation movements, and the struggles of the local communists against these forces, remain largely unanalyzed and unknown. And, above all,

they cannot continue to accept the situation where the ICM suffers from the most extreme disunity concerning the **analysis** that should be made of these struggles and the **programme** that should guide them.

\* \* \*

All of these considerations have led us to make the feature question of *International Forum* no. 2 the question of the liberation struggles. In preparing this work, we have tried to make use of certain recent developments in the ICM which could help permit a serious and collective study of this problem.

There is the fact that the struggles against Chinese revisionism and the "three worlds theory" have once again put this question in the forefront of the debates internationally. Although these debates have remained largely superficial up until now, they have at least opened the discussion on the path of the revolution in the dominated countries and the role of the liberation struggles in the world proletarian revolution. There is also the fact that certain communist groups have begun to put forward, and to debate, the question of the **mode of production** in the dominated countries. The pursuit of this process could help us to make some real progress in combatting the stereotyped dogmas which have been substituted for analysis on this question for so long. As well, there is the fact that there are many Marxist-Leninist forces actively involved in the liberation struggles: forces who have not only been able to resist the pressures of Soviet and Chinese revisionism, but also to critically sum up their practical experience in the revolutionary battles. If these experiences can be made known and seriously discussed, they will constitute an invaluable aid to the ICM in correctly assessing the liberation movements. Finally, there is the fact that a few Marxist-Leninist forces have begun to speak out publicly on the problem of international support to the liberation movements: both in terms of the

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EN AVANT PROLÉTAIRES

المنظمة

conception of this support, and in terms of practical proposals for joint activity by the communist forces internationally.

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Naturally, it is impossible in one issue to deal with all the questions and problems associated with a correct understanding of the liberation struggles. What we have chosen to do, instead, is to make a selection of articles that speak to certain essential themes that merit examination and debate.

One of these themes is the basic analysis of the mode of production in the colonies and neo-colonies. We find basically two positions in opposition: those who analyze these countries as **semi-colonial and semi-feudal**, and those who see these countries today as **dependent capitalist** countries. Naturally, this is a question which concerns the concrete analysis of these countries, and particularly of the degree to which the domination of imperialism has resulted in the development of capitalism with its resulting changes in the local class structure. But it is **also** a question which is the subject of serious re-examination and intense debate **within** particular countries. The debates on this question in countries like Iran, Turkey, Brazil; and the changes of position by communist forces in countries like Cyprus, Mexico, Ecuador show this clearly. Because this question is basic to the correct analysis of the political forces and the revolutionary programme in these countries, we have included several texts which deal directly with this problem.

The second main theme we have introduced is the question of the path of the revolution in the dominated countries, of the alliances for winning political power and of the form of political power at the democratic or anti-imperialist stage. Where possible, we have tried to show the links that certain groups make between their analysis of the mode of production and their political programme. Generally, these two questions are closely linked. Those who hold to the semi-colonial, semi-feudal analysis stress more the progressive character of the local bourgeoisie and the purely democratic tasks at the first stage of the revolution. Those who hold to the dependent capitalist analysis often demarcate precisely on these points. But such a generalization does not really adequately describe the many



A scene from the strikes of the oil workers in Iran — strikes which helped to topple the Shah. The development of capitalism and the growth of the working class in the dominated countries creates new conditions and perspectives for the revolutionary struggle.

“shades of opinion” that exist in relation to these programmatic questions. Often we will find, for example, that the defenders and the opponents of the semi-colonial, semi-feudal analysis put forward very similar political programmes. And we will even find cases where the Marxist-Leninists can agree on the same immediate programme as the revisionist forces, while demarcating on their tactics and international analysis. These are only two examples of the many programmatic questions that demand clarification.

The third main theme we have introduced is the question of international support to the liberation struggles. What kind of support helps develop the necessary proletarian leadership? How do we demarcate from the opportunist forces in these struggles? Should Marxist-Leninist parties be created where these struggles are led by mass revolutionary organizations? What is the correct attitude toward the new governments created by popular uprisings in the last period? The debate on these questions in the ICM has only just begun. But we have included several articles which deal directly or indirectly with these problems, because they are problems that must be solved before the ICM can unify its thought and action in support of the liberation struggles.

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In choosing these themes, we have been forced to leave aside others that

are important and that we will address in the future. There is the complex and important question of the military struggle in the colonies and neo-colonies. There are the tactical problems of the alliances between proletarian and non-proletarian class forces, particularly in relation to the immediate overthrow of repressive dictatorships. There is also the analysis of the liberation movements, like in Cuba and in Vietnam, which have fallen into the orbit of Soviet social-imperialism.

Another problem we have left aside is the thesis of the independence struggle, or national liberation, as a strategic task in the advanced capitalist and imperialist countries. We think that this thesis can be dealt with more correctly in examining the general tasks of the communists in the developed capitalist countries, and we will take this up in a coming issue of *Forum*.

\* \* \*

The selection of these texts will serve its purpose if it helps to introduce some of the basic reflections of different communist and revolutionary forces on the liberation struggles, and helps to promote the necessary debate on this question that must be pursued in the ICM. We will certainly return to these vital questions in the near future in the pages of *Forum*, and any commentaries or criticisms that we receive on the present issue will be used to develop this work.

## Dependent capitalism in Venezuela

The following text is taken from a special number of *Que Hacer*, organ of the *People's Struggle Committees in Venezuela*. The full text, published in October 1979, contains a comprehensive analysis of the world and Venezuelan economic and political situation.

The parts we are producing here deal with the political economy and class forces in Venezuela. They are of particular interest because of their outline of the evolution of the Venezuelan economy as a dependent capitalist economy, because of their developed analysis of the class relations, and because of their polemic against the concept of an anti-imperialist local or “national” bourgeoisie. (Translation by IN STRUGGLE!)

### Venezuela: a dependent and neo-colonial country

The principal factor in the deformation of our social and economic structure has been imperialist domination of our country. Today, Venezuela is a country with a dependent capitalist economy and a neo-colonial State. The principal contradiction to resolve is between the Venezuelan people on one side, and imperialism, the bourgeoisie and landlords on the other. This contradiction will be resolved by setting up the dictatorship of the proletariat of its popular-democracy form.

Let us quickly see the concrete form of the economic and social structure of Venezuela, the dependent character of its economy, and its neo-colonial State.

#### The Economic Structure of Venezuela

The economic structure of Venezuela is characterized by the dominance of the capitalist mode of production over the vestiges of social relations of pre-capitalist modes.

In the economic and social structure of Venezuela there are still remainders of relationships from feudalism. These are sometimes quite strong in traditionally agricultural regions without mineral resources, or at least where mineral resources have not been found. Capitalism is present there only in its phase of circulation of commodities (markets) using the region as a

supplier (offerer) of goods for capitalist consumption (food and raw material) or to offer it goods made by capitalist production. The process of production is basically feudal in these regions. It is important to point out the high concentration in the ownership of the land which leaves large tracts of land in few hands, forcing many peasant families to enlarge the ranks of the agricultural proletariat or to submit to feudal relationships to survive.

We can also find in our economic and social structure weakening forms of small pre-capitalist mercantile production (handicrafts) especially in agricultural areas.

In the native communities there still exist forms of primitive communism, which without having any influence on the rest of the components of society, are strongly influenced by conditions imposed by the capitalist mode of production. The latter has introduced, in some places more than others, deformations in social relationships in the different existing tribal organizations.

What some historians see as the remains of slave society, are not, for us, anything else than the form taken in the field of ideological-cultural superstructure of the presence of values proper to these relationships, expressed in a few traditional forms of the culture of the colonial era, particularly those of religious origin.

This complex world of social relationships shows that our economic structure is formed by relationships from various modes of production. However, the capitalist mode of production is dominant in our social and economic structure, and has built up in a long process that has lasted nearly five hundred years. However, its natural historical process has been prevented and the end result is an economic structure that is totally deformed by the plundering forces of the Spanish Conquistadores and then by the successive expansionism of English and German capitalism and then by U.S. imperialism. This process of violent usurpation did not permit the autonomous development of Latin American reality and subordinated it to the rhythm imposed by the interest of the colonial, then neo-colonial powers.

The neo-colonial capitalist and dependent system is the historical synthesis of a whole process in which the break with Spanish colonialism just meant a new type of colonialism, one where formal foreign political domination was no longer through imperial envoys but through a native class that serves as a base for the maintenance of neo-colonial domination. The chains of domination imposed by U.S. imperialism on the economy of Venezuela are stronger today than at any other time in our history. Our dependence can be seen in the field of production, financing, technological submission, commercialization etc. It explains the backwardness of our economy and the loss of all traits of real autonomy. All this makes it impossible to break this dependence through negotiation within the capitalist framework, and thus reaffirming the need of proletarian revolution as the only possible way to break the bonds that tie us to imperialist economy.

This forced development of capitalism in Venezuela has made it reach the most modern form of Monopoly State Capitalism in which the Venezuelan State is not only the traditional tool used by the dominant class to temporarily solve the contradictions within it and that it has with its historic enemy, the proletariat, but also to play a decisive role in the economy, putting all its financial resources to give the bourgeoisie a more complete form as a dominating class...

## The Social Classes

The complex social relationships of production which constitute the existing capitalist social-economic structure determine the classes which form Venezuelan society. According to their interests, they will be found in the camp of revolution or of counter-revolution.

It is only through a thorough analysis of the problem of the social classes and the specific characteristics of each of them that we will be able to understand their real attitude towards the revolution and thus set up an increasingly correct line on this important problem. The analyses made on the social classes in our country to this date have been based on the traditional outlines made by the old "communist" parties and have served more to justify their class collaboration policies than to uncover the real class structure of our society.

This is a whole discussion we cannot go into here, so we will limit ourselves to pointing out the classes who are part of the revolutionary camp and the ones which make up the camp of the enemy of the revolution.

### The working class:

In the present stage, where the proletarian revolution is the most important task for humanity, the working class has the dominant role. Venezuela is part of this historic reality and its working class leads the sector of the exploited and oppressed in the Venezuelan revolution. The focal points of this leadership is the **industrial and agricultural proletariat** who presently make up more than 30% of the working force in the country, and is estimated to be almost three million people. The industrial proletariat, will not play just a quantitative role. It is also important because of the way capitalists concentrate this sector of the proletariat. This gives it a better understanding of itself as a class in itself, with a decisive power in social and economic development. It helps this section of the working class develop its spirit of solidarity because of the very working conditions which are based on co-operation which are the product of the division of labour which is more accentuated in industry than in the process of manufacturing. Besides all this, the industrial proletariat is joined together by its working conditions, a greater propensity for discipline and organization which makes the task of making it a class much easier.

On the other hand, the presence of the agricultural proletariat in the countryside permits the expansion of the general project of the proletariat in these zones and to combat the backward positions of some isolated sectors like the peasants.

Given the present tendencies of society, the size of this section tends to grow in number and quality. We can see today how the steelworkers, the textile workers, the petro-chemical workers, the mechanical workers and other workers from industry stand out in the confrontations with capitalist exploitation.

In any case, all this does not negate the importance of workers from the manufacturing sectors, who have, on the contrary, proved their great combative spirit, given the sub-human conditions of work, their low wages and the brutal exploitation they suffer. We must also remember that in Venezuela manufacturing workers are going through a process of transformation into the industrial proletariat because of the very needs of capitalism in its present stage.

We find less developed strata in the working class who work basically in the service sector of the economy and a large industrial reserve army which is about 25% of the active labour force. The characteristics of Venezuelan society and the deformation of its economic and social structure make it impossible for it to absorb into its production apparatus the growing demand for employment, because of the seize of this industrial army. This has the consequence of making these people take part in under-employed activities, like street sales (buhoneros) and that a large part of this army becomes part of the lumpen proletariat. They have been called "marginals" a name that bourgeois sociology generalizes to call all those who live in the neighbourhoods and try to hide the presence in the capitalist system of an army of unemployed which put pressure on wages and thus, are a very necessary group for capitalist accumulation. This Marxist category shows the falseness to any theory that tries to put forward full employment under capitalism, since the latter needs this army to be able to reproduce itself.

One can also find within the Venezuelan working class a caste which encrusts itself in the unions in order to carry bourgeois ideas there and to slow down class organization by the workers.

This union bureaucracy, which has been reinforced in the last few years, has become a part of the tools used by capitalist domination in Venezuela, acting as firemen to put out the struggles of workers and in some occasions openly playing the role of police in the repression of the coherent working-class movement.

### The Peasants:

These are the principal allies of the working class in the struggle for people's democracy. It is made up in a large majority by a mass of semi-salaried workers in the countryside, like migrant workers, part-time workers and agricultural labourers. Many work for wages at specific times in the year, like during the harvest, while they are unemployed a large part of their time, or work on their small plots where they invest the little they make when they receive wages. Some work a few days a week for a salary, the rest on their little plots. The great majority definitely end up being part of the agricultural proletariat, but continue to be so as they are now, as semi-salaried workers.

A smaller part of the peasants are renting in a pre-capitalist way and are owners of plots whose income does not reach, according to serious research done in the country, 300 bolivars month.

Another sector of the Venezuelan countryside which is a friend of the revolutionary process is the agricultural and cattle-raising petty bourgeoisie who have small and medium sized ranches and farms and who are hemmed in by the latifundists and the agrarian bourgeoisie. They are faced with little opportunity to cultivate and raise cattle in competition with these two powerful classes in the countryside who are interested in enlarging their territorial property. This sector is not as important as the semi-salaried workers nor the poor peasants. However, it is within the group of alliances the proletariat should make to be able to isolate and defeat its enemy.

### The urban petty-bourgeoisie:

This is a numerically large sector composed of intellectuals, artists, students, employees, small businessmen, small merchants, professionals, etc. This sector, like its counter-part in the countryside, is very changeable. But the very developments of capitalism forces it into the ranks of the proletariat. The

process of concentration of property and the rise in prices ruins the most impoverished strata of the petty bourgeoisie and causes them to lower their standard of living, which was quite high at other times.

In the camp of the enemies we find the bourgeoisie, the latifundists and U.S. imperialism:

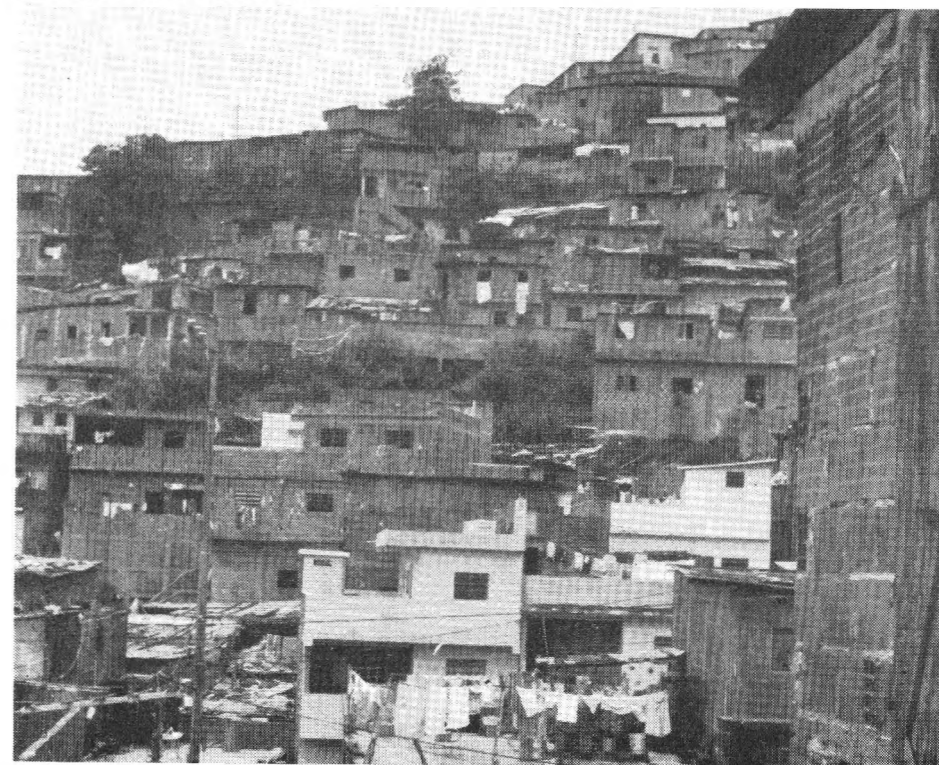
### U.S. imperialism:

As we have already described it, this is the principal enemy of the people of Latin America, with the exception of Cuba. Its bloody and rapacious character, and the fact that it is the principal exploiter of the Venezuelan people makes the fight with it one to the death.

### The Venezuelan bourgeoisie:

This class has developed in the shadow of foreign investment and of the usurpation of our riches by imperialism, thus it is in its formation and development a great ally of imperialism. Its various strata: traditional (commercial, importers, living from dividends, and money-lending and usurers), the industrial-banking bourgeoisie, the financial and agrarian bourgeoisies all have been formed through the alliances (both active and

A view of the slums in Caracas, Venezuela. Two million people live in these conditions in Caracas, after having been forced to the city from the countryside by the development of capitalism.



passive) held with foreign monopoly capital aided by the powerful financial resource that the Venezuelan State is.

The origins of the native bourgeoisie are from landlords who became bourgeois to those who have become bourgeois from speculation, but all of them have been formed by the dynamics imposed by foreign capital which has wiped away any nationalist trait which could have made them fight against imperialism in defence of the Venezuelan nation. On the contrary, they have always helped the surrender to imperialist capital, because they knew that from this they received benefits that strengthened them as a class.

### The latifundists or landlords:

The most reactionary class per se, despite the fact that it has been losing power in State circles, this class owns 17% of national territory, and keeps hundreds of thousands of peasants in misery. The majority of Venezuelan latifundists live in Caracas or other big cities. They have established increasingly close links with the bourgeoisie and imperialism, thus forming a part of the unity of exploiting classes facing the group of classes that are in the camp of the revolution.

## A few considerations on the so-called middle bourgeoisie

The term "middle bourgeoisie" has been used in the analysis of class structure of our society as a new social category, which these analyses include as part of the motor forces for the revolution. In our understanding, this is no more than an attempt to compare it to the national bourgeoisie, which the reformist sectors have so dilligently searched for. All social and economic analyses have proved that it did not succeed in creating itself in our country because of the very denationalizing process monopolist capital has been going through with the Venezuelan bourgeoisie. This is especially true of the industrial bourgeoisie, which in other conditions for its development could have represented an important part of the struggle against foreign domination in the contradiction of the nation against imperialism.

Since the suppositions that there is a middle bourgeoisie in our country would have implications on the formulation of the revolutionary project, we believe that it is important to put out a first opinion which would open the discussion on this definition used by other revolutionaries in their countries. Their countries were so backward that, with the lack of a developed capitalist sector, defines as middle bourgeoisie sectors which we can define, in our context, as the industrial petty bourgeoisie, as was the case in the Chinese revolution.

It is important to clarify, before analyzing the possible basis for defining the middle bourgeoisie, that the industrial petty bourgeoisie has a real existence in Venezuela and is an ally of the proletariat for the present stage, not because it has the role of representing the interests of the nation against imperialism, but because its weakness in accumulation puts it in competition against big capital. As the concentration of big capital increases, the industrial petty bourgeoisie runs the historical risk of being proletarianized. It is also important to say that the industrial petty bourgeoisie, while it does not see the danger that this will happen, often acts as an ally of big capital. In some backward countries big capital helps small production continue because it helps keep prices high due to the higher cost of small production, therefore giving big capital a higher sur-

plus value on the market as its costs are lower and in selling it charges the higher price determined by higher production costs.

We do not know if those who define the middle bourgeoisie (but excluding the industrial petty-bourgeoisie from this definition) do it looking at the weaker sectors of the bourgeoisie or looking at the rising petty bourgeoisie. In the first case, it means taking into account bourgeois sectors who are growing weaker because of the monopoly capital action in the more dynamic sectors of the economy like industry. These sectors are often the most reactionary sectors, like the commercial trade bourgeoisie, and therefore the proletariat cannot see them as allies because of the simple fact that foreign investment is bankrupting them.

If they define it according to the second definition, the rise of the petty bourgeoisie comes from its alliance with monopoly and imperialist capital, and therefore they lose their potential as a nationalist force in proportion to their rise.

This lack of concrete analysis of the middle bourgeoisie by those who say one exists makes it possible to perceive that they are adopting opportunist positions which permit them to justify the political plans they are presenting. At the same time, it permits them to justify their conciliatory and submissive positions towards the dominant classes. To this point, all they have done is say that it exists but they have not proved its real presence in Venezuelan society.

We have never considered the participation of any bourgeois sector in the camp that is the motive force in the Venezuelan revolution. To include the so-called middle bourgeoisie in the motive forces is no less than to put forward a bourgeois democratic revolution, as the Socialist League does under the costume of a popular democratic revolution. The authentic democratic popular revolution, as part of the dictatorship of the proletariat, excludes the inclusion in revolutionary projects any bourgeois sector, a class that historically has been antagonist to the proletariat.

## The communist programme in Venezuela

The following document is a summation of the essential elements of the programme of the Red Flag party of Venezuela, written in 1976, and published in French in a booklet entitled "Documents of the 10th anniversary of the Red Flag Party of Venezuela, 1970 — 1980".

This programme is based on the same Marxist-Leninist analysis of Venezuelan society as that made by the Committees of Popular Struggle and published in *Que Hacer*. It is of particular interest because it clearly identifies the stage of people's democracy in Venezuela as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat and as a stage in which the unfinished bourgeois democratic tasks are completed in order to prepare the rapid transition to socialism. (Translation from French version by IN STRUGGLE!)

## Our programme

The national plenum of cadres was held recently to debate and adopt the party programme. The programme was transformed into a real guide to action. It has become our main instrument for propaganda work and for demarcating Marxism from the ideology and politics of bourgeois democracy, revisionism and petty-bourgeois reformism.

In this issue of **Bandera Roja (Red Flag)** we put forward a summary of the main points dealt with in the programme. We are putting together another issue which will include the complete text of the programme together with commentaries to make it more useful to comrades.

The programme is based on Marxist-Leninist principles. It clearly establishes what our goals are as a revolutionary organization fighting for socialism as a transitional period leading to a free society where there are neither exploiters nor exploited, namely communist society.

### Political section

The party programme establishes the objective of socialism as a transition towards communism. It states that the dictatorship of the proletariat in Venezuela will be set up by a People's Democracy government. The working class will maintain its hegemony in this government through its revolutionary

party. It will stand at the head of a front of exploited classes including workers, peasants and petty bourgeois.

People's Democracy is a transition period between capitalism and socialism. Its objective is to go through the bourgeois-democratic stage by liquidating the vestiges of feudalism and completing the changes that the bourgeoisie is incapable of carrying out properly. It must also consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialize the most important sectors of the economy to ensure the thorough and complete construction of socialism.

We clarified still further our position on the nature of revolutionary State power, stating categorically that it is our mission to destroy the bourgeois State machine. This will be done by destroying the bourgeois state institutions and consolidating the organisms of revolutionary power which will be created in the course of the development of the revolutionary war. We also clarified a number of things about the executive, legislative and judicial organs of the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat where there will be a real and not just formal democracy. Legislative organs will be filled by carrying out free elections in each factory and workplace. Elected officials will be subject to recall and legislative work will be combined with productive work. Legislators will not have a salary exceeding that of a skilled worker.

We declared our desire to dissolve the security police, the forces of "public order", the petty offences squad etc. such as the DIM, DISIP, PM, PTJ and so on. And even though we will not be able to completely dispense with professional security forces which will be needed in suppressing the resistance of the reactionary classes which have been recently overthrown this task will fundamentally be in the hands of the masses of working people. The crimes which express contradictions among the people that can be classified as minor offenses will go before the people's tribunals that will be replacing the bourgeois courts.

We expressed our views on the armed forces, indicating that the continued presence of a still strong and aggressive U.S. imperialism and of the reactionary and expansionist Soviet social-imperialism will oblige us to build up a powerful people's army. It would be an army rid of all privileges with the sole mission of serving the people whether it was in combat, production or revolutionary political activity. We also stated firmly that the officers and NCO's from the bourgeois army who do not oppose the revolutionary struggle of the people and who support the new revolutionary People's Democracy State will be included within the People's Army.

The alliance of revolutionary classes in the army will not find expression in the existence of a multitude of parties within its ranks. Only the revolutionary party of the working class will exist in the People's Army, thereby guaranteeing the hegemony of the proletariat.

The programme is quite straightforward about the role of political parties in general, asserting that there will be a single party of the working class that exercises hegemony. At the same time we accept the existence of democratic parties reflecting the interests of the revolutionary classes in power during the stage of People's Democracy. The bourgeoisie and the other reactionary classes will have no right whatever to organize into political parties or any sort of association.

The unions will represent the interests of the working class and peasants in the People's Democracy government and in the whole period of construction of socialism. They will also be an important factor in the struggle against backward ideas and for the develop-

ment of a revolutionary ideology among the masses. The unions will play an important role in the planning and managing of the economy.

With regards to religion, the People's Democracy State will adopt no official religion and will impose no religious activity of any kind. No sect or religion will be promoted. Religion will be regarded as a fundamentally personal matter and no one may be charged or persecuted for religious reasons. On the other hand, we reserve the right as a revolutionary State to conduct propaganda based on the materialist conception of history to combat the deceptive religious nonsense that is part and parcel of the ideology of the overthrown ruling classes.

### Economic section

The revolutionary People's Democracy government, in order to ensure the rapid building of socialism once the bourgeoisie is overthrown, will undertake a series of measures that are directly in the interests of the masses which will break the back of the capitalist structure of Venezuela. All heavy industry will be immediately expropriated as will companies in light industry that are central to the economy and all American companies or those directly dependent upon them.

The enterprises that will be expropriated are: steel, aluminum, petrochemicals, gas and oil and by-products, electrical power, machine tool-making, transportation linked to the productive sector, aeronautic and naval construction, the big marine industry, light industries which mass produce consumer durables at high cost (cars, tractors, TV's, refrigerators etc.), telecommunications, and, for obvious security reasons, private systems of radio communication.

The People's Democracy will establish a concrete policy towards indemnities paid to national or foreign non-U.S. capitalists for expropriating their holdings, dealing with such problems on a case by case basis.

Medium-size industrial production will remain in private hands during the stage of transition to socialism. The revolutionary government will fix the volume of production and establish the maximum limits of profit and of capitalization of surplus value.

Small rural property-owners will continue to exist alongside cooperatively-owned farms and socially-owned enterprises in the countryside until the complete socialization of agriculture is accomplished.

The objective of the People's Democracy State will be to carry out a thorough agrarian reform. We will respect private ownership by petty peasant proprietors but will try, by using persuasion, to attract those people to the cooperative movement. This will continue up until agriculture has been completely socialized which in turn will be achieved by emulation between the cooperatives and the socialized farms.

The economic policy of the People's Democratic stage will include taking sanctions against the enterprises who commit acts against the people such as fraud in attaining quality norms, hiding profits, the creation of false shortages, the sabotage of production and so on. A price policy will be established which in the first phase will try to correct the distortions inherited from capitalist society. Efforts will be made to adjust prices to take account of more than just the law of value which inexorably imposes its will on all societies where a market economy still exists. Prices will be set in light of the costs of production at a national level, of the capacities and priorities for production, the needs of society, the objective of reducing the gap between incomes, the goal of reducing commercial practices, etc. This will be developed up to the point of a policy of planned pricing across the board.

There will be a policy of full employment guided by the principle of "those who do not work shall not eat". Children, senior citizens, the sick and the mentally or physically handicapped will be exempted from this requirement. Intellectual work will be combined with productive labour.

The main public services will be free of charge from the beginning. Those services that are not free will be available for a minimal fee. No one will be allowed to own a dwelling other than the one for their own family. The houses expropriated from landlords will be rented out by the State at rates that are below 10% of the worker's wage. This percentage may increase for those earning above the average worker wage.

## Education, women and children

Education will be free and combined with productive activity. It will be genuinely revolutionary. Its goal will be to develop a Marxist-Leninist consciousness among the students.

Policies will be implemented for

women and children which ensure that women are incorporated into production and political activity, including safety provisions to protect pregnant women. The care and education of the children of working and politically active women will be guaranteed. The only difference between men and women that will be taken account of in assigning tasks etc. will be the differences in physical strength. Children

will be brought up in accordance with a policy that enables them to be educated in the spirit of the defence of the socialist homeland and practicing proletarian internationalism. Children will be given priority in the distribution of scarce basic necessities. Students will be introduced to productive labour as part of their overall education at an early age.

Venezuela, March 1976

# National liberation in the Philippines

The following documents, which deal both with the character of Filipino society and the revolutionary programme for the Philippines, are taken from the book *Philippine Society and Revolution*, written by Amado Guerrero and first published in 1970. Amado Guerrero is the chairman of the CP of the Philippines, and this book constitutes the basic programmatic text of this party.

These texts clearly identify the Philippines as a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society, and clearly put forward a programme of national liberation based on the united front of the workers, peasants, urban middle class, and progressive capitalist forces. If we have chosen this text to represent this particular kind of analysis, it is because the CP of the Philippines is still today applying these positions, and in fact has reported on the occasion of its 10th anniversary that the Filipino revolution is making considerable gains in both the political and military field on the basis of this basic programmatic line of the party.

## The People's Democratic Revolution

*Whoever sides with the revolutionary people is a revolutionary. Whoever sides with imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism is a counter-revolutionary. Whoever sides with the revolutionary people in words only but acts otherwise is a revolutionary in speech. Whoever sides with the revolutionary people in deed as well as in word is a revolutionary in the full sense.*

MAO TSETUNG

### Basic Character of the Philippine Revolution

Because of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal nature of Philippine society, the present stage of the Philip-

pine revolution cannot but take a national democratic character. It is a national democratic revolution, a revolution seeking the liberation of the Filipino people from foreign and feudal oppression and exploitation.

It is a national revolution principally because it seeks to assert national sovereignty against U.S. imperialism and its local running dogs. It is a democratic revolution principally because it seeks to fulfill the peasant struggle for land against domestic feudalism and furthermore it seeks to uphold the democratic rights of the broad masses of the people against fascism. The basic contradictions in Philippine society are those between the Filipino nation and imperialism, and those between the great masses of the

people and feudalism. The fascism that is now on the rise is basically the military suppression of the people by the present counter-revolutionary State in behalf of its imperialist and feudal masters.

Because the principal objective of the present stage of the Philippine revolution is to liberate the Filipino people from foreign and feudal oppression and exploitation, it can be said that it is a continuation and resumption of the Philippine revolution of 1896 and the Filipino-American War, both of which ended in failure under the leadership of the local bourgeoisie, particularly under the liberal bourgeois leadership of the Aguinaldo government.

There is however a basic difference

between the present national democratic revolution and the one that suffered defeat at the hands of U.S. imperialism. The present national democratic revolution is of a new type. It is so by virtue of the fact that since the October Revolution and the emergence of the first socialist State from the ruins of an inter-imperialist war (World War I), the national democratic struggles against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism in colonies and semi-colonies have inevitably become part of the world proletarian revolution. Since then, the objective conditions for the national democratic revolution of the old type in the Philippines have ceased. The world bourgeois revolution has ceased to provide the correct orientation for the national democratic revolution. More than ever, the old ilustrado leadership has sharply divided into the three strata of the comprador big bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie with clearly different political attitudes. We are now in the stage of the new type of national democratic revolution, the people's democratic revolution.

The effective class leadership in the Philippine revolution is now in the hands of the proletariat and no longer in the hands of the bourgeoisie or any of its strata as was previously the case in the old type of national democratic revolution. U.S. imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism cannot be overthrown unless the broad masses of the people are led by the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the Communist Party of the Philippines, under the supreme guidance of Marxism-Leninism — Mao TseTung Thought. The revolutionary demands and aspirations of the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie can be correctly brought forward and can be realized only under the class leadership of the proletariat and its Party.

The Communist Party of the Philippines was established as early as 1930. But because it was seriously afflicted by bourgeois subjectivism in ideology, opportunism in politics and violations of democratic centralism in its organizational life, it did not only fail to carry out its revolutionary tasks despite extremely favorable objective conditions at certain periods, especially during the period of the anti-fascist struggle and thereafter, but it also failed

to preserve itself substantially for the almost two decades that immediately preceded its re-establishment on December 26, 1968. That was mainly because the counter-revolutionary line of the Lava's and Taruc's prevailed within the Party until it was repudiated by a rectification movement inspired by Marxism-Leninism—Mao Tsetung Thought.

We are now in the era when imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has lofted high Marxism-Leninism of the present era, Mao TseTung Thought, and has transformed the People's Republic of China into an iron bastion of the world proletarian revolution. The oppressed people of the world now have an invincible ideological weapon to defeat imperialism, revisionism and all reaction and can look forward to a socialist future that has become a reality in a significant part of the world. The universal truth of Marxism-Leninism — Mao Tsetung Thought is the invincible weapon directly wielded by the proletarian revolutionary parties leading the oppressed people of the world.

There is now the Communist Party of the Philippines which is arduously striving to apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism—Mao Tsetung Thought to the concrete conditions of the Philippines. There is now the New People's Army under the command of the Party to deal deadly blows against armed counter-revolution and build the iron bastions of the revolution in the countryside before the seizure of power in the cities. There is now a united front for waging people's war and isolating the enemy diehard. It is based on the alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry, comprising more than 90 per cent of the people, and furthermore it embraces the petty bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie and other patriots. The local allies of U.S. imperialism — the big bourgeoisie, the landlord class and the bureaucrat capitalists — are coming fast to their doom.

Under the present concrete conditions of Philippine society which are semi-colonial and semi-feudal, the Communist Party has to fight for a national democratic revolution of a new type, a people's democratic revolution. Though its leadership is proletarian, it is not yet a proletarian socialist revolution. Only the muddle-headed will con-

fuse the national democratic stage and the socialist stage of the Philippine revolution. Only after the people's democratic revolution has been completely won can the proletarian revolutionary leadership carry out the socialist revolution as the transitional stage towards communism...

### Basic Tasks of the People's Democratic Revolution

The Programme for a People's Democratic Revolution in the Philippines, which is the programme of the Communist Party of the Philippines, comprehensively lays down the general and specific tasks not only of the proletarian revolutionary party but also of the entire revolutionary mass movement. In another summary form, let us state the basic tasks of the people's democratic revolution.

The central task of the Philippine revolution in the present stage is the overthrow of U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, the seizure of political power and its consolidation. Our purpose is to liberate the Filipino nation from foreign oppression and also the great masses of the Filipino people, especially the peasantry, from feudal oppression.

#### 1. In the Political Field

All efforts must be exerted to achieve both a national revolution mainly against U.S. imperialism and a democratic revolution against feudalism and fascist puppetry. The joint reactionary dictatorship of the comprador big bourgeoisie, the landlord class and the bureaucrat capitalists must be overthrown and replaced with the people's democratic state system which is the united front dictatorship of the proletariat, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie and all other patriots.

A new democratic republic which is under the leadership of the proletariat and which interests of all revolutionary classes and strata shall replace the present bogus republic which is nothing but a puppet creation of U.S. imperialism and a coercive instrument of the exploiting classes. It shall neither be a bourgeois dictatorship nor a dictatorship of the proletariat but a joint dictatorship of all revolutionary classes

and strata under the leadership of the proletariat.

From the national level of government of the provincial or district level there shall be people's congresses. At the lower levels, there shall also be representative governing bodies. At every level, the people's representatives shall be elected under a system of universal and equal suffrage. The principle of democratic centralism shall be the main organizational principle of the People's Democratic Republic of the Philippines.

In advancing towards the people's democratic state system, revolutionary bases must be developed in order to establish the independent regime even while the comprador-landlord-bureaucrat state has not yet been completely overthrown in the country. The people's democratic government can be established where the people have won under proletarian revolutionary leadership. Here can be established the united front dictatorship of people's democracy. Revolutionary committees can be set up in barrios (neighbourhoods), factories, schools and other areas as the embryo or actual organs of political power all over the country.

## 2. In the Military Field

Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun. Not until the counter-revolutionary armed forces, including foreign aggressor troops, puppet troops and all kinds of murder gangs, have been destroyed can the independent regime in the countryside or the people's democratic state system throughout the country be established.

The New People's Army shall be the mainstay of the people's democratic state system. It has now the principal task of seizing political power and consolidating it. It must always serve the people and defend them from their enemies.

All forms of the people's armed forces must have a mass character and they must be led by the proletariat and its Party. The principal forms are the regular mobile forces, the people's guerrillas and the people's militia. They are drawn mainly from the ranks of the peasantry.

Revolutionary base areas and guerrilla zones must be created in the countryside first. It is here where the enemy has to be defeated before the final seizure of power in the cities. The New People's Army shall advance wave upon wave over a protracted period of



Guerilla fighter of the New People's Army, led by the Communist Party of the Philippines (credit: Philippines Research Center).

time to destroy the enemy in the whole country.

## 3. In the Economic Field

The principle of self-reliance must be implemented in economic affairs even while our revolutionary forces are still creating the rural base areas and guerrilla zones. We must engage in production and not limit ourselves to the cash income and expense account based on contributions, confiscations or war bonds. We must use our resources wisely by following strictly the style of simple living and hard work.

We must confiscate the property of the imperialists, the exploiting classes and traitors to benefit the proletarian and semi-proletarian masses. The State shall run all nationalized enterprises and all sources of raw materials and power. All enterprises which have a monopolistic character shall be taken over. The State sector of the economy shall have a socialist character and shall constitute the leading force of the whole national economy. The national bourgeoisie shall be allowed to develop capitalist production but only to the extent that it does not dominate or hamper the livelihood of the Filipino people.

The lands of the landlords shall be distributed at no cost to the peasants who have little or no land. The principle of equalizing landownership shall be implemented. Cooperative enterprises shall be initiated among owner-cultivators and other petty producers as the first step towards socialism. A rich

peasant economy will be allowed within a reasonable period of time. Even landlords who have not committed public crimes shall be afforded the opportunity of earning a living although they shall not be put in any position to decide or influence decisions.

Before the nationwide victory of the revolutionary movement, the leading organs of the Party and the base government shall make the appropriate economic policies in the base areas and in adjoining guerrilla zones on the basis of the concrete situation. They will see to it that before an economic reform is undertaken in a certain area there are enough cadres and revolutionary organizations to ensure the proper adjustments of interests among the people.

## 4. In the Cultural Field

The Philippine revolution cannot advance at all without the general awakening of the broad masses of the people. The concept of people's democracy or national democracy of a new type must pervade the cultural activities of the revolutionary mass movement. A national, scientific and mass culture must overwhelm and overthrow the imperialist, feudal and anti-people culture that now prevails. The educational system from the lowest to the highest levels shall be so democratic that it shall charge no fees whatsoever from students.

A revolutionary national culture must be propagated in order to oppose imperialist oppression and uphold the

dignity and independence of the Filipino nation. It must repudiate the decadent culture of imperialism while it must link up with the socialist and new-democratic cultures of other nations. What is progressive in foreign cultures should be assimilated and adapted to national conditions. At the same time, due respect must be accorded to the culture and customs of the national minorities. The universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought can take life in the Philippines only if it is integrated with local conditions and acquires a definite national form. The use of the national language must be promoted to accelerate the propagation of a revolutionary national culture.

A scientific culture must be propagated in order to oppose the reactionary idealism dished out by imperialism and feudalism and also the superstitions that still persist. A united front of the scientific thought of the proletariat and the progressive aspects of bourgeois materialism and the natural sciences can be made. But at all times, the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought must be the leading core of the people's democratic culture. It should serve as the guide for the practical movement of the revolutionary masses as well as for the ideological remoulding of intellectuals. In the field of political action, we can have an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal united front with some idealists and even religious people although we cannot approve of their idealism or religious doctrines. We should not allow religious controversies to hamper the advance of the revolution.

A culture that truly belongs to the broad masses of the people, because it is anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, should be propagated. It should be a revolutionary and democratic culture, expressive of the heroic struggles and aspirations of the toiling masses. Cadres in the cultural field should be like commanders waging a cultural revolution with the masses as their cultural battalions. They should continually link up the higher knowledge imparted to them with the general knowledge that they impart to the masses. They should always strive to raise cultural standards and popularization together by deriving from the experience of the masses typical examples and infusing them with a higher ideological content. The revolutionary workers, peasants and fighters should

be the heroes of the new-democratic culture. Modern revisionism has no place in the revolutionary ranks and should be thoroughly combated.

## 5. In the Field of Foreign Relations

In waging the revolutionary struggle, the Communist Party of the Philippines is highly conscious of fighting U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and all reaction under the great policy of the international united front. Whenever possible, direct relations with fraternal parties, with revolutionary movements and with socialist countries like the People's Republic of China and the People's Republic of Albania must be established.

When the People's Democratic Republic of the Philippines shall have been established, it shall open and maintain diplomatic and trade relations with all countries which respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Filipino people and which engage in such relations for mutual benefit. All unequal treaties and arrangements with the international bourgeoisie led by U.S. imperialism must be immediately abrogated.

The closest and warmest relations shall be fostered with fraternal socialist States, parties and all revolutionary movements.

## Perspective of the Philippine Revolution

It has already been made clear that the Philippine revolution has two stages. The first stage is that of the people's democratic revolution. The second stage is that of the socialist revolution. The Philippine revolution, therefore, has a socialist perspective.

The most important political factor in the transition from people's democracy to socialism is the proletarian class leadership based on the worker-peasant alliance. The proletariat through its most advanced detachment, the Communist Party of the Philippines, is responsible for creating the conditions for socialism or for transforming the people's democratic dictatorship into the proletarian dictatorship. As in the struggle for the seizure of power, the

working class relies mainly on the great masses of the poor and lower middle peasants and farm workers in the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship and the socialist transformation of the economic base.

Under people's democracy, there shall already exist the economic factors for the construction of socialism. Such factors are the State and cooperative sectors in both industry and agriculture. They shall be promoted and advanced by the proletariat in order to create the economic base for socialism. National capitalism and the rich peasant economy will develop but only to some limited extent and will constitute only a part of the whole economy.

Increasingly, the proletariat and its revolutionary party shall see to it that the workers, peasants and soldiers shall revolutionize the superstructure in order to make it correspond to the material base. We shall employ the great proletarian cultural revolution repeatedly to keep the political color of the Philippines red.

At all times, the people's army shall be maintained as the main pillar of the people's democratic state system and subsequently of the socialist state. It shall safeguard the people and the State from external and internal enemies and it shall always give support to the proletarian revolutionaries and the masses in their struggles. It shall always remain the great school for the Filipino youth as the successors to the Philippine revolution.

We are in the era when imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is marching toward world victory. This international factor is hastening the advance of the people's democratic revolution and thereafter the advent of socialism in the Philippines. At this stage the universal theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution have already had incalculable impact on the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. The revolutionization of the 700 million Chinese people has transformed the People's Republic of China into an iron bastion of socialism. We are very fortunate to be so close to the center of the world proletarian revolution.



# Immediate programme of the liberation forces in El Salvador

The following programmatic platform for a revolutionary democratic government was originally issued in Spanish in El Salvador in February, 1980, and signed by the following mass revolutionary organizations: the People's Revolutionary Bloc (BPR), the People's Unified Action Front (FAPU), the People's Leagues of February 28 (LP-28), and the Nationalist Democratic Union (UDN). This platform continues to represent the essential programmatic unity of these organizations, united in the Revolutionary Co-ordinating Body of the Masses, and working together to win political power from the pseudo-democratic repressive and pro-imperialist Junta.

This text merits careful study for two reasons. First, because it concretizes the programme on which the revolutionary forces in El Salvador have achieved their own unity and won increasing support from the working masses, and as such it represents a reality that is typical of the liberation struggles today. Secondly, because the unification on the programme also represents the development of a process of reconciliation between the main mass-based political forces in El Salvador, particularly between the forces of the old revisionist communist party (active in the UDN) and the different forces which had split from this party because of its reformism and pacifism (active in the BPR, the FAPU, and the LP — 28).

## Platform of the Democratic Revolutionary Government

The economic and social structures of our country, which have guaranteed the boundless enrichment of an oligarchical minority and the exploitation of our people by U.S. imperialism, are today in a profound and insoluble crisis. The military dictatorship, the entire legal system and the ideology which defends oligarchic interests and North American imperialists, oppressing and subjugating the Salvadoran people for the past fifty years, are also in crisis. The ranks of these ruling classes have fallen apart and the fascist and reformist attempts to overcome the crisis have failed, victims of their own internal contradictions and battered by the decisive and heroic actions of the popular movement. This failure was unavoidable despite even the most shameless North American intervention in support of those anti-popular projects.

The revolutionary organizations

loyalty to the interests and aspirations of the Salvadoran people has enabled them to root themselves firmly among the great majority of workers and the middle strata. Today the revolutionary movement, because of its firm base, is indestructible and constitutes the only alternative for the Salvadoran people, who cannot be stopped nor swayed in their struggle to win a free homeland in which their most heartfelt wishes will be realized.

The economic and political crisis of the ruling classes on the one hand, and the vigor of the popular movement (which constitutes the decisive political power in our country) on the other, have engendered a revolutionary process and the conditions under which the people can assume power.

The revolutionary transformation of our society, until now subjected to injustice, submission and plunder, is to-

day a near and possible reality. Only through such a transformation will the people be able to win and ensure the freedom and democratic rights denied to them. Only revolution will solve the agrarian problem, generating favorable material and spiritual conditions for the benefit of the rural people and farmworkers, and thus also for the majority of the Salvadoran people, who are today poor, culturally backward and marginalized. Revolution will win the true political independence of our country, giving the Salvadoran people the right to determine their future freely, and the right to true economic independence.

This revolution is therefore popular, democratic anti-oligarchical and seeks to win real and effective national independence. Only revolutionary victory will stop this criminal repression and enable the people to win the peace that they do not enjoy today; a real peace, based on freedom, social justice and national independence.

The revolution now underway is not — nor will ever be — the work of a group of conspirators; on the contrary, it is the fruit of the struggle of the entire people, that is to say, the workers, peasants, middle strata in general, and all truly democratic and patriotic sectors and persons.

The most highly conscious and organized ranks of the Salvadoran people, which today are multitudinous, now fight in an even broader and more unified manner. Because of their fighting disposition, high consciousness, temperament and organization, and spirit of sacrifice toward the popular victory, the workers' and peasants' alliance has proven to be the most firm leadership for the guarantee of a consequential and unwavering liberation movement, in which — as an expression of the unity of the people — the revolutionary and democratic forces are united, like two great torrents pouring from the long struggle of the people.

The decisive task of the revolution, on which the completion of its goals and objectives depends, is the conquest of

power and the establishment of a Democratic Revolutionary Government which will undertake, at the head of the people, the construction of a new society.

### Tasks and objectives of the revolution

The tasks and objectives of the revolution in El Salvador are the following:

1) Overthrow the reactionary military dictatorship put into power by the oligarchy and U.S. imperialism, imposed and sustained against the will of the Salvadoran people for fifty years; destroy its criminal politico-military machine and establish a **Democratic Revolutionary Government**, grounded in the unity of the revolutionary and democratic forces, in the Popular Army and the Salvadoran people.

2) End the power and the political, economic and social domination of big capitalists and landholders.

3) Completely liquidate the economic, political and military dependence of our country with respect to U.S. imperialism.

4) Ensure democratic rights and liberties for all the people, particularly for the working masses, who have enjoyed them the least.

5) Turn over to the people, by means of nationalizations and the creation of collective enterprises and associations, the basic means of production and distribution, which are today owned and controlled by the oligarchy and U.S. monopolies: the land of the great landholders, companies which produce and distribute electricity, oil refineries, the industrial, commercial and service monopolies, foreign commerce, banks, the large transportation enterprises. This will take place without affecting the small and medium private businesspeople, who will receive economic stimulation and support in every sense, through the various branches of the national economy.

6) Raise the material and cultural standard of living of the population.

7) Create a new army in our country, which will grow out of the popular army being built during the revolutionary process, and which those non-corrupt, patriotic and worthy elements of the present army may join.

8) Encourage organizations of the people at all levels, in all sectors and in all forms, to guarantee their most active, creative and democratic participation in the revolutionary process and to obtain the closest identification between the people and the government.

9) Base the foreign policy and international relations of our country upon the principles of independence and self-determination, solidarity, peaceful coexistence, equality of rights and mutual respect among States.

10) Along with this, ensure peace, freedom, well-being of the people and the ensuing social progress in our country.

### The Democratic Revolutionary Government, its composition and platform of political, structural and social change

The Democratic Revolutionary Government will be made up of representatives from the popular and revolutionary movements, and those parties, organizations, sectors and democratic individuals who are disposed to participate in the carrying out of the present programmatic platform.

This government will stand on a broad social and political base formed primarily by the working class, the peasantry and advanced middle sectors; closely tied to these will be all the social strata agreeing to carry out this platform; small and medium industrial businesspeople, merchants, artisans, small farmers (small and medium coffee growers, and other ranchers or farmers). It will also include those honest professionals, progressive clergy, democratic parties like the National Revolutionary Movement, advanced sectors of the Christian Democrats, and worthy and honest officers of the army who will agree to serve the interests of the people; and all other sectors, groups or individuals who will promote true democracy for the people, independent development, and popular liberation.

All these forces are presently becoming integrated into a democratic and revolutionary alliance in which the political and religious ideologies of each one are respected. The organic form of this voluntary alliance in the service of

the Salvadoran people will be a result of the consensus of all those who make it up.

### I- Immediate political measures

1) The end of repression against the people in all its forms, and freedom for political prisoners.

2) Clarification of the whereabouts of all prisoners and disappeared persons since 1972 and punishment of those responsible (civilian or military) for crimes against the people.

3) Disarmament and dissolution of the repressive forces: ANSESAL (secret police), ORDEN (rural paramilitary police force), the National Guard, the National Police, Hacienda (finance) Police, Customs Police and their respective "Special Sections"; of the Gotera "Counter-Insurgency School" and the so-called "Armed Forces Engineering Instruction Center" in Zacatecoluca; of military patrols in the countryside and suburbs; of the oligarchy's private paramilitary bands and of all type of organization, real or nominal, dedicated to criminal actions and defamation against the people and their organizations. The misnamed Security Corps will be replaced by a civilian police force.

4) Dissolution of the actual powers of the state (executive, legislative and judicial), repeal of the constitution and all decrees which have modified it or substituted for it. The Democratic Revolutionary Government will write a constitutive law and will organize the state and its activities with the aim of guaranteeing the rights and liberties of the people and the achievements of the goals and objectives of the revolution. In this respect, the Democratic Revolutionary Government will adhere to the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" of the United Nations. The aforementioned constitutive law will be in effect while the Salvadoran people are creating a new Constitution which faithfully reflects their interests.

5) The municipal structure of power will become an organ of full participation by the masses in the running of the State, a true organ of the new power of the people.

6) The Democratic Revolutionary Government will carry out an intense program of liberating education, culture and organization among the broadest masses of the people, in order to

promote their conscious incorporation into the development, strengthening and defence of the revolutionary process.

7) Strengthen and develop the Popular Army, which will be joined by those troops, sub-officers and officers of the present army who maintain a clean conduct, repel foreign intervention in the revolutionary process and support the liberation struggle of our people. The new Army will be the true armed wing of the people, will be at their service, will be absolutely loyal to their interests and their revolution; will be an Armed Forces which truly and patriotically defends our sovereignty and self-determination and is a decided supporter of peaceful coexistence among peoples.

8) Our country will be withdrawn from CONDECA (Central American Defence Council), TIAR and any other military or police organism which is an instrument of intervention.

9) The Democratic Revolutionary Government will establish diplomatic and commercial relations with other countries, without discriminating because of different social systems, but based on equality of rights, coexistence and respect for self-determination.

Special attention will be paid to the development of friendly relations with the other Central American countries (including Panama and Belize), to uphold peace and the principle of non-intervention. In particular, fraternal relations with Nicaragua will be cultivated, as an expression of a community of ideals and interests between our revolution and the Sandinista revolution.

Our country will join the movement of non-aligned States and will develop policies invariably affiliated with the defense of world peace and in favor of detente.

## II- Structural changes

The Democratic Revolutionary Government will proceed to:

1) Nationalize the entire banking and financial system. This measure will not affect the deposits and other interests of the public.

2) Nationalize foreign commerce.

3) Nationalize the industries, now in private hands, which produce and distribute electricity.

4) Nationalize the petroleum refineries.



Meeting in January, 1980 which created the Revolutionary Coordinating Body of the Masses, in order to unify the struggles of the revolutionary mass organizations in El Salvador.

5) Expropriate, conformant with national interest, monopolized businesses in industry, commerce and the services.

6) Carry out a deep agrarian reform which will put the land, now in the hands of the large landholders, at the disposal of the great masses of the people who work it, conformant with an effective plan which will benefit the great majority of poor and middle peasants and agricultural wage workers, and which will promote the development of agriculture and livestock. The agrarian reform will not affect the small and medium landowners, who will receive support and economic stimulus to improve their production.

7) Carry out an urban reform which will benefit the great majority, without affecting the small and medium proprietors.

8) Fundamentally transform the tax system, so that the burden of taxes will not fall on the workers. Indirect taxes on articles and services of general consumption will be reduced. This will be possible not only through a reform of the tax system, but also because the state will receive a large income from its activities in the nationalized sector of the economy.

9) Establish effective mechanisms of credit and technical and economic loans for small and medium private enterprises in all branches of the economy.

10) Establish an effective planning system for the national economy which will permit balanced development.

## III- Social measures

The Democratic Revolutionary Government will orient its work in the social sphere toward the following achievements:

1) Create enough jobs to absorb unemployment in the shortest possible time.

2) Effect a just salary policy based on:

a) regulation of salaries, taking into account the cost of living;

b) an energetic policy of control and reduction of the prices of necessary articles and services;

c) substantial increase in social services for the masses of the people (Social Security, education, recreation, health, etc.).

3) Undertake a massive plan to construct housing for the people.

4) Create a single national health system, which will guarantee efficient medical service, primarily preventive, to the entire population (urban and rural).

5) Carry out a massive literacy campaign which will eliminate the social blemish of illiteracy in the shortest possible time.

6) Develop a national education system, which will ensure primary education for the entire population of school age, and which will substantially broaden secondary and university education, raising the quality and diversity of scientific and technical education at all levels and progressively eliminating its cost to the people.

7) Promotion and dissemination of

cultural activity on a large scale, effectively stimulating and supporting national artists and writers, reviving and developing the cultural heritage of the nation, incorporating the best of universal culture into that of the people and organizing access by the people to all manifestations of culture.

\* \* \*

It is the unanimous opinion of the popular and democratic forces that only with the realization of the measures contained in this platform can the profound structural and political crisis of our country be resolved for the benefit of the Salvadoran people.

Only the oligarchy, North American imperialism and those who serve anti-patriotic interests are opposed to and conspire against these changes. Since October 15, 1979, various parties and sectors contained in the government have tried in vain to put into practice a large part of the measures that we propose, without first overthrowing the old reactionary and repressive power and establishing a truly revolutionary and popular power. This experience clearly confirmed that this work of transformation can only be carried out by the united revolutionary movement, in an alliance with all the democratic forces.

The hour of this historical liberation victory, for which the Salvadoran people has struggled and heroically shed so much of its blood, is arriving. Nothing nor anyone can prevent it.

**For the unity of the revolutionary and democratic forces!  
Towards a democratic revolutionary government!**

**Mass Revolutionary Coordinating Council  
Juan Chacon, Secretary General,  
Julio Flores, Secretary for Organization  
POPULAR REVOLUTIONARY  
BLOC (BPR)**

**Hector Recinos, Jose Napoleon  
Rodriguez Ruiz,  
National Coordinating Committee  
POPULAR UNIFIED ACTION  
FRONT (FAPU)**

**Leoncio Pichente, National Political  
Commission  
POPULAR LEAGUES (LP-28)**

**Manuel Franco, National Coordinating  
Committee  
NATIONALIST DEMOCRATIC  
UNION (UDN)**

**San Salvador, El Salvador, C.A.**

**February 23, 1980**

# The democratic revolution in Dahomey

The following text is an extract from the programme of the Communist Party of Dahomey, dealing specifically with the character of the democratic revolution. It is taken from the *Documents of the Founding Congress of the CP of Dahomey*, published in French by NBE in 1978. The complete text of the programme begins with an analysis of the world situation and the class contradictions in Dahomey, and ends with the immediate tasks and demands of the party programme.

The CP of Dahomey analyzes their society as a dependent capitalist society. In their programme they put forward essentially democratic (anti-feudal, anti-imperialist) tasks. We have included this text so that the reader can begin to know more about the programmes of the young communist movement that is developing in central Africa, and also to allow comparison of these programmatic positions with those of other forces who analyze their societies as dependent capitalist. (Translation from French version by IN STRUGGLE!)

## The People's Democratic Revolution: strategic goal for this stage

The Communist Party of Dahomey (CPD) has as its final goal the elimination of all exploitation of man by man and the establishment of a classless society, a communist society, in Dahomey and among all mankind.

The Dahomey revolution will take place in stages through an uninterrupted process up to the achievement of communism.

Basing itself on the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the universal experience of the peoples of the world, the Communist Party of Dahomey, acting in accordance with the economic, political and social nature of Dahomey, upholds that the Dahomey revolution will go through several stages. The first stage, and the one in which we are at present, is the stage of the People's Democratic National Revolution (PDNR).

### Essential tasks of the PDNR

The People's Democratic National Revolution (PDNR) has specific characteristics. It is national and anti-

imperialist because its object is the total liberation of Dahomey from the imperialist yoke. The revolution will consequently drive out international, and particularly French, imperialism as well as other imperialist powers from our national soil. It will overthrow the classes and social strata upon which imperialism leans for support.

The PDNR is democratic because its object is to establish democracy for the people, for the peasants, workers and revolutionary fighters. At the same time, a dictatorship will be exercised over the pro-imperialist classes and social strata. The objective of the revolution is not the immediate destruction of the capitalist relations of production. Similarly, the bourgeoisie as in its entirety is not the enemy.

The PDNR is a people's revolution because only the revolutionary struggle of the people, led by the working class, can and will be the driving force in carrying out the democratic and anti-imperialist changes that Dahomey needs. The revolution, carried out by the party on the solid basis of the worker-peasant alliance, will lead in uninterrupted fashion to socialism.

The neo-colonial State is an instrument of oppression used by the imperialists and their agents against the Dahomey people. Thus the party considers it a question of principle that the neo-colonial State must be destroyed by revolutionary violence through the armed revolutionary struggle of the people.

Throughout the PDNR stage, the CPD will realize the following programme:

(1) drive out French imperialism, destroy the roots of imperialism and social-imperialism, overthrow the bureaucratic and comprador bourgeoisie and feudalism; destroy their reactionary apparatus (army, police, national guard and local police, neo-colonial justice system, militia);

(2) win the complete independence of Dahomey; abolish all links of dependence, all agreements resulting in military, economic and cultural subjugation to the imperialists of all kinds;

(3) form a government of workers, peasants and all those who fought for the People's Democratic National Revolution and establish the people's dictatorship directed against the class enemies;

(4) confiscate, without compensation the banks and companies of the imperialists and neo-colonialists and place them under the control of the government of workers, peasants and fighters;

(5) confiscate, without compensation, all lands possessed by the imperialists, reactionary capitalists and feudal elements together with all the big agricultural units run by the IRHO, SOBEPALH and SONIA corporations, and place them under the control of the poor peasants;

(6) guarantee a job for everyone and enforce the 8-hour day; improve working conditions;

(7) abolish the civil tax (the slavery-type colonial head tax), and the iniquitous taxes that hurt the poor (the so-called "new school" taxes, the farm credit tax);

(8) establish democratic freedoms for the masses of people in all areas (freedom of association, to hold meetings, of the press, to engage in correspondence sanctity of the home);

(9) get rid of the regionalism promoted by imperialism and its agents in carrying out their "divide and rule" policy; liberate and unite the nationalities on the basis of complete equality;

(10) implement completely free education and provide it to every

Dahomey citizen no matter what their age or sex;

(11) achieve equality between men and women.

The Communist Party of Dahomey is putting its strategy and tactics into practice so as to first of all accomplish the first three objectives of its 11-point programme. These objectives must be realized before the others may be implemented. The strategic goal of the PDNR will have been attained once those three strategic objectives are

achieved. To reach its strategic goal of PDNR the Communist Party of Dahomey will accomplish three essential fundamental strategic tasks:

— politically unite the people around the party;

— arm the people and raise a national liberation army;

— destroy the existing neo-colonial State apparatus so that the party and people can build a new apparatus of people's dictatorship over the pro-imperialist classes and strata on its ruins.

## Polemic on the path of the revolution in Iran

The following article was published in *Peykar*, issue no. 34, central organ of the Organization of Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class in Iran. It was published on December 17, 1979, shortly after the seizure of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran. The complete text, published in five parts, is entitled "The zig-zags of the counter-revolution and their one-sided reflections in the ranks of the revolution." *Peykar* is one of the many Marxist-Leninist forces in Iran. These forces are engaged in a sharp debate in order to achieve unity among communists who have several points of disagreements, ranging from the characteristics of the Iranian society, to the different strategic and tactical positions adopted in regard to the Khomeini regime.

This document presents the analysis made by *Peykar* of the history of the last few years, as well as the class analysis and the tasks of the revolution. The text is a polemic aimed at modern revisionism and those who defend the "three worlds theory". An important part of the complete polemic is also aimed at the positions and practice of the Union of Communists of Iran (UCI), namely the latter's support at least for the moment, of Khomeiny, and its analysis of Iranian society, etc. Another section of the text, which is not reproduced here, deals with "semi-Trotskyism" which, in *Peykar's* opinion, is the characteristic of the Communist Party of Workers and Peasants of Iran, *Proletarian Path* and others. According to *Peykar*, "left semi-trotskyism" characterizes those who refuse to wage the revolutionary democratic struggle, under the pretext that it is necessary to make the proletarian revolution, and of not submitting to the leadership of reactionary forces, namely certain sectors of the bourgeoisie and of the petty bourgeoisie.

This text has been slightly edited by *International Forum*. The basic translation has been made by sympathizers of *Peykar*.

The positions expressed here have evolved slightly since their publication in this polemic.

## From the pages of *Peykar*...

### 1) The three periods of the revolution

The bourgeois democratic and anti-imperialist revolution in Iran has gone through two distinct periods and is now entering its third period.

#### First period:

This period begins with the revolutionary upsurge in early 1976, and the resistance movement of the people of the shanty-towns of Tehran in the summer of 1977. The protest and

anger of the working masses caused severe clashes in the government. Different sections proposed different solutions in order to overcome the mass resistance, and they used this resistance to increase their own power. The clash in the ruling class created favorable conditions for the development of the revolutionary movement. Revolutionary intellectuals who were more conscious — the students in the first place — felt the tide swelling and took their protests to the streets. The regime soon faced mass demonstrations

everywhere. From the beginning, we can see the bourgeois liberal tendency try to lead the mass movement and keep the latter's demands within legal limits. In Iran, the liberal bourgeoisie ("non-dependent middle bourgeoisie"), because of its economic and political positions in the dependent capitalist relations and its ferocious defence of the domination of capital, demanded at best a moderation of the pressure of the monopolies and imperialist capital. Therefore, it could not be really anti-imperialist content of the struggle against dependent capitalism to a struggle against the personal dictatorship of the Shah. The revisionist traitors of the Tudeh Party theorized and propagated these counter-revolutionary position.

But the revolutionary potential of the masses was too great to remain within these limits. It continued to grow and spread, day by day, until the direct confrontation between the masses and the regime in Qom, on January 19. From this moment on, we could see the rapid growth of another tendency trying to consolidate its leadership and domination over the revolutionary movement. The rich traditional petty bourgeoisie, led by the religious forces linked to Khomeiny, tried to assemble its "political army". In one demonstration after the other, they called upon the masses to follow them. In early 1978, we can see that they have imposed their leadership on the movement. Despite its support and defence of the revolution, despite its growth, the rich petty bourgeoisie has contradictions with the growth of the movement because of its class positions. Although these forces remained faithful to the revolution until the end of the first period, they could only grow closer to the liberal bourgeoisie and become more influenced by it since there was no proletarian party. The massacre of September 7, 1978 (known as the Black Friday), provoked a revolutionary situation. The regime, and "those at the top" could no longer stay in power as before, and the masses, "those at the bottom" no longer accepted to live as before. The Leninist law on "revolutionary situations" could be seen in its full meaning, and the slogan calling for the overthrow of the Shah became a practical slogan. In the fall of 1978, a mass strike movement developed. The proletariat, in the first ranks of the people's struggle, opposed the state of siege with its iron fist. Mass political protests became more

meaningful and broader; the resistance movement became more radical.

None of the new tactics used by the regime could stop the masses from moving forward. Even with a large part of the liberal bourgeoisie joining the regime (Bakhtiar's government), and even with the imperialists dumping the Shah, the anti-people regime was doomed. Due to the inexistence of the proletarian party, the petty bourgeoisie, through the mediation of the liberal bourgeoisie, fell into the trap of imperialism, and concluded its historical compromise with reaction. After the formation of the Bazargan government, negotiations took place between the representatives of Ayatollah Khomeiny (Baheshti, Bazargan and co.) and imperialism and reaction. While soldiers deserted the army by the hundreds, Khomeiny declared: "The army belongs to the people, and the people belong to the army". Khomeiny forbade the punishment of the Savakis (members of the Shah's secret police) and traitors by the masses, by stating that it was up to the righteous authorities to examine these things. This marks the beginning of the historical compromises of the petty bourgeoisie with the counter-revolutionary camp. But the winter insurrection (in February) postponed this attempt. The fear of the ever-increasing revolutionary power of the masses temporarily kept the petty bourgeoisie and its leader Khomeiny in the camp of the revolution.

### The second period:

This period starts with the obvious vacillations of the petty bourgeoisie from the revolutionary to the counter-revolutionary camp. After the winter insurrection, a dual government is formed, consisting of the liberals, the compradores, and the organs of the petty bourgeoisie, such as "the revolutionary councils" and the "committees of the Iman". This period will last until the integration of the Revolutionary Councils into the State, July 21, 1979. During this period, two distinct political forces exercised power over most regions of the country. It was also during this period that a third force emerged and grew: the democratic councils, also called people's soviets, in Kurdistan and Turkmenen Sahra. These councils were basically dominated by the radical and democratic petty bourgeoisie. Except in a few places, they did not succeed in maintaining and stabilizing their hold.

The first force, that of the liberal bourgeoisie and the comprador bourgeoisie, tried to reconstitute the economic and political system of dependent capitalism which had been undermined during the revolution. It also tried to dominate the second power, that of the traditional petty bourgeoisie, by using the latter's material and moral influence among the people, in order to destroy the third power, the democratic councils, and also to suppress the democratic struggle of the working class and the peasantry in all regions of the country. This vacillation continued until the end of this period, when the petty bourgeoisie started to play the dominant role over the liberal and the comprador bourgeoisie. During this process, though the petty bourgeoisie had not yet joined the counter-revolutionary camp, it had nonetheless left the revolutionary camp. It acted in both these camps: the execution of military personnel, leaders of the regime, and Savak agents was naturally a revolutionary move, supported by the communist forces and by the masses. But this move was sharply contrasted by the repressive measures taken to smash the national and democratic struggles of the working class and the masses in general.

### Third period:

With the complete integration of the revolutionary councils in the government, the petty bourgeoisie joined the camp of counter-revolution for a certain period. A central organ of power emerged from this integration: the ruling government of the Islamic Republic of Iran, under the leadership of the sold-out liberals, who determined the general policies of the government. Although there were contradictions among the different sectors of the government, these contradictions remained within the framework of the government and its policies. All the different fractions shared a common interest in the smashing of the mass movement, the workers' organizations and the national liberation movement. At that time, the leading clique of the Islamic Republic of Iran launched its ferocious attack against the heroic people of Kurdistan...

Later on, the military and the political defeat of the regime in Kurdistan dealt a heavy blow to the material basis of the regime, that is, the illusions of the masses. The growth of

dissatisfaction, strikes, demonstrations, etc., in all of Iran clearly showed that the people no longer gave the government the benefit of the doubt. And it is in this context, that the government as a whole, but at the initiative of the rich traditional petty bourgeoisie, come up with a new tactic. Khomeiny ordered the seizure of the nest of spies that was the U.S. embassy. This is how the murderers of the Kurdish people suddenly hid behind revolutionary and anti-imperialist phraseology. The ruling clique, once forced to reconstitute dependent capitalism in order to survive, now attempted to present itself in harmony with the masses, to mobilize them temporarily against the U.S.A. to force them to return the Shah, all this in order to preserve its long-term interests.

## 2) Right and "left" tendencies in the three periods of the revolution

In each of these three periods of the democratic and anti-imperialist revolution of the Iranian people, there have been right and left tendencies within the communist movement of Iran, which have had negative effects on the development of the revolution. The rightist tendencies in the communist movement come from two revisionist groups: the Khrushchevite revisionists, led by the traitors of the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party<sup>1</sup>, and the "three-worldists" led by the "Revolutionary Organization" of the Tudeh party and Co. These revisionist poles, by presenting their new devious and treacherous theses, attack the communist movement, which is vulnerable to right and left deviations because of the inexistence of the communist party. All of them, each in his own language and by his own methods, deny the necessity of the revolution, deny the necessity of the hegemony of the proletariat over the democratic revolution at the stage of imperialism. They advocate that the proletariat must tail behind non-proletarian and even reactionary forces. This is the source of the revisionists' betrayal.

### a) Modern revisionism and Khrushchevite revisionists.

The Khrushchevite revisionists have assembled all their treacherous positions under the thesis of "the non-capitalist road of development"; all their theses lead to the extinction of the



In Kurdistan, Iran, the people carefully study the revolutionary posters that have been put up in order to follow the latest developments in the struggle (photo from the *Revolutionary Worker* of the RCP, USA).

revolution and to the alienation of the people under the yoke of imperialism, of Russian social-imperialism in particular. They basically deny the necessity of the democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat party; they also deny the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat and put forward that democracy can be achieved under the leadership of other sections of the society, such as the national bourgeoisie or the petty bourgeoisie. They also maintain that with the help of the Soviet Union, this can and will lead to socialism. They advise all communist parties and organizations around the world to accept the hegemony of non-proletarian forces in any revolutionary struggle;

and by making peace with them, they betray the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

On the contrary, we are convinced that in the era of imperialism no democratic revolution can succeed, no matter how democratic or radical it is, no matter how close to the proletariat its leadership is, unless the revolution is led by the proletariat and its party, which considers the democratic revolution as the basis for the socialist revolution. According to the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, national and democratic revolutions are part of the world proletarian revolution. And due to the fact that these peoples wage a struggle against world reaction, that is, imperialism, they are to be considered

the natural allies and a reserve force of the proletariat. With the same reactionary theses of the "non-capitalist road of development", the revisionists of the Tudeh party in the early stages of the revolutionary mass movement, invited the communists, the progressive strata and the masses as a whole to compromise with the "most honest sectors" of the comprador bourgeoisie. And when this class was totally exposed and denounced, they thought that in this "revolutionary situation", we had to compromise with the liberal bourgeoisie (Bakhtiar's government) which had become the saviour of the bankrupt regime of the Shah. When the new regime came to power, they initially proposed to support the liberals and compradores; they finally came out to support the "anti-imperialist" conciliatory petty bourgeoisie; they systematically tried to hold back the revolutionary mass movement. This is the strategy of the treacherous Tudeh party....

This same revisionist tendency can be seen in the Fedayin Guerrilla Organization of the Iranian people.... In the first period, when it was absolutely necessary for communists to expose and denounce the liberal bourgeoisie in their slogans, the Fedayin raised the banner of the struggle against the dictatorship, and followed the "united front against the dictatorship" put forward by the Tudeh party. Thus, in practice they denied the necessity of the proletarian leadership in the democratic revolution. Instead of supporting such slogans as a "People's Democratic Republic", or "the creation of the proletarian party", they put forward "people's sovereignty", etc. In the second period, although they had reconsidered their approach, the Fedayin were still influenced by liberal tendencies and even non-liberal tendencies. They could not clearly demarcate from the liberals and the compradores. They supported the State against the "stubbornness" of the "Committees of the Iman". They could not distinguish the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary gestures of these committees, in opposition to the reactionary nature of the so-called "liberal" State. This is how they made it even easier for the Committees of the Iman to integrate the dual government, and to break with the revolutionary camp.

### b) The three-worldist revisionists and the new revisionist tendency

Alongside the Khrushchevite revisionists, there is the other revisionist pole, that of the three-worldists. They

do not consider the main trend of our era to be revolution, but war. Overestimating contradictions between imperialists on the world scale, they focus everything on the contradiction between the peoples of the world and the imperialists, on the one hand, Soviet social-imperialism, the rising imperialist, on the other. They openly advocate, in theory and in practice, class collaboration between the workers and the exploiting classes. They ignore the whole question of the mass movement and revolution, and call upon the proletariat to join one reactionary side to oppose the other.

The three worldists in Iran, led by the "Revolution Organization of the Tudeh party", have opposed the resistance movement from its very start. They believed that the weakening of the "national and independent" regime of the Shah would make the Northern neighbour (the Soviet Union) less powerful, and so they supported the regime in practice. When the regime was overthrown, against their reactionary will, and when the liberals and compradores took power, they rushed to support them and in the struggle against social-imperialism, they gathered under the banner of Iman Khomeiny. They considered all the anti-communist slogans shouted by the masses, under the influence of Khomeiny, as being "anti-Soviet" slogans. Thus, they fanned the flames of anti-communist feelings among the unconscious masses. They heartfully supported the barbaric attack of the Islamic regime on the Kurdish people, because according to their position, this would stop Soviet infiltration within the Iranian revolution. These sold-out reactionaries cannot understand that the only way to put a stop to Soviet influence in the Iranian revolution is to develop the revolutionary spirit of the masses and to expose the liberals and expel them from the ranks of our movement, to engage in communist work among the masses, and to refuse to compromise with the counter-revolutionary and reactionary regime.

This tendency... is shared by the Union of Communists of Iran (UCI)<sup>2</sup>. In the first period of our revolution, their dogmatic view on the revolutionary issues led them to erroneous positions. By comparing the situation of Iran with that of China, the UCI characterized Iran as a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, and not as a dependent capitalist society. Therefore, they confused the liberal bourgeoisie of Iran with the national

bourgeoisie of a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country. And the democratic attitudes that this national bourgeoisie could inherit because of its necessary economic support from the internal production and market was also mistaken, because in the system of dependent capitalism, the liberal bourgeoisie does not base itself on internal production. This is how, instead of denouncing the liberal bourgeoisie, they gave their "conditional" support to traitors like Sanjabi, Fourouhar (translator's note: these were leaders of the National Front, the main political representative of the liberal bourgeoisie at that time), and their like and begged them to take arms! For example, as a result of this erroneous understanding, **Haghighat** (translator's note: organ of a split from the UCI called "Union of the Interior") called Bakhtiar a "democrat" and expected him to be realistic. This was at a time when Bakhtiar was trying to lead the people to conciliate with U.S. imperialism and with the reactionary regime. The source of the UCI's errors and deviations was the dogmatic attitude in using China as a pattern for the Iranian revolution. A section of the UCI even supported the "three worlds theory", and it tried to distinguish between the correct understanding and the "reactionary interpretation" of this theory. Fortunately, this confusion was finally overcome by the UCI and denounced. But we have later seen sharp signs of survival of this tendency in all sections of the UCI. For example, in the second period, **Haghighat** invited the communists to participate in the Committees of the Iman, in order to democratize these set-ups, ignoring the fact that they were nothing but organs of the rich petty bourgeoisie which vascilated between the camps of revolution and counter-revolution; in practice, they invited the masses to follow these committees.

1. The communist movement in Iran refers to the Tudeh (revisionist) Party as the "Central Committee" to distinguish the revolutionary elements of the reformist Tudeh Party (until 1953) from the opportunist elements of the Central Committee who fled to other countries or who submitted to the regime while many honest cadres were being executed.

2. Editor's note — The Union of Communists of Iran has taken a clear stand in opposing not only the "three worlds theory" but also the present leadership of the CP of China. Peykar recognizes this fact in another part of this text which we have not published in this issue of *International Forum*.

# Party of Labour of Albania on the Iranian revolution

The following text is an editorial of *Zeri I Popullit*, organ of the Central Committee of the PLA, which appeared in the Albanian Telegraphic Agency in January, 1979. It was written just after the popular insurrection in Iran which overthrew the fascist Shah.

Although this text is now nearly two years old, the fact that it was written at the time of the fall of the Shah makes it of considerable interest today. It demonstrates clearly the kind of militant support that the PLA gives to the liberation movements. Also, the text puts forward a concrete class analysis of the different forces involved in the insurrection in Iran, an analysis that differs considerably from that of other communist forces internationally, including many of the communist groups in Iran. Further, the basic positions in this text have led the PLA, since this time, to give its basic support to what they see as the anti-imperialist aspects of the government in Iran which replaced the Shah's regime.

## Great historic victory for the Iranian people

The Shah of Iran left secretly from the people for the United States of America the day before yesterday, but the departure of the Shah is not temporary and he did not leave Tehran for vacations. The Shah was driven out as a result of the great wave of the people's uprising. He was expelled as a result of the determined struggle waged by the Iranian people, the workers, youth and the urban masses, who for more than a year clashed with the armed forces of the fascist and criminal regime of the Shah Reza Pahlavi in the streets and squares of the Iranian cities. This is a great historic victory for the Iranian people, which was achieved through the shedding of blood and sacrifices.

Through their uprising, the Iranian people shook the foundations of the feudal monarchy of the Pahlavis and are continuing their struggle for its complete and final destruction. At the same time, the expulsion of the Shah is also a telling blow to U.S. imperialism which gave its support to this obedient servant and gendarme of Washington in the Middle East, who had sold the oil and all the country to the U.S. monopolies, till his last moments.

Through the revolution they are now

carrying out, the Iranian people are demonstrating a high patriotism and a profound political and ideological understanding of the problems of their own country, of their relationship with the international position of Iran and the events that are taking place nearby it and in the world. They are fighting with great heroism, without being subdued in front of the bullets of the monarchist troops. They are challenging the great and modern means of the counter-revolutionary violence with which U.S. imperialism has equipped its tools in power in Tehran. They are coping with direct or indirect pressure of imperialism to maintain the Shah in power in this or that form.

Thus, the struggle of the masses of the people in Iran is not only an invincible struggle against feudalism and the power of the Shah, but also a courageous struggle against the most powerful imperialism in the world, U.S. imperialism.

Many speculations have been made in the East and in the West in regard to the sources of this uprising. Each speaks according to his own interests and desires. But all the world is witnessing that the decisive factor is the Iranian people, who, in tens and hundreds

of thousands of persons manly and fearlessly took to the streets and stages demonstrations in Tehran, Tabriz and Abadan, in all the cities of the country, raising their fists up and shouting with indignation "Death to the Shah", for months on end, in nights and days.

The general uprising in Iran against the feudal monarchy is the continuation of the relentless revolutionary struggle of the Iranian people against the Shah. It is another proof of the revolutionary spirit of this people with an ancient culture, who have fought in centuries against the invasions of the Arabs, Mongols and Ottomans, against the British colonialists, of this people, who have given great artists, outstanding scientists, writers and philosophers to the world. They provided the first revolutionary test after the World War II with their uprising, which was led by the communists and the party of Mosadek, who was a progressive bourgeois element with antifeudal tendencies. This uprising had the character of revolt of the progressive democrats in the cities, especially in Tehran. It forced the Shah to take to his heels panic stricken. But he was returned to Iran by U.S. and British imperialisms, which linked the fate of their own predatory, neocolonialist interests in that country with the presence of the Shah. The CIA organized the coup d'etat which toppled Mosadek and which suppressed the insurgent people through fire and steel, but not their aspirations, not their hatred and indignation.

With the aid of CIA and the tanks of Zehadia, U.S. imperialism suppressed the first popular uprising of Mosadek and of the Iranian communists. But this time neither the CIA, which operated actively, nor the U.S. aircraft carrier which sailed towards the Persian Gulf to threaten the Iranian people, nor the hypocritical and cynical statements of the Soviet social-imperialists, who expressed themselves allegedly for non-interference of foreign powers in the affairs of Iran, were able to achieve this. In reality, the aim of the attitudes and actions of the Soviet social-imperialists was not at all the defence of the Iranian



A scene from the street-fighting in Tehran, during the winter insurrection of 1979 which overthrew the fascist Shah.

people and revolution, but the destruction of the revolution and the maintenance in power of the Shah of Persia, proceeding from its own predatory interests and hatching up plots and secret agreements with U.S. imperialism for the division of the zones of influence in various regions.

The present-day uprising in Iran is not a mere repetition of the first one. It has an obvious and accentuated anti-feudal, democratic and anti-imperialist character. It is more progressive, because it has swept over the whole of Iran and has risen on foot all the people, and mainly the proletariat. It stands on a higher scale both with regard to its proportions and its character and the tasks it raises for solution.

The proletariat is the decisive motive force of the present-day Iranian revolution, who is shouldering its main burden. The whole proletariat rose in struggle. The workers frontally clashed with the forces of the Shah. They were murdered and slaughtered, but they did

not yield. Through their strike and resolute struggle, the oil workers, the backbone of the Iranian proletariat blocked the extraction of oil and paralyzed its export. The toppling of the Shah and the stopping of oil by Iran, which holds the second place as its exporter in the world, shook the whole capitalist world.

This is a colossal victory and an example to all the peoples of the world, who are suffering under the oppression of the imperialist, social-imperialist powers and the capitalist bourgeoisie sold out to the foreigners. The uprising of the Iranian people showed that the dollars, aircraft, tanks, sophisticated weapons are worthless when a people throw themselves in revolution, when they are determined in their struggle and disregard all sacrifices and difficulties.

The events in Iran and their development once more prove the thesis of Marxism-Leninism that when the objective and subjective conditions grow ripe, the revolution bursts out, that the people's uprising, with the proletariat in the lead, is invincible. They prove the Marxist-Leninist analysis our party has made to the present-day situation in the world and its conclusion that today the revolution is not just an aspiration and a future prospect, but also a problem taken up for solution. In his book "Imperialism and the Revolution" comrade Enver Hoxha says that "in general the situation in the world is revolutionary", that "in many countries, this situation has ripened or is rapidly maturing, whereas in other countries, this process is under way", that "the present-day world is moving towards great explosions" and that "generally today the situation resembles a volcano in eruption, a fire that scorches, a fire which will burn precisely the high ruling, repressive and exploiting classes".

The outburst of the revolution in Iran is a telling blow to the revisionist preachings of the Chinese leaders, who claim that no revolutionary situations exist in the world today and that time has not yet come for revolutionary actions. At the same time, the expulsion of the Shah from Iran is a direct exposure of the reactionary actions of the Chinese leaders, who through Hua Guofeng hurried to go to Tehran to publicly express their support for the Shah, at a time when the Iranian people were fighting against and were being

slaughtered in the streets by the forces of the hated regime of the Pahlavis.

Irrespective of the fact of who was in its leadership, the uprising of the Iranian people from the results it achieved, the tasks it has taken up for solution and the social forces that took part in it, has a progressive character. The Marxist-Leninist Party in Iran, the Workers' and Peasants' Communist Party of Iran, has played its role in this uprising. If this party has not been the main leading force of this uprising, the valiant Iranian proletariat and people, from the fold of which this party has emerged, will, for certain, strengthen it even more so that it fulfills its mission, keep alive the spirit of uprising and march always forward on the road of progressive transformations.

It is not excluded the fact that the stands of the Islamic religious chiefs might have played their role in the subjective factor of the revolution. But they are not the decisive and the only ones. The democratic and progressive ideas, the hatred for the medieval monarchy, the aspirations of the Iranian people for a democratic republic are of decisive importance. It is no longer the time of wars of caliphs and imams. This is clear to the whole world. The struggle for the overthrow of monarchy in Iran is not the camel war. Now we live in modern times when the struggles of the peoples are the result of the capitalist exploitation and imperialist domination. Herein lie also the roots of the struggle of the Iranian people against the medieval monarchy and imperialism, for deep-going democratic and revolutionary reforms.

The genuine friends of the Iranian people, the revolutionaries everywhere in the world, wish that the Iranian people forge ahead their genuine democracy, freedom and sovereignty, so that the revolution goes towards more radical transformations. They are convinced that the Iranian people will not allow the overt and covert enemies to grab them of the victories they have attained so far and again create grave situations in Iran.

The Shah was driven out. But if Bakhtiar's government, approved and concocted by the Shah himself and international imperialism, as well as the clique of the Pretorian militarymen in service of the monarchy and U.S. imperialism are not overthrown, if the Savak, this agency of the CIA and the soviet social-imperialists, is not done away with, and if the army is not in the

hands of the people, the victories of the revolution are always in danger. It cannot forge ahead.

The enemies of the Iranian people are striving and will strive to act in conformity with the new situations, to undermine the victories of the present-day uprising, to preserve, restore and consolidate their positions. Therefore, today more than ever, the progressive, patriotic and revolutionary forces in Iran should be well on guard towards U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and other reactionaries, who by resorting to one thousand and one tricks, will act through their agencies, their pseudo-progressive, pseudo-Marxist and anti-people elements in order to exploit the present-day revolutionary situation and the victory of the Iranian people for their own interests.

With the Shah's expulsion, the great uprising of the Iranian people, marked a historic victory against feudalism, the big bourgeoisie linked with the foreign monopolies, against U.S. and world imperialism. The Iranian proletariat with its Marxist-Leninist party and in alliance with the progressive and democratic forces of the country, will, for certain, forge ahead this victory.

The triumphant Iranian revolution is a vivid testimony of what our party, which is led by Lenin's teachings, has said that although it looks powerful, imperialism is in decay, that the local bourgeoisie, sold out to imperialism and armed by it, is also powerless in front of the insurgent wave of the peoples. The victory achieved by the people of Iran will be a major encouragement for the peoples of the world. It will contribute to the challenging of the myth of invincibility of U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, Chinese social-imperialism and world capitalism. They are weak, whereas the peoples are strong and will win.

**Long live the revolution!  
Glory to the Iranian people!**

## On the Azanian revolution

**The following text was submitted by some communists from Azania. It speaks directly to a number of questions which are being discussed amongst the revolutionary forces in Azania and throughout southern Africa.**

**With the recent intensification of the mass struggle in Azania, it is particularly interesting to study the parts of this text which deal with the revolutionary role of black nationalism. As well, the text deals directly with one of the most important problems the communist movement faces in relation to the liberation struggles: the problem of the attitude toward mass revolutionary organizations in a country where there is no established Marxist-Leninist organization or communist party.**

## Marxism-Leninism and the proletarian revolution in Azania

With the attainment of Zimbabwe's independence under the leadership of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), the struggle to liberate Azania is being intensified by the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA). The PAC and its military wing, APLA, have led in the introduction of genuine Marxism-Leninism into the Azanian national liberation struggle. The revolution in Azania is not only a national liberation struggle, an anti-colonial struggle, of the oppressed African people, but also a class struggle by the large African working class, in alliance with the poor peasantry, for proletarian revolution. If Azania is to be truly liberated from imperialism and colonialism, the African working class must play the vanguard role with Marxism-Leninism as the scientific guide to proletarian revolution.

The urgent need for the formation of the Azanian Communist Party is increasing. But is the PAC in the position to be eventually transformed from a national liberation front into a Marxist-Leninist Party? Or should the Marxist-Leninist Party be formed to provide proletarian leadership for the liberation movement, the PAC, and other mass organisations?

Marxism-Leninism has a long history in Azania. The South African Communist Party (SACP) was founded

in 1921, and set on a revolutionary path by the Comintern's Black Republic Thesis in 1929. The Third International took a most active interest in promoting the national democratic revolution and the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist movement in colonial South Africa. But the leadership of the SACP was largely of European origin and was never able to adapt itself to the Black Republic Thesis. Instead, the SACP remained committed to achieving a multi-racial democracy, leading eventually to socialism. After the launching of the United Front against Fascism in 1935, the Comintern ceased to guide the SACP in a revolutionary direction. When the SACP dissolved itself in 1950 for a period of several years, former members of the SACP continued to divert the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC-SA) away from the national liberation struggle towards multi-racial reformism. This reformist line is embodied in the "Freedom Charter" adopted by the Kliptown "Congress of the People" in 1956. The SACP, revived in East Germany and with an official address in England, continues to dominate the ANC-SA, giving the ANC-SA a "socialist" facade whilst emasculating all forms of revolutionary African nationalism. The SACP and the ANC-SA are now actively promoting an alliance with the puppet Bantustan chiefs and particularly the feudal Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. While the SACP showed the way down the road to revisionism in the 1930's, the SACP now tails completely behind

the Russian imperialists and modern revisionism.

The greatest potential for the development of Marxism-Leninism in Azania was correctly discerned by the Comintern to lie in the revolutionary African nationalist movement. The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), founded in April, 1959 by militant ex-members of the ANC-SA, immediately set out to liberate the African people of Azania through mass mobilization. The PAC found mass support amongst the African working class and the poor peasantry. Although a revolutionary Pan Africanist movement, the PAC was accused of "anti-communism" by the modern revisionist SACP. While the PAC accepted many of Georges Padmore's criticisms of communist errors in Africa, only a minor section of the liberation movement then could be described as "anti-communist". The PAC criticised both the revisionist SACP and the Soviet Union as "fake socialists" who were opposed to revolution. Soon after its founding, the PAC looked to the People's Republic of China as a source of revolutionary inspiration and assistance. As a result, the PAC began to incorporate elements of Marxism-Leninism — and Mao TseTung Thought — to complement its revolutionary Pan Africanist line. The theory of people's war, especially as developed in China, was of the greatest initial importance, as the PAC built its own national liberation army and the armed struggle in Azania. The foundation of ZANU in 1963 in Zimbabwe on revolutionary Pan Africanist principles and the subsequent adoption of Marxism-Leninism and MaoTseTung Thought has much similarity to the development of the PAC of Azania.

As the PAC developed in a revolutionary direction, many intense struggles occurred in the national liberation movement, including struggles over Marxism-Leninism. Some PAC members were anti-communist and rejected any role for Marxism-Leninism. A number of leading members used Marxist-Leninist slogans to promote their own positions in the PAC. Most notorious was the Ntantala clique, expelled finally at the 1978 PAC Consultative Conference in Arusha, Tanzania, which used the concept of democratic centralism in an effort to exclude the wave of new young recruits to the PAC after the 1976 Azanian Uprisings. Currently, the Make-Isaacs clique is using slogans against the Russian superpower to promote its position through "diplomatic struggle",

and to attack the revolutionary leadership of the PAC and APLA.

Under the leadership of Chairman Potlako K. Leballo, the PAC has adopted Marxist-Leninist concepts to build the liberation movement and the army for the ongoing liberation struggle. PAC cadres and freedom fighters undergo ideological training based upon Marxism-Leninism. Although the PAC intends to remain a national liberation movement for the time being, it is possible that through the efforts of the political commissariat and other organs the PAC will proclaim itself the Marxist-Leninist Party of Azania. The transformation of a national liberation movement into a Marxist-Leninist Party has been proclaimed by FRELIMO in Mozambique, and is possible by ZANU in Zimbabwe, but remains a very controversial issue.

As the anti-revisionist struggle became sharper in the early 1960s, a small contingent of Marxist-Leninists, including even a few from within the SACP, emerged which looked to Albania and China as the leaders of the International Communist Movement (ICM). Most Marxist-Leninists in Azania took no independent action. Instead, Marxist-Leninists tended to hope that PAC's links with China and Albania would lead to the transformation of the national liberation movement into the Marxist-Leninist Party of Azania. Other Marxist-Leninists have sought to build the vanguard Communist Party in Azania independent of the national liberation movement. Such a new Communist Party of Azania would assume the leadership of the national democratic revolution and the mass liberation movement, the PAC. Marxist-Leninists rejected the line put forward by the adherents of the Unity Movement of South Africa (UMSA). The UMSA was formed in the 1940's to struggle for instant proletarian revolution and socialism. The UMSA denounces the revisionist SACP and ANC-SA, but is itself plagued by the disease of Trotskyism. The UMSA has failed to grasp the national question in Azania, and attacks the necessary stage of anti-colonial revolutionary struggle as upheld by the PAC and the genuine Communists.

An independent Marxist-Leninist initiative began with the publication of the journal, *Ikwezi*, from November 1975 onwards. *Ikwezi* started well, with

incisive critiques of the revisionist SACP and the ANC-SA and with critical support of the PAC. *Ikwezi* provided a forum for open debate about the foundation of independent Communist organisations. But *Ikwezi* degenerated after about two years into open revisionism, tailing after the Dengist clique in China and the infamous "Three Worlds Theory". The editor of *Ikwezi* deliberately failed to set up an editorial board or any Marxist-Leninist organisation, preferring to attack potential allies through personal abuse, including finally the PAC itself. *Ikwezi* has ceased to be a publication of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian revolution, and exists only through the charity of the dwindling European supporters of Deng.

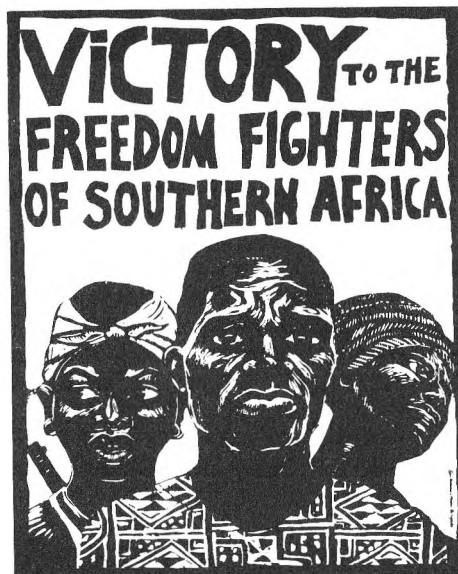
No Marxist-Leninist organisation exists in Azania today apart from the network of Communists active within the PAC and APLA. This deplorable situation cannot be allowed to continue. Azania is ripe for revolution and the workers and peasants are clamouring for revolutionary leadership and organisation. The PAC, as the national liberation movement, is engaged in mobilizing the masses for people's war, but the exile PAC and APLA are also engaged in a bitter two-line struggle between the revolutionary line of Chairman Potlako K. Leballo and the capitulationist line of the Make-Isaacs clique. The revolutionary line of armed struggle through people's war must be supported by all Azanian Marxist-Leninists, and the PAC is the mass liberation movement of the African people through which the anti-colonial struggle will be carried out.

The Marxist-Leninists of Azania must organize themselves into an independent organisation of Revolutionary Communists. The organization requires the principled struggle of unity around the Marxist-Leninist line and political programme. Such an organization of Revolutionary Communists will then be able to better lead and promote the revolutionary road within the PAC and other mass organizations in Azania. The Azanian Communists must urgently deal with the many issues of the strategy and tactics of the Azanian revolution, the application of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of revolutionary struggle in colonial South Africa.

The Azanian Marxist-Leninists need to take up the question of the founda-

tion of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) of Azania. Can the PAC be transformed into the Marxist-Leninist Party? The better answer would appear to be the foundation of the RCP of Azania, which would then provide the proletarian leadership for the PAC and other mass organizations. The Marxist-Leninists of Azania must link themselves with the ICM and the current struggles over the strategy and tactics of proletarian revolution. For most Marxist-Leninists in Azania, the issue of the relevance of Mao TseTung Thought has not been settled with a negative answer. Mao TseTung Thought, the contributions of Stalin, the historical experience of the ICM, are all issues which must be more rigorously debated amongst Azanian Marxist-Leninists and principled political unity achieved. In the near future, an Appeal will be issued by a group of Azanian Marxist-Leninists for the formation of an Organization of Revolutionary Communists, and to struggle towards the unity of the Azanian Marxist-Leninist movement. Plans are also well-advanced for the establishment of a theoretical journal to assist in the political education and development of Communist cadres and potential supporters. Proletarian internationalism will determine the solidarity of the ICM for the new organisation of Revolutionary Communists of Azania, and the solidarity of Azanian Communists for the essential struggle towards a new Communist International.

by some Azanian comrades  
(May, 1980)



## What kind of support to the liberation struggles?

The following text consists of extracts taken from an article published in *Proletarian Unity* no. 19 (December 1979 and January 1980). It was published by the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada IN STRUGGLE! under the title: "For the 15th Anniversary of the armed struggle of the Palestinian people: the communist movement in relation to the Palestinian resistance and national liberation struggles".

The selections we have printed here pose a certain number of fundamental questions in relation to the kind of support the communist movement must build for the liberation struggles, as well as situating this problem in relation to development of capitalism in the dominated countries. The complete text also speaks about the historical positions of the ICM on the liberation struggles, as well as explaining these general theses in relation to a self-criticism by IN STRUGGLE! for its errors and vacillations in relation to the Palestinian resistance.

## Where do national liberation struggles lead?

The current struggle of the Palestinian people, like those of the Iranian, Nicaraguan, Filipino, Kampuchean and Zimbabwe peoples, raises in a very concrete way the question of the Marxist-Leninist line on national liberation or anti-imperialist struggles. Marxist-Leninists can continue to do as they did in the 1960s and 1970s and spout a litany of "Long live the struggle of the Palestinians and the Arab peoples!" and "National liberation struggles are part of the proletarian revolution and deserve the full support of the peoples of the world!"; or they can get down to work and go beyond the incessant repetition of hollow slogans whose only practical consequence is to

sanction all the imperialist attempts to profit from these struggles.

This task is all the more urgent at the present time, given the tendency to harp on the fact that there is a revolutionary situation in many parts of the world and that similar situations are developing in many others. We have no doubt that there is a revolutionary situation in a number of places, and notably in Iran, Zimbabwe, Kampuchea and Palestine. But should our perspectives really be reduced to chanting "Hurrah for Khomeini!", "Hurrah for Nkomo!", "Hurrah for Sihanouk!" and "Hurrah for Arafat!", on the pretext that 55 years ago Stalin perhaps mentioned in passing that a king or prince somewhere or other should be

supported because of his opposition to imperialism.<sup>(1)</sup> This kind of argument has nothing to do with the Leninist principle of a "concrete analysis of the concrete situation"; and Marxist-Leninists who content themselves with such arguments betray their utter childishness...

What has been the Marxist-Leninists' line on the many national liberation struggles in the past twenty years? How has this line differed from the line put forward by the Soviet and other revisionists and the various hues of reformists? These are key questions that must be answered today, just as we must review and evaluate the many victories over colonialism in the period following the Second World War so as to judge the real impact of these victories on the struggle for socialism. In other words, what was the role and place of the anti-colonialist movement in the broader framework of proletarian revolution? What lessons can be drawn from the successes and failures of this movement to help determine the correct road for Marxist-Leninists today and in the future?

Sooner or later, communists are inevitably going to have to ask themselves what the result has been of the national liberation movement in the post-war period. The situation that prevails today in the great majority of former British and European colonies leaves little doubt as to the nature of the regimes that took over from the colonial governors of the previous era. In Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Senegal, Dahomey, the Ivory Coast... in Africa; in the Philippines, Malaysia, India, Thailand... in Asia: nowhere are there regimes that can be said to wage a consistent struggle against imperialism and to make progress towards socialism. At best, the peoples of Asia and Africa can be said to have joined the peoples of Latin America, where for decades now political sovereignty has been no hindrance to economic dependence on foreign imperialism.

There are two possibilities: either we consider that this situation is a **necessary** and **inevitable** stage of

the peoples' struggle for their liberation, a **necessary** and **inevitable** stage of the struggle for socialism on the world scale; or else we consider that the former colonies did not forcibly have to pass through this **capitalist** stage — for that is what it is. In the latter case, we have the task of trying to explain why the process of decolonization took the capitalist instead of the socialist road. If there have been errors, it would be good to identify them so as to avoid repeating them.

Posed in this way, the question may seem rather harsh. But the question must be posed, for over the past twenty years no Marxist-Leninist parties or organizations have formulated a coherent criticism of the direction taken by the organizations that headed up the national struggles, a direction that led to the results we have just mentioned. Here again there are two possible explanations: either the Marxist-Leninists did not have any criticisms to make, being in agreement with the national liberation organizations in question; or else they had divergences but chose not to raise them, for reasons that have yet to be explained...

To put the question bluntly: given present conditions, should we conclude that oppressed peoples who want to free themselves from the grip of imperialism have no choice but to throw themselves into the embrace of another imperialist power? The question is a very pertinent one, for there are at least two examples of countries where another choice was made and carried through to success, namely China and Albania. It is noteworthy that although these two peoples — not to mention the peoples of Vietnam and Korea, who took the socialist road for at least a certain time — gained their national liberation in the 1940s and subsequently began the work of socialist construction, this experience was not again repeated, in the 1950s or later.

Ultimately, the answer is very simple. There was no proletarian revolutionary movement representing a political alternative to

the reformist options of social democracy, "non-alignment" and "original path to socialism" (the new wrappings for modern revisionism) that was at the same time capable of lending concrete support to the struggles of the peoples.

One has to be naive or thoroughly unrealistic to believe that a national liberation struggle can triumph through the efforts of the people concerned alone. The situation today, in a world dominated by imperialism, means that any national liberation struggle is squarely confronted with the military forces and enormous political and economic pressures exercised by imperialism, and is also inevitably offered the "aid" of other imperialist forces which hope to use their "aid" to control the leadership of the struggle and ultimately establish their hegemony over the country in which the liberation struggle is waged.

This is the situation confronting all the struggles now being waged. In this context, although calls to the peoples in struggle to adopt the path of proletarian revolution may be utterly correct in theory, they will be launched in vain as long as they are not backed up by forces capable of influencing the course of the struggle itself, capable of forcing imperialism to reckon with them, capable of thoroughly exposing and discrediting imperialism and capable of providing the political and material support the struggle requires if it is to avoid the boobytrapped "aid" of the imperialists.

### A matter of concrete analysis

National liberation struggles cannot be correctly situated in the framework of the struggle against imperialism without analysing the specific forms of imperialist domination at the present time and the direct impact of interimperialist rivalries on the course of national liberation struggles.

Peoples' struggles against imperialism are still frequently considered in isolation from the fact that

imperialism is a stage, and only a stage, of the capitalist mode of production. A certain myth about imperialism has gradually grown up among communists over the past thirty years. Taken to an extreme, this myth separates out one or two imperialist powers from all the others and says that they are the main, if not the only, enemy of the peoples of the world. The result is to cause people to forget that developing capitalism anywhere in the world leads to the creation of monopolies and the stage of development known as imperialism.

And Capital has made great progress in penetrating the different regions of the world since the First and especially the Second World War. It is precisely because of this territorial expansion and penetration of Capital that this decadent system has been able to overcome the major crises so far encountered and successfully oppose the victories of the proletarian revolution, even causing some of them to degenerate and fall back onto the capitalist road.

Looking at the situation in the former colonies that have won their liberation from colonial regimes in the past fifty years, we realize that it is capitalism, not socialism, that is being built there. The development of capitalism in these regions today differs from the development of capitalism in Europe in the 19th century only inasmuch as the State plays an enlarged role as a go-between for foreign capital and the monopolies in the industrialized countries. In the 19th century, monopolies grew out of factories which grew out of manufactures; they were the result of a process of gradual accumulation of capital. Today, capitalism develops in the underdeveloped regions on the basis of the accumulation already realized by the big imperialist monopolies. As a result, it establishes itself much more rapidly and achieves hegemony over the vestiges of previous modes of production much sooner.

In practice, pretending to wage the struggle against imperialism without taking into account the fact that victory over foreign domination

must inevitably be followed up by a choice between the capitalist and socialist roads — for there are no others — means misleading the masses; it means deluding oneself as to the real significance of the struggle being supported. A country that frees itself politically from imperialist domination without committing itself to building socialism will remain dominated by imperialist capital, regardless of its political regime. The history of the past thirty years leaves no doubt on this score. It follows, therefore, that to say that the struggle against imperialism can be waged without challenging the capitalist structures of society, and more specifically that the struggle against imperialism can be waged by tailing after the national bourgeoisie, is a point of view based on an incorrect understanding of the nature of imperialism, which is a specific stage in the development of the capitalist mode of production.

It is no longer enough to consider imperialism as it was at the turn of the century, when a few big powers divided up vast backward regions full of cheap raw materials and manpower. As the penetration of capital extended to nearly every part of the globe, the situation was radically transformed — a change illustrated by the growing contradictions between imperialist countries and the former colonies where capitalism is now relatively well developed. Great-power rivalries are thus growing steadily sharper and sharper, and whenever "troublespots" develop in one region or another, the various imperialist powers all show up, hoping to benefit from the situation. In the period following World War II, the United States developed as a great power by taking over from Europe, Great Britain and Japan in many former colonies. In the 1960s, the U.S.S.R. undertook the same process.

This does not mean that national liberation struggles have become worthless. It does not mean that struggles against fascist regimes are now pointless. It does not mean that the struggle against the domination of big imperialist powers over small

and weaker countries should be abandoned. But it does mean, as Lenin said at the turn of the century, that communists cannot content themselves solely with the struggle for national sovereignty, just as they cannot struggle solely for reforms — for that would mean pursuing a fundamentally reformist political line. Communists must envisage both national struggles and struggles for reforms in the broader framework of the revolutionary struggle. Their vital concern in these struggles must be to put forward and defend the revolutionary point of view, the point of view of the proletarian revolution, the point of view that says that socialism alone can provide a real solution to imperialist domination, the domination of capital over most of the world at the present time...

\* \* \*

We do not consider that these remarks constitute an evaluation of the work of the international communist movement in the past 35 years. Far from it. But they do raise a number of questions that we believe are pertinent if modern revisionism is to be fully and correctly analysed and criticized. For as we have repeatedly pointed out, this criticism cannot be restricted to the sole work of this or that individual or party. Any evaluation of the work of the international communist movement must begin with an examination of the results of this work and seek to understand the political positions that produced these results.

One of the results that it would be important to examine is the international communist movement's current inability to offer organized leadership to either national liberation struggles or the struggles of the proletariat in imperialist countries. When Marxist-Leninists come to recognize this situation, and agree on the urgency of changing it, they will undoubtedly attach less importance to defending mummified idols or denouncing equally mummified renegades. They will instead address the truly important questions of working out the programme of the proletarian revolution for the current

period and creating an international force capable of ensuring the application of this programme.

This is the background against which our Organization's hesitations and fluctuating line on the Palestinian resistance and the PLO (and all other national liberation struggles) in the past must be seen. For a long time, we sought to rely on the slogans and orientations put forward by Marxist-Leninist forces around the world. The result, in the case of Palestine, was that we at first gave unconditional support to the Palestinians' struggle and refrained from any criticism or judgement whatsoever of the PLO and the leadership it offered the Palestinian masses. When we eventually decided that in doing so we had failed to carry out our task as communists, which is never to tail after revolutionary forces but always to work to develop revolutionary leadership, we fell into the opposite error and adopted what can be described as a "leftist" point of view. We recognize and take full responsibility for our errors. Nevertheless, we thought it important to place them in the broader framework of the erroneous points of view on national liberation struggles that have circulated in the communist movement in the past thirty years.

We believe that it is by approaching the question in this way that the communist movement will be able to shake off its lethargy in this and other matters and provide real leadership for the revolutionary forces fighting imperialism and reaction in many, many countries today.

It is no longer enough to respond to these revolutionary movements with a "Good work, keep it up, forward in the struggle!" We must instead offer the political leadership that will enable the active, most class-conscious elements in these struggles to take up the path of proletarian revolution, the path that leads to true victory over the forces of imperialism.

Peoples are in revolt all around the world. The structure of the old imperialist society is cracking on all sides. Reaction has understood this, and uses the voice and image of its popes, its ayatollahs, its cardinals

and its rabbis wherever there is an awakening of consciousness to retain control of the situation. The voice of revolution must make itself heard and overpower the tenors of reaction. Otherwise religious wars reminiscent of the Middle Ages may well take the place of the national liberation struggles and revolutionary civil wars that should

rightfully be the history of the 20th century.

Charles Gagnon,  
(Secretary General of the  
Marxist-Leninist Organization  
of Canada IN STRUGGLE!)

December 12, 1979

1. See Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism* (1924), published by International Publishers, New York: 1939

## The Eritrean struggle and the international situation

The following article was printed as the editorial of the February, 1980 edition of *Eritrea Information*, international news bulletin of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF). The EPLF is one of the main liberation organizations in Eritrea, where the people have battled for more than two decades for national liberation, first against the American-backed Haile Selassie regime, and in the last few years against Russian and Cuban military forces supporting the current Ethiopian regime.

We have included this brief text because it shows clearly how the liberation movements are forced to confront the same problems which preoccupy the ICM in relation to the complex international situation, especially Soviet social-imperialism and the treachery of China's leaders.

## Editorial taken from Eritrea Information

(by Guido Bimbi, reporter)

No struggle for national independence can be isolated from an international context. Even though it takes place in the so-called peripheral areas of the world, it always has an effect on the international equilibrium, endangering certain interests while objectively favouring others. This has been true for the Eritrean revolution, but it has never been truer than in this current period, ever since Eritrea finds itself involved in a delicate sector of the East and West conflict. We can make a reference to numerous converging phenomena: from the recent moment of the African independence struggles, which have weakened the hold of the West, to the crisis in the Middle-East; from the Iranian revolution which has deprived the United States of a stronghold

inside the oil region, to the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and, in passing, the Soviet and Cuban intervention in the Ogaden and in Eritrea itself.

The latest of such events, i.e. the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in particular, gives serious cause for worry, and seems to persuade the Eritrean movement towards fresh reflections, to re-evaluate all the connections, old and new, which make them simultaneously protagonists of their liberation struggle and victims, on the rebound, of international politics. The Peoples Front for the Liberation of Eritrea, in particular, has come to the point of tracing a "recurring vice" in Soviet politics, that of manifesting its "anti-imperialist dedication" in a terminology which is quite disassociated





Liberation fighters in Eritrea take time for political discussion in between battles.

from the interests and analysis of those who struggle in the first person for liberation.

The EPLF believes that the situation in Iran, and above all in Afghanistan, has created an alarm inside leading circles in America, leading to the creation of an alibi for launching a massive campaign aimed at bringing the region of the Horn under their control. The situation is at the point of becoming explosive and there is a serious danger that the whole region becomes a battlefield of forces extraneous to the interests of the people of the region. Soviet politics thus ends up furnishing pretexts, when not working directly in the interest of those very Americans whose influence one would like to see destroyed. The big international power games have therefore made their entry by force into an area like the Horn of Africa, which, finding itself rather underdeveloped in comparison to the old middle-eastern front, had till now only attracted marginal attention. Now, the United States, in response to the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, have begun looking for military bases in Oman, Kenya and Somalia.

While the Eritrean liberation struggle has had to confront, over a long period, American imperialism, which was represented by the regime of Haile Selassie, today, in order to defend its political autonomy and conquer its national independence it is forced to combat against an enemy who is less definable politically and ideologically but at the same time much more complex: i.e. the super powers.

The EPLF was born and has developed as an anti-imperialist movement which considered its own struggle as one moment in the more universal struggle for the mutation of relations on an international level. American imperialism has always been considered the principal enemy, while today the EPLF finds itself facing a much more complex reality which necessitates therefore, as Ramadan Mohammed Nur, the Secretary General of the EPLF, has declared "an increased capacity of analysis and political elaboration".

Let us take a few examples. The EPLF has considered, and continues to do so today, that in principle the

Socialist countries would be their natural allies, but today this very anti-imperialist international front is a prey to contradictions. We have already said enough about the USSR: a one time supporter of the Eritrean independence, today it has chosen the military regime in Ethiopia and is participating in the war of repression in Eritrea. "China" — as Ramadan Mohammed Nur himself feels — "is far, too far from us. And we are too far from China". The Vice-Secretary General of the EPLF, Isaayas Afeworki adds, "The Chinese leaders are interested in knowing only if we share their formulas, if we are inclined to imitate their slogans in exchange for a bit of aid. We do not need these kind of friends".

The Eritrean independence therefore finds itself facing new problems, one different from the other, and is slowly discovering the increasing links with the international scene. Faced with this new development, the Eritrean movement has taken a realistic attitude, and has been able to respond to these new demands with great political ability, qualities which it is going to be in great need of for some time to come.

## News on the revolutionary struggle

The goal of this section of *International Forum* is to provide our readers with essential information on the recent developments and actions of the communist and revolutionary movement around the world, in a form that is both condensed and useful.

Our capacity to develop this section is very much dependent on the correspondence we receive from our foreign comrades, as well as being subject to limitations of space.

### Solidarity Conference with the struggle in El Salvador

Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary forces from several different countries took part in an important meeting of solidarity with El Salvador this past July in Venezuela.

This meeting was marked by serious difficulties. Different forces of the "Parliamentary left" in Venezuela, including the revisionist Communist Party, sabotaged its organization from the beginning. A resolution condemning the interference of all imperialist powers in El Salvador brought out bitter opposition led by the revisionists, who saw this position as an attack on Cuba and the U.S.S.R. And the resolution on international brigades provoked the Salvadoran representatives to leave the convention and call on the other delegates to follow suite. The Salvadoran representatives explained that they feared that the arrival of international brigades in their country would give the U.S.A. a pretext to send in their own troops.

Nevertheless, this conference represents an important attempt by the progressive and communist forces to develop and coordinate the international solidarity for the liberation struggles. And it achieved positive results in terms of debate, in terms of the resolutions adopted, and in terms of raising the perspective of continuing this work.



Hundreds marched in Montreal, Canada, in the summer of 1980, to support the liberation struggle in El Salvador and to oppose the threat of American intervention.

For these reasons, we are printing here the main elements of the text of resolutions adopted at this conference.

\* \* \*

The first national meeting of solidarity with the struggle of the Salvadoran people took place in Caracas, Venezuela, from July 24 to 26, 1980. The meeting brought together delegates of support committees from inside the country and from abroad (Panama, Costa-Rica, Canada, Ecuador, Colombia, and Belgium).

This meeting was originally supposed to be the second continental solidarity meeting. But the actions of certain forces meant that this continental character could not be realized.

The meeting adopted the following resolutions:

1. We recognize the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) as the

representative of the Salvadoran people, and the Unified Revolutionary Leadership (DRU) of the politico-military organizations as their vanguard.

2. We support the governmental programmatic platform of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador.

3. We demand that the different countries in Latin America and around the world recognize the state of war in El Salvador.

4. We condemn all interference by U.S. imperialism or any other imperialist power or country in El Salvador. The problems of this brother country of Central America must be resolved by the Salvadoran people themselves, through the use of their legitimate right to self-determination.

5. We denounce the alliance between U.S. imperialism, the Venezuelan government, and the military Junta of El Salvador.

6. We demand that the governments in Latin America and around the world break their diplomatic relations with the genocidal military Junta.

7. We demand that the governments in Latin America and around the world, the progressive political parties, the trade unions and other mass organizations, take a stand against the massacre of the Salvadoran people, and call for an end to the repression.

8. We call on the government of Venezuela to end its political, economic, and military support to a regime like the Salvadoran Junta, which crushes its peoples aspirations, and acts as a puppet of imperialism and the local oligarchy.

9. We propose the creation of an International Central Committee which would coordinate the existing solidarity movements and stimulate the creation of new committees, where none exist; so that the solidarity work develops on the basis of concrete tasks which are properly planned.

10. We will promote the organization of the **Second Continental Meeting of Solidarity with El Salvador**.

11. Given the character of the battles in El Salvador, and the tendency to the internationalization of this people's struggle, the **National Meeting of Solidarity with El Salvador** declares the firm readiness of the Venezuelan people — through its revolutionary organizations — to organize international brigades, when the Salvadoran

revolutionary organizations ask for them.

12. We will make known the reality of the Salvadoran people's struggle through mobilization, through publications, and through other activities; with the goal of developing consciousness of the just character of this struggle, and of neutralizing the intervention and aid by anti-democratic governments on the side of the genocidal military Junta.

13. We will combat the government and the bourgeoisie in Venezuela through support of all the popular struggles. We will develop the widest possible mobilization of the people, starting from their vital concerns, as the deepest possible expression of the peoples international solidarity.

14. We call on the political parties of the Venezuelan left to rise to their historical responsibilities and to redouble their efforts to mobilize the people against the reactionary Christian Democrat government. This is the highest form of support that the Venezuelan people can give to their brothers and sisters of El Salvador.

15. We will develop the following tasks:

a) Propaganda campaigns based mainly on the committees, the unions, the student centers, the media, etc.

b) The mass organizations must take a public stance, condemning the COPEI government for its support to the genocidal military Junta, and expressing their solidarity with the struggle of the Salvadoran people.

c) We must organize days of solidarity within the working class, basing ourselves mainly on the unions and the advanced sectors within them. In particular, we propose to stage a general walkout with street demonstrations. We also maintain the propositions of the delegate from the office clerks of the central University of Venezuela, that is to organize a national work-stoppage in the universities, in solidarity with the Salvadoran people.

d) We must lead financial campaigns that will give a logistic and material support to the Salvadoran people in their liberation struggle.

16. We condemn the **agreements** of the Council of the Christian Democrat Organization of America (CDOA), concluded in Caracas on July 5 and 6 this year. These agreements seek to apply global political plans for Latin America, especially for Central America and the Caribbean: plans which include support to the Salvadoran military Junta and the creation of a reactionary network of co-

ordination for the Christian Democrat parties of the Caribbean region.

17. We denounce and condemn the Andes Pact as an economic, political, and military alliance; as an instrument of the interventionist policies of the governments of the U.S.A. and of Venezuela.

18. We denounce the coup d'état in Bolivia and will make this known.

19. We will make these resolutions of the **First National Meeting of Solidarity with Salvador** known to all the national and international committees, to the regional, national, and international press, and to other media.

Against the imperialist offensive and the Christian Democrat intervention in El Salvador — the militant solidarity of the Venezuelan people!

(Signed by: **14 local and regional solidarity committees; 8 trade unions; delegations of the Venezuelan political parties: People's Struggle Committees, (PSC), Party of the Venezuelan Revolution (PRV), Revolutionary Movement of the Workers (MRT); foreign delegations: Popular Democratic Movement (MDP), Ecuador; Canada; Panama; Belgium.**)

## Communist forces in Afghanistan and Nicaragua

In *Forum* no. 1 we began to speak of the positions taken in the communist press around the world concerning the struggles in Afghanistan and Nicaragua. Since then, different com-



Victorious liberation fighters of the Sandinista National Liberation Front enter Managua, the capital of Nicaragua, during the overthrow of the hated Somoza dictatorship.

munist forces have used their press to make known the positions of Marxist-Leninists active in these two countries which are of such importance in the world revolution today.

The group *Gegen die Stromung* of West Germany published in the April, 1980 edition of its newspaper a letter from the organization AKHGAR of Afghanistan.

In this letter AKHGAR explains that the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan is an act of colonization which immediately provoked massive popular resistance against the regime and its Russian protectors. They state their opposition not only to these immediate enemies, but also to the reactionary forces in the Afghan resistance that promote collaboration with U.S. imperialism, Pakistani reaction, or other reactionary forces. They explain that their organization is committed to building the Marxist-Leninist party in their country and that both the unity of the communists and the construction of the party will take place through the participation in the struggle. They insist as well on the need to take up the ideological battle against opportunism and revisionism along with the practical struggle.

Here is their characterization of the present tasks of the revolution: "We are convinced that the democratic and anti-imperialist revolution in Afghanistan can only be accomplished under the revolutionary leadership of a real communist party, a party capable of mobilizing the masses and leading them in combat. In this struggle, the workers and peasants are the principal force around which will rally all those who stand for freedom in Afghanistan, who are ready to fight against the invasion

and foreign domination as well as against internal reaction."

The letter ends with an appeal for international solidarity: "We believe that the liberation of Afghanistan will be the work of the Afghan people, led boldly by a true Marxist-Leninist party which guides the masses in the class struggle. However, there is no doubt whatsoever that the internationalist support of the world proletariat is a necessary condition to overthrow the foreign yoke. The proletariat and the broad masses in Russia surely condemn the fascist aggression of their reactionary social-imperialist State against our country. We call on all the communists, anti-fascists, anti-imperialists and revolutionaries, to give moral and material support to the just struggle of the Afghan people against the Russian invasion and the regime of Babrak Karmal."

The newspaper *Vanguardia Obrera*, organ of the CP of Spain M-L, continued to speak of the activities of the **People's Action Movement (MAP)** of Nicaragua. Although this organization had participated fully in the popular mobilization and uprising which led to the fall of the Somoza regime, it began to suffer systematic repression from the beginning days of the rule of the Sandinista government. The daily newspaper *El Pueblo* in which the MAP expressed its views was closed by the government. The Workers Front, a trade-union central in which the MAP was active, was repressed. Many of the leaders of these organizations were arrested and several were jailed.

The June 12, 1980 edition of *Vanguardia Obrera* carried an account of the actions of one of the MAP militants brought up before a Sandinista tribunal. His speech before the court gives a good idea of how these Nicaraguan communists analyze the current situation in their country. After refusing to recognize the authority of the judge, who was formerly a lawyer for the bosses under the Somoza regime, the comrade goes on to say the following:

"... As concerns the nature of the Government and the kind of National Unity that is supported by the Sandinista Front for National Liberation (FSLN), we have already said that we do not agree. We do not agree with those who hand power over to the bourgeoisie and to reactionaries. We

had already put forward our programme under Somoza.

This programme stressed the necessity of the immediate struggle against the Somoza regime, for national liberation, and for people's democracy — meaning a regime based on the worker-peasant alliance that is an integral part of the proletarian revolution.

It is wrong to claim that, in order to achieve the democratic tasks, we must follow the path of National Unity involving reconciliation with the capitalists and the big landlords. We believe that the working class, leading an alliance with the peasants, the other sectors of the working masses, and the revolutionary intelligentsia, could carry out the democratic tasks more correctly, and at the same time take steps toward changes of a socialist character....

The power of the masses in this revolution and in the struggle against Somoza was a guarantee that many things had to change. As well, in our opinion, even though the leadership of the FSLN did not have a Marxist-Leninist programme, they were not a bourgeois leadership, and they put forward various progressive measures in the government."

## Developments among the revolutionary forces in Iran

In Iran in the last year there has been an intensification of the internal class struggle and of the repression by the ruling government against the mass struggles, people's organizations, and the anti-imperialist and communist political organizations. These developments have accompanied the continuing mass mobilizations against foreign imperialism, particularly against the aggression of U.S. imperialism. As a result, there has been a process of sharpening ideological struggle and of new and continually shifting alignments among the revolutionary forces.

The attacks of the central government against the Kurdistan people have made their liberation struggle a key question in Iran. Recently, the



A militant of the Fedaii addresses a political rally in Iran.

Democratic Party of Kurdistan went through a split, with the leadership identifying those expelled as spies of the traitor Tudeh (pro-Soviet revisionist) party. The continuing development of the mass struggle in Kurdistan has made the Kurdistan Marxist-Leninist organization "Komaleh" one of the strongest forces amongst the Kurdish people, both politically and militarily. Other communist and revolutionary forces from throughout Iran have given political and military aid to the Kurdish struggle.

The Organization of Iranian People's Fedaii Guerillas (Fedaii) has continued to experience important splits from its ranks. The latest split, in the early summer of 1980, was the largest to date. It took place mainly around the attitude toward the State in Iran. These splits of the Fedaii result from the continual right-wing evolution of its positions. On both internal questions and world affairs, the line and practice of the Fedaii "Majority" today is very close to that of the Tudeh party.

The Islamic group the Mojahadeen has been in the last years one of the political groups with the biggest mass following, on the basis of democratic and anti-imperialist positions. Its mass support continues to develop considerably, if we judge by electoral results. Although their line is basically one of critical support to the government, they are now facing increasing repression by the State.

The struggle for the unity of the communist forces does not presently have an organized character involving all the groups. There was a manifesto for unity issued in April, 1980 by 8 groups which organized themselves into the "Revolutionary Union for the liberation of the working class". The main debates which divide the communist forces, like this new formation, and like Peykar, Razmandagan, and the Union of Iranian Communists, concern the analysis, the current situation, and the forward path of the revolution in Iran. As well, the question of the attitude toward the Soviet Union remains an important question of debate in the revolutionary movement. For example, the organization Proletarian Path, which split from the Fedaii in the past, considers that the Soviet Union is revisionist, but not social-imperialist.

## What attitude towards the government of Iran?

Over eighteen months ago, the Iranian masses toppled the hated regime of the fascist Shah. Since that time, the communists around the world have generally expressed their support to the Iranian revolution as a struggle that must continue to go forward. They have also spoken out militantly to oppose the different threats and aggressions of various imperialist powers, particularly the U.S.A. against Iran.

But the analyses made by the different Marxist-Leninist forces of the progress of the revolution in Iran have differed considerably. These differences are most apparent when it comes to the question of the attitude that the international communist movement should adopt towards the present government in Iran.

For example, the Revolutionary Communist Party of the U.S.A. (RCP-USA) hailed the overthrow of the Shah as a great step in the still-uncompleted national democratic revolution in Iran. They have given militant support to the continuing mass revolutionary movements in Iran, particularly the struggle of the oppressed Kurdish nation. And they have militantly opposed all the ideological campaigns, pressures and actions of the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie against the Iranian people.

In their solidarity with the revolutionary forces in Iran, the RCP-USA speaks mainly of the Union of Communists of Iran (UIC), an organization which analyzes Iran as a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. On the basis of this analysis, the UIC distinguishes between the reactionary (comprador) and anti-imperialist (national) sectors of the Iranian capitalists.

The RCP-USA and the UIC share a similar attitude toward the government in Iran. They both supported militantly the seizure of the American Embassy and hostages in the fall of 1979 — an action also supported by the ruling forces in Iran. The UIC analyzed this action and the subsequent mobilization around it as a further development of the mass anti-imperialist struggle. The RCP-USA saw things in the same way,

and campaigned within the U.S.A. in support of the action under the slogan "It's not **our** Embassy!" Both forces support the continuing struggles of the working masses in Iran, including those struggles which confront State power. But they adopt a general attitude of neither fully supporting nor completely condemning the government ruling Iran. Instead, they concentrate their fire on those elements of the ruling circles that they see as promoting the re-establishment of a neo-colonial relation with U.S. imperialism.

A somewhat different orientation has come from the Party of Labour of Albania (PLA) which has concentrated in the last year on the defence of Iran against foreign aggression. Both the foreign policy of socialist Albania and the declarations of the party itself have been oriented mainly towards combatting the threats that U.S. and Soviet imperialism pose for Iran.

In its declarations, the PLA has generally analyzed the Iranian government and its leading political figures, including Ayatollah Khomeini, as practicing consistently anti-imperialist policies of militant opposition to both U.S. and Soviet imperialism. As well, they have insisted on the great importance of the unity between the Iranian people and its government for the defence of Iran's independence from foreign control, and have supported some of the measures taken by the Iranian government to combat internal dissension.

The group *Gegen die Stromung* (GDS) in West Germany recently put forward positions which differed considerably from both of these kinds of approaches. In the April, 1980 edition of their newspaper they wrote an article which clearly identified the rulers of Iran as reactionaries that must be opposed by the communist forces internationally. Here is a very brief summary of this text, which raises important questions meriting examination.

The article begins by recalling that GDS has analyzed the Iranian revolution in the following way: that the old State power and the armed forces were not destroyed; that the struggle against the feudalists and big landlords was not completed; that the proletariat did not lead the struggle; that the anti-imperialist struggle was too much reduced to the struggle against U.S. imperialism, leaving other imperialist forces (like the West Germans) relatively intact; and that the nations and national minorities of Iran continue to be oppressed.

However, GDS did not have a sufficiently clear position on Khomeini and his regime. The article explains what such a position should be in a polemic against the editorial of Zeri I Popullit, organ of the PLA, entitled "Hands off Iran". The interpretation by GDS of the Albanian's positions, and their critique of these, is as follows: — It is entirely correct to put forward a slogan like "Hands off Iran", in the spirit of support to the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian masses against the intrigues of the imperialists. But it is incorrect for the PLA to confuse the Iranian people with its government. And it is wrong for the PLA to proclaim its "total support" to a regime which practices bloody repression against the oppressed nationalities, which is destroying the popular organs set up by the masses, and which is persecuting the communists and revolutionaries to the point of eliminating their freedom of speech and forcing them into illegality.

— The positions of the PLA on Iran are in contradiction with the teachings of Lenin and Stalin on the national liberation movements: particularly with the necessity to combat pan-Islamism and to only support the liberation movements which are really revolutionary. In this regard, it is wrong for the PLA to compare its policy with that of Stalin towards the Emir of Afghanistan, without taking into account the fact that the proletariat has developed in countries like Afghanistan and Iran in the last 60 years.

— The PLA erroneously maintains that Iran is independent today, that the revolution is mainly over, and that further progress will come through reforms of the present regime. But in fact Iran is not independent and the revolution is not completed; it must be pursued under communist leadership.

— The PLA maintains that the Iranian regime is using the oil weapon to defend national independence and safeguard world peace. This is contradictory to the reality of the world situation, and to the theses put forward by the PLA while debating against the "three worlds theory".

The article by GDS ends by pointing out that this analysis of Iran by the PLA is related to the general thesis that the anti-imperialist struggle in today's world is a struggle against the "two superpowers". They analyze this thesis as a position which dangerously underestimates the importance of the battle against all imperialist forces and against world imperialism as a whole.



Cartoon from *Vanguardia Obrera*, organ of the CP of Spain M-L, on the subject of American domination in Spain.

## Communists analyze the mass struggles

In the developed capitalist and imperialist countries, the deepening of the crisis of world imperialism continues to be reflected in the worsening economic crisis, in the growing climate of political repression and the threat of fascism and in the developing preparations for world war.

In some countries, communists responded by putting forward the tactic of a broad popular front against the threat of fascism and war. In West Germany the CP of Germany (formerly the CP of Germany M-L) helped to create the "People's Front against reaction, fascism, and war". This coalition was organized to participate in the elections of October, 1980, with the goal of blocking the election of Strauss of the reactionary Christian Socialist Party. This tactic has been developed in a situation where there have been several anti-fascist and anti-war demonstrations of a truly mass character in West Germany in the last months, demonstrations in which different national and foreign communist groups have taken an active part. Another party adopting a similar tactic to the CP of Germany is the Workers CP of France, which has created an organization called the Union of Popular Resistance against Reaction, Fascism, and War.

In other countries the communists

have identified the struggle against foreign domination as the most important battle. The CP of New Zealand, while continuing to mobilize against political repression and the economic crisis, has mainly stressed the dangers of foreign investment in its press. The CP of Spain M-L analyzes that the main task is the struggle to oust the Americans from Spain and to oppose any imperialist and aggressive bloc. The CP of Greece M-L states that their party has become the only political force in their country which fights all the imperialist powers, which opposes the policy of balance between different foreign imperialist interests, and which fights for a Greece that is truly independent.

In the United States, the rapidly deepening crisis has led some of the communist forces to the conclusion that the socialist revolution is on the horizon. The RCP-USA analyzes a revolutionary situation as very likely in this decade in their new *Draft Programme*. This possibility guides their tactics, such as their actions for May 1st, 1980, when they mobilized their supporters for militant street actions in spite of heavy repression. They have concluded that this action was a major success, because it allowed the class-conscious workers to step onto the political stage. The Communist Workers Party, U.S.A. also bases its current tactics on the prospect of revolution in the next few years, analyzing that the U.S.A. cannot go to war without bringing in fascism and provoking mass revolt.

In other countries, communist forces have analyzed that their main task is to give better leadership within the different spontaneous struggles provoked

by the deepening crisis. The organization "En Avant Proletaires!" in France stated that the development of a real communist party depended on the ability of the communists to develop their leadership within the rising daily struggles of the working class. The Marxist Leninist Organization of Canada IN STRUGGLE! analyzed that the development of its education and recruitment depended on closer links with the struggles in the trade unions, and among women and youth; and made some self-criticism for past errors of sectarianism and dogmatism in this regard. In Japan, the 5th Plenum of the Central Committee of the CP of Japan (Left), held in early 1980, devoted considerable attention to the party's tactics. They analysed that the party was facing rapidly growing mass struggles and had to master the policy of leadership to these struggles and had to learn how to correctly guide the mass movements according to its own policies.

The threat of world war was a constant preoccupation in the press of different communist organizations around the world. In some countries, there were mass actions in opposition to imperialist war: in Japan, in West Germany, in the United States where youth and students mobilized against conscription. Many communist organizations put forward statements of principle on war, saying that imperialist war must be turned into revolutionary civil or national liberation wars. But there was little discussion internationally of immediate tactics or common actions in relation to the war danger.

One debate that did develop, however, and that is related to the struggle against imperialist war, was on the attitude toward the bourgeoisie of the secondary imperialist countries. For example, some communist groups issued a text criticizing the content of the "4th International Youth Camp" as outlined by the host party: the CP of Germany. One of the important criticisms in this text, amongst several others, was that the platform for the camp completely ignored the role of West German imperialism. This criticism was signed by the CP of Turkey M-L, the M-L Party of Austria, Westberliner Kommunist, and Gegen Die Stromung — four organizations amongst others that had been excluded from the 3rd International Youth Camp the previous year. This criticism of the CP of Germany for downplaying the role of West German imperialism is similar to the criticisms made by the

Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada IN STRUGGLE! of the line of the CP of Canada (M-L) — although the CP of Canada (M-L) openly denies that Canada is imperialist. Other organizations around the world, like the RCP, U.S.A. have also polemicized against the danger of unity with the bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries.

In the colonies and neo-colonies dominated by foreign imperialism, the world crisis of imperialism has further aggravated the already extreme exploitation and oppression of the working masses. The result has been the development of mass protest movements in many countries, and revolutionary situations in others.

In many of these countries, the communists have analyzed that the masses are prepared to fight or to overthrow the dictatorships that rule them, but that conditions are not yet ripe for the full success of the people's democratic revolution. For example, in Brazil: the CP of Brazil calls for the immediate struggle to overthrow the military dictatorship and to win complete political liberty. They foresee that this will create a transitional united front government and a freely elected Constituent Assembly and that this process in turn will best create the conditions for the establishment of a future people's democratic government. In Tunisia, the group ECH-CHOOLA has begun to implement a tactic of working for the broadest possible unity of all anti-imperialist and patriotic forces to overthrow the Bourgiba dictatorship. They consider that this is the most effective way to isolate the pro-Soviet revisionists, who are active in the popular movement, and to build the communist party. The CP of Dahomey analyzes that presently they must work to re-create the mass organizations — destroyed by the dictatorial regime — and thus create the unity around the party that will eventually permit a People's Congress and the embryo of a new people's power.

In other countries, the continuation of the armed struggle was seen as the most important question by the communist forces. In India, the group which publishes *Mass Line* put forward that the organization of the armed struggle within the growing peasant movements was the key to the further progress of the new democratic revolution. The CP of Colombia M-L refused the amnesty proposed by the government for those who would lay down their arms, and called instead for an intensification of the armed liberation

movement. At the same time, the party called for the organization of a general strike to win immediate economic and democratic rights for the people. In the Philippines, the main basis of the resistance to the Marcos dictatorship continued to be the Moro Bangsa army, and the New People's Army, which is led by the CP of the Philippines. However a new dimension was added to the resistance movement in the Philippines in the recent months, with the development of mass protest actions in the urban centres by students and workers.

Another preoccupation in the dominated countries was the analysis of the mode of production in relation to the character of the revolution. The CP of Cyprus (M-L) (organizing committee) put forward their new analysis that Cyprus was a capitalist country and the revolution therefore of a socialist character with anti-imperialist aspects. The CP of Mexico (M-L) stated that the revolution in their country would be socialist. In Ecuador, the 2nd Congress of the CP(M-L) of Ecuador analyzed that their country was a capitalist country, rather than a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country as they had maintained in the past.

## Analysis of the workers strike in Poland

The important battles of the Polish working class against the State capitalist regime provoked a great deal of comment in the press of the world communist movement.

Generally the Marxist-Leninist forces gave their militant support to the workers and their demands. And most forces analyzed the agreements reached between the workers' leaders and the Polish revisionist rulers as a victory which weakened the reactionary regime.

For example, the CP of Portugal (Reconstructed) in its newspaper *Bandeira Vermelha* of August 27, 1980 published a communiqué of the Executive Committee of the party which stated that: "... the uprising of the Polish working class against the new bourgeoisie which controls the future of their country constitutes an event of great historical significance... our Party hails the heroic Polish working class in its struggle against rising prices, for bet-

ter living conditions, for trade-union freedom, against the privileges of the officials of the regime, and against repression... Our party has taken measures to develop agitation in public meetings and workplaces on this question."

The Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada IN STRUGGLE! also gave militant support to the struggle in its press. In the September 9, 1980 issue of their newspaper IN STRUGGLE! they analyzed its results as follows: "The recognition of free unions and the right to strike in Poland is an unprecedented victory in an Eastern European revisionist country. The gains give Polish workers the means to continue their struggle in a more organized fashion. Even more important, it shows that the workers of Eastern Europe reject the systems under which capitalists hold power in those countries."

Organizations like the Revolutionary Communist Party of the U.S.A., the Communist Workers Party, U.S.A., and Voie Proletarienne in France also gave strong support to the strikers, and analyzed the results of the movement as a first crack in the power of the revisionist bourgeoisie. As well, many other communist, progressive, and trade-union forces around the world spoke out in solidarity with the Polish workers' struggle.

The Party of Labour of Albania, however, made an analysis of the results of this struggle which differed considerably from those of many communist forces. During the general strike in Poland, the Albanian Telegraphic Agency (ATA) spoke out in support of the workers, but did not take a position on their concrete demands. After the strike, ATA no. 251 carried an editorial of *Zeri I Popullit* which concluded that the principal result of the strike had been the consolidation of the internal reaction in Poland and the strengthening of its Western reactionary allies. The editorial makes a lengthy analysis of the internal conditions in Poland and of the effect of the world situation on the conflicts in this country, and then goes on to the following conclusions:

"These strikes broke out under the influence of the internal and external reactionary forces, but, as it seems, at a suitable time to attain the desired results. Through these strikes, the West wanted to achieve a change in its favour in Poland... The 21 points agreement is a kind of ideological-political platform



Scene from the general strike of the Polish workers that shook the ruling revisionist regime this summer.

of the minimum programme of the new reactionary forces in Poland... The reaction achieved such a transformation of a so-called socialist country, which is not socialist, by deceiving and using the working class for its own aims... what will this victory bring to the working class? Whom will it serve? (It)... will serve as a springboard to pass from the present system of revisionist bureaucratic centralism, into a complete capitalist anarcho trade-unionist system... (It)... means the transformation of the country from revisionist and pseudo-socialist into a complete capitalist country".

The editorial of the PLA concluded that the workers in countries like Poland should not fight for these kind of reforms, but rather take up the revolutionary battle for their economic and political rights, and for socialism, under the leadership of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party.

## Struggles against political repression

Here are some of the campaigns against political repression that have involved actions of international support or appeals for international solidarity. Those who want more information on these struggles can consult the addresses

in the back of this issue, or inquire through *Forum*.

In Angola, different political prisoners who have been jailed by the government of the People's Liberation Movement of Angola (MPLA) continue to struggle against their brutal and arbitrary treatment. The prisoners, which include members of the Communist Organization of Angola (OCA), are protesting such things as: being arrested without charges, being held for months without trial, being moved to concentration camps. They have received active support from the Communist Party of Portugal (Reconstructed).

From Azania, the external wing of the Black Consciousness Movement has issued an appeal for solidarity with 15,000 black municipal workers of Johannesburg, whose strike has been brutally repressed by the South African authorities since July, 1980. As well, the representative of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of Azania for France and the Benelux countries has appealed for support to help free the prisoners of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) being detained in Tanzania.

In France, the Executive Committee of the Federation of Students from Black Africa in France (FEANF) is organizing solidarity to protest the dissolution of this student organization by the French government. The FEANF has been for many years a center for activities against French imperialism in Africa and for anti-imperialist and communist forces from the French colonies and neo-colonies.

In Guatemala the mass organizations are facing increasingly brutal repression as the struggle intensifies. The international solidarity focuses around the Coca-Cola factory workers, where the trade-union leaders have been murdered. This struggle has already received support in the form of strike action from trade unions in many countries.

In Guyana, the Working People's Alliance (WPA) — the main opposition party — is calling for international condemnation of the right-wing terror unleashed by the pro-American government. In June, 1980, Walter Rodney, well known leader of the WPA, fell victim to this terror.

In Morocco, the communist organization "Ilal Amam" has succeeded in having eight comrades liberated from jail. They are continuing their efforts to defend the life of and to eventually liberate their leader, Abraham Sefarty.

In Palestine, different liberation fighters are conducting hunger strikes and other forms of protest against the tortures and other fascist forms of repression they face in the Israeli jails.

In Spain, the CP of Spain (M-L) has undertaken a campaign to liberate some of its militants imprisoned by the Spanish monarchy. The CP of Portugal (Reconstructed) has committed itself to active support of these efforts.

In Turkey, the anti-fascist and revolutionary forces have continued to experience thousands of arrests and hundreds of political murders in the last period — even before the recent military coup, which has intensified this repression. As well there has been severe political repression against the workers and communist organizations from Turkey in West Germany, where there is an important concentration of immigrant workers from Turkey. The Revolutionary Communist Party of Turkey has received support from communist forces abroad in its campaign to free Erdal Eren, a militant of a mass anti-fascist youth organization in Turkey who was sentenced to death in March, 1980. The murder by the fascist "Grey Wolves" of Kaltip Saltan, a member of the Federation of Workers from Turkey in West Germany and West Berlin (ATIF), helped spark a militant protest rally of 5000 people in Aachen, West Germany in August, 1980.

In the U.S.A., many of the militants of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP-USA) have been arrested and one murdered because of their revolutionary activities. The RCP-USA is particularly trying to develop international support for the "UN 2". These two militants face heavy jail sentences after having thrown red paint on the American and Soviet ambassadors at the United Nations, in a action designed to expose the war moves of the two imperialist giants. The Communist Workers Party of the U.S.A. has continued to expose the threat of fascism in relation to the trials which followed the murder of five of its militants by the fascist Ku Klux Klan in November, 1979.

In Venezuela, the People's Struggle Committees (PSC) have been hit with severe repression in the form of arrests and seizures of material. It has forced the temporary closing of their newspaper, *Que Hacer*. They have appealed for international aid, including material support, in order to be able to resume activities and publication as soon as possible.

## Crisis for the pro-Chinese forces

Many of the different forces which participate in the communist movement internationally show through their press that they are still in the process of studying and assessing the different events that shook the world communist movement in the last few years. The continuing open degeneration of the CP of China into naked revisionism and counter-revolution, the criticisms by the Marxist-Leninist and honest anti-imperialist forces of the reactionary "three worlds theory", and the war between Vietnam and Cambodia have particularly preoccupied the revolutionary forces.

As well, the continuing evolution of the internal struggle in the communist parties of Vietnam and of China has intensified the doubts of many who, until now, remained silent on their opportunism. During the last year, the Vietnamese party has purged some of its highest ranking leaders because they

were less open to complete Soviet domination, according to the newspaper *Mass Line* in India. And the Chinese party has now completely repudiated Mao, and is preparing to put the "gang of four" on trial.

All of these factors have caused a situation of real crisis for those forces which had continued to unconditionally support the Chinese leaders. This has had particularly strong repercussions in the communist movement in Southeast Asia, where in the last decade many of the communist parties followed the Chinese party closely and depended greatly on its aid. For example, the issue no. 19 of the *Thai Information Bulletin* published in France reports that the CP of Thailand has suffered major splits due to the ideological disputes and military conflicts involving China, Cambodia, and Vietnam. By the summer of 1979 the Thai party leadership was mainly concerned about the necessity of national unity in the face of possible Vietnamese aggression; the many militants who left the party included a number supporting the Vietnamese positions, and a still larger number unsure of what road the communists should pursue.

In the imperialist countries some of the pro-Chinese groups began to resolve their internal crisis by — dissolving themselves! This was the case of the group which called itself the CP of Germany; it was officially liquidated by a decision of its own members in early 1980. The Swiss Marxist-Leninist newspaper *Roter Prolet* reports that one of the pro-Chinese groups in this country, the Communist Organization of Switzerland, was also discussing its own possible dissolution.

In other countries, the debate within the pro-Chinese forces led to the splitting and regrouping of forces opposed to both Soviet and Chinese revisionism. This took place, for example, in Norway and Sweden.

Another reaction that appeared was the development of an international current which defends Mao against the current Chinese leaders while continuing to support the "three worlds theory". Amongst such voices there was the Workers CP in the U.S.A., the Workers CP in Canada, and the Red Eureka movement in Australia.

*Forum* will follow these developments and try to analyze their significance, with the help of our foreign contacts.

## Addresses for foreign publications

We are providing our readers with the following list of addresses taken from the publications of parties and organizations which have been mentioned in *International Forum*.

**Warning:** These addresses are only to be used for public correspondence (for example, to ask for or to send public documents). Readers who intend to use these addresses must scrupulously follow the instructions, and must address their envelopes and letters in exactly the same way they are written in the list — with nothing added to what is indicated for the address.

### AUSTRIA

For the publications of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria, write to: Rote Fahne, c/o Franz Strobl, Goldschlagstrasse 64, 1150 Wien, Austria

### BELGIUM

For the publications of the RCP of Belgium M-L, write to: L'Exploité 40 rue des Rives 6080 Montignies-sur-Sambre, Charleroi, Belgium

### CEYLON

The texts of the CP of Ceylon are available from: Ceylon Communist Party, 9, De Mel Street, Colombo -2, Ceylon.

### CHILE

To obtain the

publications of the RCP of Chile, write without mentioning the name of the party to the following address: Silvia Chateau B.P. 198, Paris 75864 Cedex 18, France

### ENGLAND

The literature of the CP of Britain M-L is available at: Bellman Bookshop 150 Fortress Road London, NW5, England Also in England: Association of Communist Workers, 66A Etherley Road London, N 15, England

### FRANCE

The publications of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Organization "En Avant Proletaires" can be obtained by writing,

without mentioning the name of the organization, to: T. Hédox, B.P. 330, 75 025 Paris Cedex 01, France.

The publications of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Organization "Voie Proletarienne" are available at the following address — do not mention the name of the organization: P.L.P., B.P.#5 93401, Saint-Ouen Cedex, France

The publications of the Workers CP of France can be obtained at:

Alfred Zimmer, B.P. 35, 67036 Strasbourg France

### WEST GERMANY AND WESTBERLIN

The documents of the Communist Worker's League of Germany (KABD) are available at: Redaktion Rote Fahne, Postfach 6803 4000 Dusseldorf 1, Federal Republic of Germany

The address for the texts of the CP of Germany is: Roter Morgen 4600 Dortmund 30 Postfach 30 05 26 Federal Republic of Germany

To obtain the newspaper "Gegen die Strömung" write to:

Walter Hofman, Homburger Landstrasse 52, 6 Frankfurt Main, Federal Republic of Germany

To obtain the newspaper "Westliner Kommunist" write to: E. H. Karge, Monumenten Str. 37 1000 Westberlin 62 Federal Republic of Germany

### GREECE

For the texts of the CP of Greece, M-L, write Proletariaki Simea Themistokleous 54 T T 145, Athens, Greece

### INDIA

The newspaper "Mass Line" can be obtained at this address: Mass Line Kottayam 686001, Kerala, India

### IRAN

English translations of the texts of the organization "Peykar" can be obtained from this address in the USA: U.I.S.U.S., P.O. Box 744, Berkeley, California 94701, U.S.A.

### JAPAN

For the texts of the CP of Japan (Left), which are available in Japanese and English: Jinmin No Hoshi 3-28 Kamitanaka 3 Shimomoseki — Shi

Yamaguchi — Ken 751, Japan

### NEW ZEALAND

The press of the CP of New Zealand can be obtained at: People's Voice P.O. Box 1785 Auckland 1, New Zealand

### PORTUGAL

The documents of the CP of Portugal (Reconstructed) are available at: Bandeira Vermelha R. da Alegria 76,2' — DT' Lisbon, Portugal

As well, the french supplement of the newspaper "Bandeira Vermelha" can be obtained from: Jornal Portugues B.P. 52, 75661 Paris. Cedex 14, France

The publications of the CP of Portugal (Reconstructed) can be obtained from: Rui Gomes, Apartado 96, 2676 Odivelas Codex Portugal

### SPAIN

For the publications of the CP of Spain M-L in Spanish and French write to: Vanguardia Obrera Sede Central C/Libertad, 7 Tercero, derecha Madrid 4, Spain

### SWITZERLAND

The organ of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement

"Roter Prolet" are available at: Verlag Roter Prolet C.P. 3349, CH — 8031 Zurich, Switzerland

### TUNISIA

Texts of the Marxist-Leninist group "Ech-Choola" are available in Arabic and in French from: Editor "Ech-Choola", B.P. 1, Paris 75660, Cedex 14, France

### TURKEY

For the publications of the CP of Turkey M-L, write without mentioning the name of the party to: T. Buchladen Georgi Dimitrov, 4 Koblen Str., Frankfurt Main, Federal Republic of Germany

For documents of the RCP of Turkey in English, write to the following address: Verlag Roter Morgen(TDKP), Postfach 30 05 26, 4600 Dortmund 30, Federal Republic of Germany

For documents of the RCP of Turkey in English, write to the following address: Verlag Roter Morgen(TDKP), Postfach 30 05 26, 4600 Dortmund 30, Federal Republic of Germany

### UNITED STATES

For the texts of the RCP-USA, in English and Spanish, write to: RCP of USA P.O. Box 3486 Merchandise Mart Chicago, Illinois 60654, U.S.A.

The documents of the Communist Workers Party are

available from: C.W.P., P.O. Box 2256 New York, N.Y. 1001, U.S.A.

The texts of the CP USA M-L can be obtained from: CPUSA (M-L) P.O. Box 6205 Chicago, Illinois 60680, U.S.A.

Documents are also available from the: Committee for a Proletarian Party at: Box holder P.O. Box 8147 San Diego, California 92102, U.S.A.

### VENEZUELA

For documents of the Venezuelan communist movement, write to: Libreria Julio Gonzales, Zamuro A. Dr. Diaz, Pasaje Zamuro no. 4, Centro Simon Bolivar, Apartado 16201, Caracas, Venezuela.

### BOOKSTORES THAT CARRY COMMUNIST LITERATURE FROM AROUND THE WORLD

Librairie Norman Bethune 76 Bd. St.Michel 75006 Paris, France  
Librairie internationale 2 rue Boulard 75014 Paris, France  
Librairie L'Étincelle 325 Ste.Catherine St. East, Montreal, Quebec, Canada

## Publications available from May First Distribution

May First Distribution is a non-profit organization that distributes and sells progressive and communist documents from Canada and around the world at the lowest prices possible.

Conscious that it is important to pursue the analysis of the history of the struggle for socialism, May First Distribution has an impressive stock of publications by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao and Hoxha. It also carries documents by different publication houses as well as documents on the history of the international communist movement, particularly documents of the Communist International.

May First Distribution also distributes the publications of the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada IN STRUGGLE! like its weekly IN STRUGGLE!, brochures on different issues, and its journal

PROLETARIAN UNITY. The last issue of the journal (no. 22) deals with Cuba's role in Latin America, the Polish workers' strike, the results of the referendum on the national question in Quebec, Canada, the labour aristocracy in Canada, and the question of recruitment. It also contains articles on a criticism of Enver Hoxha's latest book on Eurocommunism and another on the strategic line of the People's Liberation Front (FPL) in El Salvador.

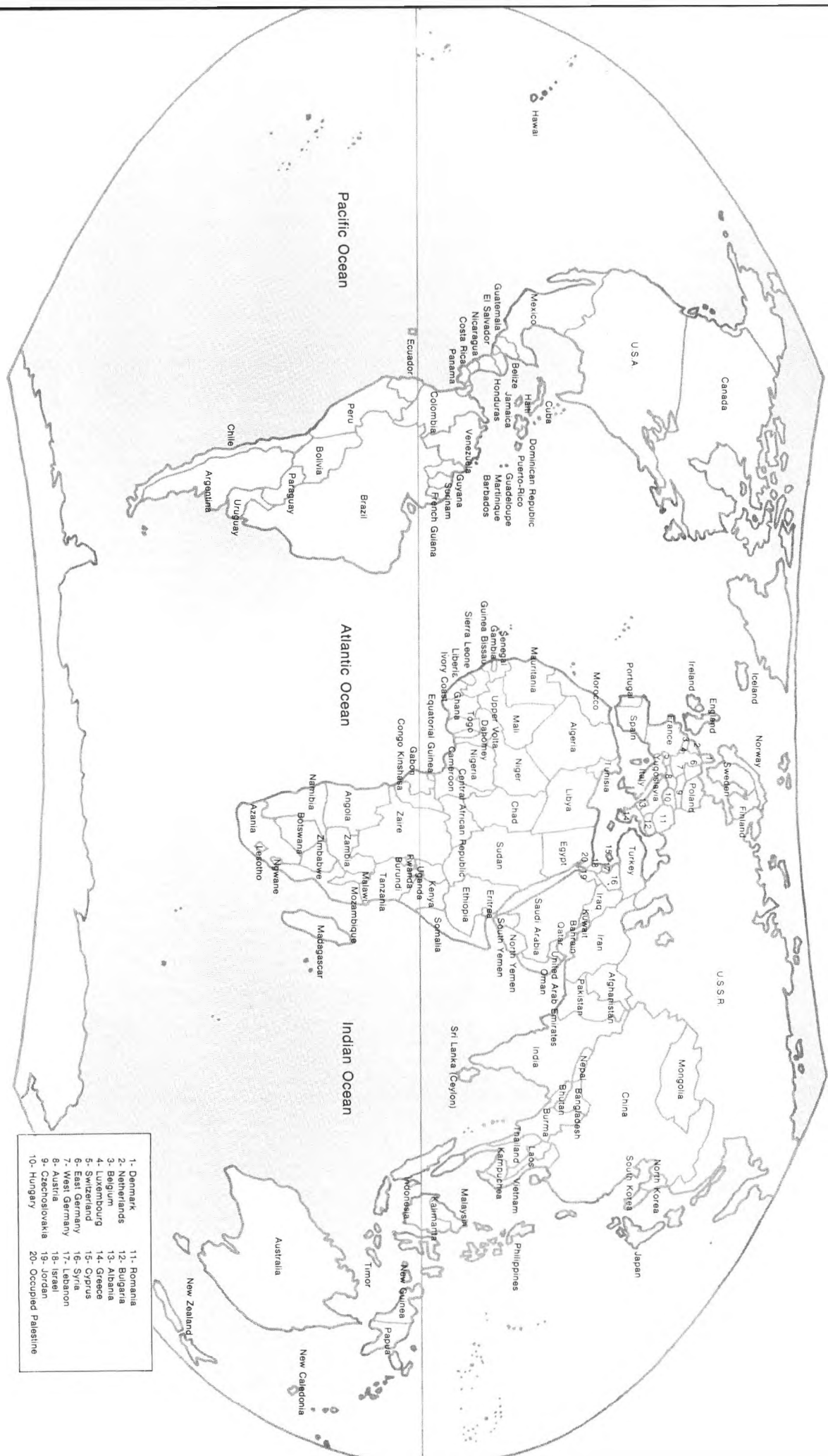
Also available at May First Distribution, the Spanish version of issue no. 1 of *International Forum* as well as other publications in Spanish.

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# What is the MLOC IN STRUGGLE!?

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

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

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

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

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

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

If you want to get in touch with IN STRUGGLE! about any matter of a public nature, write to:

IN STRUGGLE! c/o Librairie L'Etincelle,  
325 Ste-Catherine East,  
Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

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## What is **INTERNATIONAL FORUM?**

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

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

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

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