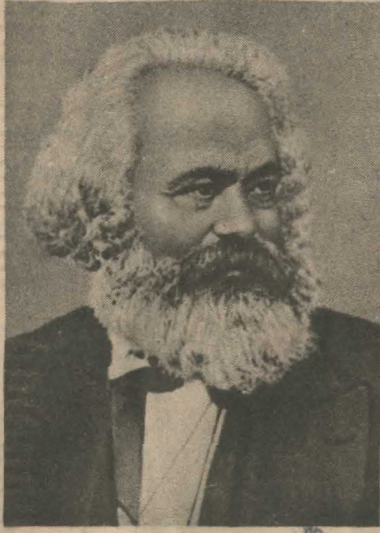


# The Workers' Advocate

WORKERS, OPPRESSED NATIONS AND PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, UNITE!  
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## U.S. Marxist-Leninists, Unite in Struggle Against Social-Chauvinism! Proletarian Revolution in the U.S. is Our Sacred Internationalist Duty!

This special issue of *The Workers' Advocate* is devoted to the burning questions in the U.S. Marxist-Leninist movement. With the intensification of the frenzied preparations of U.S. imperialism for war against its rival for world hegemony, Soviet social-imperialism, and the deepening of the economic crisis, and with the increasingly rapid fascistization of the U.S. state, the class struggle in the U.S. has been sharpening and this is reflected inside the Marxist-Leninist movement. A trend of open Browderite social-chauvinism has emerged among those claiming to be anti-revisionist. This trend is represented in concentrated fashion by the ultra-rightist leaders of the October League, U.S. social-chauvinism is socialism in words, but Anglo-American superpower imperialist chauvinism in deeds. It is defense of U.S. world hegemony, of the U.S. imperialist heartland, of U.S. colonies and neo-colonies, against both "theft" by another superpower and also against true liberation by revolution. This open social-chauvinism defends not only the interests of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class in general, not only the profits of "our own" monopoly capitalist dictators, but also precisely the interests of the monopoly capitalist state itself. As U.S. imperialism prepares for an imperialist third world war, more terrible than the last two, social-chauvinism comes up to defend the imperialist state-machine and its main component, the armed forces. This social-chauvinism is waving the red-white-and-blue against the New Terrors of the Soviet Union, directing the "main blow" at Soviet social-imperialism, denying proletarian revolution in the U.S. and joining U.S. imperialism's sham "anti-Soviet social-imperialist front".

In the U.S. true proletarian internationalism is only expressed by the resolute struggle for revolution against "our own" exploiters, the U.S. monopoly capitalist dictators. Once revolution is thrown out the window, proletarian internationalism goes too. Those who anxiously worry about maintaining the "balance of power" between the superpowers allegedly to maintain peace have openly betrayed revolution out of fear of war. They are bold and "Marxist" when it comes to exposing the fascist nature of Soviet social-imperialism, but are weak-kneed, blindfolded liberals when it comes to exposing the fascist nature of U.S. imperialism. The U.S. monopoly capitalist blood-suckers not only savagely exploit the oppressed masses in the U.S., but U.S. imperialism is also the biggest neo-colonial power in the world. Only by fighting to overthrow the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalists and the American proletariat express its solidarity with the fighting peoples of the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America, with the oppressed masses opposing their revisionist rule in the Soviet Union, with the downtrodden masses in all the other capitalist and neo-imperialist countries, and with the proletarian state power in the socialist countries.

The rise of open social-chauvinism is not an accident. Conditions have been prepared for it by the long corrosion of neo-revisionism

(revisionism falsely flying the flag of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought) inside the Marxist-Leninist movement. Neo-revisionism comes from adapting New Leftism to Marxism-Leninism. The opportunist lines that corrupted the student movement were transferred into the workers' movement -- that is neo-revisionism. Yesterday's New Leftist, today's trade unionists. Neo-revisionism negated the Party by setting building the Party against building the mass movement. It denied the role of consciousness among the masses and adopted the vulgar "left economist" approach to the masses. It denied that revisionism was the main danger at present in the communist movement and instead sought to stop the struggle between Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought and revisionism by advocating in one form or other that "ultra-leftism" was the main danger. It prettified the imperialist state and the growing fascism and went into raptures over "bourgeois democracy". The rise of open social-chauvinism from the neo-revisionist trend is the beginning of the bankruptcy of neo-revisionism.

Open Browderism is trying to fly the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. This fact must be given full weight. In order to oppose social-chauvinism, it is necessary to settle accounts with modern revisionism and particularly Browderism. Now is a time very much like that of the open debates against Khrushchevite revisionism of the early 1960's. If the Marxist-Leninists do not seize the time to repudiate revisionism and opportunism and clarify political line for the American revolution, then social-chauvinism and opportunism will seize a stranglehold that will last a long time on the revolutionary mass movements and the storm that is about to erupt.

This issue of *The Workers' Advocate* contains the article entitled "Marxist-Leninists, Unite! Denounce Social-Chauvinism! Build the Party Through the Repudiation of Revisionism and Opportunism!" This article sets forth the fighting task of the American Marxist-Leninists to build the Party through struggle against social-chauvinism. It opposes the clique-building schemes of the Browderite leaders of the O.L. to have a short period of so-called "organizational consolidation" of the Party in order to stop the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and opportunism and to consolidate social-chauvinism. The article points out that modern revisionism was never thoroughly repudiated in the U.S. and sets forth the urgent task of settling accounts with revisionism. It outlines a number of burning issues in the revolutionary movement, mainly centering around the question of the attitude towards the monopoly capitalist state-machine, towards social-chauvinism and opportunism, and towards the most craven capitulation and outright alliance.

This issue also contains an article "Once Again on O.L.'s Social-Chauvinist Theory of Directing the Main Blow at Soviet Social-Imperialism". This article explodes O.L.'s clumsy attempt to turn Comrade Stalin into a social-chauvinist in order to give its

social-chauvinism a theoretical justification and thus "render more profound" its opportunism. O.L. turns somersaults and transforms dialectics into lying sophistry in order to "explain" how one can direct the "main blow" at the foreign enemy, at the other imperialist superpower, in the American proletarian revolution. This is the theoretical basis for O.L.'s constant urging of the U.S. government to drop imperialist pacifism (frenzied but concealed war-mongering) in favor of open war-mongering. But Comrade Stalin's writings on the direction of the "main blow" are just a powerful re-iteration of Lenin's profound observation that "... the fight against imperialism is a sham and a humbug unless it is inseparably linked up with the fight against opportunism." These Marxist-Leninist teachings are in fact a stirring call for all American Marxist-Leninists to take up the fight against social-chauvinism as an indispensable part of the preparations for the anti-fascist proletarian socialist revolution.

This issue also contains an article on O.L.'s version of the theory of "Three Worlds". The essence of O.L.'s social-chauvinist theory of "Three Worlds" is the denial of revolution, an apology for U.S. neo-colonialism and the denial of the proletarian revolution in the U.S. This theory denies the international forces of socialism and freedom. It seeks to detach the national liberation movement from the world socialist revolutionary movement in order to hitch the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to the U.S. nuclear umbrella. It calls for an alliance between the "Second World" and "Third World", thus replacing the Leninist analysis of imperialism with reactionary, wishful thinking about the big powers in Western Europe and Japan changing their imperialist "policies". O.L.'s theory of "Three Worlds" and a "great strategic concept" of world revolution is in fact a theory of all-round capitulation to the reactionary international big bourgeoisie and particularly to U.S.-led western imperialism, a theory of mobilizing the "Second World" and "Third World" behind the U.S. imperialist war front against the Soviet social-imperialists.

The American communist movement is but one contingent in the international communist movement. In the international communist movement, there is struggle between opportunism and Marxism-Leninism. Comrade Enver Hoxha has stepped forward in these turbulent times following the death of the great leader Chairman Mao to lead the international communist movement. He is following in the footsteps of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao Tse-tung. His "PROGRAM FOR THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA" is a Marxist-Leninist classic that must be read over and over again. We reprint in this issue a number of documents from the international communist movement, such as: "Joint Statement of the Delegations of Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America", "Internationalist Rally Held on the Occasion of the Closing of the Third Congress of the Communist Party of Germany (Marxist-Leninist)" and "Grand Internationalist Rally of

the Communist Party of Italy (Marxist-Leninist)". And we print the program of the rally for the closing of the 3rd Congress of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist). The 3rd Congress will be a Congress of international significance. The CPC(M-L) is the first party to be reconstituted on the Marxist-Leninist basis in North America. It is waging a valiant fight against constant attacks by the state and by the opportunists. In order to disrupt the 3rd Congress and the Party, the reactionary Canadian state has started a big despicable frame-up against the CPC(M-L)'s Chairman, Comrade Harold Bains. We denounce the reactionary Canadian government that, at the baton of U.S. imperialism and domestic monopoly capitalism, is attacking the Party of the Canadian proletariat and its Chairman. Every true Marxist-Leninist should rally to the defense of CPC(M-L) and Comrade Harold Bains and those who can should attend this historic rally.

Marxism has always developed in the struggle against opportunism. The rise of open social-chauvinism is of course a bad thing. But we are confident that the struggle against social-chauvinism will cleanse the Marxist-Leninist ranks of the opportunist filth that has been accumulating for some time and help forge unity behind the Marxist-Leninist political line. It will lead towards the re-constitution of the Party in the U.S. This is a bad thing will be turned into a good thing. Let all Marxist-Leninists unite to lead the American proletariat in struggle against the monopoly capitalist dictators! Let all Marxist-Leninists unite to lead the proletarian revolution as our sacred proletarian internationalist duty and as part of the world proletarian revolution! Let all American Marxist-Leninists fight as a loyal contingent in the international communist movement, forever loyal to our leader Comrade Enver Hoxha, and guided by the immortal teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-tung and Enver Hoxha. Marxist-Leninists -- unite in the struggle against social-chauvinism! End.

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On the Situation in the U.S. Marxist-Leninist Movement:

MARXIST-LENINISTS, UNITE! DENOUNCE SOCIAL-BUILD THE PARTY THROUGH THE REPUDIATION OF

We are living in a time of tumult and disorder, a time of great upheavals. U.S. monopoly capitalism is flailing around in despair, committing innumerable crimes as it tries to overcome its all-round crisis -- crisis of over-production, fiscal crisis, utter spiritual decay, political crisis of "confidence", etc. The whole capitalist and revisionist world is gripped in deep crisis. Socialist revolution in the capitalist (including the revisionist) countries, and national liberation in the oppressed nations, is not a distant prospect, but an urgent problem to be taken up for solution. Revolution is the main trend in the world today.

It is a matter of great joy that the U.S. monopoly capitalist dictators are meeting opposition everywhere. The last few years have seen a glorious festival of national liberation. Domestically, there is a protracted upsurge in the U.S. workers movement, heralding a far larger storm to come. The heroic Afro-American people have given the state-organized fascist anti-busing movement a good thrashing. Other revolutionary mass movements, among students, oppressed oppressed nationalities and immigrants, have also stirred.

However, this is no time for complacency. No matter how deep the crisis, U.S. monopoly capitalism will not perish of its own accord. The weaker the U.S. ruling class becomes, the more vicious it gets in its deathbed struggles. The monopoly capitalists are launching a fascist offensive against the people. They are preparing for war. They are seeking to shift the burden of the economic crisis onto the backs of the American working class and oppressed nationalities at home and onto the oppressed countries abroad. In 1976 they made big profits by intense speed-ups and wide-scale lay-offs. They are continuing to make large cuts in the real hourly wage, mainly through increases in taxation, licenses and fees of all kinds and through the run-away inflation in such necessities as energy, health care, transportation, and food.

Internationally, U.S. imperialism will remain aggressive as long as it has a single tooth left in its head. It is pursuing a savagely aggressive policy towards the bastions of world revolution, China and Albania, both threatening them with military pressure and attempting to subvert them from within in conjunction with the local capitalist-rodgers. The U.S. still occupies China's province of Taiwan and volutes with social-imperialism to encircle Albania. The U.S. imperialists are desperately trying to win back lost positions and capture new ones in Asia, Africa and Latin America: The U.S. is carrying on an intense campaign to subvert the national liberation struggles in southern Africa; it is utilizing the Soviet neo-colonial government in Angola to push its hand into Angola again; it directed the bloody coup in Thailand; and, along with the Soviet Union, it instigated the slaughter in Lebanon. The U.S. imperialists seek to subject the whole world to their domination, bullying and hegemony.

The U.S. imperialists are preparing for war with the New Tsars of the Soviet Union, who are challenging the U.S. for world domination. The Soviet Union once was a bright red land of socialism under the great leaders Lenin and Stalin. It has become a dark fascist, capitalist state under first Khrushchev and now Kosygin and Brezhnev. Capitalism has been restored in the Soviet Union, and the New Tsars are nothing but a bunch of social-imperialists, socialists in words and imperialists in deeds. The two super-powers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, are the leaders of the world system of imperialism. They are both colluding and contesting, but whether they work together or they fight each other, it is the people of the world who pay the bill. Their rivalry is leading to a new world war, more terrible than the last. But no matter how sharp the contention among the imperialists, the fundamental and main division in the world remains that between the forces of imperialism and slavery on one hand and the forces of freedom and socialism on the other. The super-powers are their attack first and foremost at the revolution. One cannot rely on either superpower to fight the other, and one cannot join the sham "anti-U.S. imperialist front" of the Soviet New Tsars or take part in the sham "anti-Soviet social-imperialist" of the U.S. imperialists without becoming a pawn in the imperialist intrigues.

In order to increase exploitation at home and continue their frenzied war-mongering abroad, the U.S. monopoly capitalists are fasciating the state to the maximum. The big bourgeoisie has been arming itself to the teeth. The major industrial city of Detroit, the site of the greatest Afro-American rebellion in 1967, was forced into bankruptcy and fiscal crisis mainly over vastly increased expenses for the police. The capitalists are using the state to organize fascist mass movements, such as the fascist anti-busing movement and the hysteria on the question of social crime. In all the attempts to create fascist mass movements, attacks on the Afro-American people are the cutting edge of the campaign.

The capitalists rule not just by force, but also by political deception. They seek to divert the workers movement with social-democracy and revisionism, which is spread by the trade union big-wigs and the opportunist and funds fertile soil among the labor aristocracy. The election of Carter is a big part of the capitalists' fascist offensive and preparations for war. The Democratic Party presents itself as the "party of the workers and the minorities", yet it has the same program as the Republican Party of fascist terror. During this winter's fake "natural gas shortage", Carter called for the masses to turn their thermometers and freeze while paying higher and

higher prices to the oil monopolies, just as Nixon did before him during the fake "energy crisis" of 1973-4. The main way the Democratic Party tries to regain the "confidence" of the people and lull them to sleep is by presenting their program as of "full employment" and "jobs". But the Democrats do propaganda for "national economic planning" in order to pave the way for that inseparable part of all capitalist economic planning, wage controls, and to further integrate the trade unions into the government apparatus and force workers to take slave-labor jobs under the hoax of "putting America back to work" and getting people off welfare. Beware! The Carter-Democratic Party criticism of the Republicans was only for lacking the "strong leadership" necessary to force the Nixonite fascist program down the throats of the American people.

THE BASIC QUESTION IS PARTY-BUILDING

We are thus facing a period of intense class struggle. The workers movement is surging forward. The capitalists have launched a fascist offensive against the working class and oppressed nationalities. They are preparing to split the coming revolutionary people's movements by increasing their political deception via the Carter government and also by installing some "fighting" social-democratic hacks in the trade union bureaucracy.

In this complex situation, the fundamental point is that the revolutionaries cannot rely on spontaneity. Where there is oppression, there is resistance. For this resistance to be successful, for all the mass movements to grow and not be liquidated, for them to merge into one irresistible storm of anti-fascist, proletarian socialist revolution, there must be a genuine communist party based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tseung Thought. Only the Party of the proletariat can lead the struggle of the American working and oppressed people to victory.

Today the communist party has still not been rebuilt. The question on everyone's mind is: how will the Party be built? What is preventing unity? There is a Marxist-Leninist movement, inside this movement a number of trends and organizations have taken shape. While there are many views and many voices being raised, fundamentally all the conflicts boil down to a struggle between Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tseung Thought on the one hand and revisionism and opportunism on the other. The main danger in the U.S. communist movement, as in the world communist movement, is still modern Khrushchevite revisionism. It is the prevalence of opportunism and the influence of revisionism that has prevented the unity of the Marxist-Leninists. Revisionism and opportunism are synonymous with splits, lack of unity and social-chauvinism. Today neo-revisionism (revisionism falsely flying the banner of Mao Tseung Thought) has sickened to the point where it has given rise to an open social-chauvinist trend, a trend of arrogant superpower chauvinism bumbling around trying to quote the Marxist-Leninist classics. This Anglo-American chauvinist trend is represented in a concentrated fashion by the political line of the October League (Marxist-Leninist) and its Browderite leaders, such as the long-time rightist Mike Klonsky. The OL seeks to rally the American workers behind the U.S. monopoly capitalists under the banner of striking the "main blow" at the Soviet social-imperialists. The OL is inciting the U.S. workers to slaughter the Soviet workers in a future imperialist world war, thus splitting the international proletariat. The OL has proposed its solution to the question of building the party -- that there should be quick organizational consolidation behind the social-chauvinism of the OL, that the Marxist-Leninist movement should give up the struggle against all forms of revisionism, such as social-chauvinism, in order to join the group allegedly "recognized" as "official" by certain other parties.

THE ROAD FORWARD FOR PARTY-BUILDING IN 1977: ORGANIZATIONAL CONSOLIDATION AND FUSION OF AN ILL-ASSORTED MISH-MASH, OR POLITICAL CLARIFICATION AND REPUDIATION OF REVISIONISM AND OPPORTUNISM

The COUSML calls on all upright Marxist-Leninists to oppose the party-building plan of the OL and to reconsider and discard all other party-building plans that put the emphasis on organizational consolidation. The OL has stated in their 1977 New Year's Editorial of The Call that: "While the task of uniting the Marxist-Leninists and winning the advanced workers will go on long after the First Congress, the organizational building of the party is the most crucial step at this point." According to the OL, "The growing trend of rampant unity made its greatest gains yet in the U.S. in the last year. Although the new Marxist-Leninist party was not formed in 1976, the conditions for its founding in 1977 were firmly laid. Most importantly, communist groups, including the October League, united together into the Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Party (OC). It is quite clear that the OL regards the task of party-building in 1977 as simply being a brief period of "organizational building of the party" prior to the first Congress, during which an ill-assorted mish-mash of groups will fuse together. And after the First Congress, OL regards the task of continuing to unite the Marxist-Leninists as also just being a question of adding more numbers. Fusion of an ill-assorted mish-mash, this is the profound essence of the OL's plan. By this "organizational building of the party", the OL hopes to put a lid on the very vigorous situation of

debate and discussion among the masses of activists on social-chauvinism and other questions of political line.

Party-building cannot be separated from the clarification of political line for the American revolution. Today the situation is rather lively inside the U.S. Marxist-Leninist movement. The emergence of the open social-chauvinist line of directing the "main blow" at Soviet social-imperialism is the beginning of the total bankruptcy of neo-revisionism. All fundamental questions of Marxism-Leninism are being passionately debated, investigated and fought over among the masses of activists. Experience is being summed up. In a sense, a situation exists today very much like that of the period of the great debates against Khrushchevite revisionism in the early 1960's. Only today we have great Mao Tseung Thought and the experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to guide us. In such a period, it would produce truly tragic results to confuse the question of party-building with that of organizational fusion. If the Marxist-Leninists do not seize the time to intensify the work of party-building by providing political clarification and repudiating revisionism and opportunism, then opportunism and social-chauvinism will win a stranglehold on the revolutionary mass movement that will last for a long time. Today, to advance the urgent task of party-building, one must carry the struggle against revisionism through to the end and clarify the political line for the American revolution. Unity can be won only by fighting the forces of disunity, only by defeating revisionism.

We are opposed to the emphasis on organizational consolidation in party-building, but we are not opposed to individuals and groups uniting. On the contrary, we are emphasizing political clarification and repudiation of revisionism and opportunism because only this will give rise to the unity of the Marxist-Leninists. We have never been in favor of the line of forming "pre-party collectives" and we have not changed our minds now. We think it is a good thing when Marxist-Leninist individuals or groups take a conscious attitude to the different trends and then enthusiastically take part in the historical process of uniting the Marxist-Leninists by taking responsibility for their views and uniting with other Marxist-Leninists. In this, we are totally opposed to the opportunistic attitude of petty-minded characters like the Leaders of the OL, who continually exhibit petty-bourgeois competitiveness and jealousy. The double-dealers of the OL raved and raved against the formation of the Revolutionary Communist Party, calling it premature and a "get-rich-quick" scheme in order to be able to turn around and do the same thing themselves. For our part, there are two points in our attitude towards the formation of the RCP: (1) We opposed it when the Revolutionary Union called the Congress to found the RCP because this act did damage to the Marxist-Leninist movement, was carried out as the practical consequence of the theory that party-building is only an important task for a brief period prior to the Party Congress, and was an attempt to bring an end to the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism by consolidating a neo-revisionist trend. It is for the same reasons that we oppose OL's call for a founding Congress, except that with OL neo-revisionism has now degenerated into open social-chauvinism; (2) But it was the attempt to do damage to the Marxist-Leninist movement that we opposed, not RCP's organizational consolidation per se. In fact, we think that the RCP's development is not a bad thing, but a good thing, in that independently of the will of the leaders of the RCP -- who had wished to end the struggle for political clarification with their Congress -- it has only intensified that struggle.

It is significant that those who are advocating the "organizational building of the party" as the main emphasis in party-building do not even understand the strictly organizational side of party-building. It is no secret that for OL the Party is just a loose Browderite educational association with some special sectarian principles tacked on, while the "Organizing Committee" is just a pretext for building cliques and organizing conspiracies with dubious elements. A number of organizations which still had soft ears for OL have complained of the arbitrary and high-handed manner in which OL has refused to ever try to sort out its differences with them. We stress that the formation of the Party will not end the period of party-building, even on the organizational side, but will instead usher in a period of more intense consolidation and steeling of the Party. The question at this time is not fusion of the various groups. Nor is the question one of drawing immediate paper "dividing lines" that supposedly show various organizations out of the Marxist-Leninist movement. The question is to wage vigorously the struggle inside the Marxist-Leninist movement against opportunism and revisionism and in favor of unity of all revolutionary Marxist-Leninists. It is not a bad thing, but a good thing that opportunism and social-chauvinism have come out of hiding and are trying to openly stand on their own feet -- if swaggering around drunk with the support of international opportunism can be counted as standing on one's own feet -- for this gives rise to the maximum possibilities of repudiating the opportunist rot and to the maximum discussion among the widest circles of revolutionary activists and politically-minded workers on the burning issues of the revolution.

ON THE EXPERIENCE FROM THE "CALL FOR A CONFERENCE OF NORTH AMERICAN MARXIST-LENINISTS"

The COUSML holds that the Party comes about as the result of a historical process and is not the property of one sect or a few individuals. When someone wants to organize the Party, they should consult with other Marxist-Leninists. This is the method we have consistently followed. When the Cleveland Workers' Action Committee decided to take up the historical tasks facing the American Marxist-Leninists by organizing in 1969 the American Communist Workers' Movement (Marxist-Leninist), the first national center for the dissemination of Mao Tseung Thought, it consulted with the other Marxist-Leninists and sought to unite them. Some Marxist-Leninists united. Others called themselves "Marxist-Leninist" but refused to unite because they wished to build local pre-party collectives or else they wished ACWM(M-L) to take up special sectarian principles as the price of unity; in short, opportunism and neo-revisionism prevented unity. The organizations and individuals contacted included the Bay Area Revolutionary Union, the California Communist League, and Mike Klonsky. The "Call for a Conference of North American Marxist-Leninists" was issued in 1972 in the same manner. It was a general call and the Preparatory Committee for the Conference sought to consult with and unite with all the Marxist-Leninist organizations. In order to study seriously the method of uniting the Marxist-Leninists, it will be quite worthwhile to review the lessons from the campaign "Marxist-Leninists, Unite!" that was centered around the "Call for a Conference of North American Marxist-Leninists", issued in November, 1972.

The campaign "Marxist-Leninists, Unite!" played a decisive role in bringing to the masses of activists consciousness of the importance of party-building and smashing the theory of the party emerging spontaneously from the mass movement. Prior to the "Call for a Conference of North American Marxist-Leninists", the theory of "pre-party collectives" was dominant. Let us recall the political atmosphere of those times by looking at OL's line in 1973, particularly because OL has created the myth that it allegedly "always" stood for party-building. As late as March-May 1973 the OL published in its paper The Call a three-part article entitled "Building a New Communist Party in the United States". This article gave lip-service to the party, while proposing a plan of building local collectives that merge through their practical work. The OL did not anywhere in these articles call for unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism or for the Marxist-Leninists to take up the historic national tasks of the American revolution. Instead the plan of building local collectives would keep the Marxist-Leninists scattered, divided and weak, and they would then have little choice but to engage in marriages of convenience on the basis of "practical cooperation". The article stated: "To help forge unity, as much practical cooperation as possible between the different groups should be encouraged. As they begin to develop unity in the course of practical work, organizational unity will become more of a reality. They must consult and work jointly in the united front and factory work whenever possible." As to the type of practical work that these groups were to unite on, the article emphasizes the "united front" tasks of "... pushing forward the work in the plants of organizing strikes, working in the unions and building up the caucuses and other rank-and-file movements, ..." and "... the daily work of holding the rank-and-file caucuses and intermarke or city-wide organizations..." The collectives were not to be built on the basis of opposing revisionism, but of opposing "ultra-leftism". The article stated: "However, while modern revisionism, or right opportunism is the main ideological enemy which confronts the world revolutionary movement, within the newly-emerging communist movement here, the main danger is 'leftism' and sectarianism. Without a staunch struggle against sectarianism, dogmatism and ultra-leftism in general, all the crises for a new party would mean a thing." As to what was wrong with the "ultra-leftists", OL stated: "Most importantly, the present-day ultra-leftists oppose the strategy of the united front against imperialism." At that time the "united front against imperialism" had not yet degenerated into the "united front against Soviet social-imperialism". The OL set "united front" work, which they conceived as narrow trade unionism as quoted above, against party-building, and they opposed communist revolutionary propaganda as "ultra-left" and "dry, stale dogma". The OL used these ideas as its yellow banner for refusing to even try to sort out political line with the Preparatory Committee, for denouncing the call "Marxist-Leninists, Unite!", and for perpetuating splits and opportunism among the Marxist-Leninists.

It was the campaign to unite the Marxist-Leninists that went against the neo-revisionist repudiation of the party concept. The "Call for a Conference of North American Marxist-Leninists" ushered in a period of motion and re-alignment, a period of vigorous political discussion on the basic points of Marxism, among the Marxist-Leninists. The struggles around this call dominated Marxist-Leninist politics in the U.S. until 1974 or even early 1975. It is from the time of this call that the question of party-building has come to the fore as the most burning issue in the Marxist-Leninist movement. The COUSML was founded during this campaign in August, 1973, in order to further contribute to the unity of the Marxist-

# CHAUVINISM! REVISIONISM AND OPPORTUNISM!

Leninists and to continue to hold high the banner of Marxist-Leninist unity.

The chief weakness of the campaign "Marxist-Leninists, Unite!" was that it laid an incorrect emphasis on organizational consolidation. Comrades who are following the Marxist-Leninist political line are already united, and will readily respond to the general call to build the Party. The political and theoretical level of the American communist movement is very low, and to defeat the opportunism that keeps the Marxist-Leninists divided it is necessary to lay emphasis on repudiating revisionism and elaborating the Marxist-Leninist political line for the American revolution. Theoretical work is necessary. In so far as the campaign to unite the Marxist-Leninists engaged in wide-scale dissemination of political line, it succeeded -- in so far as it tried organizational fusion, it failed. During the campaign, there were various plans to fuse groups. This reflected our enthusiastic sentiment to unite and then to use the united Marxist-Leninist organization to further the struggle against revisionism, as well as our disdain to maintain special sectarian principles of our own. But while our sentiment was good, our judgement was wrong. As a result of our mistake on the question of organizational fusion, various alien forces tried to use the campaign in order to infiltrate the Marxist-Leninist movement.

The main attack was launched by the leaders of the so-called "Communist" League (now called the "Communist Labor" Party of the USNA), which would later jump out as open trotskyite agents of Soviet social-imperialism. The "Communist" League opposed the vigorous work of the ACWM(M-L), the Association of Communist Workers and others against neo-revisionism on the grounds that wide-scale dissemination of Marxism was allegedly to "invite everyone off the street to the conference". The "C" League held that the discussion on political line and the sorting out of differences should take place merely between the leaderships of the organizations, and that the masses of activists had no role to play in the motion and realignment in the communist movement. The "C" League parasitized off the Preparatory Committee, learned the entire plan, and then duplicated its own opportunist version of the plan to gain currency in the communist movement. In "C" League's infiltration of the communist movement it was, of course, aided by the chieftains of the neo-revisionist organizations, who for their own sectarian purposes maintained a conspiracy of silence about the ACWM(M-L) and COUSML while promoting "C" League as allegedly the main organization behind the campaign to unite the Marxist-Leninists. However, we ourselves made another serious error of judgement that aided "C" League's infiltration by not publicly denouncing "C" League's political lines fill the latter half of 1974 when we issued the thorough-going pamphlet "Dialectics of the Development of Nelson Peery's Head" and restraining ourselves prior to then to pointing out that "C" League had engaged in splitting activity with regard to the Preparatory Committee and the Conference. Besides "C" League, the U.S. political police also attacked the campaign "Marxist-Leninists, Unite!" and, as part of Operation CHAOS, used agents such as FBI agent Joe Burton, Mr. Burton's task, as he revealed in April 1975 on the David Susskind TV show, and in interviews with *The New York Times*, was particularly to sabotage any unity between the American Marxist-Leninists and the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), the first communist party to be reconstituted in North America. Burton's method was to head up a police-socialist collective in Tampa, Florida, which was far from any city in which we had units, and then to try to present himself on that basis as a leader who should be brought into the plans. During the campaign we and finally the whole Marxist-Leninist movement eventually weeded out "C" League and the other agents, but they did far more damage than they need have. This experience proves the bankruptcy of the method of fusion, even when that method is purged of the intrigues and conspiracies that degenerate into the hands of OL and various opportunists. We found that the method of fusion forced us, against our will, to deviate from our practice of judging everyone by deeds and not words. If anyone wishes to join COUSML, they must apply individually. We hold that even if several organizations merge to create a new one, the new organization should sort out its members individually and not as people having status with a previous group.

Perhaps someone may suggest that the problem was not with the line of fusion and organizational consolidation, but with our attempt to sort out differences with such a bad group as "C" League. Such a view would be excessively narrow-minded. It was no more wrong to deal with "C" League prior to their jumping out decisively as pro-Soviet trotskyites, than it was for us in the same campaign to try to sit together with organizations like OL, although Mike Klonsky later jumped out as a raving social-chauvinist. It is necessary to take a very objective attitude towards organizations claiming to be Marxist-Leninist. Sorting out the revisionists, opportunists and anti-communists hiding under the banner of their sort of "Marxism-Leninism" from the actual Marxist-Leninists, including those who may temporarily be adhering to opportunist positions on various issues, is a complicated, painstaking task. The innumerable "dividing lines" that are all the rage today are of no help here. Today a factional attitude is widely promoted, that all Marxist-Leninist organizations should engage in as many factional fights as possible, polemize with and attack by name all other organizations on the maximum number of different points. This rampant factionalism is only of use to the bourgeoisie -- it shields the

revisionists and renders the Marxist-Leninist movement open to the provocations of police-socialism. We have, in the main, always held ourselves aloof from this factionalism and taken a serious attitude to judging when it was necessary to criticize by name other organizations claiming to be against revisionism and for Marxism-Leninism.

MODERN REVISIONISM WAS NEVER THOROUGHLY REPUDIATED IN THE U. S.

The rise of open social-chauvinism under the banner of directing the "main blow at Soviet social-imperialism" is the most significant recent event in the U. S. Marxist-Leninist movement. Social-chauvinism is the most concentrated expression of Anglo-American chauvinism in the Marxist-Leninist movement, and its emergence from the neo-revisionist trend is the most striking result of the long-standing inner corrosion of revisionism inside the communist movement. The social-chauvinist line of siding with the U. S. monopoly capitalists in their war preparations against the Soviet New Tsars inevitably reminds one of Browder's Anglo-American chauvinist line that "Communism is twentieth-century Americanism", especially when one looks at certain publications of the OL which are printed in red-white-and-blue. Historical experience merits attention. In the U. S., as elsewhere, Marxism has only developed in the struggle against opportunism. To understand the significance of neo-revisionism going bankrupt and giving rise to open social-chauvinism, one must keep in mind the profoundly important historical fact that modern revisionism -- revisionism of the Browder, Tito, Khrushchev type -- has never been thoroughly repudiated in the U. S.

The question of Browderite revisionism must be taken very seriously. Historically, Browder preceded Tito and Khrushchev as a path-breaker for modern revisionism. Browderism had international significance, and it not only poisoned the Communist Party of the U. S. A., but also contaminated a number of other proletarian parties including in Latin America and Canada. Browder himself acknowledged the close relationship between Browderism and Khrushchevite revisionism and wrote in 1960 that "Khrushchev has now adopted the 'heresy' for which I was kicked out of the Communist Party in 1945", and he stated that Khrushchev's policy "is almost word for word the same line I advocated fifteen years ago. So my crime has become -- at least for the moment -- the new orthodoxy". (Earl Browder, "How Stalin Ruined the American Communist Party", *Harper's Magazine*, March 1960.) Browderism first liquidated the political line of the Communist Party of the USA and then liquidated the Party itself in 1944, replacing it by an educational association, the "Communist Political Association". Although Browderism was opposed by many American communists such as Comrade William Z. Foster and the CPUSA was reconstituted, still Browderism was not thoroughly repudiated and revisionism continued to corrode the CPUSA from within. Thus the CPUSA became an early avid supporter of Khrushchev and degenerated rapidly into a bourgeois, great-power chauvinist, fascist party.

After the degeneration of the CPUSA, the burning question for the American Marxist-Leninists was to repudiate modern revisionism and reconstitute a genuine Communist Party of the American proletariat. In 1962 the Progressive Labor Movement (which became the Progressive Labor Party in 1965) was founded as the first national anti-revisionist center in the U. S. Filled with enthusiasm to split with revisionism, many Marxist-Leninists rallied around PL. For a period, PL strived to uphold Marxism-Leninism, and it did lead some mass struggles and reprint a number of important documents from the international communist movement. But PL was unable to rise to the tasks before it. A careful examination of PL's documents shows that right from the start PL had an extremely weak grasp of the nature of revisionism. And finally PL reached a point where it stopped fighting revisionism and opportunism altogether and adopted the entire method and style of work of the revisionists, only hidden under "left" phrases. PL was unable to make concrete analysis of the burning questions of the American revolution, and instead adopted its notorious style of worker chauvinism, of crudely and mechanically reducing every question to "the workers versus the bosses". PL then set itself in opposition to the mass movements, attacked the national liberation struggles including that of the Vietnamese people, took up the U. S. great-power chauvinist line that "all nationalism is reactionary", attacked the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and Mao Tsetung Thought, and degenerated into the trotskyite sect it is today.

Why did PL fail? The first national anti-revisionist center fell because it was unable to settle accounts with revisionism, with Browderism and right opportunism. This fact has profound implications for the present task of re-establishing the Party. Take, for example, PL's line on the massive student movement of the 60's. At first PL advocated doing communist work on the campuses and building an anti-imperialist student movement, and it initiated the May 2nd Movement. However, SDS came into national prominence and PL had to deal with SDS's official ideology of "New Leftism" that was the illegitimate child of social-democracy and revisionism. PL decided to deal with the actual mass motion that was reflected in SDS by giving up the struggle against opportunism. Opportunism, in the form of "New Leftism", was de-

clared to be "objectively progressive". On this basis PL liquidated the May 2nd Movement in 1966 and had its members move into SDS and follow the policy of being very quiet about politics and simply being hard workers, the people who volunteered to be on all the committees, to stay up all night with the mimeograph machine, etc. Thus PL sought to gain influence in SDS not on the basis of Marxist-Leninist political line, but on the basis of having capitulated to opportunism. PL did gain some influence and, in 1967, to distinguish itself from the other New Leftists, it then came forward with its sectarian program of opposition to the student movement, under the slogan of the Worker-Student Alliance (originally the Student-Labor Alliance). This is a vivid example of how PL fell not from an "ultra-left" exaggeration of the struggle against revisionism, but from having ceased to struggle against revisionism and opportunism.

The degeneration of PL left the mass movements of the 60's without leadership. The revisionists and trotskyites actually collaborated with the capitalists in suppressing the people's movements. Yet a great storm of mass struggle shook the U. S. The question of what path, what orientation for the revolutionary movement was pressing. All sorts of revisionist and opportunist theories were promoted: New Leftism, terrorism, anarchism, reformism, cultural nationalism, etc. The decadent imperialist culture wreaked havoc. It was the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution that brought Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to the whole world. Many revolutionary activists summed up the lessons of the 60's and decided that only Mao Tsetung Thought showed the path forward. But this only took place in the course of a bitter struggle against opportunism. The Soviet revisionists promoted Castroism (Debray-ism, Guevarism) as the radical-sounding alternative to Marxism-Leninism. The New Leftists jumped from theory to theory, today a Castroite, tomorrow a "Maoist", and even consented to waive the precious Red Book a little, but remained silent on the significance of Mao Tsetung Thought and tried to suppress with silence the important documents of the international communist movement.

Thus the glorious heritage left us by the revolutionary movements of the 60's was the recognition of the need to take up Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and to use this scientific theory to guide the American revolution to victory. But accounts had not yet been settled with revisionism, and the trend of neo-revisionism arose on the basis of adapting Marxism-Leninism to New Leftism. For example, a number of New Left leaders rose in SDS on the sole basis of opposing PL -- and since it was soon found that PL could not be successfully opposed on the basis of open anti-communism, the New Left had to put forward "communists" who would denounce PL as "ultra-left". This was how the rightist Mike Klonsky rose to national prominence, became leader of SDS in 1968, and promptly led SDS into total destruction in 1969. Instead of correcting themselves and moving forward, a number of leaders who had made serious errors in the 60's simply adapted themselves to the new situation in which Marxism-Leninism had high prestige, gave lip-service to it, and continued to oppose it, only now they called the consistent Marxist-Leninists "dogmatic", "sectarian", "ultra-left", or "Cleveland crazies". Neo-revisionism counterposed building the mass movement to building the Party (although we have seen how successful such leaders as Klonsky were in "building" SDS), holding that the party would emerge from the mass movements and local collectives. They held that PL was "ultra-left" in order to oppose fighting opportunism and carrying through the repudiation of revisionism and to promote "ultra-leftism" as the main danger. They in general adopted a vulgar "left economist" style of work that negated the role of consciousness among the masses. The neo-revisionists brought New Leftism into the working class movement and called it Marxism-Leninism.

Neo-revisionism had a chance to show what it could accomplish in the early 70's. Its leaders were the most prominent ones among the American Marxist-Leninists. Its organizations were relatively large. It lacked for nothing. And it proved totally incapable of dealing with the upsurge of the workers' movement in the 70's, just as New Leftism itself proved bankrupt in the period of upsurge of the youth and student movement in the 60's. In the "storm-and-stress" period of the 60's, contradictions were breaking out everywhere. People's lives were in turmoil. In this period, monopoly capitalism promoted on a wide-scale fake alternatives like hippy-ism, drugs, terrorism, anarchism, and the lives of the activists were very turbulent. Acts of self-sacrifice and heroism were commonplace among the masses. But in the relatively peaceful period of the 70's, neo-revisionism prepared conditions for the rise of a strata of quiet, "respectable" communists, who have turned Marxism-Leninism not into a guide for being more revolutionary, more stern, more unyielding than was possible with the sham, fake alternatives, but instead into a way of justifying leading a quiet, "respectable" life that seeks to avoid the contradictions of society. The quiet communists lead a bourgeois life in the midst of the working class. For them, integration into the working class was to become "respectable" and not to enter into the most revolutionary, most self-sacrificing, most heroic class ever known in the history of mankind, a class which is racked with unemployment, misery, disease, etc., but just for that reason has nothing to hold on to in this society, has nothing to lose but its claims, and is the most determined to make a radical rupture with the past. The bourgeois

sows his oats in a college fraternity and then shaves off his beard to become a corporate executive; the opportunist wing of the "radical" leaders of the 60's, have turned into the respectable communists of the early 70's, waving the flag against Soviet social-imperialism, calling the militants "ultra-left" and "CIA agents", bickering over who is "officially recognized" and leading calm, bourgeois lives. These philistines have their own three-point tactical line: they have a liberal attitude towards the alleged "two aspects" of the state machine, worship before courts and legal struggle, and have a touching faith in the nursery fairytale of American liberal "bourgeois democracy"; they still negate the Party and wish to turn the trade unions into the "revolutionary" class organizations of the proletariat; and they regard themselves as exceptionally bold when they take part in mass peaceful demonstrations led by broad "left-liberal" coalitions under slogans that are, generally speaking, acceptable to the most timid liberal. They can see no further than their beloved "bourgeois democracy", the capitalist trade unions and the legal demonstrations -- and they are experts in squeezing the revolutionary content out of even the restricted activity they do engage in. This strata has not one ounce of revolutionary energy and is Anglo-American chauvinist to the core.

Now is the time to sum up the experience of the American Marxist-Leninists in fighting modern revisionism and social-chauvinist Browderism. All Marxist-Leninists should place emphasis on this task. In doing this, we must keep in mind that even though the revisionist "C" PUSA is no longer itself in the communist movement, nevertheless its political line remains the concentrated expression of the revisionism wreaking havoc inside the Marxist-Leninist movement. In the coming period, the COUSML will take up the repudiation of revisionism and opportunism on a number of key questions of political line and will analyze the political line of certain key representative of trends, such as "C" PUSA, the concentrated expression of revisionism; the evolution of PL, the first anti-revisionist center; and OL, the example of neo-revisionism gone bankrupt and coming out as a raving defender of U. S. world domination.

AGAINST THE POLITICAL BLACKMAIL OF THE SOCIAL-CHAUVINISTS AND FOR BASING THE PARTY ON MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT

Clarification of political line and repudiation of revisionism and Browderite social-chauvinism must be done, not on the basis of disconnected ideas or some new theory, but on the firm foundation of Marxism-Leninism. We hold that the theoretical basis of the Party is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Mao Tsetung Thought is the Marxism-Leninism of our era. Theoretical work to establish the strategy and tactics of the American revolution must be done on the basis of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with the concrete practice of the American revolution.

Today it is Comrade Enver Hoxha who is following in the footsteps of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao. Following the tragic death of Chairman Mao, Comrade Enver Hoxha took up responsibility to lead the international communist movement. His historic "REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA" is a Marxist-Leninist classic. The report staunchly upholds the theory of continuing the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat, it emphasizes the leading role of the Party in all work. At a time when maximum confusion exists concerning the international situation, Comrade Enver Hoxha has stepped forward to clarify the orientation and direction for the world's communists. His report denounces the opportunist nature of the theory of "Three Worlds", condemns the two imperialist superpowers, the reactionary international bourgeoisie and the militarist blocs of NATO, the European Common Market, the Warsaw Pact and COMECON, and exposes the growing danger of fascism. It gives a stirring call to all communists everywhere to continue the polemics against Khrushchevite revisionism and it gives energetic support to the growth of new Marxist-Leninist parties around the world. This report deserves to be studied and restudied by every serious progressive person in the U. S. Let all Marxist-Leninists pledge to be forever faithful to the international communist movement and to follow closely Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings.

Whether or not to unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought has always been a burning question in the Marxist-Leninist movement. In November 1975 in their first "unity call", the OL did not even mention Marxism-Leninism as one of the "basic principles of unity around which we call on all Marxist-Leninists to unite in the new party". The October League, in order to replace Marxism-Leninism with their social-chauvinist Browderism, has resorted to political blackmail. Now that Chairman Mao is dead, they are trying to cash in on his great prestige and authority and on the prestige of Chairman Mao's China, to present themselves as the "officially" recognized party. They have sunk to the level of recruiting cadres on the basis of their international connections. The Marxist stand, viewpoint and method requires one to investigate all issues in a scientific spirit: a question must be investigated in and of itself; also its history and relationships with other things

# Once Again on the OL's Social-Chauvinist Theory of

The November 22 issue of *The Call*, political newspaper of the October League (Marxist-Leninist), contained an article entitled "Lessons of Strategy and Tactics: The Direction of the Main Blow". The article appeared in a prominent position in the centerfold. This article shows the great importance the social-chauvinist leaders of the October League place on allying with U.S. imperialism to direct the "main blow" at Soviet social-imperialism. As is well known, the OL leaders have declared this to be their strategy time and again (see article in box on this page). For this they have been roundly denounced throughout the Marxist-Leninist movement as capitulators to imperialism. This has thrown them into a predicament and has disturbed their attempts to build their opportunist party. But the OL refuses to give up this utterly bankrupt stand. This shows that the OL is not simply making a mistake, but is in essence a deeply great-power chauvinist organization hiding under the banner of Mao Tsetung Thought.

Now, in desperation, the OL has resorted to the bourgeois trick of sophistry in order to claim that their line of directing the "main blow" against the U.S.S.R. is not a social-chauvinist line, but is, instead, a Leninist line conforming with the strategic rules of Leninism formulated by Comrade Stalin, the glorious leader and teacher of the international proletariat, in his article "The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists". But the efforts of the October League leaders to turn Comrade Stalin into an ordinary OL social-chauvinist will not go down with the Marxist-Leninists in the United States. We will continue to denounce the OL's social-chauvinist line and intensify the struggle against revisionism and all opportunism. As we pointed out in the September 1 *Workers' Advocate*, in our article "Mao Tsetung Thought or Social-Chauvinism: A Comment on the October League's 'Call for Unity of Marxist-Leninists'":

No matter how much it wriggles, the October League cannot escape from the fact that its basic line of directing the 'main blow' of the U.S. proletariat at the U.S.S.R. is a social-chauvinist line of class betrayal. It serves the same objective as the war preparations of the U.S. imperialists, particularly the Democratic Party headed by Carter, who are employing deception to gain the 'confidence' of the workers so that they will give up revolution in the U.S. and kill their fellow workers for the profits of the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie...

In direct opposition to the OL's social-chauvinism:

The COUSML practices complete opposition to, and resolute struggle against, 'our own' bourgeoisie. We stand for launching revolutionary struggles against the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie and for supporting all revolutionary struggles against it, so as to oppose its war preparations and, in the case of an imperialist war, to utilize the bourgeoisie's war-time predicament to intensify preparations to launch a civil war to overthrow it completely. This is the only communist line.

Let us see how the October League makes its newest attempt to justify its social-chauvinist, great-power national chauvinist line.

SOPHISTRY CANNOT SAVE YOU, MR. KLONSKY!

To extricate themselves from the quicksand they have gotten into with their line of directing the "main blow" at the Soviet Union, the leaders of the October League have found a few quotes from Stalin which at first glance seem to justify the OL's social-chauvinism. Klonsky and company write in their article that:

Stalin warns against confusing the main danger (the direction of the main blow) with the main enemy (the strategic objective of the revolutionary struggle itself). 'Many people', he pointed out, 'did not understand this specific feature of Bolshevik strategy and accused the Bolsheviks of excessive "Cadetophobia" when they directed their main blow against the liberal Cadet Party.'

One can almost hear the leaders of the OL sigh with relief. "We have been unjustly accused of being social-chauvinists who think the main enemy is the Soviet Union", they seem to say. "But now! What a relief! We have found a quotation from Stalin where he distinguishes between the 'objective' of the revolutionary struggle and the 'direction of the main blow'." No matter that OL's use of "main blow" has nothing in common with Comrade Stalin's use of "main blow"! No matter that Stalin's articles on strategy and tactics in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution directly contradict the OL's social-chauvinism. No matter that the OL has never before distinguished between the object of the "main blow" and the "objective" of the revolutionary struggle (and still doesn't, as will be seen below when we examine the OL's "justifications" for considering the Soviet Union the object of the "main blow"). Now the OL has been saved! Now the OL can replace dialectics with sophistry under the banner of being "loyal" to Comrade Stalin! But, as we shall see, it is no small task, in fact it is impossible, to convert Stalin, the great Marxist-Leninist, into a social-chauvinist flunkey of Uncle Sam.

In its article, the OL states:

In an article on 'The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists' he (Stalin) pointed out that determining the direction of the main blow is the 'fundamental strategic rule of Leninism'. (Collected Works, Vol. 6, p.401)

In order to understand where to aim the main blow, says Stalin, it is necessary to recognize three things: '1) the compromising parties are the most dangerous social support of the enemies of the revolution; 2) it is impossible to overthrow the

enemies... unless these parties are isolated; 3) the main weapons in the period of preparation for the revolution must be directed towards isolating these parties, towards winning the broad masses of the working people away from them.' (Ibid., p. 402)

We will add, for the purpose of clarity, that the quotation in Stalin's article continues as follows:

... Bolshevik strategy... called for the isolation of the compromising party in order to facilitate, to hasten the victory over the principal enemy.

The compromising parties stand between imperialism and the masses and attempt to strike a deal between the two to prevent revolution. In order to facilitate revolution against the main enemy, Stalin teaches, one must strike the main blow at these compromising parties and wipe out their influence among the masses. The OL claims to be an adherent of this strategic principle and is now declaring that this principle justifies striking the main blow at the Soviet Union.

But let us see how the October League "justifies"

## From "The Workers' Advocate", September 1, 1976, Denouncing OL's "Main Blow" Theory

Klonsky and the OL leaders see the growing preparations of the two imperialist superpowers for a reactionary world war between them. At this they go pale with fright, launch vicious propaganda for the liquidation of revolution and run for cover under the protection of Uncle Sam.

On May 20, 1970, in his famous statement on the world revolution, Chairman Mao wrote:

"THE DANGER OF A NEW WORLD WAR STILL EXISTS, AND THE PEOPLE OF ALL COUNTRIES MUST GET PREPARED. BUT REVOLUTION IS THE MAIN TREND IN THE WORLD TODAY." ("People of the World, Unite and Defeat the U.S. Aggressors and all their Running Dogs")

This passage was quoted in the Report to the Tenth National Congress of the Chinese Party in 1973. But in his interview in *The Call*, May 31, 1976, Klonsky declares:

"A few years ago, it was correct to say that 'revolution is the main trend in the world today'. Now this statement is no longer fully complete or applicable to the present conditions. Today both the factors for war and revolution are developing together. By saying that both factors are developing together, we are clearly emphasizing the growing danger of a war. In this way, we take note of the changes since 1970 and help people get prepared."

Klonsky's statement is that of a frightened phibistine. To him the deepening crises and turbulent conflicts of the imperialist system which lead to war do not also lead to the outbreak of revolution. Instead, he claims that the growing danger of world war has liquidated revolution as the main trend in the world...

Frightened by the war danger, the OL leaders take refuge at the feet of the U.S. imperialists and call on the American workers to unite with the U.S. bourgeoisie against the bourgeoisie of the Soviet Union. Thus the OL attempts to liquidate the cause of proletarian revolution in the U.S. and helps prepare conditions for a reactionary world war between the superpowers.

In his above-mentioned interview, Mike Klonsky, OL chairman, declares that the U.S. Marxist-Leninists and proletariat must direct their "main blow" at the U.S.S.R. He presents this as follows:

"*Call*: What does it mean for us to direct our main blow at the U.S.S.R.?"

"MK: It means that through our propaganda we must work even harder to expose the aggressive imperialist nature of the Soviet Union, to show that it is a capitalist dictatorship, a fascist dictatorship of the Hitler

calling the Soviet Union the compromising party between the masses and imperialism and "justifies" striking the main blow at it. In the present article, Klonsky and company give their reasons as follows:

While opposing both superpowers as the main enemies, the main blow internationally must be directed at the Soviet social-imperialists. Soviet social-imperialism today is the greatest danger because in addition to being one of the main enemies it is also the main prop of imperialism. As long as the Soviet revisionists are able to portray the USSR as a 'socialist' country and the 'natural ally' of the world's people, the defeat of imperialism is impossible.

In the case of the USSR, the ideological danger posed by modern revisionism has been augmented greatly by the fact that the social-imperialists are the more aggressive of the two superpowers.

So there you have it. Soviet social-imperialism is the "compromising party" between the masses and imperialism because it is one of the two "main enemies" of the world's peoples, one of the two imperialist superpowers! In addition to this, it is "more aggressive" than U.S. imperialism! Thus the cat is out of the bag. The OL's use of "main blow" is completely different from Comrade Stalin's. Unlike Comrade Stalin, the OL social-chauvinists do not distinguish between the object of the "main blow" and the principal enemy, the "objective" of the revolutionary struggle. This demonstrates that the OL's "use" of this quotation from

Stalin is merely a smokescreen to hide its social-chauvinist line of allying with U.S. imperialism to direct the "main blow" at its rival superpower, which is "more aggressive", etc... It is sophistry to use the fact that Moscow is the headquarters of the main trend of international opportunism, Khrushchevite modern revisionism, to sneak in the social-chauvinist conception of the proletariat of the American superpower striking its main blow at the rival of its "own" bourgeoisie, the other superpower, the Soviet state. A peculiar "compromising party" this Soviet Union which is "more aggressive" than the enemy with which it is supposedly striking a compromise! Isn't this making an utter mockery of Comrade Stalin's strategic rule and falsely trying to use it in the service of social-chauvinism? Not only that, but isn't it criminally minimizing the danger of the Soviet Union to the world's peoples to describe it as a "compromising party" between the masses and imperialism? Isn't there a world of difference between a compromising party and an imperialist superpower armed to the teeth which constitutes one of the two main enemies of the peoples? Only someone who wants to pull the wool

Secondly, we must expose and work to smash the revisionist Communist Party USA, which is nothing but a reactionary 'fifth column' of the Soviet Union. We must intensify our exposures of this party and show it for what it is -- an imperialist party -- and not a communist party at all.

It also means that we must firmly oppose those in the U.S. who appease or conciliate to Soviet social-imperialism and who thereby bring on the war that much sooner."

(Obviously Klonsky has given quite a bit of thought to "directing our main blow" at another imperialist power.) And in an article on the editorial page of *The Call* entitled "Hinton's Folly -- A 'Neutral' U.S. Imperialism" (*The Call*, August 2, 1976), the OL writes:

"The correct policy is to build the international united front against imperialism headed by both superpowers. In the course of building this united front, it is also correct and essential to deal the main blow at the Soviet Union... In order to expose the Soviet Union and strengthen vigilance against it, we must deal it the main blow."

Later in both the interview and the article, Klonsky and the OL themselves admit that a reactionary inter-imperialist world war is the kind of war which is brewing. Phrases are tossed out about overthrowing one's "own" bourgeoisie, turning imperialist war into civil war, etc. Then where is the justification for the line of directing the "main blow" at the U.S.S.R.?

In fact, Klonsky's capitulation to U.S. imperialism is not really any different from the stands of his class brothers, the Chinese capitalist-roaders, Lin Biao was a super-spy for Soviet social-imperialism, Teng Hsiao-ping also capitulated to the superpowers, as shown by the regret the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists displayed at his overthrow. All revisionists invariably lie down before the "powerful" imperialists.

The extent to which the October League has pledged allegiance to U.S. imperialism can be seen by the fact that it is actually printing its publications (*The Call*, May 1st issue, 1976 and *Class Struggle*, Spring-Summer 1976), including woodcuts of Comrades Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao -- in red, white and blue, the colors of the flag of rabid American chauvinism and imperialism! Since every genuine revolutionary hates the U.S. imperialist flag, this cannot be regarded as accidental. This is what we mean by kissing the feet of the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie.

over the eyes of the proletariat, defend imperialism and hide his own opportunism could describe the Soviet Union as the main compromising party between imperialism and the masses. No, Mr. Klonsky and company, sophistry cannot save you! Neither Comrade Stalin, nor the American Marxist-Leninists and the U.S. proletariat, can be mobilized under your tattered red, white and blue banner!

The logic used in the OL's present article to "justify" directing the "main blow" at the Soviet Union is the same logic it used in its earlier articles and interviews quoted by us in our September 1 polemic to show the social-chauvinist nature of this line. In an interview published in *The Call*, May 31, 1976, Mike Klonsky rationalized this line by saying that the Soviet Union is "the most dangerous" and "the main source of a new world war". The "Hinton's Folly" article in the August 2, 1976, *Call* was even more explicit:

The USSR is the main source of war. It is a superpower on the rise, while the U.S. is on the decline. It now possesses the largest military fortress, especially in Europe, which is the focus of the rivalry, and is expanding its military strength at the greatest pace. It disguises and hides its imperialist actions under the signboard of socialism. In order to expose the Soviet Union and strengthen vigilance against it, we must deal it the main blow.

Precious little here about the Soviet Union as a "compromising party"! Thus it is obvious that in calling for directing the "main blow" at the Soviet Union the

OL has never had in mind the ideological exposure of the compromising party between the masses and imperialism, but has always intended -- and still does -- an out-and-out call to unite with U.S. imperialism against its main rival. All the reasons given by the OL for choosing the Soviet Union as the object of the "main blow" amount to saying that it is the main enemy, the principal enemy of the world's people. As a matter of fact, by OL's logic it would make more sense to call the U.S. imperialists the "compromising party" since they are always accusing it of appeasing the Soviet Union! This is how little the OL's conception of the "main blow" has to do with that of Comrade Stalin.

The line of directing the "main blow" at Soviet social-imperialism is a line of class capitulation to the imperialist bourgeoisie, to the world system of imperialism, and to U.S. imperialism in particular. The COUSML has repeatedly and consistently opposed relying on or allying with one superpower to oppose the other. This is a fundamental question of class stand -- either one stands on the side of the proletariat and oppressed nations and peoples and promotes revolutionary struggle against imperialism and all reaction, or one stands on the side of imperialism and promotes fighting for their interests. In this case the OL advocates fighting for U.S. imperialism against its Soviet rivals. We are opposed to those who capitulate to U.S. imperialism on the grounds that one must direct the "main blow" against Soviet social-imperialism, and we are equally opposed to those who capitulate to Soviet social-imperialism under the hoax that it is still a "socialist country" and "U.S. imperialism is the main enemy". We reject the "anti-social-imperialist" front promoted by U.S. imperialism and the monopoly bourgeoisie of the world, which the OL has joined, and we just as resolutely reject the "anti-imperialist" front preached by the Soviet revisionists directed at U.S. imperialism. The two superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, are the biggest and most dangerous aggressive imperialist powers in history. Separately or together, they represent, in the same degree and to the same extent, the main enemy of socialism and the freedom and independence of nations, the greatest force defending oppressive and exploiting systems, and the direct threat of a third world war. We must never rely on one imperialism to "fight" the other. The line of the October League to direct "the main blow" at the Soviet Union leads the U.S. proletariat inevitably into supporting the war preparations of the U.S. imperialists against the Soviet New Tsars and thus into becoming pawns of U.S. imperialism in its struggle for world domination, liquidating the proletarian revolution in the U.S. altogether. The genuine Marxist-Leninists in the United States are unalterably opposed to such a line.

The line of the October League implies that the main division in the world, the main contradiction, is between the bourgeoisies of the two superpowers, and everyone must line up on one side or the other. This is a line of outright class capitulation. In fact, the main division in the world is not between the two superpowers, despite the fact that their rivalry is rapidly leading towards a new world war. Instead, the main division in the world is between the forces of imperialism and slavery, led by the two superpowers, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the forces of socialism and freedom, consisting of the socialist countries, the world proletariat and the liberation movements of the oppressed nations. The struggle is between the world system of imperialism and the world proletarian socialist revolution. By lining up with U.S. imperialism in its scramble for world domination, the October League has placed itself on the side of imperialism, against the world revolution.

Let us see how Comrade Stalin describes the forces in combat in the world in this era of world revolution, and let us note how he describes the actual compromising parties. In *Foundations of Leninism* Stalin develops in detail his analysis of the Leninist rules of strategy and tactics. We advise all revolutionaries to read it themselves to see the absurdity of OL's views. In this well-known work, Comrade Stalin describes the strategy of the world proletarian revolution as follows:

Third Stage. Began after the October Revolution. Objective: to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, using it as a base for the defeat of imperialism in all countries. The revolution spreads beyond the confines of one country; the epoch of world revolution has begun. The main forces of the revolution: the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in all countries. Main reserves: the semi-proletarian and small-peasant masses in the developed countries, the liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries. Direction of the main blow: isolation of the petty-bourgeois democrats, isolation of the parties of the Second International, which constitute the main support of the policy of compromise with imperialism. Plan for the disposition of forces: alliance of the proletariat revolution with the liberation movement in the colonies and the dependent countries.

Note that Comrade Stalin is clearly speaking of the world system of imperialism and not of some individual imperialist countries. Modern revisionism and other forms of opportunism have emerged to join the ranks of the compromising parties since Stalin's article was written in 1924. But Stalin's warning against opportunism remains in force. Thus Stalin clearly points out that it is opportunism in all countries, international opportunism, which plays the role of the compromising party attempting to strike a deal with imperialism. In no way can a major imperialist power be ascribed this role, as the October League has

# Directing the "Main Blow" at Soviet Social-Imperialism

done, without capitulating to the world system of imperialism and lining up with its forces against the forces of the world proletarian socialist revolution, clearly described here by Stalin as socialism, the world proletariat and the liberation movement of the oppressed nations.

No, Mr. Klonsky, your sophistry will not go down with the U.S. Marxist-Leninists. By calling for the "main blow" to be struck at the Soviet Union and not at the real compromising parties internationally -- international revisionism and opportunism of all stripes -- you prove conclusively that the OL is not using the term "main blow" in the sense that Stalin used it, neither in its earlier articles and interviews nor in its latest, more sophisticated diatribe against Marxism-Leninism. Instead, the OL is simply calling -- as before -- on the workers and oppressed people of the imperialist United States to direct their struggle not at their "own" bourgeoisie, not to bring about its revolutionary overthrow, but at another imperialist power. But we Marxist-Leninists also have access to the works of Comrade Stalin, to the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, we are in contact with the masses and are able to accumulate the objective facts of the international situation. No amount of sophistry, no amount of dragging Comrade Stalin's name in the mud, can hide the fact that the OL's line is a straight-forward social-chauvinist line, socialist only in words, chauvinist in deeds, a line of kissing the feet of Uncle Sam while hurling a few impotent curses at the New Tsars of the Kremlin.

## DOES THE OCTOBER LEAGUE FIGHT TOO HARD AGAINST SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM?

In their article, the OL leaders complain that some "opportunists" have failed to recognize the subtlety of their position. "These people", they cry, "have accused the OL and other Marxist-Leninists of neglecting the struggle against U.S. imperialism and concentrating too much fire on Soviet social-imperialism." This remark exposes the bourgeois thinking which underlies the OL's entire social-chauvinist line.

The fact that the OL accuses the Marxist-Leninists of being opposed to "concentrating too much fire" on Soviet social-imperialism" shows that the OL is so saturated with social-chauvinism that it cannot imagine any alternative but that those who oppose directing the "main blow" at Soviet social-imperialism must be agents of the Soviet New Tsars. This is because for the social-chauvinist and thoroughly bourgeois leaders of the OL, the main division in the world is between "them", the foreign bourgeoisie of the Soviet Union, and "us", the when-all-is-said-and-done, supposedly peaceful and democratic domestic bourgeoisie of the U.S. If you don't want to ally with "us" against "them", then in the eyes of the OL you must be apologists for "them". Thus the OL leaders deny the class struggle and proletarian revolution and become pawns in the hands of the imperialist bourgeoisie in its scramble for world domination.

The two superpowers are viciously struggling with each other and their dogfight is leading the world towards a new and terrible world war. But this does not mean that the main division in the world is between the two. At the same time as they contend with each other, which is a contradiction in the enemy camp as far as the world revolution is concerned, the superpowers also collude with each other to suppress the world's people as well as doing so individually. This is a class contradiction, a contradiction between the world's peoples and their two main enemies. The world system of imperialism is confronting the world proletarian socialist revolution and its being consumed in the fires of this revolution.

The COUSML has never accused the October League of "concentrating too much fire" at any reactionary, Soviet social-imperialism included. Such an accusation can only come out of the mouths of social-chauvinists of a rival type to the OL. On the contrary, we have consistently pointed out that the OL's social-chauvinist line of directing the "main blow" at the Soviet New Tsars is their excuse for capitulating to the world system of imperialism. We hold that those who, like the October League, have capitulated to one superpower or the other, have thereby capitulated to the world system of imperialism and are incapable of resolutely opposing any imperialism or any reactionary at all. Having capitulated to U.S. imperialism, the OL cannot possibly "concentrate too much fire on Soviet social-imperialism". It can only "concentrate too much fire" at the forces of socialism and freedom!

Let us see how the OL goes about "concentrating" this deadly barrage of firepower at Soviet social-imperialism.

One prominent case is the OL's lengthy romance with the Guardian. We would like to ask the social-chauvinists of the October League: were you "concentrating too much fire" on Soviet social-imperialism when you danced a loving waltz for years with this notorious revisionist rag? The Guardian is a rotten, anti-communist paper with a long-stretching history of Khrushchevite revisionism, of apologizing for Soviet social-imperialism, and of capitulating to the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie. The Guardian did its best to prevent the youth and student movement of the '60's from turning to Mao Tsetung Thought. At the behest of Soviet revisionism, the Guardian promoted Castroism as the militant-sounding front for selling out to the Soviet New Tsars and as the alternative to Mao Tsetung Thought. When, despite the best efforts of the Guardian, Mao Tsetung Thought was winning victory after victory among the activists coming from the revolutionary mass movements, the Guardian suddenly turned "Marxist-Leninist" in the early 1970's in order to oppose Marxism-Leninism "from within", so to speak. And in this case, it was not work it was expounded by the October League and other revisionists who formed unprincipled alliances with it as part of their plot to oppose the followers of

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as "ultra-left". Who can forget the disgusting spectacle of the October League parading around at the Guardian party-building forum in 1973 and lavishing kisses and caresses on the notorious ultra-rightist Irwin Silber while slandering the American Communist Workers Movement (Marxist-Leninist) (a predecessor of the COUSML) and other communists as "ultra-left" and "CIA agents" and physically preventing them from speaking? And when the OL finally fell out with the Guardian, did it do a service to the whole movement for once and at least expose the long-standing reactionary history of the Guardian? Not in the least! How did the OL explain its break with the Guardian? Klonsky and company piously lifted their eyes to heaven and sighed that the Guardian "covers up the real nature of Soviet social-imperialism". Charming, isn't it? It took the OL until 1975 to notice that the Guardian is an apologist for the New Tsars! The OL actually allied with these pro-Soviet apologists until then. And now the OL has the gall to suggest the Marxist-Leninists accuse it of fighting too hard against the New Tsars!

Or let us take the example of Angola. Now that the Soviet social-imperialists, with the collusion of the U.S. imperialists, have sent over 15,000 Cuban puppet troops to invade and occupy Angola, does the OL come out boldly to support the Second Anti-Colonial War of the Angolan people? No! In all of the reams of copy it has written on the question, only a few lines mention the revolutionary people's war against the Soviet-Cuban invaders led by UNITA (the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola). The OL has never pointed out the world-wide importance of this struggle, which is the first national liberation war against the Soviet superpower. Closely connected to this is the fact that the OL has never exposed the support U.S. imperialism is giving to the MPLA government of national betrayal in Luanda, whose power rests on Soviet-Cuban bayonets. In fact, it was only the Soviet-Cuban invasion which let U.S. imperialism keep its claws on Angola. The Soviet-Cuban invasion in July 1975 provided the perfect pretext for U.S. imperialism to send in the troops of its satellite, racist South Africa, in October. Further, the Soviet-Cuban invasion allowed the U.S. monopolies to hold onto their lucrative investments in Angola. These oil fields, etc., would have been seized by the Angolan people if a genuinely independent government of national unity had been formed, as UNITA advocated, after the U.S.-backed Portuguese colonialists had been kicked out in 1975. Today the U.S. imperialist Gulf Oil Company is a main source of revenue for the Luanda regime and still reaps superprofits for the Mellon financiers from its oil fields in Angola. Also, the Luanda regime has signed an agreement with the U.S.-dominated racist South African regime to protect South African (thus U.S.) economic interests in Angola -- the Cunene Dam, etc. By this agreement, the MPLA-Luanda regime also betrayed SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization) by promising South Africa, which dominates Namibia with U.S. backing, that it will deny the SWAPO guerrillas the right to operate from Angolan bases. (However, since SWAPO has always operated from UNITA bases in southern Angola, it is not in the power of the Luanda regime to decree an end to SWAPO's armed struggle.)

By refusing to expose U.S. support for the Soviet-Cuban-MPLA regime in Luanda against UNITA and the Angolan people, the OL fails to oppose the widespread slander by imperialism and opportunism that the Angolan people's struggle is simply a tool of U.S. imperialism in its rivalry with Russia for the domination of Angola and Africa. The OL thus fails to show that UNITA and the Angolan people are fighting for the total independence of Angola. If this is not shown, then progressive people in the U.S. will still be fooled by the lies and slanders of the New York Times, the Christian Science Monitor, the Daily World and the Guardian and will not support the Angolan people. The OL thus hides the fact that the two superpowers collude with each other against the peoples who are fighting for liberation when they are threatened with the complete loss of their prized possessions. In this case, this collusion is a fact which all opportunists want to hide in order to protect U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism and slander UNITA, the most resolute fighter in Angola against all imperialism.

Here, again, the OL capitulates to imperialism in general, and this time to Soviet social-imperialism in particular. Can this be called proletarian internationalist support for the oppressed Angolan people? And is this "concentrating too much fire on Soviet social-imperialism"?

Thus the OL leaders' complaint of being accused of "concentrating too much fire on Soviet social-imperialism" not only reveals their bourgeois class stand and thinking, which has led them into social-chauvinism, but is also quite laughable.

A NEW "MAIN BLOW" AT HOME

In their present article the OL sophists claim (which they did not do before) that the American Marxist-Leninists and proletariat have not one, but two "main blows" to strike. They claim that they are only calling for the striking of the "main blow" of the U.S. proletariat at Russia in the international sphere, while at home the "main blow" would be domestic. Once again, sophistry is the last refuge of scoundrels. This new "main blow" is obviously concocted to "prove" that the OL is not calling on the American workers to direct their fire at a foreign bourgeoisie, thus "clearing" the OL of social-chauvinism. Now the OL only holds that the American workers should strike their "main blow" at the Soviet Union in the international sphere (for that matter, how could they do so anywhere else?). This, of course, means that they should only participate in Carter's war preparations "internationally", should only participate in imperialist war "internationally", etc., etc. Very enlighten-

ing and every bit as social-chauvinist as before.

The OL makes much of its claim that the "main blow" at home is to be struck at the "reformists and revisionists". These, they say, are "the main props of imperialism, advocating compromise with the system rather than all-out struggle against it". In their eagerness to find a mask to pull over their social-chauvinism on the question of the "main blow", the OL leaders have fallen all over themselves. Comrade Lenin, in Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, pointed out that the labor aristocracy was "the principal social (not military) prop of the bourgeoisie". Today in the U.S. the revisionists and reformists, of which the OL speaks, are the political representatives of this "stratum of bourgeoisified workers" who are bribed from the superprofits brought in from the exploitation of the colonies and semi-colonies. This stratum is the main social prop of imperialism, but not its main military prop. And obviously imperialism's "main prop", to use OL's phrase, is the armed bourgeois state machine. Isn't it interesting that in its haste to "clear" itself of social-chauvinism by finding a domestic "main blow", the OL leaders would "forget" the bourgeois state itself! This reveals that here, as in the "international" sphere, the OL leaders fail to distinguish between the object of the "main blow", which is the compromising parties, in this case the opportunists, and the objective of the revolutionary struggle itself, the bourgeois state. Thus, again, the OL leaders are not using Comrade Stalin's strategic rule in the sense in which it was intended. Instead, they are simply sowing confusion to divert attention from the fact that on the burning question of class stand in relation to the two superpowers the October League stands squarely on the side of social-chauvinism and imperialism. (Similarly, when, in the passage quoted above, the OL "justified" striking the main blow at Russia because it was the "main prop" of imperialism, it also let the U.S. imperialist state machine off the hook. But this is just another "oversight".)

Furthermore, just as the OL was unable to direct any real fire at Soviet social-imperialism in the international sphere, so at home it also fails to follow Comrade Stalin's guidelines and direct any real fire at the compromising parties in the U.S. Despite the fact that the OL leaders regularly blurt out a few trite phrases against the revisionist "Communist" Party because it is "nothing but" an agent of the Soviet Union (Klonsky interview cited above), the OL does not in fact direct any fire at the line of the political representatives of the labor aristocracy. Instead, the OL actually supports their political line.

Take the social-democratic trade union misleaders, such as Woodcock and Sadowski, who are real compromising elements, labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, social props of imperialism, trying to tie the proletariat hand and foot to the bourgeoisie's program of increased exploitation and war preparations. In the OL's eyes the line of the social-democratic trade union misleaders, which in large part is the line of the Democratic Party, is basically correct but simply not militant enough. For all OL's present continual whining against individual trade union misleaders, with which it has replaced its earlier "full support" for Miller and Sadowski (earlier OL had said "critical support is no support at all"), it still has never repudiated the political line of the aristocracy of labor, rather than simply attack bad individuals. For example, the OL wrote in The Call, May 24, 1976, that the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill, that all-curing panacea of the liberals and social-democrats, was merely a "fraud", "an effort to sidetrack the people's anger", having "no teeth in it". The Workers' Advo-

cate pointed out in an article in its September 1 polemic against the OL that this bill is a fascist bill of attack on the working class, not a harmless "fraud" which is only lacking "teeth". We wrote that the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill "would impose forced labor on welfare and unemployment compensation recipients at minimum wages, would prepare conditions for wage-price controls and would further fascize the trade union apparatus by bringing the labor bureaucrats into a 'national economic planning' apparatus with the bourgeoisie and its state to 'coordinate' production and wages, etc." In fact, this bill already had plenty of fascist "teeth" in it, yet the OL called for more! This is a sharp exposure of its inability to direct any fire at the compromising parties; in fact, it reveals that the OL actually supports them in their efforts to assist the monopoly bourgeoisie in developing fascism in the U.S.

Other examples are readily available. Take the Watergate affair. At that time the OL called for full support for the "liberal" bourgeois line of uniting all against Nixon, but they complained that "the liberal politicians and their 'left' supporters... stand paralyzed" (February 1974 Call) and will not take sufficiently militant action to defend the interests of the "liberal" bourgeoisie, get rid of Nixon and unite the bourgeoisie once again to fight against the proletariat. Or, finally, a more recent example. In its pre-election "exposure" of the "liberal" bourgeois Carter, in the Nov. 1 issue of The Call, the main thing the OL could find to criticize Carter for was that he did not stand for strong enough contention against Soviet social-imperialism for world hegemony! The two superpowers are furiously fighting each other for world domination, leading the world toward a new world war, and according to the October League the leader of the Democratic Party does not have a strong enough stand against the Soviet Union! That is, Carter is not chauvinist enough for the social-chauvinist worries of the OL! This is how the OL "fights" against the social-democratic line of compromise -- by calling for a bigger "main blow" to be struck against the Soviet Union...

Thus, despite its latest sophistry, the OL continues (in its own words) to "neglect the struggle against U.S. imperialism" by declaring that the "main blow" of the U.S. proletariat should be aimed at the Soviet Union. It continues to ally itself with the U.S. bourgeoisie and helps it mobilize the American workers and oppressed people against its superpower rival, thus capitulating to the imperialist bourgeoisie and the system of world imperialism. The OL social-chauvinists are still on their chauvinist course.

The world situation today is turbulent. The proletarian revolutionaries must not show the slightest fear at the war preparations of the superpowers, at the storms of class struggle emerging. A consistent class stand towards the imperialist bourgeoisie of the two superpowers is the fundamental question for all revolutionary forces today, a question which determines their strategy and tactics and which separates the revolutionary from the reactionary forces. Both when the superpowers contend against each other and when they collude with each other, both when they fight and when they collaborate, they do so for the purpose of exploiting and plundering the peoples. Thus one must never rely on one imperialism to "fight" another. This is a matter of class stand and class struggle.

But the October League leaders are bent on betraying the U.S. and international proletariat and taking a social-chauvinist course. Erd.

Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists

## Mao Tsetung Thought Versus Opportunism

Mao Tsetung Thought or Social-Chauvinism

A Comment on the October League's Call for "Unity of Marxist-Leninists"

Against the Revisionist Yellow Journalism of the "Guardian"

On the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China



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# OL'S THEORY OF "THREE WORLDS" DENIES REVOLUTION

In the latest issue of *Class Struggle*, theoretical journal of the October League, winter 1976-77, in an article entitled "The World is Being Turned Upside Down: An Outline of Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line on the International Situation", Dan Burstein, editor of *The Call*, presents the October League leaders' view that the theory of "Three Worlds" is the "great strategic concept" of world revolution and that this concept was formulated by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great teacher and leader of the international proletariat and oppressed nations and peoples. Without providing any evidence that Chairman Mao originated or even agreed with this theory, Burstein elaborates the theory in the article and loudly condemns all who disagree with it as "revisionists, centrists and Trotskyists of all types", implying that to oppose it is to be anti-Marxist, anti-China and anti-Chairman Mao.

The attitude of the COUSML to the loud shouting of Mr. Burstein is:

1. We will not bow down to political blackmail which claims that to oppose opportunism is to oppose Marxism and Chairman Mao; and

2. We are opposed to the theory of "Three Worlds" as the strategy of world revolution. We firmly believe that it opposes the struggles of the proletariat and all oppressed nations and peoples for freedom and socialism and that this strategy is in contradiction to Chairman Mao and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought.

The term "Third World" has recently been used as a popular, unscientific expression referring to Asia, Africa, and Latin America. It is not the term in itself that is the issue. Terms such as "Third World", "Second World", "non-aligned world" or "developing countries", etc., can indicate certain secondary features of the world such as the extent of the influence and impact of world capital, international or national, on various states and areas of the world, the more or less powerful support points of imperialism, or the existence of the people's aspirations to live free and independent of the superpowers. But these terms all cover up the fundamental questions of world politics. They cannot be the basis for the strategy of world revolution. Thus the issue being raised by the OL is the question of the "Three Worlds" theory as a worked-out conception of strategy of international and national politics.

"Three Worlds" is an opportunist strategic concept which diverts the proletariat and oppressed people on a world scale from their revolutionary struggle for national liberation and democracy, for socialism and communism. Today the world is undergoing a great revolutionary upsurge. The entire capitalist-revisionist world is gripped by a great all-around crisis. The national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the storm centers of the world proletarian revolution, are raging. The genuine socialist countries stand as the bastions of world revolution. The proletariat in the capitalist and revisionist countries is fighting great battles with the bourgeoisie. Revolution is the main trend in the world. But in a vain hope to reverse the revolutionary tide and get out of their crisis the two imperialist superpowers, the U.S. and the Soviet Union, together with their accomplices and lackeys, are preparing for a new world war to redivide the world between them. The U.S. imperialists are rapidly fascizing their state machine in order to shift the burden of the economic crisis onto the working class and oppressed nationalities and suppress their struggles and in order to prepare for war. They are increasing their neo-colonialist activities abroad to line up forces for their aggressive bloc to face the Soviet aggressive bloc. In this situation, the OL leaders have come forward to capitulate to U.S. imperialism and ally with it against its Russian rivals, to oppose revolution in the U.S. and abroad, to defend the reactionary activities of the U.S. state and to apologize for U.S. neo-colonialism. Openly declaring that revolution is no longer the main trend in the world, they are promoting to the skies the theory of "Three Worlds" as a strategy of world revolution. The "Three Worlds" concept advocated by the OL calls upon the international proletariat to:

1. Give up the national democratic revolution against imperialism and especially U.S. neo-colonialism in the colonies and semi-colonies in Asia, Africa and Latin America and surrender to the reactionary bourgeoisie and the feudalists under the hoax that "the entire Third World is objectively progressive" and is "non-aligned" with both imperialism and socialism;

2. Give up the struggle against superpower domination and for proletarian revolution in the developed capitalist and revisionist countries outside of the superpowers and unite with the reactionary monopoly bourgeoisie under the hoax that the "Second World" governments have an "anti-hegemonist tendency" against Russia;

3. Give up the struggle of the socialist countries against imperialism and capitalist restoration under the hoax that they are members of the "Third World" or "Second World";

4. Give up the proletarian revolution in the United States and unite with the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie against its rival Soviet social-imperialism under the hoax of directing the "main blow" at the Soviet Union; and

5. "Justify" this social-chauvinist class capitulation to U.S. imperialism by pointing fearfully to the growing danger of world war and hysterically propagating the hoax that the Soviet Union is "more aggressive", the "main danger", the "target of the main blow", etc.

The heart of the "Three Worlds" strategy is the denial of revolution, of class struggle in all its forms leading to the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialism and communism. Our era is the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. In this era, the path of the October Revolution, of the Chinese People's Democratic Revolution, of the socialist revolution and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, of

the socialist revolution in Albania, is the common path of all mankind. The people living under the colonial or semi-colonial rule of imperialism need to make new-democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat and march on to the socialist revolution. The people living under capitalist and revisionist rule need to make proletarian socialist revolution. The people of the socialist countries need to carry the revolution through to the end. Revolution is a practical problem being taken up for solution everywhere. But in this excellent situation, fearing the outbreak of war, the OL leaders have taken fright and run for cover at the feet of Uncle Sam and are promoting the "Three Worlds" theory. This theory covers up the fundamental world contradictions, hides the class character of the political forces and attempts to liquidate the revolutionary class and national struggles. It aims at turning the socialist countries, the proletariat and oppressed peoples into pawns of the U.S. imperialist rivalry with Russian social-imperialism for world domination. It is a strategy of giving up the lofty ideals of socialism and communism out of fear of war, of handing the world over to the bourgeoisie.

Burstein links OL's "Three Worlds" theory with the way this concept arose as a strategy of counter-revolution after World War II. It then took the form of the "non-bloc", "non-aligned" line of the Titoite revisionists, the special detachment of British and U.S. imperialism in the revolutionary movement. The Titoite revisionists slandered the socialist Soviet Union as "red imperialism". They aimed at splitting the newly independent states in Asia, Africa and Latin America, fruits of the great post-war upsurge of the national liberation movement, away from the socialist camp and the world proletariat. This necessarily meant to unite with imperialism against socialism.

Using the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and nearly all of the eastern European People's Democracies and the emergence of social-imperialism as an excuse, the OL has refurbished the Titoite theory. In his article, Burstein explicitly links the OL's "Three Worlds" theory with the version promoted by the Titoites in the 1950's and 60's. The OL's version still aims, just as viciously as Tito's, to oppose socialism and the proletarian and national democratic revolutions. It still attempts viciously to split the national liberation movements from the proletariat and socialism. And now it attempts to mobilize the peoples to form a united front with U.S. imperialism and the reactionary bourgeoisie in the countries under its influence to fight Russian social-imperialism for world domination.

Today the OL social-chauvinists have become the main spokesmen for this opportunist strategy in the United States. Claiming that this reactionary strategy originated from Chairman Mao, they are using political blackmail to threaten anyone who opposes it.

## 1. THE OCTOBER LEAGUE'S DESPICABLE POLITICAL BLACKMAIL

Burstein presents OL's political blackmail as follows:

Like Lenin's viewpoint, Chairman Mao's conception of the three worlds is, in essence, a strategic view of the world revolution. Because each of its components is based thoroughly and deeply on Marxism-Leninism it is attacked today by revisionists, centrists and Trotskyists of all types, from Brezhnev on down.

This statement closely resembles the political blackmail practiced by Khrushchev against the Party of Labor of Albania in 1960. The arch-revisionist Khrushchev waved his baton at the Albanian comrades and declared that if they opposed his slanders of the Communist Party of China and his attacks on Marxism-Leninism, they were "anti-Soviet". Treacherously playing on the sincere love and respect of the world proletariat for the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin, the Khrushchevite dogs thus tried to impose the revisionist theses of the 20th Congress of the CPSU onto the Communist and Workers' Parties. But their plans ran afoul of the principled Marxist-Leninist stand of the Communist Party of China led by Chairman Mao and the Party of Labor of Albania led by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

In a similar way today the October League neo-revisionists and social-chauvinists are waving their feeble baton and are commanding the U.S. Marxist-Leninists to accept the "Three Worlds" thesis. They are despicably playing on the great prestige of Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung Thought to impose this opportunist strategy on the U.S. Marxist-Leninist communist movement. However, the U.S. Marxist-Leninists stand on their own two feet and firmly defend Chairman Mao and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought against all distortions. We have especial contempt for political blackmail. Opposing the opportunism of the October League is not to be against Chairman Mao's China and Mao Tse-tung Thought but is to uphold Chairman Mao's China and Mao Tse-tung Thought.

## 2. OL'S EVIDENCE THAT CHAIRMAN MAO ORIGINATED AND SUPPORTED THE "THREE WORLDS" THESIS IS A FRAUD

Burstein makes acrobatic efforts to prove that the "great strategic concept" of "Three Worlds" was created by Chairman Mao. But these efforts are a flop. Burstein claims that "Chairman Mao showed" this and "Chairman Mao boldly put forth" that. But no specific quotation is given, in the majority of cases, to prove this claim. Never once is Chairman Mao quoted presenting the "great strategic concept" of "Three Worlds". And yet we are to believe the assur-

ances of the editor of the social-chauvinist journal *The Call* that this is what Chairman Mao meant! And when a quotation is produced to "prove" that Chairman Mao held to this theory, then either the quotation itself proves the opposite of what Burstein asserts, or it is irrelevant to the controversy over the "Three Worlds" theory. As well, Burstein conceals other quotes which oppose OL's theories.

This fraud reaches truly laughable proportions when, in order to claim that Chairman Mao has held this theory since 1946, Burstein declares: "Chairman Mao's views on the third world, although not publicly articulated outside of China until the 1970's, were developed consistently throughout his work in the period since World War II." This is followed by a quotation from Chairman Mao's 1946 talk with Anna Louise Strong. In it he analyzes the existence of an intermediate zone between the United States, the leading imperialist power in the world at the time, and the Soviet Union, then led by Stalin and representing the socialist fatherland of the workers and oppressed peoples of the whole world. The quotation reads:

The United States and the Soviet Union are separated by a vast zone which includes many capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries in Europe, Asia and Africa.

Well, Mr. Burstein, we don't know what you and Mr. Klonsky have been reading, but no small number of people "outside of China" have been reading this statement by Chairman Mao since 1946. Either you believe that this quotation presents a theory of "Three Worlds", in which case that theory has long been "publicly articulated outside of China", or you agree with the genuine Marxist-Leninists that the quotation does not present such a theory but actually puts forth the line of the international communist movement at the time. This line held that the world was then divided into two camps, the anti-imperialist democratic camp headed by the Soviet Union and the anti-democratic imperialist camp headed by the U.S. It held that U.S. imperialism was attacking and trying to subjugate the non-socialist countries between it and the Soviet Union in preparation for a war with the socialist Soviet Union. And if you agree with your own statement that this quote does not "publicly articulate" the "Three Worlds" theory, then what are you using it for? To sow confusion! Not only that, but if we take the term "Third World" not as a strategy but simply to refer loosely to the national liberation movement of Asia, Africa and Latin America, then since the very beginning of his revolutionary activities Chairman Mao has "publicly articulated" his views on the matter with the greatest thoroughness. Everyone knows that Chairman Mao developed Marxism-Leninism profoundly on this very question. One needs only to study Chairman Mao's works to see that he never supported any thesis of division of the world into "Three Worlds" as a revolutionary strategy.

Let us take another example of the OL's fraudulent "evidence".

In the section entitled "The First World", Burstein claims that Chairman Mao held that the Soviet Union, of the two superpowers, is "on the rise", "more aggressive", etc. Therefore, he claims, while the two superpowers both constitute "the main enemy", "between them the main blow had to be directed at the USSR". This, of course, is part of the underpinning of the OL's social-chauvinist line of liquidating the revolution in the U.S. by diverting the struggle of the U.S. proletariat away from the U.S. bourgeoisie state and against its main rival, the Russian imperialist state, to fight a war against the Russian workers to win world domination for the U.S. monopoly capitalists. "Proof" of Chairman Mao's supposed support for OL's analysis is allegedly a 1964 quotation from Chairman Mao, reproduced here by Burstein:

The Soviet Union today is under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the German fascist type, a dictatorship of the Hitler type.

According to Burstein, Chairman Mao held that the Hitlerite fascist character of the Soviet state justifies allying with U.S. imperialism to direct the "main blow" at Russia. (Is the OL implying that Chairman Mao considered the Soviet Union the target of the "main blow" as far back as 1964, when all Marxist-Leninists were condemning the Khrushchev clique for collaborating with U.S. imperialism?) Here the OL is out to prettify the dictatorship of the U.S. big bourgeoisie as a "democratic" state organizing an "anti-fascist alliance" against the Soviet Union, which is allegedly playing the same role as Nazi Germany did in World War II. Such blatant attempts to prettify U.S. imperialism and mobilize support for its war preparations and for inter-imperialist war are the reason why the OL leaders are known to Marxist-Leninists as Browderite neo-revisionists and social-chauvinists.

Let us see how Chairman Mao allegedly considered the U.S. a "democratic" power with which one should ally to oppose Russia. On May 20, 1970, in his famous statement on the world revolution, "People of the World, Unite and Defeat the U.S. Aggressors and all their Running Dogs!", Chairman Mao wrote:

I am convinced that the American people who are fighting valiantly will ultimately win victory and that the fascist rule in the United States will inevitably be defeated.

As long ago as 1949, Chairman Mao wrote:

As to what Acheson called a "rightist" totalitarian government", the U.S. government has ranked first in the world among such governments since the downfall of the fascist governments of Germany, Italy and Japan.

So, Mr. Burstein, once again you are defeated by your own logic! No matter how hard you try, you cannot turn Chairman Mao into a social-chauvinist lover of the dictatorship of the U.S. big bourgeoisie! We would like to ask you: has U.S. imperialism become less aggressive and more "democratic" since the days when, following World War II, it stepped into the

shoes of the German, Japanese and Italian fascists and embarked on a fascist program of enslavement of the peoples in pursuit of world domination, leading to the barbarous wars of aggression against Korea and Indo-China? No, Mr. Burstein, Chairman Mao cannot be quoted to justify giving up revolution and relying on the U.S. superpower to "fight" the Russian superpower!

Throughout the article, Mr. Burstein's methods are the same. But this political blackmail can find no support in the works of Chairman Mao.

## 3. THE OL'S "THREE WORLDS" THESIS HIDES THE KEY PROBLEM IN THE WORLD TODAY

The OL states that the strategy of world revolution must be based on the alleged division of the world into "Three Worlds". According to Burstein, this division answers on a world scale the questions: "Who are our friends? Who are our enemies?" asked by Chairman Mao in his article "Analysis of Classes in Chinese Society" and quoted in Burstein's article. World events are allegedly determined and world revolution advanced by the struggle between these "Three Worlds".

We hold that the theory of "Three Worlds" is wrong from almost every aspect. But its most crucial failure is that it hides from the revolutionary masses the key problem which determines events on a national and international scale, the real way that the revolutionary class struggle is being fought. This key problem is the ruthless struggle between the forces of aggressive imperialism and slavery, the whole bourgeoisie-imperialist world, headed by the two superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, on the one hand, and, on the other, the forces of socialism and freedom, consisting of the socialist countries, the world proletarian movement and the liberation movement of the oppressed nations. The fundamental division in the world, the key struggle, is not between "Three Worlds" but is between these two forces, between counter-revolution and revolution.

This struggle is a class struggle. It leads, through different stages in different countries, to proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship, to socialism and communism. In the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America, this class struggle expresses itself in the national liberation movement against the international big bourgeoisie, a movement which gives rise to new-democratic revolution followed by the socialist revolution. Both of these two basic forces exist within each of the "Three Worlds" outlined by the October League, and within every country in the world. The theory of "Three Worlds" therefore hides the real nature of the two forces whose battle is determining the fate of mankind. It is the division of the world into these two basic forces which determines the "real friends" and "real enemies" of the proletariat, who is revolutionary and who is counter-revolutionary. Only this division of the world can be the basis of the strategy of the world revolution.

In fact, the OL leaders do not really believe that the fundamental division in the world is a division into "Three Worlds". This is only a revolutionary-sounding smokescreen. This smokescreen provides them with the analysis of the Soviet Union as "more aggressive" than the U.S. and the target of the "main blow" of the world's people, of the "Third World" as "independent" of U.S. neo-colonialism and of the "Second World" as a force against hegemonism of which, naturally, the Soviet Union is the real devil. These are perfect ingredients for an alliance with U.S. imperialism against Soviet social-imperialism. This is what the OL really believes to be the main division in the world today. Mobilizing support for inter-imperialist rivalry and war is the aim pursued by the social-chauvinist OL leaders in propagating the opportunist thesis of "Three Worlds".

## 4. THE MARXIST-LENINIST CONCEPT OF TWO WORLD FORCES AS PRESENTED BY LENIN, STALIN, CHAIRMAN MAO AND ENVER HOXHA

Since the October Revolution ushered in the era of world proletarian socialist revolution, Marxism-Leninism has held that the world has been fundamentally divided into the forces of proletarian socialist revolution, led by the international communist movement, and the forces of bourgeois counter-revolution, headed by the big bourgeoisie of the imperialist great powers. Chairman Mao, a great Leninist, has always adhered to this strategic line, despite OL's claims to the contrary.

In 1919, Comrade Lenin, the great teacher and leader of the workers and oppressed people of the world, delineated these two forces in his "Preliminary Draft of Theses on the National and Colonial Questions" presented to the Second Congress of the Communist International. He said:

The world political situation has now placed the dictatorship of the proletariat on the order of the day, and all events in world politics are inevitably revolving around one central point, viz., the struggle of the world bourgeoisie against the Soviet Russian Republic, around which are inevitably grouping, on the one hand, the movement for Soviets among the advanced workers of all countries, and, on the other, all the national liberation movements in the colonies and among the oppressed nationalities, whom bitter experience is teaching that there can be no salvation for them except in the victory of the Soviet system over world imperialism.

These forces are fundamentally the same today, although capitalism has been restored in the Soviet Union and its place at the head of revolution has been taken by socialist China and Albania. Clearly Lenin regarded the national liberation movement as part of the world proletarian socialist revolution.

Comrade Stalin, Lenin's disciple, defined the era in the same terms in his work summing up the basic

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principles of Leninism, The Foundations of Leninism. He pointed out:

Leninism is Marxism of the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution.

In 1925, Stalin wrote:

... the world has split into two camps -- the capitalist camp, headed by Anglo-American capital, and the socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union. ... the international situation will to an increasing degree be determined by the relations between these two camps. ("The Results of the Work of the Fourteenth Conference of the R. C. P. (B)")

Regarding the revolutionary torrent of national liberation in Asia, Africa and Latin America which burst forth following World War I and the October Revolution, Stalin wrote in 1918 that the October Revolution had "created a new front of revolutions against world imperialism, extending from the proletarians of the West, through the Russian Revolution, to the oppressed peoples of the East." ("The October Revolution and the National Question") Thus Stalin also pointed out that the great current of the national liberation movement had become part of the forces of the world proletarian revolution facing the savage imperialist bourgeoisie.

This is how Comrades Lenin and Stalin defined the basic forces of our epoch and drew attention to the key problem of world politics, a problem which has remained fundamentally the same ever since. Thus they clearly divided the world into two basic forces, not into "Three Worlds".

Chairman Mao was a great Leninist and closely followed the teachings of Lenin and Stalin on the nature of the two forces in struggle with each other in the epoch of world proletarian socialist revolution. In 1926, in the exact same article from which the OL leaders have taken the quotation about "friends" and "enemies", he wrote:

... the present world situation is such that the two major forces, revolution and counter-revolution, are locked in final struggle. Each has hoisted a huge banner; one is the red banner of revolution held aloft by the Third International as the rallying cry for all the oppressed classes of the world, and the other is the white banner of counter-revolution held aloft by the League of Nations as the rallying point for all the counter-revolutionaries of the world.

In 1939, in his great work "On New Democracy", Chairman Mao developed the Leninist thesis that the national liberation movement had become part of the world proletarian revolution. He declared that anti-imperialist revolutions in the colonies and semi-colonies "can no longer be regarded as allies of the counter-revolutionary front of world capitalism; they have become allies of the revolutionary front of world socialism." This allows no room for a "Third World" or "third force".

In 1957, eleven years after he made the statement about the intermediate zone (quoted in section 2 of this article) used by Burstein to claim that he recognized a "Third World", Chairman Mao made his famous statement that the "East Wind" had prevailed over the "West Wind".

It is my opinion that the international situation has reached a new turning point. There are two winds in the world today. The East Wind and the West Wind. There is a Chinese saying, "Either the East Wind prevails over the West Wind, or the West Wind prevails over the East Wind." I believe it is characteristic of the situation today that the East Wind is prevailing over the West Wind. That is to say, the forces of socialism have become overwhelmingly superior to the forces of imperialism. ("Speech at the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties")

This very clearly presented the existence of two basic forces, those of socialism and those of imperialism.

In 1960, in the heat of the struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism, the international communist movement drew up the programmatic "Statement of 81 Communist and Workers Parties" at the historic Moscow Meeting. Its definition of the epoch sharply outlined the two basic forces. (This definition was explicitly endorsed by the Communist Party of China in its "Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement" drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal leadership in 1963.) The Moscow Statement reads:

Our time, whose main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is a time of struggle between two opposing social systems, a time of socialist revolutions and national-liberation revolutions, a time of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a worldwide scale.

At the two Congresses of the Communist Party of China held since then, the same basic line of the division of the world into two forces was adhered to. The Ninth Party Congress Report, drawn up under Chairman Mao's guidance, allowed for the changes brought about by the emergence of social-imperialism and stated:

The general trend of the world today is still as Chairman Mao described it: "The enemy rots with every passing day, while for us things get better daily." On the one hand, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat of the world and of the people of various countries is surging forward. ... On the other hand, U. S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism are bogged down in political and economic crises and beset with difficulties both at home and abroad and find themselves in an impasse.

The Tenth Congress Report said: On the international front, our Party must uphold proletarian internationalism, uphold the Party's consistent policies, strengthen our unity with the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations of

the whole world and with all countries subjected to imperialist aggression, subversion, interference, control or bullying and form the broadest united front against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and in particular, against the hegemonism of the two superpowers -- the U. S. and the U. S. S. R.

Thus the theory of "Three Worlds" as a "great strategic concept" of world revolution was never adopted by any congress of the Communist Party of China during Chairman Mao's lifetime. There is no comfort for the OL falsifiers of history in these reports.

Chairman Mao condemned the Chinese capitalist-roader, Teng Hsiao-ping, on this very question:

This person does not grasp class struggle; he has never referred to this key link. Still his theme of "white cat, black cat", making no distinction between imperialism and Marxism. (Peking Review, April 2, 1976)

These words were among Chairman Mao's final statements before his death. They pose the key question with the greatest sharpness and clarity: To lead revolution, one must grasp classes and class struggle, one must make the fundamental distinction between the two basic forces of imperialism and Marxism, that is, between the forces of counter-revolution led by the superpowers and the forces of revolution led by the Marxist-Leninist communist movement.

Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Party of Labor of Albania and continuer of the work of Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao, clearly described the two basic forces of today in his historic Report to the Seventh Congress of the PLA November 1, 1976:

Facing imperialism, social-imperialism and their savage aggressive and expansionist activity, facing the bourgeoisie, the international monopolies and their barbarous exploitation, facing reaction and its violence and terror, with multiplied forces stand the world proletariat and the staunch revolutionaries, the peoples that are struggling for freedom and democracy, for socialism...

It is this broadening and deepening of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, this great intensification of the liberation struggle of the peoples, the victories of socialism, all taken together, that have further weakened imperialism and social-imperialism, that have sharpened the contradictions of the capitalist system and shaken it to its foundations.

Thus Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tseung and Enver Hoxha all adhered to the Leninist theory of two basic world forces, the counter-revolutionary forces headed by the imperialist big powers and the revolutionary forces led by the Marxist-Leninist parties. This is the line of all the genuine Marxist-Leninists who battle against Titoite, Khrushchevite and all other brands of revisionism and opportunism. One can see why the OL leaders must resort to blatant political blackmail to put across their fraud: any examination of the Marxist-Leninist classics would bring their house of cards tumbling down. "Three Worlds" was never a "great strategic concept" of Chairman Mao's; instead, it is an opportunist concoction of revisionists like the leaders of the October League.

## 5. "THREE WORLDS" OPPOSES THE LENINIST CONCEPT OF FOUR MAJOR WORLD CONTRADICTIONS IN OUR EPOCH

To further illustrate the consistent Marxist-Leninist line of two basic forces in contention in our epoch, let us look at the Leninist view of the four major world contradictions as presented by Stalin and Chairman Mao. This, too, will provide no comfort for the OL falsifiers. There is no contradiction between the existence of four major world contradictions and of two basic world forces; looking at the four contradictions shows you the composition of the two forces. Such a major event as the alleged division of the world into "Three Worlds" since 1945 could only be based on a change in the major world contradictions. But instead of expressing such a change, the "Three Worlds" theory is an opportunist concoction which covers up and negates the most important contradictions.

In The Foundations of Leninism, Stalin described the existence of three "most important" contradictions in the old world: 1. "the contradiction between labour and capital"; 2. "the contradiction among the various financial groups and imperialist Powers in their struggle for sources of raw materials, for foreign territory"; and 3. "the contradiction between the handful of ruling 'civilized' nations and the hundreds of millions of the colonial and dependent peoples of the world." Besides these contradictions in the old world, there also existed the contradiction between socialist countries, at that time the Soviet Union, and imperialism. These constitute the four major world contradictions of our epoch. As we have seen, Stalin considered that socialism, the proletariat and the national liberation movement constituted a single "socialist camp" opposed to the "capitalist camp".

In 1945 Chairman Mao wrote, confirming Stalin's analysis:

Today, there are still three major contradictions in the old world, as Stalin pointed out long ago: first, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the imperialist countries; second, the contradiction between the various imperialist powers; and third, the contradiction between the colonial and semi-colonial countries and the imperialist metropolitan countries.

And in the 1969 Ninth Congress Report, drawn up under Chairman Mao's guidance, the same major contradictions were analyzed and their particular features brought up to date. Taking account of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and nearly all the European People's Democracies and the emergence of Soviet social-imperialism, the

Report analyzed the four major contradictions as follows:

... there are four major contradiction in the world today: the contradiction between the oppressed nations on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other; the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist and revisionist countries; the contradiction between imperialist and social-imperialist countries and among the imperialist countries; and the contradiction between socialist countries on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other.

Thus, throughout our epoch, the major contradictions have not changed in any fundamental way.

A look at the four contradictions will show the existence of the two forces and their struggle against each other. The contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism and social-imperialism gives rise to national democratic revolutions. The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist and revisionist countries gives rise to proletarian socialist revolutions. The contradiction between socialist countries and imperialism and social-imperialism gives rise to socialist countries standing forth as the bastions of world revolution. These three contradictions are contradictions between the people of the world and the enemy, imperialism, social-imperialism and their lackeys. The contradiction among the imperialist and social-imperialist countries, a contradiction in the enemy camp, gives rise to inter-imperialist rivalry and wars. Thus the major world contradictions, in their present form as in the past, give rise to the revolutionary forces and the counter-revolutionary forces according to the basic division of the world outlined by Lenin, Stalin, Chairman Mao and Enver Hoxha.

However, the Chinese revisionist Teng Hsiao-ping declared in his speech at the Special Session of the U. N. General Assembly in 1974 that a "drastic division and realignment" of political forces had taken place in the world, creating a new division of the world into "Three Worlds". He pointed to three developments to "prove" this analysis: 1. the achievement of formal political independence by scores of former colonies; 2. the alleged "disintegrating" of the western imperialist bloc in recent years; and 3. the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries leading to the alleged destruction of the socialist camp and the emergence of the Soviet Union as a social-imperialist superpower. Let us look at each of the four contradictions and see if this analysis justifies a fundamental division of the world into "Three Worlds" whose struggle against each other determines world events:

1. The contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism and social-imperialism. The smashing of the bulk of the colonial system of imperialism by the national liberation movement is indeed a magnificent victory for the national liberation movement and world revolution; but imperialism and social-imperialism have made massive efforts to keep their old connections intact via neo-colonialism. How, then, can it be asserted that these victories fundamentally change the major world contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism, creating a new "world" independent of imperialism?

2. The contradiction between imperialism and social-imperialism and among the imperialist powers. The fact that contradictions are sharpening within the western imperialist bloc has not eliminated it as an imperialist bloc, as the existence of the aggressive NATO alliance demonstrates. Furthermore, the sharpening of these contradictions can in no way be understood to mean that they have changed from contradictions in the enemy camp into contradictions between the people and the enemy, as the concept of "anti-hegemonist" European bourgeois states implies.

3. The contradiction between socialist countries and imperialism and social-imperialism. The restoration of capitalism in some socialist countries has not eliminated socialist countries as a force (over 800 million people, one-quarter of mankind, live under the socialist system), but this theory negates the existence of socialist China and Albania, placing China in the "Third World" and Albania in the "Second World" together with colonial, semi-colonial and imperialist countries.

4. The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist and revisionist countries. Teng Hsiao-ping and the OL are so contemptuous of the proletariat that they pass over this major world contradiction in utter silence, negating proletarian revolution in the so-called "Second World" as well as in the U. S. and the Soviet Union.

Furthermore, using the pretext of the destruction by revisionism of the geographically coherent political, economic and military bloc of socialist countries spanning two continents, Teng Hsiao-ping attempts to negate the continued existence of the socialist camp in the sense Stalin gave it, which meant the socialist revolutionary forces including the socialist countries, the world proletariat and the national liberation movement.

Thus Teng Hsiao-ping's analysis of a "drastic division and realignment" of the world does not indicate a single change in the major world contradictions. But under its banner, national liberation struggle is over, imperialist powers become "progressive", socialism drops out of the picture, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist and revisionist countries including the superpowers is supposed to be forgotten altogether, and the contradictions between these "worlds" replace the class struggle between the two basic forces in determining world events and history. Thus the "Three Worlds" theory covers up and negates all the major world contradictions.

## 6. HOW THE OL LEADERS ATTEMPT TO TURN CHAIRMAN MAO INTO A TITOITE REVISIONIST AND FAIL MISERABLY

According to Burstein, Chairman Mao developed the theory of "Three Worlds" as far back as 1946. It was at this time that the revisionist Tito was propagating the anti-communist theory of "red imperialism" and beginning his campaign to split the national liberation movement from socialism and the world proletariat and bring it under the domination of Anglo-American imperialism. Tito called his concept "non-alignment" but it meant essentially the same as the "Third World" concept which Burstein puts into Chairman Mao's mouth in 1946. Thus Burstein explicitly links the OL's "Three Worlds" theory of today with the Titoite revisionist version of the 1940's, 50's and 60's. And to "justify" their adherence to the reactionary "Three Worlds" theory, the OL leaders are trying to turn Chairman Mao into a Titoite revisionist. Here is how Burstein attempts this feat:

Chairman Mao's views on the third world, although not publicly articulated outside of China until the 1970's, were developed throughout his work in the period since World War II.

In 1946, for example, Mao held his famous interview with Anna Louise Strong in which he pointed out: "The United States and the Soviet Union are separated by a vast zone which includes many capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries in Europe, Asia and Africa."

Although at that time the Soviet Union was still the citadel of socialism, the conclusion Mao drew is still relevant today.

Thus, to the OL, the change in the Soviet Union from socialism under Lenin and Stalin's leadership to capitalism and social-imperialism under Khrushchev and

Brezhnev is irrelevant. How can one even discuss the role of the vast zone between the socialist countries and the biggest imperialist powers (presently the two superpowers), without being clear on whether a country is an imperialist superpower or the bastion of world revolution? The emergence of social-imperialism changed nothing as far as the OL is concerned, since they blithely equate the intermediate zone of 1946 to, not the intermediate zone of the present, but the area between the U. S. and Russia, who are presently two imperialist contenders for world hegemony. How is this any different, at heart, from the Titoite theory of "red imperialism", which also negated the difference between socialism and capitalism? (We may remind the OL leaders of the definition of revisionism provided by Chairman Mao in his Red Book of Quotations: that the revisionists "deny the differences between socialism and capitalism".)

It was on the basis of denying the differences between socialism and capitalism and regarding the Soviet Union as "red imperialism" that the Titoites founded their theory of the "non-aligned" "third force". As early as 1949, Chairman Mao himself denounced the splittist line being promoted by the Titoites. Speaking of the "principal and fundamental experience the Chinese people have gained", he said that the external policy of the Chinese people was to:

... unite in a common struggle with those nations of the world which treat us as equals and unite with the peoples of all countries. That is, ally ourselves with the Soviet Union, with the People's Democracies and with the proletariat and the broad masses of the people in all other countries, and form an international united front.

"You are leaning to one side." Exactly. The forty years' experience of Sun Yat-sen and the twenty-eight years' experience of the Communist Party have taught us to lean to one side, and we are firmly convinced that in order to win victory and consolidate it we must lean to one side. In the light of the experiences accumulated in these forty years and these twenty-eight years, all Chinese without exception must lean either to the side of imperialism or to the side of socialism. Sitting on the fence will not do, nor is there a third road. We oppose the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries who lean to the side of imperialism, and we also oppose the illusions about a third road. ("On the People's Democratic Dictatorship")

And yet Burstein has the nerve to claim that Chairman Mao held the Titoite theory in 1946! Now we can see just what Chairman Mao did "publicly articulate" since 1945! This fraud is typical of the OL leaders, who are not above tampering with the text and line of the "Report to the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of China" in order to turn Lin Biao from an "ultra-Rightist", as the Congress condemned him, into an "ultra-leftist" to justify OL's attacks on the U. S. Marxist-Leninists. (See The Call, Oct. 1973) What greater slander of Chairman Mao could there be than to put the words of the revisionist renegade Tito into his mouth?

Burstein carries his attempts to turn Chairman Mao into a Titoite revisionist a step further in the next paragraphs of his article:

The term "Third World" came into popular usage by the Asian, African and Latin American peoples as the upsurge in their movement for both political and economic independence began to unfold in the 1950s and 1960s. It reflected a rejection of the domination by the big powers and a search for unity among each other.

From the historic Bandung Conference of 1955, attended by Chou En-lai, to the present day, Chairman Mao and the Communist Party of China firmly united with this great movement, pointing out that China, too, is a country of the third world. Chairman Mao's definition of the third world and the role it is playing today provides a scientific class understanding of the third world movement.

As a matter of fact, the term "Third World" was not popularized by the revolutionary forces; it was pro-

PLA ON LATIN AMERICAN STATEMENT  
Continued from page 15

they can never burn Marxism-Leninism, cannot hinder the spread of the revolutionary ideas.

The revolutionary content of the Joint Declaration of the Delegations of the Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America proves that it is a document which can be achieved only by Parties which are ideologically and politically matured, by Parties which have taken root in the revolutionary struggle of the masses, which do not separate words from deeds and have in their ranks militants who are ready to make even the supreme sacrifice in the interest of the proletariat and the people. The working class, the peasantry, the patriots and the revolutionary intelligentsia, all the people's masses in the Latin American countries, need such Parties. In the conditions when all these classes and social strata have made the Latin American continent seethe with their revolts and revolutionary struggle, when the reactionary governments, and together with them U.S. imperialism, find themselves in all-round crises and difficulties, when modern revisionism is losing its political credit in the masses, the cooperation of the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America assumes special importance.

The revolutionary movement and the liberation struggle of the peoples of Latin America are rising not only from the quantitative but also from the qualitative point of view. There is no doubt, that its example will serve also the freedom-loving peoples of Africa and other countries to find their road of salvation. The Marxist-Leninist communist Parties of Latin America are Parties which are marching and acting in a revolutionary way. This is a great fact which proves that the working masses of these countries have risen in the revolutionary and liberation struggle. The Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America are firmly relying on the struggle of the proletariat and the labouring peasantry. This struggle gives assistance to the general cause of the

world revolution.

The meeting of the Marxist-Leninist Parties of the Latin American countries is not accidental, it is a result of a wise and persistent work of their leaderships. The conditions were created for such a meeting. The bi-lateral and especially the multi-lateral talks and exchange of opinions between a number of Parties of that continent, which have been held in the recent years, had shown in practice the usefulness of this work and had created the conviction in all the participants that the question of the unity between the Marxist-Leninist Communist Parties, the cooperation and solidarity among them must be carried further ahead, to the benefit of the struggle for national and social liberation of their peoples.

The all-round cooperation and mutual aid among the Marxist-Leninist parties are powerful weapons in the unequal struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism, against modern revisionism and reaction. "Capital", said Lenin, "is an international force. The international alliance of the workers, their international fraternization are needed to win against it."

Our Party has always been convinced that it is useful for the Marxist-Leninists to come together, that it is necessary for the Marxist-Leninist Parties, not only to keep bi-lateral contacts, but also to organize multi-lateral meetings and broad meetings. This unflinching confidence of our Party was reiterated also at the Report presented by Comrade Enver Hoxha at its 7th Congress. The usefulness of the multi-lateral meetings stands in the broad discussions of the main problems facing the Marxist-Leninist movement and Parties. At these meetings the representatives of the Marxist-Leninist Parties discuss freely, they exchange their experience and make criticism or self-criticism. In this way, the multi-lateral meetings constitute a valuable aid in working out joint attitudes and in coordinating the actions in the revolutionary struggle against the same enemies. These meetings continuously strengthen the international solidarity of the Marxist-Leninists, they

strengthen the unity and cooperation among them.

Numerous and complicated are the problems raised by the revolution and which the Marxist-Leninist movement must cope with. Operating with closed ranks, relying always on the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the proletariat and its Parties will overcome more easily and will better cope with the tasks of the revolution. This serves the revolutionary struggle of the working class and people's masses, the struggle for national and social liberation, the revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat. Our enemies are united, therefore, we must not be separated from one another in face of their attack.

The genuine Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries are led in their struggle by the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and apply them in the concrete conditions of the countries where they operate. They always bear in mind the interests of the revolution in their own country but also the interests of the revolution and liberation of the peoples in the other countries. The joint statement of the delegations of Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America is inspired from these lessons.

Our Party, hailing this statement, will always be beside the Marxist-Leninist comrades of Latin America and of all the countries in their resolute struggle against oligarchies and reactionary bourgeoisie, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, and against modern revisionism. It, as Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 7th Congress of the PLA, will always abide by the principle of fraternal solidarity and support between the Marxist-Leninist sister Parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, will fight with firm confidence on the Marxist-Leninist road to preserve pure our proletarian ideology, for the triumph of communism.

(Editorial of the newspaper "Zeri i Popullit", reprinted from Albanian Telegraphic Agency, Feb. 2, 1977)

ZERI I POPULLIT

Continued from page 14


Such meetings and rallies of the Marxist-Leninist Parties and genuine revolutionaries consolidate and strengthen the unity of their ranks, the internationalist solidarity of the international Marxist-Leninist movement, their struggle and efforts for the great cause of the revolution.

The Albanian communists and the entire Albanian people, led and educated by the PLA with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, rejoice at the successes of the revolutionary struggle of the Marxist-Leninist Parties, the increase and consolidation of their ranks and strengthening of the internationalist militant unity among them. Our Party, as it was stressed at the 7th Congress of the PLA, will always resolutely fight to strengthen the solidarity and the fraternal support among the Marxist-Leninist sister Parties on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism, will fight with an unflinching determination on the Marxist-Leninist road to preserve pure the proletarian ideology, for the triumph of the revolution, socialism. The communists and all the Albanian working people fervently hail the Marxist-Leninist Parties, participants in the anti-imperialist, anti-social imperialist and anti-fascist rally of January 23. In the struggle for the triumph of the revolution and socialism, against the aggressive and hegemonic policy of the two superpowers and their allies, the Albanian communists and the entire Albanian people will always be side by side all the communists and genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties, the revolutionary forces and the freedom-loving peoples throughout the world.

(Editorial of Zeri i Popullit, organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Feb. 10, 1977 -- reprinted from Albanian Telegraphic Agency, Feb. 10, 1977.)

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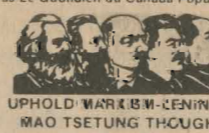
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# The Frame-up of Comrade Hardial Bains: AN ACT OF UTTER DESPERATION BY THE CANADIAN STATE

The Workers' Advocate resolutely denounces the reactionary Canadian government for its fascist attacks on Comrade Hardial Bains, Chairman of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), and on 16 other comrades including Comrade Fred Mason of the COUSML. The Canadian state, which is servile and subservient to U.S. imperialism and Canadian monopoly capitalism, has been attacking the CPC(M-L) right from its moment of birth, using counter-revolutionary dual tactics of direct repression and indirect subversion. We express our utter contempt for those American opportunists who have been doing the dirty work for U.S. imperialism and the Canadian state by slandering the CPC(M-L) and regarding Canada as a backyard in which to float quisling organizations. We call on all upright U.S. Marxist-Leninists to support the CPC(M-L) and to oppose the unjust frame-up of Comrade Hardial Bains.

Comrade Hardial Bains, Chairman of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), was unjustly arrested along with fifteen other comrades, and Comrade Fred Mason, on February 23, 1977. A large number of Party documents were also stolen in the course of making these arrests. All comrades were charged with various trumped-up charges and told to appear before the courts during April and May.

What is the significance of this attack on the Party and Comrade Bains? Life-experience since the reorganization of the Internationalists in May 1968 and since the founding of the Party in March 1970 and before teaches us that the Canadian state uses a two-pronged attack against the Marxist-Leninist communist movement. One is direct repression. This attack on the Party and Comrade Bains is in the category of direct repression. The other is indirect subversion. This is carried out by hiring opportunists of all hues and by infiltrating the Marxist-Leninist communist movement. These opportunists of all hues use the method of gossip, slander and ideological and political confusion-making to serve the Canadian state. Through this method, the Canadian state hopes to disintegrate the Marxist-Leninist communist movement without having to use direct state repression.

The two-pronged attack is either organized simultaneously, or, when one fails, the other is then employed. Our life-experience of the past nine years and more has shown that the main method of disrupting the Marxist-Leninist communist movement is

through direct repression while the method of using the opportunists to dish out slanders and cause confusion is only secondary. There are times when direct repression is not that pronounced while indirect subversion through gossip, slander and confusion-making takes the dominant position.

From 1968 to the beginning of 1970, the main method of disrupting the Marxist-Leninist communist movement was through gossips, slanders, character assassination and ideological and political confusion-making. This campaign was spear-headed by the "Communist" Party of Canada, by the NDP and by the so-called Marxist-Leninist "Progressive" Workers Movement. The main accusation against the Internationalists and later the Party was that they were "CIA" agents, and "sectarian". Jack Scott of "Progressive" Workers Movement and various groupings of "New Leftists" were the most vociferous and insidious in this anti-Internationalists campaign. This period was soon ended with the use of direct repression by the state which went on for three years or more. Over 2000 arrests of Party comrades were made. The vast majority of them received heavy sentences. Over 25 comrades were deported. Several bookshops were burnt and vandalized. The opportunists replied to this repression of the state by blaming the victims and claiming that "CPC(M-L) provokes the police".

During this period of direct repression, the opportunists were in disarray. "CPC" was having no success in organizing. "P"WM disintegrated and liquidated itself. Various groups of "New Leftists" split between Marxism-Leninism and opportunism. Marxist-Leninists from these groups joined the Party. In spite of the terrorism of the FLQ and the revisionism and reformism of "CPC" and its ideological and political confusion-making, CPC(M-L) emerged as the national political Party of the proletariat and all genuine Marxist-Leninists joined in to build the Party.

Then followed the next period of 1973 to 1977. Once again, the opportunists of all hues began their rumours, gossips and slanders against the Party and they escalated their ideological and political confusion, ushering in a period of writing treatises against CPC(M-L), lauding bourgeois democracy to the skies, accusing CPC(M-L) of provoking police, etc. -- the same accusations which were made in the earlier period. But this did not disintegrate the Party. On the contrary, the Party went through a period of purification. Vacillating and opportunist elements deserted the Party. Party building was carried out vig-

orously -- ideologically, politically and organizationally. During this period, even though the Canadian state carried out direct repression, the main instrument of subversion of the Marxist-Leninist communist movement was the opportunists of various hues. The state carried out schemes to frame Comrade Bains, attack the Party, etc.

February 23rd marks the escalation of the direct attacks of the Canadian state against the Party and Comrade Bains. Once the hideous campaigns of various opportunists failed to disintegrate the Marxist-Leninist communist movement and their reactionary slogan of "Smash CPC(M-L)" miserably failed the Canadian state had to escalate its attacks against the Party and Comrade Bains.

The Canadian state used all sorts of agents to subvert the Marxist-Leninist communist movement during the 1973-77 period. The main weapon against CPC(M-L) were the revisionists of William Kashtan, William Stewart, lieutenant of William Kashtan opened this period with the call "Smash CPC(M-L)" during March of 1973. This call was followed by the

ideological confusion-making of Jack Scott with the publication of his sinister book *Two Roads* with the attack on the Great October Revolution which was described as a "coup by a band of Bolsheviks". This was followed by *En Lutte!* spearheading an attack on CPC(M-L) by completely fabricating the line of CPC(M-L) and then attacking it as "revisionist". This was followed by the yellow journalism of MREQ and various others, culminating with the activities of the "petty bourgeois businessman clan", the Christian-Gandhite sect which discovered "anti-imperialism" in order to carry their anti-communist crusade. All these groups, sects and individuals declared their main antagonism to be towards CPC(M-L). "Smash CPC(M-L)" became their battle cry. But all these hideous groups and individuals and their nefarious activities did not wipe out CPC(M-L).

These opportunists of various hues have either aligned themselves with Soviet social-imperialism under the slogan that U.S. imperialism is the main

Continued on page 19

## Organizing Committee to Found Canadian People's Defence Committee Established

On February 23, 1977, Kitchener-Waterloo branch of the Norman Bethune Institute and private homes of various comrades working there were ransacked by the RCMP while Mr. Trudeau was kow-towing to the U.S. imperialists in Washington. The RCMP goon-squad arrested 17 people including Comrade Hardial Bains on trumped-up charges and seized printed literature and Party documents.

This pre-meditated attack on the Party and Comrade Bains aroused massive indignation amongst the progressive and democratic people and a lot of organizations and individuals came forward to bitterly denounce this most recent state attack on the Party and Comrade Bains. For years, the state has been attacking the Party and has been attempting to frame Comrade Hardial Bains. This is their latest effort. Many organizations and individuals have conveyed to PCDN that this most recent attack on the Party and Comrade Bains should not go unanswered.

In order to launch a systematic and vigorous agitation against the state attack and in order to create correct public opinion against these attacks and to unify the people against political persecution, various individuals got together on February 27, 1977 to

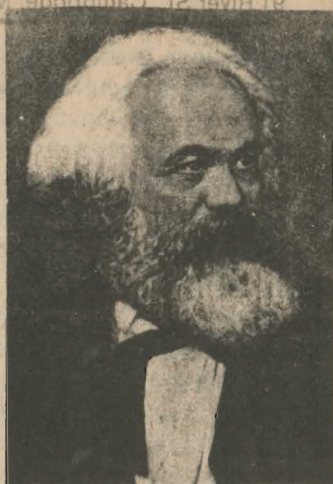
establish the Organizing Committee to found the Canadian People's (Citizens' and Residents') Defence Committee. This Organizing Committee held a press conference on February 28 and issued the following Press Release:

### PRESS RELEASE

On February 23rd, 1977, while Pierre Elliot Trudeau was kow-towing to the U.S. imperialists in Washington and pledging complete loyalty to their cause of aggression and war, his plain-clothes goons ransacked the offices of the Kitchener-Waterloo branch of the Norman Bethune Institute and the homes of several of the comrades working there. This cowardly attack led to the arrest of 17 individuals, including Comrade Hardial Bains, Chairman of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist). A large amount of literature and documents was also seized.

This is not the first time that such attacks have been organized by the state against CPC(M-L) and its leader Comrade Hardial Bains. Since 1969, over 2,000 arrests of CPC(M-L) comrades have taken place

Continued to page 19



## Workers of the World, Unite! Our Epoch is the Epoch of the Victory of Marxism!

### Closing Rally of the Third Congress of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist)

Hotel Bonaventure, Mount Royal Conference Hall, 1 Place Bonaventure, Montreal

#### Programme

- 11:00 AM:  
WELCOMING ADDRESS BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA (MARXIST-LENINIST)
- 12:00 NOON:  
PUBLIC STATEMENT OF THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA (MARXIST-LENINIST)
- 1:00 PM:  
SPEECH BY THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA (MARXIST-LENINIST)
- 1:30 PM:  
SPEECH BY A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CENTRAL ORGANIZATION OF U.S. MARXIST-LENINISTS
- 2:00 PM:  
CULTURAL PROGRAMME IN HONNAGE TO CHAIRMAN MAO  
2:00 pm: Revolutionary film from the People's Socialist Republic of Albania: *Young Fighters*  
4:30 pm: Revolutionary film from Democratic Kampuchea: *Heroic People*  
-- Food and Refreshments  
6:00 pm: *Revolutionary songs, poems, selected readings, a dance and a short play* -- presented by the Communist Youth Union of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), the Montreal Progressive Cultural Workers' Committee, the Militant Front of Greeks

- Abroad, Anti-Fascist and Anti-Imperialist (AMEE), the Committee in Support of the Spanish People (CAPE), OSO-FRAP (Oposicion Sindical Obrera (Workers' Trade Union Opposition) -- member of FRAP), and supporters of the Hindustani Ghadar Party (Marxist-Leninist)
- "Arise! The New Man"
- Quotation from Marx
- Quotation from Chairman Mao
- Letter by Comrade Charu Mazumdar
- Poem: "Arise! The New Man"
- Songs / Manifestos
- Poem of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist)
- Song of the Communist Youth Union of Canada (Marxist-Leninist)
- Song of the Canadian Workers' Association
- Song of the Progressive Cultural Workers' Committee
- Selected readings from the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Chairman Mao and Enver Hoxha
- Revolutionary Canadian Poems
- "Dare to Struggle, Dare to Win"
- Poem by Comrade Jim Nugent (untitled)
- "Comrade Great Lenin Said" by James Reid
- "Here's the Rose!"
- "Struggle Against the Current"
- "Distribution"
- We Are the Heirs of Norman Bethune; Long Live Proletarian Internationalism
- Song: "Long Live the Spirit of Norman Bethune"
- Poem: "With Such A Heritage" by James Reid

- Dramatic Reading: Excerpt from "Wounds"
- Poem: "We Are the Heirs of Norman Bethune" by James Reid
- Song: "Bandiera Rossa", led by the Antonio Gramsci Study Circle
- Song: "Viva la Quinze Brigada", led by CAPE (Committee in Support of the Spanish People)
- Revolutionary Greek songs, led by AMEE (Militant Front of Greeks Abroad, Anti-Fascist and Anti-Imperialist)
- Spanish anti-fascist and Republican songs, led by OSO-FRAP (Workers' Trade Union Opposition, member of FRAP) (Montreal)
- Revolutionary songs as well as a short play and a revolutionary Bangra Dance about India's armed agrarian revolution, by supporters of the Hindustani Ghadar Party (Marxist-Leninist)
- Revolutionary and anti-fascist songs from around the world and from the International Communist Movement
- "The East is Red!"
- "La Varsoviense"
- "Les Partisans"
- "L'Insurgé"
- "L'Appel du Comintern"
- "Le Drapeau Rouge"

- 8:00 PM:  
SPEECH BY COMRADE HARDIAL BAINS AT THE CLOSING OF THE RALLY

THE INTERNATIONALE

# Quotations from Comrade Enver Hoxha's Historic Report

## ON CHAIRMAN MAO AND CHAIRMAN MAO'S CHINA

The Albanian communists and the Albanian people are immensely rejoiced at the successes achieved by the fraternal Chinese people under the leadership of the Communist Party of China in the socialist revolution and socialist construction in China, in the class struggle for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the strengthening and progress of their homeland. The victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the smashing of the counter-revolutionary plots of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao, and Teng Hsiiao-ping, have created a revolutionary situation and have consolidated the positions of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat in China.

The historic victories which the Chinese people have attained in their glorious revolution and the construction of socialism, the creation of the new People's China and the high prestige it enjoys in the world, are directly linked with the name, teachings, and guidance of the great revolutionary, comrade Mao Tse-tung. The work of this outstanding Marxist-Leninist represents a contribution to the enrichment of the revolutionary theory and practice of the proletariat. The Albanian communists and people will always honour the memory of comrade Mao Tse-tung, who was a great friend of our Party and people. (page 200)

## ON YOUTH

In the countries dominated by capital, the youth constitute a great reserve for the revolution. The mass of the unemployed youth, abandoned and deprived of all hope and prospects by the bourgeoisie, number millions. A great revolt against social injustice is seething among them. Great forces are gathering and building up for revolutionary outbursts. It is up to the Marxist-Leninists to unite the enthusiasm of the youth, its revolutionary aspirations, with the drive and aspirations of the working class, to lead it on the correct course towards the liberation of all society from the yoke of big capital. (page 247)

Our youth are surrounded by the special care of the Party and the entire society. Great prospects, which guarantee their present and future and give a lofty content and meaning to their life, have been opened to them. The Party has ever better fulfilled the cultural and spiritual aspirations and various material needs of the youth, it has mobilized them in revolutionary actions and given them the role of active and important participants in the revolution and the construction of socialist society. Therefore, our youth, too, have always followed the Party enthusiastically, optimistically and faithfully, and have gone all out to make the homeland flourish and strengthen its defence.

We see an entirely different picture in the bourgeois and revisionist countries, where uncertainty for the present and fear of the future nags at the youth day in and day out. Every second of every hour their minds are being poisoned by confusing propaganda, urging them to an empty, dissipated life, devoid of ideals, which alienates them from the revolution, which drives them to the road of crime and hooliganism, and casts them into anarchism, adventurism, utopia and despair.

Our Party aims to keep the communist ideals and the healthy revolutionary spirit always alive in the minds and hearts of the youth, to educate them to be loyal fighters of the Party, ready to dedicate their energies, talent and lives to the construction of socialism and the defence of the homeland. (page 134)

## ON WOMEN

Our reality refutes all the bourgeois and revisionist "theories" on the roads to the emancipation of the woman. The attempts of the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries to turn the struggle for the emancipation of the working woman against her husband, children and family, are aimed at diverting her from the revolutionary struggle and disrupting the common front of the working class and the working people against the real oppressors and exploiters. The demagoguery of the modern revisionists, too, relating the solution of this major social problem to the policy of "peace" and "disarmament", is intended to make the woman give up the revolution. (p. 138)

The correct Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party has led to that true, deep-going, and very broad revolution which has taken place in the life of the Albanian woman.

Our experience has fully confirmed the necessity of linking the problem of the complete emancipation of the woman with the question of national liberation and the cause of the proletariat. Without the participation of the woman the socialist revolution cannot be successfully carried out, and without the socialist revolution the complete emancipation of the woman cannot be achieved. (page 137)

## ON THE THEORY OF "THREE WORLDS"

World capitalism, which is proceeding remorselessly towards crisis and decline, just as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin predicted with such genius, has now reached the stage of imperialism in decay. In order to survive, it has devised new forms for the exploitation of the masses, not just on a national scale, but also on a world scale, has contrived its last and most sophisticated means of plunder, neo-colonialism, has created financial links and economic and military alliances through which it intends to hold in complete or partial dependence many states

belonging to what is called the "second world", the "third world", the "non-aligned world" or the "developing countries". All these terms, which refer to the various political forces acting in the world today, cover up and do not bring out the class character of these political forces, the fundamental contradictions of our epoch, the key problem which is predominant today on a national and international scale, the ruthless struggle between the bourgeois-imperialist world, on the one hand, and socialism, the world proletariat, and its natural allies, on the other.

The most that these terms and divisions can indicate is the extent of the influence and impact of world capital, international or national, on various states and areas of the world. They can also indicate the more powerful or less powerful support points of imperialism and social-imperialism, and they may also indicate the existence of the peoples' aspirations to live free and independent of the superpowers. But, viewing the question from the angle of the class criterion, with some exceptions, in these states, antagonist classes and the exploitation of man by man exist, and the proletariat and working people of these countries are ruled by the bourgeoisie in this or that form. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that in our epoch, countries are grouped according to the social system prevailing in them, into bourgeois-capitalist countries and socialist countries. The theories on the so-called intermediate stage of non-capitalist development, so zealously propagated by the Khrushchevite revisionists, are meant to sabotage the sincere socialist aspirations that exist in many countries, to cause ideological confusion, and to undermine the struggle of the progressive forces.

Similarly, regarding the assessment of the policy pursued by various states and governments, the Marxists proceed again from the class criterion, from the stands these governments and countries maintain towards imperialism and socialism, towards their own people and reaction.

On the basis of these teachings the revolutionary movement and the proletariat build their strategy and tactics, find, and unite with, their true allies in the struggle against imperialism, the bourgeoisie and reaction. The terms "third world", "non-aligned states" or "developing countries", create the illusion among the broad masses fighting for national and social liberation that a roof has allegedly been found under which to shelter from the threat of the superpowers. These terms conceal the real situation in the majority of these countries, which, in this or that manner, politically, ideologically, and economically, are bound to, and depend on, the two superpowers and the former colonial metropolises.

The Yugoslav revisionists champion the idea of "non-aligned countries". According to them, falling within this group are those countries which have not aligned themselves through military treaties with the big imperialists and revisionist powers, mainly with NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. But without formally participating in these two military blocs, many of these countries are so completely aligned with the superpowers and the big capitalist countries through a series of treaties and agreements, that the word "non-aligned" has a very hollow sound to it. (page 172)

The slogan of "non-aligned countries" gives the false impression that a group of states which have the possibility of "opposing" the superpower blocs is being created. It gives the impression that these countries, all of them, without exception, are anti-imperialist, opposed to war, opposed to the dictate of others, that they are "democratic", and even "socialist". This helps to strengthen the pseudo-democratic and anti-popular positions of the leading groups of some states which participate among the "non-aligned", and creates the impression among the peoples of these countries that when their chiefs establish or dissolve relations, of any kind and nature, with the imperialists and the social-imperialists, openly or in secret, they do this not only in the capacity of "popular governments", but also in the capacity of a group of states "with which even the superpowers must reckon". (page 175)

The Party of Labour of Albania, the Albanian state and people, are against NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, against COMECON and the Common Market, because these organizations are the basic instruments of the expansionist policy of the two superpowers, because they oppress, exploit and impoverish both the peoples of Europe and the peoples of the developing countries, undermine both the revolution and the liberation of the peoples, and are instruments of enslavement. (page 171)

The monopolists of Western Europe, both bourgeois and revisionist, have a great deal to say about the creation of the so-called United Europe. So far some sort of a "European Commission" has been set up with a "Parliament", a "common government", some formal laws, which has taken upon itself to create the state unification of the European countries. Plans are being hatched out for this part of Europe to have a joint army, armed to the teeth, and a "powerful" capitalist economy allegedly to confront the two superpowers. In fact, the creation of the United States of Europe is meant to eliminate the notion of nationality in various European countries, to integrate and amalgamate their culture and traditions, in other words, to do away with the individuality of the peoples and states of Western Europe under the management of the cosmopolitan reactionary bourgeoisie of this continent.

This "United Europe", its reactionary content, was exposed and condemned by Lenin as early as 1915 when he wrote:

"From the standpoint of economic conditions of imperialism -- i. e., the export of capital and the division of the world by the "advanced" and "civilized" colonial powers -- a United States of Europe, under capitalism, is either impossible or reactionary". And further: "Of course, temporary agreements are possible between capitalists and between states. In this sense a United States of Europe is possible as an agreement between the European capitalists... but to what end? Only for the purpose of jointly suppressing socialism in Europe!". (page 172)

Our Party is of the opinion that the peoples must be told openly about the situations, because it is only thus that their true unity, the unity of the truly anti-imperialist and progressive states and governments is aided. In order to unite the peoples in the fight for freedom, independence and social progress, against any oppression and exploitation by whomsoever, first it is necessary to establish the dividing line, to make clear who is their chief enemy, against whom they must fight, and with whom they must unite. (page 175)

## ON THE BALANCE BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS

The People's Republic of Albania does not accept and publicly exposes the so-called theory about the need to preserve the "balance between the superpowers" as a condition or a basis to avoid war and defend peace. It rejects the imperialist concepts on the preservation of the "spheres of influence" allegedly as factors of stability and security, the concepts of "limited sovereignty" and the "interdependent world", of "bipolarization", the policy of blackmail, etc. These so-called "theories and doctrines" invented in Moscow and Washington, are meant to create a capitulationist opinion that no state or nation can live outside the domination and tutelage of one or the other superpower.

The history of Europe has proved that the "balance of forces" among the big powers has always been a weapon in the hands of exploiting classes to suppress the national liberation and revolutionary movements. Intervention has been always the weapon of the system of balance, to restore it when it is upset or to guard against its being upset.

Peace and international security in Europe and in the world are not achieved through the establishment of "harmony" or "balance" between the superpowers, but through struggle against imperialist pressures and intervention, through efforts for the liberation of the peoples, through the strengthening of national independence and sovereignty. (page 182)

## THE TWO SUPERPOWERS ARE THE BIGGEST AND MOST DANGEROUS AGGRESSIVE IMPERIALIST POWERS KNOWN IN HISTORY

Concrete facts and actions, the objective reality, leads us to the conclusion that in the world today the two superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, are the biggest and most dangerous aggressive imperialist powers known in history. Each separated or together, the superpowers represent, in the same degree and to the same extent, the main enemy of socialism, and the freedom and independence of nations, the greatest force defending oppressive and exploiting systems, and the direct threat that mankind will be hurled into a third world war. (page 166)

Our Party upholds the thesis that both when the superpowers work together and when they quarrel, it is others who pay the bill. The collusion and rivalry between the superpowers are the two sides of the one contradictory reality, important expressions of the same imperialist strategy, to rob the peoples of their freedom and to dominate the world. They pose the same danger, therefore the two superpowers are the main and greatest enemies of the peoples. That is why, one must never rely on one imperialism to fight or escape from the other. (page 165)

The aggressive policy of the superpowers is spear-headed first of all against socialism, the revolution and the liberation of the peoples, against those forces that unmask and oppose their hegemonist and expansionist course. Therefore, the danger of foreign military aggression against socialist Albania is real and should be neither underrated nor overruled. (page 113)

The peoples should not fall into the trap of the so-called "anti-imperialist front" advertised by the Soviet social-imperialists, in which they are seeking to embroil all those who are opposed to, and fight against, United States imperialism. To join this "front" means to sacrifice the loftiest interests of your country, to expose the people to danger, to become a minion of the social-imperialists and cannon fodder for their ambitions. The contradictions between the Soviet Union and the United States of America are not contradictions between socialism and imperialism, as Moscow is trying to pass them off, but contradictions between two big imperialist powers.

While rejecting the demagoguery and deceptive tactics of "anti-imperialism" preached by the Soviet revisionists, it is necessary also to reject the "anti-social-imperialism" which the United States of America and the monopoly bourgeoisie of the world are propagating. The peoples cannot allow themselves to fall victims to the rivalry of the United States and the Soviet Union and become pawns in their imperialist manoeuvring. (page 185)

In these countries, the United States of America and the Soviet Union are vying with each other. In order to subjugate various countries of these zones, they create and bring to power cliques of allegedly liberation colours and set them at loggerheads with one another according to the principle of "divide and rule". In fact, whether US imperialism, in its open and savage way, or Soviet social-imperialism, likewise in its way, which is just as savage but masked with a pseudo-socialist propaganda, they are working to aggravate relations, to stir up and inflame the contradictions among the peoples to further their own interests, to establish naval bases in various countries, to build military alliances, to conclude enslaving trade agreements, etc. (page 183)

The world has encountered and continues to encounter the aggressive and expansionist aims of US imperialism. Ever since the end of the Second World War, US imperialism has been pursuing a criminal policy and carrying out criminal activity against communism and the freedom and independence of the peoples. It was US imperialism that unleashed the barbarous aggression in Korea and in Vietnam, committing some of the most heinous crimes mankind has ever known there. It was US imperialism that intervened in the Congo, that strangled the Dominican revolution, that carried the war to Laos and Cambodia, that set the Middle East ablaze and organized the fascist putsches in Chile and Argentina. (page 166)

In accord with its imperialist nature, US imperialism has extended its tentacles to all the continents and is strengthening its positions everywhere, and in every way, through "aid", enslaving credits, various agreements and treaties, through military bases established in many countries, through brutal interference in the internal affairs of other countries, up to armed aggression. All these are the ugly features of savage US imperialism. (page 167)

Our Party consistently upholds the view that US imperialism is aggressive and will remain so as long as it has a single tooth left in its head. (page 167)

Therefore, now just as in the past, the consistent and unceasing struggle to expose the policy and foil the aggressive plans of imperialism, headed by US imperialism, constitutes an essential condition for the defence of freedom and socialism, for the triumph of the revolution and the liberation of peoples. (page 168)

The peoples of the world are also fighting a great battle against the other enemy, just as dangerous and barbarous, Soviet social-imperialism. (page 168)

Like the US imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists are striving everywhere to put out the flames of the revolution and the liberation struggles of the peoples. (page 168)

The imperialists and the social-imperialists have as their close allies the reactionary bourgeoisie of each country where they exercise their influence. They use these allies to do their dirty work and wield the whip on their behalf, so they feed and arm them to have them ready as a striking force in a world conflagration and against peoples who rise in revolution against their internal and external oppressors. Therefore, these forces cannot be separated from one another. Without combating the one, you cannot combat the other, without combating the internal reactionary force until you have overthrown it, you cannot combat the external enemy, you cannot prevent war. You must destroy every kind of base the superpowers have established and created in a given country, for in this way you weaken and destroy the world influence and strength they have based on the enslavement of peoples and countries. (page 192)

## ON "BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY"

The bourgeoisie is trying to keep every demand of the proletariat within the framework of bourgeois laws, to entangle it in the spider-web of pseudo-freedom of speech, "democracy", and street demonstrations. (page 221)

Today, the new Marxist-Leninist parties are resolutely facing up to the savage and wily struggle of the capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie, as well as of their ordinary and secret police. Our comrades have gained rich experience in this struggle, which helps them take the necessary measures to repulse the attacks that may be launched against them from various quarters and in the most varied forms. The Marxist-Leninist parties cherish not the slightest illusion about "bourgeois democracy", and the sham "trade union freedoms" of the capitalist countries. (page 243)

## ON THE CAPITALIST TRADE UNIONS

The bourgeoisie and its state power also utilize the trade unions, in which they have incorporated the proletariat and the working people of most bourgeois countries for this counter-revolutionary aim. The trade unions are allegedly democratic, allegedly independent of the bosses and various "democratic", "socialist" and other parties. In reality, these so-called trade unions, openly manipulated by the bourgeois parties and led by the labour aristocracy, strive by all manner of means to mislead the working people and sabotage their revolutionary struggle. As well as this, the laws concerning the workers' activity and

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struggle for economic, social and other demands, have been constructed and doctored by big capital in such a manner that every action must take place within the limits allowed by the bourgeoisie, that nothing should damage its interests, and in particular must not threaten the foundations of the capitalist state power. (page 164)

## ON THE DANGER OF FASCISM

When it finds it impossible to cope with the revolts of the workers and people in the pseudo-democratic forms or with the "talking-shop" methods of parliaments, then the bourgeoisie state clamps down on them with its laws, its violence, its bludgeon. That is what is happening now in most countries where the crisis has sharpened the contradictions between labour and capital, and the revolt of the working people at the situation created is becoming ever more powerful.

In these situations the danger of fascism is becoming ever more threatening. It is known fact that when capital finds itself driven into a blind alley and under the heavy blows of the working class, it is compelled either to declare itself bankrupt or establish its fascist dictatorship and head for war. (page 165)

The bourgeoisie has adopted and continues to adopt numerous laws to protect itself against this organization. Apart from its incessant surveillance and onslaughts on the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries, it encourages crime, anarchist and terrorist struggle, prepares, supports, and sets in motion fascist gangs that kill, attack, and rob the masses in the streets, and it does this in order to keep the working people under terror, to intimidate them. In the end they carry these actions as far as the establishment of a fascist dictatorship in this or that capitalist country. (page 244)

## REVISIONISM IS THE MAIN DANGER IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The class struggle waged during the whole existence of the Party, as well as recently, has shown that the main danger and enemy to our Party and the entire international revolutionary communist and workers' movement has been and still is right opportunism, revisionism. This danger always threatens a country which is building socialism under the conditions of capitalist encirclement, but it has now become greater still, especially since the liquidation of the socialist order in the Soviet Union and the bourgeois degeneration of many communist parties of the world. In a country where socialism is being built with success, the enemies find it difficult to come out openly with the banner of anti-communism, Pseudo-Marxism, revisionist counter-revolution, is their favourite weapon to overthrow socialism. (page 109)

Our Party holds that the continuation and extension of the ideological struggle against revisionism in general, and of Soviet revisionism in particular, the deepening of that great polemic which began after the 1960 Moscow Meeting, constitutes an important and imperative duty for all the Marxist-Leninists, for all true revolutionaries. Now, as at that time, the historic burden falls on them to defend Marxism-Leninism from revisionist attacks and distortions, to defend the revolutionary line of the true world communist movement from influences and pressures brought to bear upon it by the bourgeoisie and the various opportunist forces, to defend proletarian internationalism against the great-power chauvinism of the Soviet social-imperialists and bourgeois nationalism of the other opportunists. Lenin's saying that, without fighting opportunism, it is impossible to fight imperialism, remains just as valid and indispensable today. The defence of Marxism-Leninism is a question of principle. It cannot be made dependent on the circumstances which arise, on the basis of which the enemies of the proletariat combine and divide their interests. (page 226)

Life has proved that the course of open and uncompromising struggle which our Party chose for the exposure of the Soviet revisionists, its resolute defence of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, was the only reliable course to save the situation and to triumph. This encourages us and makes us all the more determined and unyielding to the end in the struggle against revisionism and any other sort of opportunism. (page 212)

The Party of Labour of Albania long ago said that modern revisionism, like the earlier revisionism of Bernstein or Kautsky, can never build that cohesion, that steel-like unity which only Marxism-Leninism, the scientific ideology of the working class, is in a position to do. Revisionism is synonymous with splits, lack of unity, chauvinism and anarchy. (page 218)

As always, in the future, too, our Party will fight to expose the deceptive nature of the Yugoslav variety of revisionism and the danger it presents. (p. 224)

The evil, the danger, is that by way of disguise, the modern revisionists, whether in power or not, continue to utilize these formulae that are the grating essence of our doctrine, depriving them entirely of their force for leadership and organization. The revisionists not only apply these formulae in practice in the opposite sense, but they also distort and deform them in a cunning and sophisticated way. The whole aim of the modern revisionists is, by preserving some formulations, to distort the entire Marxist-

Leninist doctrine, to build a set of other anti-Marxist theories meant to disorganize the proletariat of a given country or the world, to extend the life of the capitalist bourgeoisie, to put off the proletarian revolution, if not to suppress it altogether, be it in a single country in which the conditions are ripe for it or in several countries simultaneously. (page 237)

## THE THREE FORMS OF CLASS STRUGGLE

Our practice of revolution and socialist construction teaches us that unless it is waged in all its main directions, political, economic and ideological, no class struggle can ever be complete. These three forms of class struggle are intertwined with and complement each other. At given periods, now one or now the other form of class struggle may come to the fore, but in every case it should be waged on all fronts. We should not forget that the enemy, too, wages his struggle in all directions: ideological, economic and political. (page 116)

## ON THE SACRIFICES REQUIRED OF COMMUNISTS

Great sacrifices have been, are, and will continue to be the order of the day for the members of the true Marxist-Leninist revolutionary parties, and they are conscious that they make these sacrifices for the sake of the lofty interests of the revolution and socialism. Without these sacrifices, without fighting with lofty revolutionary self-denial, victory cannot be attained. Under the example of the sacrifices of each Marxist-Leninist party, the proletariat of each country marches forward and likewise the proletariat of the world. This is what instils confidence in Marxism-Leninism and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist communist party, among the proletariat. The Party is tempered in unceasing battles and struggles till final victory. (page 243)

## ON THE CLASS STRUGGLE UNDER SOCIALISM

The construction of socialism is a process of stern class struggle between the two roads, the socialist road and the capitalist road, a struggle waged on all fronts, political and economic, ideological and military. (page 108)

One of the great principles of Marxism-Leninism and one of the main conclusions drawn from our Party's revolutionary experience is that it is absolutely essential to continue to wage the class struggle in the period of the complete construction of the socialist society, right up to communism. (page 24)

Our country's experience refutes these false and capitulationist theories about the dying down of the class struggle in socialism. The entire history of the construction of socialism in Albania is a history of irreconcilable struggle between the revolution and counter-revolution, between the two roads of development, against the external and internal enemies, as well as within the ranks of the people and the Party itself. This struggle has been waged unceasingly and has always been fierce, only its forms and methods have changed according to circumstances and stages of development. Even after the liquidation of the exploiting classes as such, the internal and external enemies have never for one moment laid down their arms or ceased their struggle against socialism. Therefore, our Party and people have waged the class struggle in all fields with stern consistency and in a correct Marxist-Leninist way, as the decisive condition to ensure the final victory of the socialist road over the capitalist road. (page 25)

International experience and that of our country show that the hopes of the bourgeoisie and reaction for the restoration of capitalism are not based only on the remnants of the old exploiting classes nor only on the agents and diversionists in the pay of foreigners. Their hopes are based especially on other enemies of socialism who emerge from the socialist society itself, on people seriously contaminated by the hangovers of old ideologies, with marked individualistic and career-seeking tendencies, confused by the impact of modern bourgeois and revisionist ideologies, who yield to the pressure of external and internal enemies, and who eventually desert the revolution and degenerate into counterrevolutionaries. (page 110)

(Page references are to the English edition from Albania or the direct reprint available from NPC as advertised below, emphasis as in the original.)

In compliance with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and relying on this rich revolutionary experience, the draft-Constitution explicitly states that in all its activity, our socialist state upholds the great Marxist-Leninist principle of class struggle, which constitutes the great motive force to carry the socialist revolution forward. (page 25)

The internal situation of our country has been strengthened and consolidated through a sharp class struggle which our Party and people have waged with determination on all fronts, against the allround pressure of the hostile imperialist and revisionist encirclement, against the savage ideological aggression hurled against our country day by day, as well as against the dangerous enemy activities inside the country and in the ranks of the Party itself. Against the steel-like solidarity of our Party and people, the attacks and plots of the external and internal enemies against our Party and our socialist order, against the freedom and independence of our homeland, have been reduced to dust and ashes. (page 7)

Socialist Albania provides a major example which shows that the emergence of revisionism and return to capitalism are not decreed by fate to be inevitable, as the bourgeois ideologists try to make out. It proves the vitality of socialism, the invincible strength of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, which, when they are consistently applied, carry the cause of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat forward with sure steps. (page 111)

Our Party has stressed that the struggle on the ideological front constitutes one of the main aspects of the class struggle. This is a fierce struggle waged on a broad front against all alien ideologies, old and new, which are kept alive, inspired and encouraged by internal and external bourgeois pressure. This is a major front of struggle, extremely important and complicated, which demands the permanent attention of the Party. (page 114)

## ON THE LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY

With the greatest loyalty and unwavering consistency our Party has upheld the great principle that ensuring the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party constitutes the decisive condition for carrying out the revolution, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism. It has always been aware that the leadership of the Party represents the concentrated and highest expression of the leading role of the working class and the number one subjective factor for putting its revolutionary program into practice. (page 22)

The theory and practice of socialism, the revolutionary life and activity of our Party have always proved completely that the constant preservation and strengthening of the leading role of the Party is decisive to the fate of the people and the revolution. Only under the leadership of the Party can the people's state power be strengthened and consolidated. (page 75)

The new Constitution does not conceal its class character. It proclaims and sanctions the undivided leading role of the Party in the state and in the whole society, it proclaims and sanctions the class struggle as the main driving force of our entire society. (page 16)

## ON THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES AROUND THE WORLD

The existence of Marxist-Leninist parties in all the continents and regions of the world shows that conscious champions, determined revolutionaries who fight with all their strength for the great cause of communism, have now risen in defence of the interests of the world proletariat, of the revolution and socialism. (page 240)

The growth and strengthening of the new Marxist-Leninist parties is vivid proof that the proletariat has never lost its faith in Marxism-Leninism, that it sees in Marxism-Leninism its most powerful weapon in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and for the triumph of the revolution. (page 160)

The Party of Labour of Albania proclaims its complete internationalist solidarity with the Marxist-Leninist parties. The bourgeoisie and the revisionists would like our Party to stop supporting and helping the new Marxist-Leninist parties. But this will never happen. Now, as always, our Party is of the opinion that for the freedom of a nation, the revolution, the defeat of the bourgeoisie, imperialism and social-imperialism, it is an important duty to give internationalist aid. Marx and Lenin have taught us this, and this lesson guides the struggle of our Party. Just as the Marxist-Leninist parties and the progressive peoples everywhere in the world have helped us, in the past, in our struggle for national liberation and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we, too, are duty bound to help the proletariat, the Marxist-Leninist parties and all the progressive forces in the struggle they are waging so that their peoples, too, will win their freedom and build socialism. (page 241)

We think that the cooperation in the true revolutionary way between our Marxist-Leninist parties must be many-sided. The exchange of experience may be done on a bilateral or multilateral basis. The situation may also mature to the point that a large meeting of the representatives of all the Marxist-Leninist communist and workers' parties can be achieved. Long ago, at the time of its 5th Congress, our Party raised this important question. Our Party is determined to defend and implement the great principle of revolutionary cooperation between the Marxist-Leninist parties. (page 250)

## ON THE COMINTERN

The revisionists savagely attack the great work of the Comintern, precisely because it created and developed the communist parties in the world, which taught the millions of the proletariat how to fight the bourgeoisie of their own country so that it would not be able to perpetuate its power. The modern revisionists and, together with them, the bourgeoisie, unceasingly attack the Comintern and spread the slander that it had allegedly become a tool of the Soviet Union and Stalin. But, at that time, the Comintern was an indispensable organization which made a major contribution to the strengthening of the revolution and the victory of socialism. It was the great good fortune of the world proletariat that the Soviet Union of the time of Lenin and Stalin became a powerful support for the proletarian struggle all over the world.

There are people who do not fail to say that the Comintern allegedly made mistakes. That mistakes may have been committed cannot be ruled out, but mistakes involving violation of major principles were not made. (page 248)

## THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The present situation in the international communist movement resembles the heroic period in which Marx and Engels struggled and worked. The world proletariat, we Marxist-Leninists, must return to, and study, the doctrine of Marx and Engels, their strategy and tactics of struggle and victory. Marx and Engels are no longer alive, but their doctrine lives on, and it should guide us. They are our irreplaceable leaders.

The present situation in the international communist movement resembles the period of the principled revolutionary struggle of Lenin, Stalin and the Bolshevik Party. They had Marx and Engels as their only and unerring guide. At the head of the Russian proletariat, they led the revolution to its triumph and established the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin and Stalin died, the Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union turned into a revisionist party and the first state of proletarians was transformed into a bourgeois chauvinist and social-imperialist state. Neither Lenin nor Stalin had the experience of a proletarian state prior to them, but they created it with the revolution, through revolutionary violence and work, being guided step by step by the doctrine of Marx and Engels which they further enriched. (page 238)

## Through the Pages of Volume XIX

### of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania

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## SUMMARY OF THE HISTORIC

REPORT OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA TO SEVENTH CONGRESS OF PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA

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## ENVER HOXHA

### REPORT ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

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# Grand Internationalist Rally of the Communist Party of Italy (Marxist-Leninist)

Tirana, February 8 (ATA) --  
 The newspaper "Nuova Unità", central organ of the CP of Italy (M-L), reports that on January 23, a grand internationalist rally of the CP of Italy (M-L) took place in the "Eliseo" theatre, Rome.  
 Attending the rally which was held in an atmosphere of a great revolutionary enthusiasm, were thousands of workers and militants of the party, as well as the representatives of the CP of Argentina (M-L), the Communist Party of Brazil, the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, the CP of Germany (M-L) and its Eastern Section, the Greek Communist Party (M-L) and the Communist Party of Spain (M-L). This rally is a manifestation of the resolute struggle for the strengthening of the internationalist solidarity, and the struggle of the proletariat and the peoples against imperialism, social-imperialism and reaction.  
 The participants warmly applauded the greetings of the representatives of the sister parties. Great enthusiasm was aroused by the message from the CC of the PLA to the participants in the manifestation.

## CP of Italy (M-L)

FROM THE SPEECH OF COMRADE FOSCO DINUCCI, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CP OF ITALY (M-L)

This mass meeting at the centre of Rome, said Comrade Dinucci, is of great importance for proletarian internationalism. Comrades, workers, many young workers and students, all inspired by a revolutionary impulse have gathered here. We have invited several sister parties which are fighting in situations, which are even more difficult, in illegality and in special conditions of struggle. They will take the floor in this rally, giving us the opportunity to feel at first hand their enthusiasm, their spirit of sacrifice, all their strength with which they are waging their anti-fascist battle, the battle for freedom, the battle for the great ideals of socialism and communism.

Comrades, I want to express here your profound internationalist spirit, the internationalist spirit of the Italian workers, by conveying from this tribune the most fraternal internationalist greetings to all the Marxist-Leninist parties. We assure them, we assure the world proletariat, that in waging the class struggle in Italy, we will perform our duty to the end, ready even to lay down our lives for the proletarian internationalism, for the liberation of the peoples and the cause of the world revolution.

We have gathered here to express our great determination to fight against the policy of domination and war of the two superpowers, against the presence of the bases and naval fleets of the USA and the USSR in the Mediterranean, against imperialism and social-imperialism, against capitalism and revisionism, against all reactionaries. Our aim is to strengthen the internal and international united front, to fight for full national independence and the cause of the revolution. In the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, as Lenin stressed, the struggle for national independence, closely linked with the revolutionary perspective towards socialism, towards communism, is of special importance.

After speaking about the internationalist spirit of the Italian proletariat and genuine communists before and after the second world war, he said:

"When the Khrushchevite Yaghiatist leaders betrayed the proletarian internationalism, it was we, the Marxist-Leninists, who confirmed this struggle with the greatest loyalty.

We ranked ourselves alongside the Party of Labour of Albania, which was the first, together with the Communist Party of China, to denounce the Khrushchevite betrayal which manifested itself in an organized way as modern revisionism at the 24th congress of the CPSU. Let us recall our determined struggle, our contribution at the beginning of the '60s, our activity.

After stressing that in this complicated situation, Comrade Enver Hoxha, in the name of the Party of Labour of Albania, with great political courage unmasked Khrushchev and the other revisionist leaders at the meeting of the SI parties, Comrade Dinucci said:

At that time, the battle was not clear as it appears today. The Party of Labour of Albania has the great historic merit that it was the first to denounce Khrushchev's betrayal right in the faces of the revisionist cowards themselves. This act will remain among the most important and decisive acts in the history of the international communist and worker movements.

Today, pointed out Comrade Dinucci in face of the crisis which has gripped our country and the capitalist and revisionist world, the Italian working class is responding with ever greater determination to the measures of the bosses and their revisionist and social-democrat servants, taking part ever more actively in the attack against fascistisation and the danger of fascism.

We must create a united front, anti-capitalist front for national independence. For this, a constant mobilisation of the working class and the masses of the people is necessary, we must fight to drive the U.S. and NATO bases from our country, so that Italy leaves NATO, to stop social-imperialist penetration. Today, more than ever, one of the slogans of the working class, and the masses of the people must be: "The U.S. and Soviet bases out of the Mediterranean! Let us fight for complete independence of all the Mediterranean peoples! The two superpowers are the worst enemies of mankind!"

The masses of our people will oppose any imperialist enemy who may occupy our country, with their revolutionary struggle for national independence.

We will resolutely carry the revolutionary struggle through to the end, just as we did with the partisan struggle, we will wage it to the end for national independence and the cause of the revolution.

We must extend more and more the international united front against the two superpowers, based on

the alliance between the proletariat and the oppressed peoples the world over. The main bastions of this broad front are China and socialist Albania.

Comrade Dinucci continued further on:  
 In his speech of May 20, 1970, Chairman Mao pointed out that "The danger of a new world war remains and the peoples of the world must be prepared, but today the main trend in the world is the revolution. The war can be prevented if the peoples enhance their vigilance, if they strengthen their unity and persist in the struggle. If the imperialists launch the war, there is no doubt that they will create revolutions on a world-wide scale, thus accelerating their end."

There are sham Marxist-Leninists, deceivers and intriguers in Italy and abroad, stressed Comrade Dinucci, who think they can fight against the two superpowers, or better, only against one of the two superpowers for example, against social-imperialism, by lining up with the reactionary forces, with the fascists. And to fight the one superpower, they intend to rely on the other.

This is the worst form of opportunism. They forget that the struggle against foreign imperialist reaction is valuable only when it is linked with the struggle against internal reaction, while they consider the reactionary bourgeoisie as a defender of independence, of national interests.

Comrade Dinucci continued further on:  
 Albania stands resolute and solid as a bastion of socialism on the front against the two superpowers. Our delegation to the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania was able to see that profound internationalist spirit which inspires all the political activity of the sister party of Albania. The 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania was of fundamental importance not only for the construction of socialism within the country, but also for proletarian internationalism. The report of comrade Enver Hoxha, with its tactical and strategic orientations, is a great contribution to the international Marxist-Leninist communist movement, a real touchstone to prove all the Marxist-Leninist parties. The new constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania shows us the splendid road of the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the brilliant road of the complete construction of socialism to go on to communism. Albania towers like a beacon for the proletariat and the Marxist-Leninist parties, more than ever it is keeping alive in the world confidence in the perspective of the proletarian revolution, in the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the ideals of socialism and communism.

Today it is more imperative than ever to defend and raise aloft the ideals of the proletarian revolution, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialism and communism. There are opportunists of all hues, frequently even sham Marxist-Leninists, who proceeding from the complicated character of the problems of the revolution and the construction of socialism, of various aspects of the class struggle, seek to undermine confidence in the revolutionary ideals. In face of these manoeuvres, in face of efforts to introduce an opportunist line into the Marxist-Leninist movement, we must stress that being faced with the degeneration of the capitalist and revisionist world, these ideals represent the only future for the proletariat and the masses of the whole world, so that, a new society of freedom and equality can be built on the ruins of the old society.

After mentioning the heroic struggle of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties and paying homage to the revolutionaries fallen in struggle for socialist revolution in their countries, Comrade Dinucci said: We rank them beside Gzamsel, who was murdered in fascist jails along side our partisans who fell in the fighting, or died under the torture of the nazi-fascists.

Comrades, for these ideals, we, the members of the Communist Party of Italy (M-L) and the Youth Union, while continuing the struggle at home, will at the same time, fulfill our internationalist duties to the end, will work ceaselessly to strengthen the ties among the sister parties, for the unity of the proletariat of the whole world, for the unity of all the revolutionary forces. We welcome the joint statement of the recent times of the Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America, every step forward towards proletarian internationalism. We want a militant internationalism, an active internationalism, an ever closer unity among the Marxist-Leninist parties. Our battle cry is and always will be: "Workers of all countries, unite!"

## Party of Labour of Albania

MESSAGE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA TO THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE GRAND INTERNATIONALIST MANIFESTATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ITALY (M-L).

Tirana, February 8 (ATA) --  
 The newspaper "Zeri i Popullit" and the other Albanian newspapers' frontpage today the message of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania to the participants of the grand internationalist manifestation of the Communist Party of Italy (M-L), which was organized in Rome on January 23.

The newspapers "Zeri i Popullit" and "Bashkimi" published in the first pages and the whole fourth pages the news item on this manifestation as well as extended extracts from the speech of comrade Fosco Dinucci, Secretary General of the Communist Party of Italy (M-L) delivered at this manifestation, as well as the greetings of the representatives of sister parties. They are reprinted from "Nuova Unità", central organ of the Communist Party of Italy (M-L) on February 1, 1977, which publishes them in full.

The message of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, reads:

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Italy (M-L)

Dear Comrades,

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, expressing the feelings of the Albanian communists and all the Albanian working people, extends to you, all the Marxist-Leninist militants and the participants of the anti-imperialist, anti-social-imperialist and anti-fascist rally of January 23 and, through you, to all the revolutionary Italian working people, warm revolutionary greetings.

For more than 10 years the Communist Party of Italy (M-L) worthy heir and continuer of the revolutionary traditions of the Italian proletariat has been waging a difficult and determined struggle in defence of the vital interests of the Italian working class and working people against the oppression and exploitation of capital, for the cause of the revolution and socialism in Italy. It is waging a just and active struggle against the aggressive policy of the two superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, the biggest and most dangerous enemies of mankind and the revolution, for the defence of the lofty interests of the country, against the NATO bases as well as against the fascist danger.

Basing itself on the triumphant doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party of Italy (M-L) is waging a principled struggle to expose the opportunist and anti-Marxist line of the Italian revisionist party, which has now been transformed into a zealous defender of the bourgeois order, into a scab and extinguisher of the revolution.

Through its revolutionary activity, the Communist Party of Italy (M-L) is making a valuable contribution to strengthening the militant unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement on a world-wide scale, to the defence of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism, to strengthening the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the liberation of the peoples.

The Party of Labour of Albania expresses its internationalist support to and solidarity with the Communist Party of Italy (M-L) and sends its fraternal good wishes for further successes in its struggle for the triumph of the revolution and socialism and against the aggressive and hegemonic policy of the two superpowers and their allies.

Long live the internationalist friendship and Marxist-Leninist unity between the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of Italy (M-L)!  
 Glory to triumphant Marxism-Leninism!

Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania.

## CP (M-L) of Argentina

FROM THE GREETING OF THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA (M-L)

The Latin American peoples speak the same language, they are of the same origin, they have the same history, they have similar social structures and a common enemy: U.S. imperialism. At the same time, we are fighting to prevent the place of this common enemy being taken by the other imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism.

Faced with this reality which unites us, the Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America have strengthened their friendship and relations of proletarian and revolutionary fraternity. Together we worked out a statement of historic importance, which will undoubtedly, represent a decisive factor in the triumph of the revolution on our continent.

After speaking about the struggle of the CP of Argentina (M-L) and the Argentinian people against the military dictatorship, he continued:

Our party calls for a frontal struggle against the dictatorship without any concessions, calls for struggle against the main enemy, that is, the imperialist-oligarchy alliance. The slogan for a general strike against the dictatorship is being spread throughout the country and unites the workers' struggles. In this way, conditions will be created for the party to strengthen its leading role in the ranks of the proletariat and to lead it towards the armed uprising, to overthrow the dictatorship and create a new situation for the country.

Our party has linked its existence with leading the Argentinian working class and people to overthrow the dictatorship. This is the main task which history has entrusted to the Argentinian communists. The Communist Party (M-L) of Argentina considers internationalist solidarity as a very valuable means to isolate the dictatorship and speed its overthrow. Therefore, from this tribune of the Italian working class, we call on the democratic forces and peoples of the world to develop their solidarity more and more, so that the brilliant future of our Argentina, is brought nearer.

## CP of Brazil

FROM THE GREETING OF THE CP OF BRAZIL

This rally has a great political significance, because several of the most representative Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America are participating in it. This is a vivid and concrete expression of the struggle against the two superpowers, imperialism and social-imperialism and world reaction. This is an act of the militant solidarity of the peoples fighting for freedom and socialism. As a generally revolutionary and anti-revisionist vanguard of the Italian proletariat, the CP of Italy (M-L) is the only party in the country, fighting consistently for the proletarian revolution and socialism.

We have been and will always be in solidarity in this struggle. We are brothers of the one ideal and one struggle. In our intransigent defence of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, our unity is indivisible.

The CP of Brazil is fighting in the most difficult conditions of illegality against a bloodthirsty murderous military fascist regime. During these 13 years of the dictatorship it has arrested and tortured thousands of Brazilian anti-fascists and patriots, has murdered hundreds of the finest sons of our people.

Despite the difficult conditions, our people are fighting, through various forms, in town and countryside. Through strikes in factories, demonstrations in schools, people's protests and armed clashes in the villages, our people are fighting for freedom and national independence, to overthrow fascist tyranny and against the oppression by the U.S. imperialists. Our victory is certain.

Shoulder to shoulder with the CP of Italy (M-L), and the other sister parties, the CP of Brazil is raising the banner of the revolutionary struggle ever higher against imperialism and social-imperialism, against capitalism and reaction, against revisionism and for the triumph of socialism. We are marching together towards the victory of world revolution.

## Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile

FROM THE GREETING OF THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE

The Chilean working class and people are fighting with determination and on an ever broader scale against the military-fascist junta and U.S. imperialism, who are the enemies of over 90 percent of our people.

Speaking about the struggle of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile against the fascist dictatorship of Pinochet, and the treacherous line of the Chilean revisionists, he said:

The Chilean experience has shown once again that the only road which will lead to independence and true national liberation to people's democracy and socialism, is the protracted people's armed struggle, led by our Marxist-Leninist party and waged by the working class and the broad masses of the people.

Today, the two superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, are the main international exploiting and oppressive enemies, he continued. The main danger of war is a consequence of their rivalry for world domination. Overall, the two superpowers are the main enemies of the national emancipation of the oppressed peoples and the social emancipation of the exploited classes. The peoples must struggle against the two superpowers and cannot trust or rely on one of them to fight or to liberate themselves from the other.

We are of the opinion that in the present conditions, it is the task of the Marxist-Leninist parties to unite with and support one another, to create and lead a broad world front, in which all those forces which can be united and which oppose the hegemonic domination of the two superpowers, can participate.

From these links between the Marxist-Leninist parties, which the CP of China and the PLA occupy an important position, there should emerge the coordination, as well as the reciprocal support, to create and lead the world front against the two superpowers, to strengthen and lead this front in each country. The contradictions of the national circles, whether bourgeois or progressive, with one or both the superpowers, must be exploited and encouraged, without allowing these circles to seize the leadership of the struggle against these two superpowers. It is necessary to support the struggle, led by the Marxist-Leninists of every country, against the superpower ruling there, as well as against the ruling circles of the class in its service. A concentrated struggle against the superpower dominant in a country does not mean that one should be diverted from the struggle to prevent any attempt of penetration by the other superpower nor that one should unite with it, or help it in its penetration under the pretext that it is struggling against the one which has long been exercising its domination, as the revisionists are doing, when they facilitate the penetration of social-imperialism under the excuse that they are fighting U.S. imperialism.

## CP of Germany (M-L)

FROM THE GREETING OF COMRADE ERNST AUST, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY (M-L)

We are gathered here, contrary to the demagogic revisionist words about peace and disarmament, to make ourselves conscious of the growing danger of war which the contention and greed of the two superpowers for world domination, represents.

What are we to do in face of the growing danger of war? Should we act like the modern revisionists, who, on the orders of the imperialist bosses, soothe the people with an illusion of false security, incalculating pacifism in them? Can we believe that war can be avoided and peace ensured only by maintaining the balance between the two superpowers? No. We agree with comrade Enver Hoxha who at the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, said: "Peace and international security in Europe and the world are not achieved through the establishment of 'harmony' or 'balance' between the superpowers, but through struggle against imperialist pressures and intervention, through efforts for the liberation of the peoples, through the strengthening of national independence and sovereignty". Or, should we follow those persons who call themselves Marxist-Leninists or communists in vain and who recommend to us that in order to defend the homeland, to link ourselves with the monopoly bourgeoisie, to sing its praises and accept the occupation of our homeland by U.S. imperialism, accepting that being between the teeth of wolf ensures the best defence from the claws of the tiger, who recommend us to rely on one superpower to fight the other? No, because this simply means to rely on satan in the struggle against the devil. In the practice of the class struggle in our country, he underlined further on, the struggle against the hegemonic and warmongering birds of the two superpowers and the struggle for the unity and independence of the German nation, are closely linked.

Continued on page 13

# INTERNATIONALIST RALLY HELD AT THE CLOSING OF THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY (MARXIST-LENINIST)

Tirana, February 17 (ATA) --

On February 5 in Ludvigshafen of the Federal German Republic, an internationalist rally of the Communist Party of Germany (M-L) was held on the occasion of the closing of its 3rd Congress.

About 3300 people attended the rally. Also present were the delegation of the CP(M-L) of Argentina, the delegation of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, the delegation of the CP of Greece (M-L), the delegation of the CP of Italy (M-L), the delegation of the Portuguese Communist Party (reconstructed), the delegation of the CP of Spain (M-L) as well as the delegation of the Marxist-Leninist organisation of Iran, "Toufan".

The rally was opened by the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CP of Germany (M-L), Comrade Gernot Schubert. He informed those present that the government of the Federal German Republic had refused to issue a visa to the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania which was to have attended this rally. The participants in the rally approved a resolution in which they energetically protested against the refusal of the government of the Federal German Republic to issue a visa to the delegation of the PLA.

Comrade Gernot Schubert spoke about the results of the 3rd Congress of the Communist Party of Germany (M-L).

The chairman of the CP of Germany (M-L), Comrade Ernst Aust addressed the rally.

After his speech, an artistic group of the CP of Germany (M-L) sang three Albanian songs, which had been prepared to welcome the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania. Then, the greeting of the Party of Labour of Albania was read out, interrupted time and again by applause. The participants cheered in the Albanian language: "Rrofte shoku Enver Hoxha", (Long live Comrade Enver Hoxha), "Rrofte internacionalizmi proletar" (Long live proletarian internationalism).

The participating delegations of the Marxist-Leninist Parties spoke at the rally and the messages sent by other Marxist-Leninist Parties were read out.

The rally closed with the singing of The Internationale by all present.

## CP of Germany (M-L)

FROM THE SPEECH OF COMRADE ERNST AUST

On behalf of the new Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany (M-L) I extend my cordial greetings to you and to the delegations of the foreign Marxist-Leninist Parties.

Unfortunately, we have been denied the opportunity of greeting here, in our midst, the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania. But you are aware that the federal government, without reason or cause, did not issue them an entry visa. The gentlemen in Bonn raise no objections and grant official permission to members of the Central Committee or the Political Bureau of the CPSU to attend the congresses of their agency, the German revisionist party, whereas they do not let the Albanian comrades in. Why? Because they are true communists and not traitors, renegades and fascists like Brezhnev, Gierek and company. How weak the West German imperialists must feel when they deny the Albanian delegation an entry visa. Truly their weakness and fear of this small country on the shores of the Adriatic are the real reasons for the prohibition of the entry of the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania.

There is nothing surprising in this. We all know that the importance of a country for the development of mankind does not depend on its size or the number of its inhabitants. Tiny Albania is a radiant beacon of socialism not only in Europe, but throughout the world. What constitutes the greatness of Albania? Albania is great on account of the struggle of its people, its firm reliance on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and its example in the construction of socialism. What generations of proletarians have fought for, what hundreds of thousands of people have given their lives for on the barricades of the class struggle, is achieved over there in Albania.

As regards the friendship between the German communists and socialist Albania, we declare: We stand firmly and unwaveringly on the side of the sister Albanian Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head. We stand firmly on the side of the brave and heroic Albanian people. We will consider any attack on Albania, be it ideological, political or military, as an attack on us, and will respond to it as it deserves! Long live the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania and the principled and illuminating report of Comrade Enver Hoxha! Long live the 3rd Congress of the Communist Party of Germany (M-L)!

Further on, Comrade E. Aust spoke about the international situation, the fundamental contradictions of our epoch and the struggle of the peoples against the two superpowers.

Referring to the views of the "Rote Fahne" group, according to which socialism in Germany can be achieved only through the indirect of national liberation, E. Aust went on: But with this they have postponed the struggle for socialism until the 32nd of August.

Comrade Thaelman says in connection with the struggle for social and national liberation:

"This is how Lenin set out the itinerary for us. The road to national liberation runs through the road of the seizure of state power by the proletariat in alliance with the strata of the working people, it runs from the road of social liberation alone."

This is the viewpoint our Party has defended and it will uphold it in the future too.

From the very beginning, continued Comrade E. Aust, we have waged a resolute struggle against modern revisionism and other kinds of opportunism and we will always do this. The principle, "we must rely on our own forces, must not be dependent on anyone" is valid for us. We must serve the working class and the

working masses loyally and lead them on the road of revolutionary struggle.

We must extend the principle of "relying on our own forces" further, we must rely on our own heads, and when we have done this consistently, when we have analysed ourselves thoroughly, then we have no reason to make mistakes. We must base ourselves firmly on Marxism-Leninism, submit ourselves to searching analyses. This is our duty.

The principles which define our stand towards the sister Marxist-Leninist Parties, declared Comrade Ernst Aust, are clear. We do not meddle in their internal affairs. For us there is only one Marxist-Leninist Party in a country. All the Parties, big or small, old or new, are equal. We consider mutual exchanges of opinions and consultation about important ideological and political questions absolutely necessary.

Then Comrade Ernst Aust spoke about the tasks facing the Party in the class struggle and defined its three main fronts.

With the upsurge of class struggle, the bourgeoisie is intensifying its repressive political measures against the working people and the more it sees that its rule is being endangered, the more it does this. It is speeding up the process of fascistisation, depriving the people of democratic rights. Whereas today, its terror is aimed against the revolutionaries, first of all, particularly against the members of our Party, tomorrow, it will be directed more and more against the working masses, against every demonstrator, every striker. Thus, in the future, this struggle may become an important link in the chain, a lever for the socialist revolution.

## Party of Labour of Albania

MESSAGE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY (M-L)

Tirana, February 17(ATA) --

The newspaper "Zeri i popullit" and the other newspapers today frontpage the message of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany (M-L) on the occasion of the 3rd Congress of this Party.

"Zeri i Popullit" and "Bashkimi" also publish the news item on the internationalist rally of the Communist Party of Germany (M-L) on the occasion of the closing of the 3rd Congress of this Party. They publish extracts from the speech delivered at this rally by the Chairman of the Communist Party of Germany (M-L), Ernst Aust, as well as extracts from the speeches of the representatives of sister Parties and from the messages of other Marxist-Leninist Parties. The Albanian television devoted a special broadcast to this rally last night.

The message of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania reads:

To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany (M-L)

Dear comrades,

On the occasion of the 3rd Congress of the Communist Party of Germany (M-L), the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania extends to you, and through you, to the delegates of the Congress and to all the members of your Party, its warm revolutionary greetings.

The Communist Party of Germany (M-L) is the true heir to the glorious revolutionary traditions of the German proletariat and its most outstanding representatives, whose work has been and is a great contribution and source of inspiration to the working class and the revolution in Germany and the world.

The sister Communist Party of Germany (M-L) comes to its 3rd Congress with a rich balance of revolutionary struggle and important victories. These successes are a result of its correct political line, its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and its perseverance in applying it in the concrete conditions of the country. The founding of the section of the Communist Party of Germany (M-L) in the German Democratic Republic constitutes one of the great achievements of your Party in the struggle for the socialist revolution in the two parts of Germany, for a united, independent and socialist Germany. The holding of the 3rd Congress will strengthen your Party still more, and will further increase its leading role in the revolutionary struggle of the German proletariat against capitalist and revisionist oppression and exploitation, for the triumph of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Party of Labour of Albania is in full solidarity with your revolutionary struggle against the German imperialist bourgeoisie in the west and the new revisionist bourgeoisie in the east, against U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, against the political, military, economic organisations which serve the aggressive and counter-revolutionary aims of the two superpowers, against modern revisionism and all reactionaries.

We express the conviction that the 3rd Congress of your Party will carry the revolutionary struggle of the working class and working masses in both the German states still further forward, and will thus make a still greater contribution to the common cause of the revolution and socialism in the world.

May the relations of friendship and fraternal cooperation between the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of Germany (M-L) develop and become still stronger.

Long live the 3rd Congress of the Communist Party of Germany (M-L)!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. End.

## CP(M-L) of Argentina

FROM THE GREETING OF THE HEAD OF THE DELEGATION OF THE CP(M-L) OF ARGENTINA

The 3rd Congress of the Party is an important step for the advance of the socialist revolution in Germany. The CP(M-L) of Argentina considers it a decisive and historic moment for the struggle of the German proletariat.

The Communist Party (M-L) of Argentina assures the German proletariat and people that the Argentinian proletariat and people will be on their side, against any aggression by the two superpowers.

Today, Argentina is living under a fascist dictatorship. The Argentinian revisionists are trying to justify the dictatorship, but the struggle of the people is steadily mounting and our Party is developing in the heat of this struggle.

The Communist Party (M-L) of Argentina is working to create conditions for a general uprising, to put an end to this oppressive regime and create a new situation in the country. Our Party is fighting for the triumph of the revolution, for the overthrow of the oligarchy and imperialism. It is fighting to prevent Soviet social-imperialism taking their place. The People's Republic of China and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, with the sister Parties, the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania at the head, are powerful fortresses in the struggle against the two superpowers, for the construction of socialism and the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The existence of our Parties and the strengthening of proletarian internationalism are a guarantee for the triumph of the revolution in the world. Imperialism, social-imperialism and world reaction have found the Marxism-Leninism, and internationalism which unite us, to be a solid fist which strikes at and destroys all their aims.

The sister Parties of Latin America have signed a joint declaration on the situation of our people and our struggle. This joint declaration strengthens the international ties between the genuine Marxist-Leninists and is a necessary historic step towards uniting the proletariat and the peoples of the continent.

## Revolutionary CP of Chile

FROM THE GREETING OF THE HEAD OF THE DELEGATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE

We greet the 3rd Congress of our sister Party in Germany. The aim of our relations has been to strengthen the unity of our two Parties in the struggle against the two superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Russian social-imperialism, against imperialism and reaction in our countries, against modern revisionism and opportunism of every hue. The most fundamental thing, which links us indissolubly, is the fact that in our relations we are guided by the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism, whether in the struggle in our own countries or in the international sphere.

Our Party is fighting fascism and imperialism in difficult conditions. But our people have accumulated experience and are understanding better and better that to achieve victory in struggle they must rely on their own strength. Our experience shows us not only the collapse of the revisionist "peaceful road", but also the true state-monopoly character of that "socialism", they tried to impose on us. It was not socialism which suffered defeat in Chile, but revisionism and bourgeois reformism.

The revisionists did not want real independence, but merely the replacement of U.S. imperialism with the social-imperialist bosses. The Chilean experience once again confirmed the Leninist teaching that you cannot fight consistently against imperialism and reaction without attacking revisionism at the same time.

He continued:

We are fully convinced that in the present conditions, we, the Marxist-Leninist Parties, must strengthen and carry forward our unity. Today, the working class and the peoples of the world, led by their Marxist-Leninist Parties, represent the main force in the struggle against the two superpowers and the prevention of an imperialist war. Today, you cannot fight just one superpower if you want the true and final liberation of the peoples. And even less should the revolutionaries and the peoples of the world trust either of the superpowers or rely on one of them to liberate themselves from the other.

## CP of Greece (M-L)

FROM THE GREETING OF THE HEAD OF THE DELEGATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREECE (MARXIST-LENINIST)

Our people, who together with the other peoples have suffered under fascism and waged great battles against it, consider the struggle of the German people as their own struggle and rejoice at their victories, because they feel that the German people will support them in their struggle.

In our country, U.S. imperialism is the enemy against which we must aim our fire first of all. Meanwhile we must be vigilant against all the efforts of Soviet social-imperialism to penetrate into our country. Our Party declares openly that the struggle to oust U.S. imperialism from our country must be linked with the struggle for the creation of conditions, which will prevent the other imperialism, Soviet imperialism, from replacing the former.

It is certain that the unity between the true Marxist-Leninist Parties and organisations today represents a decisive factor in the development of the struggle for each Marxist-Leninist Party, as well as for the Marxist-Leninist movement in general.

The struggle against modern revisionism which began twenty years ago by the Communist Party of China, the Party of Labour of Albania, and the other

Marxist-Leninist Parties and organisations, has been a great and heroic struggle, an important contribution to the cause of the triumph of the revolutionaries of the whole world.

## CP of Italy (M-L)

FROM THE GREETING OF THE HEAD OF THE DELEGATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ITALY (M-L), COMRADE FOSCO DINUCCI

The Communist Party of Italy (M-L) as the conscious and organised vanguard of the working class and the masses of the people in our country, is resolutely fighting the bourgeoisie, the fascist provocations, the obscurantism of the vatican, against revisionism, U.S. imperialism, the U.S. NATO bases and the influence of social-imperialism.

In the current situation, which is characterised by the constant sharpening of contradictions, by the struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism, against the policy of hegemonism and war of the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, we must develop the united front on a broad world scale, on the basis of the alliance between the proletariat and the oppressed peoples.

With the 7th Congress of the PLA, Albania shines more brilliantly than ever, resolute and powerful as a bastion of socialism, national independence, the freedom of the peoples and the cause of the revolution. The Report of Comrade Enver Hoxha, based on the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, is a contribution of extraordinary importance to the international Marxist-Leninist communist movement.

Today, it is more necessary than ever to hold aloft the revolutionary ideals. We must fight hard and with determination against all those who try to develop opportunist trends within the Marxist-Leninist Parties. The struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism is closely linked with the struggle against the system of exploitation and oppression within the country. The struggle against internal reaction must not be renounced.

The current situation makes it indispensable to strengthen the unity between the sister Parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The unity of the international proletariat and the ties between the vanguard detachments must be strengthened and increased unceasingly. This is a decisive factor for the progress of the revolution in every country and all over the world.

## Portuguese CP (Re-constructed)

FROM THE GREETING OF THE HEAD OF THE DELEGATION OF THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY (RE-CONSTRUCTED), COMRADE EDUARDO PIRES

The Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party (Re-constructed) enthusiastically hails the proceedings of your Third Congress, which constitutes a new and very important stage in the construction of your Party, the revolutionary vanguard of the German proletariat.

The Portuguese Communist Party (Re-constructed), is a new detachment of the international communist movement. After 12 years of struggle, it was reconstructed in December 1975 and is just about to hold its Second Congress.

During these 12 months of its existence, our Party has become stronger, on the one hand, through the struggle against the counter-revolutionary modern revisionism of Cunhal, the factional spirit and careerism and, on the other hand, by resolutely taking part in the revolutionary political action, by constantly striving to extend its influence in the ranks of the working class and the masses of the people, thus winning their trust to lead the struggle on the road of the people's democratic revolution, socialism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Proletarian internationalism is a sacred principle, which is of great and vital importance for the communists and peoples of the world today.

The main aim of our two Parties is to do everything possible to further strengthen our ties of cooperation and internationalist aid and to strengthen the unity of the international communist movement more and more on the basis of the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The road on which we are advancing is that of the strengthening of our militant friendship in the struggle against our common enemies, for the triumph of the same cause: communism.

## CP of Spain (M-L)

FROM THE GREETING OF THE HEAD OF THE DELEGATION OF THE CP OF SPAIN (M-L), COMRADE RAUL MARCO

The Spanish Marxist-Leninists, the genuine communists, will never forget those German comrades, who in the days of November 1936 marched through the streets of Madrid under the terror of the fascist bombs. They were the first volunteers of the legendary International Brigades, they were the heroic fighters of Thaelman Battalion. Today, you represent the spirit which inspired them and which honours the German people.

Following the death of the murderer Franco, in Spain we are living through a gloomy farce -- the farce of the so-called "democratisation". Faced with these manoeuvres, our Party and the other forces gathered around FRAP, jointly with the left socialists and the other anti-fascist and anti-monarchist forces, have created "the Republican Convention of the Spanish people" to oppose the monarchy and all its institutions with every means, for the self-government of the Spanish people, against U.S. imperialism and any other imperialism wherever it may come from.

We avail ourselves of the opportunity which the sister Party of Germany is giving us today, to speak.

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**CP of ITALY (M-L) RALLY**  
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Comrades, in conclusion, allow me to speak briefly about proletarian internationalism, the relations among our sister Marxist-Leninist parties. Our party is an integral part of the world-wide Marxist-Leninist movement and in this framework, it has conscientiously carried out its duties. We also take into consideration the fact that in several countries, in which our sister parties are fighting, there are other organisations, groups or circles which have some connection with Marxism-Leninism. We have always dealt with this problem in the sense of proletarian internationalism. Our stand on the question about which are our sister parties in the other countries where the communist parties have degenerated into revisionist parties, is quite clear. They are precisely those organizations which in their own countries, were the first to wage the struggle against the revisionist betrayal, which in general carry out a correct Marxist-Leninist policy, that have a central organ and which are organized and work on a national scale. We unreservedly support these parties and refuse any contact with other organizations of that country, because by no means can they be Marxist-Leninist organisations, otherwise they would have joined the existing Marxist-Leninist parties, would have fought in their ranks for a correct line. In this respect, only one authentic Marxist-Leninist party exists in Italy. And this is the Communist Party of Italy (M-L) with comrade Fosco Dinucci at the head.

**Eastern Section of the CP of Germany (M-L)**

**FROM THE GREETING OF THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE EASTERN SECTION OF THE CP OF GERMANY (M-L)**

The Eastern Section of the CP of Germany (M-L) was founded more than a year ago, after a period of political, ideological and organizational preparation. In this first year of the life of the Eastern Section of our party, the social-fascist regime has been unable either to discover the organisation or to arrest party members; on the contrary, the German Democratic Republic section of our party has been strengthened this year, new cells have been created, and new contacts have been established. The eastern section of our party has successfully begun its propaganda activity with the clandestine publication and distribution of the first two issues of the copies of the special newspaper for the German Democratic Republic, the distribution of the first leaflets, and so on.

Today, workers and working people in the German Democratic Republic, like their class brothers in West Germany, are under capitalist exploitation and oppression. The German Democratic Republic is under the domination of Russian social-imperialism from the political, economic and military points of view. Under the rule of Russian social-imperialism which is predominant, the new East German bourgeoisie exercises a social-fascist dictatorship over the working class and the working people. But the fact that today Russian social-imperialism is the main enemy of the socialist revolution in the German Democratic Republic, does not change the reactionary and counter-revolutionary character of the new East German bourgeoisie. Our party is resolutely fighting against the opinion of certain opportunist elements of West Germany who claim that the proletariat and working people of the GDR should unite with the new East German bourgeoisie against Russian social-imperialism. These elements are so shameless as to accept as their allies the West German revanchists, and even the U.S. imperialists and NATO, which is under their command. These reactionary positions have nothing whatsoever to do with Marxism-Leninism, with the interests of the proletariat, with the socialist revolution. They have no other objective, but to disorientate the struggle of the working class and working people of the German Democratic Republic, to subject the working class to bourgeois nationalist interests, to reconcile the working class to its oppressors and exploiters.

In reality, despite its internal contradictions, despite its fictitious and genuine factions and sectors, the new eastern German bourgeoisie is a class enemy of the proletariat and masses of the people, a sworn enemy which has destroyed socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the GDR, has restored the yoke of capitalist slavery.

**CP of Greece (M-L)**

**FROM THE GREETING OF THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CP OF GREECE (M-L)**

We are living in the epoch of the general crisis of capitalism and imperialism, in the epoch of proletarian revolutions and the triumph of the freedom and independence of the peoples. All the fundamental contradictions are becoming more acute.

The communists achieve victory only if they know how to connect the struggle for social emancipation closely with the struggle for national emancipation.

Today, our immediate activity and blows are directed against U.S. imperialism, because it has been established in Greece for many years.

The strategic objective of Soviet social-imperialism concerning Greece is to replace the domination of U.S. imperialism. It is trying to impose economic and trade relations of the colonialist type, to participate, interfere and have a role in the solution of the crisis of the Aegean and Cyprus regions.

The dangers which are threatening our people and country, threatening the Mediterranean peoples and countries, said the representative of the CP of Greece (M-L) further on, will be eliminated only by their unity. All the dangers can be eliminated only if the peoples, led by their proletarian revolutionary party, build a fortress against the two superpowers, if they drive the foreign bases from their countries and the naval fleets from their seas, only if they

fight against the policy of armaments, threats and blackmail of the USA and the USSR, only if the aggressive military blocs are destroyed and all the agreements serving the two superpowers to pursue a policy of hegemony and subjugation towards the peoples of this region, are denounced.

**CP of Spain (M-L)**

**FROM THE GREETING OF COMRADE RAUL MARCO, SECRETARY OF THE CP OF SPAIN (M-L)**

Today, by means of a miserable farce, the fascist oligarchy in power in Spain, with the assistance of international reaction, including that of the so-called bourgeois democracy, is trying to convince world opinion that the monarchy will transform itself into democracy and freedom. But, can there be democracy in a country ruled economically, politically and militarily by Yankee imperialism? Of course not.

Our party and the other forces participating in FRAP, together with the left wing socialist groups, the republicans and others, are in confrontation with the monarcho-opportunist coalition. For this we have created the Republican Convention of the Peoples of Spain.

After speaking about the work carried out by the Communist Party of Spain (M-L), and the other forces for the creation of the convention for the defeat of the monarchy and fascist reaction, Comrade Raul Marco continued:

We enthusiastically welcome this rally which gives us the opportunity to meet with the comrades of various countries. We think this very important, because in the present day conditions, it is more than ever necessary to work to set up, strengthen and develop the unity of the genuine Marxist-Leninists. We think that this is an urgent task, because we are witnessing the crystallization of an obviously opportunist line of a new type, representing a real and immediate danger to the world Marxist-Leninist movement.

It is the opportunism which is seeking the support of the peoples of Western Europe for the Common Market, forgetting that the Common Market represents the unity of the exploiters and multinational companies in order to exploit and suppress the European proletariat and peoples, more thoroughly.

It is opportunism the one which seeks the strengthening of NATO to cope with the Warsaw Treaty, forgetting that the Warsaw Treaty is the aggressive tool of Russian social-imperialism and its lackeys against the peoples, NATO is the aggressive tool of Yankee imperialism and international reaction against the peoples. Both these blocs are aggressive and anti-people blocs, therefore, the peoples, and in the first place, the Marxist-Leninists, must combat against these two blocs, the two superpowers. But what must never be done is to rely on one superpower to fight the other. This is real opportunism and we do not accept it. It is the opportunism that urges the peoples to advertise the alliance of the reactionary bourgeoisie in power and the strengthening of the anti-popular armies of the military caste, while deviating from the class struggle, abandoning and betraying it.

Our party thinks that the 7th Congress of the PLA was an event of universal importance which all the Marxist-Leninists must take account of. The report of comrade Enver Hoxha, is a truly Marxist-Leninist document, because the correct principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin are affirmed in it and it sweeps away all opportunist filth and deviations.

Now, some who hypocritically applauded the 7th Congress and the report of comrade Enver Hoxha, are launching secret and perfidious attacks and have even withdrawn the report from circulation. These people are the representatives of the opportunist line. The position of our party is clear out, there is no ambiguity: We are one hundred percent with the PLA, because it is a truly Marxist-Leninist party which consistently implements proletarian internationalism, combats revisionism and opportunism, denounces and exposes the two superpowers, and is building socialism in its country in an exemplary way.

We loudly and clearly proclaim: Defence of and solidarity with socialist Albania, the heroic Party of Labour of Albania, led by comrade Enver Hoxha, are now in themselves a firing line which distinguishes the genuine communists from phoney communists and opportunists.

End.

**CP of GERMANY (M-L) RALLY**  
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about a question of importance for us all: the question of the unity and cooperation of genuine Marxist-Leninists on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism.

It is urgently necessary to help one another and support one another against reaction, against the two superpowers, against revisionism and social-chauvinism, against opportunism which is trying to distort the principles which give us the right to exist.

In this direction, we want to reiterate the extraordinary importance of the 7th Congress of the PLA and the Report of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

We are of the opinion, and of this we are sure, that the prospects for the revolution are brilliant.

**FROM THE MESSAGES OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES AND ORGANISATIONS TO THE 3RD CONGRESS OF THE CP OF GERMANY (M-L)**

**CP of Brazil**

The message of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil says in part:

The 3rd Congress of the CP of Germany (M-L) is of exceptional political importance, because it is a vivid expression of the successes achieved by your Party in implementing a Marxist-Leninist line, which responds to the interests of the German proletariat. The CP of Germany (M-L) is the only genuine proletarian revolutionary vanguard of the German working class with its

glorious militant traditions.

Our two Parties are united in their unyielding defence of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Both are a firm component part of the great internationalist army of the vanguard detachments for the construction of a new society. Both are fighting against the two superpowers, against imperialism, social-imperialism and reaction, against revisionism and any kind of opportunism. We are fighting together for the triumph of the world revolution and socialism.

The CP of Brazil is fighting in the difficult conditions of illegality. Ours is a stern struggle, but we fear neither difficulties nor sacrifices. We bravely face the fascist military dictatorship, which is selling out the country to foreign imperialist capital and is killing the finest sons of the Brazilian people. The Brazilian people are not giving their mortal enemies a moment's respite and our Party is more and more winning the sympathy of the people, because it is the genuine fighter for the cause of freedom, national independence and socialism.

**Iranian Marxist-Leninist Organization, "Toufan"**

The founding of the CP of Germany (M-L) 8 years ago, says the message of the Iranian Marxist-Leninist organisation, "Toufan", was an important event and constitutes a turning point in the revolutionary movement of the German proletariat. The founding of the Section of the CP of Germany (M-L) in the GDR last year, is an important event and a great success for the German proletariat in its valuable struggle for the unity of the German people and the socialist revolution.

In the world today, the two biggest enemies of the peoples, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, are preparing for a new war. The two superpowers are vying with each other for world domination and are ever more intensifying the exploitation and oppression of the peoples of the world.

The imperialist and social-imperialist bourgeoisie and international reaction have started a fight on a broad front against international proletariat and the peoples who are struggling against merciless exploitation and oppression. The greater the militant strength of the peoples becomes, the more openly the bourgeoisie embraces fascism.

In some countries, as for instance in Iran, fascism has long been in power. In the conditions of such a savage terror, our organisation is trying to reconstruct the Party of the working class. This is taking place in the conditions of profound illegality, for there is no possibility of organising legal activity in our country.

**CP (M-L) of Ecuador**

The message of the Communist Party (M-L) of Ecuador points out that the CP of Germany (M-L) is fighting to bring down the imperialist bourgeoisie state power in both parts of Germany, to attack North American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, and to smash the German monopoly bourgeoisie and the bureaucratic German bourgeoisie which is dependent on social-imperialism.

Loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, our Party comes out openly against its main enemy, North American imperialism, exposes Soviet social-imperialism, and is fighting revisionism in its own country among the masses of the people. Carrying out its actions within the framework of the scientific prin-

**"Zeri i Popullit" Hails Internationalist Rally of the CP of Italy (M-L)**

As our press reported the day before yesterday in the atmosphere of an ardent revolutionary enthusiasm a grand internationalist rally with the participation of thousands of Italian workers and Marxist-Leninist militants was organized in Rome on January 23. This rally, organized by the Communist Party of Italy (M-L), worthy continuer and heir of the revolutionary traditions of the Italian proletariat, was attended also by representatives of the Communist Party of Argentina (M-L), the Communist Party of Brazil, the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, the Communist Party of Germany (M-L) and its Eastern Section, the Communist Party of Greece (M-L) and the Communist Party of Spain (M-L). This is a testimony to the internationalist solidarity of the Marxist-Leninist movement, vivid expression of the common efforts of the Marxist-Leninist Parties to act side by side with one another in the fierce class battles against the bourgeoisie, imperialism, social-imperialism, reaction, modern revisionism, all their common enemies.

At the time when the masses of the people are engaging in ever greater proportions in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and all the reactionary forces, the internationalist solidarity of the proletariat and the militant unity of its vanguard detachments, the Marxist-Leninist Parties, assume a special importance. The all-round mutual cooperation and aid; the strengthening of the unity among the Marxist-Leninist parties, as the representatives of the participating sister Parties stressed at this rally, are very actual and very useful. The internationalist solidarity of the workers, the genuine proletarian internationalism, are powerful weapons in the hands of the Marxist-Leninists and all the revolutionaries for the triumph of the revolution. "While continuing the struggle at home," Comrade Fosco Dinucci, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Italy (M-L) stressed in his speech, "we will fulfil our internationalist duties to the end, will work ceaselessly to strengthen the ties among the sister Parties, for the unity of the proletariat of the whole world, for the unity of all the revolutionary forces. We want a militant internationalism, an active internationalism, an ever closer unity among the Marxist-Leninist Parties. Our battle-cry is and always will be: "Workers of all countries, unite!"

ciple of the class struggle, it is advancing in the resolute implementation of its strategic and tactical line, in open struggle against the ruling classes and the military dictatorship, which oppress the people of Ecuador.

**CP of Japan (Left)**

The message of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan (Left) says:

Since its founding, the CP of Germany (M-L), under the correct leadership of its Central Committee, has adhered to the line "for a united, independent socialist Germany" and has stood courageously and persistently without shrinking from sacrifices, in the front ranks of the revolutionary struggle in defence of the fundamental interests of the German working class and working people: to achieve their liberation against the German monopoly bourgeoisie and U.S. imperialism, as well as against Soviet social-imperialism and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie represented by Honecker.

The communists of the whole world, who stand loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, must resolutely oppose the two superpowers, the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, and expose them unceasingly. At the same time they must fight against the monopoly bourgeoisie and the reactionaries of their countries, who serve as supports for the two superpowers.

**Communist League of Union (M-L) of Iceland**

We are living at a time when the struggle for hegemony between the two superpowers is becoming more acute, reads the message of the Central Committee of the Communist League of Union (M-L) of Iceland. At the same time, the revolutionary struggle of the world proletariat and the oppressed peoples and nations against imperialism, capitalism and reaction is growing stronger. It is of extraordinary importance to create links between our peoples, between the Marxist-Leninists in our countries, to attack the superpowers and their tools in our countries and to prepare the masses against the danger of war, which is increasing. The Marxist-Leninists link their struggle against the superpowers and modern revisionism with the struggle against the bourgeoisie and the monopolies for the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working class and the working masses in Germany and Iceland have common enemies. We are waging the same struggle. We need your solidarity and we convey our solidarity to you.

**Revolutionary Marxist Party of Congo-Kinshasa**

In the message of the Revolutionary Marxist Party of Congo-Kinshasa it is stated:

We Marxist-Leninists of Congo Kinshasa, who are currently waging an armed struggle against the reactionary military dictatorship of Mobutu, consider your victories as our victories and we hope that our friendship and solidarity will always be maintained, a friendship and solidarity which link us on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism, a friendship and solidarity which have been born in struggle against U.S. imperialism, the number one enemy of the peoples of the world, against Soviet social-imperialism, the extinguishers of the world revolution, against revisionism and reaction. End.

The experience of revolutionary struggle, life itself ever more clearly shows to the Marxist-Leninist Parties that to fight successfully against capitalist bourgeoisie, with the U.S. led imperialism, against Soviet social-imperialism, against modern revisionism and world reaction the proletariat, under the leadership of its genuine vanguard, should act with closed ranks. This is realised only by pursuing and applying loyally the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. "It is necessary!", said the representative of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, at the rally of January 23, in Rome, "to support the struggle led by the Marxist-Leninists of every country, against the superpower ruling there, as well as against the ruling circles of the class in its service." And in the practice of the everyday revolutionary struggle, the Marxist-Leninist Parties are strengthening their collaboration and mutual ties through the bi-lateral and multi-lateral meetings. The grand internationalist rally of January 23 in Rome testifies to this. These important political acts constitute a great success for the Marxist-Leninist Parties in their persistent efforts to strengthen the militant unity and collaboration among them.

In the greetings at the grand internationalist rally in Rome, the representatives of the Marxist-Leninist Parties rightfully analysed the ferocious capitalist exploitation of the ruling bourgeois classes in their countries, the difficult situation of the working masses as a result of the grave economic crisis. They resolutely denounced the aggressive and hegemonistic global policy of the two superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, two big and dangerous enemies of the freedom and independence of the peoples, the revolution and socialism, and stressed that the class interests of the proletariat and peoples require to fight consistently, at the same time and same persistence, both against U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism as well. Denouncing the aggressiveness of the two superpowers and two military blocs directed and manipulated by them, the NATO and Warsaw Treaty, Comrade Raul Marco, Secretary of the CP of Spain (M-L) stressed that "Both these blocs are aggressive and anti-people blocs, therefore, the peoples and, in the first place, the Marxist-Leninists must combat against these two blocs, the two superpowers."

# JOINT STATEMENT OF DELEGATIONS OF MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES OF LATIN AMERICA

Tirana, February 1 (ATA) --

The newspaper "No Transar", organ of the CP (M-L) of Argentina, published some days ago the joint statement of the Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America. The newspaper Zeri i Popullit, organ of the CC of the PLA, publishes today the text of this statement which reads:

The delegations of the Central Committees of the Communist Party (M-L) of Argentina, the Communist Party of Bolivia (M-L), the Communist Party of Brazil, the Communist Party of Colombia (M-L), the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Ecuador and the Revolutionary Communist Party of Uruguay which attended the 7th Congress of the PLA, took the opportunity to hold a fraternal meeting, in which they exchanged opinions on problems of common interest. The meeting took place in the atmosphere of a great internationalist fraternity and showed the high level of the powerful bonds uniting the Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America, based on Marxism-Leninism and strengthened by the broad exchange of opinions in bi-lateral, regional and multilateral meetings held in the past. As the result of this meeting, the above mentioned Marxist-Leninist parties decided to publish this joint declaration which is a synthesis of the views considered.

1) The delegations participating in the meeting unanimously expressed their satisfaction at having participated in the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, which they consider of great significance for the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist communist movement of the world. Brothers of the same ideal with the communists of all the countries in the world, the Albanian communists raised high the banner of proletarian internationalism and the resolute defence of Marxism-Leninism, the invincible weapon of the working class in its struggle for liberation, revolution and the construction of socialism.

2) The delegations of the Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America expressed the same opinion that this meeting is taking place in a situation, which in general, is in favour of the peoples and their revolutionary struggles.

The two imperialist superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, which, in their fierce rivalry, are hatching up new plots against the independence of nations every day, are actively preparing a new world war, and are the main enemies of the peoples. On their part, the peoples everywhere are mobilizing themselves in defence of their vital interests and for their national and social emancipation. The peoples are ever more clearly understanding the policy for world domination which the two superpowers are practising, and are dealing them ceaseless and powerful blows. The progressive forces are trying to forge a broad world front which will unite all those who effectively oppose the hegemonism of the two superpowers and their preparations for war. The liberation struggle is aimed against the two imperialist superpowers. Although it is true that the main enemy changes according to various zones in the world, it would be a great mistake in these circumstances to neglect the threat of the other superpower, to link oneself with one of them to fight the other. Among the peoples the correct idea is maturing in the peoples that in face of the two superpowers' threats of war, it is necessary to develop the revolutionary class struggle to an even higher stage, to counter the outbreak of the war, to weaken the basis of the aggressive forces or to transform the unjust inter-imperialist war into a just war for liberation. Socialist China and socialist Albania are powerful bastions of the world revolution. They are sound and reliable bases for the proletariat and the oppressed peoples. The unity of the revolutionary forces in the whole world with the genuinely socialist countries is a condition for the triumph of the struggle for national independence, people's democracy and socialism. The strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and Albania and the consistent support which these countries give to the world revolutionary movement are an internationalist contribution in the finest of tradition of the period in which Lenin and Stalin lived.

3) During the exchange of information, the delegations of the Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America once again concluded that the majority of the peoples of our continent are living under military-fascist and

dictatorial regimes. The political terrorism and the elimination of liberties are evident in almost all the countries of Latin America. The murder of revolutionaries and the torture of patriots and democrats constitute the most usual method for the forces of repression aimed at strangling the aspirations of the peoples of Latin America for freedom. These regimes serve imperialist capital which brutally exploits the working people and plunders the wealth of the nations. The trusts and monopolies and the ruling class circles which are linked with them use these military regimes to savagely exploit our countries and peoples, to draw colossal profits at a time when the living conditions of the broad working masses are deteriorating day by day. The victories of the working class are being liquidated and in many countries its organisations are under police control or directed by agents of the bosses. Relying on the reactionary oligarchy and, in particular, on the armed forces of our countries, U. S. imperialism is the instigator and the supporter of the tyrannical anti-national and anti-popular regimes. The yankees consider Latin America as their base within the sphere of domination. They make huge investments from which they draw fat profits; they exploit our natural wealth; they interfere shamelessly in internal policy, control the repressive apparatus and exercise a decisive influence over the armed forces. This imperialism is the main enemy of the peoples of the continent. Our parties are convinced that the Latin American nations can never liberate themselves without attacking and smashing this imperialism, which, on our continent in particular, is rapacious and aggressive, and without, at the same time, liquidating the internal reactionary forces on which this imperialism relies.

4) The delegations of the Marxist-Leninist parties also observe that Russian social-imperialism is conducting intensive activity which has the aim of seizing economic, political and strategic positions in that area of the world. It offers its so-called aid to the Latin American countries to disguise its hegemonic and rapacious aims. The social-imperialists, just like U. S. imperialism, are more and more aiming to gain the support of the reactionary armed forces on the continent to create conditions to take part in the exploitation of our peoples. This is evident in Argentina, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay and other countries. It is not the aim of the Russian social-imperialists to assist the liberation of the peoples of Latin America. What they really want is to participate in the exploitation of the wealth and extend their sphere of influence on our continent. The anti-imperialist demagoguery is nothing else but a smokescreen to hide their plans for domination and exploitation. Their pretensions are in opposition to the interests of the United States of America which cannot make even the smallest concession to them and which is using every means even force, in its efforts to preserve its hegemonic positions in Latin America.

On the other hand, the Latin American peoples, in struggle against Yankee imperialism, will never allow social-imperialism to sabotage their national liberation struggle or replace its rival, the United States of America.

5) The delegations which participated in the meeting emphasized the lofty fighting spirit and the desire of the Latin American peoples to struggle. Despite all the heavy blows which they have suffered with the establishment of the pro-Yankee dictatorships, they have not submitted to the oppressors and are resisting them heroically. Everywhere the feeling of freedom, national independence and of the revolution for liberation are growing. Our peoples hate U. S. imperialism and the reactionary and fascist regimes which it is propping up. They also hate the military cliques which are selling out the interests of our countries, which have seized state power in different countries and have become the servants of foreign capital and the gendarmes to oppress the broad masses of the people. Attacking with various forms of struggle, from simple protests and strikes, up to armed struggle, they are not allowing reaction a moment's respite and displaying a great courage and heroism in militant actions. The working class, peasantry and students are the most active forces of popular resistance. The Marxist-Leninist Parties are becoming leading forces of the people's democratic national revolutionary movement. They are pointing to the road of the revolution, the armed struggle of the

masses and the broad unity of progressive forces and tends as the only road which can lead the peoples to their true liberation. The struggle for national independence and against the two superpowers demands the unity of all the forces which can be united. But only the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist Party are capable of leading it consistently to victory. There is no doubt, that despite all the difficulties which must be overcome our peoples will triumph. The future belongs to them.

6) The delegations participating in the meeting also pointed out the undermining, harmful and counter-revolutionary activity of the revisionist so-called "communist" parties of Latin America. They are trying to restrain the struggle of the masses everywhere, to mislead the workers and serve their social-imperialist masters. Under the pretext that the energetic actions of the masses irritate the military and provoke increased reprisal, they undertake the dirty task of quelling the protest and restraining the people's struggles, thus supporting the anti-national, anti-democratic measures and the super-exploitation of the people, which the reactionary rulers systematically adopt. In various countries they are linked with the dictatorships, which grant them the right of political activity, a right which they deny the workers and the people, and issue slogans against the U. S. monopolies to deceive the peoples and to hide their real stand. The struggle they wage for appearance's sake against imperialism is not intended to achieve genuine national liberation and independence. Their real aim is to pave the way to Soviet domination. Rather than lackeys of the bourgeoisie, the revisionist parties of Latin America today are agents of Russian social-imperialism, its fifth column in the patriotic and people's movement. The conference held in Havana in May 1975, in which all the revisionist parties of the continent took part, was a real plot to betray our peoples. The revisionists have the Marxist-Leninists, the revolutionaries, socialist China and Albania in their gun-sights. But they have no future, they are in decay all over Latin America, their forces are in decline, their followers are diminishing and their policy is suffering continuous failures, as in Chile, where the farce of the so-called "peaceful road" was proved. The revisionists will certainly be routed by the Latin American revolutionary and popular forces led by the Marxist-Leninist Parties. The banner of Marxism-Leninism has always emerged victorious from the class battles against opportunism, against agents of the bourgeoisie in the communist and workers' movement.

7) In the meeting, there was also discussion on the important question of solidarity and mutual aid. The conditions of savage repression in which the people's revolutionary movement of Latin America is operating, impose the need for the development of international solidarity in order to mobilize public opinion in support of the struggle of the peoples against the dictatorships, the reactionary forces and U. S. imperialism. It was stressed that the highest form of people's struggle, the revolutionary armed struggle is being waged in various countries, outstanding amongst which is the struggle, waged for more than 8 years by the People's Liberation Army (E. P. L.), the armed wing of the Communist Party of Colombia (M-L), which our Parties resolutely support.

International solidarity in favour of the victims of reaction strikes a blow at the common enemies of the peoples. The denunciation of torture and murder of patriots and democrats, as well as the protests about repressive actions against the people's movements, contribute to the isolation of reactionaries, to exposure of their policy and, in some cases, may stay the executioner's hand and save the lives of revolutionaries and patriots. The delegations agreed on the need to coordinate the various movements of solidarity, expanding them as much as possible, so that they include the progressive organisations and personalities of various countries. At the present moment, special importance must be given to the demand for the immediate release of Comrade Mario Echenique, Political Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Uruguay, arrested in Buenos Aires, Argentina; the patriot heroine Margarita Baez, cruelly tortured in Asuncion, Paraguay; the old Brazilian proletarian militant Jose Duarte, imprisoned since 1972; the leaders of the mining area of Bolivia, imprisoned in their country and those interned in Chile; thousands

of imprisoned democrats and revolutionaries of Chile, Argentina and other countries of the continent.

8) The delegations which attended this meeting honoured the memory and expressed their profound grief at the death of Comrade Mao Tsetung, chairman of the CC of the CP of China, the indisputed leader of the Chinese people, great Marxist-Leninist and great teacher of the proletariat and oppressed peoples of the entire world. Under the wise leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung, and the CP of China the Chinese proletariat and people carried forward the revolutionary struggle, seized power and established socialism in China. Thus, backward and dependent China has been transformed into a modern socialist country, reliable base of the world revolution. Likewise, under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung, a correct solution has been found to the important problem of how to continue the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat and to prevent the restoration of capitalism in China: Comrade Mao Tsetung resolutely raised the banner of Marxism-Leninism and launched the struggle against modern revisionism, thus making a decisive contribution to the reconstruction of the international Marxist-Leninist communist movement. His road as a revolutionary fighter and his ideas, which have developed Marxism-Leninism, will remain indelible in the hearts and minds of the peoples and communists of the entire world.

9) The delegations of the Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America hailed the successes achieved at the 7th Congress of the PLA. The report delivered by Comrade Enver Hoxha, the great and tested Marxist-Leninist and outstanding leader of the Albanian people and the peoples of the entire world, is a very valuable contribution to clarifying the important and decisive questions of the present day which are concerning the revolutionaries of all continents, expands the perspective of the struggle of the exploited and oppressed, and kindles in their hearts confidence in the victory of their cause. The fiery call for strengthening the unity of the international Marxist-Leninist movement aroused strong interest among our delegations. We are sure that the contribution of Comrade Enver Hoxha will be greatly appreciated by our Parties, and we shall draw lessons to strengthen the revolutionary action. The great successes achieved by socialist Albania show how powerful are the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and what a Party based on them is capable of. The example of the PLA inspires all the fighters of the revolution, who, overcoming the difficulties must carry forward the banner of the struggle for democracy, national independence and socialism. The fact that we have beside us the proletarian revolutionary, the outstanding Marxist-Leninist Comrade Enver Hoxha rejoices us and fills us with enthusiasm. His confidence in the future, his theoretical profundity and political farsightedness distinguish him as one of the greatest revolutionaries of our time.

10) In conclusion of this fraternal meeting, the delegations of Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America expressed their firm confidence in the complete victory of Marxism-Leninism over modern revisionism, in the triumph of the working class, revolutionary peoples over imperialism, social-imperialism and world reaction. We came out from this meeting with even closer fraternal ties and loyal to the noble ideals of proletarian internationalism, still more convinced of the need to work for the unity of the communist and worker movement, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Our parties will strive with all their might to achieve this objective, firmly united with the CP of China, the PLA and the international Marxist-Leninist Communist movement.

The delegation of CP(M-L) of Argentina  
The delegation of CP of Bolivia (M-L)  
The delegation of CP of Brazil  
The delegation of the CP of Colombia (M-L)  
The delegation of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile  
The delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Ecuador  
The delegation of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Uruguay

End.

## Document Which Strengthens the Revolutionary Unity Among the Marxist-Leninist Parties

The newspaper "Zeri i Popullit" published yesterday the joint statement of the delegations of the Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America. This statement, as its content shows, is the result of the broad exchange of opinions, of an open and Marxist-Leninist discussion of a number of the most important problems preoccupying at present the Parties which have signed it. It is permeated by the lofty spirit of proletarian internationalism and by the determination and desire to carry ahead the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the other working masses on the Latin American continent. At the same time, it constitutes a great step onward on the road of the strengthening of the unity among the Marxist-Leninist communist Parties, indispensable condition to the victory of the revolution.

The Albanian communists wholeheartedly greet this multi-lateral meeting of the sister Parties of Latin America and support the correct theses and conclusions collectively confirmed by them. The success of this meeting, which is expressed so clearly in the joint statement, is based on the loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, on the desire and the persistent efforts of the participating parties to strengthen the unity and collaboration among them in the struggle against their common enemy, military dictatorships, reactionary forces, U. S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, the undermining activity of the revisionists.

The dictatorial, military and fascist regimes which

are ruling in many countries of Latin America, mercilessly oppress and exploit the peoples of that continent. Being servile defenders of the U. S. monopolies, they are maintained in power through the direct support of U. S. imperialism, which stands behind them. This situation, as the statement stresses, raises as an imperative duty before all the fighters for freedom, independence and socialism to fight first and foremost against the reactionary cliques of various countries and against U. S. imperialism which is the greatest plunderer of the riches of the Latin American continent, the real dominator of many countries of this area. "Our Parties", the statement says, "are convinced that the Latin American nations can never liberate themselves without attacking and smashing this imperialism, which, on our continent in particular is rapacious and aggressive, and without, at the same time, liquidating the internal reactionary forces on which this imperialism relies."

At the same time, the statement exposes the efforts of Soviet social-imperialism to seize economic, political and strategic positions in the areas of Latin America. Therefore the statement says that "the Latin American peoples, in struggle against Yankee imperialism, will never allow social-imperialism to sabotage their national liberation struggle or replace its rival, the United States of America."

The statement devotes an important place to the exposure of the counter-revolutionary activity of the re-

visionist parties of the countries of Latin America which are trying to restrain the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the peoples against U. S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, to protect the dictatorial military governments serving the interests of foreign capitalism, to paralyze the activity of the genuine revolutionary forces, especially of the Marxist-Leninist Parties.

The statement correctly assesses the global aggressive, expansionist and hegemonic policy of the two superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union. It exposes the plans, intrigues and plots they are hatching up against the freedom and independence of the peoples of the world, as well as against revolution and socialism. It calls on the progressive forces to forge a broad world front which will unite all those who do not endure oppression and exploitation by the two superpowers, who oppose the hegemony of the USA and the Soviet Union, who fight to undermine their preparations for a new war. "The liberation struggle", the statement reads, "is aimed against the two imperialist superpowers. Although it is true that the main enemy changes according to various zones in the world, it would be a great mistake in these circumstances to neglect the threat of the other superpower to link oneself with one of them to fight the other...in face of the two superpowers' threats of war, it is necessary to develop the revolutionary class struggle, to an even higher stage, to counter the outbreak of the war, to weaken the basis of the

aggressive forces or to transform the unjust inter-imperialist war into a just war for liberation."

It is these correct, consistent and revolutionary stands based on a principled Marxist-Leninist analysis, with a sound class criterion, that the joint statement of the Marxist-Leninist communist Parties of Latin America, rejoices not only the Marxist-Leninists, but also all those who fight against imperialism and social-imperialism for freedom and independence of the peoples. All the genuine revolutionaries cannot fail to see in this document that Marxism-Leninism is full of vitality, that it is revolutionary as to its opinions and actions, that it is more living than ever. Therefore, we are fully confident that the joint statement will have a favourable effect in all the Latin American and other countries where are militating, the communists and Marxist-Leninist Parties which constitute the most consistent force of the struggle for national and social liberation. U. S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, revisionism and reactionary bourgeoisie will be worried of this document and will try to fight by all means against its revolutionary ideas but no force could and can hinder the Marxist-Leninist truth. It has marched and marches always forward triumphantly. The bourgeoisie and reaction outlaw the communists but they enjoy the great love and support of the proletariat and people. The fascists prohibit and burn the Marxist-Leninist books, but

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**MARXIST-LENINISTS, UNITE!**  
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must be studied; as well the teachings of the Marxist-Leninist classics and of the international communist movement on the subject must be studied. The OL replaces this whole process by fiat, presenting themselves as having some special "inside" knowledge from its connections. Everyone knows that at this time there is tremendous discussion taking place inside the international communist movement, that the struggle between international opportunism and Marxism-Leninism is heating up. Just at this time, OL presents its views as the "official", "unanimous" views which only a trotskyite or a revisionist could doubt. What a farce! Thus in the current issue #6 of OL's theoretical journal *Class Struggle*, Dan Burstein, editor of *The Call*, presents OL's Titoite version of Teng Hsiao-ping's opportunist theory of "Three Worlds". But OL does not have the courage to put forward their views openly and clearly as any honest Marxist-Leninist would do. Instead, without a shred of evidence, the OL self-righteously attributes its views to Chairman Mao. Then in various articles and on numerous occasions, the OL rises up in righteous anger to condemn anyone who raises a question about their Browderite line as "revisionist and Trotskyite", as "opposing China" and even as "CIA agents". What a disgusting performance!

OL's method of political blackmail is not unprecedented in the international communist movement. It is the old familiar method of Khrushchev himself. Khrushchev used the prestige of the Party of Lenin and Stalin and the fervent support of the international proletariat for the first socialist state in order to impose his revisionist views on the whole communist movement. When the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania opposed Khrushchev's wrong views, they were labelled "Trotskyite", "anti-Soviet", as having sold out to imperialism "for thirty pieces of gold" and as "splitting the international communist movement". All honest Marxist-Leninists should study the struggle waged against Khrushchevite revisionism back in the late 50's and early 60's so as to be able to recognize and repudiate not only the revisionist political line, but also the Khrushchevite methods. Here again the Albanian comrades have come forward at a crucial time by reprinting a little over a year ago "THROUGH THE PAGES OF VOLUME XIX OF THE WORKS OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA", which deals with the victorious struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania against Khrushchevite revisionism and its despicable methods of political blackmail, particularly at the Bucharest and Moscow Meetings of 1960. The publication of this work was very timely and it should be carefully studied in order to help the struggle against revisionist political blackmail.

Of course, OL's political blackmail and its new-found "orthodoxy" are simply sheer hypocrisy. It wasn't so long ago that OL was attacking the COUSML for "sounding like Peking Review". OL does not follow Chairman Mao's political line, but the line of international opportunism. Recall for example OL's line on Lin Piao's alleged "ultra-leftism". At the time of the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, OL printed in the October 1973 *Call* sections of that Congress' political report, carefully excerpted to omit the denunciation of "the ultra-Rightist nature of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique". *The Call* then stated that "The Congress took place in a great spirit of unity and marked the victory of the important struggle against the anti-Party group of ultra-'leftists' led by Lin Piao... Lin's ultra-'left' line which attacked the united front strategy against imperialism, was defeated after the Ninth Party Congress. The Tenth Congress placed the task of criticizing this ultra-'left' line and rectifying the party's style of work above all else." Thus, "above all else", the OL committed a clumsy forgery on the documents from the Tenth Congress in order to promote OL's line of that time that the main danger was from the "ultra-left". In this forgery OL simply attributes all its views to the Communist Party of China. For example, the Tenth Congress pointed out that Lin Piao was a "superspy" for Soviet social-imperialism, but there is not one word in it about Lin Piao's opposition to the "united front strategy against imperialism". OL needed this forgery to back up its line that "Most importantly, the present-day ultra-'leftists' oppose the strategy of the united front against imperialism." (*The Call*, April 1973) Now the OL could label anyone who questioned its opportunism as "Lin Piaoists". The *Guardian* used the same method. In their issue of September 12, 1973 they also made a forgery on the "Political Report to the Tenth National Congress" to make Lin Piao into an "ultra-leftist". And in Jack Smith's articles on Lin Piao, the *Guardian* arbitrarily attributed to Lin Piao what the *Guardian* regarded as the "ultra-left" line, namely, "in regard to foreign affairs, largely continue the tactical policy of the cultural revolution, fight both enemies (U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism -- ed.) at the same time with equal force and spread revolution and 'Maoism' on the basis of supporting revolutionary struggles wherever and whenever they break out..." (*Guardian*, Aug. 23, 1972) When OL and the *Guardian* concocted their forgeries of the Tenth Congress, whose lines were they giving? Clearly not Chairman Mao's! We can let OL speak for itself. In the May 1, 1976 issue of *The Call* it stated: "Teng (Teng Hsiao-ping -- ed.) described Lin as an 'ultra-leftist'. This was a way of covering up the fact that Lin was a rightist". Thus OL, which today is playing at being the "defender of China", is itself admitting that it altered the "Political Report of the Tenth National Congress" in order to give Teng Hsiao-ping's line for capitalist restoration.

**FOR POLITICAL CLARIFICATION ON BURNING QUESTIONS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT**

The key question facing the Marxist-Leninists today, in a period of intense preparations by both superpowers for a third imperialist world war, is the

fight against social-chauvinism. Political clarification and repudiation of revisionism and opportunism must be undertaken in order to unite the Marxist-Leninists against social-chauvinism and clear the ground ideologically and politically for the Party. In the next four sections we briefly discuss some of the burning issues agitating the Marxist-Leninist movement. It will be noted that many of these questions revolve about the question of attitude to the state. This is no accident -- social-chauvinism makes a shameful capitulation to the interests of the monopoly capitalist state itself and an apology for or even glorification of its main component, the armed forces. We are confident that the struggle against social-chauvinism will strengthen and steel the forces of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, purge them of the opportunism that has been accumulating for some time, of the revisionist filth and of the non-revolutionary philistinism that is so arrogant towards the revolutionary fighters and so tame and submissive towards the state, and prepare the Marxist-Leninists for the historic task of leading the coming revolutionary storms.

**AGAINST SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM**

The October League's line of directing "the main blow" at Soviet social-imperialism is the most concentrated expression of social-chauvinism (socialism in words, but Anglo-American superpower chauvinism in deeds) in the American Marxist-Leninist movement. At a time when the U.S. monopoly capitalist class is frantically preparing for a new imperialist world war to re-divide the world with the Soviet New Tsars, at a time when the masses are being bled white to pay for bombers, tanks and battle-ships, at a time when the U.S. government is preparing more and more prisons and political police in order to keep a quiet "home front", the OL is focusing the attention of the American workers on the "foreign enemy". It has displayed its flag-waving patriotism by printing some of its publications in the red-white-and-blue. It is using as an excuse the need to expose the sham "socialism" of the New Tsars, but the social-chauvinist style of "exposing" the New Tsars grows everyday less and less distinguishable from the war-mongering propaganda of the big bourgeois mass media. The OL has become such a plaything in the hands of capitalist deception, such a shameless member of the U.S. imperialist "anti-Soviet social-imperialist front", that it actually criticizes capitalist politicians for downplaying the Soviet threat and for having the gall to bicker a little over the size of the escalating military budget. The OL -- which still preserves a superstitious faith in the truthfulness of the American government -- believes that the imperialist pacifism of the Carter administration is not an instrument for deception of the people and for preparation for imperialist war, but is a sign of "appeasement", of weakness in the face of the foreign fascist threat. True proletarian internationalism requires the U.S. proletariat to struggle for the world proletarian revolution, to wage the most uncompromising struggle against the U.S. monopoly capitalist class and its state machine, to overthrow "our own" oppressors as our contribution to world revolution. The OL would fight for revolution in the U.S. . . . but only when it first receives a guarantee that the balance of power between the superpowers will not be upset and that the Soviet social-imperialists won't try to take advantage of the class struggle in the U.S. The social-chauvinists try to intimidate the American working class with big headlines blaring "USSR Leading in Superpower War Race" (*The Call*, Feb. 21, '77), painting a picture of Soviet military might as if to say: "Just imagine" -- tremble, tremble -- "what it would be like if those fascist New Tsars occupy even one inch of our sacred 'bourgeois democratic' superpower!"

Social-chauvinism seeks to dull the consciousness of the working class concerning the U.S. imperialist military jackboot which stands astride much of the world. The social-chauvinists are real apologists of neo-colonialism and defenders of U.S. imperialist world domination. One example of this may be worth a dozen pages of theoretical arguments. The OL has gone to such extremes to prettify U.S. imperialism that it claims that in Latin America the Soviet Union is the main danger! Listen to this: "In this struggle (struggle by the 'Latin American governments and peoples' against the two superpowers -- ed.) Soviet social-imperialism, posing as the 'natural ally' of third world peoples, is more dangerous than U.S. imperialism. Under the cover of 'socialism' in words, and taking advantage of the low credibility of the U.S. government, the Soviet Union is pursuing a far more aggressive policy on the continent (Latin America -- ed.) than its rival." (*The Call*, Jan. 10, 1977, underlining added.) What jingo rubbish! What servile bootlicking and belly-crawling before the Yankee exploiters and murderers of the Latin American people! *The Call* continues: "While the gunboat diplomacy of the U.S. has aroused the anger of the Latin American peoples for over a century, the Soviet Union is now embarked on the same course of military expansion, surrounding the continent with bases on all sides." Truly OL has performed a real revolution -- if not in social system, at least in military science. According to the imperialist apologetics of OL, the Soviet Union is more dangerous to Latin America precisely because the U.S. has been strengthening its positions, grooming lackeys and developing military networks for over a century. This theory will prove of service to every imperialist exploiter -- whether the U.S. in Latin America or the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe -- who is defending "his" colonies and neo-colonies, "his" spheres of influence, "his" status quo, from his competitors. This is truly Marxism revised in the interests of imperialism. The U.S. has far more capital in Latin America and is bleeding the people white. No matter, says the jingo liberals of the OL, the U.S. has "low credibility". The U.S. has military bases or networks in every single Latin American country without exception, including Cuba (Guantanamo Naval Base). No

matter, says the OL, the Soviet Union has bases in Angola, Cuba and Antarctica. There are U.S. neo-colonial governments all through Latin America. Neo-colonialism? Fascist oligarchies ruling on behalf of U.S. imperialism? Never heard of them, says OL, which entitles its article "Latin America Rebuffs Superpower Schemes" and never even uses the word neo-colonialism in the whole article. The important thing, for OL, is that the New Tsars are trying to expand in Latin America and subheads scream "TSARS EXPAND EMPIRE" and "CUBA A MILITARY BASE". But, strangely enough, even if we restrict our attention to the Soviet neo-colony of Cuba, there is not a word about Guantanamo Naval Base nor about the U.S. imperialists trying to expand back into Cuba, "normalize relations" with the traitor Castro, and once again exploit the Cuban economy on a massive scale. And how should Latin America fight imperialism? Well, in this full-page article of 27 paragraphs, there is only one sentence about the new Marxist-Leninist parties, and no mention at all of the armed struggles led by some of these parties against the neo-colonialist governments and U.S. imperialism. In fact, there is no mention whatsoever of armed struggle or national liberation via new-democratic revolution. In this way the OL not only defends the U.S. domination of Latin America and reserves its sharpest condemnations for U.S.'s rival Russia, but the OL also gives a penetrating insight into the practical consequences of OL's theory of "Three Worlds" as "a strategic view of the world revolution" (*Class Struggle*, #6, p. 42).

Social-chauvinism means denial of revolution. This is why OL always chokes on Chairman Mao's solemn Statement of May 20, 1970 where he firmly and with great revolutionary optimism declares that "... REVOLUTION IS THE MAIN TREND IN THE WORLD TODAY." OL sputters that this statement is "no longer fully complete or applicable to the present conditions" and is only "general" and out-dated. (See interview with Klonsky in *The Call*, May 31, 1976 and *Class Struggle*, #6, p. 54.) Once revolution flies out the window, there can be no proletarian internationalism. OL goes pale with fear at the possibility of a third world war, renounces revolution as "no longer fully complete or applicable to the present conditions" and regards the fundamental division in the world as that between U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. Therefore OL fabricates the big lie that the opponents of social-chauvinism are agents of the New Tsars who are attacking OL for "concentrating too much fire on Soviet social-imperialism". (*The Call*, November 22, 1976) It never even crosses OL's mind that the real fundamental division in the world today is between, on the one hand, the forces of revolution, of socialism and freedom, consisting of the socialist countries, the national liberation movement and the world proletarian movement, and on the other hand the forces of imperialism and slavery, led by the two superpowers. Let all Marxist-Leninists hold high the banner of the forces of revolution, denounce social-chauvinism and unite to lead the masses to victory over the monopoly capitalist dictators!

**ON RESISTANCE, THE ATTITUDE TO THE STATE, AND FASCIZATION**

Building the Party is not only a question of organizational consolidation, nor even just a question of developing correct political line in the abstract, it is also a question of steeling the cadre and building an organization tempered in all the different fronts of struggle. The Party is built in the midst of the class struggles. There are those who follow the revisionist line of boasting about the great armed insurrection they will carry out on Judgement Day, but for the time being they are all for peace and quiet and denounce resistance as "adventurist". An organization built on those lines will be totally paralyzed when the decisive hour strikes. The resistance movement is crucial to forging a fighting organization. It cuts through the whole revisionist cowardice, and encourages a militant fighting spirit among the masses and in the Party. The masses themselves are constantly engaged in resistance to the state, but their struggles, though widespread and deep-felt, remain scattered and unsystematic without the Marxist-Leninists concentrating their correct ideas to provide the political line for resistance.

We send a red salute to all the masses who engaged in resistance this past year -- especially to the fighting contingents of the Afro-American people and their progressive supporters who smashed numerous onslaughts of the state-organized fascist anti-busing movement and to the millions of proletarians who endured great sacrifices and privations to wage many militant and protracted strikes! We send a red salute to all those of our comrades who pushed forward the movement to actively resist fascism in the last year! We send a red salute to all those comrades who bravely faced the bourgeois courts and jails in Louisville, Boston and Newark! We send an enthusiastic red salute to all Marxist-Leninists of other organizations who also resisted reaction and showed a revolutionary attitude to the state; we declare to you that though we are temporarily organizationally divided, nevertheless our hearts beat as one and our unity, forged in the struggle against capitalist reaction, is only a matter of time. We denounce with the utmost contempt the collaborators with the state hidden in the people's movement, such as the revisionists of the *Guardian* who in their issue of Feb. 4, 1976, did the dirty work for the FBI by slandering our Louisville comrades, at a time when they were facing a co-ordinated attack from the KKK, police and the fascist anti-busing movement, as a "police organization" on the say-so of the notorious police-socialist and FBI agent, Joe Burton!

The resistance movement against the terrorist attacks of the state machine brings up very sharply the question of the attitude to the state. Among politically active people in the working-class movement, there are three stands towards the state: to organize in opposition to the state; to refuse to oppose the

state; or to collaborate with the state. The Marxist-Leninist stand is irreconcilable opposition to the state. Those who persist in refusing to oppose the state and refusing to oppose fascism will end up collaborating with the state and contributing to fascism. Among those calling themselves Marxist-Leninists and communists, all three stands are to be found. This shows the influence of revisionism and opportunism. The revisionists oppose active resistance and collaborate with the state. They promote capitulation and defeatism in every struggle, organize to tell the people how "strong" the bourgeoisie is, and seek to split the mass movements and liquidate them. They denounce resistance as "ultra-left", "crazy" and "provoking" the bourgeoisie. In this way they try to create public opinion in favor of the state and suppress the revolutionaries as well as taking part in this suppression themselves.

We stand for anti-fascist proletarian socialist revolution. The proletarian socialist revolution is anti-fascist because it will destroy the growing fascism of the capitalist state machine, abolish the over-grown, oppressive system of a huge standing army, police and arrogant bureaucracy, and replace them by the armed people themselves. At present there is rapid fascistization of all aspects of U.S. society. The U.S. is a country with so many prisons that how to pay for them is a public issue for the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie sees and fears the growth of the working-class movement in the 70's and is preparing to suppress new storms that will be even fiercer than those of the 60's. The bourgeoisie is summing up the lessons of the storm-and-stress period of the 60's and increasing its armaments and police forces while it also tries to devise new ways to develop fascist movements and to infiltrate and split the masses. Not to see this, is to be blind. To see it and to hide from it from the working class, is to be a traitor in the service of the war-mongering big bourgeoisie. And the revisionists, social-democrats and opportunists are precisely traitors of this type. Every time the capitalist state relies a little more on deception rather than just force, every time there is a little pause in the tempo of revolution, the opportunists seek to reconcile the masses with the state and blunt their consciousness of its oppressive nature. They are using the slogan of "bourgeois democracy" in order to promote the idea of the "two aspects of the state", i.e., that the U.S. government allegedly has a democratic, pro-people side. During the last presidential election, the revisionists and opportunists sang hymns to American "democracy" and hid the ultra-reactionary essence of the monopoly capitalist state. They gave calls to "defend the Constitution" and insisted that "the right to vote is the basis of U.S. democracy". At a time when attacks on the Afro-American people are the cutting edge of the state-organized attempts to mobilize a fascist mass movement, the revisionists wished to "outlaw racism" and "abolish all repressive laws". At a time when the burden of the economic crisis is being shifted onto the workers, a trotskyite party called for a "bill of rights for the workers". Instead of preparing the masses for the fierce class battles ahead, the revisionists and opportunists are lulling the masses to sleep with fantasies about a democratic, capitalist paradise and disarming them in the face of the capitalists' fascist offensive and the real capitalist hell. Social-chauvinism means not just capitulation to the side of the imperialist bourgeoisie in general, but defense of the interests of "one's own" monopoly capitalist state in particular. Even before the OL degenerated into open social-chauvinism, the OL had always propagated illusions concerning the state and capitulation to it. In Boston, OL called for the police and National Guard to "defend" the Afro-American people by enforcing the law at the very moment that the state was organizing the fascist anti-busing movement and trying to disarm those Afro-Americans who resisted. This shameful capitulation to the state OL calls "... taking advantage of contradictions in the enemy camp..." (*Class Struggle*, #4-5, p.10) During the "Watergate crisis", OL gave a call to "Dump Nixon -- Stop the Fascist Tide!" Thus the OL regarded fascism in the U.S. as defeated when Nixon fell and the "fascist tide" receded from OL's propaganda never to reappear. The meaning of this is clear particularly when one considers OL's famous complaint that Congress was "paralyzed" during the Watergate crisis. (*The Call*, Feb. 1974) OL was giving the stock revisionist theory of "two aspects" of the state, of "two opposing power centers" in Washington -- the fascist Nixon and the presumably-democratic Congress. This is the same view as that of the *Guardian's* Irwin Silber, who talks of a militarist Pentagon and a Congress that represents the people, in statements like "The political pressure (by the Pentagon -- ed.) on a Congress which, for a period of time, was beginning to reflect popular aversion to U.S. military aggression in other parts of the world." (*Guardian*, June 30, 1976) Both the OL and the *Guardian* are echoing the revisionist line of Gus Hall, whose prescription for opposing U.S. imperialism's war of aggression in Viet Nam was to "Padlock the Pentagon". Now that the OL has come out openly for social-chauvinism, they are fond of contrasting the fascist Soviet Union with the presumably-democratic U.S. state. They are willing to be "bold" and "Marxist" when it comes to criticizing the Great-Russian state machine but when it comes to the U.S. state machine they get weak knees. Take the current issue, #6, of OL's theoretical journal *Class Struggle*. It "boldly" quotes twice Chairman Mao's correct statement that "THE SOVIET UNION TODAY IS UNDER THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE BOURGEOISIE, A DICTATORSHIP OF THE BIG BOURGEOISIE, A DICTATORSHIP OF THE GERMAN FASCIST TYPE, A DICTATORSHIP OF THE HITLER TYPE." (pp.43 and 87) But when it comes to the U.S., the OL actually breaks off a quote from Chairman Mao's May 20th Statement in mid-sentence in order to hide Chairman Mao's view "... THAT THE FASCIST RULE IN THE U.S. WILL INEVITABLY BE DEFEATED." THE OL is afraid to admit that Chairman Mao talks of "... THE FASCIST RULE IN THE U.S. ...." because it is down on its knees wor-



shipping before the monopoly capitalist state.

#### ON THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

The intensification of the international capitalist-revisionist economic crisis is lending a particular urgency to the question of orientation for the working-class movement. The bourgeoisie is aware of the upsurge in the working-class movement and is sharpening its swords. Through such means as "labor-management councils", "national economic planning", the agitation for the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill, etc., it is striving to integrate still further the trade unions into the state apparatus, tighten the government repression of the workers and institute wage controls. The bourgeoisie is stepping up its subversion of the workers' movement from within by strengthening that group of social-democratic labor traitors that parade themselves as "fighting" trade union bureaucrats in opposition to the openly corrupt Meany-style bureaucrats. In this way the capitalists hope to keep the present upsurge in the workers' movement under their control. To this end the state apparatus itself has intervened in union elections to aid the social-democrats, while the Democratic Party wrote the social-democratic ideas of then United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock concerning "national economic planning" and national health insurance into the Democratic platform. The aristocracy of labor, which is a broader section than just the top trade union hacks, is the main social (not military) prop of the bourgeoisie in the workers' movement. The social-democratic and revisionist forces, which represent the political line of the aristocracy of labor, are the political detachments of the bourgeoisie in the workers' movement, the agents by which the capitalists seek to undermine the workers' movement from within. To unite the workers' movement, the key question is to oppose social-democracy and revisionism, to oppose the political line of the aristocracy of labor, and to establish the Party among the masses of workers.

One of the main opportunist lines on the working-class movement is the revisionist and social-democratic line that the capitalist trade unions, possibly with some slight tinkering with their present form, are the revolutionary organizations of the workers. This is the line of "move the trade unions to the left", of "revolutionize the trade unions", and of "overthrow the bureaucrats and then the trade unions will be class struggle organizations". OL's first draft of their party program formulates this line as "turn the trade unions into revolutionary class struggle organizations which fight for socialism under communist leadership". (*The Call*, Jan. 31, 1977) This is also the view that stands behind the mania for "rank-and-file caucuses", whether these caucuses are given the social-democratic or dual-unionist slant. This line is the application to the workers' movement of the general neo-revisionist line of negating the Party by counter-posing the mass movements to the Party. The opportunists have read, or claimed to read, Lenin's brilliant work, *Left-Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder*, but they couldn't understand a word of it. They converted the line of working for Marxism-Leninism inside the trade unions and appealing to the broadest mass of the workers into its opposite, namely working for trade unionism inside the Marxist-Leninist movement and fencing oneself off from the broadest masses by means of cozy, sectarian, economist cliques. They ignore the facts concerning the integration of the trade unions into the state machine and the use the bourgeoisie makes of the capitalist trade unions to control the workers' movement and make it submit to a whole series of government rules and regulations. Or rather -- if really amounts to the same thing -- they childishly suggest that these facts can be swept away prior to developing the class struggle and as a pre-condition for developing the class struggle by simply overthrowing the bureaucrats or by establishing more perfect "economic" organizations. In this way the Marxist-Leninist line on the necessity for the Party to engage in patient, protracted, ever underground, work among the broad masses in reactionary, counter-revolutionary trade unions despite the pin-pricks, insults, treacheries and persecution by the labor traitors is falsified and turned into sweet dreams of revolutionary "pure economic" mass organizations. The line of "revolutionizing the trade unions" wishes to short-cut the class struggle, substitutes the tactical question of denouncing this or that bureaucrat for the political question of the line and orientation needed to develop the class struggle, and does this with the motive of liquidating the Party and falling back with relief into the arms of the capitalist trade unions.

One way trade unionism expresses itself inside the Marxist-Leninist movement is in the desire to compete with the top trade union hacks, to find a niche among the bureaucrats by using one's "communist" label as political capital, just as every revisionist has done for years. Maximum disruption is done by making the issue one of which bourgeois cliques will run the capitalist trade unions, and not one of promoting the class struggle against the capitalists and strengthening the Party's influence among the proletariat. The OL thinks that it has taken an extraordinarily bold step forward when it denounces certain social-democratic trade union hacks whom it used to support. Thus previously OL called for all-out support for Arnold Miller in the United Mine Workers and propagated social-democracy inside the Marxist-Leninist movement under the slogan of "critical support" (for Arnold Miller -- ed.) meant *No Support At All!* (*The Call*, Aug. 1973) This was called "moving the trade unions to the left". The social-democrats jilted OL after the elections. So OL has gone into a rage and denounced what it calls the "liberals" among the trade union hacks. Hell had no fury like that of a lover scorned. But this does not indicate any break with trade-unionist ideology. On the contrary, OL is more bogged down than ever in social-democracy and revisionism. Now OL no longer calls for the capitalist trade unions to be modestly pushed

to the left, but paints them in glowing, communist colors. OL says "the task of communists in the trade unions is to win them (the capitalist trade union -- ed.) to the leadership of the party and to transform them into revolutionary organizations which fight for the complete emancipation of the working class". ("Principles of Unity" of OL's 2nd "unity" call, July 1976) All this will happen if the opportunists are replaced by OL, i. e., if the workers elect OL to union office. This is the same political line as Miller and Sadlowski advocate. They both denounced the other trade union hacks and promised to revitalize the unions if elected. The OL is still paving the way for the re-inforcement of open social-democracy among the workers, for the deception of the workers by the "fighting" social-democratic trade union hacks.

To build the Party among the proletariat, the Marxist-Leninists must oppose the political line of the aristocracy of labor, the line of revisionism and social-democracy. In the last presidential election, the Democratic Party was able to present itself as "the party of the workers" because of its connections with its servile lackeys, the mass of the top trade union bureaucrats. The main way the Democrats tried to restore "confidence" in the government so as to prepare for imperialist world war and to be able to launch increased fascist attacks on the workers' movement, was through social-democratic talk about "jobs" and "planning under capitalism". There are those who replace the task of exposing these social-democratic illusions, of opposing the political line of the aristocracy of labor in the course of leading the proletariat into struggle against the capitalist enemy, with instead the creation of the maximum number of squabbles with every single individual "labor aristocrat". They are oh so busy running here and there attacking individual "social props" or, as OL puts it, "Our work is based upon a consistent struggle to isolate and expel these opportunists from leadership and replace them with revolutionary leadership." ("Principles of Unity" of OL's 2nd "unity" call) Thus the OL replaces the struggle against the political line of the aristocracy of labor with the struggle to become part of the aristocracy of labor. This was why OL was so silent about the national presidential elections but made such a fuss about boycotting the Steelworkers election. OL was silent because they had no fundamental disagreement with the line of the Democratic Party, other than urging the Democratic Party to drop imperialist pacifism (concealed war-mongering) in favor of open war-mongering. (AFL-CIO president Meany has the same "disagreement" with the Democratic Party.) The criticism of Carter in the neo-revisionist press was mostly restricted to asserting that Carter was not a small peanut farmer, but in reality a rich, large-scale peanut farmer, and in exposing various reactionary and racist past acts of Carter. Fine, but the fundamental questions of Carter's political line -- such as the key deception of the Democratic Party on the question of "jobs", "full employment" and "national economic planning" were in the main left aside. Is it right to fight for jobs, against lay-offs, etc.? Of course it is. But neo-revisionism is incapable of distinguishing between a fight against the shifting of the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the workers that is conducted in a revolutionary way, that hits at the bourgeoisie, and -- a social-democratic deception of the workers under the banner of "jobs". That is why OL "criticized" the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill -- this piece of proposed fascist legislation to further integrate the trade unions into the state apparatus and with its unwritten but well-understood condition of wage controls -- by complaining that the bill had "no teeth in it". (*The Call*, May 24, 1976.) Imagine that! OL criticizes the Democratic Party for not having enough "teeth" in its fascist legislation, just as Carter and the Democratic Party in turn criticized Ford for not being a "strong" leader like Nixon! This is not to oppose social-democracy and revisionism, but to revel in being part of them. The Party will only take root among the proletariat when, in the course of leading the class struggle and leading the masses to fight for the matters of vital concern to them, it isolates the political line of revisionism and social-democracy and thus unites the proletariat.

#### IN DEFENSE OF THE AFRO-AMERICAN PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT

The struggle of the Afro-American people against racial discrimination and violent repression was one of the main currents of the massive revolutionary storm of the 60's. The Afro-American people shook the imperialist system and smashed a number of barbarous, semi-slave, semi-feudal aspects of the Jim Crow system of racial discrimination. They gave rise to a number of revolutionary martyrs of the American people, such as Malcolm X, George Jackson and Fred Hampton. They inspired the whole youth and student movement and other revolutionary movements of the American people. Chairman Mao's historic statements entitled "Statement Supporting the Afro-Americans in their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism -- August 8, 1963" and "Statement by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, in Support of the Afro-American Struggle Against Violent Repression (April 16, 1968)" cut right to the heart of the matter and should be constantly studied. The Afro-American struggle for freedom and complete emancipation can only win final victory with the overthrow of monopoly capitalism and the system of imperialism and colonialism. The U.S. ruling circles have not become wiser, but are plotting revenge against the Afro-American people. They are developing attacks on the Afro-American people as the cutting edge of the rapidly growing fascism. Thus the U.S. government organized the fascist anti-busing movement in order to develop a fascist mass movement, to drive the Afro-Americans back to the slavery that the bourgeoisie so proudly boasts about on TV these days and to disrupt and attack the workers' movement. The main brunt of the

present hysteria being developed against "crime" is also borne by the Afro-American people and especially the Afro-American youth.

The fascist anti-busing movement was not "spontaneous", but directly organized by the government as part of the growing fascistization of every aspect of U.S. society. The government took up the democratic demand of integrated education and presented it in a distorted and mutilated fashion in order to be able to mobilize a section of the masses against it. At the time when the courts began ordering their busing plans, the mass movements for school integration were dormant. The courts had a free hand in concocting these plans and, when the masses showed enthusiasm for integration despite the short-comings of the plans, re-concocting and further distorting the plans. On the surface, the state machine appeared to present the absurd spectacle of a boxer fighting himself: various courts and agencies seemed to try to enforce busing plans, while other government agencies organized violence against integration. This, however, was political deception. The government had only one aim, which it pursued with counter-revolutionary dual tactics -- to organize the fascist mass movement. The courts presented busing in a distorted fashion, constantly making concessions to the open fascists, in order to stir up contradictions among the people to the boiling point, while painting the capitalist state machine as the "friend of the Afro-Americans" and as a would-be "liberal" harassed by the intolerant masses. And when the masses rose up to fight the fascists and racists, the "liberals" (concealed fascists) cheerfully sang songs of "peaceful desegregation" and "obey the law" in order to split the masses in front of the fascists and to provide pretext for more terrorist attacks on the people by the police. That is how the government works: first it organizes terrorist attacks on the people, then it calls for "peace" while it brings in the troops to suppress the masses.

The plans of the government were upset by the rapid development of the anti-fascist mass movement. We in the COUSML took as our central point to lead and encourage the mass movement for active resistance to fascism and to smash the fascist anti-busing movement. We are, like any democratically-minded person, to say nothing of communist, staunchly in favor of integrated education. And busing is only a means of integrating schools when housing patterns are segregated. (Buses, as a modern means of transportation, are routinely used for all sorts of purposes, including busing school children for forced segregation.) But, while firmly supporting any integration that did take place as result of the busing plans, we always opposed any illusions as to what the government was up to and we constantly exposed the intention of the entire government, courts and open fascists alike, to promote the fascist anti-busing movement.

The experience of this struggle showed once again the tremendous revolutionary potential of the Afro-American people and of the movement against racial discrimination and violent repression. It was the anti-fascist mass movement that put the anti-busing movement on the skids in many places. Besides the resistance to the fascist mass movement in itself, there was also shown to be an extremely strong sentiment of the working masses for integrated education. All the demagoguery of the politicians to the contrary, it is because school integration by busing was accepted by the masses -- who were willing to fight to defend it -- that the courts keep altering, distorting and rescinding the busing plans. This struggle is by no means over, and, on the contrary, the capitalist state is increasing segregation in the schools and constantly trying to devise new methods to develop the fascist anti-busing movement.

There are still a number of other important theoretical questions concerning the Afro-American movement and the Afro-American national question that have to be solved. A number of organizations claim to have already solved these questions and have established a number of their own special sectarian principles to divide themselves from the other Marxist-Leninists on this question. The fascist anti-busing movement is consequently a great test for the Marxist-Leninist movement, in which one can see what the practical consequences are of the stands of the various trends. The results are sobering. One organization jumped into bed with the Klan, whimpering that the Klan was "hogarting (hogging -- ed.) the leadership" of the fascist movement. The OL, those Knights of the National Question, went into a cold sweat at the sight of a real fascist mass movement in Boston fighting with the anti-fascist resistance movement and implored the very government that was organizing the fascist anti-busing movement to have its police and troops protect the Afro-American people by enforcing the law. Sherman Miller of the OL Central Committee put it as follows: "What do you do when a fascist lynch mob is attacking the Blacks? Do you promote armed self-defense as the basic strategic line, while at the same time tactically taking advantage of contradictions in the enemy camp by demanding that the police break up the fascist gangs and provide effective legal protection?" (*Class Struggle*, 4-5, '76, p.16, italics as in the original). No liberal will hesitate! Instead of active resistance to fascism, Mr. Miller approved, at a time when the police and the courts themselves were attacking the people, "calling for the actual enforcement of equal rights for Blacks". Thus OL used the revisionist trick of justifying its capitulation by concocting a "contradiction" in the ruling class and then falling with relief into the arms of the state machine. Some other organizations issued loud calls, denounced everyone else for not having organized more in Boston, and then collapsed. Some strange theories were concocted. It was said by some that the struggle against racial discrimination was a diversion from the "real" struggle against educational cut-backs. Two had the youth and student movement of the 60's didn't have these worthless guidelines, since it enthusiastically fought racial discrimination

and violent repression, denounced the bourgeois educational system and its "quality" education, and still did not find itself diverted from the struggle against the U.S. imperialist war of aggression in Viet Nam and other revolutionary struggles. Thus, unable to apply a Marxist-Leninist analysis, a number of organizations were confused by the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of the government, and some, like OL, fell in behind the "liberals", while others noted that the "liberals" were in fact covertly attacking the Afro-American people with political deception, but drew from that the strange conclusion that they should openly attack the Afro-American people.

All this opposition to the actual struggle against the fascist anti-busing movement reveals that a number of organizations have never really grasped the nature and significance of the tremendous mass upsurge against racial discrimination and violent repression that swept the country with irresistible force in the 60's, like a hurricane of revolution, smashing everything that stood in its way and giving an immense moral impetus to the whole revolutionary movement. These organizations have forgotten a "trifle" -- the two decades of glorious revolutionary struggle by the Afro-American people since the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1956. This is amazing, but nonetheless it is true. The OL, for example, actually never comes out in support of the movement against racial discrimination and violent repression of the Afro-American people in either of its two "unity" calls. It is not part of the "principles of unity" in the November 1975 document "Marxist-Leninists Unite to Build the New Party" nor in the July 1976 "Declaration" of the Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Party. But, the naive may say in surprise, doesn't the OL stand for "full democratic rights for national minorities"? The OL version of "full democratic rights", which it intentionally leaves vague and unexplained in its "unity calls" so that it may mean all things to all people, is used to avoid giving explicit support to the struggle against racial discrimination and violent repression. Be that as it may, in the OL's first "unity" call in November 1975, the OL does NOT support "full democratic rights" for the Afro-American people. The second "unity" call is not much better. That call does not support "full democratic rights" for Afro-Americans living in the South, and only by implication at best (that is how little importance the OL gives to the matter), supports "full democratic rights" outside the South. (In reading the second "unity" call, remember the OL explicitly defines the Afro-American national minority as those Afro-Americans living "outside the deep South".) The OL refuses to talk about the struggle against racial discrimination and uses every subterfuge to avoid this question which has discredited U.S. imperialism in the eyes of millions upon millions of people around the world and which is so embarrassing to the boosters of American "democracy". And yet the OL has the gall to throw accusations right and left that anyone who doesn't support OL's special sectarian formulations on the "national question" is a "white chauvinist" or "racist". Can a greater mockery than this be found? To maintain a correct stand for the Afro-American people's movement is thus impossible without repudiating the concrete manifestations of revisionism, without maintaining a revolutionary attitude towards the state and rendering energetic support to all the revolutionary movements of the oppressed and down trodden masses. On this question, as on the other questions of political line, the repudiation of revisionism and opportunism is decisive. End.

#### OL'S "THREE WORLDS" THEORY

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noted surreptitiously by the Titoites and openly by British and U.S. imperialists from the early 1950's to undermine the national liberation movement. One of its first public promotions was at a conference of Asian Socialist Parties (the revisionist Second International) held in Burma in 1953 and attended by social-democratic parties of several former British colonies in Asia, by the Titoites and by the Israeli Zionists. Throughout this period, Tito himself was so well aware of the unpopularity of the term and concept of "Third World" or "third bloc" that he vociferously denied that he was organizing one, including in his speeches at the 1961 First Conference of Heads of State of Non-Aligned Countries. We have seen above how Chairman Mao in 1949 and the international communist movement in 1960 denounced the theory of a "third road" or "third force". Thus what the OL means about "popular usage" of this term in the 50's and 60's is the attempt to popularize it by the imperialists and the Titoites, an attempt forcefully denounced by Chairman Mao himself as well as the international communist movement. This kind of "popular usage" did not "reflect a rejection of the domination by the big powers and a search for unity among each other", as Barstain claims, but a capitulation to U.S. and British imperialism and a desire to split with the genuine national liberation movement, the proletariat and socialism.

At the Bandung Conference itself, cited by Barstain as an example of China's "support" for the "Three Worlds" concept, it was necessary for the Chinese delegation to oppose the "third force" line of the Titoites as it manifested itself there in order to uphold the conference's orientation of struggle against the colonial system of imperialism. There the Chinese delegation had to firmly oppose the attempts of some pro-imperialist elements to label the Soviet Union a colonial power and to isolate China in Asia. The attempt was defeated and the anti-imperialist orientation upheld as a result of the struggle of the Chinese delegation and the progressive forces. The attempt to isolate China in Asia was smashed.

As can be seen, it is quite impossible for the October League to turn Chairman Mao into a supporter of Titoite revisionism or of the Titoite "Three Worlds" theory. But in doing so, Barstain inseparably links

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the OL's "Three Worlds" theory to its Titoite predecessor, revealing that it is the OL social-chauvinists who have degenerated to the level of Titoite revisionism.

7. HOW THE THEORY OF "THIRD FORCE" AROSE

Burstein links OL's "Three Worlds" theory explicitly with the theory of "third force" as it was developed by Titoite revisionism after World War II. The Titoite clique, the special detachment of U.S. and British imperialism in the revolutionary movement at the time, advocated the theory of a "non-aligned", "non-bloc" "third force". During World War II the revisionist Tito, leader of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, developed the view that the socialist Soviet Union led by Stalin was an imperialist country, a theory promoted by Anglo-American imperialism under the notorious anti-communist slogan "red imperialism". Making no distinction between Marxism and imperialism, Tito capitulated to U.S. and British imperialism and became their agent in the international communist movement. The Titoites were exposed and expelled from the international communist movement by the Communist Information Bureau led by Stalin in 1948, but they continued to spread their poison within the international workers' movement and the national liberation movement.

The strengthening of the socialist Soviet Union and the victories of socialism in the eastern European Peoples Democracies, together with the victory of the Chinese Revolution created the socialist camp in the form it existed for a period between the end of the War and the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R. by the Khrushchevite revisionists. The powerful socialist camp exerted a tremendous inspirational and attractive effect on the national liberation movement. The Peoples Democracies were liberated from imperialism and, together with the Soviet Union, practiced socialist international relations of equality and mutual aid. At the same time, and encouraged by this influence, the revolutionary national liberation movement surged forward in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The colonial system of imperialism was disintegrating under the blows of the liberation struggles. The great Chinese Revolution, which continued right on to socialism, like a beacon lighted up the path of new-democratic revolution for the oppressed nations. Anti-imperialist unity developed on an unprecedented scale between the socialist countries, world proletariat and the national liberation movement, including the newly-independent states. To sabotage this developing unity, the Titoite revisionists put forth the slogans of "non-bloc" and "non-alignment" and portrayed the socialist camp as an aggressive military alliance identical in nature to the Anglo-American imperialist bloc.

This Titoite theory aimed at diverting the national liberation movement away from its natural allies and liquidating it by hitching its wagon to U.S. imperialism, underwriting the world revolution. At this time "non-bloc" and "non-aligned" were the terms used by the Titoites, but the British and U.S. imperialists openly despised the theory as a "third force" and a "third world". Tito's denials that he was creating an anti-socialist "third bloc" were unable to hide what the imperialists openly admitted creating. Under either name, the essence was the same. The "non-aligned" or "third force" concept was meant to indicate that the newly-independent states of Asia, Africa and Latin America constituted a new "world" that was neither capitalist nor socialist, a bloc of states "independent" of imperialism but also detached from the proletariat and the socialist camp. Under this "new" the oppressed peoples were to be "protected" from western imperialism and so-called "red imperialism" alike. Thus the "non-aligned", "third force" concept of the Titoites attempted to seize upon the winning of formal political independence by many former colonies to split the national liberation movement from socialism in order to liquidate the forward motion of the national liberation movement. The intention was to hold the oppressed nations under the control of U.S. and western neo-colonialism and undermine the world revolution.

In 1961 the First Conference of Heads of State of Non-Aligned Countries took place. The pro-imperialist Titoites hosted the conference while socialist China and other socialist countries were excluded. Under Tito's influence, this conference condemned the two blocs in the same terms. This weakened the unity of the national liberation movement with socialism and the world proletariat. This activity of the Titoites served U.S. and British imperialism in a big way.

Tito's activities were sharply denounced in the historic anti-revisionist speech given by Comrade Khrushchev at the 1960 Moscow Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers Parties.

We are living at a time when we are witnessing the total destruction of colonialism, the elimination of this plague that wiped peoples from the face of the earth. New states are springing up in Africa and Asia. The states where capital, the scourge, and the hated reign of supreme, are putting an end to the yoke of bondage, and the people are taking their destiny into their own hands. This has been achieved thanks to the struggle of these people and the moral support given them by the Soviet Union, Peoples' China, and the other countries of the socialist camp.

Threats to Marxism-Leninism, agents of imperialism and traitors like Josip Broz Tito, try in a thousand ways, by hatching up diabolic schemes like the creation of a third force, to mislead these people and the newly-set up states, to detach them from their natural allies, to hitch them up to U.S. imperialism. We should exert all our efforts to defeat the schemes of these lackeys of imperialism. The Statement of 81 Communist and Workers Parties issued by the meeting, as the programmatic document of the international communist movement stated:

The Yugoslav revisionist party, an aggressive work against the socialist camp and the world Com-

unist movement. Under the pretext of an extra-bloc policy, they engage in activities which prejudice the unity of all the peace-loving forces and countries.

This is the origin of the Titoite theory of a "non-aligned" "third force". And this is how it was condemned by the international communist movement.

As we have seen, Burstein explicitly links OL's "Three Worlds" theory to the Titoite theory of the post-War period. This open confession of kinship is quite revealing. Using the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and nearly all the eastern European Peoples Democracies and the emergence of social-imperialism as an excuse, the OL refurbished the Titoite theory, bringing it up to date while trying to make their version appear different from Titoism. In appearance, "red imperialism" is dropped and the OL's theory seems to mean "non-aligned" or "independent" of either imperialist superpower. But, as before, no distinction is made between Marxism and imperialism. Using the pretext of the destruction of the socialist camp in its post-War form, this theory negates socialism altogether. Socialist China and Albania are converted into members of the "Third" or "Second World" as if they were bourgeois states. In the place of an alliance with socialism, the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America, under the banner of "non-alignment", are to be aligned with the reactionary monopoly bourgeoisie in Europe and are to be ruled by the reactionary bourgeoisie of the "Third World". These elements are to be called "anti-hegemonist" and "anti-imperialist", even though most of them are closely linked politically, economically and militarily with U.S. imperialism. The "fire" of the world's people is to be aimed mainly at Russia, which is the "more aggressive" superpower.

Thus both the OL's "Three Worlds" theory and Titoite revisionism's "third force" theory advocate the detachment of the national liberation movement from its genuine natural allies and from the path of genuine liberation and socialism. They both paint a dream world of a "bloc" of states "non-aligned" or "independent" of both socialism and imperialism, an impossibility in our era, an era in which two basic forces, imperialism and the proletarian revolution, are in life-and-death struggle. In this way, the OL's "Three Worlds" concept tries to split the national liberation movement from socialism and liquidate it by tying it to imperialism. In addition, as we have seen, it opposes socialism and the proletariat and advocates an alliance with U.S. imperialism against Soviet social-imperialism and thus hands the world over to the bourgeoisie. Truly, Messrs. Burstein, Klonosky and co. are worthy heirs to the revisionist renegade Tito!

8. THE OL'S "THREE WORLDS" THEORY OPPOSES CHAIRMAN MAO'S THEORY OF NEW-DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

Burstein declares the OL to be supporters of Chairman Mao's theory of new-democratic revolution. He praises the work "On New Democracy" in which Chairman Mao developed the Marxist-Leninist line on the nature and role of the national liberation movement in our epoch. Burstein even calls Chairman Mao's theory on this subject "perhaps the most crucial factor in Chairman Mao's concept of three worlds" and says that "his writings on this subject... have had a far-reaching impact on the development of the third world movement as well as the Marxist-Leninist forces throughout the world." But here the October League is slapping itself in the face. Chairman Mao's works have indeed had a most "far-reaching impact", but not the sort of impact Burstein thinks. Chairman Mao's theory of new-democratic revolution is the diametrical opposite of the "Three Worlds" theory. It, and not the opportunist "Three Worlds" concept, has laid out the common path for the national liberation movement of the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Chairman Mao based his theory firmly on Leninism. According to Chairman Mao, the national democratic revolutionary movement, or the national liberation movement, and the socialist revolutionary movement are the two great historical currents of our time. In our era the national liberation movement has become an integral part of the world proletarian socialist revolution. At present, the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are the storm centers of the world revolution. They are pounding and undermining the rule of imperialism and social-imperialism and are a mighty force opposing the launching of a new world war by the superpowers. The national liberation movement cannot be detached from the proletarian revolution as Tito and other revisionists try to do. The genuine socialist countries and the world proletarian movement are the faithful and true allies of the national liberation movement, while imperialism and the world capitalist system cannot tolerate it. In order for the national democratic revolutionary movement to win through victory, it must ally itself externally with the lands of socialism and the world proletariat; internally, it must come under the leadership of a proletarian revolutionary party. This revolution is a democratic revolution of a new type, led by the proletariat and comprising part of the forces of the world proletarian socialist revolution; it passes through the stages of new-democratic revolution led by the proletariat, in which imperialism, feudalism and the sell-out bourgeoisie are overthrown, and the stage of proletarian socialist revolution, in which the entire bourgeoisie is overthrown and the soil for its regeneration eliminated, in order to achieve communism.

But the "Three Worlds" concept denies Chairman Mao's theory. It attempts to detach the national liberation movement from socialism and from proletarian leadership. It creates the illusion that thorough-going independence and democracy can be won (and largely has been won) without a new-democratic revolution. It detaches the liberation movement from socialism and the international proletariat. It spreads the illusion that independence and democracy can be won on the basis of the creation of a group of states under bourgeois or feudal rule "non-aligned" with either imperialism or socialism, a "Third World" independent

of the superpowers and socialism. Thus the "Three Worlds" theory attempts to split the two great historical currents, national liberation and socialist revolution, from each other in hopes of liquidating both and the world revolution. At the same time, it minimizes the danger of imperialism, which maintains its hold on its former colonies in a thousand ways. Thus the basic question posed by the "Three Worlds" theory for the revolutionary movement is: can there be a "Third World" independent of both imperialism and socialism, or is this a deception aimed at liquidating the revolutionary forces?

In the following three sections of this article we present: 1. Chairman Mao's theory that the new-democratic revolution is part of the world proletarian socialist revolution; 2. how the October League conceals a "new stage" of the national liberation movement, a stage consisting solely of economic tasks, in an attempt to liquidate it completely; and 3. how the OL apologizes for the neo-colonial elements tied to imperialism under the banner that "the entire third world is objectively progressive".

9. THE NEW-DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION IS PART OF THE WORLD PROLETARIAN SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Chairman Mao's theory of new-democratic revolution categorically denies the possibility of a "Third World" or a "third road" independent of imperialism and socialism in the present era, the era of world proletarian socialist revolution. In 1939, in his classic work "On New Democracy" he wrote:

In this era, any revolution in a colony or semi-colony that is directed against imperialism, i.e., against the international bourgeoisie or international capitalism, no longer comes within the old category of the bourgeois-democratic world revolution, but within the new category. It is no longer part of the old bourgeois, or capitalist, world revolution, but is part of the new world revolution, the proletarian-socialist world revolution. Such revolutionary colonies and semi-colonies can no longer be regarded as allies of the counter-revolutionary front of world capitalism; they have become allies of the revolutionary front of world socialism.

Although such a revolution in a colonial and semi-colonial country is still fundamentally bourgeois-democratic in its social character during its first stage or first step, and although its objective mission is to clear the path for capitalism, it is no longer a revolution of the old type led by the bourgeoisie with the aim of establishing a capitalist society and a state under bourgeois dictatorship. It belongs to the new type of revolution led by the proletariat with the aim, in the first stage, of establishing a new-democratic society and a state under the joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes. This revolution actually serves the purpose of clearing a still wider path for the development of socialism.

Explicitly pointing out that a "third", independent capitalist, road is impossible, he added:

What about the road to a capitalist society under bourgeois dictatorship?

Judging by the international situation, that road is blocked. In its fundamentals the present international situation is one of a struggle between capitalism and socialism, in which capitalism is on the downgrade and socialism on the upgrade... this is the period of the final struggle of dying imperialism -- imperialism is "moribund capitalism". But just because it is dying, it is all the more dependent on colonies and semi-colonies for survival and will certainly not allow any colony or semi-colony to establish anything like a capitalist society under the dictatorship of its own bourgeoisie.

Further, in this work Chairman Mao quoted from Stalin's article "The October Revolution and the National Question" written in 1918:

The great world-wide significance of the October Revolution chiefly consists in the fact that:

- 1) It has widened the scope of the national question and converted it from the particular question of combating national oppression in Europe into the general question of emancipating the oppressed peoples, colonies and semi-colonies from imperialism;
- 2) It has opened up wide possibilities for their emancipation and the right paths towards it, has thereby greatly facilitated the cause of the emancipation of the oppressed peoples of the West and the East, and has drawn them into the common current of the victorious struggle against imperialism;
- 3) It has thereby created a bridge between the socialist West and the enslaved East, having created a new bond of revolutions against world imperialism, extending from the proletarians of the West, through the Russian Revolution, to the oppressed peoples of the East.

Thus the OL's little trick of equating the opportunist "Three Worlds" concept with Chairman Mao's theory of new-democratic revolution is a fraud. Nothing can erase the fact that Chairman Mao felt that in the present era the national liberation movement is an inseparable part of the world proletarian socialist revolution. Thus the OL leaders are not supporters of Chairman Mao's line on the national liberation movement. The line which guides this movement on a world scale, but are its opponents and, consequently, are opponents of the national liberation movement.

10. THE OL LIQUIDATES THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT BY HOLDING THAT ITS POLITICAL TASKS ARE FINISHED AND ONLY ECONOMIC TASKS REMAIN

In accordance with their opposition to Chairman Mao's theory of new-democratic revolution, in the general nature of the national liberation movement and its role in the world revolution, the OL leaders have concocted a "new stage" for that movement, a "stage" which denies that the movement still faces political tasks and thus, again, negates the movement altogether. This "new stage" is an important part of the theory of "Three Worlds". Burstein writes:

new won formal independence through brave armed struggle and dedication to the cause of liberation, today they all still face the task of winning their economic independence by combating the continued neo-colonial influence and domination of imperialism.

Chairman Mao paid the closest attention to the great armed liberation struggles of Indochina, Africa and the Middle East. China gave these struggles every possible support. He also took a keen interest in the attempts by the already independent countries to unite and throw off the shackles of imperialist domination in their economies, such as the movement of the OPEC countries or the demand for the 200-mile fishing limit off coastal waters.

Thus, with the exception of some openly colonial questions like Israeli Zionism, southern Africa and formerly Indochina, the OL leaders believe that throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America complete political independence has been won, the political tasks of the national liberation movement (and the armed struggle) are finished, and all that remains is the task of establishing economic independence and carrying out economic development. "Neo-colonial influence" is restricted to an economic question. For example, the movement for economic decolonization is now surging forward in Asia, Africa and Latin America. But the OL creates the illusion that this movement can go on without facing the frenzied political, military, economic and cultural aggression from the superpowers and without struggle against it.

This is an eclectic revisionist theory, an apology for neo-colonialism. In fact, politics is the concentrated expression of economics. Imperialism continues to control the economic lifelines of nearly all the newly-independent states. This necessarily means that their state is either wholly or partially controlled by imperialism. Hence the national liberation struggle in the political sphere is not finished in the majority of these countries. It can only be finished when the country has completed the new-democratic revolution led by the proletariat, overthrown imperialism and feudalism, and is embarking on the socialist revolution. And even then the question of carrying through the revolution to the end is primarily political. In the latter 60's and early 70's, the Khrushchevite revisionists came up with the same theory as the OL is presenting today. The Communist Party of China denounced it as follows:

The leaders of the CPSU have also created the theory that the national liberation movement has entered upon a "new stage" having economic tasks as its core. Their argument is that, whereas "formerly, the struggle was carried on mainly in the political sphere"; today the economic question has become the "central task" and "the basic link in the further development of the revolution."

The national liberation movement has entered a new stage. But this is by no means the kind of "new stage" described by the leadership of the CPSU. In the new stage, the level of political consciousness of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples has risen higher than ever and the revolutionary movement is surging forward with unprecedented intensity. They urgently demand the thorough elimination of the forces of imperialism and its lackeys in their own countries and strive for complete political and economic independence. The primary and most urgent task facing these countries is still the further development of the struggle against imperialism, old and new colonialism, and their lackeys. This struggle is still being waged fiercely in the political, economic, military, cultural, ideological and other spheres. And the struggles in all these spheres still find their most concentrated expression in political struggle, which often unavoidably develops into armed struggle, when the imperialists resort to direct or indirect armed aggression. It is important for the newly-independent countries to develop their independent economy. But this task must never be separated from the struggle against imperialism, old and new colonialism, and their lackeys.

Like "the disappearance of colonialism", this theory of a "new stage" advocated by the leaders of the CPSU is clearly intended to whitewash the aggression against and plunder of Asia, Africa and Latin America by neo-colonialism as represented by the United States, to cover up the sharp contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations and to paralyze the revolutionary struggle of the people of these continents.

According to this theory of theirs, the fight against imperialism, old and new colonialism, and their lackeys is, of course, no longer necessary, for colonialism is disappearing and economic development has become the central task of the national liberation movement. Does it not follow that the national liberation movement can be done away with altogether? Therefore, the kind of "new stage" described by the leaders of the CPSU, in which economic tasks are in the center of the picture, is clearly nothing but one of no opposition to imperialism, old and new colonialism, and their lackeys, a stage in which the national liberation movement is no longer desired. ("Apologists of Neo-Colonialism", Peking, 1968).

With the "Three Worlds" thesis, the OL, thus, has concocted a smaller "new stage" with economic tasks as its core, hardly different from the Khrushchevite "new stage". With this thesis, the OL, too, is trying to undermine the struggle of the people of the newly independent states by whitewashing the neo-colonialism of U.S. imperialism, the biggest neo-colonial power in the world. To the OL leaders, like the Khrushchevite revisionists, the national liberation movement really "is no longer desired". They are the apologists of neo-colonialism in the U.S., a role befitting their great-power chauvinist nature since the national liberation movement is directed, in large part, against "their own" bourgeoisie.

The OL's "new stage" is nothing but a re-hash of the Khrushchevite theory of productive forces, and is utopian to boot. We have seen how Chairman Mao showed that the path of developing an independent capitalist state under bourgeois dictatorship is

blocked by imperialism, which will sooner or later turn a country attempting it into a neo-colony. To claim that this path is open is to advocate a path which leads to capitulation to neo-colonialism and imperialism and liquidation of the national liberation movement. Lenin warned against such deception at the Second Congress of the Communist International, speaking of: "... the need constantly to explain and expose among the broadest masses of the toilers of all countries, and particularly of the backward countries, the deception systematically practiced by the imperialist powers in creating, under the guise of politically independent states, states which are wholly dependent upon them economically, financially and militarily; under modern international conditions there is no salvation for dependent and weak nations except in a union of Soviet republics. ("Preliminary Draft of Theses on the National and Colonial Questions") To ignore this question, to detach politics from economics as the OL leaders do, is to apologize for neo-colonialism. This is a further exposure of how the OL's "Three Worlds" theory opposes the national liberation movement against imperialism, social-imperialism and their lackeys.

#### 11. THE OL APOLOGIZES FOR NEO-COLONIALISM BY MAKING NO DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES AND NEO-COLONIALIST FORCES IN ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA

The theory of "Three Worlds" also opposes Chairman Mao's theory of new-democratic revolution by mystifying the question of the "real friends" and "real enemies" of the oppressed nations, the very question the OL claimed that it solved. It does this by ignoring the class criterion in assessing political forces. Consequently it includes within the camp of the people the reactionary bourgeoisie and feudal landlords of these countries, who are tied to imperialism. This runs directly counter to the desires of the millions of oppressed and exploited workers and peasants and other patriotic, anti-feudal sections of the population, against the sincere aspirations for liberation of all who stand for unity against imperialism and particularly the superpowers.

According to Burstein, the "Third World" countries have taken "consistent steps" against the superpowers and "the movement of the entire third world was (is) objectively progressive." He says:

Although class and national differences still exist throughout the third world, the main trend is towards unity against the superpowers. Even though most third world countries are ruled by their national bourgeoisie or even feudal elements, the thrust of the third world struggle is profoundly revolutionary and deserving of the support of the communists in every country.

Here we can see that with its "Three Worlds" theory the OL is playing upon the sincere desire of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to unite against imperialism and social-imperialism, and upon the sincere desire of the proletariat and oppressed people of the U.S. to support the national liberation struggles, in order to promote a theory which hides the existence of neo-colonialism, the mobilization by imperialism of elements in the former colonies who oppose unity and the struggle for liberation. According to the OL, if you want to support the great present-day upsurge of the liberation movement you must also support the reactionary elements in these countries who do the dirty work of imperialism and split and wreck the revolution. Thus the OL's protestations that it is for "unity" are contrary to the truth. That is the meaning of the OL's words about the "entire third world" being "objectively progressive". As for its words "the third world struggle is profoundly revolutionary", the OL wants to substitute the concept "third world struggle" for the concept of the national liberation movement, a movement which includes all the just struggles in these regions against imperialism but which fights against the elements of compromise and betrayal. The purpose of this statement is the same as the first: to hide the internal enemies of the liberation movement under a glowing picture in which everyone, no matter who, is painted in liberation colors, a picture which hides the reactionary splitters behind the false cloak of "unity".

Comrade Enver Hoxha, in his Report to the Seventh Congress of the PLA, denounced this deception as follows:

The slogan of "non-aligned countries" gives the false impression that a group of states which have the possibility of "opposing" the superpower blocs is being created. It gives the impression that these countries, all of them, without exception, are anti-imperialist, opposed to war, opposed to the dictate of others, that they are "democratic", and even "socialist". This helps to strengthen the pseudo-democratic and anti-popular positions of the leading groups of some states which participate among the "non-aligned" and creates the impression among the peoples of these countries that when their chiefs establish or dissolve relations, of any kind and nature, with the imperialists and the social-imperialists, openly or in secret, they do this not only in the capacity of "popular governments", but also in the capacity of a group of states "with which even the superpowers must reckon".

Thus the "Three Worlds" theory not only covers up the neo-colonialist elements but also disarms the peoples by creating the impression that the "consistent steps" of the "objectively progressive" "entire third world" can curb or eliminate the aggressive activities of imperialism and social-imperialism. But according to Leninism, according to Chairman Mao's theory of new-democratic revolution, colonial and semi-colonial society is not "objectively progressive" in its entirety but contains reactionary as well as progressive elements. The "Three Worlds" theory denies the fact that imperialism creates a base for itself inside colonial and semi-colonial countries. This base generally includes such classes as the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and the feudal landlords. For example, the landlord class is part of the internal basis in Indian society for the domination of

imperialism and social-imperialism. But the OL's "Three Worlds" theory lumps together these elements with the genuinely progressive elements and calls them all "objectively progressive" in order to shelter the reactionaries. This theory even negates the vacillating character of the national bourgeoisie, which is at best a temporary and unstable ally of the proletariat, as well as painting all sorts of big bourgeois as national bourgeois. Any revolutionary in such a country who makes the mistake of relying on the OL's "Three Worlds" analysis will sooner or later have his own head served to him on a platter. Relying on the exploited masses of workers and peasants, the revolutionaries of each country must make a concrete class analysis of the stands of the different forces towards imperialism and towards their own people in order to determine who are the real friends and who are the real enemies of the revolution. Lumping together friend and traitor as "objectively progressive" simply will not do. Further, according to Chairman Mao, the struggle against imperialism only becomes truly "consistent" and resolute and only leads to victory when led by the proletariat and in alliance with the world proletariat and socialism. The OL's "Three Worlds" theory opposes these conditions and thereby betrays the aspirations and undermines the struggles of the oppressed nations for full independence and democracy.

OL Chairman Mike Klonsky expressed the OL's apology for neo-colonialist elements and imperialism more explicitly than Burstein in an interview published in *The Call* June 7, 1976. Speaking of the relationship between the class struggle inside the "Third World" and "Second World" countries and the struggle against the superpowers, he said:

On this complex question we should always keep in mind who the principal enemies of the world's people are -- the two superpowers -- and not raise the contradictions with lesser enemies to the level of the principal contradiction.

This is a formula of straight-forward surrender of the national democratic revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America to its internal enemies and thereby to imperialism. In the majority of the countries in these regions, since the smashing of the bulk of the old colonial system, imperialism and social-imperialism have been compelled to carry on their aggression and plunder not by war and direct domination most of the time, but by indirect means, by neo-colonialism. Here the instruments of imperialism are the reactionary bourgeoisie and landlords. Hence the revolution is directed against them. But according to Klonsky, the masses should not struggle against the internal enemies and should certainly not resort to civil war as they are doing in India, Thailand, the Philippines, Colombia, the Congo (Kinshasa) and elsewhere because that would be to commit the sin of "rais(ing) the contradictions with lesser enemies to the level of the principal contradiction". ... Chairman Mao, whom the OL leaders so feebly try to claim as their authority, is the author of the best exposure of Klonsky's class-capitulationist thesis on how to wage a "profoundly revolutionary" "third world struggle". He wrote in "On Contradiction":

When imperialism launches a war of aggression against such a country, all its various classes, except for some traitors, can temporarily unite in a national war against imperialism. At such a time, the contradiction between imperialism and the country concerned becomes the principal contradiction, while all the contradictions among the various classes within the country (including what was the principal contradiction, between the feudal system and the great masses of the people) are temporarily relegated to a secondary and subordinate position. ...

But in another situation, the contradictions change position. When imperialism carries on its oppression not by war, but by milder means -- political, economic and cultural -- the ruling classes in semi-colonial countries capitulate to imperialism, and the two form an alliance for the joint oppression of the masses of the people. At such a time, the masses often resort to civil war against the alliance of imperialism and the feudal classes, while imperialism often employs indirect methods rather than direct action in helping the reactionaries in the semi-colonial countries to oppress the people, and thus the internal contradictions become particularly sharp.

When a revolutionary civil war develops to the point of threatening the very existence of imperialism and its running dogs, the domestic reactionaries, imperialism often adopts other methods in order to maintain its rule; it either tries to split the revolutionary front from within or sends armed forces to help the domestic reactionaries directly. At such a time, foreign imperialism and domestic reaction stand quite openly at one pole while the masses of the people stand at the other pole, thus forming the principal contradiction, which determines or influences the development of the other contradictions.

If the Chinese people had followed Klonsky's line between 1927 and 1937, for example, they would have capitulated to Chiang Kai-shek and failed to wage the Second Revolutionary Civil War. And if they had followed this line between 1945 and 1949, they would never have liberated China!

The OL, in Burstein's article, even claims that the way to support the Marxist-Leninist communists of Asia, Africa and Latin America is to support the reactionary bourgeoisie under the "Third World" banner:

As a result, in supporting the general struggle of the third world, we are lending support, first of all, to these revolutionary fighters. Thus, for example, the way to support the Communist Party of the Philippines is to applaud the enemy of the Filipino people, the U.S. puppet Marcos!

In order to hide the tracks of their apology for neo-colonialism, the OL leaders employ still more political blackmail, in a most despicable way. Burstein writes:

The conception of the third world and China's actions in support of its struggles were also telling blows to the social-imperialists and modern re-

visionists. Throughout the world, the social-imperialists call themselves the "natural ally" of the third world but, in fact, seek to weaken and destroy its developing unity, carrying out the old imperialist policy of divide-and-conquer. One of their chief methods for doing this is to split the third world countries into two "camps", pinning the "progressive" label on those more favorable to the USSR, and "reactionary" on those less favorable or opposed to the USSR. The revisionists, Trotskyists and other opportunists in the U.S. communist movement have served the same purpose with their attacks on the third world.

So, if you criticize the "Three Worlds" theory, if you support unity of the liberation movement on a revolutionary anti-imperialist basis and oppose the attempts of imperialism, social-imperialism and their lackeys to split and liquidate the movement, you are painted with the same brush as the Soviet social-imperialists, as splitters and enemies of the liberation movement! This is really turning truth on its head. How ironic! The OL is really for the genuine unity of the liberation movement -- the OL which promotes the elements who capitulate to U.S. imperialism, who oppose resolute national liberation struggle, oppose the proletariat and socialism. How "different" this OL is from the Soviet social-imperialists who promote those cliques who do the same thing while tying themselves to the Soviet Union. ... The real question here is: what is the basis of unity between the U.S. proletariat and the peoples of the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America? Is it to support U.S. imperialism and its neo-colonial lackeys in "opposition" to the Russian devils, as the OL believes? Is it to support Russia and its lackeys in "opposition" to the American devils, as the New Tsars and their revisionist agents claim? The Marxist-Leninists and all revolutionary people will not fall into either trap; we hold that the basis of unity is revolution against the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie, the Soviet social-imperialist bourgeoisie, and the reactionaries who are in league with them. For real unity, the American proletariat must fight and overthrow the U.S. monopoly capitalist class, "its own" bourgeoisie, the hangman of the oppressed nations and peoples. The OL's apology for neo-colonialism liquidates this task, the proletarian internationalist task of the U.S. proletariat by calling for the U.S. proletariat to support the aggressive activities of "its own" imperialist government against the people of the world. The despicable political blackmail of the OL social-chauvinists cannot hide this fact. We of the COUSML are positive that the U.S. working class and all revolutionary people will not fall prey to the October League's social-chauvinist trap but will fulfill their proletarian internationalist duty to the world's people with honor. And, in turn, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America will not tolerate the insult of OL's support for U.S. imperialism and the neo-colonial traitors to their peoples, but will fight on gloriously to victory. End.

(To be continued)

#### DESPERATE FRAME-UP

Continued from page 9

enemy of the people of the world or they have aligned themselves with U.S. imperialism under the slogan that Soviet social-imperialism has become the most ferocious enemy of the people of the world. The leader of the first line is William Kashtan and his "Communist" Party. And the leader of the second thesis is Jack Scott and his various admirers. The two opportunist trends completely distort the international situation and capitulate to the state. According to the opportunists of the William Kashtan type, the Soviet Union is not social-imperialist and the world "socialist" system of states makes up the decisive force in world revolution. The other brand of opportunists pay lip-service to the fact that capitalism has been restored in the Soviet Union and that the Soviet Union is social-imperialist and that the socialist camp that existed for a period after the Second World War no longer exists. But their opportunism is fully exposed when they extend the fact of the disintegration of the socialist camp the way it existed for the short period after the Second World War to saying that the socialist camp no longer exists at all and denying that the world has been divided into two irreconcilable and antagonistic camps of labour and capital since the Great October Revolution. They have taken up the line of Titoite revisionism, that two big powers emerged after the Second World War and that nations which are in between the two big powers should take up non-alignment. Under the slogan of non-alignment, Titoite revisionism served the global aims of U.S. imperialism. Tito made no distinction between Marxism and imperialism and slandered the Soviet Union under the leadership of Comrade Stalin as an "imperialist" power. The same analysis has now been picked up by these opportunists. These opportunists propose that there is no world of socialism and of revolution. According to them either there is the world of the two superpowers or the world of the lesser imperialist powers or the world of the reactionary bourgeoisie of Asia, Africa and Latin America which, according to them, has become the motive force of world revolution against the two superpowers. Thus the two opportunist trends are both committed to the global aims of either one superpower or the other and they are capitulating to the base of the two superpowers in their own countries, to the reactionary bourgeoisie. This opportunism of today, as the past opportunism of the time of Lenin and Stalin, is the life-insurance and ally of the reactionary bourgeoisie. The two superpowers use it to spread rumours and cause ideological and political confusion in order to disarm the people and make them easy prey for the two superpowers and world reaction.

Life-experience of the past nine years and more in Canada has shown that not only do the opportunists cause maximum ideological and political confusion but they also try their utmost to justify the reactionary attacks of the state on the people. Thus their nefarious slogans: "CPC(M-L) provokes police", "There is bourgeois democracy in Canada", "CPC(M-L) is CIA", etc., etc.

The frame-up of Comrade Hardial Bains and the attack on the Party is an act of utter desperation on the part of the Canadian state. Its dismal failure in subverting the Marxist-Leninist communist movement through opportunism has led it to launch this direct attack. It is bound to fail in this reactionary effort as well.

While opposing the attacks of the state on the Party and Comrade Bains, progressive and democratic people should also keep in mind the enemies hidden within the Marxist-Leninist communist movement. These enemies must be weeded out from the ranks of the people if we are to succeed in this struggle. PCND calls upon all our comrades and friends and other progressive and democratic people to firmly oppose the opportunists of all hues in the course of resisting the attacks of the Canadian state. Vigorously carry out the struggle against the reactionary state to the end!

DOWN WITH THE CANADIAN STATE FOR ITS ATTACKS ON COMRADE HARDIAL BAINS AND THE PARTY!

DOWN WITH OPPORTUNISM OF ALL HUES WHICH IS THE TROJAN HORSE OF THE CANADIAN STATE AGAINST THE PEOPLE! End.

CANADIAN PEOPLE'S DEFENCE COMMITTEE  
Continued from page 9

and over 25 have been deported, all because they supported the Party. Several bookshops have also been burned and vandalized over the years.

Several individuals got together on February 27, 1977, and agreed to form an Organizing Committee to found the Canadian People's (Citizens' and Residents') Defence Committee. The main aim of this committee will be to mobilize public opinion and launch nationwide campaigns against the political persecution of citizens and residents by the Canadian state.

This organizing committee has called for a conference to found the Canadian People's Defence Committee for May 4, 1977. All progressive and democratic organizations and individuals, all mass organizations of workers, students, professionals and of the national minorities and all those who are against the political persecution by the state are called upon to give support for the founding of this committee and to participate in the conference. More detailed programmes for this committee will be issued on March 19, 1977, when Comrade Hardial Bains, one of the persecuted individuals and a member of the organizing committee will give a press conference at the following address:

City Hall, Toronto  
Time: 11:30 AM

A genuinely democratic state can only be established by the efforts of the majority of the Canadian people. The present state is the state of the minority and of foreign money-bags, especially of the U.S. It suppresses the genuinely patriotic elements while it provides every kind of facility to the foreign imperialists. A genuinely democratic state will vigorously mobilize the people against foreign imperialists and will suppress their agents in the country. That democratic state can only be established out of long-range struggle. The political persecution of the people can only be ended with the establishment of this state.

The establishment of this Canadian People's (Citizens' and Residents') Defence Committee is a small step towards building the new state. But it is an important and necessary step. We call upon all progressive and democratic people to vigorously support the work of this committee.

Issued by D. Wahlsten,  
Acting Chairman,  
Organizing Committee,  
Canadian People's (Citizens' and Residents')  
Defence Committee

12:30 PM, February 23, 1977

For further information, Write to:  
D. Wahlsten,  
P.O. Box 2305,  
Station 'B',  
Kitchener, Ont.

PCND vigorously supports the work of this Organizing Committee and has sent the following telegram to the Organizing Committee:

"Comrades of the Organizing Committee of the Canadian People's (Citizens' and Residents') Defence Committee: Please accept our full support for your work. We warmly congratulate you for taking this initiative. Down with the political persecution of the Canadian people! Down with the Canadian state for attacking CPC (M-L) and Comrade Hardial Bains! A genuine democratic state will certainly be established! The sell-out and reactionary state will be overthrown!

We call upon all our readers in Canada and elsewhere to send letters, telegrams and resolutions denouncing the state attack on the Party and Comrade Bains and in support of the work of the Organizing Committee to found Canadian People's (Citizens' and Residents') Defence Committee.

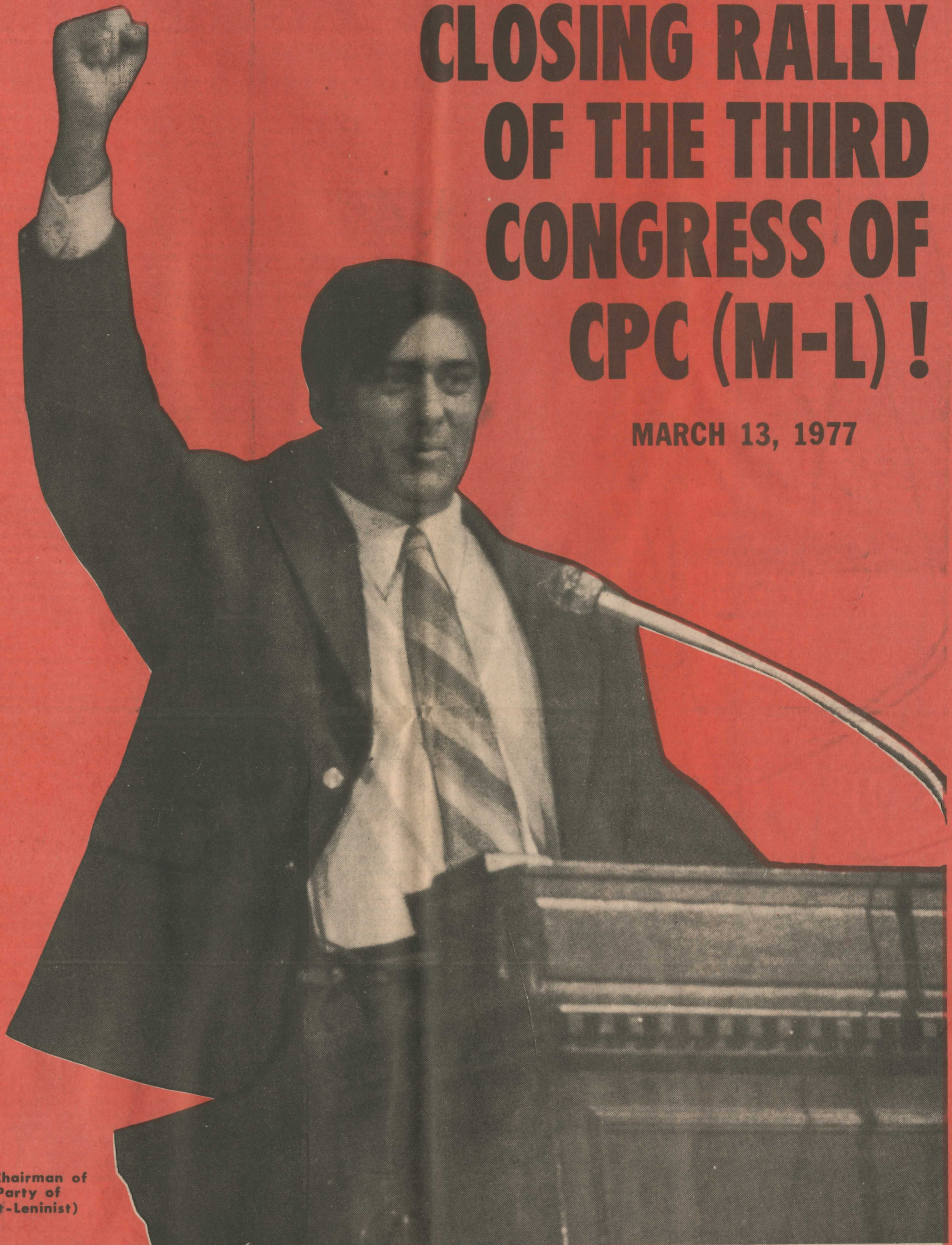
DOWN WITH THE STATE ATTACKS ON THE PARTY AND COMRADE BAINS!

LONG LIVE THE WORK OF THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE TO FOUND CANADIAN PEOPLE'S (CITIZENS' AND RESIDENTS') DEFENCE COMMITTEE!

End.

# CLOSING RALLY OF THE THIRD CONGRESS OF CPC (M-L)!

MARCH 13, 1977



Hardial Bains, Chairman of  
the Communist Party of  
Canada (Marxist-Leninist)

## MASS RALLY AT THE CLOSING OF THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA (MARXIST-LENINIST)

Programme:

- Public statement from the 3rd Congress
- Speakers from the 3rd Central Committee of CPC(M-L)
- Guest Speakers
- Films from Albania and Cambodia
- Revolutionary cultural programme and food

MARCH 13, 1977 11:00 AM

Mount Royal Room, Bonaventure Hotel  
1 Place Bonaventure, Montreal

Entrance and elevator, corner of La Gauchetière and Mansfield  
Floor: Mart F  
Bonaventure Metro Station

All Friends and Supporters of CPC(M-L) are Welcome