

1991
A 7

UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES LIBRARY
FILIPINIANA SECTION

3-12-92
LIB

REBOLUSYON

Theoretical and Political Journal
of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of the Philippines

**ON THE CONDUCT AND OUTCOME
OF THE 1992 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS**

**WHY THE ARMED
REVOLUTION CONTINUES**

**CPP THESES
FOR THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
OF MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES
AND ORGANIZATIONS**

**Number 3
Series 1992
July-September**

Number 3
Series 1992
July-September

CONTENTS

On the Conduct and Outcome of the 1992 Presidential Elections	1
Why the CPP, NPA and NDF Continue the Armed Revolution	11
Theses of the Communist Party for the International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations	15
General Resolution	29
Resolution on Building a Democratically Organized Worker Society	37

Articles and communications may be sent directly to the Editorial Board of *Rebolusyon* or coursed through any organ or unit of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

Published by the Central Publishing House, Luzon, Philippines

ON THE CONDUCT AND OUTCOME OF THE 1992 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

By Armando Liwanag
Chairman, Central Committee
Communist Party of the Philippines
June 1, 1992

By the conduct and outcome of the 1992 presidential elections in the Philippines, it is once more proven that elections staged and controlled by the regime of the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class cannot be a democratic process and cannot be the way for the people to solve the basic problems of imperialist, feudal and bureaucrat capitalist domination. The 1992 elections are among the most fraudulent in the history of Philippine elections.

It is correct for the Communist Party of the Philippines to consider such elections as farcical and antidemocratic while at the same time it does not put any obstacle to legal democratic forces participating in such elections, unless there are conditions similar to those in 1981 and 1984 when the boycott line was directed against the fascist monopoly of the elections and was generally accepted by the antifascist forces and the people.

In the last presidential elections, the Party and other revolutionary forces employed the line of revolutionary dual tactics against the reactionaries' line of counterrevolutionary dual tactics of misrepresenting the elections as a democratic process and yet using them to monopolize political power and keep the people in bondage.

It was desirable for legal progressive forces to form a broad coalition (whose estimated vote-getting potential was anywhere from 10 to 20 per cent of the electorate) in order to perform creditably in a field where seven reactionary parties and coalitions were competing to divide the electorate. But some urban petty bourgeois groups overestimated their own weight, imagined that they could gain more as hangers on to a reactionary coalition, echoed the reactionaries in Red-baiting the largest

progressive organizations and tried to disrupt the formation of a broad progressive coalition.

But even if a broad progressive coalition could arise, there was no guarantee that the votes it could mobilize would be properly counted. The factors that allow the joint dictatorship of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class to ban the Communist Party of the Philippines and other revolutionary forces are at the same time the factors that limit the realization of the electoral potential of the legal progressive forces.

Only those who are ignorant or oblivious of the Marxist-Leninist theory of state and revolution and the actual growth of the people's democratic forces through the revolutionary mass movement in urban and rural areas and through the building of local organs of political power in the guerrilla fronts can nurture the illusion that the elections staged and controlled by the exploiting classes can be the main or sole way for the progressive forces to legitimize themselves and for the people to change the reactionary character of the state and achieve social revolution or basic social reforms.

Factors in Elections

The factors that the joint dictatorship of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class use to marginalize and exclude the patriotic and progressive parties and candidates from such reactionary elections are the very factors that guarantee the antidemocratic monopoly of elections by the reactionary forces and determine the relative positions of reactionary parties and candidates in their electoral competition.

These factors include the following: the coercive conditions, anticommunist propaganda and electoral rules that preempt the espousal of the patriotic and progressive stand on crucial issues; the disposition of military and civil personnel of the reactionary government; the flow of campaign funds from the exploiting classes and their neocolonial masters; access to the bourgeois mass media; and the interference of the dominant church. The peculiar qualities of the competing parties and candidates; and the regional and local affinities fall into line with these factors.

The shift from the two-party system (Nacionalista and Liberal parties) of the 1946-71 period to the single-party rule of Marcos' Kilusang Bagong Lipunan up to 1986 and onward to the seemingly multiparty system of reactionary politicians in the current period has not signified any democratic progress.

The multiparty or multifactional form of electoral competition of reactionary politicians continues to impose on the Filipino people the monopoly of economic and political power by the exploiting classes which are subservient to their neocolonial masters, chiefly U.S. and Japanese.

The proliferation of reactionary parties, like the factionalization of the reactionary armed forces, is reflective of the ever worsening political and economic crisis and the general tendency of the ruling system to disintegrate.

The exploiting classes can opt for any manner of electing their political representatives and any form of ruling the people. What is important for them is that they can rule the people and continue to exploit and oppress them. The multiparty or multifactional form of electoral competition can even be the preparation for a swing back to an authoritarian or autocratic rule in view of the desperate conditions of the ruling system.

Militarization of the Ruling System

It must be noted that on behalf of the U.S. and the exploiting classes the fascist dictator Marcos used the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) to impose his will on the oppressed people. Subsequently, the AFP used the civilian and woman president Aquino to continue the fascist oppression of the people. Now, General Ramos is assuming the presidency of the neocolonial republic. As a man of the military he is expected to make the supreme political authority of the reactionary state jibe more closely with the armed forces under the U.S.-instigated policy of total war. The militarization of the ruling political system has moved ahead.

It is not only Ramos who comes from the military establishment but also a significant number of the new legislative and executive officials. The process of militarization will continue through appointments and elections to positions previously held by civilians. This is the far more significant manifestation of the degradation of the politics of the exploiting classes than the election of movie, television and sports personalities. The militarization of the ruling political system is the surest mark of the ever increasing open rule of terror.

General Fidel Ramos has been fraudulently "elected" president, notwithstanding his brutal record as one of the principal conspirators in the imposition of martial rule on the Philippines in 1972, as chief of the most abusive military service (the Philippine Constabulary) and as the

ceaseless strategist of the total war policy against the people in his previous capacity as chief of the reactionary armed forces and defense secretary.

General Ramos is as infamous for his record of corruption as his record of brutality. The personal wealth that he has amassed, far beyond the salaries he has received from holding office, is traceable not only to his name but also to the names of two female friends of his.

The most important asset of General Ramos within the ruling political system may be defined by a reference to his long record of being a rabid running dog of U.S. imperialism — his being a West Point graduate, an eager beaver in both the Korean and Vietnam wars, his loyalty to Marcos until he was disaffected by the latter's preference for General Fabian Ver and his supreme loyalty to the United States, especially to the Pentagon, while serving the Marcos and the Aquino regimes.

To be able to run for the position of president and steal the election, he has been favored by his ability to use military and civilian personnel, facilities and funds of the reactionary government, especially with the collaboration of the outgoing president, and to get the biggest amount of financial support from foreign (U.S., Japanese and Taiwanese) and local reactionary sources.

With all the foregoing advantages, he has been able to benefit from a wide variety of electoral tactics such as padding of voters' lists, vote-buying, switching of ballot boxes and election tally sheets at precinct level; the substitution of canvass sheets at every succeeding level; and bribing and coercion of elections personnel at various levels, before, during and after May 11, the day of elections.

In the course of the electoral campaign, Ramos was unable to get the open support of the hierarchies of the Catholic Church and his own Protestant Church. But he was able to secure the active support of the key Jesuit and Opus Dei supporters of the U.S.-Aquino regime and the Jesuit-controlled "Christian democrats" (National Union of Christian Democrats) who had shielded him and prevented the exposure of his brutal and corrupt record. They had touted him for years through commentaries and "opinion poll surveys" as the "clean and popular" next president and had facilitated the collection of campaign money from local big business (especially the group of Jaime Zobel de Ayala) and foreign interests.

In the aftermath of the dishonest vote count, the closest rival of Ramos has sought the support of Cardinal Sin and U.S. President Bush for her

electoral protest. She can only be further frustrated in doing so. The cheated presidential aspirants have no choice but to appeal to a broad range of people and forces in order to generate the action against the foul and fake election of Ramos.

Minority President

Notwithstanding the chicanery and deception in the "election" of Ramos, he will be a minority president, claiming less than a quarter (23.5 per cent) of the votes supposedly cast. Such claim is based on fraud and terrorism and is now strongly condemned and contested. At any rate, he cannot escape from the desperate and fractious condition of the ruling system, especially because he is in fact in a minority position among several possible combinations of his opponents within government and within the exploitative system.

However, he is trying to create an artificial majority of his by offering "reconciliation" not only to his opponents within the system but also the revolutionary forces. He has an urgent need to disarm and deceive all or most of his political rivals and even the progressive forces in order to consolidate his position.

But behind the expediency of pretending to be for "reconciliation", he is determined to outmaneuver his political rivals, to blatantly use the military to consolidate his position, to seek to destroy the legal progressive forces and the armed revolutionary movement and to carry out all the dictates of his masters in Washington.

The list of instructions to Ramos from Washington includes the following: increased obeisance to the IMF and World Bank and to the transnational firms and banks; efforts to "reconcile" and "reunite" the warring factions within the reactionary armed forces; the escalation of the armed suppression of the people; and the probable extension of the Subic naval base beyond 1992.

U.S. officials have spread the word that the U.S. is abandoning Subic. But the probable scheme is to make it appear that the U.S. is staying there beyond 1992 "upon the request of the Philippine government". In a recent study of seven scenarios, the Pentagon is assuming that Subic will still be in the hands of the U.S. in 1999. At any rate, the United States can always intervene militarily in Philippine affairs under the terms of the mutual defense treaty and the military assistance pact.

Peace Talks?

While escalating state terrorism against the people, including the attacks on the guerrilla fronts and the legal democratic forces, the U.S.-Ramos regime is likely to seek "peace talks" through the press and even actual "preliminary talks" with the National Democratic Front, if only to achieve the ends of armed counterrevolution. The very peace pretense of the new regime is intended to rationalize the suppression of the people and the continuance of U.S. military presence and intervention.

Ramos is currently under advice by Washington to put into the counterrevolutionary frame every suggestion of peace negotiations by demanding that the revolutionary forces "renounce terrorism" (if only to misrepresent the revolutionary armed struggle) and by trying to win over "moderates" against the "hardliners" (if only to split the revolutionary movement). The U.S. is now actively trying to use its propaganda agents to pose as "third force" in the service of the ideological and political offensive of imperialism.

It is absolutely contrary to the interests of the Filipino people and the revolutionary movement to entertain at this time any offer of "reconciliation" or "peace talks" with the U.S.-Ramos regime. To do so is to assist the new ruling clique in consolidating its position, in deceiving the people and in facilitating vicious attacks on all patriotic and progressive forces in order to further aggrandize imperialist and reactionary interests.

It must not be forgotten that Generals Ramos and De Villa have been the most intransigent opponents to genuine NDF-GRP negotiations abroad for a just and lasting peace. They have been responsible for such counterrevolutionary proposals as that there should actually be no peace negotiations between the GRP and the NDF on an equal footing as belligerent forces under international law but that there should be immediate capitulation in principle by the NDF to the GRP constitution, ceasefire without any basic reforms for the benefit of the people and liquidation of the people's army and other revolutionary forces.

It is an old psywar trick of Ramos to pretend being for bilateral NDF-GRP peace talks but only to be able to make calls for "localized peace talks and localized ceasefires" in a futile attempt to fragment the revolutionary movement and alienate it from the people. The military, jesuitic and other agents of the U.S.-Ramos psywar game must be rebuffed. They reveal their own bad faith and deceptiveness by their ill-disguised proposals for capitulation and pacification of the revolutionary forces.

They pretend to be neutral and above the GRP and NDF and to be for the people and for peace against the "violence of both the AFP and the NPA". But in fact they are for the GRP side, they are for the retention of the institutionalized violence of the exploiting classes, they are against the just resistance of the people against the violence of oppressors and they are even for the U.S.-inspired military concept of strategic hamlet under such fancy signboards as "zones of peace" and "zones of life". On behalf of the U.S. and the exploiting classes, they wish to build a "third force peace constituency" and misappropriate the name of the people in a futile attempt to discredit, isolate and destroy the revolutionary forces.

The Party, the New People's Army and the NDF must always assert that they fight for the national and democratic rights and interests of the Filipino people, that they are the instruments of the people and that they are inseparable from the people. In this regard, the NDF is politically superior to the counterrevolutionary GRP even as the NDF may be willing to talk on an equal footing as a belligerent force under international law.

Two Major Tasks

At this time, the Communist Party of the Philippines must pay attention to two major tasks:

1. Carry out seriously the rectification movement to strengthen the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally.

We must reaffirm the basic Marxist-Leninist principles of the Party and arouse, organize and mobilize the broad masses of the people along the general line of new democratic revolution through armed struggle. We must raise to a new and higher level our ability to launch mass actions and tactical armed offensives and win victories.

With regard to the question of peace, our general line of people's struggle for national liberation and democracy through armed revolution is the same strategic line for achieving a just and lasting peace. Such peace can be achieved only on the basis of the revolutionary strength of the people and not through reactionary elections or peace talks under the one-sided terms of the enemy.

We should combat petty bourgeois trends of thought which are promoting capitulationism, pacifism and parliamentarism on the basis of wrong conclusions drawn either from the 1986 boycott error, frustrated militarism and insurrectionism or from the disintegration of revisionist ruling parties and regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The

conduct and outcome of the 1992 presidential elections merely serve to stress the necessity of people's war.

We must uphold our revolutionary principles, rectify errors and further strengthen our ranks as we prepare ourselves for the further polarization of the existing social system and for greater battles.

2. Hasten to create a broad united front against the enemy, the U.S.-Ramos clique.

We ensure the leadership of the working class in the Philippine revolution by strengthening the proletarian advanced detachment ideologically, politically and organizationally. Only thus is it possible to have a broad united front for accomplishing the new democratic revolution.

In the building of the united front, we must build every kind of class combination: the fundamental alliance of the working class and peasantry; the alliance of such basic revolutionary forces as the toiling masses plus the urban petty bourgeoisie; and the alliance of such positive forces as the basic forces of the revolution plus the middle bourgeoisie.

In addition, it is permissible to have even a temporary and unstable alliance with sections of the reactionary classes in order to avail ourselves of the advantages from the contradictions of the reactionaries and in order to isolate and destroy the enemy.

If the opponents of the U.S.-Ramos clique wish to fight it, then we are willing to cooperate with them. The cooperation can be immediate and long term.

The new ruling clique must not be allowed to consolidate itself, suppress its intrasystemic opponents and the revolutionary forces and impose on the people another long period of the harshest oppression and exploitation.

Whatever is the outcome of the most immediate struggle against the U.S.-Ramos clique, we must be able to preserve and strengthen our forces and carry the revolution forward.

Favorable Conditions for Revolution

The grave socioeconomic and political crisis of the ruling system guarantees the preservation and advance of the armed revolutionary forces, especially because we are determined to reaffirm our principles, overcome our errors and weaknesses and strengthen ourselves in an all-round way.

The U.S.-Ramos clique is coming to power in an ignominious way, bereft of any moral authority — not even by a false claim to election by the majority of the people. It is starting out in a far worse way than Marcos ever did in 1966 or 1970. Worst of all, this new ruling clique has no means to alleviate or solve the extremely aggravated condition of the ruling system.

The very fact that Ramos is a general with a long notorious record of suppressing the people by armed force and yet failing to quell the armed revolutionary movement is a sure stimulus for the further growth of all revolutionary forces. The position of the incoming U.S.-Ramos regime is so many times weaker than that of the U.S.-Marcos regime when the Party launched the revolutionary armed struggle in 1969. As a matter of fact, the U.S.-Ramos regime comes in the train of the ceaseless deterioration of the ruling political and economic system.

The general tendency of the ruling system to disintegrate will continue for so long as the revolutionary forces persevere and grow in strength. The factionalization of the armed forces (including the differentiation of the Integrated National Police from the other military services and the excessive enlargement of the counterintelligence command), the proliferation of reactionary political factions with armed followings and the already enacted scheme to decentralize executive power and financial resources are all manifestations of a ruling system cracking under the pressure of the armed revolutionary movement. And yet any attempt at the reunification and recentralization of the reactionary forces by a new wave of authoritarianism and further militarization will be very costly and self-defeating.

The neocolonial capitalist powers are themselves afflicted by a severe crisis domestically and internationally. Even as they nurture the illusion that it suffices for them to merely undertake economic and political manipulation and keep in reserve their high-tech military power for occasional use, they have in fact made themselves responsible for all their neocolonial clients, including those in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. And these capitalist powers are already seriously at odds with each other over dwindling funds for lending and the shrinking market for the products of both the developed and underdeveloped countries.

After all the bourgeois euphoria over the disintegration of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union in 1989-1991 period, the picture that comes clear is a new world

disorder, an aggravated crisis of the world capitalist system, involving prolonged recession and social discontent in capitalist countries as well as the austerity measures and violent turmoil in the client states. The world conditions are crying out for social revolution against imperialism, neocolonialism and all reaction. Filipino proletarian revolutionaries are proud of the fact that the Philippine revolution is now in the forefront of the world revolution.

The new ruling clique in the Philippines cannot have a blank check from its imperialist masters and has no way of lifting the Philippines from the quagmire of domestic and foreign indebtedness and the ever deteriorating terms of trade for Philippine exports. For this clique to apply the iron hand on the people is only to aggravate the economic and political crisis and drive the people to greater resistance by armed revolution.



WHY THE CPP, NPA AND NDF CONTINUE THE ARMED REVOLUTION

by **Armando Liwanag**
Chairman, Central Committee
Communist Party of the Philippines
August 2, 1992

The Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front are firmly resolved to continue the armed revolution for national liberation and democracy and thereby attain a just and lasting peace.

The oppressive and exploitative conditions which have driven the people to wage revolutionary armed struggle have remained unchanged. In fact, the basic social problems of the people have been aggravated by one regime after another since the resumption of the armed revolution in 1969.

General Ramos does not offer any solution to the basic problems of the people. On the contrary, his announced policies can only serve to aggravate these problems. His overriding objective is the escalation of the U.S.-instigated total war against the people and the preservation of the unjust social system, dominated by neocolonial and feudal interests.

The military campaigns of suppression against the people and the revolutionary forces continue unabated. All forms of terror, including massacres, torture, disappearances, illegal detention, arson, bombardments and forced mass evacuations, continue to be unleashed against the people. After two months of General Ramos in his new office, hundreds of political prisoners continue to languish in prison.

The offers of General Ramos for talks with the revolutionary forces, for amnesty and repeal of the anti-subversion law are grossly dishonest and are mere ingredients of a campaign of psychological warfare under the counterrevolutionary policy of total war. He has set preconditions which render his own offers false and unacceptable.

The key preconditions to all his offers are the following: submission to the Manila government and its constitution, the renunciation of armed

struggle, suspension of hostilities (or ceasefire), the surrender of arms and the disbandment of the New People's Army.

Ramos' Precondition on Talks with the NDF

The precondition set by Ramos for talks between the Manila government and the National Democratic Front is the surrender in principle of the latter to the former's constitution, institutions and armed forces. If this precondition were to be followed, then there would be no more need for serious bilateral peace negotiations but only talks about the modalities or mechanisms of surrender.

Aware of his own dishonesty and anticipating the refusal of the central leadership and general membership of the revolutionary forces to betray their revolutionary principles and liquidate the people's army, General Ramos regards "low-level discussions" for the purpose of splitting the revolutionary movement as far more important than any preliminary talks with the NDF at the appropriate national level abroad.

In fact, the Ramos regime has put the stress on psychological warfare and on sneaky approaches to local cadres and commanders of the revolutionary movement. General Ramos knows that the NDF is unwilling to help him in creating the wrong public impression that the revolutionary forces are ready to capitulate.

Ramos is not asking for peace talks but for surrender talks. His framework is pacification and not the negotiation for a just and lasting peace. It is essentially the same framework as spelled out by the Armed Forces of the Philippines and the Department of National Defense and adopted by Cluster E of the Aquino regime in 1990. He calculates that if he cannot destroy the people's army in the battlefield he can disintegrate it through psychological warfare.

The national unification commission proposed by Ramos is merely a magnification of the petty-minded and frustrated "peace and order councils" pushed by him during the Marcos and Aquino regimes. Like its predecessors, such a commission is intended to put together the most reactionary elements (including pretenders to being neutral) who are the most interested in the surrender framework of the Manila government against the revolutionary movement of the people.

Ramos' Precondition on Amnesty and CPP Legalization

The precondition set by Ramos for amnesty is the surrender of individuals who are blacklisted by the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

There is a futile attempt to entice the revolutionaries into betraying the people's revolutionary cause. As correctly exposed by Rep. Bonifacio Gillego, the Ramos amnesty proclamation is no different from the total of eleven amnesty proclamations issued by Marcos and Aquino in the past.

All these amnesty proclamations have proven to be futile attempts at splitting the revolutionary movement. They have only spawned racketeering by military officials who manufacture fake surrenderees and collect the money for themselves. The 4485 persons reported to be current beneficiaries of amnesty are in fact an accumulated stock of fake surrenderees, with a sprinkling of renegades.

The precondition set by Ramos for the repeal of the anti-subversion law is the surrender and political suicide of all revolutionary organizations and the registration of their members. And yet other laws that criminalize political activities either persist (like the nonbailable charge of illegal possession of firearms in the furtherance of rebellion) or are enacted to achieve the unchanging fascist objective of suppressing democratic forces by armed force.

Ramos is the unabashed imitator of his mentor Marcos in the tactic of legalizing counterrevolutionary renegades. Marcos legalized the puny and inconsequential Lava revisionist group in 1974 in exchange for its surrender. But the collaboration of the agents of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism failed to deceive the people. The ground for armed revolution continued to be fertile and the genuine revolutionary forces persevered in armed struggle and grew in strength among the people.

General Ramos is using the same wornout propaganda tactics that he carried out all the time under the Marcos and Aquino regimes. These tactics fail as soon as they are exposed as acts of counterrevolutionary deception.

General Ramos is deluding himself by thinking that through psychological warfare he can gloss over the basic problems of the people, draw people away from their revolutionary struggle, consolidate his political power, split the ranks of the revolutionary forces and the broad opposition and ultimately destroy them.

Cast Away Illusions

At the moment, the revolutionary forces are reaffirming their basic principles and are resolved to expand and intensify their revolutionary

armed struggle for national liberation and democracy. Even as they are opposing adventurism and strengthening their mass base, they are vigilant towards capitulationism, reformism and pacifism. They are casting away illusions about any negotiated settlement with an isolated and desperate and yet more *intransigent, tricky and brutal* enemy.

They see clearly the favorable conditions for their growth in strength and advance. They are confident of winning far greater victories in the face of an opponent long notorious for crimes against the people. The fraudulent election of General Ramos by a minority vote represents a new and deeper level of deterioration in the ceaseless crisis and longterm disintegration of the ruling system.

This level of deterioration is characterized by the militarization of the very pinnacle of reactionary power, increased puppetry and corruption, bloodier campaigns of suppression, the trickery and treachery of psychological warfare, further unemployment and inflation, heavier taxation, the breakdown of production and social services and wanton misuse of public resources under conditions of worse terms of trade for Philippine exports and ever mounting debt burden.

The rise of General Ramos to the presidency of the neocolonial government manifests the rottenness of the ruling system. It is wrong to seek accommodation with the joint class dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie and landlord class, especially now. The necessity of armed struggle as the principal form of struggle is clearer than ever.

The broad masses of the people find strength in the proletarian revolutionary party, the people's army, the united front, the organs of political power and mass organizations. The revolutionary forces are more than ever resolved to adhere to and carry out the theory and strategic line of protracted people's war.



THESES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES FOR THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

1. The crisis and disintegration of the Soviet Union: causes and effects on the world situation.

The crisis and disintegration of the Soviet Union was due to modern revisionism — the restoration of capitalism and the bourgeois class dictatorship. The peaceful evolution of socialism into capitalism was a process of degeneration in the fields of ideology, politics, economy, culture, defense and international relations.

a. Since the denial of the existence of exploiting classes and class struggle within the Soviet Union (with the supposed exception of the one between the Soviet people and the external enemy) in 1936, the new intelligentsia and the bureaucracy in general had increasingly assumed a petty-bourgeois character, especially because the incomes of those at the high and middle levels rose far above that of the average worker. The petty bourgeoisie became the agency for social degeneration. By the time that Khrushchov came into power, the high bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and in the republics had become the big bourgeoisie in a state monopoly capitalist system. As capitalist restoration proceeded, the use of state power and resources for private gain developed into demands for the privatization of state and collective assets.

b. In ideology, the Soviet party turned revisionist as it systematically elaborated and spread the idea that the working class had accomplished its historic tasks and that there were no more exploiting classes and no more class struggle, except that one between the Soviet people and imperialism. Supraclass, universalistic and ahistorical terms erased the proletarian class stand in Soviet society and in the theory and practice of every social endeavor. Khrushchov misrepresented socialism as simply a matter of building the economic and technical foundation of communism in twenty years.

c. Upon the revision of the ideology, the character of Soviet politics, the character of the Soviet party and state, started to change qualitatively and rapidly. The dictatorship of the proletariat and the proletarian party were subverted and destroyed from within. The bureaucrat bourgeoisie took power from the working class, grew rapidly and oppressed the

Soviet proletariat and people. In politics, modern revisionism "progressed" from the bourgeois populism and bourgeois pacifism of Khrushchov through the social fascism and social imperialism of Brezhnev to the bourgeois liberalism and anti-communism of Gorbachov.

d. With the coming to power of the revisionist bureaucrats, economic policies were adopted to undermine, crack and destroy the socioeconomic achievements of socialism. Under the pretext of economic reforms, which were in fact retrogressive towards capitalism, the bureaucrat bourgeoisie recreated and generated the private bourgeoisie with which it colluded in milking the state and collective enterprises and raiding the state coffers. In the end, all pretensions to socialism were dropped in favor of the open and unabashed restoration of capitalism.

e. As a result of the ideological revision, the waning of the proletarian class outlook and the retrogressive changes in political and economic policy, those who were formally educated and trained and the society in general changed in terms of cultural values. While still in the university, the highly educated were absorbed by their petty bourgeois comforts, impressed with the West and aspired to get to the upper rungs of the bureaucratic ladder. Public resentment against bureaucratic corruption and cynicism and anti-communism among the youth grew.

f. The concept of people's defense was rejected in favor of building strategic offensive capability and the capacity to fight outside the borders of the Soviet Union. Thus, large numbers of Soviet troops and equipment were deployed outside Soviet borders for too long a time and the Soviet Union was drawn into an arms race that misdirected science and technology and wasted the resources that should have gone into the development of the civil economy of the Soviet Union.

g. In the Cold War rivalry with the United States, the Soviet Union became more and more driven by the national interest of the monopoly bureaucrat bourgeoisie and by the unceasing aggressiveness and pressures of the United States as its superpower rival. This narrow self-interest invoked a Soviet-centered "international proletarian class dictatorship" and "limited sovereignty for other countries" and compelled Soviet-assisted parties and regimes as no more than tools of Soviet foreign policy. In the end, Gorbachov accepted the anticommunist terms of the cold war launched by the imperialists when the Soviet Union became exhausted and begged for assistance from the U.S.-led capitalist alliance.

The effects of the crisis and disintegration of the Soviet Union on the world situation include the following:

a. Although the United States is in serious economic decline, it appears to have gained unchallenged hegemony over the entire world, especially because of U.S. military power, under the Bush slogan of "new world order" after the Cold War.

b. Before disintegrating completely, the former Soviet Union supported the U.S. war of aggression in Iraq and capitulated to U.S. hegemony in an all-round way. The successor states of the Soviet Union have been reduced to being beggars of world capitalism in an all-round way.

c. The aforesaid successor states have become the hotbeds of nationalism, ethnic conflicts, civil war and imperialist interference. They have become the focus of concern about nuclear proliferation. They have become more ruined by the blatant rule of capitalism and are afflicted by social turmoil. They have become the boon and bane of a world capitalism that is now conspicuously afflicted by the crisis of overproduction due to high technology and the shrinking world market.

d. The collapse of the Soviet Union is more of a bane than a boon to the world capitalist system. It has occurred as part of the crisis of the world capitalist system. The Soviet revisionist bourgeoisie has exhausted the Soviet economy by conspicuous consumption, by failing to retool industry, agriculture and the service sector, by having no major civil exports other than raw materials, by losing out in the arms trade and by rapidly borrowing funds that cannot be serviced except by further borrowing from an already strained world financial system.

In economic terms, the successor states of the Soviet Union have veritably joined the ranks of the third world or the South and are sinking deeper into crisis as they have to close down more and more of their industries, with no immediate hope of domestic and foreign investments for reviving and renovating them. Social upheavals are forthcoming on a scale larger than already seen.

e. The collapse of the Soviet Union is the big material for the ideological offensive of the United States and other capitalist powers. This ideological offensive misrepresents the collapse of the Soviet modern revisionism as that of socialism and is an attempt to demoralize the world proletariat and people. In fact, the collapse of modern revisionism proves beyond doubt the correctness of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, particularly scientific socialism, even as the continuing challenge for Marxist-Leninists is to solve the problem of

revisionism in socialist society or restore socialism where it has long been replaced by revisionism.

f. The complete discredit of modern revisionism and the disintegration of the Soviet Union are advantageous to Marxist-Leninists. The *misrepresentation of modern revisionism as socialism* is basically out of the way. But Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations, except for a few ones, are still small; and the imperialists are pushing their momentary advantage. There is no alternative for all Marxist-Leninists but to learn from the example of Bolsheviks in 1914 upon the exposure and collapse of the revisionist parties and to persevere on the correct line and take advantage of the intensifying contradictions among the capitalist powers.

g. U.S. President Bush has spoken of the trade war as having replaced the cold war. In fact, a series of contradictions among the capitalist powers are intensifying.

(1) The capitalist powers are increasingly in disagreement and conflict over economic, financial, trade and security issues of international, regional and bilateral scopes. The factor most disturbing to the capitalist alliance is the drive of the United States to recover from its economic decline and impose burdens on other capitalist powers.

(2) The peoples, nations and countries of the South and the East are increasingly oppressed and exploited and are ever agitated against the imperialist powers and the neocolonial puppet regimes. For the time being, except in a few areas, there are no Marxist-Leninist parties to lead the people effectively. Thus, one reactionary regime can still replace another. Under such conditions of depression and turmoil, however, the proletarian revolutionary party can resurge.

(3) There are still a few remaining countries which are socialist by a certain measure or still consider themselves socialist. Whatever they are, they or the Marxist-Leninist section within them are resisting the imperialist and neocolonial pressures on them to change the socialist flag to a capitalist one.

The factors of socialism in the world cannot be totally obliterated because capitalism is in an increasingly severe crisis and is causing grave turmoil on a widening scale. Socialism remains a popular and potent rallying call. The working class parties have a strong basis from which to reemerge as the vanguard of the proletariat and growing revolutionary mass movements. By factors of socialism, we mean the proletariat and its party in various parts of the world, the degree of socialism that still exists in the world, the degree of capitalist industrial development from

which the possibility of socialism arises and, of course, the accelerated capitalist crisis of overproduction due to high technology and monopoly capitalist competition.

2. The crisis of modern revisionism and the ideological, political and theoretical tasks of Marxist-Leninists.

The crisis of modern revisionism as a world phenomenon is best demonstrated by the disintegration of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes and the liquidation of or confusion within the communist parties that are out of power but have toed the line of modern revisionism, whose members have long stopped studying and accepting the Marxist-Leninist theory of state and revolution and are now at a loss at the disappearance of Soviet foreign policy as their guide.

Another manifestation of the crisis of modern revisionism is to be seen in the deterioration of social conditions in certain countries which describe themselves as socialist and avow themselves to be opposed to the bourgeois liberalization of politics but which promote the bourgeois liberalization of the economy and reproduce the corrupt bureaucrat bourgeoisie, the private entrepreneurs, rich peasants and inevitably a huge mass of anticommunists and which adopt and implement economic and other policies satisfactory to the imperialist or neocolonialist powers.

The main ideological task is to uphold the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and scientific socialism; to stress the fact that Marxist-Leninist theory and practice have been proven correct in the new democratic revolution and in socialist revolution and construction for several decades among more than a billion people before several more decades of modern revisionism reinstalled capitalism; and to reaffirm the criticism and repudiation of modern revisionism and uphold Mao Zedong's theory of continuing socialist revolution under proletarian dictatorship and preventing the restoration of capitalism in socialist society and resuming the struggle for socialism where capitalism has been restored.

The main political task is to continue building or rebuilding the proletarian revolutionary party as the leading political force of the proletariat and people; put forward the general line to unite, arouse, organize and mobilize the broad masses of the people against the big bourgeoisie and other reactionaries; and actually arouse, organize and

mobilize the oppressed and exploited masses for their immediate interests and for the ultimate seizure of political power.

3. The development of the world economy and its significance for class struggle.

Lenin's description of modern imperialism as the highest and final stage of capitalism, leading to global crises of overproduction and wars, remains valid to this day. The already accomplished and ongoing internationalization of capital, including the combination of capital from different national sources and the neocolonial deployment of capital, is the extension and aggravation of modern imperialism.

The reconstruction, upsurge and competitiveness of the industrial capitalist countries previously ruined in World War II and the rise of high technology among all advanced capitalist countries have in fact accelerated the crisis of overproduction. For a few decades already, this crisis has been counteracted by amicable arrangements and combinations of the capitalist powers, by the neocolonial deployment of capital in order to dispose of surplus capital and goods and yet prevent the development of the South and East and by the U.S. use of capital for highspeed military spending and overconsumption.

But the limits of counteracting and relieving the capitalist crisis of overproduction have become more and more conspicuous since the late seventies, only one decade after the phenomenon of stagflation in the late sixties arose and seemed to be solved by the global application of neo-Keynesianism. Oodles and oodles of funds were lent to most of the countries in the third world and Eastern Europe. Most of the borrowed funds went into consumption. The funds that went into production principally enhanced raw-material production and therefore a glut in raw materials in the world market and secondarily for import-dependent manufacturing in a small number of "new-industrializing economies."

In the eighties, the neocolonial deployment of capital was extended to such big countries as China (from the beginning of the decade) and India and the Soviet Union (from the middle of the decade) even as the previous borrowers in the South and the East were already reeling from the crushing debt burden and the ever deteriorating terms of trade, while the terms of the world financial system shifted from neo-Keynesianism to monetarism.

At the same time, the United States escalated its abuse of the world financial system by engaging in highspeed military spending as well as overconsumption, chiefly to maintain a big market for the exports of its major industrial allies (Japan and West Germany) and the "newly industrializing economies". The United States has abused all kinds of *national and world financial instruments*.

After all the bourgeois euphoria over the disintegration of the revisionist regimes and the blatant restoration of capitalism and bourgeois class dictatorship, the capitalist powers are conspicuously being confronted by the worsening crisis of capitalism. Bush himself has acknowledged that the cold war has been replaced by the trade war.

The United States cannot revive its industrial competitiveness and solve its budgetary and trade deficits without disturbing its international and regional alliances with other capitalist powers. All capitalist countries seek to achieve competitiveness by adopting more hightech equipment and cutting down employment and the social relief measures. Whereas before high technology tended to reduce the blue-collar workers, now it also tends to reduce the white-collar workers.

A struggle for the redivision of the world economy is intensifying among the capitalist powers under conditions in which the countries of the East and South are suffering from the consequences of the neo-colonial deployment of finance capital and the world market has shrunk relative to the overcapacity in the production of both raw materials and manufactures.

The growing exposure of the deepseated problems of modern imperialism, the limits of neocolonialism, the collapse of the revisionist regimes and the propensity of the United States and its imperialist cohorts to threaten and actually use high-tech weapons and rapid deployment forces stress beyond doubt that we are still in the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution.

Even as the period of 1989 to 1991 looked dismal for the anti-imperialist and socialist movement, not because "socialism" fell but because the U.S.-Soviet rivalry ended, the prospects are clearer than ever for the resurgence of this movement in the industrial capitalist countries, in the former revisionist-ruled countries and in the underdeveloped countries within the current decade.

The class struggle will develop from year to year, with the Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations growing from small to big and from weak to strong and possibly achieving victories of national and

international significance in the later part of the decade or in the next decade.

We are now exactly at the point when the world capitalist system and the United States in particular have reasserted their power to the point of looking unchallenged. But we recognize the worsening of the fundamental contradictions behind the appearance of unrivaled U.S. hegemony.

4. The fundamental contradictions in the world and the main features of the international situation.

The surface appearance of the world today is that the world capitalist system is supreme and can put under control any problem through amicable agreements among the capitalist powers and through neocolonial economic, financial and diplomatic manipulation of the South and the East.

Even the United States, despite the fundamental weaknesses of its economy, appears to have reasserted and reinforced its world hegemony, especially because of its military power and the disintegration of its superpower rival.

The momentary surface appearance of the world is buttressed by certain facts that have been the subject of capitalist celebration as well as enhanced by the unprecedented power of hightech communications monopolized by the big bourgeoisie on a world scale. It will take sometime before the fundamental contradictions in the world and the forces of proletarian revolution can breach the monopoly of bourgeois ideas and opinion riding on hightech means.

We are at a point in time when in fact all the fundamental contradictions in the world have begun to cause the redivision and rearrangement of the world among the capitalist powers and the intensification of oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and people the world over on an unprecedented scale. The world situation is fluid, volatile and increasingly afflicted by political violence (even if the danger of a world war seems to have receded because of the disintegration of the Soviet Union). The revolutionary forces are still in the process of regrouping and restrengthening themselves ideologically, politically and organizationally.

We can list down comprehensively the fundamental contradictions in the world. But we do not venture here to arrange them according to order

of importance. The focus of revolutionary struggle is still to be decided by forthcoming events.

Hereunder are the fundamental contradictions:

a. The contradictions among the capitalist powers. These are now in the form of disagreements over trade, finance, production and security issues in all groupings of the capitalist powers.

b. The contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in all capitalist countries. The prolonged recession, unemployment and social cutbacks are generating social unrest and some protest actions by both blue and white collars. The bourgeoisie has already trotted out neo-fascism and racism to mislead the population. The pro-imperialist social democrats and greens have become insufficient devices for absorbing social protest.

c. The contradiction between the capitalist powers (international big bourgeoisie) and the exploited countries and peoples of the South and the East. In the neocolonial scheme, the capitalist powers make it appear that the subservient governments assume full responsibility for the oppression and exploitation of the people and it is up to the people to change one reactionary government after another or one reactionary clique has to replace another. The disintegration of revisionist ruling parties and revisionist regimes as well as the capitulation of certain national liberation organizations have just cleared the way for Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations to arise or strengthen themselves.

The existence of a Marxist-Leninist party (like the Communist Party of the Philippines) leading a growing new-democratic revolution through armed struggle and with a socialist perspective is rare for the time being, although political violence from the spontaneous masses as well as from one reactionary group after another is occurring with increasing frequency and on a widening scale in the South and the East. After the total discrediting of the anticommunist regimes and the nonmaterialization of the capitalist paradise, the proletarian revolutionaries in the former Soviet Union and the Soviet Union have a good chance to advance with the legacy of Lenin and Stalin and with the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

d. The contradiction between the capitalist powers and the countries, peoples and proletarians that are under pressure to give up the name or cause of socialism completely. Learning conclusively from the peaceful evolution of socialism into capitalism in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the United States and other capitalist powers issue threats

and exert pressures on countries that still consider themselves socialist but their strategic line at the moment is to discourage any violent anticommunist challenge to the ruling party and state and to encourage by every possible means the reproduction of the anticommunist intelligentsia, the corrupt bureaucrats, the private entrepreneurs and rich peasants.

All genuine Marxist-Leninists have to persevere in ideological, political and organizational work even as they face conditions similar to those in that period when the Bolsheviks had to face the rapid growth of capitalism into modern imperialism and the climate generated by the classical revisionists in the international working class movement until they were discredited upon the outbreak of World War I.

A world war among the capitalist powers may not occur to provide the conditions for the Bolsheviks of today to raise the flag of socialism in victory on a world scale soon. But what we are sure of now is that the United States and the world capitalist system will have greater difficulties in controlling a situation in which there will be a wider array of proletarian revolutionary parties and peoples fighting self-reliantly within national borders for social revolution against imperialism and local reaction.

5. The 500 years of the conquest of America, the struggle for national and social liberation, and the connection to class struggle in the imperialist countries.

The internationalist tasks of the Marxist-Leninists.

The 500 years of the conquest of the Americas involved the following:

- a. brutality (extermination of the native peoples — through massacres, arson, forced concentration and resettlement) and suppression of their civilization; and the unjust imposition of colonialism and Christianity on them;

- b. Colonial plunder as a major method (additional to the exploitation of the proletariat and peoples of Europe) in the primitive accumulation of capital by the bourgeoisie;

- c. The retrogression into slavery through the kidnapping of Africans for the American plantations upon the resistance of the Indians to being placed in concentration camps;

- d. The emigration of Europeans to the America in lieu of solving the social problems of Europe; and

e. The imposition of one unjust power after another (Spanish, British and American) on the people;

f. The shift from colonial to imperialist oppression and exploitation;

g. The ceaseless suppression of freedom, injustice to the people and stagnation and underdevelopment of Latin America as well as major sections of North American society up to the present time.

The 500 years of the conquest of Americas should not be celebrated as the victory of Christianization, colonialism, capitalism and imperialism as if these were all benign to the people of the Americas. On the other hand, the heroic resistance of the people to these should be honored and celebrated; the continuing struggle for national social revolution should be pursued more vigorously; and the proletarian and anti-imperialist struggles in the Americas and Europe should be linked up more than ever.

The internationalist task of the Marxist-Leninists is to put forward the correct view of the conquest of the Americas and to defeat the view of it by the imperialists and reactionaries.

Because the Philippines became an object of the colonial process started by Columbus, the Communist Party of the Philippines knows very well the bitterness of subjugation by Spanish colonialism and then by U.S. imperialism and is resolute in playing its part in the aforesaid task.

6. The danger of a global environmental catastrophe and the tasks of Marxist-Leninists.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is fully aware of the danger of global environmental catastrophe posed by the destruction of nonrenewable resources, pollution by industrial and nuclear wastes, all the causes of global warming and the perils of nuclear power and weapons.

The CPP's concern is due not only to a general awareness of global environmental conditions but also due to the fact that the CPP and the Filipino people have long been confronted right in the Philippines by the most scandalous and harmful destruction of the environment by the U.S., Japanese and European imperialists and their local reactionary agents.

By its critique of and program of action against imperialism and neocolonialism, the CPP is necessarily and automatically committed to the cause of conserving and wisely utilizing the environment because modern imperialism and neocolonialism plunder the natural resources of

the Philippines and degrade the Filipino proletariat and people. Without the anti-imperialist line in the ecology movement, the imperialists which are the main plunderers and polluters of the environment can pretend to be environmentalists together with their paid hacks.

Long before the Nixon regime, the UN, the World Bank, the bourgeois mass media, the Western funding agencies and the green parties of the West adopted ecology as a major concern, the proletarian revolutionaries and people of the Philippines, like all the honest scientists and people the world over, took positions and actions against the destruction of the Philippine environment by the imperialists and their agents.

Since the sixties, the proletarian revolutionary cadres and the reestablished Communist Party have taken the lead in protesting and opposing by word and deed the following:

a. The rapid depletion of the Philippine forest cover by American and Japanese interests, the lack of reforestation, the misleading reference to slash-and-burn tillers (deprived of land reform) as the main culprit, the widespread soil erosion and the increasingly devastating floods and drought;

b. The pollution of rivers and agricultural fields by chemical wastes and tailings from the U.S. and Japanese-controlled mining firms and the ripping apart of the landscape by these mines;

c. The flow of other industrial wastes, poisoning and clogging the rivers, lakes, bays and seacoast, killing marine life and depriving the people of both livelihood and healthy places of leisure;

d. The excessive forms of fishing (which catch and kill young fish and destroy other marine forms of life) and single-species form of fish culture (which kill off other species through overstocking) and the outright plunder of the corals;

e. The extensive use of chemicals in the "green revolution", harming the peasants, the work animals, edible plants, the mudfish and other alternative sources of protein in the wet land and streams;

f. Hydroelectric dam/projects in Luzon (remember the world-renowned struggle against the World Bank's Chico River Dam project!) and in Mindanao, which disregard ecological balance and the social and cultural life of the people displaced, and reclamation projects in Candaba, Manila Bay and other areas which have caused floods;

g. The transfer of pollutant industries like the Kawasaki sintering plant to the Philippines;

h. The perpetuation of pollutant and inefficient forms of transport like the big mass of smokebelching and gas-guzzling jeepneys;

i. The Bataan nuclear power plant built in the vicinity of an active volcano and geologic fault; and

j. The U.S. military bases which contain nuclear, biological and chemical weapons.

All the foregoing issues taken up by Filipino Marxist-Leninists are enumerated because some newcomers in the ecology movement in the Philippines who are inspired and financed by pro-imperialist funding agencies make a series of false claims such as the following:

a. The CPP has neglected the ecology issue and is therefore out of touch with the times.

b. Ecology is a supraclass issue above ideology and class struggle.

c. The ecology issue puts aside or liquidates the class struggle.

Regarding the ecology issue, the CPP urges all Marxist-Leninists to undertake the following tasks:

a. To stress the fact that the imperialists and their agents are responsible for the destruction of the environment;

b. To unite with the progressive but noncommunist ecologists in order to isolate the pro-imperialists that wish to control the ecology movement with funds from the big bourgeoisie;

c. To preempt the use of the ecology issue as an imperialist weapon to discourage the industrial development of economically backward countries and consign them to an imagined idyllic past which in reality means the pollution of malarial swamps, poverty, deprivation and disease.

d. Combat the practice by advanced industrial countries of transferring highly pollutant industrial processes and product to the underdeveloped countries.

e. To carry out mass campaigns, programs and projects by which the people can protect and promote a healthy environment and push forward the socioeconomic development demanded by the people.

Environmentally sound and self-reliant development, involving the conservation and wise utilization of natural resources, is what is needed by underdeveloped countries like the Philippines.

7. Declarations and agreements for further cooperation.

The CPP proposes the following declarations and agreements:

a. On the fundamental causes of the crisis and disintegration of the Soviet Union, on the general effects on the current world situation, on prospects of Marxist-Leninists and the forces of socialism and anti-imperialism and on reaching out to genuine proletarian revolutionaries in the former Soviet Union;

b. On the crisis and disintegration of all the revisionist ruling parties and regimes, on strengthening the ranks of Marxist-Leninists in each country and the world over ideologically, politically and organizationally, on reaching out to genuine proletarian revolutionaries in all the former revisionist-ruled countries and on setting up the forum and publication for developing mutual understanding among Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations;

c. On the fundamental points about the world economy and on their significance to the class struggle;

d. On the fundamental contradictions in the world and the main features of the international situation.

e. On the 500 years of the conquest of the Americas; the struggle for national and social liberation and the connection to class struggle and on the cultural and mass protest actions to assert the correct line on the 500 years of the conquest of the Americas.

f. On the danger of a global environmental catastrophe and on the need to promote the anti-imperialist ecology movement and assist the same movement in the underdeveloped countries most victimized by the imperialist destroyers of world environment.

g. On supporting and assisting the revolutionary armed struggle of the Filipino people along the national democratic line under the leadership of the CPP and recognizing it as one of the armed revolutions going on in the world today, which holds aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

Armando Uwanag
Chairman, Central Committee
Communist Party of the Philippines
June 1992

GENERAL RESOLUTION

I. The 3rd International Conference Of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations was held on the 21st to 28th of July, 1992.

The following parties and organizations took part:

- Marxist-Leninist Organization of Afghanistan
- Partido Comunista Revolucionario de la Argentina (PCR)
- Pan Africanist Congress
- Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany (MLPD)
- Unificacion Comunista de Espana (UCE)
- Communist Organization of Luxemburg (KOL)
- Groep Marxisten-Leninisten/Rode Morgen (GML) of the Netherlands
- Partido Comunista del Peru/Patria Roja (PC del P/PR)
- Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP)
- Nucleo del Partido Comunista Revolucionario del Uruguay (PCRU)
- EKIM (October) of Turkey

II. The 3rd International Conference successfully advanced the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought in the fight against imperialism and modern revisionism and for the victory of socialism and communism.

After big discussions and the frank, honest and sincere exchange of views on the current international situation and the prospects of the socialist revolution and the antiimperialist struggle, the 3rd International Conference unanimously approved the following points:

1) Regarding the collapse of the USSR:

1. The triumph of revisionism at the 20th Party Congress of the CPSU was an expression of the restoration of capitalism in the USSR and of the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

2. This capitalist restoration led in the USSR from socialism to social imperialism.

3. The present crisis and the disappearance of the USSR as such is not the crisis of socialism but of restored capitalism and social imperialism.

4. The proletarian cultural revolution in China is a forward-looking experience of the proletariat as a form of the struggle against the danger of the restoration of capitalism in socialism in the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

5. We see the increasing instability of the world situation as a consequence of the crisis. While the USSR has ceased to be the most dangerous superpower and is in a state of decline, the United States is *going through a period of the decline of its superiority* owing to its economic crisis, and to the fact that two new rising powers are emerging: Japan and Germany.

6. The disappearance of the revisionist CPSU and of the USSR has led to a deep crisis of the revisionist, pro-Soviet parties throughout the world. This produces better conditions for our development and the development of the revolutionary struggles.

2) Regarding the crisis of modern revisionism:

- * Revisionism is the most dangerous manifestation of bourgeois ideology within the working-class movement and the liberation movement. It robs the movement of its revolutionary content and reconciles it with the interests of monopoly capitalism and imperialism. Revisionism serves solely the interests of the ruling exploiting classes. The defense of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought is a fundamental task, without which the revolution cannot be successful. This is a joint task of all international Marxist-Leninist organizations and parties!

- * Revisionism does not always manifest itself in the same form but is inseparably connected with the concrete historical situation from which it emerges and in which it develops. The revisionism of Bernstein and Kautsky, which led to the collapse of the 2nd proletarian International during the 1st imperialist world war, was refuted and smashed by the socialist October Revolution in Russia and the upsurge of the Communist world movement.

- * The betrayal of Marxism-Leninism which gestated in the womb of the socialist Soviet Union and led, as Khrushovite revisionism, to the overthrow of proletarian dictatorship at the 20th Party Congress of the CPSU was the beginning of "modern revisionism." Modern revisionism developed into the ideological basis of social imperialism and thus provided the theoretical justification of the most terrible crimes, committed in the name of socialism, against the working class and the peoples. This shows the outrageous demagoguery of modern revisionism. It disarms the masses in their struggle against imperialism.

- * At the same time, it is necessary to distinguish between the basis of the revisionist parties, the millions of workers and fighters, and the degenerate leaders. Without weakening ideological struggle against

revisionism, the Marxist-Leninists must be prepared to cooperate politically with the masses of members of these parties if this is in the interest of the social and national liberation struggle.

3) Regarding the development of the world economy and its significance for the class struggle of the proletariat:

1. There are new phenomena of great significance in the world economy. The process of international concentration of the monopolies has greatly increased. New technologies are being employed in unparalleled dimensions. These new phenomena must be investigated on the basis of Lenin's analysis of imperialism. In the imperialist countries, the state is an instrument of the monopolies.

2. The new developments do not eliminate capitalist competition but intensify it. US imperialism has lost economic strength, while Japan's and Germany's is growing.

3. Political events aggravate the crisis of the world economy. On the other hand, the Gulf War also showed a new type of imperialist warfare. The war was waged by all imperialists in a relatively uniform way for the first time. There was a worldwide war propaganda effort based on the most advanced communications technologies.

4. Proletarian revolution is national in form. The new developments demand greater mutual support from the Marxist-Leninists.

4) Regarding the main characteristics of the world situation and the fundamental contradictions:

The situation is characterized by the great changes called forth by the crisis and disappearance of the USSR, by the economic crisis and the difficulties of the USA and by the rise of the two imperialist powers Germany and Japan. This has produced a great regroupment of forces in the world with the formation of blocs and major instability.

Very important facts have been the fall of the Berlin Wall and the Gulf War, with which the USA sought to establish a new world order under their hegemony. In the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution and of the great confrontation between socialism and capitalism the following fundamental contradictions retain their validity:

- The contradiction between the proletariat and bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries.

- The contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism.

- The contradiction among the imperialists and among the monopolies.

This set of contradictions has greatest importance for the development of the strategy and tactics of the international proletariat.

5) Regarding 500 years conquest of America and the tasks of the Marxist-Leninists:

- We Marxist-Leninists celebrate this 500th anniversary from the standpoint of struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and hegemony. The analysis of these events must serve to unite us with the masses and to raise their consciousness. We Marxist-Leninist parties all have the duty to encourage the writing of the true history of our peoples.

- The 500th anniversary does not mean for us the "celebration of the meeting of two worlds." We think that it must be remembered as an act of colonial invasion, an act of plundering and despoilment of the people of Latin America, employing coercion and involving the annihilation of large parts of the indigenous population.

- The objective of colonialism was not to "civilize" or "bring culture" to the people and nations of Latin American. It was to plunder the raw materials and, in the first place, gold and silver. The gold and silver stolen from the native population and brought to the "Old World" enriched Europe and made possible the development of capitalism.

- The current ideological battle over the content of the 500th anniversary of Spanish conquest is one expression of the struggle between those who defend the old colonialism to strengthen the current imperialist rule and those who, like us, fight imperialist oppression by upholding the five centuries of heroic struggle waged by our peoples, first against their conquerors, and then against their rulers and exploiters. We continue this struggle, knowing that today it can only be victorious under the leadership of the proletariat. A fundamental aspect of the ideological battle over the 500th anniversary between, on the one hand, the proletariat and the other strata of the people and, on the other hand, the imperialists, the monopolist bourgeoisie, the big landowners and other reactionary groups involves precisely this point.

- It also means recognizing that there were and are two different Spains: the sinister medieval Spain that led the "conquista," the conquest, and the Spain that was just as cruelly suppressed by the Castilian ruling class — the Spain of the comunards of Villalar, the Spain of the expelled Moors and Jews, the Spain of the countless peasants reduced to servitude by the feudal Spanish regime.

6) Regarding the issue of ecology:

The Marxist-Leninists consider it important to actively oppose the destruction of the environment which imperialism causes by its greed for maximum profit. In this way the struggle for the defense of the environment constitutes an important part of the proletarian class struggle.

The unity between Man and Nature is only possible in socialism and communism.

The Marxist-Leninists must:

1. Seize the initiative on the environmental issues from the imperialists;

2. Mobilize the masses around the environmental issues;

3. Stress that the imperialists are responsible for the environmental destruction;

4. Counter the imperialist scheme of advancing ecological arguments to discourage the development of independent economies in the oppressed countries.

7) Regarding future practical collaboration:

• The International Conference stressed the necessity of holding International Conferences of Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations and parties at regular intervals. Basis for participation in the International Conference is the defense of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought and participation in the struggle against modern revisionism.

• Cooperation between international Marxist-Leninist organizations is based on the following principles:

1. Independence, equality, mutual respect, mutual support and cooperation.

2. No interference in internal affairs as well as in the bilateral and regional relations of any party or organization with other parties or organizations.

3. Consensus and unanimity in decision-making.

4. Achieve unity step by step; no public debate among parties and organizations and no public criticism or attack by any party or organization on another.

• Between conferences the organizations jointly issue an international newsletter.

• The International Conference sets up a joint fund to finance the cost of international cooperation and of the conferences.

8) The International Conference declared its full solidarity with the people of Cuba in its struggle against Yanqui imperialism and for the defense of its national independence and self-determination; with the people of the Philippines in the struggle for national democratic liberation; with the people of Peru in its struggle against the Fujimori dictatorship and for national and social liberation; with the people of South Africa in its struggle against racism and for national liberation; with the people of Afghanistan in its struggle for freedom, democracy and social equality; with the Turkish and Kurdish people in its struggle for democracy and national liberation; and with all the workers and oppressed peoples of the world in their struggle for national and social liberation, for democracy and socialism.

The 3rd International Conference decided to call on all Marxist-Leninist parties to commemorate the 100th birthday of Chairman Mao Tsetung.

III. The 3rd International Conference calls on all Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations to uphold and further the unity that has been achieved, to continue advancing Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought, to counter the worldwide anticommunist campaign, to gain new prestige for socialism in the eyes of the masses, and to persist in the effort to be recognized as the vanguard of the proletariat and people in the revolution.

IV. The 3rd International Conference calls on the proletariat of the capitalist countries, the workers and oppressed peoples of the colonial, semicolonial and dependent countries to unite and resist in order to defeat the imperialist bourgeoisie and all reactionaries and their authoritarian and fascist regimes, and to take their destinies into their own hands to gain national liberation, socialism and communism.

I. THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

1. It is necessary to hold international conferences of Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations at regular intervals. The main purpose of these conferences, which have taken place in different countries, is ideological-political exchange and gradual unification on important and political matters.

Basis for participation in the international conference is the defense of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought and participation in the struggle against modern revisionism. Cooperation between international Marxist-Leninist organizations is based on following principles:

A — Independence, equality, mutual respect, mutual support and cooperation.

B — No interference in internal affairs as well as in the bilateral and regional relations of any party or organizations with other parties and organizations.

C — Consensus and unanimity in the decision-making.

D — Achieve unity step by step; no public debate among parties/organizations and no public criticism or attack by any party-organization on another.

2. Between conferences, the organizations jointly issue an international newsletter, in which the individual organizations can publish an important ideological-political contribution, maximum length three standard sheets (45 lines per sheet), in different languages. Quarterly publication will be worked for. The international newsletter is an internal publication. Each organization can decide for itself what contributions from the newsletter it would like to publish. In an annex, the organizations can advertise their literature.

3. The international conference sets up a joint fund to finance the cost of international cooperation. Each organization commits itself to make regular payments to this fund, whose purpose is chiefly to finance the preparation of the international conferences and the publication of the newsletter, and to serve as equalization fund for the poorer organizations. The recommended contribution is 0.5 percent of the total membership dues of each organization. Cooperation in its various forms respects the ideological-political and financial independence of the individual organizations.

II. ON PRACTICAL ORGANIZATION OF COOPERATION

1. The preparation of the international conference is organized by a joint coordinating group which enjoys the confidence of all organizations and has no administrative authority over participating individual organizations. However, all organizations participating in the conference obligate themselves to take on concrete organizing tasks as opportunities permit.

2. The joint coordinating group has solely organizing and coordinating duties. They include chiefly the following:

A — Preparation of next conference:

Proposals for agenda

Information for the individual organizations

Official contact address

Drawing up of invitation list on the basis of the points stated in I.1. with uniform and broadly framed criteria.

B — Management of funds for financing the costs of the conference, expenses of the joint coordinating group and administration of financial equalization.

3. The seat of the coordinating group is the seat of the party or organization in whose country the next conference is to be held. The seat will be determined in agreement with our goals and unanimously. The coordinating group must account for its work to the international conference. The group normally has three voting members. Permanent collaborators have an advisory voice. The chairman bears chief responsibility for adherence to the principles of the international conference in the conduct of the activities of the coordinating group.

To prepare the international conference the group meets once with representatives from the continents which are not represented in the coordinating group. At this meeting, the agenda and the list of participants are discussed.

4. Production, publication and distribution of the newsletter is organized by a permanent committee which has the following tasks:

Setting publishing deadlines for each issue and informing the organizations;

Organizing and checking translation;

Production and distribution;

The publishing committee has no right to select texts based on content or to change the content of texts. The organizations in turn must adhere to the guidelines. In addition, a list of publications of the participating organizations will be drawn up and advertisements for their new publications will be made.



RESOLUTION ON BUILDING A DEMOCRATICALLY ORGANIZED WORKER AID SOCIETY

The undersigned organizations consider it necessary to find a form for organizing practical cooperation in which the common struggle is organized on a revolutionary basis. It would be advisable to set up a democratically structured international worker aid society, which sets itself the task of organizing international solidarity and providing a link between Marxist-Leninist organizations and providing a link between Marxist-Leninist organizations and revolutionary organizations and, at the same time, drawing new forces into worldwide class struggle. It must organize mutual exchange of information on the struggles in the world. Such forms of organization are also suited for involving larger masses of people in solidarity activities.

Since such a form of organization can only be developed on a medium-range basis, it is advisable to begin with coordinated solidarity campaigns when the situation calls for them.

For this purpose a joint account will be opened and mutual exchange of information organized. Joint forms of organization necessarily will develop from these practical activities.

