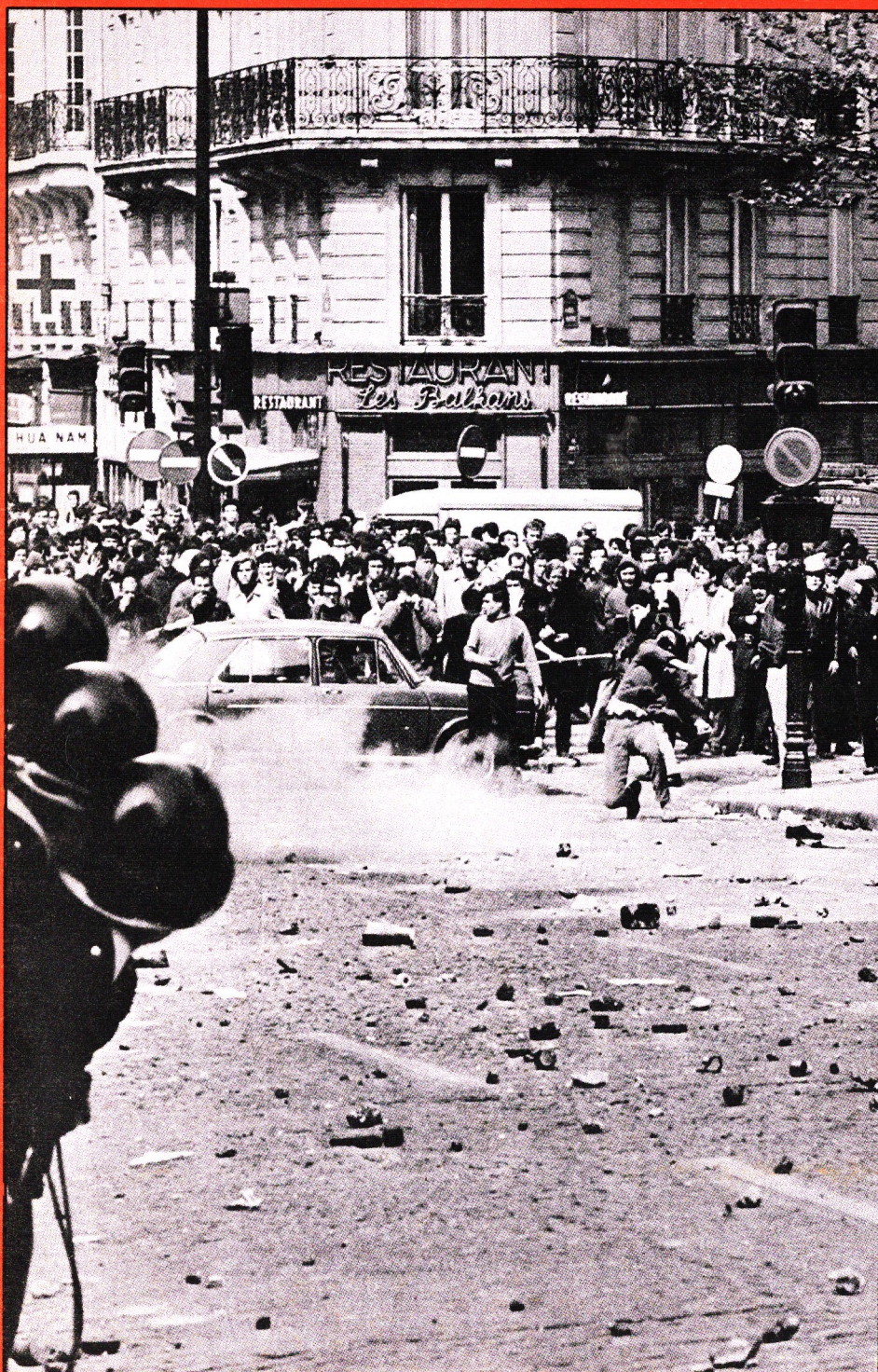


FORUM

INTERNATIONAL

FOR THE UNITY OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST MOVEMENT



No. 3 February 1981
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**Feature:
Revolutionary
strategy
in advanced
capitalist
countries**

plus...

Latin America:
Who are the friends
of the revolution?

News of the world
revolutionary
struggle

Be a correspondent for INTERNATIONAL FORUM

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

Send us your assessment of the texts we reproduce. Tell us what you think of the journal generally and suggest how it could be improved. Give us suggestions for the best texts or articles by different Marxist-Leninist forces that we can print on specific topics. Send them to us — preferably in English, French or Spanish. If the piece in question is in another language, it would really help us in the search for relevant documents and in subsequent translation if you could do a brief résumé of it. Let us know how you react to the positions put forward by parties and organizations in other countries than your own. Send us documents from the past or present of the international communist movement that are hard to find. Alternatively, tell us how we can procure them so that we will be able to make them accessible to a wider audience.

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

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

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

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

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Introduction

Letters from our readers

As we mentioned in our last issue, we want to develop this section of correspondence from our readers as a regular part of the contents of each issue of *Forum*. This time, we are publishing information we have received from two different organizations, concerning polemics they have written about the problem of unity among the international communist forces. We are also publishing some excerpts from different letters that show the international interest for *Forum*.

At the same time, we remind our readers that we would like to receive and print more lengthy correspondence that will help develop the role of *Forum* as an instrument of international news and debate. We would like to have news in the form of summaries of important events in the class struggle and revolutionary movement. And we would like to build the debate through the publication of letters that comment on the texts we have already published in *Forum*.

New positions on the unity of communists

From the ML Communist Organization Voie Proletarienne, in France: "As you know, an international meeting was organized around the RCP-USA and the RCP of Chile, and a joint declaration was published in several languages. Our organization was invited to sign this communiqué, but we decided not to. We will soon be publishing our views on this communiqué in a commentary which will explain our basic positions. We presume you will be talking about this communiqué in *International Forum*, and we are asking you to also publish our commentary as a contribution to the debate. We will send you several copies as soon as it appears. With our communist greetings... (Editor's note: a summary of the communiqué they refer to appears at the end of this issue).

From a form letter distributed internationally by the Communist Workers League of Germany (KABD) in October, 1980: "The restoration of capitalism in China is progressing in leaps and bounds... The current Chinese leadership props up its revisionist course ideologically with veiled and open attacks on Mao TseTung Thought and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. These developments cause many people today to doubt whether socialism can be successfully built at all... On a world scale, the course of

events in China were a condition for the rise of liquidationism and the split between the Marxist-Leninist organizations. The imperialists, too, take advantage of the situation to spray venom against Mao TseTung Thought and especially to call the goal of socialism into question. In this situation, all communists and progressive-minded people look to the Party of Labor of Albania and its leader, Enver Hoxha... But instead of defending Mao Tsetung and the Cultural Revolution, E. Hoxha has done an about-face...

In the latest pamphlet from the "China aktuell" series, "Hoxha versus Mao", the KABD confronts Hoxha's slanders and attacks and proves that these assaults on Mao TseTung are assaults on Marxism-Leninism...

Right now, the threat of a third world war is rising rapidly and the capitalist monopolies are sharpening their attacks against the working class and other working people in all countries. The unity of Marxist-Leninists is thus a matter of urgent necessity. In its pamphlet, the KABD divides the Communist and Worker movement in the world into six main ideological-political groups. Also, the pamphlet spells out the sole possible basis for the principled unity of Marxist-Leninists: Marxism-Leninism and Mao TseTung Thought... To promote principled ideological-political struggle on an international level, the KABD is also publishing the pamphlet "Hoxha versus Mao" in English."

Interest for International Forum

"Please send us five copies of the recent *International Forum* no. 2 for trans-

mission to our comrades in the Philippines. On behalf of the movement, we thank you for publicizing the Philippine revolution." (Philippine Research Centre, U.S.A.)

"Based on the copies of *Forum* that we have seen, I and my other comrades from Puerto Rico think that it is a publication that will be very useful for us. We are working to develop our knowledge of the movement in other countries, and also to build up our international links so we can make the struggle of our people better known (and explain it in a different way than that of the revisionist Puertorican Socialist Party).

On our part, as sympathizers and friends of a Marxist-Leninist organization in Puerto Rico, we will try as soon as possible to send you some copies of the review *Unidad ML*. Until then, could you send us copies of the first two issues of *Forum*, so that we can make them known widely in Puerto Rico. It is absolutely essential that the movement on the island learns what the Marxist-Leninists around the world are thinking. Right now, people only read *Granma*, the *Guardian* from the U.S.A., and the weekly of the Socialist Party *Claridad*... (from some Puerto Rican comrades in the U.S.A.)

"It is with great pleasure that my brother and I are writing to buy a subscription to *Forum* and to give you a little extra for support... *International Forum* has to become a useful instrument in the hands of genuine Marxist-Leninists who are struggling for unity and for the defense of socialism and communism, of the principles thrown overboard by the different kinds of opportunists... As sympathizers of the CP of Italy *ML* and the RCP *ML* of Belgium — *L'Explicite*, we want to express one simple thing to the Marxist-Leninists around the world. It is time to make a serious analysis of the mistakes and differences that have existed and that still exist, so we can unite on the basis of a common programme. This is what must be done in order to organize the working masses around the world to fight to seize power, to fight for socialism and communism, and to smash the revisionism that has developed in the international communist movement... Forward to the unity of Marxist-Leninists! ... (from some comrades in Belgium)

Editorial by International Forum

An appeal to our readers

Those of you who have seen the first two issues of *International Forum* will notice some changes in this issue. We have simplified the design and lay-out, and eliminated the photographs. As well, we have reduced the number of pages that will appear in each issue. We have been forced to take these measures in order to reduce our costs of publication and distribution.

We don't think that the simplification of the design of *Forum* will cause any major problems for the kind of people who read and use it. The reduction in the number of pages is more serious, because it means there is less space to fully develop the exchange of opinions on the major questions that we deal with in each issue. But there is another aspect to these changes that is still more important. They show that the development of *Forum* as a tool of international debate is limited by our own financial problems. Like all revolutionary publications, we are in need of more financial support in order to continue our work. And like all revolutionary publications, we need the financial support of our readers to help solve this problem.

We've talked in the past of the importance of our readers' political collaboration with *Forum* — sending us texts, building its distribution, writing to us with news and comments and criticisms. We will certainly return to this question of political collaboration in the future, because it remains vitally important. But right now we want to insist on another kind of collaboration that is absolutely essential, and that is the help we need in terms of financial support.

At the present time, the costs of publishing and distributing *International Forum* are carried by the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada IN STRUGGLE!. IN STRUGGLE! gets back some money from commercial sales in Canada and in a few other countries. But this amount is far from enough to cover the costs associated with publishing a collection of news and texts from all around the world, and then with distributing this publication internationally. Our costs are further multiplied because *Forum* must be distributed for free in many countries where the conditions of poverty and repression do not permit any commercial sales. So we have to ask our readers and supporters for more financial support. We are particularly addressing this appeal to our friends living in the imperialist countries — including the comrades from countries dominated by imperialism who are living abroad — because we think that it is these comrades who can afford to give us some aid.

Of course, it's not easy for our readers to give us financial support. The kind of people who read and use *Forum* are militants in communist and revolutionary organizations, in progressive and anti-imperialist struggles. So they already have important political commitments that include financial support. But at the same time, the kind of people that read and use *Forum* are also committed to rebuilding the unity of the communist and revolutionary forces in the world. So the question that must be posed is a political question — does *Forum* play a useful role in the complex and difficult struggle to rebuild this unity? We ask those of you who think the answer to this is "yes" to consider your own responsibilities to help us maintain and develop this work.

We think that the results of our first year of publication show clearly that *Forum* is already playing a useful role. *Forum* is one of the very few international publications that is dedicated to organizing an exchange of information and a serious debate on questions of ideological and political line and on fundamental questions of programme. The first issues have shown that we are serious about letting a wide variety of forces and viewpoints speak out in our pages, and the collaboration we are beginning to receive from our foreign comrades will permit this to develop even further in the next issues. *Forum* is produced in English, French, and Spanish (with the help of foreign comrades), making it quite accessible in terms of language to the militants from many different countries. And *Forum* is already read and discussed by militants from forty different countries... We think that these are real accomplishments that deserve support.

What kind of financial support do we need? The simplest and most efficient way to help us is with paid subscriptions, either singly or collectively. But there are also many other things that can be done. Can you get paid orders for *Forum* from bookstores? Can you get publicity for *Forum* put in progressive and revolutionary newspapers? Can you sell *Forum* to your friends, or encourage them to take out subscriptions? A little effort in different countries on all these fronts, particularly in terms of subscriptions, could go a long way to helping us pay for the costs of producing and distributing *Forum*.

We hope that this appeal for financial support will be seriously considered by all our foreign friends. We have produced three issues now. Take a look at them. Doesn't this kind of publication deserve your support?

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.

Debates on unity and revisionism

Latin America: Who are the friends of the revolution?

Preface and commentaries by International Forum

Throughout Latin America today, we see a growing revolutionary movement that poses particularly complex problems of alliances. The anti-imperialist battles taking part today are not simply a confrontation between the proletariat and its natural class allies, on the one hand, and the reactionary dictatorships protected by U.S. imperialism, on the other. The growing strength and recent victories of the popular movement have also encouraged the rising participation of other political forces in these battles. Among these forces there is the reformist bourgeoisie in each country; there is the U.S.S.R. along with its ally Cuba and its local supporters; and there are the social democrats of the Second International.

The following two texts try to analyse this situation, and to propose a correct policy of alliances for the revolutionary forces. The two texts are radically different, both in terms of the analysis made and the orientation proposed. They show the depth of the disagreements that exist among Latin American revolutionaries on the correct policy of alliances.

The document from Guatemala paints a portrait of a world in which U.S. imperialism and its puppet states abroad are the main enemies, and in which all the other countries and struggles in conflict with these forces represent the friends of the anti-imperialist struggle. The Guatemalan comrades believe that the Soviet Union has become more militant in its support of the liberation struggles in the last few years. And they consider that the Western European countries represented by social democracy can be won, through struggle, to genuine support for the revolutionary movements and governments.

The text from four Marxist-Leninist parties in Latin America is oriented towards a much more critical exposure of certain forces that present themselves as friends of the liberation struggles. It concentrates on trying to demonstrate the reactionary interests of the

U.S.S.R. and the opportunist policies of its Latin American supporters and allies. And it arrives at the conclusion that no alliance or common action with these forces is possible.

* * *

There is no doubt that the kind of analysis put forward in the text from Guatemala is widely supported. It is not only widely accepted within the revolutionary movements in Latin America; it is also propagated by many other liberation movements around the world, and accepted by many anti-imperialist activists in the Western imperialist countries.

And if this analysis is widely believed, it is not only because the propaganda machines of the social-democrats and pro-Soviet revisionists are working overtime to promote these views. It is also because such an analysis seems to provide a coherent explanation of some very real changes in the global alignment of forces. It is a fact that U.S. imperialism faces increasing isolation and competition from many different kinds of countries. It is a fact that the U.S.S.R. has become more aggressive in the international arena, and that its allies and supporters are adjusting their tactics to reflect this new strategy. And it is a fact that social-democratic governments of imperialist countries like West Germany are running full speed to replace their American rival in Latin America, with methods that include not only massive capital investment, but also diplomatic and material support to the liberation movements.

But what is really behind these changes? It is certainly not that the social-democrats and pro-Soviet revisionists have suddenly come to be motivated by genuine internationalism. It is really because all of the imperialist powers, including the Soviet Union, have become much more aggressive in their competition with the U.S.A. — and are willing to use new tactics to gain an advantage over their American rival. And because this kind of under-

standing remains absent in the text from Guatemala, their one-sided analysis is both wrong, and dangerous.

The problem is not whether the liberation forces should accept aid from certain foreign powers. This is a practical problem which these movements inevitably confront, and which they have to resolve themselves, based on a realistic assessment of the needs of their struggle. But it remains a fact that the interests of different imperialists lie behind much of this aid. And it is a serious problem if this reality is not clearly explained to the revolutionary masses. Sooner or later, depending on the evolution of the struggle, the interests of these imperialists can only come into conflict with the forward progress of the anti-imperialist struggle. The class interests of these imperialist forces will not only clash with any attempts to develop the revolution towards genuine socialism, they will also come into opposition with radical democratic changes. The example of Eritrea is perhaps the most striking in this regard: today the liberation forces are facing the armaments and troops of their Russian and Cuban former allies.

The second text is a good example of the kind of polemics that have been conducted by Marxist-Leninists to explain the danger represented by forces like the Soviet Union and its allies and supporters. It is particularly valuable because it does not stay at the level of general denunciation. The text tries to give a concrete analysis of the long-term interests of the pro-Soviet communist parties: as those of an embryonic bourgeoisie fighting for a state capitalism that would be in a neo-colonial relationship with the U.S.S.R. And it shows how both the Cuban theory of "focoism" and the revisionist theory of "peaceful transition" have been alternately used to sabotage the armed liberation movement.

But this text is much less convincing when it talks about the methods that must be used to isolate such opportunists. It is certainly correct to talk of uncompromising ideological struggle. But is this enough?

This text talks of the necessity of a united front with the reformist bourgeoisie, but insists that the pro-Soviet forces cannot be included in such a front. But what is the real difference in the nature of these forces — other than the foreign power they look to for support? The basic differences in their class interests is never made clear.

This text insists on the fact that there can be no common action with the pro-Soviet communist parties. Yet the text itself states clearly that these forces fight for real reforms, and often have the following of an important part of the working masses. How will it be possible to expose the opportunist forces before the masses who follow them — if all common action is refused?

* * *

The problem of correctly analysing and combatting the different opportunist forces active in the liberation movements is an international problem. The complex situations described in these two texts are not unique to Latin America; they have their parallels all around the globe. And this problem is also a problem that concerns all of the revolutionary forces. Look at the situation in Afghanistan. The Afghan people have risen as one to battle the Soviet invaders. And still many anti-imperialist forces do not give their full support to the Afghan liberation struggle, because

they believe that the Soviet Union is a friend of the liberation movements. What kind of internationalism is this?

Of course there are many communist organizations which have spoken out on the different opportunist forces active in the liberation movements. But the analysis made by these forces remains very general, and therefore not very convincing.... It is not enough to talk only of the imperialist interests of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. — while West German imperialism is busily courting the liberation movements through the Second International. It is not enough to claim that the greatest treason of the pro-Soviet communist parties lies in their pacifism — while the Chilean and Salvadoran representatives of this trend are now doing "self-criticism" for their abandonment of the armed struggle. It is not enough to repeat that Cuba is not a socialist country — especially when most of the sympathy it has won internationally is based on the democratic victories of the Cuban revolution. And it is quite useless to pretend that the social-democrats and revisionists are incapable of giving real aid to the liberation movements. In certain cases the aid they give is very real and very important. They organize this aid quite efficiently and quite cynically, hoping to create more favourable conditions for their imperialist masters to gain future neo-colonial control of the

victorious liberation movements.

But it is one thing to make an analysis, and it is another thing to have people listen to it. And if the communists want their analyses to be taken seriously by the different revolutionary liberation movements around the world, then there is one essential precondition: they are going to have to give their full support to their struggles. Here, the communists have to confront their own sectarianism. How many Marxist-Leninist organizations have completely condemned the revolutionary democratic governments in Nicaragua or Zimbabwe, on the basis that they are not yet fully self-reliant and socialist? How many are holding back their full support from the liberation forces in El Salvador, because they know these forces have formed an alliance with the local pro-Soviet communist party? Is this the kind of attitude that will promote a serious dialogue with the different revolutionary forces around the globe?

* * *

We will certainly return to all these questions in future issues of *Forum*, because they are of crucial importance to the revolutionary struggle today. We invite our readers to send us any commentaries or texts that would help develop this discussion.

Guatemalan revolutionaries analyse the world situation

The following text is taken from an *International Declaration* by a Guatemalan revolutionary organization called the Guerrilla Army of the Poor (*Ejército Guerrillo de los Pobres* — EGP). The complete text of this declaration gives an analysis of the perspectives of the Guatemalan revolution in relation to the prevailing balance of forces in Latin America and around the world. The Declaration was published in October, 1979 in different newspapers in the U.S.A. and around the world, in return for the freeing of the son of a right-wing industrialist, kidnapped by the EGP. The part of the Declaration we are printing here deals specifically with the world situation.

The situation in Guatemala is probably less well-known than that in El Salvador, but there are many parallels between the two struggles. Both countries are in total economic and political crisis, and ruled by dictatorial military regimes supported by U.S. imperialism. In both cases the mass character of the revolutionary movement is developing dramatically, in

spite of the tremendously brutal repression that has been unleashed. And in both cases the main political organizations active in the liberation struggle are rapidly building a high degree of unity in the course of the struggle.

In Guatemala, the EGP is building unity with the Rebel Armed Forces (FAR), the Organization of the Armed People (ORPA), and the Guatemalan Workers' Party (PGT). In May, 1980 these four organizations issued a joint declaration which stressed the following points: the need to develop their unity in the application of a strategy of people's war; and the necessity of building a people's democratic and revolutionary front that will overthrow and replace the current government.

We are reprinting this portion of the *International Declaration* because it expresses very clearly and concisely one kind of analysis of the world situation that is very widely held throughout the world revolutionary movement.

The English version of this text was printed by the American journal *Contemporary Marxism*.

The world situation and our revolutionary struggle

The Global Picture

Our people's struggle for final liberation, a struggle that we define as a *people's revolutionary war*, is part and consequence of the world struggle between the capitalist system on one side, and the forces of socialism and national liberation on the other. Our struggle is taking place in the framework of the worst crisis ever suffered by the world capitalist system of exploitation. Finally, our struggle is also part of the rising tide of people's struggles for liberation in dependent and underdeveloped countries.

The crisis in the capitalist system has never been as deep and global as it is now. The worldwide military balance between capitalism and socialism creates a situation in which leading imperialists, the spearheads of the system, can no longer unleash devastating wars on the weak and backward peoples who dare to defy them and oppose domination.

This fact has made possible the collapse of the colonial system and the rise of newly independent countries which desire international alliances in order to coordinate their development and oppose imperialist pressures and demands.

This framework has made triumph possible for popular and socialist revolutions in Cuba, Algeria, Libya, Guinea Bissau, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and Nicaragua. In this context the Vietnamese people were able to inflict upon the warmongering machinery of Yankee imperialism the most significant defeat in its history.

This same situation has enabled the oil producing countries to impose appropriate prices for their products—which the imperialists have been accustomed to pumping at will, in exchange for pennies—and in this way to virtually determine the extent of the energy crisis facing the capitalist countries.

Consequently, there is an increasing diversification of economic and political power centers within the capitalist bloc. Given the nature and the developmental stages of the countries involved, this process indicates a serious internal contradiction.

Parallel to this crisis within the capitalist system, a process of readjustment and revitalization of their revolutionary positions has been taking place among the powers in the world socialist camp. The Soviet Union, among other socialist countries, appears to have ended a period of impasse which created much confusion, and to have returned its foreign policy to the militant, combative stance which it should have by nature. In spite of painful developments within the socialist camp, such as the traitorous abandonment of revolutionary principles by the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, and the contradictions springing up among the European communist parties, the global camp of revolu-

tion and socialism has taken heart and encouragement from the popular and revolutionary victories in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

To these we must add the successful independence struggles in many ex-colonies, and the advance of the revolutionary and popular struggles which are unfolding, to varying degrees, in Zimbabwe, Namibia, Sahara, Palestine, Colombia, Puerto Rico and Central America.

The face of the entire Latin American continent is drastically changing. A land that was once the static back yard of the United States is today one of the most politically important and decisive arenas of the world.

Revolutionary Cuba has sent reverberations throughout the hemisphere by taking the role of the socialist vanguard in this part of the world. It is the first substantial leap by the peoples of this continent towards final liberation. The Cuban Revolution is becoming more important today. Its existence has stimulated the revolutionary struggle of the Latin American peoples, and has set up a new balance of power with U.S. imperialism. Its existence favors alliances between democratic countries that want to resist the rapacity and expansionist maneuvers of imperialism in Latin America.

The victory of the Sandinista revolution by the Nicaraguan people and the fervent revolutionary war now being waged by the people of El Salvador are the latest episodes in the transformation taking place across the American continent.

These are defeats suffered by Yankee imperialism and they have caused an accelerating deterioration of its power. Internally, the imperialist metropolis is torn by the most serious economic crisis, in the face of which Yankee political and economic strategists have been forced to review many aspects of the imperialist state's strategic line.

The global picture shows, in general, an accelerated change in the correlation of forces, in favor of the forces of socialism and national liberation.

The Crisis of Capitalism in the U.S.

Carter's assumption of the Presidency, impelled by the so-called Trilateral Commission, personified a new global capitalist strategy meant to deal with the socialist camp, the Third World, and the system's internal crisis. It was a turning point, so they hoped, in accomplishing large-scale economic, social and political adjustments in the United States and consequently in its spheres of influence, control or domination.

The current crisis of capitalism is organic, rooted in the very center of the world capitalist system, the United States, where state monopoly capitalism has reached its peak. Capitalism can overcome its current organic crisis only if it manages to develop a new level of economic and political cohesion.

Those who put Carter in office have thought up a new strategy to suit the objective need facing imperialist expansionism. Under the present conditions this strategy is: in economic terms, to organize the U.S. domestic economy as well as to coordinate international capitalism to favor increased profit rates, accelerated capital

accumulation, reduction of manpower costs, new markets, and the stabilization of the world monetary system.

On a political level the objective is to maintain detente with socialist countries, to guarantee the capitalist leadership of the U.S., and to check the popular democratic and revolutionary movements that threaten the international status quo. Of course, such a political and economic readjustment calls for an ideological readjustment as well.

This is where Carter's Human Rights policy comes in. It is aimed at appeasing the American people and restoring U.S. prestige before other nations, now deteriorated so badly due to various setbacks and to the inability of the U.S. to conduct its foreign policy successfully.

The restoration of its image and prestige before the world's nations has become necessary for the U.S. rulers, for they realize all too well that the social problems mounting within the ranks of the American people could explode in their faces if these problems coincide with an international crisis.

But imperialist plans and purposes are one thing; reality is another. At the start of the Carter Administration, it appeared as if his policies would succeed in reorganizing international capitalist coordination, restoring Yankee prestige in the world, stopping the crisis—and through the use of demagoguery, manipulation and pressure, succeed in facing the challenge of revolutionary forces in the Third World. But in practice, the Carter Administration has failed in all these fields; it has consistently fallen into contradiction with its own aims; it has exhausted its options well before Carter has completed his first presidential term, and has collided with everybody, including the allies of the U.S. It has increased the American people's unrest and distrust as well as increasing the general crisis.

Perhaps what is most important from our point of view is this stirring among the American people. The Carter Administration's efforts to restore the domestic economy have provoked enormous social unrest and have raised the class struggle in the productive sector to a level hardly seen since World War II. This political deterioration seems to have ended Carter's chances for reelection and even threatens the Democratic Party's chances for holding power.

Kennedy, who is being courted by various political circles as a savior and who is believed by some sectors to hold progressive positions, will be forced, in order to be a presidential candidate, to submit to the designs of the Yankee monopolist plutocracy, the real power that sets the guidelines for imperialist policy. If elected President, Kennedy will have to bear the consequences of the measures adopted by Carter and will have to go ahead with the strategy he initiated. Kennedy is therefore already doomed to deepen the crisis.

All this marks a crucial phase in the history of Yankee power. Within the past decade the American people have suffered the consequences of the military crisis in Vietnam, the political and moral institutional crisis of Watergate, and economic inflation; now they must bear the general effects of the planned recession,

aimed at achieving the superexploitation of the American working class. This severe blow against the working class is the clearest expression of the new economic crisis in the United States.

The crisis confronting the Yankee metropolis is deeper and more extensive than ever before, a fact that makes the generalization of political contradictions inevitable. As the conditions of class struggle are aggravated, the masses of North American people will aim their struggle not only against a new administration, but against the system itself. It is not an illusion, under these circumstances, to foresee the emergence of new social and political coalitions in the United States.

In this measure, the oppressed and exploited peoples who are fighting for liberation are more and more counting on the rising class identity and solidarity of the masses of the American people, who are destined to be the gravediggers of Yankee imperialism.

The Role of Social Democracy

The last few years have seen renewed political activity by European social democracy, extended to the entire world and in particular to Latin America. This political activity has taken the shape of active solidarity, with positive practical effects for popular and revolutionary liberation movements on the continent.

It is a significant fact that the anticommunist positions of social democracy have been toned down in reference to many of the fundamental issues related to the situation in Latin America, and that the issue of armed struggle, which has been definitive in shaping the revolutionary character of the Latin American struggles, has received the endorsement of the Socialist International, although rationalized according to its own style.

The social democrats have not for a moment stopped stating their differences with both "Soviet Communism" and "North American capitalism," pretending to be politically equidistant from them. But the terms they employ reveal that the only equidistance they can really claim is geographic, not ideological. This had led some to consider contemporary social democracy as the last resort of world imperialism in the face of the constant deterioration of the system as a whole, and especially of the Yankee metropolis.

We consider it logical that liberal European capitalist circles, alarmed by the crisis engulfing the Yankee imperialist state, should decide to intervene more directly in conflict areas where the integrity of the entire capitalist system is endangered. Latin America is a logical target for their activity, since by and large, the social structure in the Latin American countries includes an up-and-coming middle class of considerable size, wielding considerable political power. Given their ambitions, this class is naturally receptive to the social democratic discourse.

But then we must remember that these middle classes, with whom the social democrats would have to deal on an equal footing in order to exert any ideological influence, are inextricably tied to the situation and

political dynamic of the masses of the people. Thus, those European capitalists who have a mind to increase their economic and political influence over us in Latin America had better abandon any hopes of imposing the kind of onerous relationship of domination that U.S. imperialism has had, and which has been characterized by a complete lack of ideological proposals.

It can be granted then that this relationship will have a more political and polemical nature and that the social democratic influence will therefore be more determined by the political correlation of forces and by ideological debate.

If this is so, and as long as there are grounds for objective convergence on issues (such as the struggle against Yankee imperialism and its local lackey gang, the liberation and the socioeconomic development of the productive forces, and resistance to penetration

and domination from large transnational monopolies), a confrontation between the revolutionary forces and social democracy does not need to be of an antagonistic or irreconcilable nature. International social democratic solidarity plus the action of the internal forces inspired by it can perform a helpful role at this stage of the global revolutionary process.

The stance that international and national social democratic forces assume towards the Sandinista revolution and the popular revolutionary state in Nicaragua will be a weathervane, indicative of the real nature and purposes of social democracy in the present situation. Our own attitude towards social democracy will be determined, under the present circumstances, by the attitude it observes towards the Sandinista revolution, by the possibilities of objective convergence on the aforementioned issues, and by the degree of respect and seriousness with which our ideological positions are met.

Revisionist forces and the anti-imperialist struggle

The following text is taken from a Joint Declaration adopted in September, 1978 by the following parties: the Communist Party of Colombia (Marxist-Leninist), the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Ecuador, the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, and the Red Flag Party of Venezuela.

The part we are printing here deals specifically with the role of pro-Soviet forces in the anti-imperialist movement. It is a good example of the type of analysis and polemic being carried out by Marxist-Leninists on this question.

The complete Declaration puts forward a developed analysis of the Latin American situation, the problems of revolutionary strategy, and the tasks of communists. Unfortunately, the content of this Declaration has been generally ignored in the world communist movement, because the attitude towards the document polarized immediately around the fact that it contained a few sentences defending Mao Zedong. We hope that our publication of these excerpts will encourage our readers to study the complete content of this very interesting Declaration.

The English text is taken from the complete version of the Declaration translated and published by the RCP-USA.

Joint declaration of Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America (Excerpts)

Our Parties agree in the appraisal that the principal obstacle to a correct development of the anti-imperialist struggle of our peoples was the absence of correct politics, born out of the genuine interests of the proletariat and the people, and the lack of authentic Marxist-Leninist proletarian leadership in this struggle. This was

due to the transformation of the Communist Parties into revisionist parties or simply the non-existence of genuine Marxist-Leninist parties in our countries, a situation that has begun to change since the emergence of our Parties as vanguards.

This has meant that the just anti-imperialist aspirations of our peoples have been used by different sectors of the bourgeoisie for their own benefit, and on behalf of one or another imperialist power. Latin America has numerous and instructive negative experiences of the failure of "anti-imperialist" and phoney revolutionary movements, whose leadership has been in the hands of the bourgeoisie or the petit-bourgeoisie. Here we find, for example, the failure of the pre-World War 2 populist movements that arose in various countries of the continent, which, while they were able to raise some anti-imperialist and reformist demands that attracted large sectors of the masses, met with failure due to the inconsistent and vacillating leadership given to them by the bourgeois sectors and leaders who headed them up. Thus there was the failure of the Peronist movement in Argentina, of Getulio Vargas in Brazil, Ibañez in Chile and so many others that did not even make it into the government, such as the movement of Haya de la Torre in Peru and of Gaitan in Colombia, despite the fact that they enjoyed the confidence of large sectors of the masses.

Among the movements led by the bourgeoisie, at present it is of fundamental importance to consider those led by the revisionists in various countries of Latin America, some of which have gained mass influence. In our time, when the revisionists are in power in various countries, among them in the superpowers, their politics has a dual reactionary character. On the one hand, while side-tracking the proletariat and the people away from revolution, pretending to be their vanguard and distorting Marxism-Leninism, they objectively serve the interests of the ruling exploiters in our countries. On the other hand, at present, with the support of Soviet social-imperialism, and taking advantage of its ability to deceive the masses, they intend to transform themselves from agents of the bourgeoisie into a ruling bourgeoisie displacing some traditional bourgeois sectors and allying with others. For our peoples, it is of fundamental importance to grasp this dual reac-

tionary character of the revisionists and to expose their false anti-imperialism, of shrieking anti-U.S. slogans to be able to accomplish their servile pro-Soviet objectives.

In Latin America we also have the negative example of the "anti-imperialist" movement with revolutionary pretensions promoted by the Cuban leaders. This adventurist movement, which in appearance pretended to oppose revisionism, in reality turned out to be a perfect complement to revisionism's right opportunist politics. Objectively this petit-bourgeois opportunist deviation, while opposing the formation of genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, in rejecting the necessity of building a united front around the proletariat, in opposing the struggle to unmask revisionism in the mass movement and internationally, in favoring armed adventurist battlefronts, isolated from the masses, has only facilitated the revisionist swindle among the masses of people. In particular, the failure of its "guerrilla foco" military adventures has been used by the revisionists to condemn armed struggle in general and to promote their opportunist thesis on the "peaceful road" to power.

To be able to correctly direct the anti-imperialist movement, it is indispensable to comprehend and unmask the revisionist scheme. They propose to replace the traditional system of exploitation based on private property, with a system of exploitation in which state capitalism takes the lion's share, with the revisionists playing their role of exploiters as a bureaucratic state bourgeoisie. On the other hand, they propose to intertwine their interest as a bureaucratic state bourgeoisie with those of the ruling sectors of Soviet social-imperialism, since they need its support for their scheme. This is how social-imperialism facilitates its penetration into our countries. This type of reactionary and repressive regime is presented by them as "socialist construction." This anti-Marxist and reactionary scheme leads them to formulate revisionist theses such as the "peaceful road" to socialism.

The so-called "peaceful road" is preached to the people exclusively to keep them from taking up arms, under genuine proletarian leadership, and making revolution, since this would frustrate these revisionists' reactionary plans. However, in different parts of the world the revisionists don't hesitate to use various forms of armed violence, such as intervention with their troops, the use of mercenaries, the carrying out of coups by means of part of the bourgeois armed forces, and also the organization of guerrilla forces that serve as shock troops for the defense of their interests, such as is the case of the FARC in Colombia.

It is also due to their reactionary scheme that they defend the laws and institutions of the bourgeois state against the people, among other institutions, the reactionary armed forces which they seek to infiltrate at the highest levels. Fully consistent with this objective is the declaration at the 1975 meeting of the revisionist parties of Latin America in Havana that "profound political, ideological and social changes have taken place in the armed forces in recent years, which have changed them from instruments utilized by the oligarchy and imperialism into factors for progress and even, potentially of revolution." This after the fascist coups in Chile, Uruguay and Argentina. The revisionists' support, then, of laws and institutions of the bourgeois state, their preaching about the "peaceful road" to power, now are not simply opportunist deviations, but rather a conscious strategy coherent with their reactionary plans. They don't deviate from Marxism-Leninism because they are "mistaken," but because they are anti-Marxist, even if they make use of a false front of proletarian ideology in order to deceive the masses.

Our Parties consider that even though the revisionists propose some reforms in order to deceive the masses and build state capitalism, they cannot be confused with the bourgeois reformist sectors which the proletariat should bring under its leadership. The revisionists try to deceive the proletariat by falsely presenting themselves as its vanguard party, while they falsify its ideology and politics to keep it from playing its leading role, making revolution and seizing power. Although the revisionists put forward reforms, they do so not in the interests of the proletariat or the people or in defense of certain sectors of the middle bourgeoisie ground down by the imperialists and the big exploiters of each

country, but rather to occupy the place of the former big exploiters, continuing to exploit and oppress the people under state capitalism and submitting them to Soviet social-imperialist domination. The fact that the revisionists may drag with them sectors of the proletariat and masses of people, far from changing their character, makes it necessary to fight even more uncompromisingly against them, to break off those sectors from their sinister influence and win them over to making revolution.

Cuba is an example of the destiny that awaits our countries if pro-Soviet state capitalist regimes come to power. That country is now dependent politically, economically and militarily on social-imperialism. This has come about through the methods that it has employed in Eastern Europe of deforming the economy of the countries under its dependency, of exploiting them and completely subordinating them economically, to satisfy not the needs of their own peoples, but those of Soviet social-imperialism, which opposed the diversification of Cuba's production and the development of an independent economy based on self-reliance. With Cuba, like the other countries it has been able to dominate, it has applied the so-called "international division of labor." Cuba today is a simple supplier of sugar and some citrus fruits for the COMECON countries and especially the USSR. Thirty-six percent of Cuba's exports consist of sugar. This dependency has been made complete with Cuba's direct incorporation into COMECON. This means that Cuba doesn't even have the right to independently draw up its own economic plans—they are decided by the supra-national organizations created and controlled by the USSR for that purpose and applied to the countries under their dependency. On the other hand, 70% of fuel, raw materials, wheat and industrial products that are consumed in Cuba come from COMECON. It is expected that this commerce, highly detrimental to the Cuban people, will double in the years 1976-80. Even if COMECON pays a little more than the international market for sugar, social-imperialism compensates itself with interest, charging between 10%-50% more than the international market for the products it sells to Cuba, depending on the case. This dependency forces Cuba deeper into debt, with credits from the Soviets and other COMECON countries generating another type of dependency, political dependency. Its external debt is higher than \$5 billion dollars. All of the credits it receives must be used to buy products from COMECON countries. This absolute dependency on the social-imperialist bloc and the monstrous deformation it has imposed on the Cuban economy has resulted in the Cuban people lacking even the most indispensable articles which simply don't exist in its markets. This while the military and bureaucratic bourgeoisie which has been installed in power enjoys the most sophisticated imported products which only it has access to. If the situation of the masses is not even worse and there are certain advances in the field of education (utilized, of course, as an ideological vehicle by the social imperialists), in health and in some other aspects of society, it is only because social-imperialism does not want to show off yet another even more deplorable example of a dependent country in Latin America. Cuba's example is yet another reason for struggling against the revisionists' schemes and Soviet social-imperialism's penetration of our continent.

The experience of the Latin American peoples' struggle shows repeatedly that a genuine and thoroughgoing struggle against imperialism and internal reaction can only be possible if it is led by the proletariat and its vanguards, the Marxist-Leninist parties of each country. At the same time, it reaffirms that this struggle against imperialism and reaction can be victorious and lead the people to real liberation only if at the same time we combat revisionism, unmasking its plans and defeating among the masses of people its sinister influence which is meant to transform our countries into dependencies of Soviet social-imperialism. Experience has shown, by negative example, that no section of the bourgeoisie is in a position to lead a genuine anti-imperialist movement. The populist failures in past years teach this. The examples of and the revisionist experiences like that suffered by the Chilean people constitute a clear lesson that they, like the pro-U.S. bourgeoisie, cannot lead the people to real liberation. And the guerrilla movements led by the petit-bourgeoisie, sunk in defeat and failure, are eloquent proof.

Our Parties consider that, given that the leading cliques of the revisionist parties of the continent have the character of agents of Soviet social-imperialism, no type of alliance or joint action with them is possible. Nevertheless, it should be made clear that we should do whatever is possible to win to the anti-imperialist struggle those sectors of the masses that for years have been deceived by these revisionist cliques.

Our Parties resolutely support the anti-imperialist struggles that have been developing throughout the continent in recent years. They agree with the necessity of making greater efforts to channel them behind a correct alternative and program that takes into account the common aspirations so long felt by our peoples. They agree with the necessity of uniting around this common program, and under the firm leadership of the proletariat, all possible

anti-imperialist forces that can be united. Likewise they agree on the need to develop the class struggle to a higher and higher level, with a view to developing the victorious people's armed struggle, the only possible way to completely defeat the fundamental enemies and to assure the real liberation of our peoples, paving the way for people's democracy and socialism. On this road, they resolutely support the people's war correctly led in their respective countries by the Communist Party of Colombia (M-L) and by the Red Flag Party of Venezuela, which have stood and developed as an example for our peoples of the continent of the correct and only possible alternative in the face of the populist failures of the bourgeoisie, or of the revisionists, and particularly in the face of the "guerrilla foco" strategy proposed by the petit-bourgeois sectors supported by Cuba.

Revolutionary strategy in the advanced capitalist countries

National liberation and socialist revolution in the advanced capitalist countries

Preface and commentaries by International Forum

In our last issue we began to talk about the question of the path of the revolution in the countries dominated by imperialism. This time, we are looking at the problem of revolutionary strategy in the advanced capitalist and imperialist countries.

All of these countries have certain common characteristics. The bourgeois democratic revolution has been largely or completely realized, and capitalism has not only replaced most or all of the feudal relations, it has also developed to the stage of monopoly. In such conditions, we might think that the questions of strategy are much more simple than they are for the national liberation struggles.

In fact, this is not true. The strategies put forward by the communist and revolutionary forces in advanced capitalist and imperialist countries vary greatly, and the disagreements on these questions within particular countries are quite important. The texts we have chosen here represent only a very small sample of the different analyses and polemics that have been written. But they have been chosen to highlight some

of the most important problems and debates concerning the path of the revolution in the advanced capitalist countries.

* * *

The texts about West Germany reveal a particularly interesting debate. Both sides agree that West Germany is an imperialist country, and that the revolution is socialist. But for those who issued the Common Declaration, this means that the communists must direct their fire against the German imperialists. They believe it is opportunist to fight for immediate demands concerning Germany's national oppression and national independence. The CP of Germany takes exactly the opposite view, believing that such demands are an essential part of an immediate action programme against war and fascism.

This debate reveals two problems that are closely related. What kind of "anti-imperialist" slogans should be put forward in an imperialist country? The text from the CP of Germany puts great importance on slogans directed

against the presence of foreign imperialist powers — specifically the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. — on German territory. It is this attitude that their critics see as leading to nationalist and chauvinistic errors. And what kind of immediate programme is needed in an imperialist country as the crisis deepens? None of the texts about West Germany make this very clear. The Common Declarations only criticize what they see as the opportunism in the action slogans of other forces. The CP of Germany claims that they fight for independence and national unification only within the framework of Germany that will be socialist. But they also make the defence of Germany's national interests an integral part of a broad front for immediate struggle on a non-socialist basis. Isn't this contradictory?

The texts from New Zealand reveal a different kind of problem: the confusion that exists about what an imperialist country is. The CP of New Zealand takes a clear and correct position in the first text against the Chinese "theory of the three worlds", and criticizes the idea of "two-stage" revolution for the advanced capitalist countries. But this party does not characterize New Zealand as an **imperialist** country; either in this text, or in their other docu-

ments. This leads them to the kind of ambiguous positions expressed in the second text, where they compare the situations of New Zealand and the Philippines as being essentially the same.

The positions of the CP of New Zealand on this question are similar to those of a number of parties, including the current positions of the CP of Canada ML. This latter party recently repudiated its ten years of promoting a strategy of two-stage revolution for Canada. But the opportunist "self-criticism" which revealed this change still refused to recognize the imperialist nature of Canada.

For the parties that hold these positions, it seems that the main struggle is not against their own imperialist bourgeoisie, but against the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. on a global scale, and against American domination in their own country.

The texts from the ML Organization of Canada IN STRUGGLE! develop a more broad polemic against the strategy of national liberation for the imperialist countries. The first text tries to show that the a bourgeois nationalist line on this question is common to all the opportunists in the workers' movement in Canada. The second text criticizes the fact that Marxist-Leninists continue to put forward the national liberation strategy for imperialist countries.

This polemic by IN STRUGGLE! has been accompanied by a progressive rectification of its own positions. The 2nd Congress of IN STRUGGLE! clearly put forward that the Canadian imperialist bourgeoisie was the main enemy, and thus rejected the organization's past position of "two main enemies" (U.S. and Canadian imperialism). Their 3rd Congress specified that the defense of Canadian sovereignty against foreign pressures was an important democratic task, but not a strategic task. And there are other cases where communist organizations have rectified their own strategic positions. For example, the 2nd Congress of the CP of Japan (Left) changed the party's basic line by clearly stating that Japan was an imperialist country and the revolution a one-stage struggle for socialism. Such examples should help us see that these debates are not simply a "war among groups". They concern problems that must also be seriously addressed **within** each organization.

The texts from Portugal bring up a different question again, that of the "popular democratic" revolution in some of the relatively weaker advanced

capitalist countries. The text from the CP of Portugal (Reconstructed) claims that they put forward this strategy because of conditions that are unique to their country. But this is somewhat misleading. In fact, the same kind of strategy is defended by parties in countries with similar conditions, such as by the CP of Spain ML and the CP of Greece ML. The arguments by the Portuguese comrades seem to be the same as those of others who defend this strategy. They state that the domination of foreign capital and the unfinished character of the bourgeois democratic revolution make a stage of people's democracy a necessary prelude to socialism and proletarian dictatorship.

The arguments against this position appear in the texts of Unidade Comunista. They claim that the Portuguese revolution is a socialist revolution, and that the people's democracy strategy is based on an exaggeration of secondary contradictions. Their texts raise some interesting general questions about the strategy of popular democracy. Is this strategy a kind of "tradition" in the communist movement which has gone unquestioned too long? Can a popular democratic government be seen as a possible tactic, without being elevated to the level of a strategy?

The last text is from Ireland, where the conditions of the struggle are quite different from the other countries we have mentioned so far. British imperialism controls Northern Ireland, and maintains a neo-colonial relationship with the Republic in the South. This has meant that the Irish struggle has continued as a national liberation struggle in an advanced capitalist country. The document from the Irish Republican Socialist Party situates this struggle as one that must lead to socialism for the final liberation of the Irish people. At the same time, it puts forward a programme of action intended to unite the revolutionary forces and help heal the sectarian divisions within the working class of the North.

* * *

In studying these texts, we keep coming back to two basic problems. How do we correctly analyse the degree and nature of capitalist development in different advanced capitalist countries? And what strategic conclusions do we draw from our analysis?

One of the most striking things in these debates is the lack of clarity over the very meaning of "imperialism". For many communists, the imperialist nature of a country is not determined by

the development of domestic capitalism to the stage of monopoly. Instead, what is seen as determinant is the relative weakness or strength of "their" capitalist class in relation to the most powerful imperialist powers. This kind of thinking goes hand-in-hand with the theory of the "two superpowers". Those who defend this theory ignore or greatly down play the imperialist nature and activities of most of the existing imperialist powers, concentrating only on the role of the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.

But it is not enough to state that a country is imperialist, or even that the revolution is socialist, and think that the danger of opportunism is eliminated. Just think of how many defenders of the "three worlds theory" in the imperialist countries could agree with these formulations. And yet they still direct their main blows against the "foreign menace". The danger of opportunism exists so long as the communists abandon to downplay the **concrete** struggle against the reactionary interests and actions of **all** the imperialists. And for the communists in the imperialist countries, this means taking up the battle against their "own" bourgeoisie.

Some serious debate on the question of "popular democracy" might shed some light on the problem of strategy for the advanced capitalist countries. Is this the correct strategy for certain countries? And if it is, what tasks does it imply? Does it mean that the attention of the revolutionary proletariat should be focused on its **national** and **democratic** tasks?

And are the implications of the defense of the "popular democracy" strategy really confined only to a few countries? Look again at the reasons that motivate this strategy: domination of the country by a foreign imperialist power, incapacity of the domestic bourgeoisie to resolve certain burning democratic issues. Isn't this the kind of analysis that communists in many other countries are starting to put forward? Take, for example, the recent evolution of the fraternal parties of the Party of Labour of Albania throughout Western Europe. They have all declared that the struggle against sectarianism is key in their mass work, and they have all begun to build popular fronts to fight fascism and war. Is this just a tactic? Or is it a step towards making "popular democracy" the strategic path for these parties?

* * *

All of these problems are far from being academic. The conditions in the advanced capitalist countries are

roughly similar: deepening economic crisis, growing repression and fascism, the threat of world imperialist war. The communists in these countries face some very immediate choices about how they will act — choices that will have enormous consequences for their ability to develop a genuinely revolutionary and proletarian movement. And the choices that are made will be determined, in large part, by their understanding of the questions that we are debating here.

Faced with this situation, there are some who want to pretend that these choices won't involve any kind of compromises, even in the immediate battles. The RCP-USA is a good example of this kind of thinking. Their new programme has **no** immediate demands; instead it puts forward the task of seizing political power in the next few years.

But the existence of this kind of "leftist" reaction should not sidetrack us. If we look more broadly at all the political forces active in the workers' movement in the advanced capitalist countries, then there is one thing that is very clear. And that is the domination of a **rightist** and **nationalist** line on the path of the revolution. Faced with this situation, the revolutionary forces have grave responsibilities. The capitalists would like nothing better than to have the masses mobilizing mainly against the **foreign** enemy. And they already have a host of opportunist organizations trying to convince the working people that this is what must be done. Nothing could be more disastrous than to have the communist movement itself giving in to these chauvinist pressures, rather than learning how to correctly struggle against them.

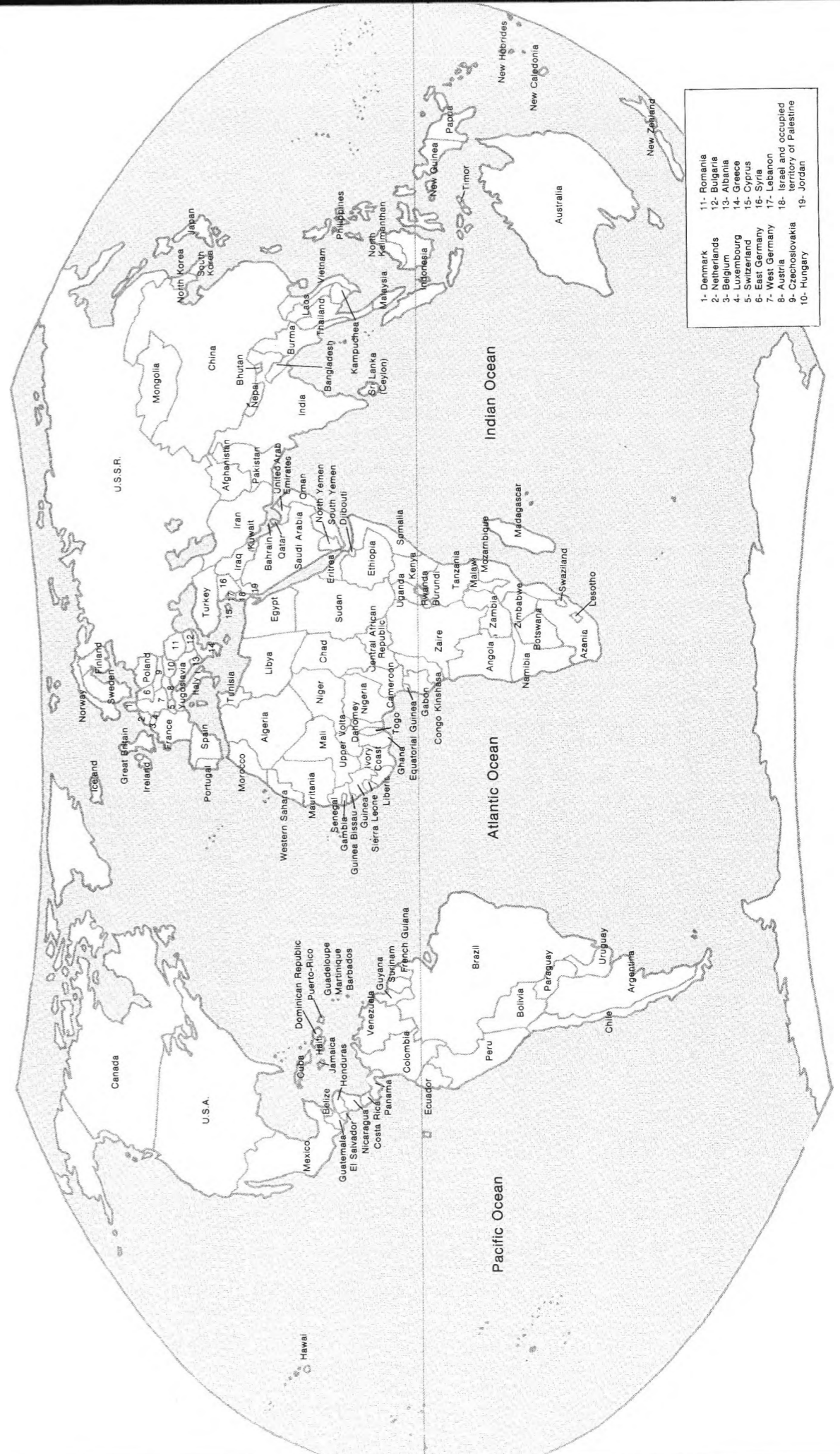
At the same time, it would be wrong to pretend that these problems of revolutionary strategy date from the deepening of the crisis in the last few years. The deepening crisis only highlights the confusions and errors in the programmes of the communist forces that have existed for many years. For a long time now, it has been very difficult to distinguish the communists from the different revisionists in the advanced capitalist countries on the basic questions of **political programme**. And nowhere has the programmatic confusion been greater than on the question of national liberation as a strategy for these countries.

If the communists are going to resolve this problem then we are going to have to go to the heart of the matter. And that can only mean a really critical look at our own history. Look at the recent struggle against the "theory of the

three worlds". How many groups conducted this struggle on the basis of the theory of the "two superpowers", and thus left the door open to maintaining a nationalist line for their own country? And how many still defend this kind of understanding today? Why is it that the leading communist parties from the socialist countries have generally defended a strategy of national liberation for the less powerful imperialist countries — the CP of China with its "Letter in 25 points", the Party of Labour of Albania in its publications today? How much has this been based on a scientific analysis of the class relations in these countries — and how much on the desire of the socialist countries to isolate the most powerful imperialists through their policy of foreign relations? When will we be capable of scientifically summing up the experience of the Communist International in the 1930's, and of distinguishing the kinds of compromises and alliances that were needed to fight fascism, from the basic ideological confusions that led so many parties to liquidate the very goal of proletarian revolution?

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We think that this debate is sufficiently important that we should certainly return to it in future issues. Our readers who agree with this should send us any texts or comments that could help promote a serious exchange of views.



WEST GERMANY

Joint declarations on West German imperialism

The following texts are excerpts from two different Common Declarations that were made by communist organizations from different countries. The parts of these declarations that we are printing here reflect the unity of these organizations concerning the nature of the struggle against West German imperialism.

The first text is taken from a Common Declaration made by the following organizations: the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria, Geigen die Stromung from West Germany, Westberliner Kommunist, and the Communist Party of Turkey Marxist-Leninist, in August, 1979. The part we are printing addresses the imperialist nature of West Germany and the importance for communists to directly attack this enemy. The following are also points of agreements shared by its authors:

- that this polemic is directed against many of the communist groups in West Germany, but particularly the CP of Germany (formerly the CP of Germany ML), because of the rightist errors that are made on the question of German imperialism;
- that it is wrong for the communists of West Germany to organize in Westberlin and in East Germany; that these are separate states in which separate communist parties must be created; and that those who ignore this are committing nationalist and chauvinistic errors;

- that it plays into the hands of West German imperialism and revanchism when the revolutionaries mobilize for the independence and unification of Germany outside of the framework of the struggle for socialist revolution;

- that it is completely wrong for communists to struggle mainly against sectarianism; that the main struggle is against revisionism; and that the creation of genuine communist parties depends on a stage in which theoretical and propaganda tasks are made principal.

The second text is from a leaflet distributed by these same four organizations. This leaflet was circulated in German, Turkish, and English to criticize the fourth International Youth Camp held in the summer of 1980. The leaflet as a whole focuses on the undemocratic attitudes of the organizers of this camp, and their fear of ideological debate. The part we are producing makes concrete criticisms of the action programme expressed in the Appeal put forward by the CP of Germany, which hosted this camp.

For the first document, only the first and last parts represent the complete original text. The two middle portions are a summary. The English translation is by IN STRUGGLE!

On the nature of West German imperialism

West-German imperialism, the successor to Hitler's fascism, is today a big imperialist power. West Germany is an oppressor imperialist State. West Germany is certainly not a second-rate imperialist power today; it is already, in conformity with the laws of imperialism, a big imperialist power. Emphasizing this reality is a very important line of demarcation between Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries, on the one hand, and revisionists and opportunists on the other.

The Second World War resulted in a major defeat for German imperialism, which had for the second time taken the offensive in an attempt to achieve a new partition of the world in its favour. The

war left German imperialism defeated and exhausted but not destroyed. As Stalin pointed out, Germany had been put on "short rations", principally by U.S. imperialism; it was under the "American yoke". As early as the 1950s Stalin argued against the revisionist point of view which said that U.S. imperialists had become "overlord" once and for all. Stalin insisted that, on the contrary, West Germany was still a highly industrialized imperialist country, even though it did not have the immediate potential to act as a big imperialist power right after World War Two. The law of the uneven development of capitalist countries meant that sooner or later the

American yoke would be shaken off and Germany would once again embark on an independent path.

In the 1950's, the revisionist leaders of the Communist Party of Germany were already arguing that there could no longer be an "independent development" of West-German imperialism. Stalin fought this revisionist point of view and other similar views held by the leaders of some communist parties in his book, *Economic problems of socialism in the U.S.S.R.* (1952). What he wrote then is still very useful in combating all the revisionist points of view today on West-German imperialism. In discussing the possibility of an inter-imperialist war, Stalin wrote: "After the First World War, it was similarly believed that Germany had been definitively put out of action, just as certain comrades now believe that Japan and Germany have been definitively put out of action.... In spite of this, Germany rose to her feet again as a great power within the space of some fifteen or twenty years after her defeat, having broken out of bondage and taken the path of independent development.... What guarantee is there, then, that Germany and Japan will not rise to their feet again, will not attempt to break out of American bondage and live their own independent lives? I think there is no such guarantee."¹

Events soon proved that Stalin was right and the revisionists were wrong. West Germany began building a formidable army as early as the 1950s, and by the 1960s the once defeated German imperialists in West Germany had begun to export capital on a large scale. They wound up putting other countries into debt to them. Between the mid-1960s and the early 1970s, West-German imperialism reemerged as a big imperialist power, with all the characteristics of such powers that Lenin analysed more than 60 years ago.

All current developments show that attempts to minimize West-German imperialism are wrong. Marxist-Leninists everywhere, and especially in West Germany, must stop trying to reduce the number of big imperialist powers at work in the world to only two — U.S. imperialism and Russian social

imperialism — with the "theory of the superpowers".

West-German imperialists are growing stronger and stronger and contending with the other big imperialist powers — U.S. imperialism, Russian social imperialism, British, French and Japanese imperialism, etc. The world was divided up some 80 years ago. A new partition, reflecting the new relations of forces, cannot occur peacefully; sooner or later there must be a violent military confrontation between the big imperialist powers. Therefore, Marxist-Leninists in West Germany decisively reject the "theory of the superpowers" and expose West-German imperialism as a dangerous warmonger in its own right that is preparing for imperialist war, that is already supporting military operations (in Somalia, for example), that foments local wars, that openly threatens the oil-producing countries with war and that will also participate in or even foment imperialist world war. For, like all big imperialist powers, it is out for world domination.

West-German imperialism means militarism and revanchism
(résumé by IN STRUGGLE!)

After having waged two world wars in a relatively short period of time, West-German imperialism has rebuilt a huge army that is the second largest in NATO, with 700,000 soldiers plus the reserves. Militarization is not only a matter of the 37 billion Deutschmarks (DM) in the 'official' military budget; it affects all aspects of life, from building roads to the planning of scientific research, and from children's education to television programmes. Priority is given to the arms industry, producing Leopard tanks, radar systems, nuclear weapons, etc. The leading companies in this field have names like Krupp, Siemens and Messerschmidt — all well-known manufacturers under Hitler.

West-German imperialism still cherishes its dream of a "great German Reich". But it is also working hard to establish its presence in various parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America. West-German imperialism exported 62 billion DM of capital in direct private investments between 1952 and 1979. Other countries' foreign debt to West-German imperialism added up to approximately 112 billion DM in 1979.

West German imperialism has thus been able to rake in enormous superprofits. A small part of these profits has been used to corrupt and politically and ideologically influence sectors of the urban petty bourgeoisie and labour aristocracy.

West German imperialism pillages Turkey
(résumé by IN STRUGGLE!)

The four organizations that have signed this text consider that Turkey, a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, is a preferred target of West-German imperialism's pillaging. West Germany

In 1978, Turkey's foreign debt to West Germany amounted to approximately 2 billion DM.

- 12% of the capital exported by West Germany has gone to Turkey (as of 1978).

- West Germany has sent Turkey 4 billion DM in military supplies and funds to develop the arms industry.

- West-German imperialism is a slave trader. It has imported 600,000 workers from Turkey who are deprived of even the most basic political rights.

- The political police in the two countries co-operate closely.

Lastly, the text points out the extent of West Germany's economic presence in a country as developed as Austria, where there is a growing risk of "economic annexation" by Germany.

Death to West-German imperialism
(original text)

What fundamentally characterizes the situation in West Germany today is **militarization and a growing trend towards fascism** in all aspects of life. With this comes greater and greater exploitation of workers. This militarization and trend towards fascism thus contradict the opportunists' point of view both on preparations for repressing revolution and preparations for imperialist war.

In West Germany, the massive campaign to suppress the so-called "terrorists" has accustomed the masses of the people to searches and systematic surveillance and regulation similar to wartime conditions.

The building up of the State's repressive apparatus, especially the special units used against revolutionary forces, the secret police and the military..., the establishment of a vast computerized system of surveillance: **this is the main aspect of the trend towards fascism today**, although the State apparatus encourages and generally controls the activities of fascist gangsters (including the "Grey Wolves" of Turkey) who are increasingly active.

One of the specific features of the situation is the vast campaign launched against the Organization of Iranian Students, CISNU. The West-German imperialists launched this campaign as

part of their drive towards fascism after they had banned GUPS and GUPA, the organizations of Palestinian workers and students. In 1979, they also launched the most extensive campaign ever seen against ATIF and ATÖF, the organizations of Turkish workers and students. In their statements to the press in the framework of this campaign, they demonstrated a special hatred for the Communist Party of Turkey (Marxist-Leninist).

The growing exploitation of the West-German working class spurs on the economic struggle of workers in West Germany. West-German imperialists are especially worried about the unity forged by workers in the struggle and the impressive show of solidarity by workers from Turkey, who have stood side by side with West-German workers in a series of economic strikes in recent years.

On the political level, the West-German imperialists are trying to divert the working class and popular masses from their fundamental political task.

In the coming period, this task will be to clearly expose and discredit both Schmidt's band of social democrats and Strauss's clique of Christian Democrats. Both these gangs want power in the coming years. They must be exposed as **two sections of the same imperialist monopolist bourgeoisie**, two horses from the same stable. Although in different ways, they both want to fool various sections of the popular masses and lead them down the road to fascism and preparations for war. They are both docile tools of West-German imperialism, militarism and revanchism....

In this struggle against West-German imperialism, we must combat all the attempts by the opportunists, who see one or the other faction of the West-German monopoly bourgeoisie as better, more peaceful, more democratic than the others. It doesn't matter whether Strauss or Schmidt or both of them together are in power. Stepped-up war preparations, the growing trend towards fascism and increased exploitation of workers in West Germany and peoples in other countries must be fought at all costs.

The goal of the daily economic, anti-fascist and anti-imperialist struggle against West-German imperialism must be in line with the goal of socialist revolution in West Germany, namely the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat....

1. J.V. Stalin, *Economic problems of socialism in the U.S.S.R.*, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, pp. 35-36.

On the political struggle against West German imperialism

The "Appeal", which is the political programme of the camp, is a document of pure economism and reformism

In the appeal, a series of demands are listed: "No more brutal exploitation and oppression of children! No more fascist, reactionary and militarist education! A qualified vocational training and a place of work for every youth! No more disparagement of girls! Equal pay for equal work!" etc. We are not at all against putting forward these and similar economic and democratic demands. (But in this platform, there also exist such demands as the "prohibition of the use of the armed forces against the people", which are nonsensical, completely wrong and spread illusions about the nature of the imperialist state and its back-bone, the army.) Nevertheless, unless these economic and democratic demands — which may well be solved within the framework of the existing order — are combined with the propaganda that there **will not be a radical change** in the condition of the labouring and student youth, this does not but mean economism and reformism. Unless revolution is propagandised as **the only way** for the genuine liberation of all toilers — and the genuine liberation of the youth as well — the economic and democratic demands put forward will only serve to lull toilers to sleep, spread illusions and chain the toilers to the existing order. In the appeal, there is not even a word about the **necessity of the violent revolution** as the only way forward to genuine liberation of the labouring and the student youth. But this is not all. The basic demand of the appeal is: "**We want the right to live happily in freedom and democracy**". thus youth are given the idea that such a life is possible within the existing order, that is, the order of imperialism, capitalism, comprador capitalism and the feudal landlords. This is nothing but spreading outright social-democratic and revisionist illusions. Apparently the camp organisers will defeat imperialism and fascism through "economic and democratic struggles".

This understanding which permeates the whole platform prepared under the leadership of these self-styled Marxist-Leninists shows that they have nothing whatever to do with Marxism-Leninism.

They are the purest economists and reformists. Any social-democrat, any reformist or revisionist could easily appendage their name to such a platform.

Struggle against Strauss — for Schmidt?

The appeal deals with the situation in West Germany, too. After reminding us that the camp coincides with the "sharpest period of the election campaign", it demands that the camp be utilized as an effective tool in the "Stop Strauss" campaign.

For the camp organisers, "Strauss" means "reaction, fascism and war". He "poses the danger of a new '33" (1933 being when the Nazis seized power). Therefore "Strauss must be stopped." And how? Simple. With an election campaign! With the judicious use of the really powerful weapon (!) called the vote! But the platform does not stop there. The platform makes no mention of the fact that

— The SPD/FDP (the Social Democratic Party and the Free Democratic Party presently in the seat of government in West Germany) and the CDU/CSU (the Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Social Union presently the opposition) are in the service of West German monopoly capital and essential no different;

— The SPD/FDP government are behind **internal fascistisation** and **external war preparations**;

— Chancellor Schmidt of the SPD served as an officer in the Nazi army just as President Carstens of the CDU did;

— For the people, the alternative of Schmidt or Strauss is no different from a choice between "the plague or cholera".

In short, the platform makes free-of-charge election propaganda for the SPD and Schmidt, the lesser of the two evils, under the guise of "struggle against reaction, fascism and war". Such an "election campaign" no doubt serves the West German imperialism, not labouring and student youth.

Camp organisers don't even mention West German imperialism

At an anti-fascist anti-imperialist camp held in West Germany, you would logically expect that propaganda would be made against revived West

German imperialism and its revanchism and militarism. Not so at this camp. **No mention of the West German imperialism at all throughout the platform, not even once.** Where it mentions imperialist war, war preparations and "imperialist great powers", it is only the "Russkies" and the "Amis" (short for Americans; even the terms openly testify to the chauvinism of their authors). Not a word about the war preparations of the West German monopoly capitalists (presuming for the moment that great imperialist powers like France, Britain, etc. were just forgotten). **In any case, the camp organisers do not see combating West German imperialism, revanchism and militarism as a task before them.** It is impossible to explain the omission of a stand on this issue in any other way.

The platform does not utter a word, either, about the oppression and exploitation of countries like Turkey, Iran, etc. by West German imperialism or about the unavoidable duty of anti-imperialists and anti-fascists to expose it. The camp organisers, and at the head of them all, the "host", the CP of Germany ML, uphold social-chauvinist ideology and policies concealed behind "left" phrases. They try to keep West German imperialism — the main enemy of the proletarian revolution in West Germany and an avowed enemy of the peoples of the world — out of the line of fire of the revolution.

Against imperialist war — for pacifism?

An urgent task of the toilers and revolutionary youth of the world today is to fight the war preparations of the imperialist powers. But this must mean doing propaganda for the most effective weapon against imperialist war: **the destruction of imperialism through revolutions**, through people's war and national liberation wars. Our propaganda must say that the ending of imperialist war can only be achieved through revolutionary wars. **The platform talks only about "the peace and friendship of the peoples", and makes no propaganda for the necessity of revolutionary wars.** This is sufficient evidence that the camp organisers are submerged in the mire of pacifism.

An action programme to fight war and fascism

The following text is by the Communist Party of Germany (formerly the CP of Germany ML). The 3rd Congress of this party, held in December, 1976, adopted its basic programme. This programme identifies West Germany as an imperialist country and calls for a one-stage socialist revolution. The 4th Congress of this party, held in December 1978, called for a decisive break with sectarianism in mass work. Since then the party has been very active in trying to build united mass activity against the threat of war and fascism. Thus during the elections in Germany in the fall of 1980, it mobilized on the basis of the necessity to "Stop Strauss".

This party's current practical activities are concretized in this programme for immediate action for West Germany and West Berlin, adopted in the summer of 1979. The CP of Germany sees this action programme as an important break with its past tendency to underestimate the importance of the struggle for reforms.

We are printing this text because it is a good example not only of a concrete action programme to fight fascism and war, but of the tendency among many Marxist-Leninists to base such a programme largely on the struggle against foreign imperialist forces, rather than that against their own imperialist bourgeoisie. The positions put forward in this action programme are one example of the kinds of positions criticized in the preceding Common Declarations concerning West Germany.

The English translation is by IN STRUGGLE!. The first two points are a summary of the text; the rest is the original text.

Action programme of the Communist Party of Germany

Point 1:
For the improvement of the workers' living conditions

(summary by IN STRUGGLE!)

This part includes the following demands:

- work for everyone, with a 35-hour work week;
- higher salaries and retirement at the age of 60; lower taxes;
- equal pay for equal work;
- decent housing for the masses and an end to real estate speculation.

Point 2:
For liberty and democracy

(summary by IN STRUGGLE!)

This part includes the following demands:

- outlawing the racist and fascist organizations;
- banning all fascist propaganda;
- end the emergency laws;
- full freedom of speech and of the press;
- against the blacklisting of civil servants;
- unlimited right to strike and an end to lock-outs;

- struggle against the union bureaucrats;
- equality of women in all fields.

Point 3:
For Peace and Friendship Between the Worlds' Peoples! Defend the National Interests of the German People!

(complete text)

The German people have already been sacrificed to the interests of the German imperialist robbers during two world wars. Today there is a lot of talk about peace and disarmament. But the two superpowers, and their aggressive military blocs of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, are armed and are facing each other on the soil of our Fatherland. While the talk of disarmament and détente goes on, Bonn is clearly rearming — just like Washington and Moscow. Today the German Federal Republic is the third strongest military power in the world. The West German imperialists are once again preparing to take part in the struggle amongst the great powers for world domination. They have never abandoned the old dream of a Great Germany, of the reconquest of the

German Democratic Republic and of the "lost" East. Old generals of the Wehrmacht and the young militarists they have trained set the tone in the Bundeswehr (the current army), while all political initiative and progressive union activity in the Bundeswehr is met with persecution and repression.

Therefore:

— Down with all atomic, biological, and chemical weapons of extermination on German soil! Stop producing all offensive weapons, and destroy the ones that exist!

— Freedom for political and trade union activity in the Bundeswehr!

The German bourgeoisie has always tried to use the national sentiments of the German people to win support for its war plans. It is therefore clear that we must fight the great power ambitions of the capitalists. The German people want an end to national division; they want an end to the inhuman borders of the Wall (in Berlin), of barbed wire and mine fields. They want a Germany that is unified and independent, but, above all, peaceful. A unified Germany dominated by the imperialist or social-imperialist war-mongers, however, would constitute a terrible menace for the German and European peoples. That is why we, the communists, declare: we do not accept the national division of Germany, but we oppose all the attempts by the reactionaries to build a unified imperialist Great Germany. A unified Germany is really not in the interests of the German and world's people unless it is socialist. This is why our Party organizes in the German Federal Republic, in the German Democratic Republic, and in West Berlin. And it is in this spirit that we support all initiatives, in West Germany and in West Berlin, that will preserve the national interests of our people and prevent Germany from becoming a battlefield in a new world war.

— For the right of self-determination of the German people! The German Federal Republic must withdraw from NATO and the European Economic Community, and declare its neutrality!

— Withdraw all foreign troops from German territory!

— There must be a non-aggression pact between the two German States, and full State recognition of the German

Democratic Republic!

* * *

Proletarians and Working People!

(complete text)

We, the communists, are proposing to you this programme of action, for the common struggle against capital and its government, against reaction and fascism. It is a programme which is in the interests of the immense majority of the population and against the interests of a tiny minority of exploiters. It is a programme for all those who do not want to live any longer with economic difficulties and to further

tighten their belts. It is for those who recognize the necessity to firmly halt the forward march of reaction and fascism, before we arrive at another 1933. It is for those who want to stop another imperialist war and to defend the national interests of our people.

This programme is not an electoral programme, but a programme of revolutionary class struggle. We communists have larger objectives than those laid out in this action programme.

We want the overthrow of capitalism by socialist revolution, the establishment of proletarian dictatorship and the building of socialism. Our goal is a united, independent, and socialist Germany. And we are convinced that our

fundamental objectives correspond to the interests of the working class and all working people. But we also know that there are many who do not agree with us in this regard: including union activists, anti-fascists, and people fighting imperialist war and defending our national interests.

These different understandings are not, and must not be, a barrier to common struggle. Distrust and division within the workers movement has always served capital and reaction. The united front of all working people fighting for their interests is absolutely necessary. It can and must be built, and it will triumph!

NEW ZEALAND

New Zealand communists on revolutionary strategy

The following two texts are taken from the publications of the Communist Party of New Zealand, a party which has militantly opposed both Soviet and Chinese revisionism. The first text is part of a document published in the struggle against the Chinese "three worlds theory", in September 1978. The complete text, entitled *Against the New Revisionism*, was a report of the extended plenum of the National Committee of the party. The second text is an agitational article from the party's newspaper, the *Peoples Voice*, from November 10th, 1980.

Together these two texts are representative of both the real advances and the remaining ambiguities in the polemic waged by Marxist-Leninists against the "three worlds theory". The CP of New Zealand opposes the idea of "two-stage revolution" for the advanced capitalist countries. It identifies the New Zealand bourgeoisie as a monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie, and even talks about the international investments of this bourgeoisie. But the CP of New Zealand never identifies this bourgeoisie as imperialist. And it ends up analysing the situation in New Zealand and the Philippines as basically the same.

On two stage revolution

Since E. F. Hill began his open interference in the internal affairs of the Communist Party of New Zealand we have pointed out that he was also attempting to impose an opportunist line of two-stage revolution on our Party. What we did not say publicly till now was that this attempt was bound up with the three worlds theory and China's new revisionism.

Firstly, let us restate our own Party's stand, repeated many times in our publications over the years, that New Zealand is a developed capitalist country with a system of state monopoly capitalism, and that it grew up as a bourgeois democracy having no feudal economic relations to get rid of. Thus, the

basic contradiction in New Zealand as a developed capitalist country is that between the working class and the capitalist class, headed by the monopoly capitalist section. Consequently, the working class faces a directly socialist revolution. This also conforms to world development, in an epoch where the world system of capitalism in its imperialist stage is ripe for revolution.

The contradiction between the working class and the capitalist class, as all Marxist-Leninists know, is resolved by socialist revolution. Except in extraordinary circumstances such as occupation by a foreign imperialist army, there is not the slightest need in advanced capitalist countries for any phoney intermediate stage such as an artificially-concocted "revolution" for national independence. The insertion of such a stage is nothing but a justification for collaboration with one's own capitalist class.

This, in fact, is just what the three worlds theory leads to. It requires that all class forces in every country, and internationally, have to be united; in words, against both superpowers, but in practice, only against the Soviet Union.

Thus, parties such as the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), declaring for the three worlds theory, regard it as their "patriotic" duty to unite with their own "patriotic" capitalist class, and try to deceive the workers with the idiotic fable that their class enemy, the capitalists, will support the workers in a "revolution" for "national independence". Thus, they propagate chauvinism and class collaboration instead of class consciousness.

Various parties and splinter groups in the advanced capitalist countries of Europe and elsewhere have also been declaring for the three worlds theory and two-stage revolution, seeking to influence their countries' working masses to take the road of class collaboration and revisionism.

Because of this trend, our Party publicly reaffirmed its basic line of class struggle and proletarian socialist revolution in the May 22nd issue of the *Peoples Voice*, although at that time we did not openly criticise the three worlds theory or any Party other than the CPA (ML) which was both openly and secretly attacking us. In our May 22nd statement we said:

"Any attempt to try to insert an intermediate stage between

capitalism and the dictatorship of the proletariat is opportunism and revisionism. The adoption of a line of an intermediate stage of national democratic, people's democratic, or anti-imperialist revolution, however correct for many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, is nothing but class collaboration in regard to developed New Zealand. It means collaborating with ones 'own' capitalist class, uniting with this class — who are thoroughly pro-imperialist — and sowing illusions among the working class and the masses that their exploiters and class enemy are really their friend and ally, willing to fight under the leadership of the working class and its party for liberation from imperialism!" And further: "The Communist Party of New Zealand follows a consistent line of revolutionary class struggle in New Zealand for the aim of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Internationally it unites with the working class of the developed capitalist countries in the revolutionary struggle for socialism and against imperialism and capitalism, particularly against the two imperialist superpowers, the biggest world exploiters, US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. It fights both in theory and practice to unite the working class of New Zealand with the struggle of the oppressed peoples for liberation from imperialism and their internal reactionaries. It fights also for the widest unity between all peoples against superpower domination and drive to world war.

New Zealand and the Philippines

During his many travels abroad, Prime Minister Muldoon feels nowhere more at home than when in the Philippines. On his last visit there earlier this year (1980 — ed. note), the Philippines Government ordered that a special gold medal be struck to commemorate the great occasion.

It is very fitting that the twin images of Marcos and Muldoon should be stamped on the medal, for in practice they are very much alike. Both swear undying allegiance to the same imperialist power, the United States. Both adopt reactionary political measures to create conditions favourable to this imperialism.

* * *

An economic crisis grips the Philippines as it does New Zealand. Both Governments legislate and enforce the total burden of the crisis on to workers. Rising prices, inflation, stagnating growth and unemployment are features of the crisis as it effects both countries.

From March last year to March 1980, cutbacks in industry in the Philippines caused the sacking of 12,005 workers in metropolitan Manila alone.

The American Chamber of Commerce (which incidentally, has an active branch operating in New Zealand) put pressure on Marcos to enforce a 10-hour day for workers with only half an hour for lunch.

The economy is based mainly on the extraction and export of lightly proces-

sed raw materials needed in the United States. In turn, the US forces the Philippines to import higher priced manufactured goods, thus creating a deficit in the balance of trade.

International financial monopolies based in the United States — the IMF and World Bank — are only too willing to make up the difference, at a price!

The overseas debt of the Philippines amounted to \$9.78 billion in 1979. By June this year it had climbed to \$11.05 billion. It all sounds very familiar, doesn't it?

Inflation is forcing a rapid increase in the price of goods in the Philippines, as it is here. In 1979 the cost of fuel, light and water increased by 31.4 per cent. In February this year, gas prices increased by 50 per cent, kerosene, diesel oil and industrial fuel by 36 per cent.

On August 30 this year oil prices were raised again and officials said that there will probably be another increase before the year is out. The economy is expected to show a growth rate this year of less than 4 per cent, the slowest rate of all the ASEAN countries.

The IMF noted that the Philippines had the highest inflation rate in Asia last year. In January this year, the inflation rate was 23.7 per cent.

Minimum wages in the Philippines in 1979 were lower than those of Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea and Singapore. The only country in the region with lower wage rates is Indonesia, another favourite of Mul-

"The Communist Party of New Zealand develops its line in conformity with proletarian internationalism and its own practice in revolutionary class struggle. It wages consistent struggle for strict adherence to the basic principles of Marxism and the correct relations between fraternal parties, which includes non-interference in the internal affairs of other parties."

As we have already seen, and shall further demonstrate, it is not we who have thrown overboard "the basic principles of Marxism and the correct relations between fraternal parties" but the Hill group of revisionists in Australia and, standing behind them, the revisionist clique at the head of the CPC who have usurped power in China. Using the bourgeois weapons of intrigue and conspiracy they have attacked and tried to destroy our Party because it would not toe the revisionist line.

We said in our May 22nd statement: "In the present developing crisis of capitalism in New Zealand and abroad, the imperialist bourgeoisie are seeking to smash the Communist Party of New Zealand because it is in the forefront of the struggle in defence of the basic interests of the working class and the mass of the people. The imperialists are being aided by a small gang of petty-bourgeois elements within the Party." And we might well have added, directed by a gang of petty-bourgeois elements from outside, in Australia and China!

doon's.

With high unemployment, low wages and harsh conditions for those working, the health of the people is suffering terribly. In 1979, 83 per cent of all pre-school children examined by health authorities showed signs of malnutrition.

According to the Asian Development Bank, the caloric consumption of Filipino people last year was the lowest in Asia and in 1980 reported as being "not significantly higher than in Bangladesh".

A telling indictment of the Marcos regime is that the minimum wage is one third of what the Government itself defines as being needed to provide for the basic requirements of the people.

So it is in these terrible conditions that people in the Philippines must live. The military dictatorship, headed by Marcos, works in the interests of United States imperialism so that multinational companies, financial and industrial, can make huge profits from cheaply priced labour and abundant cheap supplies of natural resources.

This is the same imperialist power which dominates New Zealand economically, politically and militarily. It would dearly love exactly the same conditions to exist in New Zealand as do in the Philippines.

The local capitalist class and their politicians are putting in some hard work to achieve this end. Compared to only 10 years ago wages, conditions and rights have all declined markedly in direct proportion to the increase in profits and dividends and the increasing trend to fascism.

CANADA

Imperialism and the struggle against opportunism

The following two texts are taken from the publications of the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada IN STRUGGLE!. They are representative of the many polemics published by this organization to criticize the idea that the defense of national independence is a strategic task within the imperialist countries.

The first text is directed against different Canadian political forces that ally themselves with the Canadian imperialists in their desire to fight against foreign domination. It was published originally as the editorial in the October-November, 1978 edition (no. 13) of *Proletarian Unity*, the theoretical journal of IN STRUGGLE!.

The second text criticizes the Party of Labour of Albania for its position calling for a national liberation strategy in the imperialist countries of Western Europe. It is part of an article commenting on Enver Hoxha's book *Euro-Communism is Anti-Communism*. The article was written by the Secretary-General of IN STRUGGLE!, Charles Gagnon, and published in the Fall, 1980 (no. 22) edition of *Proletarian Unity*.

This second document, which was mentioned in *Forum* no. 2, was published as part of a series of working documents on the problem of revisionism. These documents do not represent the official positions of IN STRUGGLE!, they are published for discussion and debate.

The struggle against Canadian imperialism cannot be separated from the struggle against opportunism

There was the betrayal by social democracy, whose Standard-bearer in Canada is the NDP(1); there was the revisionist betrayal by the Communist Party of Canada (CP) in the forties; and today opportunism is once again making headway. It would be wrong to hide this fact. Today, this new victory of the bourgeois point of view takes the form of the "three worlds theory" and social chauvinism, collaboration and compromise with the imperialist bourgeoisie, in particular with our "own" bourgeoisie, the Canadian imperialist bourgeoisie. And so alongside of the NDP's Broadbent and the CP's Kashtan, we now have the new defenders of social-chauvinism, represented first and foremost in Canada by the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist)(2). This group invokes the danger of a world war to justify their collaboration with imperialism, just as the CP did in the forties. Victory for opportunism and revisionism, yes! An ignoble victory which won't last long, that's for sure! But it is a victory, especially for imperialism, particularly Canadian imperialism!

"It's a weak bourgeoisie which isn't able to fight for hegemony", it's not even able to defend the independence of

the country "consistently", a bourgeoisie which must be defended against the two superpowers — these are the kind of things we find written in *The Forge* (organ of the League), the *Canadian Tribune* (organ of the CP) and *Last Post*, and almost word for word at that, as they try to explain to the masses the nature of the Canadian bourgeoisie. In fact, these affirmations have but one goal: to hide reality from the working class, to keep it hanging around twiddling its thumbs, while the bourgeoisie, which is supposedly so threatened, is in full expansion.

* * *

But the Canadian bourgeoisie is neither on its death bed nor in agony. Events over the past year illustrate this all too clearly. The Canadian bourgeoisie has risen to fifth place among the imperialist powers, outranking even countries like France and Italy in investments throughout the world. Investing primarily in regions like Europe and the USA, but in almost all the Latin American and many African countries as well, Canadian imperialism is getting more than its fair share of the pie which imperialists around the world divide up among themselves. And the Canadian bourgeoisie is in an excellent position to do so. For many years now, it has assured itself a foothold in all the imperialist alliances in the Western world. From NATO to NORAD, from the old alliance of the British Commonwealth countries to the organization of francophone countries which opens the door to numerous African countries, not to mention its special links with the European Common Market, and its participation in the meeting of the seven largest imperialist countries in the Western world held in Bonn: everywhere, the Canadian imperialist bourgeoisie practises the same policy, a policy of conquering new international markets, a policy of rivalry with other imperialist powers. And so in the past year, for example, we witnessed an ever-increasing participation of large Canadian banks in major international consortiums.

The rise of Canadian imperialism must be situated in the context of the crisis of the world imperialist system. It is economic crisis in which the rivalries between the monopolies are sharper than ever, and a political crisis in which the rapacity of the USA, the USSR and all the imperialist powers gives rise to an ever-increasing danger of a new imperialist world war. On the military level, the Canadian bourgeoisie is doing everything in its power to get the big end of the stick. Through its participation in NORAD and NATO and its militaristic propaganda, which asks young Canadian workers "Don't you have something better to do than punch in every morning? Yes! Join the armed forces", the Canadian bourgeoisie is actively participating in preparations for a third imperialist world war. \$1.5 billion budgets destined for building battleships, \$2.3 for fighter planes, the purchase of 128 new Leopard C-1 tanks, the "most modern in the western world" — all of this is supposed to assure that the Canadian bourgeoisie comes out of the next imperialist war in top shape. Imperialist wars have always been the occasion for important changes in the balance of imperialist power. The Second World War made the USA into a superpower whose hegemony in Europe, Africa and Latin America was unchallenged for some years. Canada,

too, came out of the war stronger and seconded U.S. imperialism in the vast enterprise of the Marshall Plan in Europe by selling wheat and natural resources at extremely high prices. Canadian imperialists, who have only grown stronger since, undoubtedly await the third world war with the firm intention of coming out of it a winner.

But the policy of Canadian imperialism is not only a matter of policy with regard to other imperialist powers. It is first and foremost the domination of monopoly Capital here in Canada. Canadian imperialism's growing capacity to step up its rivalry with the other imperialist powers, seize new markets and prepare war, are above all based on its ability to intensify its exploitation and oppression of the Canadian working class and people.

A few months ago, it looked as though the Canadian ruling class was going to try out tripartism and reformism. But tripartite summits and joint committees no longer seem to be the basis of the path chosen by Canadian capitalists. Today, they seem to have chosen a more and more openly reactionary path, without even a "democratic" front, to get themselves out of the crisis.

Keynesian economic theory seems to be going out of fashion with Canadian capitalists. After the Second World War, the economist Keynes advocated solutions somewhat similar to those put forward by social democrats. He emphasized the need for State intervention in the economy to "regulate", as he said, unemployment and inflation. But the economists of the Canadian bourgeoisie now seem to be leaning towards the more openly reactionary path counselled by Friedman, former economic advisor to ex-U.S. president Gerald Ford. According to Friedman and his Canadian disciples, State spending must be cut back, the standard of living of the masses must be curtailed and an unemployment rate of around 6% has to be accepted as normal for advanced capitalist countries. And all this without any cover-up. These are at least some of the economic theories to be found behind the Trudeau government's recent measures, like the cutbacks in the public service, which will swell the ranks of the unemployed with thousands of State employees, and the drastic cutbacks in unemployment insurance.

The rise of Canadian imperialism and its growing participation in "joint ventures" with other imperialists around the world also means a rise in reactionary policies. Capitalists are backing up the revival of "liberal economies" with more specifically political measures. There's the "Right to Work" movement in the Western provinces. And capitalists, up to and including the largest Canadian monopolies, have pressured federalist and chauvinist forces to hurry up and group together in a single common front to prepare the referendum in Quebec, by threatening to withdraw the millions of dollars they have invested in support of the federalist forces.

Alongside and even, we could say, as an extension of all this, a whole series of fascist movements are developing. Take, for example, Anita Bryant's movement, which drew almost 7000 people in Peterborough and 4000 in London to meetings against "atheist" schools. The common characteristic of these movements is that they call for "strong government" to put an end to the "anarchy" which is raging in Canada... Of course, the "anarchy" in question is not the anarchy of the capitalist system. No, it's the anarchy of the union movement and communists. Today such open calls to fascism are freely uttered, and even endorsed by such well-known editorialists as Peter Worthington of the *Toronto Sun* and Roger Lemelin of *La Presse*.

* * *

Despite the undeniable fact that the ambitions of the Cana-

dian imperialists can only be fulfilled through the complete domination of the working class by the Canadian bourgeoisie, there are still those who are ready to encourage their expansionist aims, and who call on the proletariat to support the Canadian bourgeois State. This is the objective role played by the "economic" or "industrial" strategies of the NDP and the last convention of the CLC, which have the avowed objective of developing Canadian exports, developing Canadian monopoly industry, and calling on the State to exercise greater control over the Canadian economy which is "dominated" and "threatened" by foreign imperialists. And underneath its jargon and pretensions, the League plays the same role when it encourages the Canadian bourgeoisie to defend national independence or when it applauds the intervention of UN forces and 700 Canadian troops who, according to the League, will "help to ensure the agreement is implemented"(3) in Namibia — an agreement which is in itself supposed to guarantee the independence of Namibia.

Opportunism in the working-class movement is nothing new. On the contrary, it has dominated and led this movement for decades. And the reason that there are people who support and defend imperialism, even within the working-class movement, is that faction of the working class, the labour aristocracy, is interested, not in combating it, but rather in supporting it with all its might. Imperialism has the particularity of going hand in hand with opportunism and being able to corrupt a tiny faction of the working class, which lives off of its profits and so is quite interested in supporting it. The phenomenon was analysed by Lenin in the case of England:

"Why does England's monopoly explain the (temporary) victory of opportunism in England? Because monopoly yields superprofits, i.e., a surplus of profits over and above the capitalist profits that are normal and customary all over the world. The capitalist can devote a part (and not a small one, at that!) of these superprofits to bribe their own workers, to create something like an alliance (recall the celebrated "alliances" described by the Webbs of English trade unions and employers) between the workers of the given nation and their capitalists against the other countries." (4)

The labour aristocrats are found in the tiny factions of the working class which are particularly privileged; they are the workers who, by their wages, the personal power they have obtained in the organization of work in the factory and the fringe benefits which they enjoy through maintaining exploitation, have a certain interest in seeing imperialism preserved and perpetuated.

It's basically within this faction that we find the social base for opportunism, bourgeois socialism, social chauvinism and revisionism. The current Canadian union centre leaders rely on this faction to propagate conciliation with imperialism rather than open struggle to defeat it. And it's this same tiny faction of workers which petty-bourgeois organizations like the League and the CPC(M-L)(5) try to rally so as to develop influence in the working-class movement. As for the NDP and the CP, well, they've been running after support from this faction for a long time now. It's in an attempt to woo these workers that the League has redoubled its ardour in supporting the Canadian imperialists, plundering, plundering which profits the labour aristocracy.

We must realize that the development of Canadian imperialism goes hand in hand with the development of opportunism in all its forms, be it the older forms (social-democracy and reformism) or the newer ones, from modern revisionism to the "three worlds theory". Whether Canadian imperialism develops in Europe, Latin America or in China, as is currently the case, we always have to deal with people who are ready to

vindicate the Canadian bourgeoisie, traitors who consider that such developments favour the interests of the Canadian working class. As Canadian imperialism develops, the interests of a minority of labour aristocrats tend to diverge more and more from those of most of the working class, whose living conditions deteriorate from day to day. Today, the war between bourgeois socialism defended by Morris, Broadbent, Kashtan (6), and the League's Roger Rachi, and the point of view of the proletarian revolution can only be a war to the finish. On one side, we have a minority of very well-off workers whose leaders and aspiring leaders already dream of their armchair in parliament or their post as chairman of the proletarian party. On the other, we have the incalculable mass of the working class for whom repression, misery and unemployment are daily realities. This is the split which Lenin said is the "pivot of the tactics in the labour movement that are dictated by the objective conditions of the imperialist era." (7)

So today, as yesterday, the struggle against imperialism cannot be separated from the struggle against opportunism in all its forms. The struggle to unite the working class in the revolutionary struggle will be waged together with the struggle against opportunism and its social and political base, the labour aristocracy.

Uniting the Canadian working class around its revolutionary program, the program for the overthrow and destruction of the bourgeois State, means organizing and leading all the Canadian proletariat's manifestations of resistance towards the same goal. It means serving the most basic interests of the working class and the mass of exploited and oppressed people by spreading the proletarian point of view and organizing the revolt which is stirring in the hearts of workers: the revolt of Québec workers against national oppression; the resistance of BC workers to bourgeois chauvinism; the revolt of workers against arbitrary police acts, against the repression of our immigrant brothers and sisters and the Native peoples; the internationalist sentiments of Canadian workers against the torture and repression of the Iranian masses. Yes! Revolt is stirring in the hearts of the workers. What they lack is the consciousness that victory can only be found in a single orientation, in the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeois State, in the path set out by the communist program.

Each worker must realize that there can be no question of unity with the traitorous faction, the tiny minority of his class and its corrupt leaders, with opportunism and social-chauvinism; with these traitors, there can only be struggle. That is the only way that Canadian workers will be able to decide for themselves between a program which supports imperialism and one which has already begun to dig its tomb.

A total split with opportunism and social-chauvinism is not a theoretical question. It is an eminently practical question. Today in our country, it is not the constant sabotage of the resistance movement, but opportunism which represents an open door for fascism. Those who find this affirmation unwarranted or unfounded should take a look at history. Mussolini

The national question in Europe

It would be wrong to say that Hoxha's book does not deal with any question of programme. It deals with one — the national sovereignty of West European countries. Hoxha writes:

"The Eurocommunists do not want to see the existence of a major national

problem, the question of American domination in Western Europe and the need for liberation from it. From the end of the Second World War down to this day, American imperialism has bound this part of Europe with all kinds of political, economic, military, cultural and other chains. Without breaking these chains you cannot have socialism, or even that bourgeois democracy which Eurocommunists praise to the skies." (10)

was editor-in-chief of the socialist organ *Avanti!* before becoming dictator of Italy. Mosley, leader of English fascist movement in the forties, was first a minister in the Labour government; and Pilsudski, leader of the Polish fascist movement had been leader of the Polish socialist party. More recently, didn't Hua Kuo-feng shake hands with the Shah of Iran, whose fascist regime is one of the most barbaric in the world? And still closer to home, haven't the agent provocateurs of the CPC (M-L) organized commandos against communist meetings and anti-imperialist demonstrations?

Not only do social democracy and revisionism (both the old and modern versions) disarm the working class by spreading illusions about the capitalist State and the expansionist aims of the Canadian ruling class; not only do they hide the current rise of reactionary forces in Canada; but the very principles which they put forward, the principles of collaboration, resemble in a lot of ways the fascist theories of "social peace", "national unity" and "strong government": peace between classes, nationalism, strengthening the State and its military apparatus (a demand which the League advanced just a year ago) and anti-communism.

Of course it hasn't come to that yet, just as it hasn't yet come to a third world war. But the bloody experience of the European proletariat in the forties should serve as an example and incite us to be vigilant. It should remind us that defenders of imperialism are still present in the working-class movement. It should also remind us that opportunism and social chauvinism are the consequence of, and the firmest support for, imperialism in the working-class movement. On the economic level, imperialism is absolute monopoly; and on the political level it's reaction right down the line and, in many cases, fascism. The domination of social democracy and revisionism over the Canadian working-class movement and the new victory of the opportunism of the "three worlds theory" leave the door wide open to the repression of the working-class movement.

"The split in socialism", which Lenin spoke about in 1916, has deepened. Today there is a gulf which separates the "socialists" who support imperialism from those who are fighting it. It is essential that we deepen this necessary split and ensure that it is clear in the eyes of all, in order to unite the working class around its communist program. The victory against opportunism will also be the victory of the communist program, which represents the fundamental and immediate interests of the immense majority of Canadian workers.

- (1) New Democratic Party
- (2) Know today as the Workers Communist Party
- (3) *The Forge*, July 28, 1978 (vol. 3, no. 14) p. 13
- (4) Lenin, *Imperialism and the split in socialism*, Collected Works, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, volume 23, p. 114
- (5) Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist)
- (6) Morris of the Canadian Labor Congress, Broadbent of the New Democratic Party, Kashtan of the Communist Party
- (7) Lenin, *Imperialism and the split in socialism*, p. 113

Hoxha is more precise later on when he speaks of the necessity of alliances given the threats of fascism and super-power interference. He writes:

"The Eurocommunists can prattle as much as they like that their countries are free and sovereign, but in fact the Spanish, Italian, Portuguese and other peoples are oppressed and exploited. A bourgeois democracy exists in each of their countries but the state there is bound hand and foot to foreign capital.

The people, the working class do not enjoy genuine democracy and sovereignty, they are not free because everything is controlled by foreign capital." (11)

This political position (incidentally, it is one of the few discussed in any detail in the book) cannot be passed over in silence.

First, it is not fundamentally different from the position of Eurocommunists themselves. For example, at the 22nd congress of the French communist party, Georges Marchais stated:

"Faithful to its tradition, the French communist party is fighting and will continue to fight with all its energy to keep France independent and sovereign, i.e. the capacity to act efficiently and on an international scale and to determine its own people's future. Far from being an outdated idea, national independence is one of the main demands of our time. Winning it, defending it and consolidating it are all questions on the agenda in the contemporary world. There is nothing more pressing or more modern than the struggle for the independence, sovereignty and full development of France. The communist party calls on all the country's democrats and patriots to play their part in this national struggle." (12)

Second, all revisionist parties, beginning with the Canadian one, have

consistently defended the national sovereignty of West European and other Western countries since the Second World War. It was also the position defended by the Chinese communist party in its famous **Proposal Concerning the General Line...** in 1963. In short, this nationalist position was one of the essential factors in the degeneration of the international communist movement in the 1950s and 1960s.

Finally, Hoxha says that the proletariat of European countries must first fight for "genuine democracy and sovereignty" (13) before struggling for socialism because "without breaking these chains (of U.S. domination) you cannot have socialism, or even that bourgeois democracy (is that the same as 'genuine democracy?' — C.G.) which the Eurocommunists praise to the skies." (14)

After that, we can well ask if there have been any useful results of all the fuss made for the past two years over the "three worlds theory" which made the "superpowers" the main enemy of the peoples, including the people in less powerful imperialist countries! The "three worldists", of course, view the U.S.S.R. as the principal of the two main enemies of the peoples of the world. But Hoxha's views and the three worlds theory share the idea that the working class in relatively powerful im-

perialist countries must first defend their national sovereignty against a more powerful imperialist power.

We have explained our position on this question amply in the past and we have shown how this debate brings us back to the central question that split the Comintern from the Second International. Whether this nationalist position is today defended by those who support or oppose the "three worlds theory" changes absolutely nothing. The "independence and socialism" line, at the time of the Second World War and that has acted as a gangrene in the as it is commonly referred to in Canada, a revisionist line that appeared Marxist-Leninist movement ever since, must be firmly rejected and fought.

Charles Gagnon,
Secretary-General of the MLOC
IN STRUGGLE! August 15, 1980

0. Enver Hoxha, *Eurocommunism is anti-communism*, The 8 'Nentori' Publishing House, Tirana, 1980, p. 173
11. *Ibid.*, p. 272
12. PCF, *Le socialisme pour la France*. 22e Congrès du PCF, Editions sociales, Paris, 1976, p. 56 (our translation)
13. Hoxha, *op. cit.*, p. 272
14. *Ibid.*, p. 173

PORTUGAL

The strategy of the Communist Party of Portugal (Reconstructed)

The following two texts are taken from the publications of the Communist Party of Portugal (Reconstructed), which is one of the largest and most influential of the Marxist-Leninist organizations in Europe. They explain both the analysis that leads this party to put forward a strategy of people's democratic revolution, and the kind of political programme this leads them to propose. The positions put forward in this text are similar to those of others who defend the thesis of a people's democratic revolution for other European countries, like Greece or Spain.

The first text consists of excerpts from the Political Resolution of the 2nd Congress of this party, from March 1977. The English translation is by IN STRUGGLE!

The second text is an excerpt from the documents of this party's 3rd Congress, held in June, 1979. This Congress reaffirmed the complete correctness of the strategic path outlined at the 2nd Congress. The English translation of this text is by IN STRUGGLE!

The CP of Portugal (Reconstructed) and the path of revolution

When Portugal entered the capitalist stage of its history, it was both dependent on England and a colonialist country, simultaneously exploiter and exploited, oppressor and oppressed. The result is that it never had a radical bourgeois democratic revolution like the other European countries. Extremely fragile and dependent, the bourgeoisie's efforts to exercise its dictatorship over the Portuguese people and the peoples of the colonies led it to make repeated concessions to imperialism and compromises with the feudal regime. It renounced both its national-democratic tasks and the anti-feudal tasks of the agrarian revolution which were indispensable for the full development of national capitalism.

Thus during the first century and a half emerged a big bourgeoisie composed of exporters and importers, industrial bankers, middlemen speculators, big farmers and landowners. This extremely parasitic bourgeoisie increasingly limited itself to the role of agent and lackey for imperialism, by completely betraying national independence and sovereignty. For more than a century, Portugal was a servant of England. From the moment that it was brought to power through foreign armed intervention which crushed the people in 1847, the big bourgeoisie has followed an uninterrupted policy of abject submission to imperialism. To maintain its hold over the colonies, it began to act as a watchdog and middleman for the imperialists and criminally sent the Portuguese people to be slaughtered in the First World War.

With the establishment of the fascist dictatorship, the big bourgeoisie remained dependent on English imperialism, which assured it its hold over its "colonial empire". At the same time, the big bourgeoisie became an accomplice and lackey for German imperialism. It intervened in the Spanish civil war and economically supported the Nazi-fascist camp during the Second World War. After the war, it chose subordination to U.S., imperialism. It allowed foreign military bases to be installed on national territory and turned the Portuguese army into a detachment submitted to the orders of NATO generals.

After 1961, in its effort to defeat the people's liberation struggles in the colonies, the dominant bourgeoisie ended up placing itself entirely in the hands of imperialism and turned over what was left of national sovereignty, thus turning the Portuguese economy into a branch office and agency for trusts around the world.

With the fall of fascism, the loss of the colonies, the gains by the popular movement and the profound crisis of the capitalist world, the big bourgeoisie had no choice but to place itself unconditionally in the hands of U.S. and German imperialists, accentuating their dependence and thus accelerating the country's ruin.

In analysing the nature of the current stage of the revolution in Portugal, our party takes a decisive aspect into account, namely our country's total dependence on imperialism, given the treacherous and anti-national character of the big bourgeoisie. The particular characteristics of the bourgeois regime in Portugal, which distinguish it from all developed capitalist countries as well as the semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries, result from this. These characteristics are: *On the economic level, the squandering and parasitic big bourgeoisie created a profoundly unbalanced system. Capitalism invaded all spheres of the economy, but did so by combining with the remains of decadent feudalism, thus slowing down the development of the productive forces and distorting them. The national economy is at the mercy of imperialist centres of decision — making that disorganize and ruin it....*

On the political level: unable to govern while abiding by its own constitutional legality, the bourgeoisie has a

tendency to fall back upon reactionary and fascist regimes, and to put down the demands of the labouring masses and petty bourgeoisie with violence.

On the social level: The capitalist regime in Portugal is based on inequalities and injustices which are more explosive than in any other European country. But the stagnation of national life has meant that the country has not experienced great revolutionary movements for more than a century and that the profound contradictions which have built up in our society have not burst....

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

For our Party and for all the revolutionary forces, it is extremely important to understand the character of the people's democratic revolution, how it resembles and how it is different from socialist revolution.

Marxism-Leninism teaches that in order to progress towards socialism, our country must complete the revolutionary transformations which are the historic tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution but which the bourgeoisie cast aside: national emancipation from imperialism and the agrarian revolution. The reformist bourgeoisie which took power April 25 has also shown its incapacity to carry out these revolutionary transformations. They can only be achieved by the proletariat in new historical conditions, by linking them to its struggle for socialism. Thus, the people's democratic revolution is a stage preceding socialist revolution. It has specific tasks, and is based on a vast system of class alliances specific to this stage. If our Party does not take this into consideration, it will commit adventurist, "leftist" errors; it will divide the people and even the workers, and compromise the struggle for the victory of the revolution and the transition to socialism.

On the other hand, the people's democratic tasks of our revolution resemble socialist tasks, and some are even the same. The victory of our revolution can be assured only if it rapidly advances resolutely and steadily towards socialism. In many respects, our people's democratic revolution differs from those which have taken place in other countries. Elsewhere, the anti-feudal bourgeois democratic tasks played an important role and led to a broader class alliance that included the national bourgeoisie; and socialist measures were consequently spaced out over a long period of time. This is not the case in Portugal. If we do not understand this aspect, our Party will commit right-wing errors, compromising the leading role of the working class and the victory of the revolution.

Thus our Party bases its strategy on the principle that the Portuguese revolution involves two inter-related stages. Its objective is socialism. The people's democratic revolution is the necessary preparation for socialist revolution, and the socialist revolution is in turn the inevitable result of the development of the people's democratic revolution. In our country, the people's democratic revolution is a transitional stage during which the democratic and anti-imperialist tasks are closely bound up with socialist tasks.

Political programme of the CP of Portugal (Reconstructed)

The Third Congress of the CP of Portugal (R) emphasizes the necessity for all communists to arm themselves with an understanding of the revolutionary strategy defined by the Second Congress, a strategy whose correctness has been fully confirmed by reality. The Third Congress reiterates the essential tasks of the popular democratic revolution advancing towards socialism, as defined by the Second Congress:

1- **People's republic** — Establish a new democratic and revolutionary workers' State, under the political leadership of the working class led by its Marxist-Leninist party; a new State in the service of the people, where corruption and bureaucracy will be abolished; a people's army in which broad democratic freedoms are exercised; people's militia to ensure the safety of citizens; the abolition of all bourgeois repressive forces; proceed with a complete overhaul of the laws and the judicial system so that they serve the interests of the people; adopt a new constitution that entrenches broad liberties and the sovereignty of the people, based on a freely-elected assembly and a government responsible to the assembly.

2- **Nationalizations** — Expropriate big national and foreign capital in all sectors of the economy, transforming it into State property; establish workers' control throughout the nationalized sector; eliminate middlemen; ban private enterprises in banking and financing; establish State control of foreign trade; develop the national economy on the basis of co-ordination between the nationalized, co-operative and private sectors, under the leadership of the nationalized sector.

3- **Independence** — do away with the yoke of U.S. imperialism in the political, military and economic spheres; withdraw from NATO and eliminate foreign military bases; organize national defence to withstand all imperialist attacks; repudiate the foreign debt; cancel all treaties in contradiction with national interests; establish closer relations with Albania; give active support to the peoples struggling for independence and freedom; establish foreign relations based on independence, equality and mutual non-interference; oppose the two superpowers and their policies of hegemony and war head-on.

4- **Land reform** — complete the expropriation without compensation of large landholdings in the South and the North, transforming them into co-operative or State holdings; apply the principle of "land to the tiller" throughout the agricultural sector so as to improve the lot of small and medium-sized peasants; ensure State aid in supplying the agricultural sector with industrial goods and credit and in marketing agricultural production; encourage and aid co-operatives; cancel the debts and mortgages of small and medium-sized peasants; eliminate taxes, surcharges and permits for peasants.

5- **Social well-being** — economic policies to help restore a balanced economy, eliminate unemployment and improve workers' standard of living; implement special development programmes for the Azores, Madeira and the inland regions of continental Portugal; give unions a more important role in all economic and social questions; give unions a role in the administration of insurance funds and social services; plan housing for the people on the basis of a municipal reform law; do away with illiteracy, extend education and make it free, democratize culture; exempt workers from taxes and establish a graduated tax on capitalist income; ensure fully equal rights for women in all fields.

In carrying out these five tasks, the popular democratic revolution will simultaneously satisfy the basic de-

mands of the working class and the masses of the people as a whole. It will deal a decisive blow to capitalism and open up the path to socialism for the proletariat. It will deliver the broad masses of the peasants from the nightmare of hunger and ruin, enabling them to prosper on their land. It will represent the victory of democracy and the elimination of reaction and fascism, which will be fully up-rooted so they can never again be revived in future. It will signal the Portuguese people's conquest of total national independence for the first time after centuries of subjugation by foreign powers. It will free small business and industry from the pillage of the multinationals, the big bourgeoisie and its State. It will enable intellectuals and cadre to stop being on the payroll of big capital and imperialism and to help build a new, free and independent society in the service of the people to which they belong. It will give the status of free citizens to women who are oppressed, young people who are ignored and old people who are abandoned. It will consolidate the national unity of the Portuguese people, bringing together in harmonious development the people of the towns and the countryside, the Azores and Madeira and continental Portugal and creating the conditions that will enable emigrants dispersed around the world to return home.

The CP of Portugal (R) is convinced that the proletariat and the people as a whole will ultimately carry this revolution through to victory and will proceed in uninterrupted fashion to eliminate all the remnants of decadent capitalism, bringing socialism to Portugal.

The strategic views of Unidade Comunista

The following two texts are taken from the publications of Unidade Comunista from Portugal. This Marxist-Leninist organization was formed following a split within the CP of Portugal (Reconstructed) over a series of ideological, political, and organizational questions. They publish theoretical and propaganda material on the problems of modern revisionism and revolutionary strategy, and work in the mass movement. They conduct this work with the goal of uniting the communist movement in Portugal.

The first text explains why Unidade Comunista came to reject the strategy of people's democracy for Portugal. It is thus both a self-criticism, and a polemic against the positions of the CP of Portugal (Reconstructed). The second text shows the socialist programme they propose for Portugal.

These texts are made up of excerpts from a single document: a resolution proposed to the first National Conference of Unidade Comunista, entitled *Revolutionary Strategy and Tactics*. The English translation is by IN STRUGGLE!.

Criticisms of the strategy of popular democracy by Unidade Comunista

In this text we take up the defence of the socialist stage of the revolution in Portugal. We are doing it after a short but adequate period during which a series of factors brought to the surface by the revolutionary crisis of 1974-75 have come to maturity. We do it on the basis of a return to the Marxist-Leninist theses on the definition of the stages of revolution.

The text we are publishing is therefore basically a self-criticism. Most of us helped decide upon and defended the line of a "popular democratic revolution as the path of socialism" when we belonged to the CP of Portugal (R). In doing so, we based ourselves on a series of assumptions that had long been present in the Portuguese communist movement and the international communist movement which tended to obscure and do away with the Leninist concepts of the hegemony of the proletariat and the conquest of power by the proletariat.

...We consider that these errors had two sources: on the one hand, the prevailing tendency in the international communist movement since the Second World War to make a theory out of a specific form of the **transition** to the dictatorship of the proletariat, namely the popular democratic revolution, and to see it as a necessary and separate stage; and, on the other hand, the tendency to attach too much importance to the role of secondary contradictions in the general process of the revolution in Portugal.

The various fundamental contradictions in Portugal — between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the people and imperialism, between the peasantry and the agrarian and industrial exploiters — are allegedly interwoven; none of them stand out as the principal contradiction whose resolution will enable all the others to be solved. But this point of view in fact simply amounts to overestimating the importance of secondary contradictions — between the people and imperialism, or between the peasantry and agrarian and industrial exploiters — which involve revolutionary democratic tasks but which cannot be resolved unless they are integrated into the general process of the socialist revolution, namely the taking of power by the proletariat on the basis of a worker-peasant alliance.

We made progress towards socialism

conditional on completing the transformations that belong to the bourgeois democratic revolution. This glossed over two things. First, the remnants of the old feudal regime had been integrated into capitalism, the dominant mode of production. Second, all revolutions are faced with tasks inherited from previous revolutions, but this does not change their fundamental nature and content. Nor does it mean that a general process by which the proletariat overthrows the bourgeoisie should be divided into distinct stages of popular democracy, when the proletariat shares power with a sector of the bourgeoisie, and a later, socialist, stage, when the proletariat and the poor peasantry take power, neutralizing the sectors of the petty bourgeoisie and making other allies.

This kind of strategic outlook can only lead to confusing friends with enemies, the sectors that can be neutralized with allies. It can only lead to invoking democratic tasks as a reason for shrinking from socialist tasks. In the end, this prevents the putting forward of the perspective of the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialist education of the proletariat and preparations for taking power.

The abandoning of the definition of the principal contradiction and the overestimating of secondary contradictions are, in our opinion, the results of an objective process of development in capitalist societies, and Portugal in particular, by which the substantial growth of the petty-bourgeois sectors and the almost complete submission of the bourgeoisie to imperialism have the **practical** effect of making secondary contradictions in capitalist societies very important.

... And while this (petty-bourgeois) deviation gives rise to rightist conceptions in the strategy and socialist organization of the working class, it also drives communists to "leftism" and sectarianism in tactics. Communists end up offering the mass movement objectives for the struggle and calls to action that correspond to a situation in which the State apparatus is paralyzed and the mass movement on the rise (although not one where the struggle is as yet for the dictatorship of the proletariat); but these targets and these calls to action are unable to mobilize the masses in other situations where the revolution is on the decline.

The strategy of the revolution

A stage in a revolution can be defined by answering the question of which class holds power and which class is taking power. "The essential question of the strategic call to action is the question of power at a given stage of the revolution, the question of which class is overthrown and which class takes power." (Stalin)

Portugal is a thoroughly capitalist country in which the working class is the largest class on a national scale, in which the traces of feudalism have almost entirely disappeared or been subjugated by capitalism, the dominant mode of production, and in which the bourgeoisie holds exclusive power, excluding all other classes. Therefore, the fundamental contradiction in Portuguese society — the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie — can only be solved by the proletariat taking power...

But specifying the fundamental contradiction in Portuguese society and the current stage of the revolution does not mean that the entire strategy of the revolution has been defined. To correctly define the strategy of the revolution, the other principal and secondary contradictions of Portuguese society must be taken into account; for the strategy is a result of the interweaving of the contradictions...

There will be democratic tasks for the socialist revolutionary government to carry out in the countryside, just as there will be anti-imperialist tasks which, in this era of imperialism, can only be accomplished by the proletariat. But these tasks do not mean that the current stage of the Portuguese revolution should not be defined as socialist. However, the proletariat must take these tasks into account in order to avoid leftist errors that isolate it from sectors that are potential allies in resolving these contradictions or sectors that can be neutralized.

The transition to socialism and the united front government

The fact that there are various contradictions in Portuguese society means that in the course of the concrete development of the class struggle another contradiction — either the anti-imperialist contradiction or the contradiction that pits poor and middle peasants against capitalist rentiers, middlemen and the farm products industries — may grow more intense and require a solution more immediately

than does the fundamental contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

Nonetheless, because of these objective conditions, or because the resulting subjective conditions are not accompanied by a development of the objective conditions, transitional forms in which power is achieved in two phases may be necessary. Power in the first, transitional, phase would be shared by all the different classes allied on various grounds with the proletariat. A revolutionary democratic dictatorship would be established through a popular government. The second phase also involves the revolutionary violence of the

The political programme proposed by Unidade Comunista

1- **Socialist republic** — establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, the concrete expression of the worker-peasant alliance, led by the vanguard of the proletariat organized into its Marxist-Leninist party; destroy the bourgeois and capitalist State and set up organs of direct rank-and-file democracy that will tend to replace organs of representative democracy; arm the people as a whole and create people's militia; establish people's control over the army; ensure broad liberties for the people and repression of the big bourgeoisie and fascism; establish a people's assembly composed of members held accountable to the people, who can recall their representatives whenever they choose.

2- **Building a socialist economy** — base this economy on the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and foreign capital, the full utilisation of natural resources and the establishment of workers' control, which should eventually evolve into workers' management; establish State control over foreign trade; develop the economy based on the nationalized and co-operative sector;

It corresponds to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The participation of the proletariat in the first phase will be directed at arming the population in general and developing the masses willingness to fight so as to move ahead rapidly to the second phase. If communists do not take this possibility into account, they will fall into leftist deviations.

It is not certain that this transitional phase will occur, so the proletariat should not put it at the heart of its strategy. Why? Because it presents to the mass movement slogans and objectives for the struggles which correspond to a situation where the mass movement

eliminate unemployment and underemployment; ensure the harmonious development of agriculture and industry, as well as of the various sectors of industry; put an end to the relative backwardness of the inland regions and of the Azores and Madeira. The economic basis of the economy will rest on imperative planning, while its political basis will rest on the continuation of the class struggle that leads to the establishment of new relations of production.

3- **National independence and proletarian internationalism** — withdraw from NATO and all military, political and economic blocs that condition and limit our independence, and notably the EFTA (European Free Trade Agreement — ed. note) and the European Economic Community; establish close relations and mutual aid with socialist Albania; eliminate foreign military bases; establish relations on a basis of equality with all countries, in particular those that have freed themselves from colonialism; support all the peoples struggling against colonialism, imperialism and oppres-

is rising and the State apparatus is paralyzed — but where the level of struggle is not yet that of the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. But this deviation leaves the communist incapable of mobilizing the masses in other situations — in situations where the revolution is on the decline. In calling for such a government right now, as a tactic, the CP of Portugal (R) commits another rightist error, creates illusions in the proletariat and ends up lowering its political consciousness. In practice, it tends to abandon the principle of carrying out violent revolution to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, and reduces socialist tasks to the level of democratic tasks.

sion; oppose the two superpowers' policy of war and hegemony.

4- **Radical land reform** — complete the expropriation of large landholdings; move forward in the collectivization of the land, support co-operative endeavours as a path for leading small and middle peasants to socialism through their own experience; eliminate inequalities between agriculture and industry, between the countryside and urban areas; eliminate taxes for small and middle peasants and the lower stratum of the rich peasants.

5- **Social well-being** — pursue economic, social and cultural development aimed at satisfying the needs of the vast majority of the population rather than at profit-making; solve the housing problem; wipe out illiteracy and work for the general development of free education; nationalize health care and develop preventive medicine and free medical services; guarantee equal rights for working women; support cultural relations with all the peoples of the world; defend the environment by preventing its deterioration; exempt workers from taxation.

The basic programme of the Communist Party of Portugal

This text is taken from the constitution of the Portuguese Communist Party (pro-Soviet revisionist), adopted at its Congress in November 1976. It summarizes briefly the basic political programme of this party, which can be compared for study with the programmes put forward by the Marxist-Leninists in Portugal.

The English translation is by IN STRUGGLE!

From the constitution of the Communist Party of Portugal

Art. 4: In the present historical period, the revolutionary process in progress is part of a national and democratic revolution whose fundamental goals are:

- the complete destruction of the fascist State apparatus and the es-

- the establishment of a democratic regime; the elimination of the power of the monopolies and the promotion of general economic development;

- land reform, giving the land to the person who works it;

- improving the standard of living of the labouring classes and the people in general;
- the democratization of education and culture;
- the liberation of Portugal from imperialism;
- the recognition and guarantee of the right to independence of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies;
- a policy of peace and friendship with all peoples.

The struggle for the national and democratic revolution is an integral part of the struggle for socialism.

Art. 5: ... The Communist Party struggles to consolidate the liberties won with the April 25 events and to achieve free elections in which the Portuguese people can choose the form of government and the rulers they desire.

IRELAND

The liberation struggle in Ireland

In the last few months the Irish struggle has captured headlines and won important international support, with the recent hunger strike of the jailed liberation fighters demanding the status of political prisoner. This event only dramatizes the importance of this struggle, which has continued as a mass and armed revolutionary movement up to this day.

The following text comes from the Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP). This party was formed in December, 1974, by different Irish revolutionaries who wanted to promote socialism as the ultimate political objective of the liberation struggle. Members of the IRSP, along with supporters of the Provisional Irish Republican Army, were among the prisoners leading the recent hunger-strike.

This text by the IRSP deals both with the long-term goals of the struggle and the problem of immediate demands to unite the revolutionary forces. We are printing it because of the importance of understanding the specific nature of the Irish struggle as a national liberation struggle in an advanced capitalist country.

The Broad Front

As a socialist party, our ultimate political objective is the creation of a unified 32 County Democratic Socialist Republic within which the Irish working class will control the wealth and resources of the nation. This objective

can only be achieved through the efforts of a unified and politically conscious Irish working class. The fact that a unified and politically conscious Irish working class does not exist is a direct consequence of the creation of two partitioned states in Ireland, and of continuing imperialist interference in both

parts of the country. The problems arising from this lack of working-class unity are painfully obvious.

The working class people of the South have been skillfully divided by the allies of British imperialism since the establishment of the 26 County state. For 50 years the Southern working class have been conned into supporting political parties who held out the illusions of radical solutions to both the National question and the class struggle, while in reality they used the working class as a power base for their continued betrayal of both struggles.

In the North the Protestant working class were led to believe that the only way in which they could preserve the marginal supremacy which they held over their Catholic counterparts in jobs and housing was through supporting corrupt Unionist politicians and, through them, the union with Britain. Their genuine and well founded fears regarding the preservation of their religious and civil liberties in the context of a united and clerical dominated

Ireland were also exploited by the same corrupt politicians. At the same time the Catholic working class were conned into believing that their salvation lay in supporting Green Tory politicians (bourgeois nationalists — ed. note) who, while hypocritically advocating the re-unification of Ireland, as a guarantee of their ultimate salvation, completely submerged themselves in corrupt Unionist politics in exchange for favours for the class they really represented, the Northern Catholic middle class.

As history has shown, the working class, North and South, Protestant and Catholic, have been the victims of the so-called solutions to the 'Irish Question' imposed by Britain and her subser-vient native Parliaments.

It is still Britain's objective to find and impose a political solution which will guarantee the continued protection of Britain's economic and strategic interests in both parts of Ireland. Britain is also acting as the local protector of the interests of other imperial powers in Ireland. Some of the E.E.C. countries, as well as America and Canada, have powerful vested interest in supporting a British imposed "solution" in Ireland. Britain also has to consider the possible effects on internal British politics of the emergence of a united and independent State in Ireland. In our view, if an independent Ireland is to be viable in economic terms, and if it is to provide a reasonable standard of living for the majority of our people, it can only be done through a radical change in the ownership of wealth and resources. In these circumstances Britain and the E.E.C. countries would have every reason to worry about the effects on working class opinion in their own countries. Finally, of course, Britain's strategic interests must also be protected through the imposition of a 'solution' which will ensure that Ireland continues its present policy of pro-imperialist 'neutrality'.

Every British-imposed solution including the original partition of the country, the Northern Ireland Assembly, the Convention, Direct Rule and the abortive Atkin's Conference¹ have been designed to protect these economic and strategic interests. The present policy of the Ulsterization² of the conflict is also clearly designed to perpetuate the division of the country, and the sectarian divisions of the Northern working class.

The native capitalist class, acting through the political parties which represent their interests in both parts of Ireland, have played a fundamental role

in supporting British imperialist interests in Ireland. They have done so because they have now accommodated themselves to the role of overseers for British and other imperialist economic interests. They have clearly thrown their weight behind the various solutions put forward by British imperialism over the past 10 years, with the exception of the Atkin's³ conference, which was not given any credibility by the Haughey-led Fianna Fail party⁴. They will continue to do so in order to ensure that the one solution which would end their role as the native agents of foreign imperial interests does not emerge.

As a party we therefore recognise the absolute necessity of securing a constitutional solution to the present crisis which will allow the Irish working class the freedom to pursue their interests as a class in the context of the development of normal class politics. In our view the first step in securing a constitutional solution which meets this requirement must be for Britain to concede the right of the Irish people to exercise total sovereignty over their own affairs.

This objective can only be achieved through the creation of a unified struggle on the part of all anti-imperialist organisations. We would therefore support the formation of an Irish anti-imperialist Front composed of delegates from affiliated organisations who support the agreed political programme of the Front. The primary objective of the Front would be to mobilise the maximum degree of support for its declared objective throughout Ireland. The Front should clearly be seen as the leadership of a mass movement against all forms of imperialist control and interference in Ireland. The Front should have sufficient support and assistance from its affiliated organisations to enable it to open a head office with a full time staff.

We propose the following political demands as the basis on which an Irish anti-imperialist Front should organise:

1. That Britain must renounce all claims to sovereignty over any part of Ireland or its coastal waters.
2. That Britain must immediately disband and disarm the UDR (Ulster Defense Regiment), the RUC (Royal Ulster Constabulary), and the RUC Reserve⁵ and withdraw all troops from Ireland.
3. That the British and 26 County governments must immediately release all political prisoners and grant a general amnesty for all offences arising from the current con-

flict.

4. That Britain must agree to compensate all who have suffered as a result of imperialist violence and exploitation in Ireland.
5. Recognizing that no country can be free and independent while it permits imperialist domination of its economic life, the Irish anti-imperialist front will oppose all forms of imperialist control over our wealth and resources.
6. That the Irish anti-imperialist Front rejects a federal solution and the continued existence of two separate States in the 6 and 26 counties as a denial of the right of the Irish people to sovereignty and recognizes the only alternative as being the creation of a 32-County democratic Republic with a secular constitution.
7. That the Irish anti-imperialist Front demands the convening of an all Ireland Constitutional Conference representative of all shades of political opinion in Ireland for the purpose of discussing a democratic and secular Constitution which would become effective immediately following a total British military and political withdrawal from Ireland.
8. That the armed struggle be viewed by the Broad Front as the inherent right of the Irish people to gain self-determination and national liberation. This being so, the Broad Front cannot carry out any activity which will in any way hinder or detract from this right.

We feel that these demands would secure the active support of all genuine anti-imperialists in Ireland and that they should form the basis for an agreed programme of action by the Irish anti-imperialist Front.

1. These are different legislative solutions put forward and implemented by the British government to solve the problem of Northern Ireland's political status. All these legislations have led to the present situation of Direct Rule.
2. This policy refers to Great Britain's objective of replacing British troops on Irish soil by Irish troops to put an end to the demands of the Irish people for the withdrawal of all foreign troops on its territories.
3. Atkin is the minister responsible for Northern Ireland in the British Parliament.
4. The Fianna Fail party is the party presently in power in Southern Ireland.
5. The Ulster Defense Regiment is the regular army in Northern Ireland working in alliance with the British army. The Royal Ulster Constabulary and its Reserve are the repressive police forces in Northern Ireland.

News from 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.

Mass protests against war and fascism

The last few months have seen important mass actions throughout the advanced capitalist countries, protesting against the war preparations of the imperialists and the rise of organized fascist groups.

The CP of Japan (Left) reports on major protests throughout Japan for October 21, 1980 (International Anti-war Day). 600,000 people rallied at 500 different places — three times as many people as the previous year. A very large number of proletarians and working people participated in these rallies, along with many students and youth. The demonstrations were remarkable for the high level of political content, reflected in slogans which clearly opposed the growing militarization of Japanese imperialism as well as U.S. imperialism and the Japanese-American Security Pact. The revisionists and social-democrats intervened to deflect this militant opposition to Japanese imperialism with reformist and nationalist slogans.

There were mass actions in New Zealand protesting the visits of American warships in the fall of 1980. These protests included rotating strikes by the seven maritime trade unions; as well as demonstration of up to 1,000 persons by trade unionists, anti-nuclear and anti-imperialist activists, and other political forces, including the CP of New Zealand.

Major protests took place in several Greek cities during October and November, 1980, against the readmission of Greece into NATO. One of the most militant actions took place in Athens on November 21, 1980, when the revisionist organizers of a mass protest steered it away from the U.S. Embassy in compliance with police orders. 10,000 broke away from the march, chanting slogans against U.S.

imperialism, and headed for the American Embassy. The police attack on this militant contingent led to a running street battle that lasted all day and throughout the night. This defiance of the State police and their revisionist allies was organized by supporters of the CP of Greece ML and other revolutionary forces.

November 1980 also saw militant actions by anti-imperialist youth in West Germany. The focus of the protests was a series of militaristic public meetings organized by the West German imperialists to induct newly drafted soldiers into the army. Thousands of rebellious youth supported by different political forces organized disruptions of these ceremonies in Bonn, Munich, Hannover, Saarbrücken, and Stuttgart. The spirit of the demonstrators was one of bold defiance of these blatant attempts to whip up national chauvinism and pro-war sentiment in West Germany. The demonstrators were not held back either by the massive police repression and intimidation or by the pacifist propaganda from the social-democratic and revisionist youth organizations.

There were mass demonstration in other countries as well. In London, England, 70,000 anti-nuclear demonstrators came out in October, 1980, to protest the development of the American Cruise missile and its deployment on British soil. In the U.S.A., a women's coalition called Women's Pentagon Action drew 2,000 to the Pentagon in Washington in November, 1980, to protest against nuclear weapons and war preparations. Anti-Semitic attacks and murders by neo-Fascist organizations sparked anti-fascist demonstrations of 300,000 in Paris, France, and of 50,000 in Brussels, Belgium, in October of 1980.

Elections in the advanced capitalist countries

In the fall of 1980 there were parliamentary elections in West Germany, Portugal, and the United States. Communists and revolutionaries in these countries reacted to the electoral process with many different kinds of tactics...

West Germany — The West German federal election resulted in a easy victory for the Social Democrat — Liberal coalition, returning Schmidt and the Social Democratic Party to power in early October, with 53.5% of the votes. The Christian Democrats led by Strauss received 44.5% of the votes. The pro-Soviet communist party (DKP) and the neo-Nazi party each got 0.2% of the votes. The largest vote for a left-wing force was the 1% given to the "Green" (ecologist) party.

Some left-wing forces in West Germany campaigned actively to "Stop Strauss". They identified him as a danger because of his fascist past, his appeals for "law and order", and his militarist campaign. The CP of Germany (formerly the CP of Germany ML) was one of these forces fighting mainly to prevent the election of Strauss. They participated directly in the elections through the Volksfront (People's Front), whose goal was to propagate the necessity for anti-fascist unity among the working people. This tactic was severely criticized by some West German communists. The Communist Worker's League of Germany (KABD) said that Schmidt and Strauss were equally dangerous. They called on the working class to struggle instead of voting. The West-German organization Gegen die Strömung put forward the slogan: "Schmidt or Strauss? Plague or Cholera!"

The Volksfront led by the CP of Germany got only a very small part of the vote, sharing 0.5% of the votes cast with other forces including three worldists and populists. But the CP of Germany judged that the election results were very positive. Here is how they summed it up in an interview with *Vanguardia Obrera*, organ of the CP of Spain ML:

"The first thing we have to see is that Strauss was beaten. The majority of our people spoke out against Strauss and his extremely reactionary programme; the industrial workers in particular were united to oppose Strauss. The election results are very positive, and they are a good starting point for the coming decisive battles to fight the rise of fascism and reaction in our country."

Portugal — The right-wing parties made major gains in the legislative elections held October 5. Their electoral alliance called the "Democratic Alliance" took power with 134 deputies, setting the stage for the attack on the democratic victories of the April, 1974 revolution which these conservative parties had promised in their campaign. The pro-Soviet Portuguese Communist Party lost 6 seats. The Socialist Party maintained its 74 seats and the Popular Democratic Union kept its one deputy.

For several months before the elections, different left-wing and communist forces tried to build a basis for common action in the elections. These efforts led to the creation of the Popular Unity Forces (PUF). The programme of the PUF was centered on protection of Portuguese national independence, building good relations with the third world, defense of democratic victories gained in 1974, agrarian reform, and nationalizations of companies. But the PUF fell apart several months before the elections.

After the PUF split up, the CP of Portugal (Reconstructed) prepared for the elections through its support to the Popular Democratic Union (PDU), promoting a more radical version of the kind of programme adopted by the PUF. The party was hoping to create a parliamentary group of four revolutionary members from the PDU. The party also proposed the creation of common lists of candidates to the Portuguese communist party and the Socialist Party, with the goal of stopping the right-wing forces. But these propositions were rejected.

Although the PDU maintained its one seat, it did not gain the four it wanted, and its total votes went down. The CP of Portugal (Reconstructed) said that many workers were disillusioned with the left and fooled by the right-wing promises of stability. But they also said that their work had reached many more people than ever before, and that conditions were favourable to block the actions of the new government through mass actions in the factories and in the streets.

United States — The November presidential elections were won by Reagan with a wide margin of victory, and Republican Party candidates made gains to win control of the Senate and increase their presence in the House of Representatives. The pro-Soviet Communist Party of the U.S.A. participated in the elections, as did two different Trotskyist parties and some populist and social-democratic forces. Together,

these forces received less than 2% of the total vote.

The general attitude of the revolutionary forces in the U.S.A. was to condemn all the bourgeois candidates and the election itself, without putting forward or supporting any independent candidates. The *Guardian* newspaper did not support any candidates, but stressed the right-wing danger associated with Reagan and his supporters. The CPUSA-ML (*Unite!*) called for "No vote!", while also stressing that Reagan's forces represented a growing danger of fascism and war. The RCP-USA disagreed with abstention, arguing that it left the masses in a passive role. They mobilized people to turn in ballots which they had printed to ridicule the candidates and the election process, and their agitation stressed the repressive nature of bourgeois democracy and the trend toward war and revolution that is the inevitable result of the crisis of U.S. capitalism. The Communist Workers Party (CWP-USA) developed disruption at rallies for Anderson and Carter. They said that Carter was a bigger fascist than Reagan, and linked Carter's administration to the legalized murder of five of their members by the neo-fascists.

Reagan's victory provoked different analyses by the revolutionary forces. All agreed on one thing — that Reagan's so-called "majority" did not exist. He was elected by only 25% of the eligible voters, because so many working people, especially Blacks, stayed away from the polls in disgust. But newspapers like the *Guardian* and *Unite!* saw a rise of right-wing sentiment associated with the election results, and stressed that the Reagan administration represented a specific danger of war and fascism. *Unite!* called for the creation of a new political party that would fight this menace. The RCP-USA expressed its total disagreement with this kind of analysis. They maintained that the supposed "turn to the right" among the American people was a myth created by bourgeois propaganda, because only the middle classes and white labour aristocrats voted for Reagan, while the more exploited and oppressed stayed away from the polls. They also maintained that there is no essential difference between the Carter and Reagan administrations, because Reagan's reactionary policies only represent the logical outcome of the growing crisis. The CWP-USA saw the defeat of Carter as meaning the "death of liberalism". They said that important sectors in the working class had supported Reagan, some because of their

backward understanding, others because of a confused desire for revolutionary change.

El Salvador: liberation forces mount major offensive

Throughout 1980 the different opposition forces in El Salvador continued to build their unity in the struggle against the ruling junta. The Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) had been enlarged in April 1980 to include all opponents of the junta, through the addition of social-democratic forces and a split from the Christian Democrats, one of the ruling political parties. As well, a unified political command known as the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) was also created in October 1980, through the merger of the People's Liberation Forces (FPL), the Salvadoran Revolutionary Party (PRS), and the Communist Party of El Salvador (PCS). The creation of the FMLN meant that there was now a single leadership for the developing military struggle.

At the beginning of 1981, the FMLN judged that the situation was ripe for what would be the "final offensive". The economic crisis continued to deepen; the reformist solutions were bankrupt; the government and army were in crisis. A unified military command had been created, and the people had been armed. In terms of the international situation, the FMLN judged that the junta was increasingly isolated, that its closest allies in Latin America (Venezuela, Costa Rica) could be neutralized, and that the U.S.A. would refrain from direct intervention for fear of reciprocal action by the U.S.S.R. in Poland.

As we go to press, the liberation forces have finished what they call the first stage of this final offensive. They acted with perfect national co-ordination as well as tremendous heroism, and they scored important military successes, including the destruction of the Salvadoran air force and the capture of large quantities of arms. But these victories were partially offset by a rapid U.S. airlift of military supplies for the junta, and by the failure to develop the necessary military power in the cities to sustain an all-out general strike.

The FMLN will re-group its forces for the second stage of this offensive in

the immediate future. They point out that the success of this attempt to topple the reactionary junta and install a revolutionary democratic government is greatly dependent on international solidarity. At a pan-Canadian solidarity conference for the struggle in El Salvador, the representative of the FDR explained that the thrust of international efforts must be directed towards preventing American intervention. The FDR calls for mass mobilization and pressure on governments with the following objectives: 1) preventing American intervention; 2) that the peoples and governments recognize the legitimacy of the Salvadoran people's struggle and their right to armed insurrection; 3) development of material aid for the liberation forces.

The FMLN will be developing the insurrectionary process in the next period with a stronger mobilization of the working class in the cities and with the goal of total victory. Important mass actions of international solidarity have begun to develop in the last few months in countries like Mexico, West Germany and Canada. A solidarity movement is also taking shape within the U.S.A. The current situation demands that this international solidarity movement be developed even further.

Iranian revolutionaries confront the Iran-Iraq war

In September, 1980, full-scale war broke out between Iran and Iraq. This war has continued up to today. Its effects in Iran have been to further heighten the deep contradictions in Iranian society. The war has increased the suffering and death for the working masses, who were already living with the effects of severe economic crisis. The rulers of Iran have stepped up their nationalist appeals for the support of the Iranian people, asking them to support this war on the basis of the defence of the Iranian nation against the Iraqi aggressors. And the Iranian rulers have also drastically stepped up their repression against all dissenting voices in Iran. The terrorist repression of the Kurdish people has increased, and mass arrests of the militants from anti-imperialist and revolutionary organizations are taking place. At the same time, the war situation has further developed the process of demarcation and re-alignment among the

revolutionary forces in Iran, who were already deeply divided on the basic question of what attitude to take towards the current rulers of Iran.

When the war broke out, many of the left-wing forces gave their support to the ruling Islamic Republican Party, analysing the war as a just war of national defence for the people of Iran. Amongst these forces were the pro-Soviet Tudeh party, the pro-Chinese party, the Fedayeen (Majority), and the Union of Iranian Communists.

Other forces took a position which condemned the role of the Iranian government in the war, but called for independent mobilization of the masses to resist the Iraqi forces on Iranian territory. Among these forces were the Mohajadeen, Fedayeen (Minority), Workers' Path, Razmandagan, and (at first) the Revolutionary Union for the liberation of the working class.

Still other forces condemned the war as unjust on both sides. The communist organization Komaleh, which has a strong base in Kurdistan, stated that any support to the government was opportunist. Strong denunciation of the war was also conducted by the "Organization of Peykar (Struggle) in the Path to Emancipation the Working Class". Peykar stated that this war was a continuation of the reactionary politics of both the Iranian and Iraqi regimes, as well as being promoted by the reactionary interests of world imperialism. Peykar stated that genuine proletarian internationalism could only mean one thing for the Iranian and Iraqi communists: to oppose the reactionary war on both sides, and to mobilize for revolutionary struggle against their own bourgeoisies.

This position of opposition to the war was relatively isolated in the revolutionary movement at the beginning of the conflict, and still remains a source of bitter disagreement. But as the war has dragged on, there has been growing support for this position, both among the revolutionaries and among the people, particularly among the people living in the war-torn territories. The group Revolutionary Union has self-criticized for its past position and come out in complete opposition to the war.

As the war goes on and the class contradictions get more explosive, the Iranian revolutionary groups are forced to re-evaluate their tactics. The Mohajadeen is now making the struggle against the political repression unleashed by the government forces one of its main tactics. Peykar considers that Iranian society is moving inevitably toward civil

war, and that the communists must get politically and militarily prepared for a revolutionary confrontation with the Iranian rulers.

* * *

Internationally, most revolutionary organizations have condemned the war between Iran and Iraq, while reserving their main attacks for the Iraqis. This position is based on the widely-accepted analysis that the war is a product of Iraqi aggression supported by American imperialism, and that the Iranian war effort represents the national defence of the victories of the anti-imperialist revolution. This position comes from such different forces as the Party of Labour of Albania, the RCP-USA and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. A few organizations have condemned the war as reactionary on both sides, including the ML Organization of Canada IN STRUGGLE! and the ML Communist Organization Voie prolétarienne in France.

Revolutionaries from Turkey analyse the military coup

On September 12, 1980, fascist generals in Turkey seized power in a military coup. The coup was widely supported as a step towards "stability" and "democracy" in the Western imperialist media. Meanwhile, the new fascist junta was muzzling all progressive and democratic opinion in Turkey that could inform the world about the real meaning of these events. But revolutionaries from Turkey living abroad have taken up the task of explaining the significance of these events for the future of their people's struggle. One such analysis appeared in the October, 1980 edition of *Voice of the Revolution*, which is the international English-language bulletin of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Turkey. Another such analysis appeared in the October 1980 edition of *Unity*, the English bulletin of the Confederation of Students from Turkey/Abroad (TÖK/YD). This bulletin produced by anti-imperialist students reflects the political analysis made by the Communist Party of Turkey Marxist-Leninist.

Both documents seem to make basically the same analysis of the nature of the fascist coup. They state

that it was engineered with the direct aid of U.S. imperialism and with the support of the other Western imperialist powers, and was also accepted calmly by the U.S.S.R. They state that the monopoly bourgeoisie in Turkey fully supported the coup as the only possible political solution to the economic and political crisis in Turkey. The effects of the world crisis of capitalism have been particularly profound in Turkey in the last few years in terms of galloping inflation and mass unemployment. The conditions of the working people, particularly the proletariat and poor peasantry, have become disastrous. And the mass economic and political struggles of the working people have continued to develop. At first they developed under a repressive regime with a parliamentary form. Later, they continued to develop in spite of a period of martial law throughout large parts of the country. At the same time it has become evident that the masses in Turkey are increasingly rejecting both the bourgeois political parties and the corrupt and repressive political system. This is due both to the education done by revolutionaries and to their own experience. So the choice of a fascist coup became the only option left for the Turkish capitalists and their foreign imperialist allies, in order to preserve their rule.

Both these texts state that the military coup did not destroy democracy in Turkey, because democracy has never existed. They state that the parliamentary regimes in Turkey have only been a facade for a basically fascist rule. The masses have enjoyed only limited democratic rights won through bitter mass struggle. At the same time, as these texts point out, the coup has further reduced democratic rights in Turkey. They expose the cynical pretensions of the junta to be fighting "both left and right extremists". They show that the first acts of the new rulers were to try to cripple the workers' movement and revolutionary organizations through mass arrests and murders, and to abolish the few existing liberties that could be used by the mass movement.

What of the future for the revolutionary struggle in Turkey? The *Voice of the Revolution* calls for the unity of the revolutionaries, progressives, and democrats in Turkey in a united front to establish genuine independence and democracy. *Unity* says that the people of Turkey can only realize democracy by the path of a people's democratic revolution, by breaking the

imperialist chain and overthrowing the fascist state of the bosses and feudal land lords. *Unity* also calls for broad international support from all revolutionary and progressive forces to help isolate the fascist junta and make known the real nature of the recent events in Turkey.

Social democrats court the liberation movements

The last year has seen a flurry of diplomatic and political activity by the social-democratic parties of the Second International on the world scene. One of the main goals of this activity is to ally the different liberation movements around the world more closely with the Second International.

Evidence of this new thrust by the social democrats came out at the 15th Congress of the Second International, held in Madrid, Spain, in November 1980. The Congress called for support for revolutionary movements in the countries dominated by imperialism, and also for increased economic aid and the cancellation of debts for the developing countries, in exchange for stable long-term supplies of low-priced energy and raw materials. The Congress also returned to the themes stressed by the Second International during the previous year: support for human and political rights, full employment, disarmament and détente.

The adoption of these kinds of policies was combined with a major effort to reach out to the governments and liberation movements in the dominated countries. Look at the list of those invited as observers to this Congress: the Algerian National Liberation Front; the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA); the FRETILIN from East Timor; the Iranian government; the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF); FRELIMO from Mozambique; the POLISARIO front from the Western Sahara; the SWAPO from Namibia; the African National Congress and the Black Consciousness Movement from Azania; the Sandinista Front from Nicaragua; the Revolutionary Democratic Front from El Salvador; the Democratic Front against Repression from Guatemala; the Working People's Alliance from Guyana... and many other Latin American political organizations.

These activities are being led and organized by rising imperialist powers like West Germany, whose ruling Social Democratic Party funds 60% of the budget of the Second International. But these policies represent the general interest of a number of Western imperialist powers, who see the possibility of replacing U.S. imperialism and heading off the Soviet imperialists so as to become the neo-colonial protectors of newly independent countries. As well, these policies are motivated by some very immediate economic interests. Countries like West Germany and Japan are terribly vulnerable to any interruption in supplies of oil and raw materials. The concern with "détente" is not unrelated to the rapidly-growing West German investments in Eastern Europe. And it is no accident that the social democrats have made a major thrust toward the revolutionary governments (Nicaragua) and liberation movements (El Salvador) in Latin America. In many Latin American countries, trade with Japan and Western European countries now surpasses trade with the U.S.A.

Meanwhile, these new social-democratic policies have found a surprising supporter — the Cuban Communist Party. This party's recent Second Congress basically supported the non-aligned movement and the process of dialogue between the developed countries and the dominated countries as the path to progress for the anti-imperialist struggle. It explicitly identified the growing strength of social democracy in Latin America as a positive development.

Political repression and anti-imperialist solidarity

Ireland — the recent hunger strike by imprisoned liberation fighters in Northern Ireland won impressive support. The men and women prisoners were fighting against their inhuman treatment in jail and for a return to the status of political prisoners in their war with British imperialism. They had tremendous mass support not only throughout Northern Ireland, but also in the South, where there were demonstrations of up to 60,000 people. The solidarity with these prisoners was very developed throughout the advanced capitalist countries, particularly in Italy, France,

the Basque nation in Spain, the Quebec nation in Canada, and in the U.S.A. Support in Great Britain remained relatively weak. Still, support was more widespread than that of other Irish solidarity campaigns in the past years. The British government was finally forced to make compromises with the prisoner's demands that were considered a victory by the Irish liberation forces.

Philippines — the Permanent Tribunal for the Rights of the Peoples met in Belgium in the fall of 1980 to consider the grievances of the Filipino and Bangsa Moro peoples. The Tribunal is part of the International Foundation for the Rights and Liberation of Peoples, an internationally respected body of jurists with an observer status at the United Nations. The Tribunal was set up to study and deal with cases of oppression ignored by international law. The Tribunal gave a detailed and educational judgement which condemned both the Marcos dictatorship and U.S. neo-colonialism in the Philippines as illegal. The judgement also condemned the exploitative activities of other imperialist powers in the Philippines, as well as the different international bodies, including churches and trade unions, that support this exploitation. The Tribunal also condemned the genocide against the Bangsa Moro people and recognized their right to self-determination as an integral part of the liberation struggle in the Philippines. The Tribunal recognized the National Democratic Front (NDF) of the Philippines and the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) as the legal and legitimate representatives of their respective peoples, with the right to defend their people through armed struggle.

Meanwhile, the International Association of Filipino Patriots denounced the pretensions by Marcos to be "lifting" martial law. Their communiqué demonstrated that this plan by Marcos will do nothing to change any of the basic ways in which the people are denied their democratic rights.

Iran — brutal repression of the people's movement and progressive forces by government forces grows steadily. Villages in Kurdistan have been subjected to mass murders of children and old people by government troops and the "Revolutionary Guards". These atrocities are part of a policy of terror against the continuing Kurdish liberation struggle. Militants from revolutionary groups are arrested by the hundreds for opposition to the government on questions ranging from

condemnation of the war with Iraq to defense of elementary democratic liberties. Once in jail, these anti-imperialist militants are interrogated and tortured by former agents of the SAVAK of the fascist ex-Shah. Some of these militants have begun a hunger strike to protest the presence of SAVAK agents in the prison. They have appealed for the broadest possible international support.

Syria — growing political repression in Syria was exposed in December, 1980 by the Paris-based **Comité de Soutien de la lutte nationale démocratique en Syrie**. Their communiqué speaks of a general campaign of terror and genocide against the people by government and fascist forces. It also states that the campaign is particularly directed at the destruction of the Syrian Communist Party (Political Bureau) through the murder of its leaders.

China — revolutionaries around the world have condemned the recent trial of Chiang Ching and the so-called "Gang of Four" by the revisionist rulers in China. Most commentaries have pointed out the political nature of the trial, showing how the current Chinese rulers want to use this forum to discredit those forces that fought against their revisionist line in the past. The spirited defense by Chiang Ching has encouraged many communists, who see in this a continuation of the struggle against the capitalist elements in China. In the U.S.A. the RCP, USA has conducted intensive agitation and propaganda in defense of Chiang Ching.

In **France**, the Federation of Students from Black Africa in France (FEANF) continues its efforts to mobilize against the banning of the Federation by the French government. Their communiqué of October 13, 1980 points out that this reactionary decision was made with the common agreement of the French imperialists and the leaders of the African neo-colonies, with the goal of muzzling the voices of African anti-imperialist fighters in France. They are appealing for the widest possible international support. At the same time, foreign students from many different countries at French universities are beginning to develop co-ordinated efforts to fight the development of racist laws and attacks.

U.S.A. — six Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazi assassins were completely acquitted by an American court of the murder of five anti-fascist demonstrators in Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1979. The acquittal came in spite of a courtroom showing of a television film which clearly portrayed the cold-blooded

murder of these five members of the Communist Workers Party (CWP). The CWP analyzes this as a step towards fascism in the U.S.A., and continues broad public mobilization around this event.

Meanwhile, American courts reactivated the heavy charges against the chairman of the RCP-USA and other members of this party, known as the "Mao Tsetung Defendants". The charges had been previously dropped after a campaign of protest that received international support from revolutionary groups. The RCP-USA is working to develop broad support for these victims of political repression.

At the same time, brutal repression and murders continue by police and neo-fascist organizations amongst the working masses throughout the U.S.A., particularly in the Black communities.

Venezuela — The Red Flag Party from Venezuela sent out a communiqué in September, 1980, to denounce the growing repression against the mass movement and revolutionary forces in this country, which pretends to be one of the few "democracies" in Latin America. The communiqué explained that the mass struggles are growing, the guerilla movement getting stronger, and the party is reinforcing its ties with the workers — in spite of the growing terror, torture, and murders by the government forces. The Party made a specific appeal for international support to aid their revolutionary struggle and denounce the crimes of the Venezuelan rulers.

In December, 1980, the Red Flag Party also announced the death in combat of Jovito Faustino Lugo, a member of the National Political Committee and second in command of the Américo Silva guerilla front.

Puerto Rico — ten Puerto Rican liberation fighters are being tried for "seditious conspiracy" in the U.S.A. The ten are accused of being members of the Armed Forces for National Liberation (FALN). They are making a political defense at their trial and are getting public support.

Angola — ten members of the Communist Organization of Angola were freed from prison in August, 1980. Some of them had been imprisoned without trial for more than three years. Their liberation was won through a hunger strike which had international support.

Joint Communiqué on world situation and tasks of communists

At the beginning of 1981 a number of Marxist-Leninist organizations from different countries published a joint communiqué entitled: "**To the Marxist-Leninists, the Workers, and the Oppressed of all Countries**". This communiqué was published following a meeting of communist organizations to discuss their current tasks in light of the deepening world crisis and the ideological confusion within the international Marxist-Leninist movement. It was signed by the following: Ceylon Communist Party; Groupe Marxist-Léniniste du Sénégal; Grupo para la Defensa del Marxismo-Leninismo (Spain); Mao Tsetung-Kredsen (Denmark); Marxist-Leninist Collective and Nottingham Communist Group from Britain; New Zealand Red Flag Group; Organizzazione Comunista Proletaria Marxista-Leninista (Italy); Partido Comunista Revolucionario de Chile; Pour l'Internationale Proletarienne (France); Reorganization Committee, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist); Revolutionary Communist Party, USA; Union Comunista Revolucionaria (Dominican Republic). Here is a summary of the main content of this text.

* * *

Concerning the world situation, the text stresses the growing danger of inter-imperialist war, which is inevitable unless prevented by revolution. The war is organized by the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., with other imperialists involved. It must be opposed by revolutionary civil war against the reactionary classes in all countries. The text also points out the development of genuinely revolutionary situations in some countries around the world.

Today the Marxist-Leninists have the task of rescuing, and building on, the principles abandoned by the opportunists. These principles come from the historical lessons of the revolutionary struggle, including the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China. This latter experience shows the correct form for the class struggle that continues under socialism: a mass struggle directed against the revisionists in the leadership of the party and the State. Other principles include the need for armed struggle and the need for a

communist party. In the colonial and dependent countries, the need for a stage of New Democracy and the necessity of protracted people's war are principles. However capitalism has developed significantly in some of these countries, necessitating further analysis and a re-examination of the revolutionary strategy. In the imperialist countries the October revolution remains the basic model to imitate, and communists must struggle against nationalism and economism.

The international unity of Marxist-Leninists is a pressing need. Correct ideological and political line is key to building this unity, so it is necessary to draw clear lines of demarcation. The defence of Mao's contributions is particularly important, because Mao Tsetung contributed to many aspects of Marxism-Leninism and his thought is a new stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism. Unity depends on opposing all forms of revisionism: pro-Soviet revisionism, Trotskyism, social-democracy. The Party of Labour of Albania is among the revisionist forces, because they attack Mao, because they have a neo-Trotskyist line on the strategy in the dependent countries, and because their international line is close to that of the pro-Soviet revisionists on many questions.

Another task necessary to build unity is to carry out a critical study and summary of the experience of the international communist movement in relation to the Third International, the Second World War, and the restoration of capitalism in countries like the U.S.S.R. and China.

The organizations signing the communiqué will take up concrete tasks to build unity. They will circulate for discussion a draft text proposing a general line for the world movement, written by the RCP-USA and the RCP-Chile. They will publish an international journal. And they will engage in discussions amongst each other and with other forces with the goal of building higher unity.

Editor's note: The ML Communist Organization Voie prolétarienne has informed us that they are publishing a text which explains why they refused to sign this Joint Communiqué. We will publish this information, and other commentaries on the Communiqué in our next issue.

Divisions within the CP of Brazil

Events in the last year have revealed

the existence of major divisions within the Communist Party of Brazil (PC do B). During 1980 a number of party members were expelled for what were termed "factionalist and liquidationist" activities. The members that were expelled included four members of the Central Committee and the leaders of some regional committees. In the fall of 1980 these expelled leaders called publicly for the organization of a Party Congress, with the support of five regional committees of the PC do B. They want this Congress to be a legitimate Party Congress, to which the official leadership of the PC do B is invited. They intend to demonstrate that they represent the majority of the party. But they insist that this Congress will be a fully sovereign forum which has the power even to formulate a new programme and political line.

Shortly after this appeal for a Congress, the current leadership of the PC do B also announced that a party Congress was being prepared. But they insisted that this was not a positive response to the appeal for a Congress launched by the dissidents. They maintain that the dissidents have no voice or organizational expression within the party, and must be treated as factionalists and liquidationists with a rightist political line.

What is behind this division? We get some idea from the pages of the Brazilian newspaper **Movimento**, which has published interviews with leaders from both camps, as well as many letters from readers evaluating the PC do B. It seems clear that what is happening is not a simple problem of "party discipline", but is a general crisis reflecting profound differences over the party's history, practice, line and programme.

Historically the differences erupted over the evaluation to be made of the party's involvement several years ago in the guerilla struggle in Araguaia, a region in the Brazilian countryside. A polemic developed after the publication of a text criticizing the party's line guiding this struggle. The text was written by Pedro Pomar, an important party leader who died in December, 1976. It showed that important sections of the party considered that this period of involvement in the armed peasant struggle was guided by a "blanquist" or putchist line. The polemic was continued in the last year by Wladimir Pomar, the son of Pedro Pomar. He said that the different evaluations of the guerilla struggle in Araguaia inside the party dated from 1966. The fundamental question, he said, was: "Who makes the revolution? Is it the people, the

working class, or is it a group, the party?"

But the debate has become much wider than the simple evaluation of this period of military struggle. There are opinions that question whether the PC do B is truly the vanguard party — not in terms of its heroism and devotion, but in terms of its political programme and links with the proletariat. There are criticisms of the general line and programme of the party. The critics say that the party has ignored the reality of the development of capitalism in Brazil, has erroneously called for a united front with the national bourgeoisie, and has put forward a democratic programme which cannot be distinguished from that of the revisionists in Brazil and in Chile. And there are many criticisms of a lack

of democracy in party life — of a lack of serious internal debate, of the fact that there has been no Congress since the re-organization of the party in 1962. The critics also express their dissatisfaction with the way that the party leadership radically condemns the CP of China under Mao — today — after basically following their line for so many years.

* * *

These divisions within the PC do B are significant, because this party is held up by the fraternal parties of the Party of Labour of Albania as a real model of ideological firmness and iron unity. Nor is the PC do B the only one of these parties which is experiencing serious problems. Many of these parties

have had splits in the last few years, often involving a large part of their membership. Others, like the CP of Spain ML, speak of serious problems in recruitment, problems linked to both sectarian and bureaucratic errors and to a general climate of pessimism and demobilization.

In the last few months some of these parties have written polemics with a common theme: that it is not Marxism-Leninism and communism that is in crisis, but modern revisionism. But the facts seem to contradict this, showing that these parties are not themselves immune to the effects of the profound crisis effecting the communist and revolutionary organizations around the world.

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 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

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. Hédoux,
B.P. 330, 75 025
Paris Cedex 01, France.

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.

IRELAND

The publications of the Irish Republican Socialist Party can be obtained at the following address:

Irish Republican Socialist Party,
34 Upper Gardiner Street,
Dublin 1, Ireland

The newspaper of the Sinn Fein can be obtained at:

AN PHOLBACHT/REPUBLICAN NEWS,
44 Parnell Square,
Dublin 1, Ireland

JAPAN

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

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.

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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

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.

What is the MLOC IN STRUGGLE!?

The Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada IN STRUGGLE! 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'Étincelle,
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.